

# Waikato Journal of Education

Te Hautaka Mātauranga o Waikato



School of Education  
Kura Toi Tangata

The  
University  
of Waikato  
*Te Whare Wānanga  
o Waikato*

Volume 5 : 1999

Special Section: Teacher Education

# WAIKATO JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

TE HAUTAKA MĀTAURANGA O WAIKATO

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# REVIEWS OF TEACHER EDUCATION IN NEW ZEALAND 1950-1998: CONTINUITY, CONTEXTS AND CHANGE

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**ABSTRACT** *After a period of 40 years of relative political and professional consensus teacher education in New Zealand since 1990 has undergone considerable change. This has taken place in a policy environment where the rhetoric of choice and accountability has been dominant and suspicion of professionals and academics widespread. This paper examines a series of major reports on teacher education in each decade since 1950, from the Consultative Committee chaired by Arnold Campbell in 1951 to the Green Paper of 1997, tracking both the professional expectations and the social contexts. It focuses in particular on the changing concepts of professionalism and accountability and argues that a new order needs to be built that incorporates wider perspectives but does not silence the professionals.*

## INTRODUCTION

Change in teacher education in New Zealand since 1990 has taken place in a policy environment where the rhetoric of choice and accountability has been dominant and suspicion of professionals and academics widespread. While recent change partly mirrors developments in other Western countries, there has been less policy-borrowing in the field of teacher education than in many others. New Zealand did not adopt either a fully university-based professional preparation for teachers such as occurred in North America, England and Australia, or the subsequent strong governmental pressure for school-based training seen in England and some sections of the United States. The continuing dominance of dedicated teacher education institutions with close links to schools and to central government education agencies resulted in a reasonably homogeneous curriculum and espoused values, but little real experimentation or autonomy. Preparation for primary and secondary education remained largely separate, underpinned by differing assumptions and subscribing to different priorities.

Wilkin (1994) theorised that initial teacher education in England can be understood in the context of an ongoing dialogue between the ideology of the ruling elite and the culture of the professional community whose responsibility it is to train teachers. In New Zealand the distinctions are less clear, at least until the 1980s. The series of reports and reviews designed to inform teacher education policy were largely written by education professionals. Their focus for the most part was on preparation for primary teaching. This paper examines these major reports on teacher education in

New Zealand over the past 50 years, relating them to the ideology of teaching and to the social and political context in which they were set.

### **THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE AND PROFESSIONAL JUDGEMENT IN THE 1950s**

The Report of the Consultative Committee on the Recruitment, Education and Training of Teachers, presented to the Minister of Education in 1951, was the result of three years widespread consultation and intensive deliberation. The Committee sought written and oral submissions, travelled widely around the country and considered a variety of other resource material. Set up by Terence McCombs towards the end of the First Labour Government's term in 1948, it reported to Ronald Algie, the National Government Minister who replaced him. Chaired by Arnold Campbell, Director of the Council for Educational Research, it comprised a group of senior professional men and one woman. The Committee's broad terms of reference included examining the implications of extending training for primary teachers from two to three years. Its work was carried out in a context of rapid expansion and differentiation of the school system. Numbers of children in schools were rising rapidly as a result of population growth together with the raising of the school leaving age to 15 in 1944. Over the previous 50 years the teaching force had grown from 3,000 to 10,000, the percentage of students receiving at least some post-primary schooling had risen from 10% to 90%. The intermediate sector was growing and the adoption of the Thomas Committee recommendations (1944) had widened the secondary school curriculum.

As a group, Committee members subscribed to the dominant educational ideology promoted by Peter Fraser and the First Labour Government: the greater democratisation of schooling through equality of access to a free, full and generous education; the fulfilment of individual potential; and the need for an informed citizenry in a democracy. Concepts of elitism for the few and lower class usefulness for the many had been discredited. Fraser had abolished the Proficiency examination which had acted as a barrier to free movement into secondary schools. Reforms to the school system overseen by the Director of Education, Dr C. E. Beeby, had included curriculum change intended to encourage understanding rather than rote learning, and to foster the importance of art, music and physical education as part of a wide and generous education. Such a curriculum demanded a great deal from teachers. Many educationalists were keen to pursue the ideal that they taught the whole child; indeed some saw their brief as extending beyond the school itself.

