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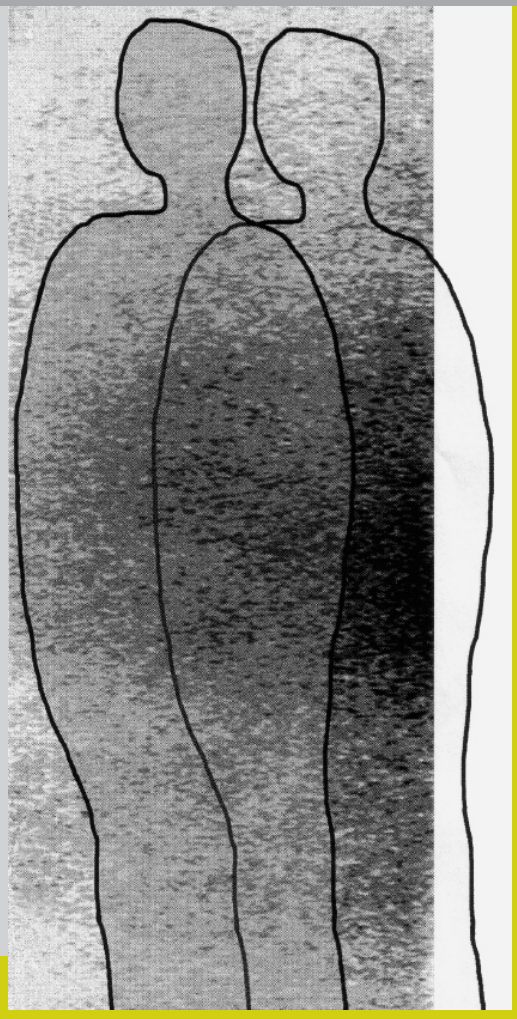

Theme:
Traditions and Transitions in Teacher Education

Special issue editors:
Sandra Acker and Gaby Weiner

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Ansvarig utgivare: Dekanus Rolf Hedquist 090/786 59 61
Redaktör: Docent Per-Olof Erixon, 090/786 64 36,
e-post: Per-Olof.Erixon@educ.umu.se
Bildredaktör: Doktorand Eva Skåreus
e-post: eva.skareus@educ.umu.se
Redaktionskommitté:
Docent Johan Lithner, Matematiska institutionen
Professor Åsa Bergenheim, Pedagogiskt arbete
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Universitetsadjunkt Ingela Valfridsson, Institutionen för moderna språk
Professor Gaby Weiner, Pedagogiskt arbete
Doktorand Eva Skåreus, Institutionen för estetiska ämnen

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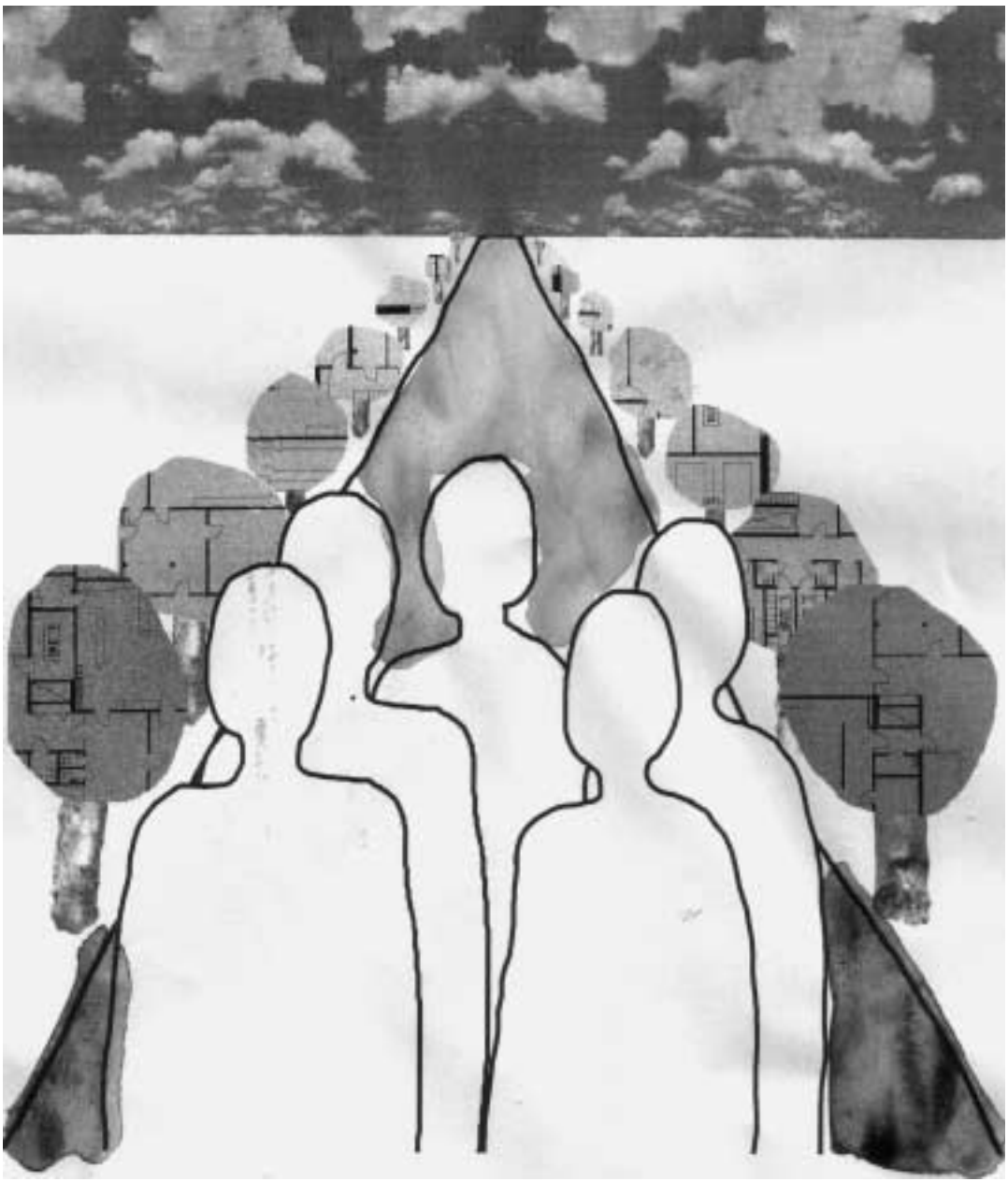
Editorial

It a pleasure for me to introduce this issue of *Journal of Research in Teacher Education*, which concerns the transformation of teacher education in three different countries after World War II. It also addresses issues which we are facing now in terms of globalisation, internationalisation, work intensification etc. The three countries are Canada, Iceland and Sweden.

The starting point for this special issue was a conference held at Umeå University, Sweden in June 2002, the theme of which was "Traditions and Transitions in Teacher Education". All the contributors to this special issue gave papers at the conference, and are well-known academics not only in their own countries, but internationally.

The co-editors of this special issue are Professor Sandra Acker, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto and Professor Gaby Weiner, Umeå University, Sweden.

Per-Olof Erixon, Editor



Traditions and Transitions in Teacher Education: Thematic overview

Sandra Acker and Gaby Weiner

Background

The articles in this issue of *Tidskrift for lärarutbildning och forskning (Journal of Research in Teacher Education)* have a common bond, rooted in a common idea. The Canadian research, which finds expression in six of the articles, derives from *Traditions and Transitions in Teacher Education*, a project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for 1999–2003. The articles from the two Nordic countries, Sweden and Iceland, come from parallel projects stimulated by the project in Canada. Teams from the three projects met together in June, 2002, at Umeå University, and from that gathering, the idea was conceived of a special issue of the journal that would showcase our work. This volume is the result.

As detailed in Acker (2000), the 'Transitions' project itself emerged from several previous studies. The main purpose of 'Making a Difference,' an interview-based study of academics in social work, education, pharmacy and dentistry conducted in Canada in the mid-1990s, was to address consequences for academic women of the trend towards feminization of the professions and professional education. Themes emerging from the education component of the research included generational differences; the significance of institutional history; and the presence of divided allegiances within the profession (Acker, 2000). At the same time, a 'network grant' for 'Women and Professional Education' allowed historians and sociologists to share their individual research projects and resulted in the edited book *Challenging Professions* (Smyth, et al., 1999). The decision to take the collaboration a step further and develop a proposal eventually became the 'Transitions' project.

The project was comparative, in the sense that three diverse Canadian provinces formed the

basis of the investigation. Additionally, it was surmised that the Transitions project could be replicated in various countries and efforts were made to interest colleagues in Britain, Australia and Scandinavia. In the process, proposals were put to the newly created Faculty of Teacher Education at Umeå University in 2000 for a doctoral studentship (which went to Inger Erixon Arreman) and separately to the Swedish Research Council for support for the June 2002 seminar. In the middle of this process, Guðrún Kristinsdóttir from Iceland visited Umeå and expressed an interest in contributing a linked project. As a consequence, Guðrún was joined by her colleague Allyson Macdonald and a postgraduate student, Gunnar Börkur Jónasson.

IN THIS INTRODUCTION, we examine themes that run through these closely connected articles, based on the studies in the three countries. We show that the teacher education institutions which are the focus of this study are faced with comparable pressures and policy orientations as a consequence both of similar 'traditions' within teacher education and 'transitions' generated by factors such as globalisation and neo-liberal policy-making. On the other hand, there are evident differences as a consequence of specific histories, cultures and locations.

Themes

The themes that run through the articles include: the importance of context, including both time and place as well as national and institutional settings; the development of a research culture through institutional transitions; the role of gender; tensions and divisions related to the uneasy place of professional schools within universities; and teacher education as a paradigm case of general shifts in academic work.

The importance of context

We suggest that context involves geographical place, historical era or period, and institutional setting. The papers come from three countries (the authors originally from at least six – we are certainly a mobile group!), itself a testament to the value of collaboration across national boundaries, in terms both of collegiality and intellectual gains. Within Canada, three of the country's ten provinces are represented here. As education in Canada is regulated at provincial level, considerable differences exist in the policies and practices surrounding education between one province and another, for example, in relation to the structure of secondary schooling. Other examples of provincial variation are the level of per-capita funding for universities and tuition charges and the timing of what is a

general trend – the move from teacher education provided by normal schools, to teachers' colleges, and to universities (see next section).

ACKER'S ARTICLE IN this collection makes the case that understanding the careers of teacher educators requires multiple vantage points. She demonstrates how the experiences of two teacher educators can be understood not only by exploring their unique characteristics, but also by investigating the institutional and generational conditions in which their orientations developed. Iris, hired in the 1960s, did not initially have a PhD and was compelled to develop a research program part way through her career, while Victoria, in the 1990s, knew right from the start the importance of research to her career prospects. Hurdles like the granting of tenure became more difficult over time as expectations of 'research productivity' increased. One aspect of Acker's article that is relevant to understanding individuals' abilities to take part in the research culture concerns the stories of particular institutions. Smyth's article shows, for example, the importance of the establishment of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) in 1965 as the leading provincial institution for research, development and graduate teaching in education. From 1965 onwards, the University of Toronto Faculty of Education suffered by contrast, as in varying degrees, did faculties of education in other universities in the province. Because OISE had a near-monopoly on doctoral training and to a large extent on provincial research funding, other faculties found it difficult to develop in those directions. Thus, while Quebec faculties experienced a rise in a research culture in the 1970s, Ontario counterparts outside OISE were stifled in this regard until a later period.

THE POST-WAR PERIOD ushered in an era of social change across the national settings of the project. Erixon Arreman and Weiner discuss changes in social welfare policy in Sweden, as well as the emergence of both state and grassroots feminism and the policy of *jamställdhet* (gender equality). Kristinsdóttir and Macdonald show that Iceland went through a period of urbanization and expansion of educational opportunities after gaining independence from Denmark. In all settings, furthermore, the 1960s emerges as a particularly innovative decade. In their exploration of Iceland's teacher education in the 1940s and 1950s, Kristinsdóttir and Macdonald document relative stability in teacher education but mention that great changes were waiting in the wings. In Sweden in the 1960s, as Erixon Arreman and Weiner point out, a period of extensive school reform provided the basis for shifts

in teacher education programs lasting several decades. Hamel and Larocque note the upheavals in Quebec in the 1960s in what is called 'The Quiet Revolution,' when all social sectors were changed, including the entire educational system, following a critical report in 1963. Many of the closures and openings of important faculties or institutions in a range of settings took place in the 1960s (see next section). It is likely that the demographic factor of the post-war 'baby boom' and its impact throughout the school system had something to do with the upheavals of this period. Universities in many parts of the world expanded to meet new levels of demand. Some of the current tensions can thus be traced to that era of expansion, followed as it was by various periods of contraction and financial entrenchment.

A VIVID SENSE of the importance of 'place' emerges in several of the articles. For example, Hallman describes the Canadian province of Saskatchewan, noting the relative sparseness of population compared to area, and the concentration of the population into a part of the geographical terrain (true of Iceland as well). She highlights the issues surrounding provision of education for the indigenous (Aboriginal) Canadian population, and the 'left of centre' political traditions that involved extensive consultation and participation with diverse groups of what we might call stakeholders (e.g., teachers' unions, home and school associations, government and university representatives). A concrete example of the latter tradition is offered in 1970s discussions of how the new education faculty at the University of Regina might develop, where the debates reflected a general desire to serve the community and to avoid being 'too academic.' An interesting contrast is made with the centralized educational policy making in other settings such as Iceland and Sweden. In another sense, 'place' is relevant to the article by Dillabough and Acker, where they identify aspects of academic life and gendered divisions that appear, in part, to transcend the national state.

Transitions, structures and the research culture

Within the general trend towards what Hamel and Larocque call 'universitarisation' in Canada, there were provincial variations in timing and other features, often associated with the different trajectories of elementary and secondary teacher education. In Ontario, for example, elementary teacher training took place in normal schools and then teachers' colleges. As Webber and Sanderson show, from 1969 onwards these teachers' colleges began to be absorbed into the

universities. At the same time, two university faculties featured secondary training from 1907 (one closed in 1920) although it would be misleading to see them as simply a part of the wider university – since the provincial ministry maintained extensive control. Both Smyth and Acker describe the chequered history of the University of Toronto Faculty of Education. Similarly in Quebec City, two schools of education functioned in association with Laval University from 1920 and 1943 respectively even though a full faculty was not created until the mid-1960s (Hamel & Laroque). This was around the same time as the University of Toronto faculty became fully integrated into the university and other faculties offering secondary education training were established in major Ontario universities. Quebec's remaining normal schools were finally abolished in 1969. Saskatchewan's normal schools became teachers' colleges at an earlier date (1953) which in turn were closed in favour of university teacher training in 1964. As in the other two Canadian provinces in the study, a major university (in this case, University of Saskatchewan) offered secondary teacher education from a much earlier date: courses were developed from 1914, a department was formed in 1927, a faculty of education was created in 1927 and a college of education in 1928.

In Sweden, the 'seminary tradition' paralleled the 'normal school tradition' in Canada and equated learning to teach (especially in primary or elementary schools) with routinised practices rather than theory. In the 1960s, a network of colleges replaced other institutions of teacher education, and in 1977, the colleges formally joined the university. However, in practice, most teacher education institutions were physically located outside the universities until well into the 1990s. The responsibility for teacher education was therefore split between university departments which taught subject specialisms and education studies (theoretical), and colleges which focused on method and practice and provided professional certification. Macdonald and Kristinsdóttir's articles point out that while Iceland's College of Education (ICE) dates back to the early part of the twentieth century (1908), it is only much later, in 1951, that the University of Iceland also began to offer initial teacher education. Moreover in 1971, the ICE was also upgraded to university status. During the period between 1940 and 1962, despite an expansion of educational provision and changing social circumstances, teacher education remained low on the policy agenda in Iceland, reinforcing a tendency to conserve rather than to innovate, similar in some ways to Sweden. Yet this period can also be characterized as the calm before the

storm, as the 1960s was to bring a wave of innovation similar to that in other countries.

But what of the research culture which has been the guiding interest behind the projects? The Transitions project aimed to trace a policy trajectory of this feature of contemporary academic life. This meant identifying origins, distinguishing features and levels, and future projections for the research culture as part of the raison d'être of schools of education, teacher colleges and departments or faculties of education. In Canada, the association of (secondary) education with particular universities (Toronto, Laval, Saskatchewan) implies that a research culture might have developed early in the twentieth century. Yet the data suggest this is only partly the case – depending on how one defines 'research culture'. Certainly, some research took place in all three settings and it would be unwise to ignore the efforts of early scholars. Toronto's Ontario College of Education, for example, had a research wing (Department of Educational Research) from the 1930s which was somewhat detached from the rest of the college. The Laval-based schools of education both offered graduate programs and featured research; indeed it was clearly part of the mandate of the École de Pédagogie et d'Orientation (EPO), founded in 1943. The University of Saskatchewan Faculty of Education also included research and graduate training in its mandate from the 1920s. Yet it would be equally misleading to identify a research culture in the sense of an extensive and institutionalized willingness and necessity to prioritize research within faculties or colleges of education. An exception was OISE, which was, from its inception in 1965, a research and graduate-based institution. Yet it is probably the exception that proves the rule, in the sense that OISE did not offer initial teacher education, but only graduate level courses. Until relatively recently in all the project settings, much of the research produced by education faculty tended to be development-focused, rather than oriented towards refereed journal articles and funded projects which are features of today's university research cultures.

Hallman reports a telling phrase used by a project participant when describing how new faculty are currently mentored: 'Before, we used to give them our lesson plans; now, we give them our SSHRC grant proposals.'[1] Similarly, the two case studies reported by Acker demonstrate different sets of pressures in the 1960s and 1990s. The rise of the research culture seems to be timed somewhat differently in different places. For example, once a full faculty of education was founded at Laval in 1965, indicators

of research culture mounted rapidly. Hamel and Larocque comment that the research culture 'really took off in the 1970s.' By 1976, upgrading qualifications was so important that 33% of the faculty were in the process of studying for doctorates. Yet in Ontario, the 1970s seemed more a period of decline (based on dropping enrolments and hiring freezes), while the informants in various faculties pointed to dates in the 1980s as significant.

Some, for instance, mentioned the role of the Ontario Council on Graduate Studies in stimulating the reporting of research accomplishments in connection with gaining approval for offering graduate education (Webber and Sanderson). As Smyth shows, several Ontario institutions were aware of the significance of the appointment of new deans in the late 1980s, with the explicit responsibility to raise the research performance of faculty.

Erixon Arreman and Weiner characterize the 1970s in Sweden as a period of neglect of teacher education, although teacher education was formally attached to the university sector late in the decade. As we have already seen, teacher training nevertheless remained outside the university for the most part. A major shift to research intensiveness was not apparent until the late 1990s and early 2000s at Umeå University, when an active dean achieved key changes such as the appointment of professors [a high-ranking designation] of teacher education, an extensive programme of doctoral studies and research, and the creation of the only faculty of teacher education in Sweden.

The Iceland team focuses more closely on an earlier period rather than tracing the development of the research culture to the present day. As elsewhere, however, one can see signs of research involvement, though there was little sustained pressure, from the end of the Second World War until the early 1960s. Full-time instructors took sabbaticals and contributed to educational and other journals, writing about practice-related issues for the most part. Macdonald and Kristinsdóttir draw attention to the community-focus of teachers' college staff, and their involvement in voluntary work, the arts, and other social issues of the day.

At the start of the twenty-first century, all three Canadian provinces report severe contemporary pressures on faculty to perform in the research realm, a feature reflected in all three countries. Hamel and Larocque characterize the shift as a 'transition from voluntary to compulsory research.' Victoria, in Acker's chap-

ter, questions 'how much is enough when it's never enough' in a university where 'research is valued above everything else.' Erixon Arreman and Weiner comment on the 'immense pressure to do research' experienced by Swedish teacher educators. Mixed responses were found among the persons they interviewed, some embracing the new ethic and others concerned that the important work of preparing the next generation of teachers was threatened by the research imperative. Indeed, Dillabough and Acker's chapter suggests these pressures, the accompanying work intensification and scrutiny of performance have become part of everyday life for teacher educators in universities across the globe. Additionally, they highlight the challenges of performing in an era with decreased resources and significant financial constraints – though in Sweden, resources for research in teacher education have increased, if not in other disciplines. Moreover, they argue, research is not simply produced; it is produced in an increasingly competitive and regulated workplace.

Gender and teacher education

Gender is an implicit theme in all the articles in this collection. For example, Smyth shows that in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the University of Toronto Faculty of Education expressed concern about housing provision for young women. When the Faculty was closed and reopened under the title Ontario College of Education (OCE), a 'solution' was found, namely to restrict attendance to those with first degrees and focus mainly on secondary education, a policy change which eliminated most women students. The composition of the staff of OCE was predominantly male, as indeed was the Faculty in Iceland during the period under question.

However, gender is an explicit focus in the articles of Acker; Dillabough and Acker; and Erixon Arreman and Weiner. In her review of the careers of women teacher educators, Acker includes comments from women faculty about tensions between family commitments and attendance at conferences, late promotions of women, change of the norm from male to female teacher educator, and labour- and emotionally-intensive tenure application processes. Dillabough and Acker emphasise how neo-liberal ideas have insinuated themselves into academic women's lives in a discipline that has a history of institutionalizing female labour. They argue that, in a newly globalised era, new forms of academic femininity are being produced, shaped by research cultures, assessments of professionalism and fiscal restraints.

While the full neo-liberal academic agenda is not as visible in Sweden, Erixon Arreman and Weiner note that specific gender orders and regimes have shaped not only the conditions under which people work (e.g. pay and power differentials) but also the perspectives that teacher educators hold relating to change. Thus, with the onset of greater pressure to do research, male teacher educators have tended to look back with nostalgia to the old seminary ways from which they largely benefited, while female teacher educators look forward to the new opportunities afforded to them in times of structural and cultural change. Significantly, Swedish state rhetoric and policy-making emphasizing gender equality (jämställdhet) as a human right has, seemingly, not permeated Umeå teacher education cultures to any significant extent.

Divisions and tensions

Virtually all the authors represented in this collection identify tensions and divisions characteristic of teacher education, especially when in a university setting. Early institutionalized teacher education generally took place in normal schools, seminaries or teachers' colleges which focused on teaching methods and practice rather than on research or scholarship. Hallman writes of the two traditions of teacher education as 'the practical training of normal school' and 'the university professional college.' However, even when teacher education was lodged in universities (usually for secondary teachers), it tended to be isolated from the university mainstream and in many ways continued to function separately. For example, the University of Toronto's Ontario College of Education, though nominally under university auspices, was controlled largely by the provincial ministry of education (Smyth, Acker). Sweden's teacher education colleges were likewise absorbed into the university sector in 1977, but in name only (Erixon Arremenan & Weiner). Iceland's trajectory, however, was novel in that the teachers' college was upgraded to university status, although the account here of its curriculum, students, and teachers in the 1940s and 1950s suggested a similar ethos to that reported elsewhere (Macdonald & Kristinsdóttir; Kristinsdóttir & Macdonald).

As we have seen, teacher education, like other professions, was gradually incorporated into multi-purpose universities or became more like conventional university departments. Yet the legacy (as in other professions) based on its former origins lives on. In many cases, mainstream universities were reluctant to accept education faculties and their staff as peers; and

in return, teacher educators responded by questioning the relevance of the university's research focus for their purposes and values (Erixon Arreman & Weiner). As education faculties struggled to become part of the research culture, generational and experiential differences emerged among colleagues, for example, between those employed because of their expertise in the school system and those with a specific research orientation and less experience of teaching (Webber and Sanderson; Acker; Smyth). Competing purposes are much in evidence in today's faculties of education, which struggle with a quadruple mandate: to train the next generation of teachers; contribute to the field of (teacher) education generally; provide graduate and doctoral studies in education; and produce scholarly research and publication.

So we see tensions among purposes and groups of workers around questions such as pre-service [initial] teacher education as opposed to graduate studies; research as opposed to teaching; academic as opposed to community-orientations; and so forth. There are also tensions or at least differences between faculties or departments with overlapping purposes, as at University of Umeå. Here, 30 different university departments are involved in initial teacher education programmes: subject departments such as mathematics, modern languages; 'old' methods departments such as aesthetics, Swedish and social studies; and the educational studies department with its loyalty to the social science faculty rather than the faculty of teacher education. In some cases, separate institutions with different ideologies have engaged with teacher education, as Hallman outlines for Saskatchewan and is the case in Iceland where the University of Iceland still offers teacher education even though there is an Iceland University of Education. The 30-year co-existence of OISE with the University of Toronto Faculty of Education and other Ontario institutions is another case of competing institutions, resolved in part by the 1996 merger which created the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT) (Smyth).

Moreover, universities themselves are subject to competing purposes and changing pressures. Hamel and Larocque point to the earlier traditions of Université Laval in educating 'humanistic, "cultured" citizens' as a contrast with the 'professors-cum-researchers' of today. Other tensions – such as the gender conflicts described in Dillabough and Acker's article – are rooted in the way in which gender operates structurally in a society (see also Erixon Arreman & Weiner).

We should be wary, however, of concluding that all is trouble and strife. In many cases, faculties of education are described as collegial and pleasant places to work. 'Divided loyalties' and 'competing allegiances' (Hallman) do not necessarily mean day-to-day conflicts. And new conditions mean that opportunities are provided for engagement with research and intellectual activity, particularly for women, that were not there previously (Luke, 2001). Paradoxically, the tensions may even keep people interested and stimulated, and contribute to an atmosphere of energy and debate.

Teacher education as a paradigm case

While we have concentrated here on developments in teacher education, we recognize that it may well serve as an exemplar of other social trends. Teacher education may be conceived of as a paradigm case of a professional field that has largely become incorporated into a university scholarship and research model, while not relinquishing its commitments to the induction of new practitioners, and support for continuing ones. The expansion of a research culture has undoubtedly provided opportunities for career advancement not previously available, in particular to women (Erixon Arreman & Weiner), even as it has also brought added contradictions, pressures and workloads. The tension created by diverse purposes is apparent in other academic and professional fields, so that our research has implications for the ways in which boundaries are created and shifted among disciplines beyond teacher education: for example, how reward (and punishment) systems are developed, refined and implemented; how academic subjectivities are shaped and contested; and how major defining principles such as gender operate in a particular context. Dillabough and Acker argue that teacher education is an example of what Pierre Bourdieu called the 'social work disciplines,' that is, those with a mission towards social betterment rather than social control. Those disciplines struggle for status and are subject to state regulation to a greater degree than others; significantly, they also attract many women. As a result, even processes in academic life such as performance reviews become arenas for gender-inflected struggle and dispute.

We can thus assume that forms of academic masculinity and femininity similar to those in teacher education have been produced simultaneously in other parts of the universities under consideration. We can also assume, as noted in Acker and Webber (2002), that responses

of faculty to institutional amalgamation and downsizing, research pressures, work intensification, fiscal constraints and so on are likely to be similar in other disciplines, departments, and university faculties since these factors have become a feature of neo-liberal policy-making in an expanded higher education sector. Even elite institutions like Oxford/Cambridge in the UK or Lund/Uppsala in Sweden have become more subject to regulation and accountability than in the past – even if their fiscal base is comparatively 'comfortable.' How much more problematic is it to assemble and manage a subject like teacher education in a middle-range university which tries to gain greater status without the resources to match its aspirations?

Conclusion

In summary, we aim to offer in the papers that follow an interim and provisional glance at a linked set of ongoing projects. We plan, in the future, to offer extended information on research findings and more developed analyses. Yet even at this point, we have put together a pioneering cross-national comparison, one that includes data in each country rarely compiled and topics hitherto unexamined. It has not escaped our notice that those involved so far have all been in 'cold countries' in the northern hemisphere and it is tempting to surmise that warmer climes might encourage more relaxed work conditions for teacher educators. Perhaps a future extension of our studies to additional countries will tell us whether there is any context where teacher educators are respected and enabled to work to the highest levels in all parts of their mandate.

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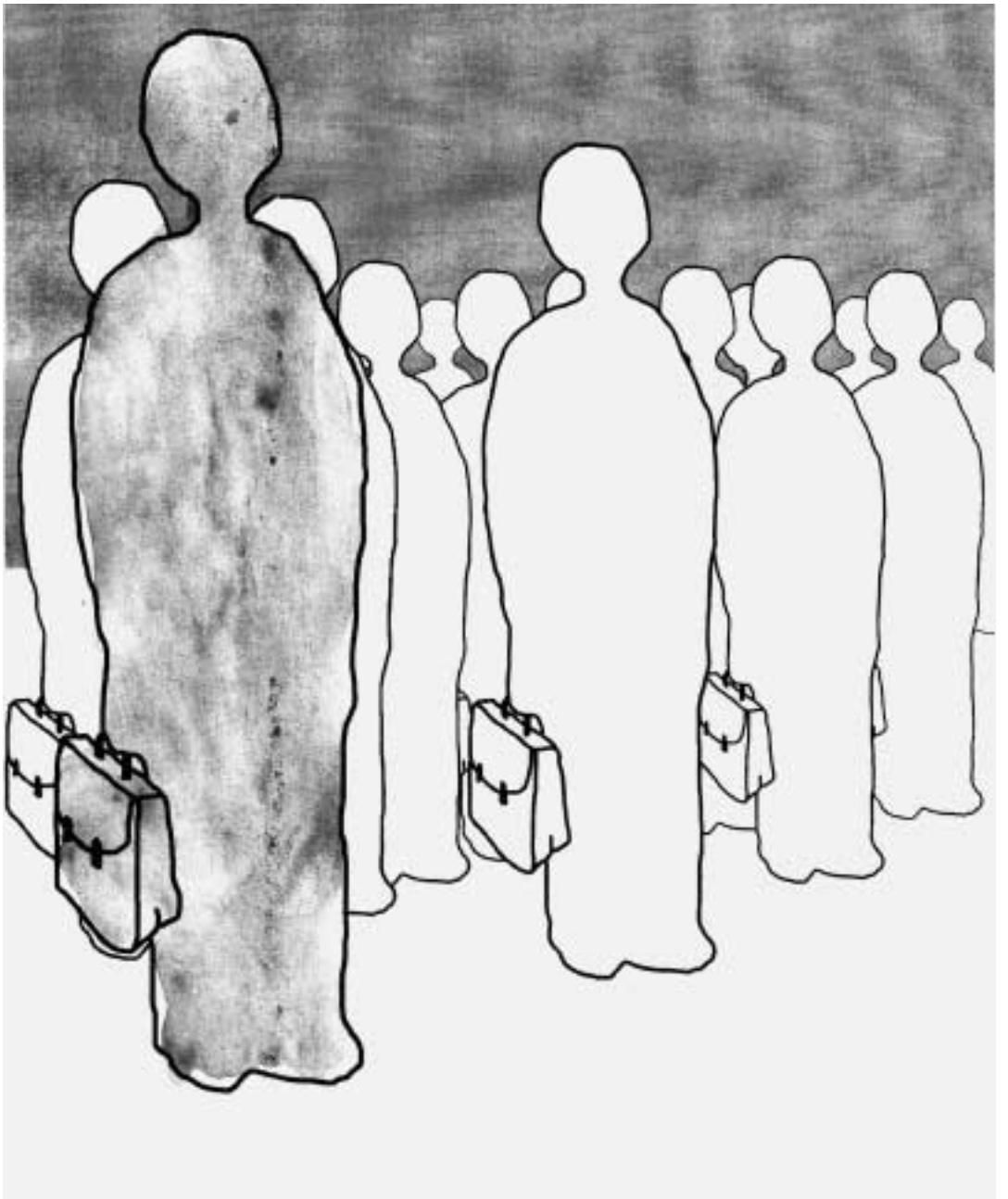
Endnotes

1 SSHRC refers to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the main funding body for social science and thus most educational research.



Learning to Teach in Iceland 1940–1962:

Transitions in society and teacher education. Part 1

Guðrún Kristinsdóttir and M. Allyson Macdonald

Abstract

What societal changes affected Icelandic teacher education during the 1940s and 1950s? How did the student body change? Did legal reforms influence the training? The research reported is a case study of teacher training at the Iceland College of Education (ICE), based on documentary studies and interviews. The post-war era in Iceland was characterised by optimism; a belief in planning, progress and prosperity. Economy was state-controlled as was education, which seemed to be an essential lever in building up the newly independent nation. Students at the college became younger and the number of female students increased. Teacher education was prolonged and the number of students graduating increased, but not the proportion of qualified teachers in schools. Despite rhetoric at a political level, emerging signs of efforts to professionalize teacher education are identified. External conditions changed without a reciprocal response within teacher education. Thus, one could talk of a moderate swell in the sea surrounding teacher education and the ICE during the period 1941–1962.

Introduction

The 1940s were a period of great change in Iceland and a marked contrast to the depression years, both from an economic and a cultural point of view. Time would show that some aspects of society were not easily modified by external influences.

Hopes were high in 1946. A parliamentary committee on education said (Gunnar M. Magnúss 1946: 11):

> Good Icelanders. The nations of war have experienced that to win a war one thing more important than the production of ammunition is to nurture trained pilots and specialists.
>
> In order to be victorious in the new battle of independence, in order to secure peace and

> well-being for our nation, it is not less important for us Icelanders to produce a elite of scientists and well-educated people, specialists in different disciplines.
>
> We have a great task ahead of us, in which the whole nation should participate.

EDUCATION SEEMED TO be an essential lever in building up the new nation gaining sovereignty as a democratic republic in 1944. Such was the faith in knowledge, science and reason that the government of the day felt it possible, for example, to identify the number of natural scientists needed in teaching and research. In addition to the 15 university educated scientists already involved, seven were needed for teaching in high schools and university, and 29 for other scientific purposes, specified in detail. This was one of many detailed plans made in this period. (Gunnar M. Magnúss 1946: 26–28)

THE RESEARCH REPORTED here is a case study of a different area of specialization, namely the education of teachers in Iceland from 1940 until the early 1960s. Sandra Acker in Canada and Gaby Weiner in Sweden provided the impetus for studies on traditions and transitions in teacher education. Among the purposes listed by Acker (2000: 143) are:

* To describe and compare effects on faculty of institutional transitions in teacher education from 1940 to the present [in several Canadian provinces]
* To detail these transitions through case studies of selected institutions
* To trace the policy trajectory of the development of a research culture in each site.

Acker (2000: 145) has summarised the study of a policy trajectory as follows:

> (It) entails tracing a specific reform over time, examining its origins and the factors that have sustained it, and detailing how individuals and groups have resisted and altered it.

The problem under study

A parliamentary education committee in Iceland in the mid-1940s proposed major structural reforms to the education system: the creation of a continuous system of schooling from primary to university level.

WE HAVE ASKED with regard to these reforms: what was the context for decision-making and implementation of educational reform during the 1940s and 1950s? In particular, what sort of education was being provided for teachers? We

offer some limited answers to these questions which are political and provocative, as pointed out by Ginsburg and Lindsay (1995: 3):

> What does politics have to do with it anyway? Why can't we just focus on the academic, professional and technical issues in teacher education- how best to prepare future teachers so they can help children and youth learn and develop?
> ....
> If we do not consider the political dimension, the ways we think about teacher education will be partial and distorted ...

THE ICELANDIC EDUCATIONAL committee listed prerequisites for effective implementation of new legislation. One was: "a force of well-educated teachers, men, which would be capable of breathing life into the new education system and who would be a source of power in its development" (Gunnar M. Magnúss 1946: 10). The changes proposed were to take place in a country where the population rose from about 120,000 in 1940 to about 175,000 people in 1960. The Iceland College of Education (ICE) was the only teachers' training college in Iceland during the period under study.

WE HAVE PREPARED our analysis of the policy trajectory as two articles. In the first one, this one, we consider the context and consequences of the changes being proposed in education, especially related to the student body, and in the second, we consider the course of study and the role of teacher educators at the Iceland College of Education.

* These questions guide the first article: What changes were occurring in society that affected education? What were the implications of legal reforms for teacher education? To what extent did these changes affect the body of students?
* In the second article we ask: What was the nature of the teacher training provided? What role did teacher educators play within the larger education system? Did teacher education reflect the changes in the society?

WE BEGIN THIS article with a brief description of our approach. We look at developments in society and in education and consider the legal framework of teacher education in the middle of the 20th century. We consider the types, origins and expectations of students who were entering a teacher training course. In conclusion we summarise the policy trajectory and consider issues of continuity and change.

We will be guided by Ginsburg and Lindsay (1995: 5) who suggest that educational policy formation can be conceived of as rhetoric or other forms of action about 'education' designed to:

1 change or conserve an education system's size, goals, administrative structure, funding levels and processes, types of organizations, curricular content, pedagogical practices and selection and evaluation criteria and standards;

2 deal with or deflect attention from economic problems;

3 enhance or diminish the quality of people's lives; and

4 legitimate or challenge the power of educational, economic, cultural or state elites.

They also point out that concerns about teacher education are indirectly linked to the level of society concerns as these impact on efforts to reform schooling. The study of various documents, as well as of the student body, form our platform for understanding how teacher education is both a 'reflection' and 'product' of societal changes on various levels.

Other concepts of use are related to professionalization. Labaree (1992:123, 145) points out that development of teacher education can be seen as an extension of professionalization of teachers. Signs of professionalization are manifested in phenomena such as lengthening of education, a specific body of knowledge, increased autonomy, opportunities for research and development and in closure strategies; these are issues of relevance for the study (Guðrún Kristinsdóttir, 1991:34).

Documentary and interview sources

The following sources of information have been important for us: Laws, bills and parliamentary documents concerning education from the mid-1930s to the 1960s. Six detailed reports written by the principal of the Iceland College of Education covering the period 1941–1962 (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1949, 1950, 1959, 1960a, 1960b, 1962). Publications on societal change and governmental policy. A memoir compiled on the 50th anniversary of the college in 1958 (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958). Formal speeches given when the college opened and closed each year. A bibliography of articles from the main education journal of the time Educational matters (Menntamál) prepared by a graduate student, Anna G. Eðvardsdóttir (2000). A bibliography of the writings of the ICE-teach-

ers from 1940–1960 compiled by a librarian (Kristín Indriðadóttir 2001). We also conducted interviews with two students who attended the ICE from 1945 to 1952. One of them provided us with artefacts saved from the study period.

A mixture of state-control and market enterprises

The Second World War was in many ways a turning point for Iceland. The peaceful occupation first by the British and then by the Americans, and later the establishment of a NATO base, had a considerable economic and cultural effect on a society which was largely based on farming and fishing.

THE IMMEDIATE POST-WAR period brought with it economic prosperity with a sudden inflow for the revenue of fish exports which was impossible to release during the war. Icelandic modernization carried dynamic capitalism to a productive apogee in less than 20 years in a unique developmental spurt (Björnsson, Edelstein and Kreppner 1977: 31, Tomasson 1980: 32, Edelstein 1983: 57).

IN 1944, THE YEAR of independence from Denmark, the New Development Government was formed. Symbolic for the ideas and spirit of the time, it was a coalition across the political spectrum, where conservatives, social democrats and socialists joined in the effort of reshaping society (Stefán Snævarr 1993: 53, Magnús S. Magnússon 1993: 205). Politics and the economy were, however, problematic. In 1945–1960 five governments fought unsuccessfully with and implemented various schemes and quotas to control the national economy. Several factors coincided, not least that fishing failed in a crucial period.

INVESTMENTS AND CONSTRUCTION projects created a demand for labour after the war, with subsequent migration to and lack of housing in the urbanized Reykjavík area. The proportion of paid labour participation among married women rose from 5% to 19% between 1930 and 1950 followed by a period of stability during the 1950s. In the mid-1950s fertility was the highest during the whole of the century (Statistical Yearbook 2001: 64). Rapid modernization during the immediate post-war period was paralleled by changes in family life, affecting educational opportunities for young women.

ATTITUDES TO SOCIALISATION were traditional in the sense of not being considered problematic (Edelstein 1983: 66):

> Until the 1960s the cognitive differentiation of abilities as honoured by the school appears to reflect stratification effects more than the selective activity of the schools.

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM became increasingly centralised and state-controlled. Party influence was strong in the cultural sector from the 1930s onwards and appointments of teachers and headmasters were especially influenced by party considerations (Ólafur R. Grímsson 1976: 21). The immediate post-war era was characterised by optimism and ideals, a belief in planning, progress and prosperity and increasing materialistic demands. The economy was heavily state-controlled as was education. Independence had opened up new opportunities. How were they used?

WE WILL LOOK at this through the lens of the legislators and the legal context of educational changes.

Educational reform

What expectations did parliament members and government have for the school system and teacher education? Did politicians respond to the need for change as reforms were implemented? How did legal reforms affect teacher education?

IN 1940 THE regulations for teacher education from 1934 and the law on primary education from 1936 shaped education. The main legal reforms over the next few years were:

- 1943 Law on Iceland College of Education
- 1945 Law on the salaries of public servants
- 1946 Law on the school system and compulsory schooling; laws on primary and secondary education; law on teacher education, including a section on an experimental school
- 1947 Law on teacher education
- 1959 Proposed law on the right to permanent teaching posts

THE 1946 LAWS on the school system decreed that the education system be treated as one whole. The goal of the new laws was to have the right student in the right school at the right age, according to one school principal (Ármann Halldórsson 1946: 73). The legislators believed that better education would benefit the economy and improve quality of life in individual homes. The laws of 1946 were to be implemented over the period 1947–1953 and came into effect in 1947.

THE LAW ON primary education proposed that developmental research should guide schools. Teachers were expected to show increased knowledge and culture and to attend to the needs both of the nation and the individual (Alþ.tíð. A. 1945, 1. hefti: 128–157). It appeared that research could become valuable for the development of education and educational studies, i.e. psychology, pedagogy and teaching practice, would become an important part of teacher education. In fact the proportion of time spent on such courses at ICE changed little over the next fifteen years despite parliamentary discussions on the issue (see the next article).

DID THE POLITICIANS make a forceful effort to strengthen education? What resources were put into education? Two limitations were identified for the implementation of the new acts; a shortage of school buildings and of qualified teachers. It was argued that all efforts would be made to remedy this and that implementing the laws would be a sign of great progress (Gunnar M. Magnúss 1946:10).

THE 1946 LAWS greatly increased education costs. Until the mid-1940s school attendance was compulsory for children aged 7–14. Now compulsory schooling was raised to age 15 though lower secondary schooling in rural areas varied according to the needs and condition of the districts (Lagasafn 1965: 793, 808). The number of children aged between 7 and 14 in schools more than doubled in the 30-year period from 1935 to 1965 (Hagstofa Íslands 1967) and grew faster than the increase of funds going into education (Ingimar Jóhannesson 1957: 301).

THE NUMBER OF students graduating from the four-year upper secondary school increased sixfold over the period 1930 to 1970 though the proportion of female students increased slightly around 1940 and then not extensively until the 1960s (Guðmundur Jónsson and Magnús S. Magnússon 1997: 839). The upper secondary school level is of importance for the study of the ICE-teacher training as the age of students there was to become similar to students at this level (see later in this article).

FUNDING THE SCHOOL buildings was an economic burden. According to a detailed plan in 1946 new buildings were needed in all districts according to the Ministry of Education (Gunnar M. Magnúss 1946: 175–193). State-funding was raised in 1946 from 50% to 75%. Under a law from 1936 so-called ambulatory schools continued to operate, as a partial solution to the building problem. In such schools, teachers

moved between farms where groups of children from nearby farms lodged for periods not shorter than a month (Sigmar Ólafsson 1983: 227). By 1957 there was no significant progress on buildings despite the time-limit of five years set earlier. In 1956 there were still 6% of the total number of pupils (1190 children) registered in ambulatory schools (Hagstofa Íslands 1967). Teaching in such schools was not necessarily an attractive option for qualified teachers.

The number of teachers grew steadily from just over 500 in 1935 to nearly 1300 in 1966. The proportion of teachers lacking formal qualifications rose slightly from around 25% in the 1940s to almost 30% in the early 1960s (Hagstofa Íslands 1967).

Overcrowded and inadequate school buildings were the external conditions awaiting new teachers at this time.

Law-making and teacher education

In parliament, discussions on teacher education were limited, sometimes emerging in the debates on education for children. Views differed on whether or not teaching was a specialist occupation. Some suggested that members of other professions, such as theologians, could also just as well be teachers (Alþ.tíð. 1945, B: 1453, 1472). The idea of a sabbatical for teachers was discussed. The minister himself thought that this was necessary for secondary teachers, but not for primary teachers, as they did not teach specialist subjects (Alþ.tíð. 1945, B: 1464). Teacher educators at the ICE were granted the right to go on leave, a right that several used in the years to follow.

In 1959, a bill was discussed that would give unqualified teachers who had taught for ten years or more the right to permanent posts. The chairman of the college teachers' association and one of the college teachers responded sharply (Ágúst Sigurðsson 1959: 41– 4). The problem seemed to be a vicious circle (Broddi Jóhannesson 1959: 26); not enough qualified applicants applied to the college and teaching positions were given to persons without qualifications.

The salary laws of public servants from 1945 were an improvement for teachers lending an air of optimism to writings on education (Gunnar M. Magnúss 1946: 5–6):

> Because of low salaries and poverty many teachers have fared worse than they wanted to, and in fact have only given schools a small part of their work energy, ...With the salary laws a new attitude has

> been created, ... Now teaching is considered to be their main work and not an extra job...

One way to assess the status of those working in education is to compare their annual salaries, with those in similar positions or with higher education (Gunnar M. Magnúss 1946: 158–166):

Cabinet minister	15000 kr.[1]
Medical professors	14000 kr.
Upper secondary school principal	11100 kr.
Principal of the ICE	10200 kr.
Primary school principal (>200 pupils)	10200 kr.
Upper secondary school teachers	7200–9600 kr.
ICE teachers/teacher educators	6600–9000 kr.
Lower secondary school teachers	6600–9000 kr.
Primary school teachers	6000–7800 kr.

Teacher educators had similar salaries to teachers in large lower secondary schools, and lower salaries than the staff of upper secondary schools. Those who taught in schools without a teaching certificate had at most 80% of the salary of a teacher holding a permanent post.

The training course at the ICE was at the upper secondary level. Those completing the course were qualified to teach in primary and lower secondary schools, but the certificate did not give them entry to the university. In 1943 the teacher training was extended from three to four years and prolonged from a 21 months period of study to 32 months. In 1947 entry requirements were raised and the entry age lowered to 17, but few met the requirements initially (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 142).

The question of entry requirements, in terms of age and completed schooling, was an issue in parliament. Several proposals were put forward in the mid-1940s and later; some to lower, others to raise the requirements (Alþ.tíð. 1942–43, A: 663, 703, 707, 712; 1945 A.1.: 365). The lower requirements could be viewed either as pragmatic in relation to a recruitment problem that actually existed or as reflections of a low value put into teacher education.

In the 1947 law, it was stated that teacher training for lower and upper secondary teachers should also be offered at the University of Iceland. This change came into effect in 1951.

The appointed professor wrote that it would be difficult to meet the legal requirement that staff carry out research, as there were few with the right education to do that (Matthías Jónasson 1952: 126). The new programme did not affect recruitment to the ICE directly, as the entry requirements to the university were different. The diversion of funds presumably affected the ICE course, but this is not explored further here.

The regulations from 1934 described the ICE syllabus in detail (Helgi Elíasson (1944: 179). There was less detail in 1943 and 1947, seemingly an increase in the autonomy of the programme. We will see in the next article that few substantial changes were made to the syllabus.

In 1960, a committee was appointed to revise the law on teacher training, with the college principal as chairman and two other members from the ICE as well as school administrators (Matthías Jónasson 1952:126). A year later the committee submitted its report. The programme was to be lengthened and the curriculum more flexible. A major innovation was that students should be able to graduate from the ICE with an upper secondary school certificate giving them entry to the university. This possibility had been discussed before the 1947 law, but now the time had come (Alþ. tíð. 1945 A.1.: 373). The bill was not presented until 1962.

It is time to look more closely at the student body and the student life at ICE.

Students at the ICE in the 1940s and 1950s

We turn now to the students who attended the college. Who were they? Why did they enter? What did they think of their studies? What was their social life?

In 1958 the principal of the ICE reported that 1255 teachers had graduated as primary and lower secondary school teachers in the 50 years since the college had been established though not all had gone into teaching (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 143).[2] The number of teachers completing their training during the period 1941–1962 rose from around 20 per year to over 30 during the 1950s. In all, 630 graduated during the period 1941–1962. The increase in the number of graduates did not however keep pace with the increasing number of pupils in schools.

In the period under study most students entered the three or later four-year course of study

directly after lower secondary school. Students who had graduated from upper secondary school could though also enter the college and obtain a primary teacher's certificate after one year of study. The number of teachers with an upper secondary certificate prior to entry varied from 4 to 25 around a mean of 15 from 1950 to 1961. Similar numbers graduated from the two courses of study by the end of the period. In the 1950s a special department was created for the one year course because of an increase in numbers choosing this line of study. Obtaining a teaching qualification from ICE through the one-year course was a practical option for those with scarce resources for further studies. At the age of 20–21 one could graduate with a professional certificate and could start to provide for him/herself.

Men were in the majority during almost the entire period under study, and especially during the period from 1948 to 1956. In total 295 men and 212 women were admitted into the first and second year of studies during the period 1941–1962. More women entered and completed the one-year course of study. The number rose in the 1950´s when the course became exceedingly popular. The change in gender composition of the student body by 1960 with a increase in the number of women is, by some, considered to have affected the position of the profession for the worse, as an interviewee points out.

> Yes, I think it was better earlier....I don't want to blame women but while it is government policy that women shall have lower salaries than men, ... it affected the development of salaries very much, when women joined the profession. ... Government has always been very conservative towards women and still is..... the position of teachers and respect in their regard weakened (Stella, an interviewee).

We have seen that in the late 1940s and 1950s the pressure on the school system was increasing. In the 1950s a national examination was introduced for entrance to upper secondary schools, but not for entry to the ICE. Thus there were two choices for continuing academic studies at upper secondary level; the upper secondary schools and the ICE. As it was easier to pass the final examination at lower secondary school than the national examination, the ICE became an option for students who wished to continue academic studies.

Urbanization affected the college. In 1938 there were 73 students at the college and only 5 of them from Reykjavík, in 1948 they were 85 in all and 10 from Reykjavík, and by 1958

they were 116 and 50 from Reykjavík (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 142).

THE AGE OF students decreased during the period. The majority of students were 18 or older in 1941 with an average age of 19.7. In 1943 the minimum age of entry into the college was lowered from age 18 to age 17. By the early 1950s more students were younger than 18, and the entry age was lowered to age 16 in 1957, mainly in response to the age at which young people were completing their lower secondary schooling. By 1961 more than half were younger than 18 and the average age was 17.3. Younger students in particular were starting to use the college as a means of obtaining an upper secondary education, though in fact many did go on to teach. The college had become a stepping-stone rather than a final point.

WHAT WAS THE college day like for students? Here is an account of what it might have looked like in 1946 built on interviews and written sources:

> It is October 1946. Daníel is a third-year student and has been working on the family farm all summer. He arrives after a long journey and begins to prepare himself for his winter studies. Daníel does not have the same room as last year and he has to walk some distance to his lunch-time meal. On arrival at the college, he is given a small card with advertisements from different stationery shops on the one side and a pristine time-table on the other (Daníel is fictional, not an interviewee).

IN THE TIME-TABLE schedule and subjects were listed. Daníel noticed that the time-table was not very different from any ordinary secondary school. However:

> There is something new – teaching practice – but I won't have to go to all the times marked as only four students go at a time. Lunch is going to be a bit rushed..... and lots of exercise – walking to teaching practice, swimming and gymnastics! I get a chance to play the organ on Saturdays. I wonder what we will do in natural science – maybe geology. Ooooh, all those early classes in the dark – wonder if I will wake up. Ambulatory school was a lot easier – it didn't really matter if we were a little late for class (the fictional Daníel).

THE TASK OF working in a school during this period was not considered problematic, though changes lay ahead.

NOT ALL STUDENTS came to the college because of a burning desire to become teachers, as one student said:

> ... some of my schoolmates went there. At the time teaching provided a reasonable salary, one could compare it with the salary of a member of parliament. And then one good advantage was the long summer holiday (Stella, an interviewee).

ANOTHER student said:

> I had reached a dead-end in my studies, and this was the best option. I didn't see how I could get into upper secondary school (Gunnar, an interviewee).

IN 1954 ONLY ten applicants had a valid national lower secondary school certificate, representing less than 4% of those who had passed the examinations that year. Principal Freysteinn Gunnarsson felt that this seemed to reflect that few young people were showing an interest in teaching, and fewer teachers were applying for the available jobs; other employers made better offers (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1954: 44). If asked, most of the enrolled students would reply, to get a teacher's certificate.

THAT, HOWEVER, would need diligence and conscientiousness. Freysteinn urged students to listen to their conscience above all else (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1954: 48):

> I hope, that you will leave here, not only wiser, but also better than when you came.

IT IS PERHAPS not surprising that the college was considered an option for furthering one's studies. There were few connections between the college and schools, as a student points out:

> We didn't think much about it at the time but later we wondered why on earth in four years we never went to any schools... We never once saw a child through a continuous school day... We just had individual lessons to teach in the teaching practice departments (Gunnar, an interviewee).

GUNNAR continues:

> Teachers who taught us the academic subjects, with the exception of those who taught history and geography and at the same time supervised practice teaching, they usually knew less than nothing about teaching in a primary school ... later I discovered it was the same in Denmark. At the time we didn't find it strange at all (Gunnar, an interviewee).

Students from outside Reykjavík lived in private homes with relatives or they rented rooms, either with full board or standing arrangements for a hot meal at lunchtime in a private home. Reykjavík, though small, was different from small rural towns in Iceland. In the 1940s two-thirds of Icelanders were town-dwellers and Reykjavik alone contained approximately half of the urban population (Magnús S. Magnússon 1985: 57, Helgi Skúli Kjartansson 1974: 256).

The financial situation of students was often constrained, as one interviewee explains:

> I was lucky... I worked for my father at the farm during summer and also in road construction. So I did not have any trouble. ... But I know that some students had great worries. They earned money during summer and that had to be enough for the whole winter (Stella, an interviewee).

There were small government grants that helped students through their first year. Drop-out rates appear to have been one or two students a year, but overall perhaps only four in a group dropped out.

The principal, Freysteinn, and his family lived in the college building. One student from the same district as the principal was sometimes invited to their home:

> We sat in the living-room and talked to the couple and on the floor was a huge horse-hide of a favourite horse which he had owned. Then the children came in with coffee and cakes and this was all put on the horsehide.... when it was all ready and we had been invited to begin then everybody sat on the floor and drank coffee and chatted. It was very unusual but great fun (Stella, an interviewee).

A student of the mid-1940s tutored the principal's daughter in mathematics and physics twice a week for two years:

> One thing that happened every single time I came,... then I got these wonderful refreshments from the principal's wife ...this was a real bonus (Gunnar, an interviewee).

Student life took on various forms. Students published a newsletter, there was the college choir and skiing tours. Gunnar comments:

> The social life was really the most fun... there was a student association... once a month we had evening get-togethers (i. e. kvöldvaka) and once a month a dance ... we baked and had coffee and

> invited the teachers. Small pieces of entertainment were provided ...by the students and ...by the teachers (Gunnar, an interviewee)

For rural students the college offered not only a course of study, but a chance to make new friends even meet a future spouse. Some student groups travelled abroad, which was more of an enterprise than now. This was at the end of the fourth year to celebrate graduation:

> A college teacher accompanied us; he was a good fellow, a great traveller and a good storyteller too. We went to Copenhagen and he was our guide. ... we were accommodated in old military barracks where we could get food ... We went on day trips... we visited a ...Folk high school and many of the sights in Zealand, this was a two week trip (Stella, an interviewee).

The Danish high school visited is known in Scandinavia for progressive educational ideas. The college life led to experiences of some variety.

Summary:

The landscape of secondary schooling was changing during this period. The average age of college students fell as time passed. The introduction of a national examination in the 1950s as an entrance requirement to grammar school changed the position of the college. Studies at ICE became one of the educational options for this age group rather than being entirely a professional certificate course.

We have looked at developments in the educational sector in the 1940s and 1950s and seen the expansion of the system, both by weight of numbers and by the authority of law. We have seen the college student population changing over time, but generally remaining good-natured. How did the education provided at the ICE meet the challenges of these changes? This question will be addressed in the second article in this issue.

Discussion and conclusion

The key reforms in the mid-1940s were the introduction of a continuous school system and the raising of age for compulsory education. The reforms were structural in nature but based on the belief that more and better education was the key to success in the newly independent nation.

How did these reforms affect teacher education? Did the laws of the 1940s make any new demands? Could the government follow up on its promises and demands? We believe we have shown that the answers to these questions are more negative than positive. The entry requirements did not change to any considerable extent although the student body and society was changing rapidly. The number of students at the ICE increased during the period under review. Student enrolment rose from around 20 in 1959 to around 220 in 1969 (Broddi Jóhannesson 1969: 281).

At the end of the period the demographics have changed. The typical student is still male, though the numbers of women are increasing. The typical student is younger, most younger rather than older than 18, and almost as likely to be from Reykjavík as from a rural area.

The course of study is not a huge jump from lower secondary school level. Younger students were starting to use the college as an option for further education though many did go on to teach. The homely atmosphere is changing into an overcrowded institution divided into departments. Teaching is still not so much about science of teaching or related to practice, as we will see in the next article.

The legal changes were many especially in the 1940s. Salaries of teacher educators and of the principal of the college improved, nevertheless they fell behind the level of upper secondary school teachers as well.

The college was located in the same building from 1908 until 1962, and with time and the establishment of a separate department for the one-year course, conditions became crowded. A new building was proposed in the mid-1940s but was slow to materialise.

We ask: Why was supporting and changing teacher education so low on the agenda of policy-makers for many years?

The low priority of teacher education may be interpreted in a common sense way, as a sign of not looking far ahead. In the new republic it

was felt that an upgrading of the education of children was needed. Passing bills on a general continuous school system may have seemed a sufficient step for legislators who did not look any further, to the teacher educators.

Ginsburg and Lindsay (1995) point out that politics is not only about possessing (or not possessing) power, it is also concerned with the distribution of material resources; in this case funding put into education. Although ideas are important the economy is even more influential. To quote Ginsburg and Lindsay (1995: 7):

> Efforts to reform teacher education /.../ will depend in part on having a national economy that is generating and retaining enough wealth to be 'taxed' as a source of revenue to underwrite the costs of the reformed teacher education programs.

We have seen that the national economy was hard to deal with. This can be one of the reasons behind the low priority of teacher education as well as ideology. Policy formation is about decisions as well as non-decisions.

Belief in reforms through detailed planning is prominent at this time, for instance seen in investigation of needs of school buildings and scientists. In documents studied there is a clear contrast seen in the actions to improve the national economy and occupational basic structure (i.e. fishing industry) and the absence of effective measures to strengthen teacher education despite formal declarations of its importance.

Moreover, teacher education, was externally constrained in other ways; by traditional attitudes to upbringing and education as in many other countries (Edelstein 1983) and appointments of key persons were dominated by party politics (Ólafur R. Grímsson 1976: 21). The surroundings of education were in flux; attitudes and actions remained to be adjusted.

We noted at the outset that in considering the policy trajectory of the reforms of the 1940s we would consider who had resisted or altered them. Some of the reluctance to implement the proposed reforms can be found in the discrepancy in rhetoric. Although it had been claimed at the outset that well-educated teachers were needed, some parliament members stated that teaching was not a specialized task and not much importance should be attached to the provision of a specialist education. What was needed most was a good general education. As seen this was still an issue at the end of the period.

The main legal reform concerning teacher education was in 1947, but it contained no major changes for teacher education at the ICE itself. The entry qualifications were raised but exceptions were repeatedly made. Also, opinions differed quite clearly in parliament on these requirements. The principal pointed out that cabinet ministers and the head of education could not decide everything for themselves; stronger interest groups had won the struggle for funding (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 84). We do not know whether this was said with forbearance or impatience. Could it be that the tolerance for standing still may be traced partially to the college itself?

As time passed some continued to argue strongly for an upgrading of qualifications. As early as the 1930s the idea had been mooted that the teacher course should be moved to university level which was impossible then since few students fulfilled such requirements. The teachers' unions and teacher educators were increasingly adamant that higher qualifications were needed. Inside the college, some teacher educators also made their views known (Ágúst Sigurðsson 1959: 229). The unions were one of the louder voices asking for change by the end of the period. It became evident that the law would have to be changed to accommodate changing times. Staff from the ICE were brought in to advise the ministry in the early 1960s.

Although changes were slow, they occurred. Changes in student body and entrance regulations have been discussed. The training was prolonged. The one-year course was used more and more by female students with an upper secondary education, a school level in expansion. Ideas of increased flexibility in the studies are introduced in a new bill Increased actions of the interested parties and the small steps of change are emerging signs of efforts of professionalizing teacher education.

The new university department in the mid 1950s indicated a move towards meeting the reform of a longer period of compulsory schooling leading to greater numbers of students in lower secondary school and therefore a need for more teachers.

Linné (2001) has discussed two contradictory ideas in the history in teacher education. Firstly, that the reproductive and intrinsic character of teaching never changes; it only varies regarding form and appearance; educational history is a story about basic persistence and invariability. Secondly, educational history is seen as a story of change; of continuous reform, enlightenment

and cultural achievement. We find it essential to keep both these notions in mind. Through studying the external conditions of teacher education in the middle of the 20th century and in looking at the college life and the student body we have deepened our understanding of the fact that much was changed on the outside, but far less on the inside.

Attitudes vary, but the prevailing spirit of the time seems to be that the training should be of a *traditional* nature. Clearly also, there is a belief in progress through education in documents studied. Sigurjón Mýrdal (1996: 193) has characterized teaching in Iceland during the period as being traditional in the sense that the teacher was expected to be the guardian of cultural values and to enhance modern progress in a new nation state.

The rhetoric of parliamentary debate can be contrasted with writings in professional journals and speeches. Teacher organisations and teachers educators point out that material conditions matter; that more demands will be made on teacher education and they emphasise the importance of a transition to a more academic level.

Despite declarations the time of considerable changes in teacher education has not come yet, but impatience is growing. This seems clear in writings of the person who was to become the principal of the ICE in 1962 (Broddi Jóhannesson 1961:184). He wrote that poverty and smallness of population is the main hindrance to the development of teacher education. He considered it essential to move ICE to a university level and increase science of teaching in the curriculum. The 1960s was to become the period when teacher education moved *towards academia*.

In 1960, Broddi Jóhannesson wrote a draft to a new bill in this spirit as a member of a parliamentary committee, but he put it aside as an unpublished manuscript (Broddi Jóhannesson 1960). We now know that in 1963 a new law on teacher education was put in place. A colleague Gyða Jóhannsdóttir (2002) has recently finished a doctoral dissertation on changes in teacher education during the period 1963 to 1978.

Our study shows a swell in the sea surrounding teacher education and the ICE during the period 1941–1962. Gyða´s study has shown that this undercurrent was to become a storm.

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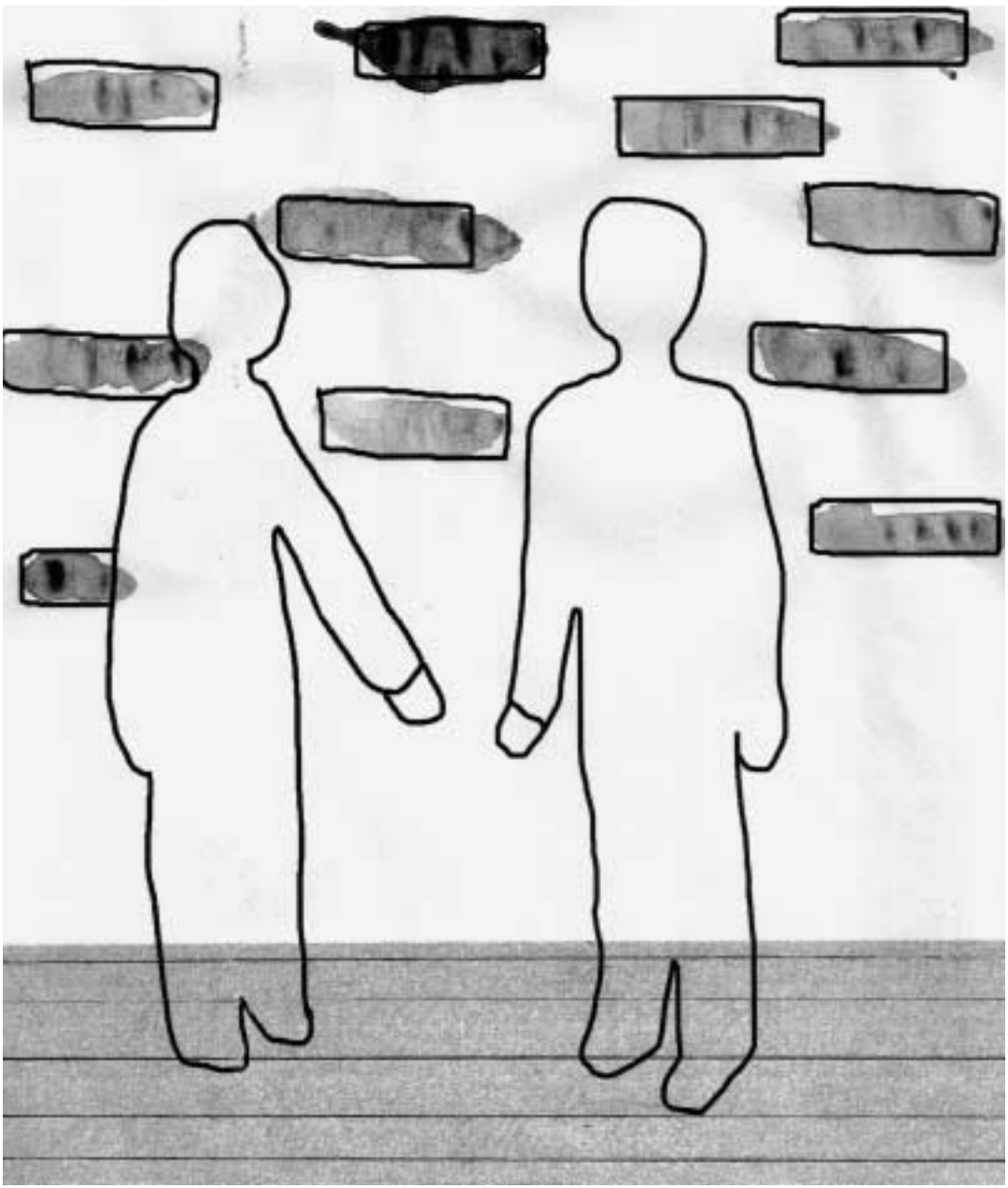
1 kr. refers to Icelandic currency króna.

2 The ICE also trained crafts teachers but this study does not include them.



Learning to Teach in Iceland 1940–1962:

Traditions in teacher education. Part 2

Guðrún Kristinsdóttir and M. Allyson Macdonald

Abstract

This article reports on part of a case study on teacher education in Iceland from 1940 to 1962. The nature of the training program at the Iceland College of Education and characteristics of teacher educators are analysed, using interviews and documents, including reports by the principal, information on teacher educators and their writings. The course of study, offered at the upper secondary level, remained almost unchanged during the period, with 12% of time in education studies. Most teachers were well-educated middle class men. Few carried out research though some engaged in developmental work including translations and textbook writing. They held positions of responsibility in social and educational spheres of society. The era is characterised by an virtual absence of change in the nature of the education being provided. This is attributed in part to the status of teacher education, reflected for example in the inadequate facilities at the college, and to the cautious personality of the principal.

Introduction

The research reported here is part of a study on teacher education in Iceland from 1940 to 1962. In particular the study is of the policy trajectory which followed the introduction of major reforms in education in Iceland in the mid-1940s, namely the introduction of a continuous school system from primary through lower and upper secondary education to university level training.

The Iceland College of Education (ICE) was established in 1908, with a new building in Reykjavík to house its activities. The college remained in the same building until 1962. During the period 1908–1971 there were only three principals. The college was small, with around nine full-time teaching posts and around nine

part-time tenured posts in the 1940s and 1950s. The number of students completing their training during the period 1941–1962 rose from around 20 per year in the 1940s to over 30 during the 1950s. Several laws on teacher education were passed during the period 1940–1962, usually reflecting adjustments to existing practice rather than reform of it. In 1943 the course of study was lengthened from seven to eight months a year, and from three to four years. The college trained teachers for primary and lower secondary level.

SIGNIFICANT NEW LAWS were passed concerning the ICE in 1963, when the college was permitted to offer a course leading to an upper secondary school certificate, and again in 1971, when the entire course of study was transferred to university level and new and different demands made of both students and staff.

WE CONSIDER THIS research to be a case-study of a small teacher education college situated in time and place: Iceland from 1940 to 1962. The sheer smallness of Iceland however and a never-ending interest of Icelanders in genealogy means that the researchers were drawn into the events of the time in unexpected ways. Sometimes our lack of familiarity with the protagonists has been to our advantage. At other times details have escaped us that others in Iceland consider obvious.

The problem under study

In the previous article we have considered the educational reforms in Iceland immediately after the war years, the law-making process and the changing student body entering the college. Here we will focus on teacher education itself, the course of study and the role of teacher educators.

TRADITION HAS BEEN described as follows (Williams, quoted in Halpin and Moore, 1981: 187):

> Any tradition is ... a selection and re-selection of those significant received and recovered elements of the past which represents not a necessary but a desired continuity. It is important to emphasise ... that this desire is not abstract, but is effectively defined by existing general social relations.

IT IS OUR CONTENTION that teacher education during the period studied upheld its traditions, and that in many ways these reflected what Williams calls a "desired continuity". We will be interested in the social relations which defined this desire.

WE ASK HERE: What was the nature of the teacher training provided? What role did teacher educators play within the larger educa-

tion system? To what extent did teacher education reflect the changes in the society?

We begin with a brief description of the approach taken in the research. We turn to the nature of the courses and teaching offered, and the characteristics and interests of the teacher educators themselves. In conclusion we speculate on the traditions upheld by the staff of the college during a period when educational reforms were leading to transitions in educational provision.

Several sources of information have been important to us in this part of the study. The principal of the ICE from 1929 until 1962 wrote six detailed reports about the teaching activities at the ICE during the period 1941-1962. In 1958 a 50-year review of the ICE was compiled, much of it written by the principal, but also with some short articles by teachers and ex-students. The formal speeches given when the college opened in the autumn and closed in the spring have provided material on a variety of issues. Icelanders have for many years published registers of professionals, including registers of teachers in the country. The writings of tenured teachers in professional journals on educational matters were considered. In-depth interviews were taken with two students who attended the ICE from 1945 to 1952.

The college building

The first college building was taken into use in 1908 and the second in 1962. Shortcomings of the first building were pointed out by the principal on the day that the college opened in October 1908 (Magnús Helgason 1934: 21). In 1958 the second principal noted that the building had always been only half completed (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 31):

> There was no experimental school, and it has been rightfully said, that a teaching college without an experimental school was like a medical school without a hospital. Nor was there a gymnasium or a dormitory.

The need for an experimental school was discussed in 1944. Funds were allocated to a new building in 1945 and 1946 (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 32). In 1950 the existing building was described by the editor of *Educational Matters* (Ármann Halldórsson 1950):

> The college has three classrooms on the middle floor of the building and a fourth on the upper floor originally intended for singing. In the cellar there are two rooms next to unsatisfactory toilets, which sometimes flood....I think that most would agree with me that such conditions are in these times completely unsuitable. – The classrooms on the upper floors are satisfactory and they are used

> for the fourth year group of students, for theoretical subjects, one of the rooms in the cellar is used to store the library materials, and the group of one-year students is also taught there, while the other classroom is used for teaching practice. The only other accommodation in the school is the principal's flat and a small room, about the size of a large cupboard, which is intended for use by the teachers of this respectable institution.

In 1951 the minister of education appointed another ICE building committee, chaired by the principal (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1959). Several tasks awaited the committee: a choice of site, funding, the needs and options of a building for teacher education and the design of the building. The choice of site was to be made with the experimental school in mind. The final task of the committee was to begin the process of building. In 1958 the minister of education announced that the ministry had agreed to the plans though the foundations had been started in 1956. Most of the activities of the college were transferred to the new building in the fall of 1962.

The course of study: Seven frames

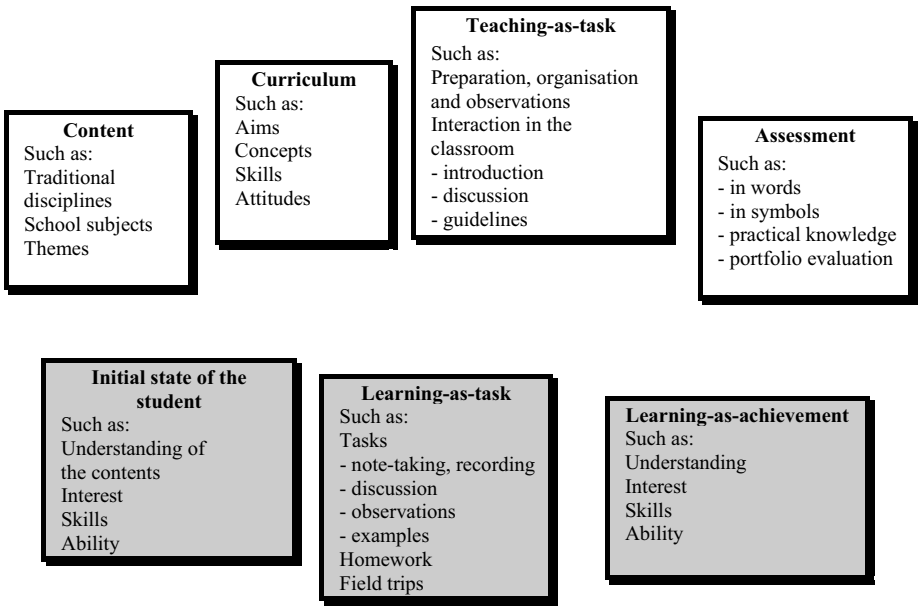
In looking at the course of study our discussion is guided by a set of teaching and learning frames with which one of us has worked for some time. The key ideas were found in research published in 1988 by Hewson and Hewson (1988) and then developed further in other contexts here in Iceland (M. Allyson Macdonald 1991, 2001). Aspects of teaching and learning are presented as seven frames – these can be studied separately, together or in interaction with one another (Figure 1).

Each frame reflects the views that decision-makers or teachers have on issues of learning and teaching: What view of learning is held? Is this reflected in the choice of teaching tasks? In what way are students assessed? To what extent is the position of the student recognized? What framed the courses offered at the Iceland College of Education in the 1940s and 1950s? Was there any change in the frames over time? If so, what might account for these changes?

Entry requirements (Initial state of the student)

Students were required to take an entry examination. The entry examinations, defined in the regulations from 1908, were made more stringent in 1924, and again in 1934 (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958). In 1946/47 admission requirements were tightened such that the national examination taken after three years

Figure 1 Seven frames of teaching and learning (M. Allyson Macdonald 2001)



in lower secondary school would be needed for entry into the ICE. The clause was not however put into practice until 1952, though exceptions were still made for many years, partly because there were not many good applicants (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 42).

THE ENTRY AGE of students decreased steadily after the introduction of the educational reforms, and more of the students had behind them an uninterrupted period of formal schooling. Did the college change anything in the curriculum material or the way in which it was presented?

Content and subject taught

The subjects to be taught at the college were discussed in detail in the 1934 regulations but only listed in the law in 1947. A change was made in 1943: the course was lengthened from three years to four years, and from seven to eight months a year. The changes in the laws and regulations made very little difference to the proportion of time spent on courses. In particular, courses associated with pedagogy or didactics did not increase, the main emphasis still being on the acquisition of knowledge. Content prevailed. One student said:

> So much time was added and incredibly little changed ... Everyone was satisfied that the course was lengthened (Gunnar, an interviewee).

THE PRINCIPAL OFFERED an explanation for the absence of change when he said that there had been no facilities for teaching specialized subjects and that it had been "unacceptable" that there had been no experimental school (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 32).

IN SEVERAL SUBJECTS there were almost no changes in textbooks between years (such as Danish, German, Christian studies, history, mathematics and physics) and very few changes in others (Icelandic, English, development studies and health studies). There was a shortage of good textbooks in Icelandic or other Nordic languages, and library facilities were abysmal by all accounts for much of the time. Students were expected to buy all their textbooks. For some this was very difficult as most of their money went to board and lodging.

Curriculum and content

The principal noted in 1958 that the college teachers had not only taught students to teach but had also taught them that which they had to teach (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 45–46). Gunnar, an interviewee, said however: "We were expected to *learn* books".

THE PRINCIPAL FELT it was necessary for students to study the subjects they would later teach but also maintain an emphasis on the particular knowledge needed in order to become a good teacher (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 45–46):

> To learn from a good teacher is certainly the best instruction in teaching methodology, which could be chosen, and this applies equally to whatever subject.

THIS APPROACH seemed to work in some courses. Occasionally though there were counter-examples:

> In subjects x and y I think we learnt how not to teach. The teacher favoured some students and made fun of those who did not do well (Stella, an interviewee).

MOST DESCRIPTIONS of college life point toward a relaxed atmosphere in which common sense and goodwill prevailed. Students too seemed to enjoy the emphasis on content and learning for its own sake. One student wrote about his studies as he entered the school in 1939 as follows (Kristján Gunnarsson 1958: 273):

> Oh but we were busy learning! We hardly paid attention that overseas a world war had stated, but there was little news that first winter. ..
>
> And we wanted to increase our knowledge. We have to admit though that we first years didn't find all the subjects we were required to study that helpful for our development nor interesting in themselves. But no matter, we looked upon them as an essential vitamin, clenched our jaws and studied.
>
> Overall this was not at all our attitude to the course. In many areas new worlds opened.... We realized soon that we were all of a sudden exceptionally clever! Nothing was hidden from our critical eye, and there were no problems that we couldn't solve. We knew precisely so little that we believed that we knew everything... Only later would we learn, that those who increase their knowledge, also increase their pain.

Teaching methods at the college

Teachers who could explain and who were patient were much appreciated:

> I always thought P was a very good teacher. He presented the material well and everyone paid attention to what he said. He didn't talk loudly, spoke slowly and calmly. And made everything very clear (Stella, an interviewee).

> The geography teacher H seemed very knowledgeable... (Stella, an inteviewee).

> L...didn't exactly go over the material but told us related stories (Gunnar, an interviewee).

DISCUSSIONS IN the classroom were few though one teacher in particular was mentioned in connection with this:

> R had no time for checking on whether we had learnt something or not – instead he talked and taught and was different from the others (Gunnar, an interviewee).

OTHERS DID NOT however encourage discussion:

> ...J was an excellent mathematician. He would write a problem on the board and explain as he solved it. And then just as he finished writing

> it down out came the blackboard duster and the problem was gone. And it didn't help to discuss it with him – he just laughed and said that surely we must have understood (Stella, an interviewee).

> [Subject z] had rather odd lessons. We didn't get any books but the teacher had a book and read aloud from it and we sat and we wrote and wrote.... there was always a test in the next lesson....the problem was that there was never any discussion and no explanations (Gunnar, an interviewee).

VISUAL AIDS were used by some teachers and one teacher was something of a pioneer in the use of the overhead projector and the use of magnetic tapes.

Learning tasks

What sort of learning tasks were the students assigned? Their role was passive, the teacher transmitting information to them. Students were most often expected to listen or read and could be expected to be brought to the front of the class to answer questions put to them by the teacher. Much of the reading material was in Icelandic, though a few texts were in Danish.

PSYCHOLOGY MADE THOUGH different demands on the students as learners:

> In psychology we had to do some experiments and carry out some surveys... (Gunnar, an interviewee).

> In psychology we had assignments in pairs sometimes. We did them after school and had to make an oral presentation in class later (Stella, an interviewee).

STUDENTS WERE SENT on botany trips and had to prepare a collection of dried plants. In art lessons students were given considerable freedom but sometimes ended up running their watercolour paintings under the tap. No such liberties were allowed in handwriting where the teacher wanted everyone to write as he wrote; not all students liked this regime but nevertheless some found it useful when they ended up teaching handwriting.

AT FIRST THE teaching practice classrooms were in the cellar of the college but later, when enrolment increased, they were moved elsewhere. Teaching practice was such that two students watched while two students each taught half a lesson. Imitation, practice and planning seemed to be key words for students during teaching

practice. Great emphasis was laid on teaching reading by phonics and students spent time learning individual letters and sounds.

> Teaching practice ended with us having to write a teaching essay for which we were given the topic a few days earlier.. we had a choice... Then we had to go up to the college and write the essay in one day. I remember my topic was *Management and school discipline* (Gunnar, an interviewee).

SOME PARENTS thought that it was good for their children to be in the classes run by the college, even if they sometimes had the same lesson more than once, as often happened when students were being assessed.