The Committee also recognised important changes within the profession of teaching. The abolition of proficiency and lower secondary school examinations had given teachers a higher degree of professional freedom and responsibility. There had also been a growth of genuine educational knowledge, especially learning theories and knowledge of child development. As a result, the Committee believed, "the teacher must be a cultivated person, equal to the demands of a much broader curriculum, and that his education and training must be liberalised accordingly. . . . [He] should have some

capacity to discriminate between assured knowledge and mere opinion, and between ephemeral stunts and real educational advances. Such a capacity requires both a good general education and professional knowledge of some depth and accuracy" (pp. 2-3). This perceived need for teachers who could exercise professional judgement and freedom informed many of the Consultative Committee's recommendations. It was unequivocal about the need to select students with the necessary personal qualities of integrity, poise, warmth and colour of personality, a sense of justice and fair play, intelligence, initiative, humour and liking to work with people. Teacher education programmes needed to build on and enhance these qualities and no amount of knowledge or technique could compensate for them.

The Committee was adamant that the provisions for teacher training in New Zealand had "lagged seriously behind obvious needs" (p. 3). It recommended "training institutions with a varied, vigorous and humane corporate life" (p. 9). But given the background experience of its members it is not surprising that the Committee found few easy answers to the issues it faced. It recognised tensions and dilemmas inherent in the professional education of teachers and the realities of attempting to raise standards of entry and achievement in a period of rapid expansion in numbers. Those engaged in teacher education themselves needed opportunities for training to fit them for their roles. The Committee rejected suggestions that such lecturers should constantly return to the classrooms from which they had come, noting that they were engaged in specialist work in which they could be expected to need five years or more to reach a maximum level of efficiency.

The Committee believed that programmes of professional preparation for teachers needed to balance a number of elements: general education, which would enable students to develop "interests of some breadth and dignity" (p. 7); teaching content which demanded knowledge of both children and subject; general professional equipment, including knowledge of the New Zealand school system and child development; and "specific professional equipment" (p. 10), the special method needed to work with pupils of different ages and abilities. Mechanical tricks of the trade were condemned. "Though concerned with detail [special method] has its roots firmly in principle, and it preaches ready adaptability rather than rigid adherence to a "one best way" (p. 10). Courses should incorporate New Zealand knowledge, including knowledge of Māori children, rather than fall back on an over reliance on overseas findings. Colleges should eschew forms of organisation more suitable for secondary schools and recognise that their students were adults. The Committee gave firm support to ongoing professional training, insisting on the recognition that when they assumed responsibilities for their own classes the new teachers would be merely beginners, rather than experts.

The Committee's recommendation that less time should be spent in schools is an interesting one in light of current proposals to increase the percentage. The context in which it was deliberating was one where college students spent half their time in schools for the very pragmatic reason that most colleges could only accommodate half their students at any one time and the others had necessarily to be carrying out observation or practice teaching. The Committee noted that this practice could be counter productive since



"effective observation is a very difficult task for which the average student requires sustained and systematic training" (p. 81). The Committee found itself frustrated that the increasing demand for teachers precluded the necessary reforms such as lengthening the period of training to provide a stronger base. As a compromise it suggested a "twin apprenticeship" scheme by which two students in their third year could share a class, spending half a year in school and the other in college. The scheme was never implemented.

In spite of the emphasis on professional judgement and autonomy the Committee was clear that ultimate responsibility for administering the colleges should remain with the Department of Education. "No other organisation is nearly as well equipped for the task of seeing to it that adequate numbers of adequately trained teachers are available for appointment to schools." Any other arrangement such as university control, would entail "a risk of serious lack of coordination between the Department's general educational policy and what was done in respect to the recruitment, education and training of teachers. Further a very large administrative burden would be placed on the university" (p. 112). Nevertheless much of the Department's responsibility could be delegated to the Education Boards or the colleges. To facilitate this process the Committee recommended the establishment of a permanent National Advisory Committee on the Training of Teachers. It would be chaired by the Director of Education who would not only convene the group but be responsible for the preparation of the agenda. Representation would include college principals, college staff, unions, the department and university staff. There was no mention of representation from Boards or other outside bodies such as the employer groups which the report claimed were expecting higher standards of literacy and numeracy among their employees.

The Committee's report could hardly have appeared at a more difficult time for the implementation of its reform proposals. The Department's Annual Reports for the first half of the 1950s are dominated by statistics about the struggle to build more classrooms and to find teachers to work in them. Nineteen new secondary schools were opened between 1950 and 1956. In 1952 589 new classrooms were built and in 1954 the Minister reported to the NZEI that new classrooms were finished at the rate of five per day. Emergency "pressure cooker" schemes for training teachers continued and the Department was unable to introduce the more costly three-year training scheme for primary teachers even in the modified form suggested by the Committee. The difficulties of the 1950s were largely responsible. Not only was it difficult to meet the quotas, but standards of entry had clearly fallen. Whereas in 1946 80% of the entrants held matriculation, by 1958 the percentage had dropped to 40%. Within the institutions life appears to have carried on without a great deal of change. Nor was the proposed Advisory Committee ever established.