Assessment

Students had to go through three assessment hurdles: the admission examination, the end-of-year examinations, and the final examinations, which occurred in several phases (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 47–51). Written examinations became the norm after the 1930s, but in some courses there continued to be both oral and written components, especially in languages. The accumulated grade over the winter was 50% of the final mark and external assessment was 25% of the final grade. Students were also watched by the teacher and an external examiner while they taught. The academic records of all students were published in the reports that Freysteinn Gunnarsson wrote.

THE ACTUAL GRADUATION certificate shows the name of the candidate, the year, the grades on all the courses and the average grade, and then finishes with the words:

> ...(she) has completed the teacher's examination and now leaves the school with this documentary evidence that (she) has achieved a general level of education and psychological development which is needed to accept a teaching post with any primary school in the country (artefact provided by Gunnar, an interviewee).

Achievements and use of opportunities

Students felt comfortable about taking on a teaching post:

> I felt in my first teaching job that I was well prepared to teach reading and writing, and biology and geography.... And one wasn't apprehensive... [I] didn't need to do a lot to be prepared (Stella, an interviewee).

> We had probably never really acknowledged and yet never believed other than that we were able to teach in any sort of primary school... And later students had far more teaching practice but said that they weren't able to teach this or that... (Gunnar, an interviewee).

WE WONDERED WHAT view of "good teachers" had been nurtured:

> When I started to teach then a good teacher was one who produced students with good results... (Gunnar, an interviewee).

> I think they said .. maybe I am just making up.. that a good teacher was one who could keep the attention of children and keep discipline and explain what was necessary and be well prepared (Stella, an interviewee).

> R always had time to explain and repeat things and was so very patient and showed such goodwill. And that has to be a very good characteristic of a teacher (Stella, an interviewee).

IT WAS EASIER to get a job in a rural school than in Reykjavík. Schools operated in double shifts and most teachers had two classes, one before lunch and one after lunch. The new teachers were well-received in their new jobs where schools and teachers enjoyed a high status:

> We were very well-received by people in the town and had a lot of invitations to play cards or have coffee (Stella, an interviewee).

> I thought at first that it would be very boring to teach in a (fishing) village and that it would be more fun in a rural school. But it was an extremely good community. And there. the school had unbelievable, I don't know what to call it.. power. Everything in the community revolved around the school... Rules were made and the whole town made sure they weren't broken. ... The principal enjoyed a great deal of respect (Gunnar, an interviewee).

Summary

When considering the seven frames, we see that the only frame that changed substantially during the period 1941–62 concerned the entry characteristics of the students (see previous article). Not only were they younger, they were also the product of the transitions in Icelandic society and the educational system. The other six frames remained virtually unchanged; traditions were being upheld in the courses to be studied, the teaching and assessment methods and the ways in which students were expected to learn.

Teachers at the Iceland College of Education

There were only 24 full-time teachers with tenure over the period 1908–1958, eight part–time teachers with tenure and 123 temporary teachers (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958). There were between 8 and 10 full-time staff with tenure during the period 1941–1962. Other staff varied in number but it is possible to say that there were 8 to 10 part-time or temporary staff that taught for at least half of the period under study. In all 18 teachers have been selected for closer scrutiny, nine full-time teachers with tenure during the period, and nine part-time with tenure or employed on a temporary basis for at least 10 years between 1941 and 1962. Together these teachers account for about 90% of the courses taught during the period 1941–1962.

THE DISCUSSION in this section thus refers to these teachers. Those who are not included are some part-time (mainly women) teachers in phonics, drawing, singing and handcrafts and men´s physical education, where there was a higher turnover than in other subjects. There was little or no change of teacher in Icelandic, Danish, English, educational studies, psychology, teaching practice, handwriting, history, nature studies, geography and local studies over the period under study. Turnover of staff in the college was very low.

ALMOST ALL THE staff were middle-aged men (17 of the 18 studied), the few women being in handcrafts, women's physical education, singing and drawing, accounting for at most 20% of the course in the case of some women students, or 10% or less in the case of men students.

THE TEACHERS WERE generally well-educated, and most of them had studied abroad for varying lengths of time. Only one had a doctoral degree, in psychology, during the period under review.

Educational interests of ICE staff

Some teachers wrote material for use at the ICE, such as textbooks for Danish and English teaching, materials on teaching of reading, readers for primary schools and handbooks on handwriting. Several of the ICE staff wrote for educational and other journals, often but not only to voice an opinion. In some articles written for parents a slightly moral tone is heard. Sometimes the articles were designed to bring new developments to the attention of teachers, such as teaching ideas, technology, book reviews, translations of parts of books on education and conference reports.

THE FULL-TIME TEACHERS at the college were allowed to take study leave after the law regarding teacher education in 1947 had been passed, a privilege which six of them used over the next seventeen years. In addition they took a variety of study trips, including trips to England, Scotland, the Nordic countries, Switzerland, Germany, Canada and the United States. One teacher in the 1940s and 1950s wrote enthusiastically of a teacher exchange scheme which he tried to establish with Nordic countries in the late 1930s and of his own visit to Denmark in the summer of 1937 (Hallgrímur Jónasson 1937).

Other professional and service interests of ICE staff

Besides their teaching duties the staff of the college had many other interests in the society of the day. Some did volunteer work for good causes, others were in the cultural world, working in radio, the theatre and music, and others were placed in positions of responsibility within the education sector. Some were active in the primary and secondary school teachers' unions and one served for a period of time on the governing committee of the World Organization of Teaching Professions.

THE PRINCIPAL WAS an avid translator and a poet. The geography teacher was a keen traveller, not only joining the students on their trips but also writing extensively for travel guides. The sports teachers were leading figures of the day in gymnastics and as coaches.

IT IS WORTH REMEMBERING that all but one of these teachers are men, most with wives and families. Photographs show earnest men, who take their responsibilities seriously, men who are not afraid to take on duties in society. By all accounts these same people were liked by their students. Two men appeared to have a significant role to play in teacher education during the period, the principal Freysteinn Gunnarsson and a psychologist Broddi Jóhannesson, who succeeded Freysteinn as principal.

Freysteinn: sage and poet

Freysteinn Gunnarsson was the principal of the college from 1929 until 1962. Earlier he had been a student at the college, graduating in 1913, and becoming a teacher there in 1921. In 1915 he matriculated from the Reykjavík Grammar School and in 1919 he graduated with a degree in theology from the University of Iceland. He taught at a lower secondary school for three semesters. In 1920–21 he travelled in the Scan-

dinavian countries and Germany acquainting himself with secondary education, and spent three months at the university in Uppsala.

FREYSTEINN TOOK OVER the principalship from the Rev. Magnús Helgason, who was the principal of the college from its inception in 1908 until 1929. A student, who was later a member of staff in the 1950s, said of the two principals, Magnús and Freysteinn (Árelíus Níelsson 1958b, in Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 255):

> Religiousness and patriotism have been of equal importance to these pioneers, and of immeasurable value and good fortune for Icelandic education and culture.

ÁRELÍUS ALSO DESCRIBES Freysteinn as a "sage and poet" and says that he spoke quietly, had a gleam in his eye, a mysterious expression and used his words wisely. On the occasion of Freysteinn's 60th birthday the editor of *Educational Matters* wrote a short piece about him, where he is complimented for the favour he did the nation when he revised extensively the Danish-Icelandic dictionary (Ármann Halldórsson 1952). Ármann adds that Freysteinn was an affable boss and a comfortable colleague, and his witty jokes could break up the greyness of a workday.

MAYBE FREYSTEINN retreated into his own world when the building became silent in the evenings. He published two sets of poems, in 1935 and in 1943, and he translated many texts from English and Danish into Icelandic. Some of his poems were later set to music. He had trained in theology but he taught Icelandic, apparently with a rare skill. His teaching has been described as such (Árelíus Níelsson 1958a, in Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 112):

> [His] teaching of Icelandic is unforgettable to all those who have had an interest. How well he managed to interpret and explain the old and sacred poems of the Icelandic language, and how he led his students in an unaffected but engaging manner into the world of colourful beauty and captivating cadences.
>
> ...The teaching of grammar seemed to occur without effort, was referred to when needed and was never the main topic.

HE HAD literary skill. In 1950 he sent the graduates out into the teaching world using the metaphor of driftwood (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1950): he spoke of its mysterious qualities, the unlikeliest pieces turning into a thing of beauty while a promising piece comes to nothing, the outcome depending to a large part on the skills of

the carpenter. And so it is with living material, with which the graduates would soon be working. The task of the teachers was to warm and shape, to start and nurture the "fire of life which never dies, the light of reason, will which burns brightly, and hot and beautiful emotions".

His views on the system within which he works are cautious and conservative; when discussing the raising of entry requirements he said (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1933: 46):

> Whatever is decided as the most appropriate, it is certainly not sensible to take too great a step in this matter as in any other. It must not be forgotten that increased entry requirements must be followed by better pay.

Having waited years and years for a new building, an experimental school and more, he still found it possible to say (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 85):

> The financial powers have not always had as extensive a source of funds as was needed and sometimes these waters were overfished. Many are looking for a catch, but the fishing grounds have long since been fully exploited. But it must be said that some have fished more aggressively than others and come away with a larger catch than those that run the college.

Broddi: psychologist and teacher educator

Broddi Jóhannesson showed significant academic promise and in 1941, at the age of 25, he began working at the college as a teacher and was almost finished his doctoral studies in psychology in Germany. He taught several subjects at the college, especially psychology and the history of education. From the interviews and from the memoirs of several students it is clear that he was a particularly skilled teacher, encouraging dialogue and investigation (Gunnar Ragnarsson 1987).

He published several short articles reporting on research by students carried out during his courses. These concerned, for example, work on student hostility towards teachers (Broddi Jóhannesson 1951), the characteristics of a teacher most appreciated by students, and on the attitudes of practising teachers towards the nature of their work.

Broddi read widely and kept up with educational developments abroad, not least after he became the editor of the national educational journal in the mid-1950s. One finds translations of speeches, for example by a British academic (Dobinson 1954) and a Swedish academic (Husén 1961) and news items, for example

from UNESCO (Broddi Jóhannesson 1955a), from a conference on school psychology and on Nordic cooperation on educational research (Broddi Jóhannesson 1955b). We find him preparing a short discussion on sociometry (Broddi Jóhannesson 1954) and reporting the findings of a fellow psychologist in Iceland on the predictive value of national examinations (Broddi Jóhannesson 1957).

It is clear that in the 1950s Broddi is being acknowledged as an expert in teacher education. He served on several planning committees, published an article on the status of teacher education in neighbouring countries (Broddi Jóhannesson 1961) and took over as the principal in 1962, when Freysteinn retired and the college moved into a new building. It was Broddi who guided the development of teacher education in the 1960s and oversaw its transition to university level in 1971. His story during the 1960s and 1970s is told elsewhere by Gyða Jóhannsdóttir (2002) in her doctoral study on this transition.

Summary

The teacher educators during the period were almost all men, serious in their work with a range of responsibilities. They came from a fairly wide range of backgrounds, with many having spent some time studying abroad. Despite their disparities, there is an air of stability and consensus about the purpose of their work, with the principal keeping a calm and consistent watch over the college and its traditions. The young pyschologist introduces a new approach to teaching. He is well-liked and his views are not dismissed. With age and experience his authority on issues of teacher education emerge; he and the principal serve together on several planning committees in the 1950s, but it is the psychologist who begins to plan ahead for the new building and changing times, as the principal completes his reports on times past.

Discussion and conclusion

What were the characteristics of the period? Traditions were being upheld within teacher education, both with regard to what sort of training was provided and to those who provided the training. Very few changes were made in the college regarding teaching and learning during the 1940s and 1950s. Decisions taken on who should teach and what should be taught were not often reviewed; perhaps a change was made if a new book had been published, especially if it was in Icelandic. The students were often cast in a passive role, sometimes excessively so. Yet some teachers could provide a

contrast when opinions were sought and discussed. The course of study consisted mainly of academic subjects, with only 12–14% of study time being spent on psychology, pedagogy and teaching practice.

THE TEACHERS IN the 1940s and 1950s were well-educated middle-aged men. They were not working in a field which the politicians of the day regarded with much respect nor were they looked upon as the upper crust of academic society. But they were conscientious men who took on the responsibility of serving society in a myriad of ways. They were patient and polite in their requests for change, often advocating caution before new steps were taken. They were not part of the scientific world in Iceland, and carried out little research, though they did however work towards educational development.

WE HAVE NOT discussed teacher education in the 1960s in this article, but the period we have described could most appropriately be called "The calm before the storm" which broke in the 1960s. New student enrolment rose from around 20 in 1959 to around 220 in 1969 (Broddi Jóhanesson 1969: 281). The long awaited new building, taken into use in 1962, was soon flooded as students flocked to the college, not necessarily to become teachers, but to obtain a high school education that was not available to them elsewhere.

IN THE PERIOD we have studied we see a picture of stability, an island of calm, a place of tradition. In the previous article, we looked at transitions, developments and reforms in the educational sector in the 1940s and 1950s and saw that the expansion of the system, both by weight of numbers and by the authority of law, was rapid. The student population changed and those coming to the college were younger and younger with less and less experience. The teacher educators were by and large well-liked by the students, but were busy men, men who had a world outside the college, though not in the primary schools of the country, men who had little contact with the teachers of the day. Our study shows an atmosphere tinged with nostalgia and tradition, combined with the slow introduction of new ideas though not their implementation.

SIGURJÓN MÝRDAL (1996) HAS CONSIDERED the notion of the teacher in Iceland in postwar years and has identified three periods associated with different paradigms and periods of educational reform. He suggests that in the 1940s and 1950s a nationalistic paradigm was prevalent. The notion of the teacher was a traditional one,

with cultural reproduction, nationalistic values and patriotism/elitism being features which characterised educational discourse. The principal of the college was a traditionalist in many senses; he placed a high value on Icelandic culture and on patriotism, and there is no doubt that the educational reforms introduced in the mid-1940s were spoken of in highly nationalistic terms. Reform and a coherent education system would strengthen the nation.

The notion of being a teacher was not problematic; teacher training could draw on traditions from earlier times; those with a religious training were considered eminently suited to being teachers. Knowledge of Icelandic history and the Icelandic language, geography and the sagas, were important for teaching. Furthermore, newly graduated teachers did not expect to find the task of teaching difficult and even at a young age had a certain status in the communities which they worked, particularly in the rural areas.

There is no sense however of the teacher educators actively resisting change. New ideas were being explored. Many of the teacher educators had spent some time abroad in their studies in the pre-war years, periods which had a great influence on them (Hallgrimur Jónasson 1937). A clause in the salary agreements of teacher educators in the late 1940s allowed them to take paid study leave for the first time, an opportunity which several of them used.

The educational journal for teachers, especially under the able leadership of Broddi Jóhannesson in the late 1950s, reflects not only the thinking behind and activities in education in Iceland, but brings news of developments and ideas from abroad. Better communications with neighbouring countries, easier travel and developments in Nordic countries, at a European level and internationally, all led to a seepage of ideas into education and teacher education.

By the 1960s the seepage was a flood, and the dominant paradigm became mechanical, according to Sigurjón Mýrdal (1996). Increased centralisation and technical solutions became the order of the day for the educational system, and perhaps ironically, lead to the deprofessionalization of teachers. But that is another story.

Did physical constraints on change play a role when reform measures were being implemented? In the mid-1940s the government of the day spoke of the urgent need to build new schools. Attempts were made in the mid-1940s to build the long awaited experimental school, a

committee met nine times, funds were set aside and plans made (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 32). New laws were passed in 1947 on teacher education and the experimental school. None of the plans for the school materialised and it was decided to save the funds that had been put aside for a new college building instead. A site was chosen in 1952, the first funds assigned in 1953, the first sod was turned in 1956 but the final drawings not approved until 1958 (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958). The building was not ready until the autumn of 1962. Could the lack of space and crowded conditions have led the principal and his staff to a policy of "wait and see"? Could the feeling of "perhaps this will all change in a year or two" have encouraged the college not to make any fundamental changes?

We indicated at the outset though that we would look at tradition in terms of the upholding of existing social relations. We find the principal looking back in time with a tinge of sentimentality and perhaps regret (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958: 83):

> The world war is long since finished. But the college surroundings have never again enjoyed the sense of peace and calm, which prevailed in earlier times. The airport is still in place, and one of the main traffic roads in the town now passes in front of the college. The time is past, when few if any needed to pass the college other than students and teachers and old Henry from Greenborg with his wheelbarrow on his way to town or on his way back.

He looks ahead though too (Freysteinn Gunnarsson 1958:58):

> The college is now at a watershed, not just in time, but in many other matters. Before long it will move to new premises and probably adopt new working arrangements in smaller and larger ways.
>
> ...
>
> It is the strength of the college that it is in the hands of people, who have its interests at heart and who wish to see it develop and thrive. The support of the teachers' unions is also immeasurable.
>
> All the signs indicate that there is a bright future ahead.

During the 1940s and 1950s, despite the sea of change around the island of teacher education, not much changed on the island itself. Teacher turn-over was very low. Students were comfortable, by and large, with the course of study. The principal, a kindly figure, had lived on the island since 1929, had taught there since

1921, and had been a student at the college. His successor-to-be had come to the college in 1941 and was soon well-liked by students and given space, albeit restricted, to practice some of his educational ideas. Social relations within the college appear settled and secure. Not even the contours of the island would change, nor would a new island in the form of an experimental school, emerge from the waters around it. Given the tempestuous changes in teacher education over the last 5–10 years in Iceland, it is hard to imagine the kind of calm and continuity that prevailed under Freysteinn´s tutelage. But this was a time and a place where traditions were being upheld. Only a change of island in the 1960s would bring the sea crashing on to its shore.

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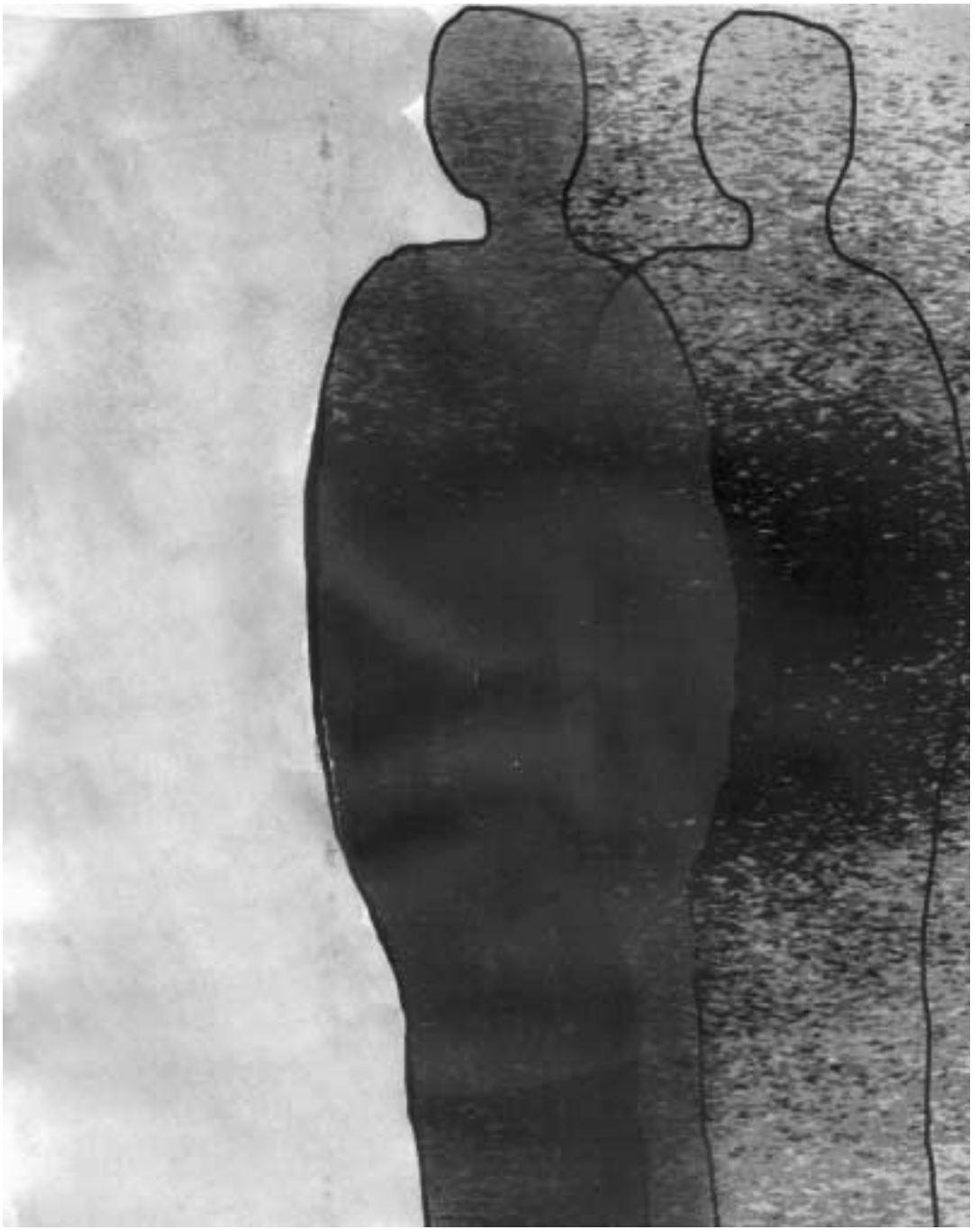

Canadian Teacher Educators in Time and Place

Sandra Acker

In *The Cashier*, by Gabrielle Roy, a French-Canadian author, Alexandre, the hero, in 1947 Montreal, has insomnia. He wiles away the time thinking about a jumbled mix of world problems and domestic dilemmas. 'And he began thinking of Marshal Stalin, with his seminar education, of Tito, Yugoslav dictator, and of the brand-new silk umbrella he had mislaid yesterday, most likely on the streetcar...' (Roy, 1970, orig.1955: 16). Alexandre's habit of mulling over the events in the news and the fate of world leaders, then moving closer to home with thoughts of umbrellas and neighbours, speaks to the mix of macro and micro influences on any human activity. Understanding the careers of teacher educators requires a similar type of layering, moving from individual stories to institutional contexts to historical location. In this article, I draw on the narratives of two individuals from my Canadian research data who represent two different cohorts of teacher educators. I will call them Iris and Victoria. (All names of participants used in this article are pseudonyms.) Iris joined her faculty of education in the 1960s, Victoria in the early 1990s. After describing their careers, I will offer some "layers" of context.

FIRST, I SHALL BRIEFLY outline the three research projects on which this article is based. The first project is titled "Making a Difference" (MAD). Qualitative interviews were conducted in the mid-1990s with almost 200 academics across Canada in the four professional fields of social work, education, pharmacy and dentistry. The four fields could be regarded as a continuum, in the order listed, based on the representation of women in the student body, with social work at the high end. The research team was interested in the extent to which the 'feminized' fields might be more responsive to the concerns of women or more feminist in orientation. Participants were asked about a number of features of academic life. In the field of education, 43

women and 25 men were interviewed. Iris was a participant in that study.

THE SECOND PROJECT is called 'Traditions and Transitions in Teacher Education' and is an inquiry in three Canadian provinces into changes in teacher education since 1945, with particular attention paid to the impact on faculty who lived through the changes and to the development of the research culture (a workplace culture that stresses and prioritizes research and publishing) as teacher education became lodged in universities rather than separate teachers' colleges. In the province of Ontario, we have visited and interviewed key informants in 8 of 10 faculties of education and also studied archival and literature sources. Although I do not use interviews from that project for my two key narratives, the historical context I describe is extracted largely from that research.

THE THIRD PROJECT is a smaller, ongoing one. It is a comparative study of women in management positions in faculties of education in Canada, Australia, and Britain. It draws on some earlier interviews done for the MAD study as well as parallel interviews in Australia in the mid-1990s (see Wyn, Acker & Richards, 2000), but is being extended to approximately ten in-depth interviews in each of the three countries, focusing more sharply on the relationships of gender, leadership and change. Victoria was interviewed as part of that study. Where necessary to refer to individual projects, I will call the three studies the MAD Project, the Transitions Project, and the Gender, Leadership and Change Project.

The teacher educators' stories

One aspect of the experience of teacher educators that was striking in the MAD research is the differences among cohorts or generations (Acker, 1997). The older generation of women told stories about how 'the dean came knocking at my door' asking if they would come and teach a course, while more recent recruits had first to be credentialed with doctorates and then to compete for scarce positions. The most common pattern from the 1970s onwards was for the women to be elementary or high school teachers first, then acquire a doctorate (or be almost there), and then enter academic life. There were always exceptions, such as women with no school-teaching experience who went into sociology or psychology or other foundations areas of education.

IN THE MID 1990s, when the interviews took place, the women who were first hired in the

1960s were nearing the end of their careers. Some had only recently become full professors, although in Canada (unlike in some countries) a full professorship is an achievement many academics can expect to have during a reasonably successful career. There were not many women full professors to be found in these university faculties of education, and almost all who had obtained this rank had acquired it recently, in the 1990s. What was clear in the stories of the older women was the way in which they had to re-invent themselves as expectations changed. Iris's interview was particularly compelling for me, and I will use excerpts to illustrate some of my points here. Then I will compare and contrast her story with that of Victoria. Iris, a full professor, entered university teaching in the early 1960s; while Victoria, an associate professor, was hired some thirty years later. About twenty years separated them in age: when I interviewed Iris (in 1995), she was in her early 60s, while Victoria (in 2000) was in her early 40s. They worked in different provinces, although both were in universities that had large education faculties and placed a significant emphasis on research.

Iris

Iris did not say, as another participant did, that the dean knocked on her door, but her hiring was similarly casual: 'I started off being a [subject] teacher . . . I was invited to join the faculty of education, the first year as a seconded teacher and then after that I was invited to join the faculty full time, and I've been here ever since.' She had not planned on becoming an academic:

> Sandra: When did you realize you were becoming an academic? Did you think oh, I'm going to be an academic now?
> Iris: No I didn't pursue the job at the university. I just got a phone call one day, late May I guess it was, from the university asking me if I'd be interested in coming to the university for a year to teach. And I was honoured, shall we say, and scared at the same time . . . and then I had the opportunity to stay, and it was then that I started down the road of becoming an academic. But I hadn't at that stage pursued it and I hadn't actually I don't think envisioned myself being a professional all my life. I think I had more the idea of teaching for a few years and then becoming a traditional housewife, mother and that type of thing.

At the time she was hired, she had a master's degree, fairly typical in her cohort. Like others,

she had to figure out how to do a doctorate when it appeared career options would be limited without it:

> I had my master's degree when I started, then I did my doctoral degree sort of along the way while I was already a faculty member here. So I sort of interrupted my teaching for awhile and did my doctoral degree at the same time as trying to do some teaching. . . . I took I guess one year leave of absence but I did my doctoral, I got special permission to do my doctorate at [this university] but in [subject field] while I was teaching in education and it took a little bit of juggling, and, you know, special conditions and what not, but it enabled me to stay in [city] with my family and everything and retain my job while getting my PhD. . . I spent about two thirds of my career with just sort of the masters degree and then saw the writing on the wall (laughter) and decided to pursue the doctorate degree.

Iris's cohort had generally not found tenure a great hurdle[1]. When I asked Iris what her experiences were with tenure and promotion, she contrasted her situation with that of junior colleagues:

> Well, tenure was a long time ago and under very different rules than it is these days . . . at that time I got my tenure after seven years as an assistant professor, and it certainly wasn't the hassle then that it is now for people to get tenure. I know everybody sort of worry, worry, worries whether they're going to get it or not, and I can't recall worrying about it. I assumed it was just something that happened, and as long as you taught well and did your job well it was kind of automatic in those days, whereas now the anxiety level I know among junior faculty is extreme to the point that they worry, worry, worry and then when they finally get it, it's sort of a major relief.

What was more problematic for Iris was the effort to become a full professor. It is particularly evident in this discussion that the behaviours required for promotion had changed during her career:

> I started as an associate professor in one set of rules and then the rules got changed . . . At the time when I should have come up for promotion to a full professor, all the criteria got shifted around and a major emphasis then on research and publications and how many grants have you got and what not. . . Within a few years, all of that seemed to have got shifted around and it was at the point when I was doing my doctoral work and therefore my interest was elsewhere, so when I came back, and you know, thought I'd be getting [promoted], in the promotion thing all the rules had changed, so I basically had to start

> from scratch and be qualified for that promotion again. It was distressing and stressful.

ANOTHER WAY to see her experience is through the lens of change in teacher education: what Iris was encountering has been called by some the research culture or research imperative (Gumport, 1991). The precise timing of the spread of this culture is something we are studying in the Transitions research. It has somewhat different parameters in different national and provincial contexts, as well as institutional contexts, yet there seems to be a universal raising of expectations in Ontario education faculties starting in the 1980s, a point to which I will return in a later section of this article (see also the article by Webber and Sanderson in this issue).

I ASKED Iris what the criteria now were for promotion to full professor. Note in her response how she thinks women might have been disadvantaged if they had concentrated on raising a family rather than attending lots of international conferences:

> Well, you're supposed to have an international reputation: all of your records have to go out and be critiqued by people all over the place, and these have to recognized scholars, and if you happened to have not gone to, say for a period of time because I had a family and I didn't go to a whole lot of international conferences, therefore you don't get that international exposure. So there's that kind of a problem, and it never occurred to me that I should be deliberately trying to cultivate international contacts . . . And you're supposed to have, you know, a huge stack of articles in all the prestigious journals, first author of course on all of them, [and] you're supposed to have x number of grants and graduate students and have this international reputation and be able to choose referees that are going to give you good comments back. So it's tricky, shall we say, and it takes time, and sometimes probably people are more concerned with getting promoted than with becoming a good scholar.

Victoria

Although there are similarities between narrative accounts, it is the contrasts that stand out when Victoria's narrative is compared to Iris's. Victoria trained as a teacher in a program that gave her a master's degree as well as a teaching qualification. With that degree, instead of going into school-teaching per se (as it was a time with few teaching jobs), she spent several years working on short-term contracts in different sites related to research and teaching. She decided to get a doctorate to increase her options. Interestingly, like Iris, she disclaims an

intent to become an academic, but rather says she was concentrating on teaching: 'I think it [the PhD] was an attempt for some coherence in a teaching career that happened to be at a university, rather than any kind of desire to be an academic.' While studying for that degree and afterwards, she continued to do short-term work for the school board and other employers. Her extensive contacts, she believed, helped her get the university position in the early 1990s, a few years after receiving her doctorate.

VICTORIA'S DESCRIPTION of how the university had changed since her appointment is illuminating. She was part of a cohort hired to improve the scholarly profile of the institution: 'There was a gang that was hired between `89 and I'd say `96. . . I was right in the middle of that hiring process.' She was hired for a teacher education position, but due to restructuring, the climate in the mid-90s changed to one of a heavy research focus. In her early days, the faculty was dominated by the 'master teachers':

> [These were] people who had done splendidly in the schools, had gotten their masters' degrees in education and were profs. These were not people who published in the academy. They weren't expected to get research grants and so they had a very different profile and these were the people who were the chairs of our departments. These were the people who were deciding, you know, on our workload, and I was part of that new generation who was expected to continue doing the teacher ed work that the master educators were doing but at the same time begin a traditional scholarly career and I, amongst a whole bunch of us who had started, really, really struggled with that because the very people who were our mentors and planning our work lives really didn't have any experience with what our particular mandate was, you know, and they were the people who wrote the textbooks. . . . They ended up spending their summers teaching the additional qualification courses so their whole rhythm was different.

EXPECTATIONS FOR the working day were modelled on those in high schools:

> I remember somebody saying, one of my colleagues saying that if you said one day when you didn't have a class to teach, you were staying home to do some writing, it was like you were saying you were going to the [mall] to go shopping. I mean that's how bizarre it was not to be in the office. Everybody showed up at nine. Everybody left, as it would be in a high school and if you weren't teaching that day, then you were preparing your courses or you were photocopying or you were getting ready for summer school, right?

Victoria and her colleagues worried about tenure initially because of the different orientation of their managers, but after a major restructuring and merger, the rules changed for them, as they had for Iris. In some ways, the new situation was easier for those like Victoria who already had a scholarly bent.

> All of a sudden the intensity of the publishing mandate increased and that created a whole lot more pressure because we knew that we would be compared to people who didn't have the same kind of teacher education careers that we did and that the expectations would be higher, and all of a sudden the people who were gonna be on our tenure committees were not our colleagues who were master teachers, you know, but were people who didn't do our work at all. So it was a very difficult time for many of us.

For this group of newer scholars, the tenure process was not semi-automatic, as it was for Iris, but in Victoria's word, 'intimidating.' Iris was right about the junior scholars 'worrying.' Victoria explained how she took no chances:

> We had to create a binder and we had to, I guess, legitimize every kind of single piece of work we did, and I decided to take the whole summer before I went up for tenure and to make it just very clear where every single piece of my writing came from, and I made cover sheets for every single writing saying that this came from this particular project. If I had gotten money, how much it was, leaving absolutely nothing to the imagination. So there was a sense that the clearer I could be about, you know, how well I had done, the better it would be, leaving nothing for the imagination, and I probably took the whole summer, and since then I've passed my binder on to other people who do the same thing.

She added more detail:

> Often, we were told to let somebody else do the photocopying. I prepared all seven binders myself because I wanted to make sure that those very precious cover sheets with all of those, that information was there. So I'm sure if you asked other colleagues and I think it's gender, if you asked some of my male colleagues if they had put that much effort into their tenure binder, they'd say no. But part of that was making sure that the very different kind of teacher ed profile that I was showing got its fair read. . . .and being as clear as I could about making sure that it was very visible that the traditional kind of scholarly activities that we're expected to meet shone through in what was as well a teacher ed profile.

The Canadian teacher education context

The choices available to Iris and Victoria had much to do with their place in history but were also shaped by the institutions and provinces in which they worked. To protect their anonymity, I will not tell the stories of their particular faculties, but draw on the Transitions Project to say something about the provincial and institutional context in which teacher educators in the Canadian province of Ontario would have found themselves. (See also articles by Smyth and Webber and Sanderson in this issue.)

When women such as Iris were hired into Canadian universities:

> The composite picture of full-time, tenure-stream faculty hired prior to 1976 in Anglophone[2] Canadian universities is of a male Canadian citizen with a first or master's degree who worked himself up through the ranks to become a principal and, upon appointment to a university position or soon thereafter, enrolled in a doctoral program in the United States or Canada. (Fisher & Edwards, 1999: 25)

Fisher and Edwards trace the development of a research consciousness among education academics and describe the institutions such as the Canadian Society for the Study of Education and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council which supported it. 'By the end of the 1980s,' they say, 'one could appropriately talk of a community of researchers in Education' (87). By the time Victoria and her colleagues were hired, the 'composite picture' had shifted to 'a female Canadian citizen with a completed doctorate in Education from a Canadian university' (92). Fisher & Edwards add that concomitant shifts had occurred: faculty came from higher socio-economic status backgrounds than in the past and were much more likely to do qualitative and narrative research.

Among the Canadian provinces, Ontario and Quebec were relatively late in completing the integration of teacher education programs into universities. Had Iris been working as a secondary school teacher educator in Ontario, an appointment in 1960 would have meant being part of the Ontario College of Education (OCE), located on the University of Toronto campus, which at the time had the monopoly of secondary school teacher preparation (see article by Smyth, this issue). A few years later, she might have found a position at one of the other university faculties of education that opened during the 1960s. Had she been involved in elementary education in the 1960s, she would

likely have been employed by a teachers' college. (In some other provinces, all teacher education was already firmly located in the universities by that time.) By 1974, there were 11 university faculties and 2 remaining teachers' colleges in Ontario (Association of Deans of Education in Ontario Universities and Council of Ontario Universities, 1978: 4).[3]

SOME OF OUR older respondents had begun their school teaching careers before they had a degree or even a teaching certificate. One man in the Transitions study, Simon, who had joined an Ontario faculty of education in 1977, described how in 1960:

> I went to the [name] District fall fair in August and they said we don't have a teacher. We need a teacher and would you come and teach for us in the September? I had just finished grade 12 [high school] and I had decided I wanted to be a teacher...but by the end of the first year I realized that I needed more education and I needed credentials...so I taught for two years for [name] and that was all grades, from one to eight, in a one-room school, and then I went back in `62–`63 and did my Grade 13 and in 1963–64 came to [name] Teachers' College.

HE ALSO EXPLAINED how at the time, teaching credentials could be acquired through attending summer schools at the teachers' colleges. In fact, according to MacDonald (1996), the demand for teachers was so great due to the baby boom that from the mid-1950s to the early 1970s, 80% of secondary teachers were training in the mode involving two summer schools. When this option ended, and training became a full-year operation, the need for full-time education faculty rose and there was an expansion of hiring from 1965–1975, which no doubt had much to do with 'the dean came knocking on my door' syndrome.

OUR INFORMANT completed his BA part-time, acquiring the degree in 1970. At the time he was hired into the faculty of education, he had done a master's degree and was part-way through a doctorate. Many others, like Iris, had to determine how to acquire a doctorate while already holding a university post, typically by adding together summer attendances and a sabbatical or some other kind of leave.

MOST SCHOLARS who have written about the transition into universities have stressed the point about the low educational qualifications of former teachers' college staff when compared with university faculty (Fullan, Connelly, Heller, Watson & Scane, 1987). After the incorporations, when new faculty

were hired, they were increasingly expected to meet the twin standards of competence in school teaching and ability to pursue university research (Fullan et al., 1987), a dual burden which still haunts education faculty and was noticeable in the interviews, including those of Iris and Victoria. There are, however, few published first-hand accounts from people who experienced the transition, or for that matter later upheavals, something our project hopes to rectify.

ACCORDING TO Simon, the need to have the master of education program in his university accredited by the appropriate provincial body (Ontario Council on Graduate Studies) in the early 1980s gave the impetus to a fledgeling research culture.

> Most of the [education] faculties [in the province] came out of that review process. . . all the faculties were reviewed with requirements that had to be met and report back. Certainly, we did and one of the things was the increase in scholarly output and it was at this point that factors such as how much income was coming in in research monies and where was it coming from, how many publications became an element, dissemination at conferences and that sort of thing, all of those kinds of things took on a much greater level of importance.

A KEY FEATURE of the late 1970s and 1980s context for Ontario universities was a demographic shift that meant declining enrolment in teacher education in Ontario (see also Association of Deans, 1978). There were drastic consequences for the faculties of education. Simon tells us that he was hired in 1977, and the next colleague he recalls being hired came in 1985. The story was similar in other universities. University of Toronto Faculty of Education, for example, went from a glut of hirings to a drought, with no tenure-track hirings between 1974 and 1988. If faculty were going to become more research-oriented, it had to be through those who were already in post, as there were few chances of bringing in high-power researchers during that period. What seemed to happen was that the research culture got another boost when hiring began again, around the late 1980s. In many universities that we visited, we were told of a dean appointed around that time with a mandate to bring the faculty out of the doldrums and into the competition.

THE UNIVERSITY of Toronto Faculty of Education had a complicated history of name changes and uneasy relationships with the parent university (Fleming, 1971; and see article by Smyth, this issue). For many years,especially during its time as Ontario College of Educa-

tion (1920–1966), it was in most respects controlled by the provincial Ministry of Education though also part of the university (MacDonald, 1996). A former faculty member interviewed for the Transitions study, Catherine, says that OCE 'had the feel of a normal school.' Much of the research produced in this period came from OCE's Department of Educational Research (DER), which opened in 1931. Dora, another informant, described how in the early 1960s, the DER functioned as the research arm of the provincial Ministry of Education and had many projects in process, such as two longitudinal studies of school students, scaling of secondary school examinations, background research for a Royal Commission and other similar endeavours (see also Fleming, 1971). The studies were carried out by R.W.B. Jackson and his graduate students and research assistants, aided by, in Dora's words, 'a whole army of clerical people.' There was also a small department of graduate studies, offering master's and doctoral degrees in education.

THE DER OPERATED to a large extent independently of the main College, for example in Dora=s time occupying a separate building. At the same time, it was distanced from the main university by its inclusion in OCE. These degrees of separation were to become even greater when the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) was founded in 1965, created out of what had been the Departments of Research and of Graduate Studies at OCE. OISE was funded generously by the province and given access to research funding that was for many years denied to other education faculties. It was affiliated with the University of Toronto for higher degree granting purposes. Its mandate was to do research, graduate education (not initial teacher training), and field development in Ontario.

BOTH PUBLISHED accounts and our participants tend to regard the split as a disaster for the University of Toronto Faculty of Education (then still OCE). Catherine says 'that was actually a very bad thing to happen because while there were other people doing research at the Faculty of Education, it really removed the core of the research department as it were.' A former administrator, Lawrence, comments:

> I mean it just simply removed the graduate education activity from OCE altogether, and left it a waif; pretty much what it was at the beginning, a normal school for high school teachers. So the people who taught there on the whole were valued for their teaching ability, rather than their degrees or research competence or lack of it.

Around the same time, in 1966, OCE was re-named the College of Education of University of Toronto (CEUT) (signifying that the role of the university had increased compared with that of the Ministry), and in 1972 even the term 'college' disappeared, as CEUT became the Faculty of Education of the University of Toronto (FEUT). Once OISE had been formed, CEUT/FEUT had difficulty maintaining a research profile. During this period the curriculum faculty did some applied research, writing textbooks and ministry documents, according to Lawrence, but the foundations faculty (i.e., those in fields like sociology, philosophy and history of education) 'did virtually no research. . . so over time, they fell behind salary-wise because they weren't doing a whole lot.' According to Galbraith and Yeager (1996), there were sporadic efforts to increase the Faculty's research profile, for example the naming of research as a 'priority' in 1982 and an opening of a new department of educational research in 1983. Research was often field-based (i.e. conducted in the schools as part of the teacher preparation process).

There were several unsuccessful efforts to reunite the separated institutions. At FEUT the moratorium on hiring had dropped numbers from something like 130 to 75, according to Catherine, and 'it was very demoralizing.' Catherine explains how hard it was to do the kind of research that would have been respected by the wider university.

> Research was very difficult because there was not an infrastructure of support and there were heavy teaching loads. People were teaching a lot and teaching pre-service teachers is a very demanding, time-consuming endeavour. . . People who were fully engaged in teaching were fully engaged all the time; they were, you know, teaching 12 and 14 hours, sometimes 16 hours a week. During practicum times they were out in the schools all the time. In the summer there was an expectation to be teaching in the additional qualification program. . . so it wasn't that people were shying away from research. (Catherine)

In 1988, Michael Fullan took up the position of dean of FEUT. Soon after, a number of 'old' faculty retired; a new pro-education president was appointed to the university; and various practices were put into place to assist faculty develop research agendas. Describing this period, Fullan (1998) wrote:

> Over the last 7 years, we have hired some 35 new faculty while 45 of the original 81 have retired. Most of these new hires are between 35 and

> 45 years of age with extensive field experience, recent doctorates, and commitment to working in a collaborative manner. . . . The result by 1996 is that FEUT now has a large critical mass of faculty committed to new directions, and has dramatically increased the percentage of women faculty (from less than 10 percent to more than 40 percent). (35–36)

EVEN IN THE mid-1990s, there were still a number of barriers to the full development of a research culture at FEUT, not least its lack of graduate students[4] (apart from those in a small Master of Arts in Teaching program) and a punishing teaching workload (Watson, 1996). Finally, in 1996, OISE merged with FEUT to become OISE/UT (see Smyth, this issue), reuniting teacher training with graduate education and research, all under the auspices of the University of Toronto.

THE PERIOD of transformation of FEUT ushered in by Fullan's appointment was another instance where 'the rules got changed,' to use Iris's phrase. It could be said that something was lost as well as gained as the 'reculturing' (Fullan, 1996) proceeded. Galbraith and Yeager (1996) provide an insight into the transformation of FEUT when they state, somewhat nostalgically:

> At the new departmental meetings, no longer could one discuss Ohm's Law, a Shakespearean sonnet, or a Wagnerian opera. These subject-specific conversations were replaced with considerations of much more generic, holistic, educational issues such as the use of portfolios for formative assessment, cooperative small-group learning strategies, and opportunities for research. (135)

VICTORIA WOULD have had experiences similar to those 'new hires' mentioned by Fullan. From the outset, she was aware that she needed to publish prolifically. In the contemporary scene, younger faculty like Victoria typically find themselves in an intense, research-oriented atmosphere. The pressures are most pronounced in the universities like Toronto that are known for their research, but even in the faculties of education of smaller universities similar trends were evident.

Conclusion: The bigger picture

Canadian universities, like elsewhere, have experienced significant restructuring in recent years, though not on the scale of the amalgamations that took place in some other jurisdictions such as Australia (see, for example, Currie & Newson, 1998; Marginson & Considine, 2000). There

were references to restructuring in both narratives. Iris had experienced several departmental mergers, while Victoria had been part of a merger of two faculties. Iris's references to the departmental mergers were relatively calm, while Victoria made it more of a centrepiece in its bringing about a cultural change in the institution. Both women had a substantial amount to say about their research and the struggle to keep it going as well as do everything else expected of a present-day academic. Both saw themselves as primarily teacher educators who also taught and supervised graduate students. Iris was directing several research projects, but had eschewed administrative (managerial) positions, while Victoria was finding herself recruited into increasing responsibilities of a managerial nature despite her relative youth. Because of her continuing identification with scholarship, the leadership position she held was challenging her ability to immerse herself in research. So, although the research culture was certainly structuring her career and her reflections upon it, she was also coming to terms with some compromises around the standard that it was possible to reach:

> I learned very early on, after the third-year review, it's never enough. So, if you had done all that publishing, the dean would still come to you and say you need to publish more. So now it became a matter of negotiating how much is enough when it's never enough, and I know there are other colleagues of mine who worry, you know, ah, incredibly about this but I've learned to try and relax about it a little bit.

She asks, 'so what is "enough" to thrive in an era where it's never enough?' She described her university as 'definitely a research institution. Research is valued above everything else.' Like Iris, Victoria made a comment about conference-going: 'Our associate dean said back at the institution she was at [before], if you went to one international conference, people thought that was great, [but] here, people will say how come you haven't been to four others?'

Although it is difficult to see beyond one's local circumstances, it is notable that similar trends are occurring in universities across the world (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). One major change has been that governments have tended to withdraw from fully funding the post-secondary sector and institutions must find ways to make up the shortfall. Although Canada has not been as dramatically affected as some other countries that have centralized educational policy, there are signs it is moving in the same direction (Jones, 1996; Fisher & Rubenson, 1998). Workloads have intensified; casualized

labour has replaced full-time faculty; funding is increasingly targeted to particular types of research activity; performance indicators are being developed; dependence on private and corporate donors is pervasive.

THIS SITUATION means that individuals like Iris (though she has probably retired by now) and Victoria, as well as the institutions and faculties within which they work, must come to terms with a situation not of their own making, and quite possibly not of their preference. World events, political trends, managerial decisions, institutional cultures all mix and mingle and impact on the lives and careers of individuals. The individuals are not powerless, because they make choices, but the choices take place within parameters known and available to them. It will be easier to see what happened once we have moved along a few decades.

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Endnotes

1. In North American universities, new recruits on the 'tenure track', i.e. with the possibility of a permanent job, typically pass through several stages of evaluation. After the first few years, they may be given a probationary or 'third year' review, and after 5 to 7 years, there is an in-depth review of their performance. Those who do not make it through this stage will be asked to leave the university. Canadian universities are thought to be more generous with tenure than at least some American universities. Nevertheless, it is a stage that is approached with great trepidation by junior academics.
2. Canada is a bilingual country, with French and English as official languages. It is common for writers to use the terms 'anglophone' and 'francophone' to mean English-speaking and French-speaking, respectively.
3. The figures given count the French and English teacher education programs at the University of Ottawa separately and do not include the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
4. Although students in the one-year teacher preparation programs held bachelor's degrees, and could thereby be considered 'graduate students', the term is generally reserved for those doing master's and doctoral degrees.

'I do not want to shut myself behind closed doors':

Experiences of teacher educators in Sweden (1945–2002)[1]

Inger Erixon Arreman and Gaby Weiner

Abstract

This article reports on a study of how teacher educators in northern Sweden have experienced change during the second half of the twentieth century. Research methods comprised extensive interviews with academic staff and administrators, and documentary and policy analysis. The article concentrates on two questions raised in the interviews: views on gender, and onset of a research culture. Findings suggest that female teacher educators are more aware than their male colleagues of imbalances in power relations and in pay and conditions between the sexes. They also appear more interested in the development of teacher education as a research-based discipline than their male colleagues who place greater value on their transmission of teaching and classroom knowledge and skills. Drawing on the work of Connell and others, it is suggested that the gender regime of teacher education (in this case, in Umeå University) positions men and women teacher educators differently in terms of change, in particular regarding who is likely to benefit most from the introduction and development of a research culture.

Introduction

The article takes as its focus first, how gender has been constituted in teacher education in Sweden and second, responses to the imperative to establish a research culture in a previously consciously 'practical' endeavour. It explores Swedish responses to gender divisions in society generally, and offers a conceptual framework for how we can understand gender in teacher education. This forms a background to the main study which investigates traditions and transitions in teacher education in Sweden and in Umeå more specifically. The study includes an overview of the changes in teacher education over the past century or so, and present-day responses to changes in the professional lives of teacher educators. The article concludes with

a brief discussion about the findings, and what implications they may have for teacher education generally.

Gender and feminism in Sweden

Sweden has the reputation of an enlightened and advanced country in terms of gender equality and women's rights. However this was not always so, and indeed there was little difference between Sweden and other western countries until the 1950s. However, following a period of labour shortage post-1945, Swedish politicians adopted 'state feminism' as one solution to deficiencies in the labour market. The historian, Christina Florin (1987), argues that unlike policies in other countries, Swedish policy-makers drew on discourses both of women's emancipation and women's traditional roles as workers in Sweden.

FOR THIS REASON, priority was given to the necessity for women's economic independence and right to work, and emphasis was placed on women's responsibilities at work, their working hours and salaries, their 'double' workloads, and their need for day-care for their children (Eduards, 1997). In the following decades, feminists within the ruling Social Democratic party continued to push for state-driven women-centred change, as other feminisms emerged to challenge the state monopoly. By the 1990s, according to Gustafsson (1997), four different sets of feminism were in existence in Sweden – liberal, collective, deregulative and radical.

– Liberal feminism highlights women's rights and men and women's 'similar chances to share responsibility for and activity in different spheres of life'.
– Collective feminism emphasises 'the importance of representation in parliament ... state and local authorities...,[and] .... labour unions and other interest groups'.
– Deregulative feminism favours grassroots activism within groups and networks.
– Radical feminism emphasises the importance of autonomy and the need for 'segregation and difference between men and women' (Gustafsson, 1997, pp. 62–65).

THUS THE TWO feminisms (liberal, collective) emerging from the state in Sweden in the 1990s echoed social democratic government concerns regarding the equal rights of men and women in the public and political sphere. In contrast, the two non-state feminisms (deregulative, radical) reflected women-centred action, networking, and recognition of the importance of women-oriented experience, knowledge and values.

'JÄMSTÄLLDHET' HAS been an important concept in Swedish policy-making on gender: it is a uniquely Swedish concept, difficult to translate into other languages (Berge, in Weiner and Berge, 2001). The new word which appeared first in the 1970s approximates to 'of equal standing' in English, and signified a new 'gender contract' concerning a more equal relationship between men and women (Hirdman, 1988). As Florin and Nilsson show (1998), it achieved wide recognition and acceptance because it was seen to be unthreatening: for example, it disguised conflict, expressed no power relation and contained no sexual overtones.

> It is true that the concept had a visionary content, but it was a moderate vision. Furthermore, the concept embraced and affected both women and men – it was normative and educational – new demands were made on both sexes (Florin & Nilsson, 1998, p. 14).

IN POLICY documents, jämställdhet's principal goal was seen as ensuring that women and men should have equal rights, duties and possibilities to share power and responsibility. From the 1970s onwards, it was applied also to paid and unpaid work, trade union activity and other social structures and activities, including education (Regeringens proposition 1987/88:105; Jämställdhetslag, 1991:433; Regeringens proposition 1994/95:164), and in the 1990s, it was extended to include violence against women. Thus the existence of rape and other forms of sexual abuse was used as a structural indication of sex-inequality or 'ojämställdhet' (Regeringens proposition, 1990/91:113).

AS A CONSEQUENCE, issues involving sexual abuse were made compulsory elements of professional training in health care, law and social work, and teacher education. Simultaneously, however, following a short period of conservative government, a weaker, neo-liberal interpretation of jämställdhet shifted emphasis to individual rights, responsibilities and possibilities (Regeringens proposition 1993/94:147).

WHATEVER THE REASONS for, and shape of, Swedish policy-making on gender, the promotion of state feminism by successive social democratic governments resulted, during the post World War II period, in the achievement of levels of welfare state, child-care and maternity provision that were unmatched, except perhaps in other Nordic countries (Esping-Andersen, 1996; Sainsbury, 1996). The proportion of women in the labour market and in the political sphere, the international profile of Sweden with regard to human rights, all sug-

gest a more equal and less gendered society than in other countries (Neft & Levine, 1997). Yet, Sweden is not 'equal' in many respects, and aspects of discrimination and exclusion continue. Lena Gonäs (quoted in Palm, 2002a), for example, argues that the labour market and business sector have been particularly resistant to change.

In summary, gender policies in Sweden have derived largely from state feminism associated with social democratic policy-making, rather than from feminist radicalism as in other countries. Swedish women politicians aimed to influence government from within – to achieve what Florin terms 'a bloodless revolution' (quoted in Palm 2002b, p. 5). Whilst much ground was clearly gained by women in Sweden as a consequence, there is still much evidence of gender inequality: for example, male business leaders and industrialists have extended their power and authority (and pay packets!) simultaneous to women's increased influence in the public sector.

Gender structure, order, regime and practice

In seeking to locate teacher education within Swedish policy frameworks as above, we draw in particular on the work of Connell (1987) to suggest that there are a number of determining features of gender in teacher education in Sweden and elsewhere: structures that produce the gender order; regimes that shape institutions in which gender is played out; and practices which activate gender relations. Connell argues that the overall gender *structure* provides the context in which individuals understand their lives in four key areas: division of labour – i.e. in the family and in paid work; patterns of authority e.g. state policy and legislature; personal relationships involving emotions, desire and sexuality; and power differentials– as defined by the military, police, work organisation, family relations and popular culture.

Globally, the balance regarding the gender structure is tipped towards men, though in western countries from the nineteenth century onwards, women have made some inroads into male structures of power and influence. The gender structure clearly interacts with other social structures such as class and ethnicity, but Connell maintains that each is constituted in distinctive ways.

THE ELEMENTS of the gender structure and the way they are organised contribute to a specific gender *order* i.e. a historically constructed pattern of power relations between men and women, which is continually changing and which, in turn, promotes and defines various forms of femininity and masculinity. As we have seen, Yvonne Hirdman (1988, 2001) uses the concept of 'gender contract' (rather than order) to define Swedish social democratic policy-making on gender from the 1960s onwards. However it is argued that alongside offering a new, more equal set of relations between Swedish men and women, the new gender contract also contributed to increased gender conflict as women's participation in the public sphere threatened the previous male norm (Näringsdepartementet, 2001).

YET, FROM Connell's elements of the social structure outlined above, we can see that it is only in the realm of state policy, and perhaps, division of labour in the home that Sweden has been successful (to some extent at least) in reversing gender patterns of previous eras. Because of the emphasis on women's right to work, most attention has been paid to enabling this to happen. In the interlinking worlds of emotions, power relations, pay differentials, things seem similar in Sweden to other western countries, even if jämställdhet policy has drawn greater attention to imbalances in power relations and representation between the sexes (e.g. Näringsdepartementet 2001).

CONNELL USES the concept of gender *regime* to refer to the set of gender relations and politics within an institution e.g. school, university department. The gender regime has similar features to the gender structure/order in wider society, but refers to how they are constituted institutionally. The gender regime of teacher education in Umeå university in the post-war period, for example, draws on the gender order of the period, i.e. the particular approach to gender inequality taken by the predominantly social democratic government; the legislation governing teacher education during this period (see later in this article); gender understandings within the Swedish family, media and culture; as well as historical gender divisions originating from within teacher education itself, derived from stereotypes of wider society e.g. school subjects associated with men (mathematics, science) and women (pre-school, languages). All these contribute to the perspectives that the various teacher educators are likely to hold, and to the positions men and women take on gender in/equality.

THE ROLE OF *practice*, according to Connell, is to activate gender (and other) relations. Practice is carried out by an individual or individuals. It derives from the institutional setting and is the transformation of a situation in a given direction. The gender structure, order and regime specify the possibilities and constraints of practice, and are in turn, the target of practice as a means of stability or change. Practices within teacher education affect and are in turn affected by the gender politics intrinsic to, for example, legislation, workplace politics, curriculum content and organisation of schooling (and teacher education), the media, youth culture, family life, and political movements. Practice is thus crucial to our understanding of gender since it is able to bridge the gap between social structure (often seen as intractable, immovable) and individual action (associated with powerlessness). Structure and practice are mutually constitutive. Structures cannot exist without practices nor practices without structures (Connell, 1987, see also Bourdieu, 1977; Giddens, 1984).

Traditions and transitions in teacher education: Sweden and Umeå

This section explores a particular site of teacher education – Sweden, and in particular, how it has been experienced by teacher educators living and working in and around the university town of Umeå. It summarises the complex developments within Swedish teacher education in the post World War II period, as a background context to an empirical study of teacher educators' experiences and perceptions of the changes that have confronted them.

i. Teacher education in Sweden: historical overview

Teacher education in Sweden has varied, historically, according to subject, school sector and historical period. The first training institutions, established in the mid-nineteenth century for primary school teachers, were known as 'seminaries' and were initially open only to men. Secondary subject teachers in boys' schools (girls were excluded before 1927), again usually men, gained their subject knowledge at university followed by a short period of teacher training at an upper secondary school, designated as "test grammar" school (Marklund 1989). Female teachers in girls' private schools were educated in state training colleges, the first of which was

established in 1861. Teachers of so-called practical subjects, e.g. art, home-economics, music, physical education, textiles, wood- and metalwork, attended specialist colleges which covered both subject and classroom knowledge; likewise, kindergarten and pre-school teachers, attended private, specialist training institutions, established at the beginning of the twentieth century (Johansson, 1992).

THE POST-WAR period in Sweden was one of almost continuous reform of the education system aimed at increasing democracy and equality. Access to education was to be guaranteed for all, irrespective of sex, social class background or geographic location (SOU 1948: 27[2]). This period involved the creation of the nine-year compulsory school in the early 1960s; the expansion of pre-schools and establishment of child- and day-care centres in the 1970s; and the restructuring of the upper secondary school (or gymnasium) for 16–19 year olds to incorporate a variety of vocational and academic programs in 1969 (Skolverket 1997). The length of study in the gymnasium was extended from two to three years in 1991 with the aim of making upper secondary education a reality for all, and in order to widen access to higher education (Lundahl, 1998; Skolverket, 2000). Simultaneously throughout the 1990s, however, funding was devolved to the local authorities, one consequence of which was an increase in the number of privately-run or independent schools (Skolverket, 2002).

INITIAL TEACHER education also faced change from the various reforms. For example, in the 1960s, the training of primary, secondary and upper secondary teachers was reorganised: from seminaries for primary teachers and six months training for graduate secondary teachers, to a network of teachers colleges (SOU 1952:33; Marklund 1989).

A PARALLEL POLICY was to fund a number of senior academic posts in a new subject 'practical education' in the colleges, so that educational research would become more orientated towards the specific needs of teacher education (Marklund, 1989). Thus an overall aim was to reduce the tensions which underpinned the primary-secondary divide i.e. between seminary-'trained' primary teachers (of 7–12 year olds) and university-'educated' secondary teachers (of 13–16 year olds) (SOU 1948:27).

HOWEVER, DESPITE the intentions of the reforms conventional divisions remained within teacher education. As elsewhere, the period from the 1970s onwards may be characterised as one of

'benign neglect' (Smyth, 2002), though several official reports suggested that teacher education was much in need of change (e.g. SOU 1978: 86; UHÄ, 1992). The shift of teacher education towards research did not happen and apart from minor changes, teacher education traditions continued as before with subject studies, methods teaching, practice and pedagogy divided off from each other.

THE FIRST STRUCTURAL shift in teacher education towards a research orientation came in 1977 when teacher education and other vocational college training programmes (e.g. nursing, journalism and social work) were integrated into the university sector. However, while formally attached to the local university, prospective teachers continued to study for their professional qualifications in colleges outside the university.

BY THE MID 1990s however, and with little evidence of reduction in the distance between universities and teacher education, discussion again emerged nationally about how research might be developed for as well as on teachers, schools and teacher education (Gran, 1996; National Agency for Higher Education, 1996; Utbildningsdepartementet 1995, 1996). In 1999, a parliamentary committee presented its report on teacher education, which included a new research strategy for teaching and teacher education, and increased state research funding targeted towards schools and teacher education (SOU 1999:63). Thus in 2001 a new national doctoral programme entitled 'educational work' attracted substantial government funding for an initial three-year period.

ALONGSIDE THIS, change also came from within the university; and indeed Umeå University took the lead in this context. As early as 1996, Umeå decided to appoint professors to teacher education, to encourage doctoral studies and research (Umeå universitet, 1996). And from 2000 onwards, the newly established faculty of teacher education created a number of new post-doctoral and research track posts to support research activity among teacher education staff. This resulted in a range of externally funded research projects and a buoyant doctoral studies programme. Thus, at the time of writing, teacher education in Umeå has the beginnings of a research culture, defined by Hamel and Larocque (2002) as: facilitating 'the development of new knowledge, from basic to applied research...[in] a structured process of intellectual exploration, intervention, and creation leading to the advancement of knowledge (Hamel and Larocque, 2002, p. 2). One outcome, however,

as we shall see, is that Umeå teacher educators feel under considerable pressure to do research, whether or not it is seen to accord with their own professional needs.

How does teacher education compare to other university disciplines, given that it is now more firmly established in the Swedish university system? In fact, fewer than a fifth (18%) of the teacher education staff have doctorates compared to 55 percent of university teaching staff overall. Teacher education also has fewer professors: in 1993/1994, there were 3,132 students per professor compared to 240 in psychology and 490 in sociology. Though teacher education has more women faculty (59%) than in universities as a whole (35%), men tend to be clustered at senior academic levels, for example, as senior faculty (professors, senior lecturers, senior research posts) (60%), while women predominate among lecturers without doctorates, as 'timlärare' (employed on hourly basis) (62%) and among doctoral students (75%). (Utbildningsdepartementet, 1996; Statistics Sweden 1999; National Agency for Higher Education, 1999, 2001).

ii. Teacher education in Umeå: an empirical study

We now turn to an empirical study of teacher educators and administrators working in northern Sweden between 1945 and 2002. Umeå was chosen as a case study, in order to offer a comparative perspective to those of the Canadian provinces in the initial study. Founded in 1622, Umeå is the largest town in Northern Sweden with about 110,000 inhabitants. It is a university town (established in 1965) and also the administrative centre of the county of Västerbotten.

Primary teacher training for women first came to Umeå in 1879. Nearly a century later, a teachers' college for both sexes was established (in 1968), based in the old seminary building until the mid 1990s. Thereafter, different departments moved on to the university campus at different times until 1997, when the move was completed. During the time of the interviews, teacher educators were coming to grips with a new curriculum for initial teacher education which involved numerous meetings, much planning and heightened stress.

Interviews were carried out between October 2000 and November 2002 with five senior managers and 52 teacher educators, either pre-

sently or formerly based in and around Umeå University[4]. The sample was selected in order to assure the spread of key factors, such as: role as teacher educator, length and period of employment, school sector, subject expertise and managerial/course responsibility. The gender balance of the interviewees reflects the overall 2:3 gender ratio of staff, and male dominance of administration and senior posts within teacher education in Sweden. Of the overall sample of 57, 12 men and 14 women are (or have been) in senior and managerial posts (e.g. vice-chancellor, dean, professor, head/deputy head of department, director of studies, programme coordinator), five are professors (three men and two women) and eleven have doctorates (three men and eight women).

METHODS USED to identify potential interviewees included 'purposeful' selection from staff lists and 'snowballing' techniques (Bourdieu 1992: 228–231; Seidman, 1998: 47). The interviews were structured around the following topics:

– Life story, family background, education, career.
– Experience in school, college and university.
– Organisational changes in teacher education.
– Development of research in teacher education.
– Ethos, mission and views of teacher education.
– Personal experiences of teacher education
– Perspectives on gender.

WE DRAW, in this article, on the first twenty-eight teacher educator interviews. These share similar characteristics to the overall sample, except that no professors are included. Of the 13 men and 15 women, eight are present or former senior staff and five have doctorates (one man/ four women).

THE MAJORITY of interviewees were between fifty and seventy years old when interviewed with relatively few in the younger age groups. This is due partly to the current ageing profile of university academics as a whole in Sweden (Statistics Sweden, 1999), but also because it was thought important to include the experiences of older, more experienced teacher educators, and the valuable historical insights on change and transition that they could offer. In terms of social class, the majority of the interviewees come from lower middle-class or middle-class backgrounds (14), with rather fewer from working class or small farmer backgrounds (10) and four participants from the more elite civil

servant, industrialist and land-owner classes. Overall slightly more men had working class backgrounds and rather more women, middle or upper class backgrounds.

NEARLY HALF (13) of the interviewees are/had been subject teachers, with the remainder spread across a range of specialist areas. The categories of professional expertise of the subsample of 28 reflect wider gender patterns, with women specialising in teaching young children and 'caring' and 'artistic' subjects, i.e. pre-school, primary, home-economics and textiles, and men opting for subject teaching at secondary level.

iii. Findings from the empirical study

In this section we report on interviewees' perspectives of gender relations in teacher education and orientation towards research. We use gender as a defining category in the sense that we recount the views of men and women separately.

a. Views on gender

Interviewees were asked relatively open questions about what they considered the most important gender issue(s) in teacher education. Viewpoints differed, perhaps not surprisingly, according to the sex of the interviewees. Of the 13 men, five acknowledged awareness of gender factors which advantage men. For example, Ernst aged 44, argues that being a man has considerable professional value: 'What I say carries more weight than I really deserve. On the whole, men's views and words are taken more seriously than women's'. Three men claimed that gender does not/should not make a difference; for instance both Mats and Lars echo this 'gender neutral' stance.

> There may be differences but I do not know in what respects. Our culture is supposed to treat women the same as men, as I see it. At least it seems so when you look at the situation in our department. (Mats, 61 years)

> I have never thought about gender being of any importance. As teachers we have had the same conditions, the same pay, have taught the same children. (Lars, 64 years)

A FURTHER three men were cautious about what they saw as an over-emphasis of 'jämställdhet' in teacher education. For example, Ulf finds it unhelpful in his work with female colleagues.

> I consider this talk about gender equity as a parody. I regard myself as a person with quite a good perspective on gender issues. I want to meet you [women] in the same way as men. I do not want to make a fuss because you are a woman. (Ulf, 52 years)

Olof, however, argues that 'jämställdhet' actually works in favour of men in teacher education, particularly in relation to its aim of having equal proportions of men and women in each occupational category.

> There have always been problems of recruitment of men into teacher education. [.....] It might be an advantage to be a man where there are many women – not only in teacher education. For a long time, there has been a strong focus on the importance of "jämställdhet" in the department. (Olof, 65 years)

However, several had no comments at all to make about gender and overall, the men seemed rather more negative (or neutral) than positive about promoting gender equality in teacher education.

The women interviewees, however, saw gender as more important and relevant to their work as teacher educators. Ten (two thirds) expressed awareness of the differential and negative treatment of women compared with men. For example, Pia sees the problem as a combination of being female and a teacher of young children.

> Feeling insignificant within the department, has something to do with one's background. It isn't something that is explicitly said, it is said in small letters, but you get the point. It's a combination of being a woman and an elementary teacher. (Pia, 54 years)

Louise identifies gender in specific regard to the dominance of male voices in meetings.

> In the first ten to fifteen years [of my time in teacher education] one had the feeling that what men said was of more importance than women's views. Especially in large staff meetings. [...] This is only a feeling I have, but I am sure about it, and I think that all women would agree. (Louise, 61 years)

On the other hand, Eva argues that differences in the pay of male and female staff were a key factor in raising her awareness of gender.

> When we came into to the university, our salaries were investigated and the differences shown to be quite large. Men and women with the same

> qualifications had different salaries, the women having much lower salaries than the men. Some other women and me were put on a higher scale. [.....] We did not discuss gender issues in my department, neither among staff nor with students – we maybe thought that 'all that stuff is over now'. (Eva, 69 years)

INGRID, ALTHOUGH generally favourable, suggests that the move into research might not entirely benefit women as the new research culture is also likely to reproduce the gendered power relations of teacher education.

> It would have been different if I had been a man, I'm positive. I feel it even stronger now when in research, that you live in a man's world, where men have the important positions. (Ingrid, 46 years)

SEVERAL WOMEN, however, admitted that they preferred to work in 'male'- dominated subjects and departments. For example, being a woman in science education is seen as positive by Annika, even though she consciously incorporates a gender perspective in her work.

> It is positive to be a woman – I can't see there are negative sides.[...] it is so important that girls should like natural sciences. I hope that I can be a positive image for young girls in doing sciences.[...] I have tried to have girls' and boys' groups to see what comes out of it. (Annika, 35 years)

b. The research imperative

Interviewees were asked to comment on their experiences and viewpoints on the raised research profile within teacher education. Two male interviewees had completed studies beyond initial teacher education, one gaining a doctorate and the other, a Licentiate (between a masters and doctorate). A further three had started doctoral studies but had later withdrawn. Viewpoints on research in teacher education were finely balanced among the men. Nearly half were largely positive about the impact of a research culture. For example, Daniel (aged 39) expressed interest in becoming a researcher but not at this particular time in his career.

HOWEVER THE most passionate responses came from those who saw research as a threat to their professional status and expertise. Just under half of the men stressed in particular what they saw as the diminished value of teacher educator as practitioner. Both Ulf and Anton, for example, see research as an isolating, antisocial activity which takes people away from the day to day work of the school.

> Most teacher educators who entered teacher education at the same time as me were good practitioners. In a short time, this quality [of being a good teacher] will be of no value to teacher educators. [...] I do not want to go into research. I do not wish to shut myself behind closed doors for four years [doing doctoral research]. I need the meetings, the relationship, the contacts. (Ulf, 52 years)

> I have sometimes felt that research narrows the perspectives. You don't study the reality but you create a new one. [...] The colleagues who carried out research distanced themselves from teacher education and schools. It was not a means of bringing knowledge back to school, but a way to get away. If you had an educational interest in maths you went to the department of education studies and became a lecturer there. (Anton, 71 years)

ERIK FOCUSES on the fact that just being a good teacher is no longer good enough, which, he suggests, produces feelings of guilt which are both unproductive and de-motivating.

> There has been pressure from outside [since the 1980s] and this pressure has continued [...] I have interpreted this as a means of giving teacher educators a bad conscience for not doing things we have less competence in. [...] We were good teachers but we were supposed to feel bad about this and about not doing research. (Erik, 65 years)

PER'S EXPLANATION for such hostile responses to the attempted creation of a research base for teacher education is that any change is likely to be seen as threatening to the seminary, practice-oriented tradition of teacher education.

> [In the beginning of 1990s] people felt their position threatened by the talk of research. The most usual words were: "I have never heard anything like it during my twenty-five years of career." [...] They didn't want change. (Per, 64 years)

IN CONTRAST, the women seemed more positive about research, expressing less concern about changes in the researcher/practitioner divide. More women than men had completed doctoral studies (3) and fewer (2), had withdrawn before completion. A female interviewee (in her sixties) expressed regret that she had not had access to research opportunities. However most seemed interested and excited about the possibility of doing research. For example, Ann-Marie sees research as a way of linking practice to theory.

> My ambition is to do research.... When I look at my practice and link it to theory I find that we need both parts – ... in order to raise teacher education and to develop it into a qualitatively good education. (Ann-Marie, 53 years)

CECILIA INDICATES that she is well-motivated to do research, even if recently, pressure had mainly come from her department.

> It is not only a question of pressure and importance of doing research but there is also motivation to do so. To begin with I felt happy about being able to go on studying. Recently, I think that the pressure and the demands on staff to do research have increased. You are not in a secure employment position if you do not have a Masters, so we have been told. (Cecilia, 47 years)

iv. Overview of findings

Overall, the findings relating to the two topics explored above – gender and research – indicate certain expected patterns but not others. For example, differences were apparent in interviewees' perceptions of the sexual politics of teacher education, with, not surprisingly perhaps, women exhibiting more interest and identification with gender issues. Older, more experienced women drew attention to the ' voice' of male management, and gave evidence of pay differentials. However, younger interviewees seemed less aware of gender-based differences in their treatment, though as a hidden gender dimension, younger women expressed more concern about the quality of their work with students than their male equivalents. The most frequently raised gender indicators were pay differentials, the predominance of male management perspectives and whose 'voice' was loudest in meetings.

LESS ANTICIPATED were the differences between male and female interviewees in terms of their appreciation of, or antagonism towards, the 'fledgling' research culture in teacher education. Men more frequently identified with the model of teacher educator as 'good practitioner', while women were more likely to view research as a necessary extension and enhancement to their practice and career.

Discussion and conclusion

This article has reported on, and discussed data arising from approximately half the sample of teacher educators participating in the Umeå case study. Until the full analysis has been completed, caution needs to be exercised as to how the data may be interpreted. However,

it is possible to note indicative patterns. We have seen, for example, that female interviewees are more aware of unfair gender practices and gender regimes in teacher education and more supportive of attempts to change through jämställdhet policy-making. Proportionally more of their male colleagues express the view that gender and jämställdhet are no longer important or relevant to teacher education.

Overall, the teacher educators appear to be aware, even if relatively uncritical, of current gender patterns in teaching and teacher education. Pre-school teaching is seen generally as the province of women, though it is also accepted that conventional barriers need to be removed so that more men become teachers of young children and so-called female subjects, and more women become teachers of mathematics and science. Indeed, the policy of jämställdhet dictates that occupational gender ratios should not extend beyond a 40%: 60% gender split. The most noted sex differences mentioned by the interviewees are discrepancies in salary and male management structures, with relatively little interest shown in changing gender relations in teacher education through policy, strategy or practice. Overall, there is little evidence of wish or ability to challenge or change prevailing gender relations or regimes in teacher education, despite the efforts of Swedish policy-makers to highlight jämställdhet as a crucial feature of working life.

Differences between the sexes regarding the new research culture in teacher education are also noticeable. While most female teacher educators are positive towards the new era – even those long retired – their male colleagues are sharply divided with more harking back to the time when teacher education was identified with practitioner knowledge and classroom skills. Men are more likely to define themselves as 'good teachers' within the confines of a 'traditional' teacher education, whereas women claim a space as continually developing professionals in a climate of change and opportunity.

Following Connell, the concentration of some of the male interviewees on their role as educators and practitioners rather than as researchers and academics, is of significance. It can be seen that their positioning as practitioners alongside their rejection of both research and gender equality as progressive forces for change, indicate an unwillingness to give up powerful practices rooted in masculinity. Among other things, such positioning has enabled them, as 'expert' (male) practitioners, both to maintain power over students and to sustain long-stan-

ding teacher education (gender) regimes and practices. No women expressed this viewpoint. It could be argued that male value systems are under greater threat because men have tended to benefit from unquestioned systems of power and conventional gender relations. Women, in contrast, see the new research culture as a means of disrupting older patterns, which in the past denied them access to power and/or to career advancement. They also seem more aware of seemingly persistent inequalities in the wider society, and the consequent constraints on their own practice, of various institutional gender regimes.

Finally, in narrating their perspectives – and perhaps the life history interview encourages this – teacher educators in the study drew more on their individual and institutional experiences and narratives, and less on other sources of information addressing global, national or professional changes and transitions. They rarely seemed to locate changes demanded of them in the wider picture. This offers a contrast to interviewees in countries where teacher educators have a more secure research base and where they are more likely to locate personal and professional experience within wider global and national policy-making and debate (Dillabough & Acker, 2002). In this sense, despite extensive moves to put teacher education on the research map in the North of Sweden, the Swedish seminary tradition continues, it seems, to exert an influence. However, the greater eagerness among women and younger staff to take on a more academic role and to embrace change, suggests that a shift is in process in teacher education at Umeå University (and perhaps in Sweden more generally), as a consequence, we suggest, of national policy-making, challenges to the gender regimes of individual institutions, and current attractions of a research career.

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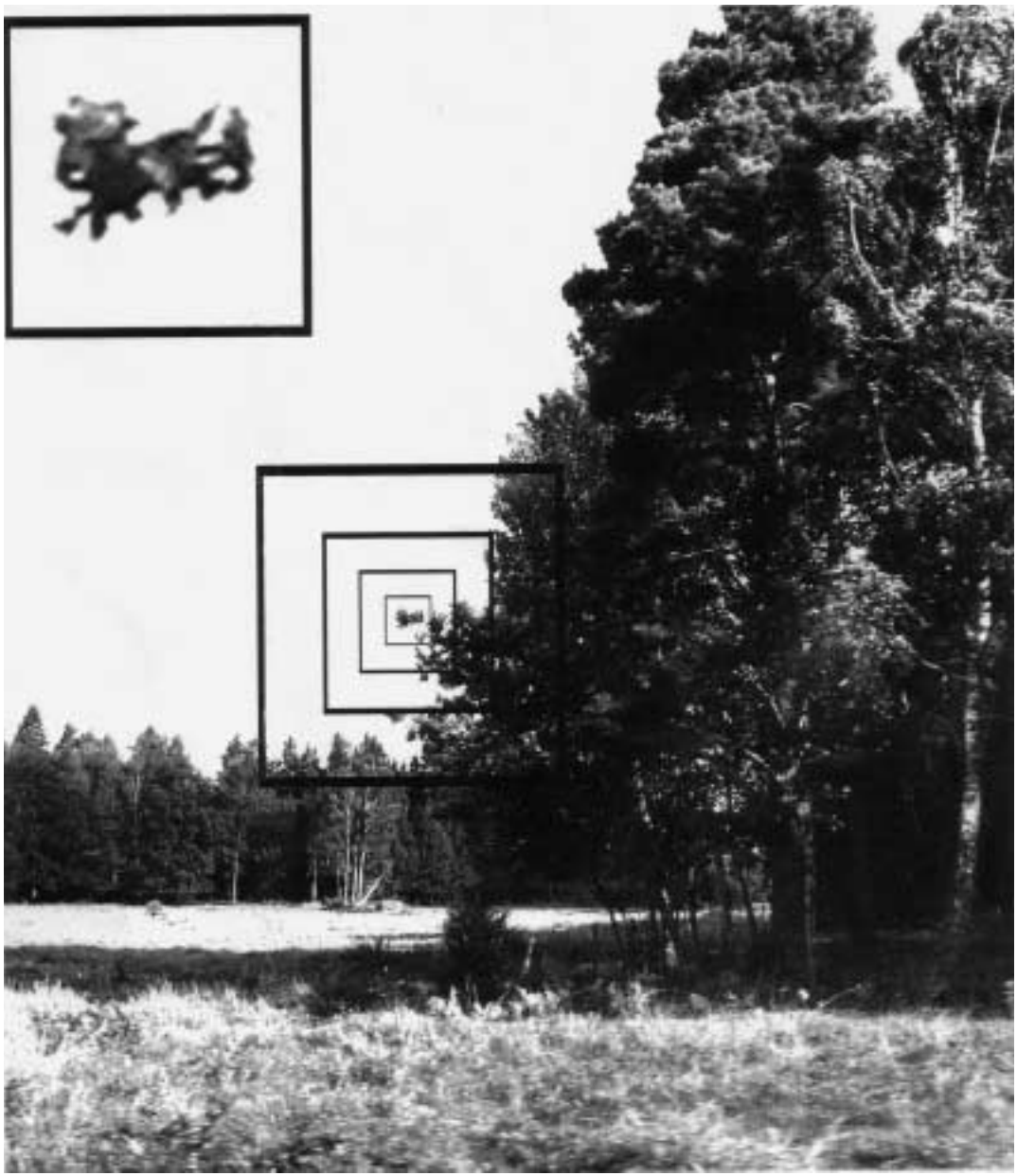
Endnotes

1 Revised version of paper presented at the Transitions seminar, June 2002, Umeå University, Umeå, Sweden.

2 SOU, acronym for Statens Offentliga Utredningar, i.e. a commission of inquiry set up by the government.

3 The status of professor in Sweden is that of senior academic, similar to the UK and Europe but not to the US and Canada.

4 The interviews were carried out by Inger Erixon Arreman as part of her doctoral research. Gaby Weiner is a co-worker on the Umeå project and Inger's doctoral supervisor.