## **THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL OF THE 1960s**

By the early 1960s roll growth was steady rather than spectacular. The Currie Commission, established by Minister of Education Phil Skoglund to investigate the effectiveness of the educational directions of the past 20 years,

gave the system a general seal of approval, countering accusations of failing standards. In its 90-page chapter on teacher training, however, the Committee claimed its research and consulting led to the "firm conclusion that the present arrangements for the training of teachers are in need of fundamental reform" (p. 481). The aspirations of professional leaders in the 1950s had not been realised. The Commission's analysis lamented the need to enrol students with insufficient achievement at secondary school and recommended the introduction of three-year training, which it noted had received official policy approval as early as 1946. While there was ongoing concern that three-year training would reduce by a year the service of women students (more than half resigned before completing three years and 70% left within five years), the fact that married women were beginning to return to work later in life was seen as partially offsetting this. The Commission also recommended closer relations between the colleges and universities, including a complex but imaginative proposal for the establishment of University Institutes of Education which could assume responsibility for the professional content of programmes and award certificates leading to registration. The Department would retain control of supply and other issues. Noting the cost of three-year training the Committee was adamant that the government had a responsibility to provide buildings, resources and higher salaries. Like the Campbell Committee, it recommended the setting up of a National Advisory Committee to guide the Minister of the day. This time the recommendation was acted on.

In 1964 the National Advisory Council on the Training of Teachers reported to the Minister, A. E. Kinsella, on the establishment of three year training for primary teachers, the location of future colleges and the future pattern of courses of post-primary teacher training. This committee, too, was entirely professional (and male) and was chaired by one of the university representatives, C. C. Aikman. The Department of Education was strongly represented. The group was serviced by Bill Renwick, a departmental officer who had also been research officer for the Currie Commission. Arnold Campbell was now Director of Education. The Advisory Council apparently did not feel the need to question any of the assumptions and principles articulated by the earlier Campbell Report. Rather it saw that report as setting directions which were admirable but had not yet been fully implemented. "For various reasons, however, the courses as given in the colleges still fall a good deal short of the expectations of the Consultative Committee" (p. 11). It noted that the proposed reduction in teaching practice had not been possible, that colleges still operated more like secondary schools than institutions of higher education, that programmes tended to be compartmentalised, and that there had been a persistence of traditions established in the first half of the century. The Committee endorsed the differentiation between training for junior and senior primary positions, claiming that wider provision of inservice education would enable teachers to make switches later if they desired, and supported the introduction of courses designed to further the student's own general education.

To address its concerns about quality the Council sought to raise the standard of entry required by making University Entrance the base qualification as soon as was feasible, to attract better staff though raising the



salary of lecturers, and to foster independent work and reflection by freeing up the crowded timetable and providing more extensive libraries. In charting directions for the new programmes to be developed with an additional year of training the Committee plumped for compulsory studies in English, Professional Studies, and Optional Studies to provide general education but support curriculum areas. For the more able it also noted the long-standing New Zealand practice of allowing college students to take university papers concurrently with their teaching studies, a practice not then allowed in Australia, England or the United States.

The Committee's recommendations had considerable implications for government expenditure. A further year of training meant additional facilities as well as the allowances paid to students for an additional year. Three-year training was phased in over a four-year period from 1965, with two colleges shifting to the new system annually. By the early 1970s the colleges were very different institutions from those a decade earlier. Their staffs were enlarged and better paid, the timetables had in many cases been altered to allow for considerable independent study, a number of rebuilding programmes had been completed or were planned, libraries had been extended. The Advisory Council had recommended boards of control, which would give the colleges greater autonomy. These were established in 1968 and gazetted in 1969. But the Department of Education continued to set annual quotas for new students in each board area. Appointments were still made through the Education Boards and senior appointments required the assent of the Department or in the case of principals of the Minister. In spite of regional differences between the traditional providers, teacher education remained homogenous.