'Gender at Work' in Teacher Education:

History, society and global reform[1]

Jo-Anne Dillabough

Introduction

Throughout his adult life, the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu remained dedicated to understanding and elaborating upon the "constancy of the structure of the relation of domination between men and women, which is maintained beyond the substantive differences in conditions linked to moments in history and positions in social space" (1998: 102). Bourdieu's commitment to an analysis of 'the constancy of structure' has most typically been labeled by sociologists as a critical modern concern. On the face of it, however, the contemporary era would seem to be one where postmodern preoccupations with identities, discourses and deconstruction have overtaken Bourdieu's critical modern concerns with *structures and relations of domination*. Yet, at the same time, the larger contemporary structures/forces of globalization, as relatively novel forms of domination, appear to have a pervasive hold on nation-states cross-nationally, perhaps nowhere more evident institutionally than in the academy. Consequently, neo-liberal reforms (as an element of changing social structures) in many countries have moved forward inside the university at an ever increasing pace, reconstituting the very meanings attributed to academic work in global times (Sassen, 1998)[2]. Yet, a public awareness of such reforms has fared poorly in challenging some of the invidious trends now associated with global reforms in the university. There are, of course, many competing analysis of the impact of global change on higher education. But what is too often obscured or lost in such abstract accounts are those complex and important questions about who ultimately suffers or benefits in such dislocating moments of change.

OUR PRIMARY PURPOSE in this article is to expose the various meanings that women academics attribute to their work in periods of substantial global reform and change. In particular, we explore how broader neo-liberal ideals – as

central to the global reform movement – insinuate themselves into academic women's lives in what Bourdieu (1999) calls the "social work"[3] disciplines/professions. We are particularly concerned with the part played by gender in mediating the effects of such regulatory controls cross-nationally and their impact on the construction of female work in a professional discipline with a history of *institutionalizing female labour*, in this case, teacher education. Accordingly, we echo Bourdieu's (1998) commitment to theorizing globalizaton as both a social process and structure, which is manifest in the operational and discursive practices of professions themselves (Adkins, 1997, Dale, 1997, Reay, 2000). We also explore how transnational reforms regulate and reproduce the sexual division of labour over time, and how "relations of domination between men and women" serve as one "strategic nexus" (Bourdieu, 1992: Sassen, 1998) supporting the development and operation of global reforms in higher education.

We focus on both *macro* and *micro* elements of contemporary change in the academy. We pursue this goal by drawing upon the experiences of a sample of women academics working at different levels of the professional hierarchy in faculties of education in two different national contexts (UK, Canada), and who are experiencing the impact of public sector regulation[4] as a response to larger, global restructuring trends. We consider in particular intensified research cultures, assessments of professionalism, and fiscal restraints, and their role in shaping contemporary female work in teacher education. The questions we address are: what do women's accounts of work in changing teacher education contexts reveal about the relationship between women and the institutional processes through which they are constructed as gendered workers in a globalizing/marketizing academy? How might we theorize differently about women's labours in the feminised professions as a response to larger cross-national neo-liberal restructuring trends?

Our central argument is that teacher education serves as a key site where complex and contradictory tensions surrounding the definition of the female worker are often played out (Maguire, 2000). Teacher education is a sector of work where successive reforms have been implemented cross-nationally but which also maintains specific historical and local patterns of work for women (Oppenshaw, 1999: Edwards, 2001). It is therefore an instructive context in which to examine the university as a prime professional representative of the "social work" disciplines.

GLOBAL DISCOURSES that circulate in teacher education and faculties of education have created both specific and widely recurring conditions for women academics. Particularly prominent among these is the image of the rational expedient worker (Dillabough, 1999). Such an image, together with its attendant expectations, has been projected with increasing force upon women's working lives. But whilst women are often held accountable to narrow expectations which are generated by such an image, their variegated experiences of working life in times of change are by no means *always* in accord with them. This article therefore serves as a response to the pressing need for theoretical discussion of the ways in which women's work for the public good emerges as a cultural and symbolic site "of competition and struggle" (Bourdieu, 1992: 242). The cross-national data we present on women's work in teacher education serves as an empirical marker for this struggle.

THE ARTICLE HAS two main parts. First, we present a brief description of why teacher education is a key focus of restructuring, monitoring and heightened research pressure in the academy. We identify social developments within teacher education which have been shaped by a powerfully gendered history. We argue that such developments explain, in part, why women workers are particularly affected by currents of international change in teacher education. The second section draws upon interview data from three different studies of women teacher educators in the UK and Canada to focus on an exploratory cross-national analysis of women's accounts of working life during times of increasing state regulation and aggrandizing market cultures.

Teacher Education as a Vulnerable Professional Discipline in the Academy

Teacher education and faculties of education have been at the center of the restructuring debate in universities in many national contexts (e.g., Australia, New Zealand, Canada, USA). According to Hartley (2000), one characteristic of the restructuring movement internationally is that teacher education is depicted as a platform for enhancing national economies. At the same time, such reforms are often put forward by policy makers as initiatives to promote the development of efficient "citizens". The result has been what Mahony and Hextall (1997) have identified "as a managerialist restructuring of a public profession" which articulates a concern over such issues as citizenship, but accords greater power to performance cultures. Uniquely important about these restructuring processes,

which often emerge under the guise of accountability mechanisms within and outside of the university (e.g., the Teaching Training Agency in the UK), is that they are not isolated within any one national context. Such market reforms are present in the UK, Australia, New Zealand and in certain provinces in Canada and have entered the complex maze of both the university and the broader public sector of many countries (Blackmore, 1999a; 1999b)[5]. A primary reason that cognate reforms emerge cross-nationally lies in their competitive market value globally (Sassen, 1998). It may also be that cognate reforms emerge disproportionately in those disciplines that are often classified as *"public welfare"* or *"social work"* professions. Such professions are often inhabited by women, and/or identified, with low status, service work.

Historically, "low status" is entrenched in the teaching and teacher education professions. As Gardner (1995) has suggested, the marginal status of teacher education – particularly in relation to the elementary/primary sector – is rooted in conceptions of teaching and, therefore, teacher education, as something anyone can do; that is, as founded upon the exercise of general or non-specific skills. Whilst "working class" men were among the earliest teacher apprentices in the UK (Maguire, 2000), the profession of teacher education later became dominated by the perception that elementary/primary teachers and associated teacher educators should be women (Edwards, 2001). Teaching, traditionally seen as "an unskilled profession", was a role to which women could easily and *naturally* commit until they took up their 'proper' roles as benevolent keepers of the family (Gardner, 1995)[6]. As Edwards (2001) has suggested, women were also favored for financial reasons, as they characteristically earned substantially lower salaries than men. In this context, "it was difficult for women to see themselves as workers" (Edwards, 2001: 37). Indeed, the recognition of women as teachers in such professional contexts was likely to signal a decline in status for affiliated professions such as teacher education. The recruitment of women into teacher education thus appeared to be premised upon an existing set of historically shaped gender codes and relations which highlight the subordinate, yet highly symbolic, status of women as workers in the social order over time (Bourdieu, 1999).

Bourdieu (1998) attempted to isolate the historical, gendered functions of the social order which operate to ensure the "relative *dehistoricization* and eternalization of the structure of the sexual division [of labour] and the corresponding principles of these divisions" (p. 8). He

argues, for example, that historical functions (and corresponding principles) of the gender order have had a lasting structural impact on the constitution of the academic professoriate cross-nationally. Such notions appear to have historical legitimacy in teacher education. For example, in the Ontario College of Education, a predecessor to the University of Toronto Faculty of Education in Canada, most faculty members were men, while women occupied highly gendered roles governed by the familiar liberal democratic separation of public and private (e.g. as home economics instructors).

GENDERED PERCEPTIONS of this kind – founded upon circulating ideas of the public and private worker – permeated teaching and teacher education in the UK and elsewhere (Dillabough, 1999). Nevertheless, until relatively recently, women were confined by stereotypical roles related to curriculum functions, as noted above in the case of Toronto, or in single-sex and often religious teachers' colleges in the UK. Women teacher educators were doubly subject to marginal status because they worked in the male academy and affected by the dominant myths circulating about female work at the time. As Edwards (2001) suggests, such mythical accounts of female work were dualistic in character. On the one hand, women were held in low regard as poorly-paid workers in the public space of social life. Yet, on the other hand, they also embodied the romantic myths of "mother made conscious" in the classroom (Steadman, 1986) which was devalued in the larger ambit of the state.

WHAT SEEMS relevant, then, is comprehending the sociological manifestation of symbolic gender ideals and the legitimatized subordination of women in teaching and teacher education in times of change and restructuring. Such work requires analyses which not only account for women's representation in the field historically, but also which reveals the role that global restructuring in teacher education plays in the symbolic divisions between the *public* and the *private*. Hence, our interest is in social change and the "constancy of structure" in higher education simultaneously.

EDUCATIONAL HISTORIANS generally agree that until the late 1970s, the goal of teacher education policy in most western countries was to support the ideals of social progress of teachers and students rather than to entrench teacher education in broader economic and political aims (McCulloch, 1997). At least in the UK, it seemed that this approach was premised partly upon a historical awareness that teacher edu-

cation policy should be connected to public welfare, public consciousness and professional autonomy. Nevertheless, competing elements of globalization discourse were also present in the 1970s: "1977 was the publication of Callaghan's Green Paper on Education which anticipated the kind of subjugation of education to the economy that characterized the eighteen years of Tory hegemony that commenced in May, 1979" (Robbins, 1998: 33).

THESE COMPETING elements of change have sometimes been contradictory and incompatible in different national contexts. There has, however, been widespread recognition that some governments see teaching and teacher education as appropriate sites for endorsing quasi-market forces through, for example, increased accountability, the rise in the research culture, and mass testing of teachers. Urgently required, however, is an exploration of ways in which these changes impact on women workers who are variously located in the labour structures and processes of teacher education.

IN THIS PAPER, our goal is to illuminate how such reforms – as they relate to globalization – function to *regulate* the local, micro conditions of women's work. We also highlight how they might represent the broader reproduction of social inequality in women's working lives. In so doing, we hope to expose institutional processes which not only regulate worker conditions in teacher education, but also reproduce a historical vision of women as service providers in the academy rather than professionals on their own terms. We suggest that these historical processes are mediated by conceptions which circulate about the "rational" competitive worker in teacher education.

Methodology

The data we present in this paper are drawn from three qualitative studies of women's work in teacher education and faculties of education conducted between 1996 and 2003. A primary goal of each study was to examine the role that contemporary gender hierarchies play in shaping the conditions of women's work in faculties of education during times of global restructuring. As researchers working independently on related projects with overlapping goals, we decided that data from each project could appropriately be drawn upon to reveal the tensions between the personal, social, economic and cultural commitments of service embodied in symbolic representations of women as 'servants to the state' and women's broader struggle for inclusion as workers. In each study, a key approach was the

use of open-ended in-depth interviews. We thus illustrate our argument about gender and change through accounts of women's working life.

THE FIRST STUDY, conducted by Jo-Anne Dillabough between 1996 and 1999, and entitled *The Representation of Social Justice in Teacher Education*, involved in-depth interviews as part of a larger "institutional ethnography" (Smith, 1996) of one teacher education department in the UK. The interview data were collected from a sample of differently positioned women teacher educators and contract researchers (by race, class, gender, and sexuality) in a teacher-training college in a major urban concentration in England, located in a sprawling, culturally diverse sector of the city. In common with other education institutions in a period of intense policy reform and budget cuts, the college was experiencing significant changes, including pressure on faculty to conduct more externally funded research, the loss or restructuring of many of its programs, and substantial budget constraints.

THE SECOND STUDY, entitled *'Traditions and Transitions in Teacher Education,'* is currently underway in Canada with Sandra Acker as the principal investigator, and co-investigators, Elizabeth Smyth, Therese Hamel, Diane Hallman, and Jo-Anne Dillabough. In this study, the particular interest is to track the rise of the research culture through accounts of academics working (and/or retired) as deans, program directors, and other faculty in teacher education. The first stage of this study involved the collection of documentary evidence and in-depth oral histories from various groups of faculty on traditions and transitions experienced by Canadian faculties of education. Here we draw on a sample of seventeen interviews with women and men in eight institutions in one Canadian province.

THE THIRD STUDY, *'Gender, Leadership and Change,'* is also in progress and compares the experiences of women academic managers in faculties of education in Canada, Australia and Britain. The first phase of this project drew upon data from seventeen interviews, eight from an earlier project in Canada and nine conducted by Johanna Wyn in Australia (see Wyn, Acker and Richards, 2000). The current phase, conducted by Sandra Acker with the assistance of Michelle Webber, Johanna Wyn and Mary Fuller, extends the research coverage to Britain and also broadens the definition of manager/administrator to include women who are in what might be called 'lower middle management' (e.g., associate chairs of departments, program directors), as well as more senior mana-

gers such as deans. This research is also more squarely focused on experiences of restructuring and change in the globalized university and will include approximately 12 women participants in each country. For this article, we utilize data from approximately 10 interviews conducted in Canada and Britain in 2000 and 2001.

Women Academics' Accounts of Work in Teacher Education: Themes and Issues

The problems inherent in the ideological premises of global reforms and their structural links to women's work may, on first glance, seem unrelated to teacher education. However, as international research demonstrates (see Maguire 2000), the teacher educator has been re-defined in many nation-states to reflect a strain of rationality that privileges global economic policies of worker accountability, but may also honour masculinized, or "heteropatriarchal" (Alexander, 1997) visions of social change and policy formation. Therefore, as we apply feminist sociological critiques of the 'rational worker' to the cross-national study of women teacher educators, we find that women teacher educators are raising new social concerns.

The Uneasy Alliance Between 'Research Culture' and 'Professional Accountability' in Women Teacher Educators' Work

One of the most common difficulties women identify in their own accounts of work centre upon the tensions stimulated by *economic rationalism* and the pervasiveness of the 'research culture' circulating in the academy. As the women in our three projects indicate, this tension represents a subtle but powerful *institutional process* implicated in the reproduction of the gendered division of labour, particularly as it relates to the assessment of women's academic work and, more recently, research productivity. This tension, moreover, serves *to regulate the social reproduction of gender conflicts in institutional life*. In other words, the idea of heightened research productivity does not simply operate to regulate the historical conditions of female work. It also sets the stage for the appearance of a novel set of gender relations and conflicts in teacher education that might be traced, at least in part, to the structural elements of global reform.

Before detailing the links between gender and the general rise of the research culture, we begin with an account by a full professor of education about the rise of this new culture in a Canadian university. At a descriptive level,

his comments reveal one accountability mechanism that has reshaped the conditions of teacher educators' work – the separation between the "haves" and "have nots" of the research culture and the elevation of research productivity to accord with a 'research intensive' university focus:

> So that all happened in the early 80s ... and it became necessary for the dean to remove some people from the list of graduate faculty and that was called the [local name for the event] and everyone who was [removed from the list] has retired now so we're calm after that, but that was really unpleasant. Parenthetically, I don't think the [post]graduate program has looked back. I think it's been strong. ... It was partly in the spirit of the university's attempt to be a research-intensive university. (Carter, full professor, Canada)

As these remarks indicate, the early-to-mid 1980s may be the time when the rise of the research culture emerged as significant throughout some teacher education sites (Robbins, 1998). As another professor observed about this trend in Canada,

> [In the mid 1980s] the new dean ... had to deal with what was the old crowd of people. ...They weren't all old ... but they were the previous era of people ... and there weren't a lot of retirements out at the time so he was really talking and he started the debate and dialogue on research. (Rennie, full professor, Canada)

For many teacher educators, research training has been constructed as a positive form of professional development (see Hamel & Laroque, 2001)[7]. However, in an increasingly demanding climate of change[8], professional programs which carry forward the historical memory of their own vulnerability are also likely to be ambivalent about the pressures of a research culture. Indeed, a greater emphasis on research cultures and related productivity demands could serve to mask the latent position of the teacher educator researcher in the wider university context as a global economic asset.

In Canada, this interest in research culture/productivity also emerged at a time when some provincial governments were substantially cutting university budgets. Due to variations among Canadian provinces, the national impact of these trends is difficult to track. Nor are they necessarily straightforward. Indeed, as many women in the three studies suggest, the effects differ, with some senior academics benefiting from the new "free market" frame and others suffering a great deal. In women's

accounts, "suffering" often emerges as a *gender conflict* between senior and junior female faculty, particularly in escalating the general "climate of competition". As Karina, a Canadian academic remarked about her own tenure review process[9]:

> I was actually afraid. That's why I was very careful going to tenure to prepare things and to be sure that I had quite a list, an extensive list across the country of people who could be approached for letters and so on because I didn't know whether there might be a few of them (men) who would write and say "she's difficult. She's a bitch. She can't get along with her or she doesn't, she's not a team player" ... and I was with some people but I wasn't in other cases and I had been very angry about my workload.
>
> ....
>
> I think it was a bit of a "good girl" to "bad girl" shift ... which partly happened because they so absolutely stonewalled any concerns I had about my situation. I was there to do the work none of the rest of them had wanted to do, you know, and that was the price of admission. (Karina, associate professor, Canada)

KARINA'S ACCOUNT suggests an underlying element of unequal gender competition. Some of this competition may be linked to a professional hierarchy in faculties of education where senior males tend to be decision-makers or full professors and women are more often junior faculty. With this gender structure operating as a form of political hierarchy, it may be that male faculty may inadvertently possess "social assets" (Robertson, 2000) in a later stage of their professional career. This seems likely when one considers that the rise in service and research commitments in teacher education, alongside larger economic shifts in university life, have coincided with the hiring of increased numbers of junior women academics. More significant, however, is that Karina implies that *gender* conflicts which may be linked to current employment structures and work intensification in the university, mediate the impact of accountability (e.g., tenure review). What is therefore meaningful beyond the obvious gender conflicts present is the symbolic manifestation of gender inequality ("good girl", "bad girl", disproportionate amounts of service work) embedded in Karina's account. The presence of these historical and dialectically formed gender codes may indeed heighten the role played by gender and other social formations in mediating women's academic's relationship to teacher education. They may also generate what Nixon, Marks, Rowland & Walker (2001) describe as "different and incompatible" structures of work

where performance cultures are central to the "habitus" of academic life:

> While the economic power of senior academics has been increased by the current climate in competition, others feel deprived of the significance to which they are thinking their academic status should entitle them ... They work at a pace dictated by external pressures ... The result is that different and often incompatible structures are emerging within different groups occupied in different tasks and often pursuing different interests. (Nixon et al. 2001: 230)

Similarly, one teacher educator working in the UK, describes the gendered nature of the service demands on her time and a consequent inability to conduct research after a period of relentless reform in her program (see also Dillabough, 1999):

> I was asked to be a year tutor .... A year tutor is like everybody's *mother*. You'll be stuck with everything. It's difficult to cope with. .... I just didn't realize how I became everybody's *dogsbody* ... So I did that for two years and I wouldn't do it anymore. It stopped me from doing any research. (Marie, lecturer, UK).

In certain contexts, the professional requirement to conduct research may indeed complicate women academics' working conditions and create another layer of social inequality in what Maguire (2000) names the "traditionally feminized vocational context":

> The pressure to publish and satisfy academic and political pressures sits uncomfortably alongside the need to teach and support vocational/professional development. This pressure may well be particularly acute in the 'traditionally' feminized 'vocational' contexts such as nursing studies or teaching studies (Maguire, 2000: 152).

Rita, a professor in Britain, speaks directly to these concerns at the point where her own promotional status and research performance in the late 1980s becomes central to the economic mandate of the university. In this context, professional promotion is equated with research, not necessarily as something arising from intellectual interest, but as an indicator of accountability:

> What I was told was that although my teaching was fine and my admin was fine, I wasn't doing enough research and what that actually meant, though I didn't realize and know it at the time,

> was that I wasn't getting enough external funding for research. The university was looking for indicators of external funding for research. They weren't interested in, really, in your ability to kind of get the research done on the cheap and in your own time. I was told that I needed to have more of an indication of external, that's to say, international recognition of my work. (Rita, professor, UK)

IF WE LOOK beyond promotional considerations, parallel institutional pressures to conduct research across sites suggest the emergence of novel, yet still hidden, gender conflicts as structural markers of accountability. Rebecca, another full professor in the UK, refers to the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), whereby collective research performance, assessed every five years by panels of peers, determines allocations of financial resources:

> I think that universities have become, as a result of the RAE and ... much more pressurized places for people to work in....I have a sense that people in research at the universities work fantastically hard because you do everything yourself in the universities ... You do the administration. You do all the technical work. You do the typing and producing of your, whether it was papers, OHPs, books or whatever. So you do an awful lot and everything comes down to yourself and your, almost, entrepreneurialism . . . So, people who can hack that do okay, do quite well but people who can't have a very tough time. So I think people do get much stress. There's sometimes quite a lot of unhealthy competition. (Rebecca, professor, UK)

REBECCA'S COMMENTS are suggestive of differences in the globalising processes of accountability; on the one hand, there is that which might be described as "arms length" assessment whilst, on the other, there is a process which may be experienced as more direct, personal and potentially humiliating. In the remarks that follow, Rebecca seems to highlight more generally the regulatory elements shaping the cultural field of research as it takes form in various sites.

> The theme of publish or perish is ... even clearer now, you know, that you have a choice of doing that and doing well or not doing that ... but feeling that you're being breathed, having your neck breathed down all the time or else being kicked out fairly unceremoniously. There's lots of, not in my own institution, but in other institutions, you hear about kind of naming and shaming exercises, you know, one place I heard of where they have a chart on the wall with the number of papers that people have published. (Rebecca, professor, UK)

HERE WE BEGIN to see how competition and rising pressure to conduct research reconfigures the very notion of academic work and scholarship in teacher education. However, it must be recognized that such pressures are experienced differently in different locations. Women workers are therefore differentially affected by such changes depending on the levels of status and security they may hold in their job, as well as the countries and institutions in which they work (Robertson, 2000).

THIS DIFFERENTIATION notwithstanding, heightened accountability and the corresponding rise in the research culture cannot be taken at face value as a neutral professional indicator across the range of disciplines in the university. Instead, in teacher education, such academic requirements may often emerge as a symbolic and structural reconfiguration of working life, particularly because of its own history as a powerfully gendered profession or as a profession which has institutionalised women's labours. Women workers in such situations are particularly susceptible to such forces and conflicts since the requirements cannot necessarily be met on equal terms by differently positioned women and men. As Morley (1999, 2001) argues, heightened quality assurance of academic performance reveals a fine line between women's "liberal" opportunity structures and discursive practices of exploitation. In this context, even liberal feminist visions of "success" are accompanied by rather disturbing images of the female worker. As Rebecca states:

> I'd actually brought in all these grants and managed to keep them going and I thought, God, they expect me to carry on working at this rate and I had thought I was working too hard already, just in terms of having to be a *good girl* all of the time. (Rebecca, professor, UK)

RATHER THAN accruing cultural capital, women workers may therefore be seen as "objects", "commodities" or puppets of a larger research culture in which economic and cultural shifts in a new global order are translated indirectly into working practices which transform the sexual division of labour. This transformation in labour processes may occur with little recognition of the barriers women face institutionally or is masked by the forms of self-surveillance required in a larger macro-structure of constancy and change.

THE CHANGING nature of academic work described by women in the three studies highlights the gendered tensions women teacher educators experience when they are positioned inside a

regime of contradictory choices: for example, the rational worker and the subordinate benevolent keeper. The emphasis placed on such contradictions in women's accounts implies a need to understand novel labour processes and structures in market cultures, and their impact on the organization of female work. There can be little doubt that men in teacher education are also affected and marginalized by such issues. But if we wish to account for the historical symbolism of women teacher educators' work and the hidden structural barriers to social equality for differently positioned women in institutional life, and the residual myths circulating about women teacher educators as "mother made conscious", then, gender, as a mediating force in marketized educational cultures, must be accorded particular significance. And if we go one step further and combine these concerns with the "real" effects of workplace restructuring and the culture of research directly, the mediating force of gendered expectations for such work processes, output, organization and performance become even more clear:

> We can all understand why women may not be in a position to write enough or bring in as much money .... but if you compete with the boys you'd have a better chance of being judged equally on those terms, although you don't alter the terms on which you're being judged. (Rebecca, professor, UK)

And, as Karina reminds us, the gender hierarchy of institutional life may mediate women workers' engagement with the research culture, not only by creating a particularly gendered image of the teacher educator, but also by constraining, in real terms, one's ability to conduct research:

> Some people seem to manage to make it a very unstressful life. Many of those are men. Many of them are of another generation, I think. I think it's changing. [...]. Because it's not really as if the other parts of the work go away just because everybody's now supposed to also be a heavy hitter researcher [...] bringing in the external funds and of course every time you get funded, that's another layer of work too, 'cause then you've got that work to do, you know and some people [...] are beginning to discover that. They may have gotten the grant but doing anything with it is, you know, beyond their wildest dreams.

> The women who were hired at that time and having these heavy workloads because, of course, then, there were all these cutbacks and major retirements and the senior people certainly weren't going to soak it up and the re-hirings were being done in a ratio of one for every three retirements, so there were just huge amounts of work to do ... and of course the senior guys stayed very much protected. (Karina, associate professor, Canada)

WITHIN THIS IMAGE of the university resides the subtle implication that the female worker must conform to the symbolic ideal of the traditional male citizen – the "autonomous rational agent" (Braaten, 1997: 144). Such a figure is seen as free to compete as an unfettered agent, needing only call upon on the state when it is necessary to protect his/her rights as worker. This "heteropatriarchal" image of female work (Alexander, 1997), as one residual effect of globalizing reforms, cannot confront neo-liberal expectations which are embedded in the research culture that may tacitly assume that women are equal to men in their ability to achieve the status of "real citizen worker".

Fiscal Restraints and Gender Conflicts in Teacher Education

The reconfiguration of female work is not determined solely by increased pressures to conduct research or as a form of accountability for the tallying up of annual publications. We should also see the movement of global economic reforms as an element of restructuring in a more obvious economic sense. And it is here – at the level of financial responsibility and broader global demands around economic efficiency in the professional hierarchy of teacher education that women workers are facing particularly difficult ethical dilemmas and increased gender conflicts. For example, women do not, it seems, possess "exchange/social assets" (Robertson, 2000) which may be central to transforming their own and other women's professional circumstances beyond current conditions. Budget restraints may therefore affect women disproportionately seriously. The remarks offered below by Hester, an associate professor of teacher education in Canada and a program director, reveal such economic constraints. Yet she does not have the same level of power as would a dean or provost of the university. Hester's lack of "exchange assets" thus make it more difficult for her to contest the terms and conditions of her working life:

> Obviously one of the changes has been the huge reduction in allocation of resources coming into different faculties from the central administration, kind of off-loading of the cutbacks that have occurred from the reduction in federal grants and provincial grants [...]. This is maybe the case because we are not respected in the university for the research we generate ...at the faculty we're not and we're always being leaned on to accept more students. It's just an easy way to fill up the university coffers. I remember making the comment to the Dean ... that I'm not going to, you know, we're not the campus ATM machine and I'm not going to be treated that way. You know, the [name

> of administrator] just pushes the button and we take a bunch more students. No problem, no more resources to handle it. I think it's obscene, but anyway there's been a big movement in that direction within the faculty of education. (Hester, associate professor, Canada)

While Hester's comments do not point immediately to a gender issue, she goes on to discuss how university fiscal restraints undermine her position as a female worker. In the following passage, Hester implies that women are constructed outside the rational paradigm of public work in globalizing times. In her view, they are "used" as an "exploitable resource" (Ozga & Deem, 2000). Her commentary echoes Karina's earlier statements about women's symbolic labour and related concerns about who does the "clean-up work".

> I don't think that the women are taken seriously as thinkers .... The kinds of ways that feminists would understand, you would see the workings but it's not always obvious, the old boys' network, the ways in which the decisions get made. Who gets called on to make the decisions and, you know, the women get called in to do the clean-up work. (Hester, associate professor, Canada)

It is not easy to escape the symbolic and historical demands of female service in teacher education. Indeed, such impositions seem to heighten the overall effects of global demands. At the same time, increased competition and the imposition of "capitalist scripts" (Mohanty, 1997) onto teacher education have meant that productivity pressures undermine more than a century of feminist struggles in education – including the representation of conditions of equality for women's paid work and broader issues of equity in higher education:

> As an administrator, I am confronted daily with dilemmas, which are ethical dilemmas. For instance, I need to earn 13 percent of the budget. Well, and I really want to preserve the autonomy of the university as equity, accessibility, etc. etc. But I still have to find an ethical way to develop some components of my faculty, like continuing teacher education, in order to make money. (Pearl, full professor)

Carrie, a teacher educator from Britain, expressed similar sentiments, as she observed how public sector regulation and accountability influenced the behaviors of her female manager after the onset of heavy inspections by OFSTED, the education inspection agency in the UK. Her observation highlights how the organization of working life altered as a consequence of such regulatory mechanisms, which

in turn heightened conflicts among women in the workplace:

> Well, if there were pressures on her to make us work harder ... she said you've got to do it. So you accepted it, you disliked it, but she didn't talk down to you. She was under considerable pressure from her underlings who were subverting her and from the male hierarchy above, and when she got the chance to get out she did. That left us in the lurch because we were left with a whole term when we were meant to be inspected. This is the way the university works. It doesn't replace for a term and it saves money. That's all very well but if you're going to be inspected you need a management person in place. They didn't put one in place .... Yet there is something bloody dodgy in these men's minds that somehow it's not their fault. I was so angry. (Carrie, senior lecturer, UK)

The omnipotence of fiscal restraint in the workplace raises larger questions about the economy and the part it plays in regulating the conditions of female work and gender relations. It is here that images of the instrumental worker in teacher education emerge most powerfully. Speaking of herself, Hester makes the following remarks:

> I've lost touch with the person a little bit because the job makes you lose touch with that person. Its just like you're under this constant shellfire, rat-a -tat. (Hester, associate professor, Canada)

Ultimately, then, where gender dominates above all is in the emphasis on global practices of economic restraint that serve as "rational" markers of institutional success which fail to recognize its effects on marginalized groups who serve as messengers or recipients of what Dorothy Smith (1996) has called the institutional "relations of ruling". Cultivating a collaborative meaningful feminist response in such a context is extremely difficult:

> We lived through a very serious process of reorganization. Departments were merged ....I strongly opposed this....I stood up [...] many times. The director of [unit name] was a women ....She insulted me but I had a mandate. Quite often woman were used for that. Women with little experience were hired in the name of equity and that was not a favour to anybody. Then they were very obedient to central administration because they didn't have the authority of experience.
>
> The changes were hegemonical ... with this aura of "common sense" or "universal" or "has to be". But it isn't a coincidence that they didn't

> pay attention to experience when hiring female administrators. (Pearl, full professor, Canada)

SUCH POLITICAL moves reveal the corrosive nature of institutional regulation; in some cases, control over the nature of female work will be direct (through cuts) and sometimes it will be indirect. And such forms of control do not emerge without conflicts. As Smyth et al (2001) argue: "in a marketized education system [*workers, managers*] are often divided against each other as they seek to grab a share of the same education market" (p. 52). In this context, women workers cannot, by virtue of their gender and history in the profession, be viewed as conforming to the ideal model of the "autonomous" professional:

> The job is too big for one person. Our program has tripled in size in the last 3 or 4 years. .... Several years ago there were 2 full time secretaries for the coordinator. Now, there's one full time secretary for the coordinator. Several years ago the coordinator did not teach. That's with a student enrolment of ... students. Now, the coordinator teaches two courses.

> Of course, in teacher education there are different structures at work. It's a bit of a pink ghetto. There are not males who are inhabiting positions of leadership within teacher education here. So those dynamics aren't working so much, perhaps, to affect me in this job, but in the larger structure within the faculty where I'm working with the graduate sector as well. And by the men who not only inhabit the power position there but the men who are the power mongers there. (Hester, associate professor, Canada)

NOW, PERHAPS more than ever before, women's close relationship to capital has exacerbated the forms of exclusion and alienation which they have always felt as a result of the deeply entrenched gender hierarchies in education:

> Women who are in the teacher ed. management positions are knocking themselves out. [They] are being completely destroyed by these kinds of economic measures. (Hester, associate professor)

> [The women] were very stressed and very tense, in common with all teacher training. It is the same everywhere....[many have] actually left, they have not been able to cope. (Carrie, lecturer, UK)

Conclusion: Globalization and the Regulation and Reproduction of Female Work

> A genuine understanding of the changes that have occurred [...] in relation between the sexes can, paradoxically, be expected only from an analysis of the transformations of the mechanisms and institutions charged with ensuring the perpetuation of the gender order. (Bourdieu, 1999: 84)

In this article, we have identified some of the social mechanisms associated with global restructuring which are implicated in the gendered divisions of labour in teacher education. We have also explored the more general impact of public sector regulation on women teacher educators' working lives cross-nationally and the forms of control and work organization to which they are exposed as a result of both macro and micro processes of globalizing academic cultures (Smyth, Dow, Hattam, Reid, & Shacklock, 2001). The key practices we have referred to are the sometimes contradictory yet ultimately structural gendered effects of the rise of the research culture for women, the role of inspections and assessment exercises, the impact of economic constraints on teacher education, women's symbolic, historical entrenchment in the public/ private split of working life, and the mediating role of gender in accountability practices. The accounts we have drawn upon suggest that women workers in the UK and Canada report similar trends in the organization of their working life, as well as increased pressure to conduct research in a sometimes conflictual, heavily regulated and competitive academic climate. This climate is characterized by gender conflicts and related work intensification practices which take various forms.

It is significant that not all trends are parallel in form across sites and there are indeed local effects. What seems dissimilar is the form of state regulation over working practices. For example, in the British context, women report pressure and emerging gender conflicts from national arms-length assessment exercises such as the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), work intensification and more general reform initiatives. By contrast, in Canada women report pressure from (individualized) tenure review processes, institutional service expectations, gender conflicts associated with fiscal restraint and gendered employment structures, along with the insistent pressure to publish. Dissimilarities are probably due to cross-national differences in some policy practices, a national (UK) versus provincial (Canada) structure for supporting teacher education, specific econo-

mic, social and cultural circumstances in both sites, and state arrangements which concern the historical development of the profession, as well as the local forms of gender relations in each site. What seems common, however, is the role of accountability (research culture, service work, intensification) in the regulation of new kinds of gender conflict, the degree of associated stresses, the ongoing symbolic regulation of gender ideals as mediating the effects of global restructuring, as well as the larger economic imperatives of university life. Whilst some women may benefit from these changes, they are clearly creating unpalatable conditions of work for many/most women in teacher education. This trend is further complicated by the gendered history of teacher education as a low-status profession (Bourdieu's "social work" disciplines) in the university and women's historically inferior position in the academy. Women's accounts therefore suggest that contemporary cultural processes are at work in the production of different and indeed gendered patterns of labour in teacher education internationally. Such processes seem related to the nature and timing of research intensification and fiscal restraint in teacher education, as well as the increasing status of research in the larger context of the university. Indeed, such social conditions are not only economic; discursive struggles are manifested in local contexts which always represent more than simply material effects (Skeggs, 1995).

IT MAY ALSO be that while public sector regulation appears rather indirect in the university, its direct effects take the form of competition among faculty members. Such competition emerges around the forms of accountability in place for evaluating academic work, with academics competing on unequal social grounds. In this context, one might argue that both regulation and reproduction operate simultaneously. For example, economic restraints or the heavy weight of research in tenure and promotion means that accountability, in some form or another, *regulates* the very conditions of women's (and men's) working lives. Yet, such rational forms of accountability function also to *reproduce* social and gender inequality for women. As Bourdieu (1998: 87) writes: "The most striking example of this permanence in and through change is the fact that positions which become feminized are either already devalued or declining, the devaluation being intensified [through intensifed work cultures]".

WE THUS BEGIN to see how women's professional identifications and academic work in teacher education are shaped by broader material, cultural and social forces, which are indeed

gendered and are linked to globalization at a macro level. At the same time, it is important to recognize that economic globalization – as it appears in relation to research productivity, fiscal restraint and accountability – does not have universal and undifferentiated effects. We therefore view the category of globalizing work in the service professions as one of many elements *at work* in the local reproduction of the gendered division of labour. Our cross-national work suggests that macro-processes of educational change are manifested differently and therefore mediated by differently positioned women in diverse social locations.

AT THE SAME TIME, it is problematic to perceive local stories as mere details of a unique working life; clearly, these details speak to change, conflict and continuity experienced by women in the larger structures of the social order. These accounts thus tell us about the relative constancy of social order itself. In so doing, they also illuminate the *relative constancy* of the gender order in particular spheres of working life. We also suggest here that we have identified, in part, underlying *dialectical* frames of the gender order, and their relationship to larger aspects of social change, only one of which is globalizing reform. As Bourdieu (1998: 95) writes:

> Given that [women's] interest are [sometimes] bound up with the left hand of the state and with social positions in the bureaucratic field ..., there is every reason to expect that they will be the main victims of neo-liberal policy .... The constancy of habitus that results from this is thus one of the relative constancy of the sexual division of labour: because these principles are, in their essentials, transmitted from body to body, below the level of consciousness and discourse.

IN CLOSING, we suggest that it is not acceptable to divide the symbolically entrenched practice of sexual or domestic servicing in the "social work" professions from contemporary forms of globalizing change in teacher education. In fact, the effects of domination which are asserted through novel globalizing processes and structures in the academy are but one of many sites where female work is both regulated and reproduced. It is through the empirical documentation of these processes that feminist sociologists will no doubt, with the assistance of 'contradictions in the social system' (see Bourdieu, 1999) itself, contribute to a greater understanding of female work and its configuration in such dislocating times.

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Endnotes

1 This is a revised version of Dillabough & Acker (2002).

2 Globalization, probably best described as an international movement of global reform characterized by certain universalizing features, now carries great conceptual import in academic circles. However, such reform must be distinguished from global cultural politics. The latter comprises a political practice designed to challenge colonial legacies in different national contexts. The former is a process which allows 'capitalist scripts' (Mohanty, 1997) to travel and re-appear in an altered form as national economic and/or political policies. Such movements, when they are dominated by more typical colonial and modern capitalist practices, are invariably described by their critics as the transportation of 'sameness' and 'homogeneity' around the globe (Pieterse & Parekh, 1995).

3 We borrow Bourdieu's (1999) term, "social work profession", to explore the working lives of those who have been seen as cultivators of the "public good" rather than simply suggesting that teacher education is a straightforwardly feminized profession.

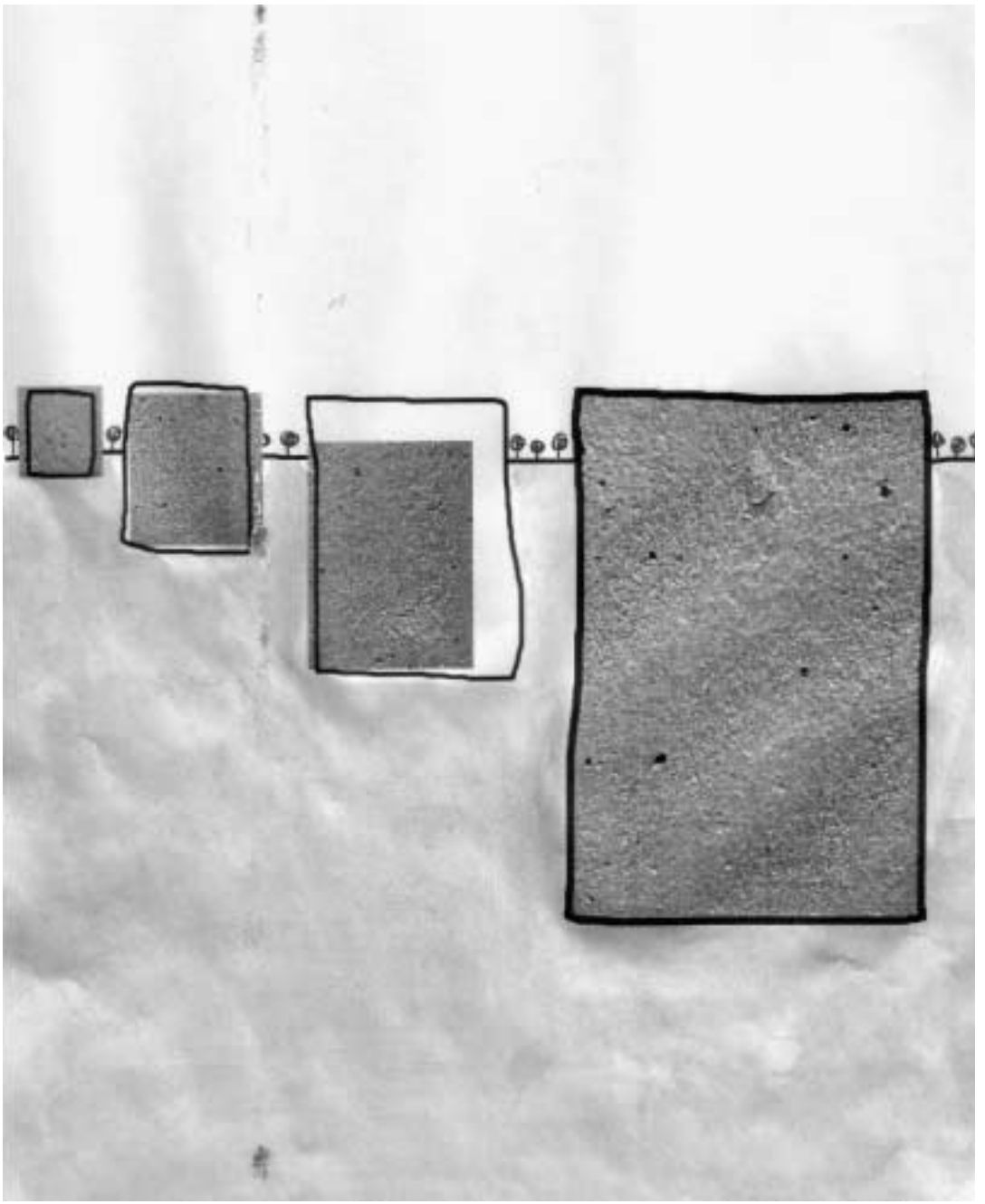
4 Policy analysts often refer to such international reforms as public sector regulation because they are characterized by the multi-bureaucratic permeation of market ideology into particular forms of institutional life (Hood and Scott, 2000). Such regulative ideology appears to drive increasing international competitiveness, institutional restructuring (e.g., amalgama-

tions), academic monitoring, fiscal restructuring, and the rising demands for research and professional accountability.