### **WIDENING THE DEBATE IN THE 1970s**

The early 1970s in New Zealand were characterised by considerable social questioning as the manifesto of the third Labour government, the rhetoric of New Zealand and overseas feminists, the activism of Māori groups posed challenges to established beliefs, practices and assumptions. While educationalists had supported diversity and the learning needs of the individual, these groups claimed that the system had been blind to the needs of whole groups who were consequently disadvantaged. In 1974 New Zealand was hit by the first wave of oil shocks and consequent disruption to overseas trade and development. But the colleges of education, preoccupied with the implementation and development of the three-year primary programmes with their stress on personal development, were perhaps more influenced by the James Report on Teacher Education and Training presented to Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1971 than in the social and economic change around them.

The Education Development Conference in the 1970s provided the first opportunity since the 1944 Ministerial Conference, convened by HRG Mason, for a wide cross section of New Zealand interest groups and individuals to come together and discuss educational issues. The Advisory Committee on Educational Planning, which had served as the steering committee for the nationwide discussions of the conference, published *Directions for Educational*

*Development* (1974). Among its recommendations was a proposal for a comprehensive review of the pre-service education of teachers including teacher selection and the extent of practical experience in the programmes. The Minister, Les Gandar, decided to chair a conference in 1977 to determine a way forward. The two-day meeting attracted representatives from teacher education institutions, from employing authorities, from teachers' organisations, from industry and commerce, and from community groups. Working parties were set up to study the major issues identified. They were to report to a reconvened conference in 1978 on recruitment and selection, flexibility of training programmes and qualifications, induction and evaluation. An intensive period of activity followed as groups consulted, visited institutions, wrote and critiqued papers. The ensuing report (known as the Hill Committee Report (1977) was endorsed with minor emendations.

This final report was a compromise document, anxious to identify strengths in the existing training provisions: school principals and inspectors claimed that there had been a continuing improvement in the quality of students leaving the colleges. The academic qualifications of entrants to the colleges had continued to rise; advanced courses in a range of areas catered for individual interests and aptitudes. Beginning teachers, especially those working with younger children, were reported to establish good relations with children and appreciate the implications of their pupils' diverse cultural backgrounds. Nevertheless the Report also raised a number of concerns. These were mostly systemic. The Committee noted widespread concern about the selection process, the mix of students applying for teaching, the lack of a coherent qualifications structure, the lack of flexibility in opportunities for entering and completing initial teacher education programmes. The relevance of certain courses was queried as was the nature of the practicum. Greater cooperation between schools and colleges was called for. Some of these concerns were perennial; their strength reflected the wider inclusion of members outside the colleges and the Department.

The Committee had few suggestions for improving the mix of entrants to teacher education though it recommended an ongoing reserve quota for Māori and Pacific Island students. It was adamant, however, about the need for greater flexibility, for individualised and modularised programmes, the recognition of prior learning, and an end to the expectation that cohorts of students should necessarily start and graduate together. If fully implemented these recommendations would have resulted in a weakening of the corporate culture on which the colleges had prided themselves and which had so influenced the socialisation of primary teachers. They would also have weakened the management of teacher supply exercised by the Department of Education. The vexed question of the relationships between the Department, the colleges and the universities was dealt with in an appendix. While closer cooperation was seen as a valuable goal the Committee believed that it would develop best if left to local initiative.

## CHALLENGES TO PROFESSIONAL DOMINANCE IN THE 1980s

The Hill report may have been based on wide consultation but it was written by men and women whose professional lives had been spent in education and who regarded themselves as educators. Implementation was also left largely to the professionals. By the early 1980s the educational and social context had changed further. Falling rolls in schools had led to overstaffing and drastically reduced intakes into teacher education programmes. Priority staffing schemes, designed to protect teachers made redundant because of demographic changes and the impact of emigration, were developed by the Department in conjunction with teacher unions. The schemes were attacked by some local groups as unfair to schools with specialist needs. The growing awareness of the impact of gender and culture on learning outcomes resulted in continuing critique from feminist and Māori academics and community groups. The Department of Education was accused of being overly bureaucratic. Rising unemployment meant that a number of school leavers were unable to find jobs. This was the context in which the Parliamentary Select Committee on Education and Science determined at the end of 1985 to conduct an enquiry into the quality of teaching. The chairperson of the group, Noel Scott, MP for Tongariro, had entered parliament from a teaching career, but the other Members of Parliament in the group came from quite different backgrounds. Though their political and ideological viewpoints differed considerably, they shared a concern that some students were leaving school unqualified and alienated by failure. They believed that too little was being done to bring unsatisfactory teachers to account or to listen to the disquiet of parents. While the focus of the report was the quality of teaching in New Zealand, teacher recruitment, selection and training were examined as part of the process. The Select Committee consulted widely. A call for submissions elicited 172 written papers and members travelled around the country, hearing oral submissions and holding discussions.