5 In Canadian universities, restructuring has taken the form of departmental amalgamations and financial cutbacks. In Australia, by contrast, it has emerged in the form of heightened performance indicators, leading sometimes to redundancy and departmental closures through mergers.

7 Research and publications produced through the research culture seem rarely to be analysed for quality by their home institutions. In merit exercises in Canada (departmental peer review which can lead to annual salary raises), for example, the number of publications is usually counted rather than read for meritorious contribution to a field.

8 After five to seven years in the university, an academic prepares an extensive dossier of accomplishments in applying for tenure. If tenure is not granted, she/he will have to leave the university.



"It should be the centre... of professional training in education"

The Faculty of Education of the University of Toronto: 1871–1996

Elizabeth M. Smyth

Abstract

This article analyzes the history of Ontario's secondary school teacher education by focussing on its development at the University of Toronto. It argues that the tensions associated with teaching, research and professional certification that arise when teacher education is placed within a university setting, have roots embedded in the nineteenth century. The article uses a variety of sources, including the *Report of the Minister's Committee on the Training of Secondary School Teachers 1962*, to construct its arguments. The development of secondary school teacher education is traced through four historical periods: 1871–1907, the early history and development of the Ontario Normal College; 1907–1920, the establishment of the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto and its first two decades of operation; 1920–1966, the transformation of the Faculty of Education into the Ontario College of Education; 1962–1996 the re-creation of the College (later Faculty) of Education and its merger with Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

THE LOFTY GOAL, to be the centre of professional training in education, was set before the President of the University of Toronto by four members of the Faculty of Education in 1920. Their purpose was two fold: to advocate for increased status and to secure increased financial remuneration for themselves and their faculty (Cornish, 1920:5). Some forty years later, the institution they foresaw as enhancing Canadian teacher education to such an extent that Canada's educational prowess would "outstrip the United States" was being vilified, not glorified. A prominent Ontario politician viewed it as:

> The last refuge of the undecided ...[with] a high school atmosphere characterized by regimentation. The building is a study in depression ...It

> is bleak, overcrowded ... cramped ... desolate ... student teachers are expected to be non critical ... non analytical ... It breeds an anti intellectual atmosphere. (Lewis, 1964:2555)

How did the Ontario College of Education (OCE), the provincial school of education for secondary school teachers located on the campus of the University of Toronto, come to warrant such a diatribe?. While some of these criticisms were well founded, others were reflective of the emotion that discussion of secondary school teacher education evokes among the population at large, teachers themselves and researchers in the field of education. The building that housed the OCE was in poor shape. Its "bleak, overcrowded, cramped and desolate" features were indicative of the neglect it received at the hands of both the Ontario Ministry of Education and the University of Toronto. Did it breed anti intellectualism? Were its students expected to be non critical and non analytical? To answer these charges is a more challenging task.

Like the other professional schools that form part of the University of Toronto, the Faculty of Education has a history that is largely determined by the fact that it served multiple masters. As a professional school, it sits at that most challenging position in the academy: the intersection of theory and practice. Like the histories of other schools of education throughout the world, the history of the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto (and Ontario teacher education in general) is largely uncharted (Harris, 1967; Fleming, 1971; Phillips,1977 Lang & Gelman, 1994; Booth & Stiegelbauer, 1996; Eastman, 2002). In contrast to other faculties within the university (Friedland, 2002), the Faculty of Education lacks a comprehensive history of its teachers, students and curriculum. This may be due in part to the nature of the teaching profession, for as Kennedy (2001) observes:

> Most professions develop licensing policies that distinguish members from non-members and most members make career-long commitments to their professions .... Both these aspects of professionalism have eluded education. A substantial fraction of the population consists of former teachers or people who were certified but never taught [or] ... practicing educators [who] entered the field through alternative routes ... The boundaries of educational expertise are further blurred by a presumption of expertise in the population at large for, as Carl Kaestle has noted, everyone has been to the fourth grade, and that makes everyone an expert on educational matters. (17)

KAESTLE'S POINT IS WORTH bearing in mind while reading comments such as those that open this piece.

THIS ARTICLE ANALYZES the history of Ontario's secondary school teacher education by focussing on its development at the University of Toronto. It argues that the tensions associated with teaching, research and professional certification which arise when teacher education is placed within a university setting have roots embedded in the nineteenth century. The article uses a variety of sources, including *The Report of the Minister's Committee on the Training of Secondary School Teachers 1962 (The Patten Report)*, to construct its arguments. The development of secondary school teacher education is traced through four historical periods: 1871–1907: the early history and the development of the Ontario Normal College; 1907–1920: the establishment and termination of the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto; 1920–1966: the Ontario College of Education, the Faculty of Education's successor; 1962–1996: the re-creation of the College (later Faculty) of Education and its merger with Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Ontario's secondary school teacher education: 1871–1907

In 1867, the British North American Act established the country of Canada. Because of the linguistic, regional and religious conflicts among the founding peoples, a decentralized approach to education was taken. No national office of education was created. The administration of elementary and secondary education was placed in the hands of the provincial government. Ontario is the most populous of Canada's ten provinces and three territories. Ontario's provisions for teacher education have, at various points in their history, both led and followed the trends emerging in the rest of the country. From Toronto, the province's capital, the Ontario Ministry of Education controlled schools and teacher education.

IN THE EARLY period of its history, demand for teacher certification in Ontario remained a background issue – inadequate supply of teachers was a more pressing problem. Teacher education was by apprenticeship and for some, after 1847, attendance at the Toronto Normal Schools. With the restructuring of the provincial education system and the passage of the High Schools Act of 1871, the increase in number of students attending high schools signaled the need for more teachers. How-

ever, the Act listed no specific requirements for training. A university degree was deemed sufficient for teaching in the province's high schools. In1885, the specific pedagogical preparation of high school teachers was first addressed when a provisional agreement was drafted between the Ontario Minister of Education and collegiate institutes (those high schools that prepared students for university entrance examinations). Principals and their staffs were empowered to provide a 14 week training program for new teachers. This apprenticeship model had little appeal to those seeking to teach. Thus, by 1891, the School of Pedagogy educating teacher candidates for secondary schools was housed within the same building as the elementary-school oriented Toronto Normal School. Almost from its foundation, there were questions concerning the nature of the type of training the School delivered.

THE GROWING interest in establishing a university-based teacher education program was apparent from the 1892 *Report of the [Ontario] Minister of Education.* In that volume, a *Special Report of the Principal and Mathematics Master of the Normal School, Ottawa, On A Visit to Certain Normal Schools and Other Training Institutes in the US* was reprinted. MacCabe and William (1892) described the curriculum and degree programs at the New York College for the Training of Teachers, a branch of the University of the State of New York:

> This is the first time in the history of education tht University has formally established a School of Pedagogy as a professional school and given pedagogical degrees ... Its work is first to make its students thoroughly familiar with the history and science of education, methodology, systems of schools, school law, practical administration and the educational literature of the ages. Second, by seminary method to give that incitement to the highest order of work, which comes from the contact of many highly trained minds, intent on success in the same professional ends. (187)

IT APPEARS THAT the University of Toronto was not particularly interested in moving in this direction – a fact that contributed to the 1896 establishment of the Ontario Normal College (ONC) in Hamilton, an industrial town located some 60 kilometers from Toronto. ONC was founded by a 10 year agreement between the Hamilton Board of Education and the Ontario Ministry of Education. The Ministry agreed to pay for staff time and for space while the Board of Education agreed that its teachers would work with the students in the "critic" capacity. ONC's mandate included education of teachers for both elementary and secondary

panels. Just under 22% of ONC students possessed university degrees, the essential credential for preparation as a secondary school teacher (Ontario Normal College, 1907).

ONC CONTRIBUTED actively to the social and intellectual life of the city of Hamilton. With 26 members listed as its 1906–7 staff and 229 students enrolled, 155 women (21.9% with degrees) and 74 men (21.6% with degrees), the staff and students engaged in a variety of extra-curricular and co-curricular activities. The May 1900 issue of the *Ontario Normal College Monthly* gives a flavour of the matters on the minds of the staff and students. The student-written editorial observed that "The field of educational research is unlimited and will claim our most careful study" (Editorial, 1900: 82). It complained about poorly qualified teachers who possessed minimal high school credentials and no teacher education. They wrote, "the profession is swarmed with 'third class' teachers many of whom will accept ridiculously low salaries, just for the sake of getting a start... Thus those who are in the profession as a life-work are made to suffer by those who use the position as a mere stepping stone or in order to attain a certain degree of independence by supplying themselves with pin-money"(Editorial,1900: 81). The agreement between the Hamilton Board of Education and the Ontario Normal College terminated in 1907. R.A. Thompson, the last principal of the College, concluded that its closure was largely the result of political whims and the changing opinions of the university (Guillet, 1960).

The faculty of education, University of Toronto: 1907–1920

That the University of Toronto had changed its mind with regard to its involvement in teacher education was directly related to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto. On 3 October 1905, the seven Commissioners were charged with the task of recommending the future development of the University of Toronto: its management, finances, and its relationships with professional schools. Six months later, the Commissioners delivered their relatively brief (60 page) report. They recommended the establishment or affiliation of a number of professional schools, including a Faculty of Education. They wrote:

> The time has come in our opinion for the creation of a department of pedagogy. A course in the history principles and practice of education should form part of the curriculum. The University examines for the degree of Bachelor of Pedagogy and Doctor of Pedagogy but has hitherto

> done no teaching. Departments of Education have been established in many universities ... The work is best performed where the theory and the practice can be made to supplement each other and it appears to us that the Provincial University should conduct the department on these lines ... The duty of the University in connection with the teaching body of our primary and secondary schools is one that ought to be recognized. ... We do not suggest the exact means by which such an arrangement can be effected. We believe that the question can best be dealt with by the new governing board and that financial provisions for the creations of a pedagogical course should be made. (Flavelle, 1906: iv)

THUS BEGAN THE history of one of the most complex professional schools within the University of Toronto: the Faculty of Education. The Commissioners correctly foreshadowed the tensions that would emerge in determining the place of the professional education for teachers within a university that was increasingly shaped by the norms of science. They clearly identified the debates between the theory and practice of education. They pointed out the obvious: that the interplay among the university that taught those wishing to become teachers, the provincial government who licensed them as practitioners and the local school boards who employed them as teachers would require constant negotiation. They identified the need for a clinical setting in which new student teachers could apply and practice their new knowledge and skills and thus recommended the establishment of the University of Toronto Schools.

WHILE IT MAY appear that the Faculty of Education was created to solve the issue of providing adequate professional education for secondary school teachers, once it was established, it did not restrict its admission to students who held first degrees. As Figure 1, the composite portrait of the graduating class of 1909–10, illustrates, the majority of students who enrolled in teacher education at the University of Toronto was young (by regulation, at least 18 years of age), female, preparing to teach in the elementary schools and lacking a university degree. The presence of so many young women students caused university officials great consternation. The University lacked facilities and personnel to adequately house and supervise them, the Dean of Education, W. Pakenham, explained. In the year that female enrollment in the Faculty of Education reached 259, Dean Pakenham wrote,

> The great majority of these women were under 21 years of age ... Scarcely any were over 23 years of age. About two-thirds of them came from homes

> outside the city and two-thirds of them did not remain in the city longer than one session. All of these women became teachers ... and shape the morals and manners of the young men and women of Ontario. And yet there is no residence for women at the Faculty of Education, no woman superintendent, counsellor or teacher. The condition calls for anxious consideration. (President's Report 1914–15: 17)

THE PRESENCE ON the University of Toronto campus of such large numbers of young women preparing for careers as elementary school teachers was short lived. When the Faculty of Education was recast (albeit with the same staff, administration and physical location) as the Ontario College of Education, it required a university degree for admission. Its targetted population was those students wishing to teach in the provincial high schools. If a student was interest in elementary education, certification could be acquired only if they took elementary education as one of their two teaching subjects. Relatively few students chose this option.

AS WAS INDICATED in the Commissioners' 1906 Report, even before it began to prepare students for teacher certification, the University of Toronto was granting graduate degrees in education. Approved before Senate in 1894, the Doctor of Pedagogy was one of the first doc-

toral degrees the University offered. Targetted at those wishing to be principals or inspectors, the University provided a list of recommended readings and set the examinations, but offered no course work. Candidates were not required to prepare a dissertation (Harris, 1976: 310). With the creation of the Faculty of Education, its faculty assumed responsibility for the degree and changed the requirements to include coursework, examinations, and a dissertation. The Dean annually reported that the rising interest in doctoral studies was hampered by the lack of resources to deliver them:

> The registration calls attention to the rapidly growing demand in Canada for courses in education, the demand is so varied and so strong that

> the University cannot afford longer to neglect its organization of the teaching staff and course of instruction in the faculty of education. It must act immediately or American universities will train the education experts of Canada. (President's Report 1919–20: 18)

GRADUATE TEACHING and research were viewed as interdependent and dissemination of results was viewed as critical, especially in light of the pronouncement of the President in his Annual Report that

> the spirit of investigation has been greatly strengthened and younger men are to be found in most departments who, either on their own account or under the direction of others who have already much to their credit, recognized that scientific research not only heightens their own interest but is becoming an essential qualification in a member of the staff of a modern university. (President's Report 1920–21:9)

WHILE THE IMPACT of the research culture on faculty work life would not reach its zenith until the late twentieth century, it is noteworthy that its roots can be seen in reports such as these. Although it was not until 1934/35 that a Directorship and Department of Educational Research were established, national dissemination of educational research had long been an expectation of members of the Faculty of Education. As Dean Pakenham reported:

> In September of 1912, the staff of the Faculty of Education issued the first number of "the School" ... It is the function of "The School" to help transfer to the teachers of Canada the results of the more recent discoveries and experiments in education, and this to renew or prolong their interest in educational problems. (President's Report 1912–1913: 22)

IN ITS INITIAL phase of existence, the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto educated teachers for both the elementary and secondary school panels. It did not require a degree for admission. Its student population was dominated by young women. It used the University of Toronto Schools (UTS), a school for boys (the second school – a school for girls – was never built) located in one wing of the Faculty of Education building , as one of its sites for practice teaching and as a source of methods instructors. Faculty members were encouraged to pursue a number of scholarly directions, which included engaging in graduate studies and research and contributing to the professional development of teachers in the province through the writing of articles and texts and the delivery of professional development courses.

The Ontario College of Education (OCE); 1920–1966

THE EXPERIMENT OF educating non-degreed elementary and secondary school teacher candidates together within a university setting lasted less than two decades. At the direction of the Ontario Ministry of Education, the Faculty of Education that had been established at Queen's University, Kingston, in 1907 was closed in 1920. In that same year, the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto became the Ontario College of Education (OCE). While it operated within the University of Toronto, with its chief operating officer a Dean, OCE was to be under the direction of both the Minister of Education and the University President.

OCE WAS TO be primarily devoted to the preparation of teachers for secondary schools. The demographic profile of the student population was considerably altered as many of the women students, whose need of residential accommodation and supervision was so much in the mind of the President and the Dean, were no longer admitted as students. The President of the University of Toronto reported:

> Though what was formerly the Faculty of Education is now the Ontario College of Education, the relationship of this department to the Board of Governors is happily unchanged and I have the pleasure in presenting as usual the report of Dean Pakenham. As a result of the new policy the numbers were greatly reduced, those in training for first-class certificates having been assigned to the Normal Schools. All the students in the College of Education in the regular classes were graduates in Arts. By reason of the smaller attendance of students ... graduate work has now been made possible to greater extent than formerly. (President's Report 1920–21: 9)

THE DEAN PREDICTED in the same year that with the elimination of the burden of teaching high numbers of students destined for employment in elementary schools, graduate studies in education would flourish. At the same time, he signalled that a more focussed approach to graduate education would be instituted.

THE OCE FACULTY'S work in graduate education and research appeared in the Reports of the President of the University of Toronto. Included annually were notices of appointments to the College; report from the Dean; enrollment data and number of graduates (whose degrees were granted by the University of Toronto) and intermittent reports from the Principal of the University of Toronto Schools.

BOTH PHYSICALLY and intellectually, OCE was not at the heart of the university. Situated on the edge of the campus, it was a brisk 20 minute walk from the administrative centre of Simcoe Hall. OCE was populated by faculty whom one former dean described as "an array ofindividuals and characters reminiscent of a Robertson Davies novel. Some were Dickensian in breadth and spirit. They were all males of course except for the obligatory and quite exceptional women in home economics and women's physical education, loyalist in temperament, politically conservative in matters of education and classroom practice" (Macdonald 1996:9). Yet, it is important to note that some faculty members were in fact curricular leaders, writing textbooks that gained provincial and national prominence.

IN SPITE OF its location on a university campus, and the fact that its head was a dean, most matters dealing with finance, appointment of staff and curriculum were overseen by the Ministry of Education. OCE's deans have been described by one of their number in the following terms "none of them scholars in the conventional contemporary sense but all of them sharing the same virtue of having impeccable connections with the ministers of education of their times" (Macdonald 1996: 9). This is not to say that some Presidents of the University of Toronto did not try to have more influence over OCE. When Dean A.C.Lewis (1944–58) tendered his resignation, University of Toronto acting President Moffat Woodside followed University policy and initiated the process of a striking a search committee to select a new Dean. The Ontario Minister of Education, W.J. Dunlop, wrote to the President: "Before you have too many meetings permit me to call to your mind an antiquated, colloquial but still very valid maxim 'He who pays the piper calls the tune.'" By Order in Council, that is, a cabinet directive and not a University search, B.C. Diltz was appointed Dean (Stamp, 1982: 201). With appointment procedures that did not follow university policies, and much of its research and publications oriented toward educational practice, OCE's culture differed dramatically from the rest of the university. It is not difficult to understand why tension between OCE and the rest of the campus arose.

IN THE MID-1950S, there were important changes made in the OCE program. Technical Studies were inaugurated to prepare teachers to staff these new secondary school programs. Most of the candidates for this program were men who moved from industry into education, without acquiring a degree. Major changes also occur-

red in the delivery of graduate programs. The degree Bachelor of Pedagogy, which may be considered as standing halfway between a Bachelor of Education and a Master of Education, was eliminated. The Master of Education degree was instituted. The Doctor of Pedagogy, to which one could gain admission from a Bachelor of Pedagogy, was also eliminated. Admission to the new Doctor of Education (Ed D) degree was completion of a Masters degree. The Ed D program included coursework in research, a series of seminars and the writing of a dissertation. The history of the Ed D at the University of Toronto is a fascinating and turbulent one for it raises questions as to how to implement a fully professional doctoral degree within a research-oriented university. Its current decline may be more a result of the professionalization of the Doctor of Philosophy degree than disinterest on the part of students in acquiring a graduate degree with a professional focus (Smyth, Allen & Wahlstrom, 2001).

Reintegation in the University of Toronto and new Mergers: 1962–1996

For almost forty years, OCE held a monopoly on professional education of secondary school teachers in the province of Ontario. Over those decades, teacher education was studied by a number of provincial reviews and task forces as the teacher educators in the provincial Normal Schools (later Teachers' Colleges), the Teachers' Federations and the faculty of OCE themselves all sought to improve secondary school teacher education. An analysis of the 1962 Report of The Minister's Committee on the Training of Secondary School Teachers (*The Patten Report)* provides insights into the critical issues within teacher education. The committee who formulated *The Patten Report* was charged with making recommendations "on all matters pertaining to the preparation of secondary school teachers, including the possible establishment of additional training institutions in the province." Among its six specific tasks was to explore "The relationship of the colleges to the universities to the Department of Education in matters both academic and non-academic" and "the relationship of the academic and professional education of teachers in both time and arrangement" (*The Patten Report* 1962: 5). Curiously, none of the 12 Commissioners were drawn from OCE.

The Patten Report listed 148 recommendations that addressed virtually all aspects of the life of a teacher education institution: the staff, students, curriculum, practice teaching, physical location, financial issues and governance. The Committee identified a number of roles for a college of education. While the training of teachers was its primary objective, the Committee believed that a key leadership role for the colleges lay in the domain of educational change:

> Through its direct contact with the secondary schools and with the Department of Education the college should be a prime mover in education change ... Significant writings and studies on education, advances and findings of other departments of the universities and the results of its own research projects are a part of this process ... Teachers must be trained not only in the changing aspects of secondary schools but also in the fact of change itself. (*The Patten Report* 1962: 10)

The Committee concluded that the best arrangement under which professional education can occur is one in which the responsibility is shared among the Ontario Ministry of Education and the University. It set about to recommend an improved and enhanced OCE. It recommended that "new colleges of education should follow this pattern if a graduate school in close relationship to a university" yet stated that "it does not follow that every university should have an attached college of education ... the ability of the surrounding area to provide adequate facilities for practical work must have an important bearing on the placement of new colleges." Staff should "hold university rank and appointment" yet "there must be consultation between the two authorities over the nomination and conditions of appointment of suitable persons to carry out the functions for which the college is established" (*The Patten Report* 1962: 50–53). How the committee visualized 'scholarship' was reflective of the dominance of members who were school-based or department based. The description of the Dean revealed much:

> The dean should be a person whose breadth of scholarship and respect for scholarship are generally recognized by the minister, by the universities and by secondary school teachers ... Such scholarship is not necessarily identifiable with a multiplicity of degrees and should outweigh any proof of administrative ability. (*The Patten Report* 1962: 68)

Three recommendations in *The Patten Report* deserve special attention: the creation of a new

degree: the Master of Arts in Teaching (MAT); the role of the college and faculty in research and the physical location of a school of teacher education.

EARLY IN THE report, the Committee members voiced their support for the MAT as a means of achieving "further personal development to the students and provision of even more intellectual challenge to the special group of students which can accept it without danger to the training aspects of the course. It should also help to forge a closer link between the college and the university" (*The Patten Report* 1962: 26). Students would divide their time between coursework in academic departments across the university and the Faculty of Education.

IN THE DOMAIN of research, the Committee's writings indicate a very practice-oriented view. They wrote that "staff experimentation and research" in areas of teaching practice and curriculum should "supplement the work being done by any research department or graduate school within the College." However, they advised against the establishment of a Department of Research (which was in existence at OCE), concluding that "it need not be considered an essential feature" for its role should be "subsidiary to the main function of the college which is to train teachers rather than research workers." To ensure the operations of an effective research department which would explore "problems related chiefly to secondary education and to research having practical application .... Avoid[ing] the danger of straying too far afield in its investigations", the committee advised that it be "controlled by the college and not allowed to develop into an isolate and semi-independent body" (*The Patten Report* 1962: 171). The committee advised that the colleges should not establish lab schools (and recommended that UTS be eliminated) but that research work be carried on, as should practice teaching, in schools reflecting the diversity of the secondary school population.

FINALLY, THE committee dedicated a considerable amount of space to space. It recommended that new buildings, located "on a university campus or in proximity to a university" built to accommodate 600 students "should be planned to resemble a good secondary school" with specialist classrooms. The OCE building should be the subject of a study by structural experts with a view to demolition or complete renovation. Space in the newly constructed facilities should include "office space for the local officials of the Ministry of Education" (*The Patten Report* 1962: 228). This latter recommendation indicates the

Committee's views that teacher education to be more aligned with the Ministry of Education. Shortly after the presentation of this Report, another commission, The Minister's Committee on the Training of Elementary School Teachers, produced The MacLeod Report (1966). The committee recommended the transfer of teacher education from Ministry of Education administered Teachers' Colleges into Faculties of Education that would be located on university campuses and governed by university procedures. This policy was initiated in the 1960s and completed the closure of the last Ontario Teacher Education College in 1979.

As with many commissioned works, little action was taken a result of *The Patten Report*. Yet, a few developments are worth noting. Two new colleges of education to qualify students for teaching in secondary schools were created at Queen's University, Kingston, and at the University of Western Ontario, London. The Ministry divested itself of some control over OCE. To reflect this change, OCE was renamed the College of Education of the University of Toronto (CEUT) in 1966 and in 1972, the Faculty of Education of the University of Toronto (FEUT).

Two events dramatically influenced CEUT's development: the foundation of OISE and a change in teacher qualifications. In 1965, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) was established independent of the University of Toronto but affiliated to it for degree granting purposes. OISE took over OCE's responsibility for graduate teaching and research. What had been OCE's Department of Educational Research became the core of OISE. The new OISE was well-funded. Its founding director recruited faculty internationally. Very rapidly, OISE became Canada's premier institute of educational research. It attracted students and scholars from around the province, across the country and around the world. Its innovative and responsive approach to graduate education resulted in a large enrollment in its part-time Master and Doctor of Education degrees. As enrollment grew, many women teachers were drawn to part time study that enabled them to combine graduate work with full time employment. Through its network of field centres scattered throughout Ontario, OISE engaged in the delivery of graduate programs in education, in wide ranging research and in collaborative field development activities. In the absence of its own large and resource-rich graduate department, the new CEUT began striking alliances with a number of university departments, including English, Mathematics, Physics, Geography and Library Science (Macdonald, 1996:19) imple-

menting the degree of Master of Arts/Master of Science in Teaching (MAT) – the degrees that *The Patten Report* had recommended.

THE SECOND CHANGE was the result of the 1974 decision of the Ministry of Education to change teacher qualifications. Previously, students at OCE/CEUT could prepare for both elementary and secondary schools by selecting "the elementary option" in addition to one of their subject-based high school courses. Few students selected this path. As of 1974 students could select qualifications to teach students at the following levels: primary/junior (Kindergaren-Grade 6), junior/intermediate (Grades 4–10) or intermediate/senior (Grades 7 to school leaving). The outcome of this choice was that FEUT students could choose to pursue a program of studies with an elementary school orientation. Declining enrollment in the province's school system caused great problems in faculty recruitment. One former dean described the problem thus "between 1974 and 1989, there virtually no new appointments made at FEUT ...the penalty paid by the Faculty for too rapid expansion in the late sixties was keenly felt by its inability to benefit from the advantages of orderly renewal throughout much of the eighties" (Macdonald, 1996: 15). The Deans of Education decided to keep enrollment in the elementary options small as they had to retool their secondary school oriented staff to teach students whose pedagogical interests differed from theirs.

THE PROVOSTIAL REVIEW of the Faculty of Education 1986–87 pointed a new direction at FEUT. In addition to encouraging further linkages with OISE, and with the two laboratory schools, the Institute for Child Studies (ICS) and UTS, the Review recommended resources for new faculty appointments and a greater research focus. A period of reform under the leadership of newly appointed Dean Michael Fullan lasted from 1988 to 1996.

The Present

Perhaps the most significant change which has occurred in the faculty's history is that which heralded the present phase: the 1996 merger of FEUT and OISE into the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT). Previous attempts to join the two institutions, most notably an attempt by the University of Toronto based on the recommendation of the Marsden Task Force and one by the Liberal Government of Ontario made by an announcement in the 1985 provincial budget by Treasurer Robert Nixon (Lang & Eastman 2002: 77), had failed. Yet, under the leadership of FEUT Dean Michael Fullan , OISE Director Angela Hildyard and University of Toronto President Rob Pritchard, OISE/UT was created on 1 July 1996. Headed by Dean Michael Fullan, this new institution's self declared mandate was:

> Canada's leading educational institution dedicated to the establishment of a learning society, through immersing itself in the world of applied problem solving and expanding the knowledge and capacities of individuals to lead productive lives. (OISE/UT, 2002)

OISE/UT CONTINUES the almost century-old tradition of delivering a one year consecutive program in teacher education to students who already have earned at least one academic degree. Additionally, it offers two graduate programs that combine a graduate degree with teacher qualification: a Master of Arts in Human Development and a Master of Teaching. Four other graduate degrees are offered by OISE/UT's five graduate departments: Master of Arts, Master of Education, Doctor of Education and Doctor of Philosophy.

OISE/UT IS STILL attempting to actualize the vision for professional teacher education within the University of Toronto that was identified in the 1906 Royal Commission Report. The tensions and challenges identified by the Commissioners are still in the foreground as the increasing demands from arms-length regulatory bodies, such as the Ontario Council on Graduate Studies and the Ontario College of Teachers, have reshaped elements of teacher education. Significant new pressures have emerged as well. In response to the structures put in place by the Ontario Ministry of Education to increase the accountability for teachers' initial and ongoing professional certification, the relationship between the faculties of education and Ontario's teacher unions has become strained. As well, the demands for accountability within the university-research culture has placed pressure on

faculty to meet ever escalating standards of excellence in both teaching and research.

As OISE/UT moves into the twenty-first century, and awaits the impact of a new dean, faculty are grappling with three questions. How can a professional faculty delivering both initial teacher education and graduate education achieve excellence in both teaching and research? What is the role of a professional faculty of education in a contemporary research university? In what ways can faculty excellence be enhanced within an environment which addresses the realities of professional education with its demands for the education and supervision of teacher candidates; responsiveness to the schools systems, graduate instruction and, supervision; scholarship and research? The answers to these questions may reveal the shape of tomorrow's teacher education.

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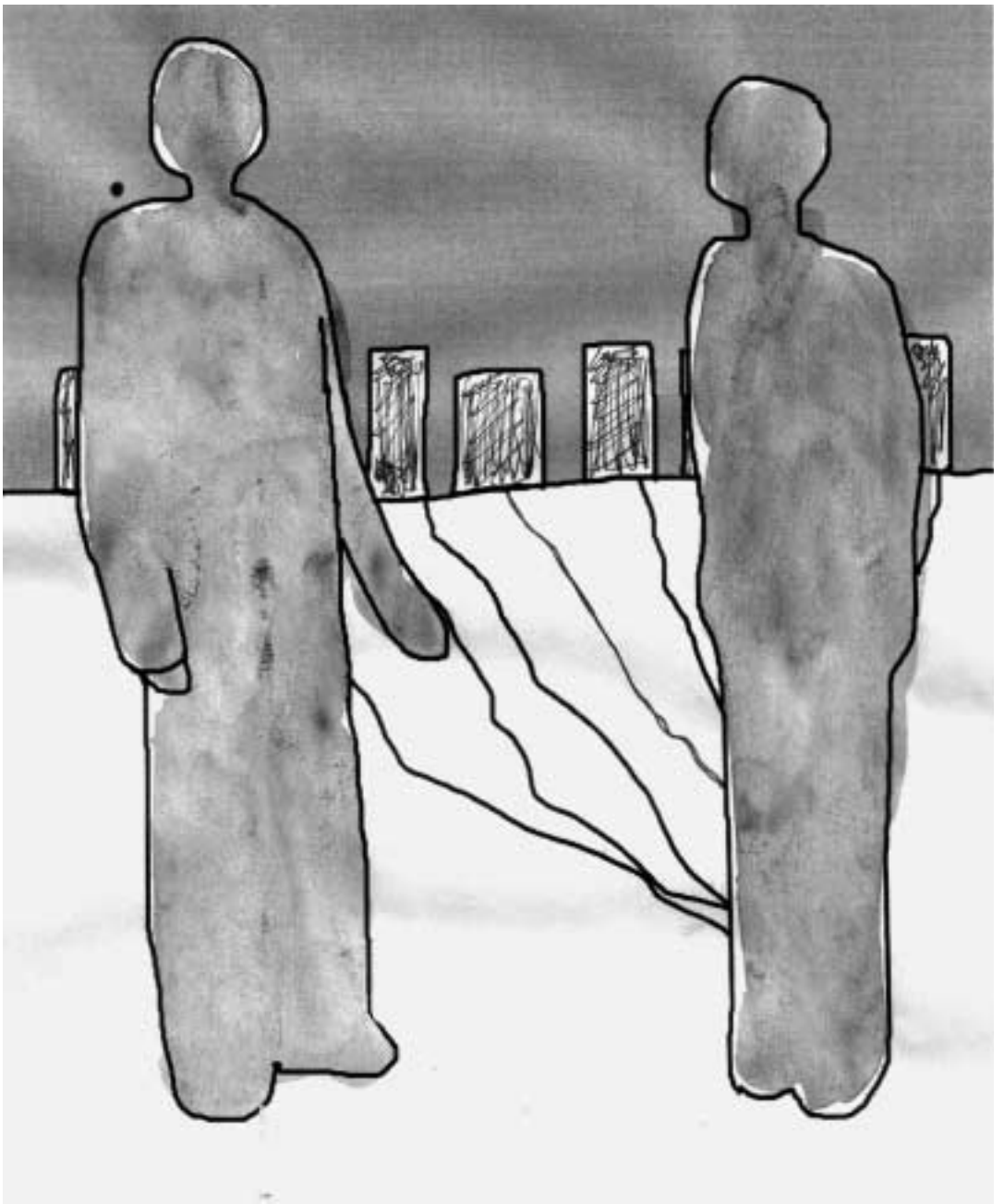

The Arduous Transfer of Elementary Teacher Education from Teachers' Colleges to Universities in Ontario, Canada

Michelle Webber and Nicole Sanderson

Abstract

This article explores the transfer of elementary teacher education from teachers' colleges to universities in the province of Ontario, Canada, drawing from both published secondary historical sources and personal accounts. The article highlights negotiations between the government and the various universities interested in creating faculties of education. We explore several of the tensions that arose between groups of workers as a result of this transfer to the universities. Lastly we examine the rise of the research culture and how it fundamentally affects the condition of faculty members' working lives.

EDUCATION IN CANADA has always been decentralized, meaning that schools, the curriculum and teacher certification are provincially controlled. Consequently, certification requirements for teachers in Canada vary from province to province. Elementary teacher training in Ontario[i] evolved from no training, to model schools, to normal school, to teachers' colleges, to university training. Secondary teachers in Ontario customarily had a Bachelor of Arts degree and their training evolved from no training, to non-compulsory model school training, to voluntary collegiate training, to compulsory teacher training at institutions affiliated with universities, to mandatory university training.[ii] The purpose of this article is to outline the transfer of elementary teacher education from teachers' colleges to universities in the province of Ontario, drawing from both published secondary historical sources and personal accounts[iii]. Interviews were conducted with 9 men and 8 women faculty members and administrators (both current and retired) chosen as key informants from 8 faculties of education in Ontario. Individuals were interviewed as part of a larger project investigating traditions and transitions in teacher education in Canada.[iv] The article highlights general trends in Ontario teacher education rather than focusing on specific histories of individual institutions.

Transfer of Teacher Education from Teachers' Colleges to Universities

A Four-Year Plan

In 1966, William Davis, Minister of Education, announced legislation based on a recommendation from the MacLeod Report[v] that would require the transfer of elementary teacher training from teachers' colleges to universities (Fleming, 1971; Fiorino, 1978; Wideen and Hopkins, 1983). Sheridan (1971: 107 and 114) outlines some of the reasons why the recommendation was made: a) "teachers' colleges produced immature graduates", b) "teacher training was occurring in universities elsewhere", c) "teachers should be liberally educated and universities would supply such an education", d) "teachers' college preparation was no longer adequate to train teachers whose task it was to educate children for modern conditions", e) "teacher training institutions should provide research and leadership for the profession and that universities would provide this", f) "the [Ontario] department of education had imposed uniformity on the teachers' colleges whereas university autonomy would encourage innovation and progress", g) "elementary and secondary teacher training should be provided by the same institution", and h) "the broad philosophical understanding required by superior teachers could best be developed in a university faculty of education".

While most universities were willing to establish faculties of education and created planning committees to develop proposals for faculties, these proposals were frequently ignored for periods of time, modified, or found unacceptable by the Ontario Ministry of Education.

> Some of the problems included the reluctance by the universities to accept the staff of the teachers' colleges, a concern by the Ministry for the careers of teachers' college staff members who were civil servants ... a strong local political pressure against the closing of teachers' college, and competing claims by different cities to be centers of teacher education. (Fiorino, 1978:146)

Two of our informants, Wade James and Steven Wilson, talk about this historical shift in teacher education and how two teachers' colleges were closed down.

> Negotiations were really fraught right across the province and, for example, McMaster simply turned down flat Hamilton Teachers' College, that was a natural, and I, if memory serves me right and I could be wrong, my memory is that Brock got a faculty because Mac turned it down. (Wade James)

> The problem was this, and this was a problem right across the province, the problem was that some of the universities did not want the teachers' colleges. They didn't want the personnel. They didn't want the philosophy okay ... they never touched the Toronto Teachers' College so it was simply closed down. And these people ended up either becoming civil servants, simply walking away somewhere into the education ministry or else they went out and found jobs in the school system. (Steven Wilson)

THERE WAS also a concern by the Ontario Ministry of Education that a university's autonomy would limit the Ministry's input into the teacher education process (Fiorino, 1978). "As I remember, that was one of the big things that held the amalgamations up that the ministry and the universities fought over programme control and the ministry finally ceded programme control" (Wade James).

SHEEHAN AND FULLAN (1995: 91) contend that the "emphasis on practice in the normal school versus the interest in research in the university did not facilitate a smooth transition". The staffs of the teachers' colleges were often committed teachers who had heavy teaching and in-school supervision loads. These working conditions left little time for conducting educational research, which became a primary expectation of the new breed of teacher educators as envisioned by the universities. Universities also tended to consider teacher education staff, students and curricula inferior to their own and they did not believe that professional courses were capable of becoming university disciplines (Sheridan, 1971: 116). This sentiment is well evidenced in the interviews with the academics. As Wade James recalls, "a teachers' college staff member with a doctorate was so rare that the only person with a PhD was actually referred to as 'Dr. Bill', setting him apart from the other staff members". Laura Davies talks about how the first Dean at one faculty of education "point blank refused to accept as his faculty the staff of [name] teachers' college". The Dean's position was "this is a faculty of education now, within a university, and it must hire people who have doctorates and so only one or two people actually came over from the [name] teachers' college".

VALERIE FOLEY DISCUSSES how the tension from the transition into the university between the old teachers' college staff and the newer hires in the faculty of education was still apparent upon her appointment in the mid-1980s.

> The old guys, who had been the master teachers out of the [name] college, were just becoming more and more marginalized and really old

> fuddy-duddies and in 1987 the place was full of them!

She talks about how some of the teachers' college staff pursued doctorates and moved into the graduate school and "escaped" from teacher education and what this then left behind.

> Everybody who had gotten a doctorate had left. The ones who were left were truly the bottom of the barrel ... just a bunch of old farts who had ceased to have really any connection to, much connection to the field as such and certainly to the literature. They'd ceased reading years before this and held these old notions that just struck those of us coming in as frightening in the current climate in the late 80s. They were threatened by academia and took an exceedingly hostile position with all manner of things that are just part and parcel of the university structure.

After years of negotiations between the universities and the Ontario Ministry of Education during the late 1960s, a guideline for the transfer of teachers' college staffs into universities was worked out. Teachers' college staff members who transferred to universities would be protected for four years during which time they could demonstrate their teaching competence in the university setting. They were encouraged to improve their academic qualifications by taking advantage of study leaves, which the Department of Education promised to finance. Commenting, "so people in effect had four years to find a job", Steve Wilson looked upon this four-year arrangement with cynicism.

> The Minister of Education could say we transferred the whole teachers' college and staff to [name] university, they are now being paid by them, they are not our responsibility, knowing full well that [name] university would simply phase all these people out and dismiss them. (Steven Wilson)

The teachers' college staffs were told that they would be given notice at the end of three years if they were not granted tenure (Fleming, 1971; Fiorino, 1978; Sheehan and Fullan, 1995).

Transitions

The integration of the elementary teachers' colleges into the universities began in 1969 when Lakehead Teachers' College became the Faculty of Education of Lakehead University (Fiorino, 1978; Smyth, Acker and Dillabough, 2001: 15). The last teachers' colleges were transferred in 1974 with Sudbury Teachers' College becoming part of Laurentian University and the University of Ottawa transforming the Ottawa Teachers' College. By 1973, a university degree was

required of all students seeking admission to a one year elementary teacher training program. When the universities took over the teachers' colleges, they began to offer both elementary and secondary teacher training in order to make the faculties economically viable (Fiorino, 1978: 147–148).

CLEARLY, SOME people managed the transition to the universities and enjoyed successful academic careers. Interview material tells us that some of those who did not go into the university did not necessarily "fail" to make the transition but rather went on to other careers. "There were people who were here in the faculty who had moved into administrative positions with the ministry and with boards of education, they moved in as directors and so there were some who did that" (Wade James). There were also individuals who made the transition, with various fates. "Within that group that came over there were people who hated the place and left, who didn't survive but there were also bright, able people who within a year, two years fit in ... they were people who survived just fine" (Wade James).

Rise of the Research Culture

Wideen and Hopkins (1983:11) state that after elementary teacher education became lodged in universities, teacher educators were encouraged to become more involved in research activities due to the academic expectations of the university community. One informant recalls the development of a research culture beginning in the 1980s in his faculty with the task of removing various individuals from the list of graduate faculty. "Everyone who was [removed] has retired now so there's calm after that, but that was really unpleasant ... I don't think the graduate programme has looked back. I think it's been strong ... it was partly in the spirit of the university's attempt to be a research-intensive university" (Jason O'Brien).

OTHERS SPOKE of how new people in the role of Dean moved the research culture forward. The earliest recollection of a research culture by one of the participants comes from Wade James who remembers a point in time in 1979 when the current dean was coming up for review:

> There were some members of the faculty who felt that there needed to be a stronger thrust in terms of the scholarly activities and the research and those kinds of things ... there were some who were looking for a little stronger hand from the

> administration in supporting a research culture and supporting research activity. (Wade James)

Nancy Stevenson describes a later instance of connecting the role of the Dean to a rise in research expectations.

> In 1984 they hired a dean of education...he had enough academic experience and credibility that he came in, he really began to move the place. He said the R word, research, and his first retreat with them was to talk about doing research and he said that everybody looked at him as if he had just landed from Mars and it was very tough slogging...he also gained the support of people outside of the faculty, who quite liked him, who thought "ah, here's a new breed of person. This is what we need in the faculty of ed". So he had a good deal of support in the rest of the university. (Nancy Stevenson)

The research culture clearly marked a shift in people's work lives. People who were working hard in the field were being told that their work was not up to the current standards expected in the university.

> They had a splendid group of people there who were really working with the [x] community, but that didn't count. They hadn't provided enough books and articles in that particular period of time so they were virtually told get back into the stacks and start doing some work, the hell with all this nonsense of looking after workshops...sort of 'be like us' is what it really came down to in the graduate world. (Brian Santana)

> So it very clearly in the 90s became understood that you should be performing in all of these different areas, which I think pre-service faculty was always doing but whereas before when some of my publications would have been in teacher journals I was now looking toward more academic journals to publish in. Ah, I stopped doing as many workshops in the schools and did more AERA [American Educational Research Association] and CSSE [Canadian Society for the Study of Education presentations]. (Lisa French)

Jason O'Brien recalls how he altered his area of expertise to reflect the needs produced by the changes taking place in his department. "When we changed our masters' programme and needed more people to teach research courses I developed an expertise in research methods so that I could teach the introductory research course, which was both qualitative and quantitative". The creation of the Ontario Council on Graduate Studies (OCGS)[vii] also affected people's work.

> I think certainly that the OCGS has been a factor in fostering the research component of faculty. If one is going to be teaching in a graduate programme, then one has to be walking the talk. One has to be doing the research. (Simon Nash)

FACULTY MEMBERS who teach in graduate programmes come under the scrutiny of the OCGS. Programme units are reviewed regularly and faculty curriculum vitae are included in the submission. The recommended curriculum vita format counts lifetime publications, but lists details only for seven years.

> If there are any publications or research which is more than seven years old, it is removed so that should you not be maintaining your current research agenda you will be refused permission to teach in the graduate programme. So there is a very definite series of continuing hurdles that faculty members know they must meet, which provides a fairly strong incentive I think. (Laura Davies)

THIS LEVEL of scrutiny requires that faculty members teaching in graduate programmes are continually researching and publishing.

SEVERAL PEOPLE discussed the various supports they received as faculty members in order to flourish in their research. Assistance from Deans ranged from volunteering to read over junior faculty members' research proposals to fostering an atmosphere conducive to research. One former Dean recalls how he encouraged his faculty to become involved in research:

> I appointed someone as a research coordinator to be our link between the office of research administration at the university and some of the non-granting council research opportunity, so I appointed someone. I tried to provide a little more seed funding, more conference support. All the things you would do, I reduced the teaching load for tenure-stream faculty so I mean the number of things to allow a climate for research. As we all know it's never enough, but there were, I think some sizable changes. (William Wildman)

A CURRENT FORM of support available to faculty with large research grants is to use portions of their grants to buy themselves out of some of their teaching responsibilities.

> We have two people who have just had enormous, fairly large grants, and the way they say it they were encouraged to use a number of the resources within those grants to buy out their teaching time and dedicate it to research. Now that was

> unheard of 20 years ago when I was here. So in other words, the notion is yes, you still officially have to teach but you can use some of that money to buy out and we'll hire somebody to do it and then you just do research. So that's a very big shift and these are the young people. These are the new people who are coming in. So that's a big shift. (Lisa French)

One participant talks about the infrastructure set up in her faculty to assist people wanting to do research.

> An office where people, where information could go out to them about SSHRC [Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council] opportunities or research grant opportunities and where people could get advice about grant preparation, proposal writing, connection into the university research office. We had on-going seminars where people could present their on-going research or their conclusive research to the rest of the faculty. So it was trying to develop an orientation to research and academic discussion. (Beverley Norton)

Walker (2000:241) suggests that with the transfer of teacher education from teachers' colleges to faculties of education there was a shift from a focus on the needs of the local school system to addressing an international audience of university theorists across the world. Teacher educators were expected to concentrate on the international scholarly community in order to gain tenure and promotion. Several people talked about the internationalization of their work (see also Acker, this issue). As Lisa French states,

> I joined a few international groups to be presenting at those conferences and it's not that I didn't like that. I loved it and many people in the faculty here enjoyed it but I mean we recognized it also as a new stress, as a new strain. I think we dealt with it quite nicely, but we weren't naive enough to know that it wasn't a move for us and I would say there was certainly some discomfort around it.

Ontario faculties of education understood that it was important for university faculty members to engage in educational research (Fullan et al., 1987). The emphasis placed on research was evident in new trends in faculty hiring; there was a demand for new faculty members to have more academic training. The majority of people interviewed raise this aspect of qualification inflation.

> But we don't hire people now who don't have PhDs. (Jason O'Brien)

> In the mid 90s to the present or even early 90s, would definitely have to meet all of the criteria in any university, certainly this one. So you don't get a look in, if you don't have a doctorate. Whereas in earlier days, you know MA is fine but the other criteria are more important. (Lawrence Peters)

> Graduate degrees were preferred but not required. Increasingly, they become demanded and if not demanded, they'll ask questions like what are your plans? (Wade James)

> In terms of balance, we had to have new hirings of academics and every tenure-stream appointment in my view had to come in with a research agenda and ability to teach at the highest graduate level. (William Wildman)

IT WAS INTERESTING to learn that the annual rating of Canadian universities by a Canadian news magazine (Macleans) influences university policy. Valerie Foley remembers how the Macleans magazine poll affects faculty.

> The ante has been upped, the ante was upped as soon as this university ... started defining itself as a research-based university, one of the big ones, and the Macleans' poll did that to them.

ONE OF THE elements that universities are rated on in this poll is the percentage of faculty with doctoral degrees.

Status – A Struggle for Respect

Not only were faculty members expected to be involved in research, they were also required to be aware of relevant research taking place elsewhere and to incorporate such knowledge into their programs (Fullan et al., 1987:31–32). The difficulty that arose in the early years was that the teachers' college staff who became the new university professors often did not have doctorates and often lacked research skills (Fullen, 1993; Wideen and Hopkins, 1983). Anecdotal evidence indicates that faculties of education were slow to implement a research agenda and that they were criticized by other faculties in the universities and not granted tremendous respect. As a result education suffers low status when compared with other faculties in universities. Other researchers (see Clifford and Guthrie, 1988; Ginsburg, 1988; Johnson, 1966; Patterson, 1984; Prentice, 1990) suggest that the low status of faculties of education in universities is related to the historical origins of normal schools, which were often associated with elementary education, practice based training, and women. The uneasy relationship

between faculties of education and other university faculties still remains today.

"To some extent it is a North American phenomena, I mean teacher education is at the bottom of the scale in every university. At least that I know of in North America. And I am not sure how much better it is in Britain" (Brian Santana). This low status of education was made clear for Laura Davies when she asked a colleague to be an external examiner on a graduate thesis committee.

> He performed very well and as I thanked him I said "and if I can return the favour, I'll be happy to do it" and he said "Oh, I'm afraid professors in the faculty of education aren't acceptable to my department as external examiners", which shocked me profoundly. My academic qualifications were, in fact, superior to his and so he did not in any sense mean this as a personal putdown, he was merely describing his faculty's assumption.

To increase their status within the universities, faculties of education encouraged faculty members to do more scholarly work and encouraged the university to respect and value practical knowledge as well as theoretical knowledge (Fullan et al., 1987:33). However, tensions existed between people doing pre-service versus graduate work, as well as between original teachers' college staff or persons hired directly out of the school system versus persons hired with doctoral degrees.

> And they still sell themselves as teacher college people...the notion that if you are training a teacher the best person to do it is a teacher, so it is an apprenticeship view of the world and the shock when in the teachers' colleges that had now become faculties of education they began to hire people who had PhDs, but no teaching experience. And the older style professors in these faculties who had been in the teachers' colleges of course regarded these people as useless because they had never taught a kid in their life and they had no understanding of how you set up a classroom, how you discipline kids, and how you plan program and so on. You now got this funny kind of polarization ... but you know there is a certain kind of anti-intellectualism in the teachers' college model that is all focussed on training people to fit and therefore if you want to change the world you are not going to do it very fast with the teacher college model. (Steven Wilson)

The implementation of various policies attempts to address this division between the "old" and "new" guard, the "pre-service" and the "graduate" faculty. At some of the faculties

of education represented in our interviews, all faculty or in some cases, all new hires, must teach at both levels (pre-service and graduate).

> A second thing that helped tremendously was the policy that, that was introduced and I can't tell you exactly when this was but it would have been the early 90s that any new hire to the faculty would teach at all levels. That was very much harder to implement than it was to bring it in as a policy as we well know but once you had that as a policy it meant that there would never again be positions defined exclusively at the graduate level and that had just done us untold damage because of the more attractive teaching arrangement so that has helped. (Valerie Foley)

AT OTHER SCHOOLS teaching at all levels is part of the strategic plan.

> The need to have all of our teaching be informed by research and a strong relationship between undergraduate, graduate and research and there has to be some kind of balance in what we do and also, one informs the other. It cannot be that undergraduate is the poor cousin and graduate is what I want to do and research is, is maybe the particular domain of certain people. I think one has to inform the other and we all have to have some work to do in each one. (Tracy Dawson)

THIS KIND OF requirement does not necessarily mean that the divisions are bridged. It may actually widen the gap between the various teacher educators since it is difficult to do both kinds of teaching and conduct research. Despite the creation of policies intended to address the problem the tension between subgroups remains.

Conclusion

The interviews with our key informants reveal several general trends affecting teacher education since the transfer of teachers' colleges into universities. We see faculties of education struggling for respect in terms of their disciplinary position within the larger university. In the interviews thus far, we see divisions between groups of workers, some of whom came to the faculties of education with relatively little advanced training while others were hired with doctorates with little or no elementary or secondary classroom experience. The generation of teacher educators with relatively little advanced training is almost entirely retired by now. There is also a tension between faculty members who do primarily graduate teaching and those who teach mainly in the pre-service stream. Finally, we see a sharp rise in the research culture in the 1980s, which fundamentally changes the condition of teacher educators' working lives. While

many faculties implemented policies and practices to support teacher educators, there is an escalation in expectations for performance, with newly hired faculty expected to meet standards of scholarship in their early years that in the past took much of a career to attain.

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Endnotes

i. Ontario is the easternmost of Canada's central provinces, bordering Quebec on its east and Manitoba on its west, Hudson's Bay and James Bay on the north and the St. Lawrence River and the great Lakes on the south. The province has a landmass of 1,068,580 sq km and is the 2nd largest province in Canada (Education Canada, 2003). Ontario is the country's most populated province. Ontario's population is estimated at 11, 874 436 (Government of Ontario, 2000). The provincial capital of Ontario is Toronto. Ontario is also the home to Canada's capital city, Ottawa.

ii. See Ontario Department of Education (1950; 1962; 1966); Pippy Day (1954); Caswell (1966); Fiorino (1978); Fullen, Connelly, Heller, Watson and Scane (1987) for in-depth descriptions of the emergence of secondary and elementary teacher training in Ontario.

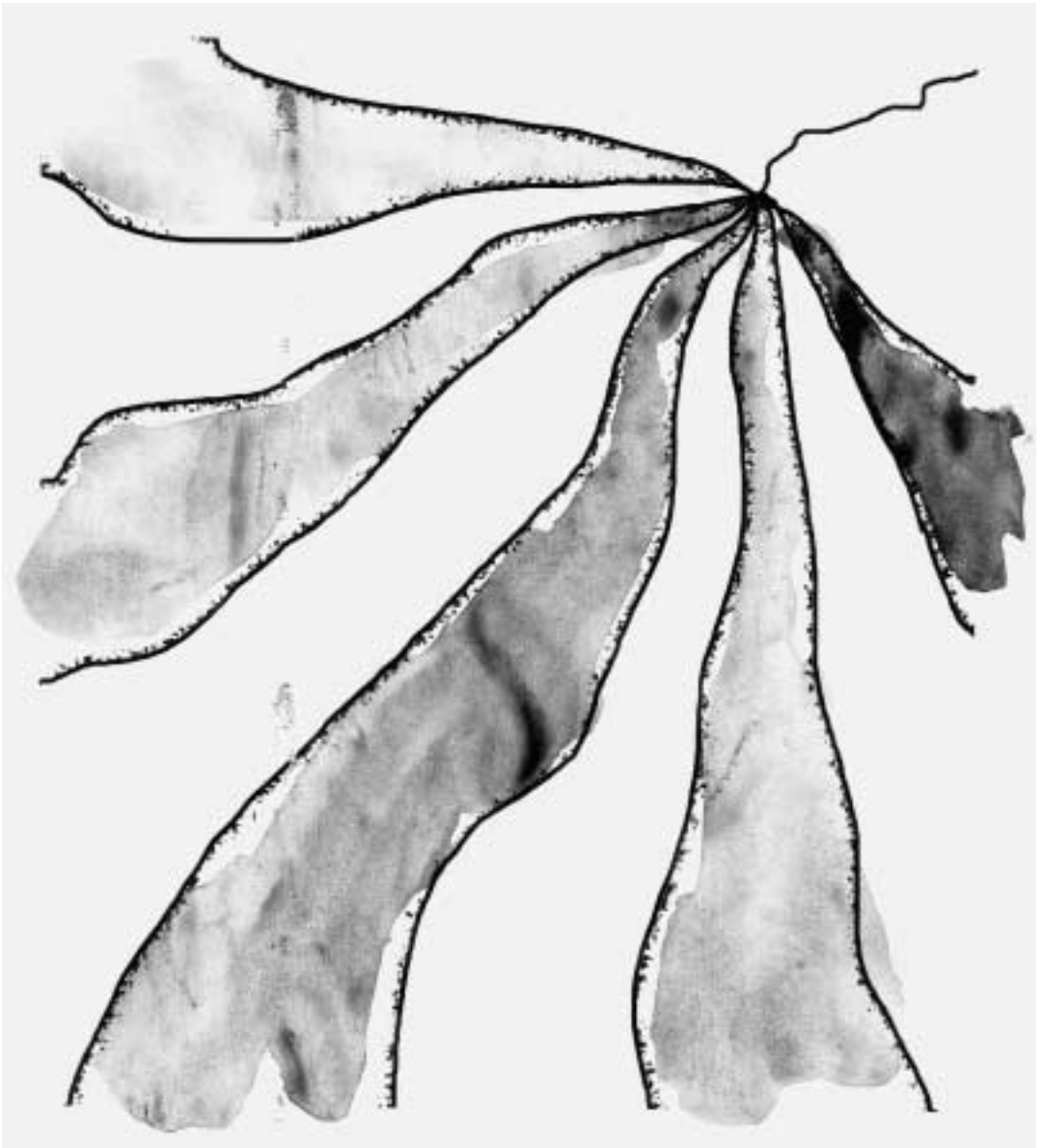
iii. All names in this paper are pseudonyms.

iv. Thanks to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for funding this project. Thanks to project members and other colleagues who have worked on the project: Sandra Acker, Jo-Anne Dillabough, Dianne Hallman, Thérèse Hamel, Elizabeth Smyth and Barbara Soren.

v. In 1964, William Davis appointed the Committee on the Training of Elementary School Teachers, which was chaired by R.A. MacLeod, then Director of Education in Niagara Falls. The report became known as the MacLeod Report and was readily taken up by the Department of Education.

vi. Preservice refers to initial teacher training.

vii. OCGS stands for the Ontario Council on Graduate Studies that is an affiliate of the Council of Ontario Universities (COU). It strives to ensure quality graduate education and research across Ontario. OCGS conducts quality reviews of graduate (master's and PhD) programs that have been proposed for implementation in Ontario's universities. It also performs quality reviews of existing programs on a seven-year cycle (see www.cou.on.ca/ocgs).



Traditions and Transitions in Teacher Education:

The Case of Saskatchewan[1]

Dianne M. Hallman

In 1970 the College of Education, University of Saskatchewan, moved to its new building on campus. After several years of intensive planning, teacher education in Saskatchewan was now, for the most part, under one roof in a large modern structure considered "an impressive addition to the University campus," even though "functional arrangement takes precedence over artistic expression." Faculty and students of the six departments were excited by the possibilities afforded by a large library and the latest technological wizardry including closed-circuit television, and computers with "an I.B.M. punch card system," (Collins, n.d., p.14). Since 1964, when the teachers' colleges had been integrated into the university, the activities and programmes of the college had been divided between the Regina Campus and, in Saskatoon, the off-campus Teachers' College building and on-campus Kirk Hall.[2] The new facility represented something other than a larger, more convenient space; it symbolized the full transition from a normal school/ teacher college model of pre-service teacher education to one of a university professional college. The only worry then was whether it would be large enough to accommodate the ever increasing number of students and faculty, a worry that gave way to more pressing ones during the retrenchment of the eighties and nineties.

While the movement of teacher education into the universities happened in ways particular to each province in Canada, it was accompanied, if not driven, by the spread of a research culture or "research imperative" (Gumport, 1991). The Transitions project research team is investigating these transitions, with their attendant intensification in the demands for research, through analysis of the experiences of those who lived and worked through them. Using a case-study approach, we describe and compare institutional transitions and their effects on faculty in three provinces-Ontario, Quebec, and Saskat-

chewan – from 1945 to the present. Drawing on documentary sources and interviews with key personnel, this paper provides a brief history of institutional transitions in teacher education in Saskatchewan, and signals some of the significant issues related to the growth of a research culture.

With few exceptions, education, including most post-secondary education in Canada, is a provincial responsibility. However, federal government support (or lack thereof) through transfer payments (the allocation of federal tax dollars to the provinces by formulae aimed to equalize the provision of services in key areas such as health, education, and social services) and other federal policy measures have an enormous impact (see, for example, Grant, 2002; Polster, 2002). As well, the demographic and economic context of a province affects how education is conceived and practised, which in turn affects the priorities and planning of teacher educators. To give readers a sense of the province of Saskatchewan, I discuss some of its general characteristics and defining features of its history.

With just over one million people, Saskatchewan is one of the most sparsely populated provinces in Canada relative to its size. Its mass is vast (5th largest province) stretching from the U.S border at the 49th parallel to the Northwest Territories on the 60th for a total of 651 036 square kilometres. The middle prairie province, it is bordered on the east by Manitoba, and about 900 km to the west by oil-rich Alberta. It has two major urban centres, Saskatoon, with a population of 231 000 (coincidentally, first twinned with Umeå in the 1970s through "ParticipAction")[3], and Regina, the capital of the province, with a population of 200,000. Almost half the population live in these two cities (Sasktourism, 2002). At approximately eleven per cent of the total, Aboriginal peoples are the fastest growing population in the province (Statistics Canada, 2002; Tymchak, 2001).[4]

Saskatchewan politics is the most consistently left-of-centre of the Canadian provinces. The democratic socialist Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), forerunner to the New Democratic Party (NDP), formed the government in Saskatchewan from 1944–1964. Premiers Tommy Douglas and Woodrow Lloyd pioneered the first forms of what later became universal state medicare, now under serious assault by the forces of privatization. Perhaps in part because of its historical grounding in cooperative movements, Saskatchewan

has resisted, especially at the K-12 level, the current old right/new right assaults on public education that include greater emphasis on standardized testing and performance measures, the growth of charter schools and voucher systems, the centralization of authority and reduction of teacher autonomy, all rationalized in the name of competition, efficiency, and accountability (Robertson, 1998). While Saskatchewan's NDP government of the 1990s and 2000s has followed a relatively neo-liberal agenda, progressive elements are still in evidence. A recent task force on the role of the school, for example, sets a policy direction which, if followed, would radically reshape schooling (and by extension, teacher education) towards community-based needs and goals (Tymchak, 2001).

THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS of the land which became Saskatchewan were Assiniboine, Cree, Blackfoot, and other First Nations. With the demise of the fur-trade and near extinction of buffalo, the first peoples were settled on reserve lands and governed by the federal Indian Act of 1876. The federal government entered into treaties with them which, from its perspective, secured "title to land resources for settlement and development" (Carter, 1999, 125) Interpretation of the provisions of these treaties is the subject of on-going debate. The original peoples negotiated for the provision of education: "In Treaties One to Six, the government agreed to maintain schools on reserves, and, in Treaty Seven, to pay the salary of teachers" (Carter, 1999, 121). Education, under federal auspices and the administration of churches, took on various assimilative guises with the intent of destroying native peoples' cultures and ways of life and enforcing their inferior status relative to whites (Stevenson, 1991). The educational provisions of the numbered treaties did not include the Metis (mixed blood), and it was 1944 before the Saskatchewan government assumed responsibility for educating Metis and non-status Indian children (Government Relations and Aboriginal Affairs, 2002). Today, while there are many competing discourses about the definition and nature of Aboriginal education, it is, rhetorically at least, a central concern within the province.

IN 1905 THE PROVINCE was formed from the territory that the Hudson Bay Company had called Rupert's Land, almost forty years after the original confederation of colonies (1867) into the Dominion of Canada. During the early twentieth century, the federal government made agriculture and white settlement priorities. Between 1901 and 1920, over 650 000 immigrants came to Saskatchewan from the United States, eastern

and central Canada, the British Isles, eastern Europe, Russia, and a significant percentage from Scandinavian countries. They established schools like those familiar to them; Ontario, in particular, provided the model for education. In its early years, the province offered little secondary or high school education. Such an influx of newcomers created a pressing need for teachers, who were almost all recruited from outside the region (Poelzer, 1990, 8–9).

LOCAL TEACHER education began with the establishment of normal school departments in Regina and Moosomin. It gradually became formalized in Normal Schools established in Regina (1893), Saskatoon (1912), and Moose Jaw (1927) under the jurisdiction of the provincial (after 1905) Department of Education. The enormous demand for teachers during the settler boom lead to a heavy reliance on ones with temporary certificates. Until 1926 short training sessions in various towns and communities allowed participants to earn a Third-Class certificate valid for three years. Further training was required to upgrade this to a permanent professional certificate (Campbell, 1996).

NORMAL SCHOOLS taught a highly regulated and ever-evolving curriculum in the academic subjects of the day. In the early years, agriculture, nature study, and school gardens figured highly in the lessons intending teachers received and were expected to impart to their mainly rural students. Manual training, domestic science, and, after the advent of the Strathcona Trust Fund in 1910, physical drills and callisthenics were also emphasized. Normal school students might visit the experimental farm at Indian Head, or take part in a local church supper (church attendance was required). Teachers of normal schools were frequently inspectors and master teachers from the field. The culture was that of the classroom (Campbell, 1996).

THE UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN was founded in 1907. President Walter Murray soon organized a department of education within the College of Arts and Sciences where, from 1914 on, short summer courses were offered to teachers to upgrade their certificates. The accelerating demand for secondary teachers facilitated the establishment of a College of Education in 1928. Its dual mandate was to prepare university graduates to teach in secondary schools and to conduct research in education. Two programs of study were offered: one was course-based and led to a certificate to teach in the high schools; the other was a Master of Science of Education (M.Ed.) which required twelve courses, a thesis, and a year's successful teaching (Guy, 1993).

THE COLLEGE OPENED with two full-time faculty, Frank Quance and Samuel Laycock. With a doctorate from Columbia University and experience as Principal of the Regina Normal School, Quance, an authority on reading and spelling, was considered the senior. Laycock was hired with a freshly-minted doctorate from the University of London. He had previously studied at Victoria College, Ontario, and had received three graduate degrees from the University of Alberta. Their research might today be called the practice of professional skills. Quance developed a series of textbooks called *The Canadian Speller*. Laycock, a psychologist, contributed substantially to the fields of mental hygiene and exceptional children, and also worked extensively for the Home and School Association. He was recognised for his work with the Order of Canada in1971 (Cherneskey, 1978; Guy, 1994).

THESE TWO TRADITIONS of teacher education-the practical training of normal school and the university professional college-co-existed in Saskatchewan for about thirty-five years. Over the years, increased attention was paid in the normal schools to developing a theoretical framework for teaching and education. For example, the proposed revision of the Normal School program in 1949 was articulated in the discourses of democracy and liberal individualism: "The primary aim of the Normal School is to equip its students to teach in a manner which will enable girls and boys to realize the ideal of democratic living in the classroom" (Cameron, Gathercole, Steinson, & Stewart, 1949, p.3). The resulting program of studies was a set of compulsory and elective courses in which the mandatory "Guidance of Learning," with its grounding in developmental psychology and pedagogy for the unique individual, figured predominantly. Whether or not substantive curricular changes were made is open to question; one student of the 1950s remarked that "his basic courses were the same as those described around the turn of the [20th] century" (Campbell, 1996, p. 113). Nonetheless, in 1953, normal schools officially became teachers' colleges, a name change calculated to enhance the professional status of teaching.

FROM ITS INITIAL establishment the College of Education limped along for a number of years, its growth hampered by the depression and war. In 1946–47 it initiated a four-year undergraduate program meant to put teaching on a par with other professions. As Dean Quance put it, "Our young people aspiring to qualify for the teaching profession may now, as in other professions, come directly from the high school to the

university, associate with their contemporaries in Law, Medicine, Household Science, Engineering ... and proceed as undergraduates to their own professional degree" (cited in Guy, 1994, p. 29). The provincial Department of Education did not see it that way and, until 1952, insisted that intending elementary students take their first year at Normal School. During the 1950s, the college enjoyed expansion and growth abetted by booming school enrolments and increasing teachers' salaries so that by 1964, over twelve hundred students were in attendance (Department of Education, 1964, p.82).

In 1964, with little apparent contention, all teacher education moved to the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, and its Regina Campus. An agreement was reached that recognized both the autonomy of the university and the right of government to decide the basis of certification. The previous Advisory Council of interested bodies (1947–1963) was abandoned in favour of a Provincial Board of Teacher Education "composed of six representatives from the Department of Education, five from the University, two from the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association, and two from the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. It was responsible for the development of programs in teacher education"(Department of Education, 1964, p. 35).[5]

All staff members of the Teachers' Colleges elected to transfer to the University. About twenty-five people from the Saskatoon Teachers' College and an even larger number from the Regina and Moose Jaw Teachers' Colleges were thus absorbed into the university (Department of Education, 1964). For many the experience of this transition is lost to the historical record. Those who can be traced will be interviewed in a later phase of this study.

With the conduct of research as part of its original mandate, the College of Education could be said to have a longstanding research tradition. In the first few decades, the nature of that research reflected individual faculty interest and initiative. By the 1960s research assumed increased importance as evidenced by efforts to record it. In 1960 a General Research committee was formed with representatives from the provincial Department of Education, The College of Education, the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association (SSTA), the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (STF), and the Saskatchewan Home and School Association (SHSA). Prominent on the agenda was a discussion of how research might be organized, controlled, and financially supported ("Minutes," 1960). Two years later the Department of Education founded a Research Branch. Part of the expect-

ation was for this unit to cooperate with the College of Education on joint studies (Department of Education, 1963, p. 43).

MEMORANDA FROM the 1960s indicate that the dean was tracking "staff member" involvement in research. Selected projects were then listed in the annual reports of the president (see, for example, University of Saskatchewan, 1964). Much of this correspondence related to the individual's progress toward an advanced degree, usually a Ph.D.; research projects undertaken; professional writing; and professional activities outside the university. The tenor of responses indicates a faculty hard-pressed by competing demands. In several instances, assessment of progress in one or another area (especially towards an advanced degree) was rated as "nil." Most indicated conference presentations and some publishing in education journals, hopes for future research, as well as leadership responsibilities in professional or community organizations. In memos from the mid-sixties, administrative responsibilities within the department or university are emphasized over outside activities ("Memoranda," 1964).

THE SURVEY/QUESTIONNAIRE/TEST followed by statistical analysis of the results was by far the dominant method of research if abstracts compiled by the Saskatchewan Educational Research Association are any indication. Such was the case in all but two or three of the 28 projects reported as completed in 1970–71 (Randhawa, 1971). Not surprisingly, most graduate theses in education were similarly grounded, with the exception of a few based in history or philosophy of education. It was another ten to fifteen years before ethnographic studies and other qualitative methodologies gained some degree of legitimacy. The tension between qualitative and quantitative research stretched into the 1990s in what one faculty member called the "paradigm wars" (Bill).[6]

FOURTEEN FACULTY members received research grants in the four years between 1968 and 1972 for a total of $58,730.00. Most were from the Saskatchewan School Trustees Association and ranged from $175.00 to $7800.00. An exceptionally high grant of $30,900 went to J. Hammersmith from the Department of Manpower and Immigration ("Research grants," 1972). At the time Hammersmith was a lecturer in the Indian and Northern Education Program (INEP), a program established in 1963 to prepare teachers for positions in Aboriginal schools especially in the northern part of the province. The grant was a Local Initiatives Project to hire

Indian and Metis individuals to develop Cree curricula (M. Scharf, personal communication, 18 May 2001).

The 1970s was an active time for the development of Aboriginal Education. The Indian Teacher Education Program (ITEP) was estab-lished in 1972 to serve "status Indian" students; the Northern Teacher Education Program (NORTEP) in 1977 to prepare northerners, especially Metis and status Indians, for teaching in northern communities; and the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program (SUNTEP) in 1980 for Metis and non-status First Nations in conjunction with the Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research. These programs are funded separately but overseen by either the University of Saskatchewan, or, after 1974, the University of Regina (Littlejohn and Regnier, 1989). The TEPS make their own staffing arrangements, subject to university approval. Some university faculty take teaching assignments in these programs. One such person who taught in a TEP's early years recalls the culture of these programs which sought student success but operated in an often hostile climate where failure was expected:

> ... those programs are political programs ... when you went to those programs, you were placing yourself right in the political mainstream of that group. Not necessarily the political mainstream of the province, but the political mainstream of that group ... . Secondly, they are identity programs in the sense that one of their major focuses is to maintain and develop the identity of a certain group of people. ...They are child focussed programs ... Everybody who came in spoke of the need to make things better for their children and their grandchildren ... .
>
> They tended to be programs which took people with far less academic skill. And so they spent a lot of time providing ... they were like the old teachers' college, they were like the high school providing a lot of [upgrading]. I had people coming into [the program] and all they had was grade 8. ... So, yeah, the formation of a teacher in those days was very, very different and yet they're graduated from our universities; they have to meet the same standards. The field, the teachers are watching with great skepticism, certain that we cannot do this, certain that the teachers will be terrible. ... So, ...you and the students work together; you don't work as separate entities, because you are all facing the common enemy. ... In the early years it was a totally practical culture. Totally process culture ... but out of that has grown tremendous research [she goes on to list the accomplishments of several former

> students]. ...the TEPS were tremendous academic forming grounds and I think it will continue to be that way (Faye).

One possible route for graduates of the TEPS to continue their education is the graduate program in INEP. Over the years, INEP changed its original objective from preparing teachers for Aboriginal schools to focus on First Nations' and cross-cultural education and graduate studies. By 1990 it reportedly had Canada's largest graduate program focusing on Aboriginal Education (College of Education, 1990)

In 1974 the Regina Campus of the University of Saskatchewan became a fully independent institution called the University of Regina (U of R) (University of Regina, 2000). This shift provided an opportunity to reconstruct the teacher education program in Regina and there has been considerable divergence between the two university programs ever since. Senior faculty of the newer institution may have lived its entire history. Pride in its difference from U of S is strong, and often expressed in terms of Regina's greater warmth and collegiality: "You know, there was always this feeling that we were not the U of S and we still, that's one thing we've carried with us, this real sense of difference ... you know, there is this sort of compulsory social life" (Kathleen).

The development of the new teacher education program at University of Regina owed much to the vision of and close network of education leaders at the university, the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, and the Department of Education. Several had done graduate study in the United States and were much influenced by the process of curriculum re-development and teacher evaluation that had occurred there in the wake of Sputnik. These friends spent time together at their cottages remodelling teacher education. They were, in the words of one observer, very scientific:

> They wanted to sort out exactly how to train teachers so that when you gave them a curriculum and you went out and looked, you'd see the results of the curriculum in the children ... Because they were very profession oriented, they were very schools oriented. They weren't very university oriented at all. I mean most of them either had or acquired doctorates, but they were not university oriented. They were field oriented. And this faculty is only now [2000] beginning to lessen this field orientation. But I mean we still have a stronger field orientation than any other place I know (Faye).

The 1973 Fall conferences also directed the model of teacher education developed at the

University of Regina. This set of conferences marked the beginning of an approach to educational policy based on widespread public consultation that has become the hallmark of Saskatchewan. It involved twelve regional conferences and several school-based mini conferences where parents, students, teachers, school trustees, and the general public were invited to share their ideas about the role of the school, delivery of education, teachers, and community involvement. The existing program of teacher training at the University of Saskatchewan was heavily criticized for its laxity in screening applicants and over-emphasis on academic specialization at the secondary level. Participants desired that "teaching programs should stress the development of teaching *skills*, with particular reference to communication with both the parent and the student"(Saskatchewan, Department of Education, 1973, p. 19, emphasis mine). Positive attitudes towards children, 'the ability to relate,' and a generalist orientation were what was publicly voiced as valued in teachers. The belief that they should be well grounded in knowledge of their subject and capable of scholarly research was viewed, when expressed at all, as somewhat problematic.

THE MODEL OF teacher education developed at University of Regina was understood by some who taught there as "brand new" and "revolutionary." Kathleen described the core course of the program:

> We would teach people how to teach. We would do skills and strategies, we would do lesson planning, we'd do things like set development closure for presenting a lesson. We would talk about questions, we would show people how to lead a discussion. We would talk about classroom management, ... how to handle disruptions when they occur; you know we would give people a repertoire of skills and strategies that would enable them to teach and meanwhile they'd be taking curriculum classes. And then at the end of the program we'd tack on Ed. Foundations and tell them what it was all about.

THE NEW TECHNICAL program did not satisfy everyone. A small group of more traditional academics believed the best aspects of a liberal education were forfeited to a technical rational model, and that children were in danger of neglect with such a strong focus on teacher competency. And as teachers from the field who had been hired at the university began to study for advanced degrees, their interests often turned to teaching graduate courses and conducting research rather than teaching pre-service candidates and supervising interns. A rift develo-

ped between the technical people and the academic-practical who questioned the dominant model: "It was wild around here, I'm telling you. It was an exciting place to work. But not very comfortable" (Faye).

The College of Education on the Saskatoon campus had a graduate program leading to a Masters of Science of Education since its inception in 1928. Graduate students were not accepted at the Regina Campus until 1964, and it was 1972 when the first students there graduated with degrees in education. Enrolment in graduate studies in education is bolstered by teachers upgrading their licences and position on the pay scale, often through part-time studies. Not all at University of Regina view this manner of study as positive, and some worry that what they believe to be the true purpose of graduate study, the development of independent research, is compromised by recent moves toward a totally course-based master's degree which would primarily accommodate teachers seeking to upgrade their qualifications (Richard; Sharon). All the same, the graduation of 255 master's with thesis and 71 master's with project over a twenty-year span would seem to indicate a healthy graduate program with no disdain for research (University of Regina, 1993).

The establishment of the University of Regina was the last major institutional transition in teacher education in Saskatchewan. Subsequent changes in policy and program, faculty renewal (or lack of it), the predilections of particular administrators, and conditions in the field have had an enormous impact on teacher education, but its institutional grounding has been stable. Interviews with key informants in both universities confirm themes identified by Acker (2000, and this volume) in research which preceded this project, and indicate an increasingly competitive research culture evidenced by the demand for higher qualifications and the expectation of externally-funded research and publications. Senior faculty members are mentors to new people in different ways than they used to be: "Before we used to give them our lesson plans; now we give them our SSHRC grant proposals" (Kathleen, 2000). Newly hired faculty are expected to have completed a PhD whereas many of the faculty who came on during the seventies acquired advanced degrees on the job. Kathleen's own career track typifies this pattern:

> So I was a sessional until the first child was two and a half, and at that point, somebody here retired, and so I got a tenure contract in [subject]. ...So I started, but a condition of the contract

> was that I pursue a doctorate. The condition of tenure would be if I made significant progress in the doctoral program... And so I started, went to [university in the states]... and it was fun....you know, swimming pools, and palm trees and intense heat in the summer....And other women were doing the same... So then that was 8x and then I think it was [four years later] I got tenure and got to be associate professor maybe a year after that and it was not until 199x that I got to be full professor.

The recent retirement of the last of the faculty who moved to the university from the teachers' colleges was viewed as signalling the end of an era. While interviews with this group about their careers have yet to be done, their university colleagues, some of whom had been their students, indicate changing expectations that not all could negotiate: "A lot of people came from the teachers' college. Now some of them became excellent academics. Others, it was an unreasonable expectation" (Faye). However, it was not simply faculty from the former teachers' college who had to negotiate changing expectations. Bill, with doctorate already in hand when he began his career at the university here in 1975, was initially denied promotion to full professor in the early eighties, even though he was judged on the "practice of professional skills" rather than "research and scholarly work," categories defined in the collective agreement. His difficulty was that he had not written enough about his practice of professional skills, had not shown how it was disseminated among his peers. Practising them was apparently no longer enough; an expectation to publish had seeped in.

For Kathleen, the condition for tenure was "significant progress" on her Ph.D. rather than completion and publications, a factor which likely contributed to her enjoyment of swimming pools and palm trees. She acknowledges that now a requirement for tenure is publication:

> [New] people get research semesters, you know, with no teaching. So that they have time to get those publications out because we know that at the end of four years it's make or break. You get tenure or you don't.

Bill confirmed the importance of research and publication for tenure, comparing his first year teaching in 1975 to that of today's newly hired faculty: "I was told that I had no graduate students and I was not on any committees; therefore, I taught the equivalent of seven half classes and all of them were different and three of them were graduate classes. And I compare that

now to the fact that we're giving people time off [from teaching] to get started with their research program."

As Acker (2000) found in her earlier study of faculty in four professional fields, my initial interviews disclose the participants' sense of competing pressures from different directions, typically expressed as tension between obligations to teach or serve the field, and to conduct research. The sense of increasingly heavy workloads is pervasive:

> What we don't get credit for doing I think is professional kinds of things as opposed to research. So I think our emphasis on this research culture is veering us off from our professional commitment and we're not giving enough credit for people who do very professional kinds of activity (Bill)

> ... But speaking honestly, many of us from the older times continue to be very happy to express our academic life in the development of cutting-edge classes and the development of whatever...But it's wonderful to have the new people that we have acquired ... but they're killing themselves trying to be both [practitioners and academic researchers]. Now often the young men who come on see that there is no hope here to be a traditional academic and they leave quickly. But women in particular, and some of the men get very caught in the human-action, child-related, person-related place that this remains. And so they try to do both and God knows what will happen to them. I worry about them. I really, really do. I worry about the stress of it ... . (Faye)

The competing allegiances characteristic of a professional college are further illustrated by the website of Regina's Faculty of Education where the goals of the programs are described as to "foster rich professional and personal development; develop collaborative and collegial professionals; educate teachers as inquirers and curriculum builders; practice student-centered learning; provide support and close supervision in the field; provide extensive, practical experiences in schools; emphasize cross-cultural and multicultural awareness; and promote equity in the areas of age, gender, culture, race, physical and mental abilities" (Faculty of Education, 2001). Information about research is not immediately visible. Compare with this blunt and unitary statement from a department in Arts: "The Department of History believes that research is one of its key functions. We are of the opinion that the single most important measure of a faculty member's research work is scholarly publication (Department of History, 2001).

At the University of Saskatchewan, where efforts to intensify research are in full sway (Hallman, 2002), the effect on graduate studies in Education of the tension between the demands of research and professional service is to some degree recognized by university administrators outside the college:

> Because if you now move to a research intensive mode, you have to rethink how much service to the professional training can you do, particularly at the grad area. I mean this is obviously where Education is, is currently coming into a need for a decision on, and there are different philosophies, but, should you admit everybody with a 70 average that wants to do a Masters degree? Well, in the past, you have. Quite frankly, in the sciences, it never occurs. I mean, [name of science department] gets ... 1,000 applications, they screen it down to 300 ones who, you know, have 75 or maybe even A averages; they take 20. And they only take them if they have a faculty member who can support the research. Whereas, other models of service to the profession which extends up into the grad area ... [say] it is our role to train, particularly in education, to train teachers to get Masters' degrees. That increases the overall level of capability within schools....(Gordon)

However, the College of Education cannot make decisions about the nature of its graduate studies solely on what it deems best for the profession, or what those in the profession and its stakeholders consider the best. The university has recently initiated a systematic review of graduate programmes and those that do not meet the national standards or a B grade have three years to improve before reassessment. The spectre of program termination animates attempts to remedy perceived flaws: "I mean B is national level, it is sort of a nationally accepted standard. If we have C's, they will be B's or we won't do them" (Gordon). The achievement of a B grade depends more on grant success and publication productivity than on service to the profession.

This brief synopsis of the history of teacher education in Saskatchewan reveals similarities and differences from other provinces. Happily for this researcher, the relatively sparse population means fewer institutions of teacher education than in central Canada, so its history is simpler to trace. Close connections among educational and government leaders, while perhaps not unique to Saskatchewan, were very important to the formation of programs: discussions over hamburgers at the cottage inspired a course of action with formidable impact on educational policy. Since the 1940s, broad public consultation and representative involvement of stake-

holders (provincial department, teachers' federation, administrators, universities, trustees, and other interested organizations) have been the usual way of doing business. Aboriginal education has been and continues to be a stimulus for research and program development.

WHILE A CLASH in orientations, values, and cultures occurred over the best way to do teacher education at University of Regina, to what extent, if any, it had to do with the integration of teachers' college faculty is not yet clear. Perhaps more tumultuous ones overshadowed that issue. Nevertheless, a sense of divided loyalties (teaching, field work, research) is much in evidence in both universities. The University of Saskatchewan's current campaign to achieve status as a national research institution is likely to exacerbate teacher educators' divided allegiances.

THE RAISING OF qualifications, the necessity of refereed publications, and increased expectations for externally funded research can be taken as evidence of the spread of a research culture. However, there are many more questions than answers at this time, not the least of which 'is it a good or bad thing?' Curiosity, intellectual inquiry, and theory are needed to make sense of and act in the world in just ways. In the competitive race for grants, tenure, promotion, and merit pay, are the moral grounding and consequences of research considered? Does research that questions the status quo get funded? Do faculty resist the commodification of intellectual inquiry into x number of refereed articles and successful grant applications? Or, do we discipline ourselves and each other into doing what the master bids us?

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Endnotes

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2. The Regina Campus became an independent institution, The University of Regina, in 1974.
3. ParticipAction was a federally sponsored fitness organization (1971–2000) founded to encourage Canadians to take up active lifestyles. Its ads suggested that 60 year-old Swedes were in better shape than 30 year-old Canadians. See John Ward, "ParticipAction shutting down," The Canadian Press. Information retrieved 28 April 2003, from http://www.canoe.ca/Health0012/09_fitness-cp.html.
4. The usage of the term Aboriginal now includes status and non-status Indians (as defined by the Indian Act, 1876) and Metis (mixed blood). Of the ten Canadian provinces, Saskatchewan has the second highest percentage of Aboriginal peoples based on 1996 Census figures (the most recent available).
5. Sources vary on the composition of the board. See Langley, 1977, p.3.
6. Quotations identified by name only are from transcripts of interviews conducted for this project. Pseudonyms are used.

The Universitarisation of Teacher Training in Quebec:

Three key periods in the development of a research culture in Laval University[1]

Thérèse Hamel and Marie-Josée Larocque

Introduction

This article[2] deals with the dynamic tensions between two main approaches to the development of faculties of education. On the one hand, since the abolition of normal schools, faculties of education have specialised in, among other things, training teachers and teaching professionals, and therefore have an important mandate in the field of professional training of students. On the other hand and at the same time, they are increasingly urged to be part of the research culture that is highly regarded by the university institution. Of the many avenues that could be explored, the article examines this issue from the perspective of the emergence of a research culture in the faculties of education. We use a socio-historical approach to gain an understanding of the legitimacy and universitarisation (incorporating into the university) of teacher training (initial teacher education) in relation to the development of research. In this article, we examine more closely one of the two poles of this dialectical issue, i.e. the role of the research culture and its development in the institutions that specialize in teacher training, more specifically those linked to Laval University. We explore the complex relationships between the professional training provided in the field of education in universities and the pressures exerted on this field by the growing research culture in universities[3]. Focusing on the specific case of the Faculty of Education of *Université Laval*, we analyse the emergence of a research culture, an important but poorly documented phenomenon in the history of teacher training in Quebec.

IT SHOULD FIRST be pointed out that, in Quebec, the emergence of research was initially examined on the basis of the development of so-called scientific or pure science disciplines. Chartrand et al. (1987) described the development of research in Quebec French-speaking universities, which was, as the following quote indicates, quite different from that of English Canada[4]:

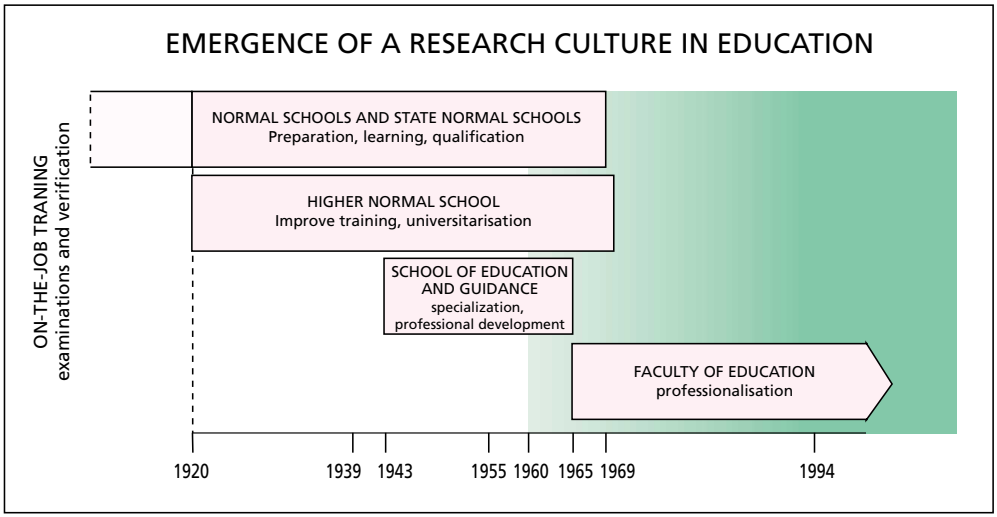
> Scientific research appeared first of all at McGill University [an English-speaking university] in the mid-1890s whereas research was developed at Université Laval and Université de Montréal only after 1920 in chemistry and biology, and after 1939 in physics. In mathematics, research only became a major activity in the 1960s. (Chartrand et al. 1987: 381–382) [translation]

TURNING TO another general subject area, Roby (1996) examined the development of research in the *Faculté des Arts de l'Université Laval* and showed that although painstaking efforts were made in this area, research only got under way in the 1970s. Lastly, Corbo (1994) determined that research at the *Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)* really only took off in the 1980s. Thus, the following questions will be explored in this article: What is the situation in the field of education? When did a research culture appear in the institutions responsible for teacher training such as *Université Laval*?

RESEARCH CULTURE is defined here as a culture within an institution that values and facilitates the development of new knowledge, from basic to applied research. This means a structured process of intellectual exploration, intervention and creation leading to the advancement of knowledge. Most of the time, these activities can be disseminated through a variety of publications such as articles, theses, books, and research reports. This research can be done individually or within a larger team, and with or without the help of grants. In the majority of cases, research culture within a university seems to be linked to the holding of a doctoral degrees by faculty members. Moreover, the issue of a research culture cannot be addressed without placing it in relation to other institutional cultures, for example that related to professional practice, which is more directly linked to the practice of teaching[5].

1. The Periods of Teacher Training and Research Culture

To assess the importance granted to research[6] in this field and to simplify the presentation of findings, we first concentrate on three chronological periods related to the different groups of institutions involved in the training of professionals in education: 1. normal schools 2. university schools of education and 3. faculties of education. Although these institutions succeeded one another over the years, they also overlapped, as shown in the following figure.



Source: *Laboratoire de géographie historique, Centre interuniversitaire d'études québécoises, Université Laval.*

1.1 The Period of Normal Schools (1939–1969)

Until 1940, the legislation on teacher training had not changed much and the normal schools had the following mission: "to prepare and instruct teachers of elementary schools in the art of teaching."[7] Then, for a very short period of time (from 1940 to 1955), more emphasis was placed on the part of the curriculum related to teacher training, as compared to "general culture," mainly because entry requirements were raised. However, the 1953 reform and more particularly the creation of the diploma Class A[8] marked a turning point in the way the knowledge curriculum was organised and structured. It was during this period that professional training truly gained credibility and, from then on, was given a more prominent role in the programs. That is, normal schools tried to improve the "professional part of the curriculum," i.e. the

part that prepared teachers to teach, mainly by including psychology, psycho-pedagogy, and didactics (Hamel 1991, 1995).

In fact, throughout this period, there were no signs of a research culture in normal schools. For those who worked in these institutions, the period of normal schools was characterised by training that was essentially centred on preparing teachers for their new duties. Although psychology was introduced into teacher training, there was no institutionalised research culture to speak of, at least in the normal schools that trained primary-school teachers. This, however, did not mean that people did not do research at all. Some individuals could decide on their own to complete a master's or doctoral degree, write books, get involved in research, and possibly have access to grants or money from their religious orders in order to pursue studies abroad or in other universities. But nothing was organised institutionally that could be described as a compulsory trend, as defined earlier by the presence of indicators of a research culture.

Before teacher training was officially transferred to the university and a research culture became as important as we know it today, the first step was to raise the level of entry requirements and the level of schooling. The fact that a university-level training was becoming increasingly necessary for future teachers of primary and secondary education provided the impetus for this movement. In fact, while centralised normal schools were in operation, another parallel and less obvious movement was taking shape, namely the long march toward the university and the organisation of the "university schools of education" (*Écoles universitaires de pédagogie*). In the following section, we examine the question of whether or not there were indications that a research culture was developing in that movement.

1.2 The Period of University Schools of Education

The great majority of the normal schools mentioned previously were institutions that specialised in training teachers for primary schools. However, in the 1920s, the university schools of education were created, new institutions whose main task was to train teachers for secondary schools and normal schools. They could also provide professional development courses to in-service teachers. They would gradually become affiliated with universities because the latter became interested in training this category of teachers. Let us examine the specific cases of the two such institutions that were affiliated with

the Faculty of Education of *Université Laval* – the *École normale supérieure* (1920) and the *École de pédagogie et d'orientation* (1943), which represented two models of teacher training.

1.2.1 *The École normale supérieure de l'Université Laval* (1920–1970) (higher normal school)

After many years' efforts (Hamelin, 1995), the *École normale supérieure* (ENS) of *Université Laval* was created and, in 1920, became the first institution of that category in the province of Quebec. This institution played an important role in teacher training as well as in the creation of the Faculty of Arts and the development of a science section. Its purpose was to train secondary-school teachers, who would mainly work in classical colleges, and normal school teachers. It was thus intended for a predominantly religious clientele (i.e., priests and nuns).

THE MISSION statement clearly reflects the desire to provide a university-level education to these teachers and open the doors of Anglo-Canadian and American institutions to French Canadians. This was meant to raise the teachers' level of qualification. The professional development of teachers was another important element of the mission statement, particularly with regard to summer courses. It was mentioned that on-the-job training would help ensure that educational and moral obligations were met by trai-ning teachers in the province and not abroad. Intended for lay and religious people, this training was devoted to forming "French Catholic teachers." Nevertheless, although the evolution of the mission statement over the years reveals slight changes in the orientation of the institution, interestingly enough, the institution continued to define itself on the basis of a solid basic training of secondary-school teachers and the professional training that they would need for their career.[9]

THE FACT THAT this institution specialised in training secondary-school teachers seems to imply that its educational mission was divided into the two following distinct aspects: the teaching disciplines and educational training. The ENS's vision can be understood on the basis of the duality of these two dimensions, the fact that they occurred consecutively, and the difficult relations between the ENS and the other faculties in the 1960s. Nevertheless, during an intense period of re-orientation of the education system in Quebec in 1964–1965, the institution still insisted on the importance of training teachers in their disciplines. The ENS underwent institutional reform during this period.

This re-orientation meant that the courses in the disciplines were given in the university faculties and the ENS provided the psychoeducational training required for the role of educator. This division of tasks between the two entities (disciplines and pedagogy) within the university would have consequences for the future since the ENS wished to maintain this duality in the organisation of its curriculum.

On the one hand, there are many indicators that suggest that teacher training was the main focus of the ENS. Its mission statement clearly established teacher training as a priority and, eventually, as the principal purpose of the institution. Other indicators included the importance given to practicum in real classrooms, the presence of teaching exercises, the tendency to take the candidate's personality into account, and the presence of a director of specialised practical training.

The question remains as to whether or not a research culture emerged from this institution. The ENS offered masters and doctoral programs since it was first established, and this certainly created a strong move toward qualification at the university level.[10] From 1945 onwards, the first signs of a concern to develop a research culture began to be seen. Elements related to theses, publications and eligibility criteria for professors to supervise a thesis appeared in the calendar. Indeed, although the mission statement seemed to be clearly oriented toward teacher training, professors' qualifications showed that the university applied a number of criteria, at least unofficially, to hiring a certain type of teacher. Based on currently available information, there is some indication of a research culture in the criteria for hiring professors. For example, of the first three professors hired, only one had a doctorate, from France, because it was impossible to find candidates with those qualifications in Quebec.

Compared to the normal schools discussed above, from the outset the ENS was moving toward the universitarisation of teacher training and was even open to some form of graduate studies in this field. It was seen as imperative that secondary-school teachers and normal school teachers improve their qualifications. However, even though the Government of Quebec gave financial support to training teachers[11], it seems that research at the ENS was conducted from the perspective of examining and studying an issue in depth rather than consciously taking the first step toward a research orientation. Thus, while there were some indicators of a nascent research culture, the ritual or practice

of an institution mainly devoted to preparing teachers still existed. The aim of the ENS training model was to improve qualification of teachers so that more of them had a university education, including master's or doctoral degrees. However, it cannot be said that the mandate of the ENS as an institution was focused on research since this does not seem to have been central to its educational mission. Nevertheless, as will be seen below, another institution that was affiliated with Université Laval and played a central role in the creation of the Faculty of Education, was moving toward a completely different model, one which was highly centred on a research culture.

1.2.2 *The École de pédagogie et d'orientation* (1943–1965) (school of education and vocational guidance)

The *École de pédagogie de l'Université Laval* was created in 1943 and became the *École de pédagogie et d'orientation* (EPO) in 1947 when it joined the *Institut d'orientation and the Institut de psychothérapie*[12]. In our view, this institution seems to be the first to show tangible elements of a research culture. For example, its mandate clearly explained the place of research in the knowledge curriculum and, unlike the ENS, the institution adopted a research mandate in its first calendars (1946–1947). Thus, while EPO sought to improve the training and educational knowledge of students and to introduce teachers to the methods and trends of contemporary education, it wanted above all to stimulate research in education among French Canadians by instructing educators on the procedures of scientific investigation in education. After a few years of re-organisation, it divides the master's degree program into three sections, one of which was specifically devoted to training researchers. The aim was to make up for the lack of researchers in this area in Quebec since research findings of English-speaking countries were difficult to access in French. The Defence Research Board (DRB) and the Carnegie Foundation provided grants to help finance this research section.

Research conducted at the EPO was justified by the very nature of education and vocational guidance, which were considered to be experimental sciences. Moreover, the task of one part of this research department was to establish tests to select students in the other faculties of the university. Introductory courses on research, statistics and methodology were given since the master's degree required that a thesis be written. The institution also had an animal psychology laboratory. In fact, the EPO already saw itself as a higher education college

and attempted to instil a "scientific spirit" in the students. Research assistants were hired, research teams were set up and more professors were appointed. For example, in 1962, five professors of the school were working on the Carnegie Project, to which they devoted approximately a third of their academic-year time and two summer months. The notion of release for research activities was referred to explicitly in this institution.

In brief, the EPO was clearly part of a research culture, a culture that was linked to other mandates such as school supervision and teaching in normal schools. In examining the development of a research culture, we cannot ignore the fact that the two central actors in this institution, Mgr. Parent and Arthur Tremblay, would also be the major architects of the educational reform in Quebec. They clearly believed that research would have to play a more prominent and important role in this institution before it could become the Faculty of Education of *Université Laval*.

1.2.3 The Period of the Faculties of Education (1965–...)

Why did such an institution as the *École de pédagogie* in which the number of students was growing, funding for research was increasing, and professors were being better trained -all evidence of an emerging research culture -abandon its activities and give way to the Faculty of Education? To understand this movement, it is important to know that in the 1960s, the EPO and the ENS were at the centre of a revolution that would radically transform Quebec society. In fact, the so-called «Quiet Revolution» changed all social sectors, including the entire educational system which was reorganised by the Parent Commission following the publication of its report in 1963. Drawing on American and British experiences, the Parent Report aimed at organising teacher training according to a new paradigm, i.e. abolition of normal schools and teacher training becoming the responsibility of the university[13].

The aim of the reform proposed by the Parent Report was to raise the teacher training level, to break the isolation of university schools of education, and to give more importance to research in French Canadian society. In fact, the commissioners believed that French Canadian universities did not attribute enough importance to the field of education and research in this field, often spreading their efforts too thin. These discussions led to the creation in the mid-1960s of the first faculties of education in three French-

speaking universities –*Université de Montréal, Université de Sherbrooke,* and *Université Laval.* In this context and after 15 years of prevarication, normal schools were definitively abolished in 1969 and the entire teacher training system came under the control of the universities.

Whereas while the ENS in Quebec City was temporarily in reprieve, following the creation of the Faculty of Education of *Université Laval* in 1965, the *École des sciences pédagogiques et psychologiques* (the EPO's new name) was integrated into the faculty. Following this reorganisation, the number of students quadrupled and the number of professors doubled. Since the EPO was already awarding doctoral and master's degrees as well as a bachelor in education, and since it was strongly oriented toward a research culture, the institution was ready to become a faculty of education dedicated to training teachers as well as specialists in education and vocational guidance.

The fact that the ENS was not included in the Faculty of Education can be explained, among other things, by its links with the disciplines. By concentrating mainly on training teachers to become specialists in a number of disciplines for secondary schools and the newly-founded *CEGEPS* (bridging colleges to university education), ENS maintained links with the faculties (of arts, science, etc.) and attempted to preserve its autonomy as much as possible.

On the other hand, in keeping with the Parent Commission, the EPO reformists militated in favour of a faculty of education and advocated a completely different model of teacher training where the research dimension was to be integrated on the basis of paradigms that differed significantly from previous models. While for the ENS, specialisation was aimed mainly at the dialectics between disciplines and pedagogical training, for the EPO, research played a greater role than simply distributing graduate-studies degrees by focusing on producing research in projects financed by grant-giving bodies.

But how did a research culture evolve in this new faculty which was now responsible for training primary and secondary-school teachers? An exploratory overview of some indicators of this research culture shows how the situation evolved, first in relation to the institution's mission statement and, second, in relation to the professors.

At the beginning in 1965–66, the faculty was organised around only two departments: education and vocational guidance. The first

aimed at training teachers by providing them with a general culture and practicum. The second aimed at training specialists, guidance counsellors and research scientists. The faculty awarded masters and doctoral degrees in education and vocational guidance, offering four options in graduate studies, including a specialisation in research, with a focus on measurement and methodology. In 1967–1968 this binary departmental organisation was changed because the faculty's administration deemed it unsuitable for the development of graduate studies and research. Research teams were thus organised and professors were grouped together according to the graduate program. From 1973 onwards, however, during a period of spectacular growth in the number of students and programs from 1970 to 1980, the faculty was restructured around seven departments. During this period, research expanded in most of the faculty's departments mainly with the help of grants obtained by professors and the creation or development of research laboratories.[14]

THE FACTORS which contributed to the faculty's rapid growth were: the extent and urgency of society's need for training in the field of education; the concern on the part of the faculty's professors with exercising their leadership in education and playing a key role in the educational reform; and the scope of the field of education. The faculty was willing to maintain the creative tensions between the trends toward differentiation and integration.[15] In brief, whereas in 1965, there was not a single master's degree program and there were only a few students at the doctoral level in vocational guidance, by 1990, the Faculty of Education of *Université Laval* offered ten graduate-studies programs at the master's level and seven at the doctoral level. The last reorganisation called "rationalisation" was carried out in the 1990s during which the faculty was divided into three departments[16] with well-established laboratories, research groups and research centres. Research now plays a key and prominent role, especially if we go by the indicators of the qualitative and quantitative evolution of professors.

SOME DATA HAS helped us to assess the emergence of a research culture in the faculty of education of *Université Laval*. First of all, the composition of the group of professors in the faculty has changed substantially, especially in comparison with its former institution, the EPO. The analysis of the institution's calendars shows that the proportion of women[17] and lay[18] professors gradually grew, but the main changes were related to the qualification of the professors. Whereas only 39 percent of EPO profes-

sors had a Ph.D. in 1950, the Faculty of Education has since made considerable progress on this point.

Source: *Annuaires de la Faculté des sciences de l'Éducation, Université Laval.*

As figure 2 shows, 90% of the faculty's professors had a Ph.D. in 1996, compared to less than 25% in 1966. The main reasons for this change are, first, the criteria for hiring and promoting professors within the university's hierarchical system and, second, the fact that the university, through scholarship programs and professional development leave (either from the government or the university itself), strongly encouraged professors to acquire further qualifications. This unceasing effort reached its peak in the 1970s: for example, in 1976, 33 percent of the faculty's professors were studying at the doctoral level. Analysis of the faculty's calendars shows that 60 percent of them obtained their Ph.D. in this way.

In short, based on the indicators of professors' qualification and our consideration that having a Ph.D. is an indicator of the possibility and valorisation of the development of research, we can say that the research culture in the Faculty of Education really took off in the 1970s. We found that research activities are now an integral part of the professors' task within the faculty whereas during the EPO era, only a few teachers did research during their spare time or in the summer. In 1994–1995, of the 138 professors in the Faculty of Education, 55 professors, or 40 percent, were directly involved in one way or another in research activities (Bureau du décanat, 1995).

2. Critical Periods in the Emergence of a Research Culture in Education:

The fact that *Université Laval* has, during the 1990s and beyond, recognised three research centres within the Faculty of Education makes

it particularly interesting at this time to examine the transitions and key periods in the movement toward developing a research culture in education. For the sake of consistency, we have previously identified the presence of a research culture or, on the contrary, a teacher training-oriented culture, by considering each group of institutions independently. We now link up the periods that were relatively centred on a research culture in an attempt to understand how they were influenced by the development of the university and society as a whole. We have identified three such key periods.

Pre-1955: A fledgling research culture

Before 1955, there was almost no research culture, that is, nothing in normal schools, nothing or very little in the ENS and only a fledgling research culture in the EPO. A large part of the mission of all three institutions was devoted to preparing teachers for their new duties in society. The ENS and EPO, for their part, were already part of the universitarisation movement, but only the EPO was truly, if partly, dedicated to research.

From 1955 to 1969: The winding paths toward the universitarisation of teacher training

To consolidate a sophisticated system of research organisation in teacher training institutions, this teaching network first had to be universitarised. Even before teacher training was officially transferred to the university in 1969, various measures were taken to raise the level of training in these institutions and bring them closer to the universities.[19] The development of university schools of education was part of this "long march" toward the university and one of the preliminary steps toward a research culture. In fact, the universities were already involved in this field prior to the publication of the Parent Report. They began to participate in the world of research through different means, for example, by expanding the role of university schools of education. Similarly, this period made way for the official transfer of teacher training to the university where the EPO became truly committed to the research network.

From 1969 to the third millennium: the research culture is predominant

From 1969 to the present, and particularly after teacher training was officially transferred to the university, there seems to have been

a progressive move toward a research culture. First, there was a strong desire to hire professors with a Ph.D. or, when the Faculty of Education hired people from normal schools which had been abolished, to give grants to candidates so that they could obtain this degree. Moreover, the professional development of teachers, which was prompted by the Quiet Revolution, gave rise to the development of graduate studies in education since many in-service teachers came to the university to improve their professional qualifications by pursuing a masters degree. According to Roby (1996), the university's efforts to develop a teaching staff made up of Ph.D. holders, develop graduates studies and encourage research was strongly promoted by Rector Kerwin in the early 1970s. In the same year, the Research Commission of *Université Laval* published a report (*Commission de la recherche*, 1971) which strongly promoted the development of research groups, incentives for professors to get involved in interdisciplinary research centres, incentives to retain or attract excellent researchers, and task re-organisation to give professors more time to develop research. These factors are currently an integral part of the university's approach to research policy – but in a much more pronounced way than in the 1970s.

The Faculty of Education, for its part, clearly shifted towards research by hiring only professors who held a doctoral degree and by organising infrastructures aimed at supporting and encouraging the professors' research work. Research groups, research centres and laboratories became an integral part of the arsenal that any faculty must have in order to be successful in obtaining grants. Over the last decade, there has been a greater focus on the obligation for newly-hired faculty members to produce results and research has become an increasingly important part of the identity of university professors in the field of education.

Conclusion

The preceding analysis shows the extent to which the university's mission has evolved over the decades. Jean Hamelin (1995) shows how, for a long time following its creation, *Université Laval* mainly concentrated on educating humanistic, "cultured" citizens. Moreover, as Hamelin points out, research played a small role in the way that the university defined itself in its mission statement.

> The members of the University Council therefore viewed the university as a place of education, a place where a heritage is transmitted and where

> individuals who are intellectually brighter than others can satisfy their thirst for knowledge. This notion of the university overlaps with the traditions of older British institutions, but departs from the Prussian tradition in which the university is conceived as a community of researchers dedicated to the quest for truth, and, hence the progress of science (...) (Hamelin, 1995: 38). [translation]

How did we move from "an incubator of Christians, scholars and patriots," to use the words of Hamelin (1995), to a community of professors-cum-researchers who are torn between two essential mandates, teaching and research, both of which are necessary and dialectically linked but currently hard to reconcile? To answer this question, we need to study in-depth the consequences of the reforms of the university institution on the development of a research culture in the faculties of education.

The history of the evolution of a research culture in teacher training institutions shows that certain periods, characterised as disruptions, resulted from a number of overlapping trends. Following a gradual improvement of training and its slow professionalisation, an increasingly clearer link between teacher training and the university emerged in a very short period during the 1950s. The swift disappearance of small normal schools, the transformation of state normal schools and the growing importance of university schools of education in the training of teachers, gradually created more room for a research culture to become established and develop within the institution. In addition to these structural elements, a number of key figures in this movement of universitarisation and legitimisation played an important role. Among them were Mgr. Parent and Arthur Tremblay, two important architects of the 1960s reform, who were the main players in the EPO. Their role allows us to understand how this institution moved rapidly toward a research culture, drawing on the model that linked teaching to research within the universities.

The faculties of education, for their part, definitely shifted toward research and this movement grew increasingly in the 1970s. In fact, although the higher normal schools and the university were intrinsically linked, it seems that the abolition of normal schools and the transfer of teacher training to the university provided a direction for teacher training based on new paradigms. First, the faculty had to adapt its recruiting criteria to the doctoral degree, a criterion which, as we all know, became the minimum required for hiring university professors, irrespective of the faculty to which they were

attached. However, before the transfer, this criterion was not particularly valued by teacher training institutions, except by a number of professors working in the university schools of education. Following this first movement, research culture became increasingly important as professors in the Faculty of Education of *Université Laval* devoted more and more energy to research. Thus, the Faculty of Education followed the model of the Faculty of Arts where, as Roby (1996) aptly demonstrates, professors were conducting research and supervising many graduate students.[20] This shift toward a research culture can be explained, at least in part, as a quest for legitimacy by the field of education, which was now part of an institution, the university, whose mandate includes knowledge development.

What explains such a change in the institutional culture and the transition from voluntary to compulsory research? How did these tensions and traditions fit into the experience of professors and administrators who lived through these key periods? How did people deal with the tensions between at least two cultures: one centred on research and the other on a mandate to train teaching professionals? Were these tensions linked together in a creative way, as advocated in the faculty's mission in the last ten years, or did they give rise to a destructive tension, thus creating conflict between the priorities of two contradictory cultures seeking to become predominant or hegemonic? This is what we have begun to explore through interviews in the next stages of our study on the traditions and transitions which, through a research culture, marked the development of education and teacher training in Quebec.

We hope that this research will help fill the gaps in our knowledge of university institutions, thus enabling us to better assess the role played by a research culture in the field of education. It goes without saying that this aspect needs to be examined further and this research is an attempt to move in this direction. Similar types of studies dealing with other fields will help us grasp the characteristics, continuity and disruption between the field of education and other university faculties. We will also be able to gain a better understanding of how an individual's trajectory is interlinked with the institutional, cultural and socio-political history of his or her environment. Lastly, it will eventually help us to grasp the profound and perhaps unexpected consequences of some basic trends within universities over the last 30 or 40 years. What are the models and paradigms that inform the universities and what are their consequences for

the social actors who work there? Our projects, which are related to those of teams working in other national contexts, particularly Switzerland, Iceland and Sweden, will allow us to raise convergent and divergent points of views in a comparative perspective

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Endnotes

1. This is an abridged version of an article called «Observations from Quebec: the Emergence of a Research Culture in Education through Legitimacy and Universitarisation in Quebec, 1940–2000» (In collaboration with Marie-Josée Larocque) published in the first issue of the *European Educational Research Journal*, Revue de la European Research Association, vol. 1, no 1, 2002, pp. 99–117). in March 2002, in the special issue called "The Emergence and development of educational research as an academic discipline in Europe".
2. This article presents the preliminary results of a broader project called: "Traditions and Transitions in Teacher Education: the experiences of Teacher Education in Ontario, Quebec and Saskatchewan, 1945–2002," – see introduction to this issue.
3. See Mathurin (1992). The author studies more precisely the transformations of the Faculty of Education of the University of Montréal.
4. See the studies of Calam (1994); Fullan (1996); Patterson (1979); Sheehan and Wilson (1994).
5. Although it is not possible to examine this in this article, it is nevertheless important to situate research culture in relation to other institutional cultures and the environment in which it evolves, that is, the politics and the will to implement a research culture, requirements from the authorities (government, ministry of education, administration of teacher training institutions, the university itself, grant-giving bodies) and so on.
6. In order to follow the emergence and the transformations of this research culture, it is important to establish a number of indicators, which are briefly summarised here. The first indicator concerns the inclusion of research in the mission statement of an institution. This mission is stated and conveyed in the institutional discourse through calendars and other official publications of the university and the faculty. Another series of indicators relates to the qualification of teachers in the institutions under study, that is, whether or not they have a doctorate and whether or not they pursue graduate studies. This will help us to understand the development and growth of doctoral degrees among teachers. These two major categories of indicators (mission and teacher's qualification) will allow us to assess the emergence of the research culture.
7. Loi de 1851, "Acte pour pourvoir à l'établissement d'une école normale, et pour mieux encourager l'éducation dans le Bas-Canada," 14–15 Vict, cap. XCVII, pp. 39–40. Subsequent laws in 1877, 1925 and 1940 kept the main gist of this mission.
8. At the level of the diploma Class A, the first 2 years of study are devoted to consolidating general culture. In the third year, the emphasis is mainly on psychopedagogical training and the fourth year is mainly devoted to the specialisation and methodology of the subjects to be taught.
9. In the 1954–1955 Calendar, for example.
10. The existence, since 1939, of the École des gradués may have also provided an impetus to pursue that direction.
11. "Loi pour faciliter la formation universitaire du personnel enseignant des écoles secondaires, des écoles normales et des collèges classiques ainsi que les recherches relatives à l'enseignement." (8–9 Eliz II, ch.26, 1961).
12. It became the *École des sciences pédagogiques et psychologiques* in 1964 before becoming the Faculté des sciences de l'éducation in 1965.
13. To carry through this project, the commissioners foresaw the creation of new universities since they believed that the existing ones, partly through lack of

infrastructure, could not train teachers for the entire province of Quebec. Normal schools, which were scattered across the province's vast territory, were considered too small and to have too few students to be able to provide high quality training. The diploma levels (for example, diploma Class B) were also considered by some critics as being too low to prepare good teachers. The professional development of teachers was, in the commissioners' view, too theoretical and cut off from innovations being developed in the education system. Lastly, it was thought that normal school teachers did not have opportunities to conduct research in education.

14. See Three-Year Plan of the Faculty of Education of Université Laval, 1979–1982.
15. See 25th anniversary of the Faculty of Education of Université Laval.
16. The didactics, psychoeducational and educational technology department; the vocational guidance, administration and evaluation department; the physical education department.
17. In 1950, 8 percent EPO professors were women and 17 percent in 1958. In the 1960s, the proportion of women in the Faculty of Education was only 11 percent, rising to 27 percent in 1996.
18. In 1950, 41 percent of EPO professors were people from religious communities and 33 percent in 1958. In the Faculty of Education, this status-based characteristic no longer figured in the calendars.
19. For example, the 1957 agreement on the equivalency of diploma Class A and a Bachelor of Education offered by the University Schools of Education, assisted by the "Loi pour faciliter la formation du personnel enseignant" in 1961. These two measures opened the doors of higher education to people who attended normal schools.
20. It is still too early to say whether the shift to research was faster in the faculties of education, as compared to other faculties. Nevertheless, the few exploratory data presented here suggest that it may be wrong to think that faculties of education only very recently turned to research.

BIOGRAPHIES

Sandra Acker is a Professor in the Department of Sociology and Equity Studies, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. She has worked in the United States, Britain and Canada. She is a sociologist of education, with interests in gender and education, teachers' work and higher education. Recent book publications include The Realities of Teachers' Work: Never a Dull Moment (Continuum, 1999) and (co-edited with Elizabeth Smyth and others) Challenging Professions: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Women's Professional Work (University of Toronto Press, 1999).

Inger Erixon Arreman was a secondary teacher of English, French and Spanish between 1983 to 1999 and a lecturer in the Department of Modern Languages at Umeå university in 1995 to 2000. She is currently a doctoral student in the Department of Mathematics, Technology and Science Education also in Umeå, working on the Swedish part on Transitions project. The provisional title of her thesis is "Traditions and Transitions in Teacher Education: experiences of teacher educators, Umeå 1945–2002."

Jo-Anne Dillabough is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Educational Studies at the University of British Columbia. She is a sociologist of education and her primary research focus (SSHRC FUNDED RESEARCH) is in the areas of youth poverty and social exclusion. A secondary research area is globalizing change, academic culture and the study of women's work in higher education (also funded by SSHRC). She has published research in journal such as: Theory and Research in Social Education; British Journal of Sociology of Education; International Studies in the Sociology of Education, Sociology of Education and Curriculum Inquiry. She is completing a book on the sociology of women's work in Teacher Education (forthcoming 2004). Her recent book (co-edited with M.Arnot) is entitled Challenging Democracy: international feminist perspectives (RoutledgeFalmer 2000). She is also co-editor of Education, Culture and Society, with A.E. Halsey, H. Lauder, and P. Brown (Oxford University Press, forthcoming, 2005).

Dianne M. Hallman is Associate professor of Educational Foundations, College of Education, University of Saskatchewan. In addition to providing courses in educational foundations to pre-service teachers, she teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in feminist studies. She publishes in the areas of teacher and teacher educator history, educational biography, as well as poetry.

Thérèse Hamel is a professor in the Département des fondements et des pratiques en éducation of the Faculty of Education at Laval University. She is a member of the Centre interuniversitaire d'études québécoises (CIEQ). Besides teacher training, her research interests include agricultural training and public schooling. She is now Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Graduates Studies at Université Laval.

Guðrún Kristinsdóttir is professor at the Iceland University of Education. Research interests are childhood, gender and professionalization. She teaches research methodology and child welfare in education. Guðrún is chairman of the Icelandic Social Work Research Association and on the editorial board of Nordic Journal of Social Work. She has worked in Denmark, Iceland and Sweden and been Visiting Scholar in Britain and Australia. Writings include books and articles on professionalization, gender and social work, women and career, comparison of Nordic children's competence. She is currently engaged in narrative research on young people's experience of public care.

Marie-Josée Larocque is currently a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of Education of Laval University. Her thesis is on the educational project of the Christian Brothers in Quebec City. She is a member of the Centre interuniversitaire d'études québécoises (CIEQ) and Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église Catholique (SCHEC).

Allyson Macdonald has a background in physics and science education, with an emphasis on evaluation. She is a professor at the Iceland University of Education and the director of its Research Centre where she is concerned with issues concerning the development of research capacity and assessment of staff. She is currently leading a research group on the use of information and communication technology in teaching and learning.

Nicole Sanderson is an advanced PhD student at the Ontario Institute for studies in Education/ University of Toronto. She is an experienced elementary/secondary schoolteacher and university instructor. Her research interests include teacher educators, experiences in faculties of education; the history of teacher education in Canada; the rise of the research culture in teacher education; and social justice/equity issues in education.

Elizabeth Smyth is Associate Professor in the Department of Curriculum Teaching and Learning at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Edu-

cation at the University of Toronto. Her historical research interests in teacher education include women religious in educational leadership and the education of girls and young women. Among her recent works is the coedited Wisdom Raises Her Voice: The Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto Celebrate 150 Years. (Toronto: Transcontinental Press/Sisters of St. Joseph, 2001)

Michelle Webber is currently a doctoral candidate in the Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto, Canada. Her research interests include higher education, teacher education, gender and qualitative methods. She currently teaches in the Department of Sociology at Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, Canada.

Gaby Weiner is professor of teacher education and research at Umeå University in Sweden. She moved there from her post as professor of educational research at South Bank University, London in 1998. She has written and edited a number of books and reports on social justice, equal opportunities and gender. Relevant publications include Equal Opportunities in Colleges and Universities (1995, with M. Farish, J. McPake & J. Powney);and Closing the Gender Gap: Postwar Educational and Social Change (1999, with M. Arnot & M. David). Since moving to Sweden, she has pursued her work on gender seeking to connect it to the specific history of Swedish state policy and has also been responsible for a number of projects addressing anti/racism and intercultural education in Sweden's rapidly diversifying classrooms.

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