Their report marked a major shift in attitude and assumptions. The use of key terms such as "quality" and "accountability", reflected the new world of the 1980s. Members of the committee were convinced that the influence of the education professionals needed curbing. "The balance of influence is too strong at present. It protects the rights of teachers at the expense of the interests of students and their community. This imbalance has been brought about largely by the priorities established by influential professional organisations" (p. 6). They also queried the longstanding assumption of the teaching profession that teachers were the guardians of educational equity. The Committee's view of educational equity was that the interests (not the voice) of all learners should be included in education policy and planning. To achieve this they offered a number of recommendations: "positive discrimination in staffing resources and funding for educationally disadvantaged schools" (p. 14); an investigation of raising the leaving age to 18 to "provide a longer and sounder education base for all youngsters"; and community input into the values and attitudes to be reinforced local school programmes. They claimed teachers should develop a "repertoire of teaching methods and ways to organise learning groups" (p. 15) so that the learning needs of each individual learner could be met.

It is not surprising, given this emphasis on individual needs and flexibility, that the Select Committee reiterated the call made by the Hill Committee for different and more flexible entry criteria for teacher education programmes, with less emphasis on academic criteria in some subject areas. It supported targeted and flexible assistance to attract under-represented groups, an end to regional quotas and research into the relationship between selection criteria, assessment of suitable candidates and subsequent success in teaching. It also recommended more flexible courses of varying lengths and greater use of Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL). Whereas the Campbell report had seen teacher education as a professional task demanding broad judgement, the Scott Committee had narrower skill-based perspective. It suggested that lecturers should be appointed on five-year renewable contracts and receive training for adult teaching though their possible involvement in research was not mentioned. It supported the need for all teachers to engage in professional development and continuing education.

The focus of the report purported to be the quality of teaching. Good teachers were seen as those who established clear goals, related well to pupils, were innovative and responsive to differing needs, respected by pupils and colleagues and cared about their pupils as individuals. The emphasis on personal relationships is reminiscent of the Campbell Report. The Committee also expected a repertoire of teaching skills, the capacity to review practice and an ability to understand the learning process through training. Teachers would also be prepared to undertake further study. To ensure the maintenance of quality the Committee supported more frequent reputable and credible assessment of teachers through self-assessment, collegial assessment, board and community assessment, with the Inspectorate involved to ensure objectivity and national comparability. Professionalism required accountability, seen as essential to "protect the rights of pupils" (p. 36). The committee recommended commissioned New Zealand research into a model for evaluating the quality of teaching and the separation of the Inspectorate between advisory and audit functions.

The New Zealand education system underwent massive changes following the Picot Report (1988) and the government's subsequent decision to implement many of its major recommendations for administrative reform to give control to local communities and parent groups. From October 1 1989 all schools were to be governed by elected boards of trustees and audited by a new body, which eventually became known as the Education Review Office (ERO). The tertiary sector also underwent major change as universities lost their monopoly of degree-granting and institutions were encouraged to compete for students in a flexible new environment. The NZ Qualifications Authority (NZQA) embarked on the ambitious task of designing a framework for all qualifications in the post compulsory sector and began to develop a methodology to determine and assess units of learning.

Colleges of Education became autonomous bodies responsible for the selection of their students and no longer bound by quotas set by the Department of Education. By 1993 the demographic trends of the 1980s had been reversed and primary school rolls were increasing rapidly. Many schools had difficulty attracting qualified teachers. The Minister, Lockwood Smith,

promised improved staffing ratios within a short time frame. In response the Ministry initiated an international teacher recruitment plan, provided funding for the retraining of teachers who had left teaching but were willing to return to the classroom, and encouraged a number of new institutions to enter the teacher education field by providing special incentive schemes which favoured the shorter programmes for graduates over the longer traditional programmes.

For the first few years of the new era schools and their principals were preoccupied with learning to operate within the new freedoms and constraints. They too were encouraged to become entrepreneurial and seek students. The most consistent factor during the first five years, however, was the work overload and consequent fatigue and burnout especially among principals. This was due both to increased community expectations of responsiveness in a society becoming more culturally and linguistically diverse, and to compliance expectations from the new crown agencies: the Ministry of Education, ERO and NZQA. In addition the Ministry developed a new curriculum framework and schools were required to implement new curriculum documents with new assessment imperatives. It is not surprising that principals employing new staff wanted them to show competence in all areas and to need little support. In 1996 an Education Accord, led by the New Zealand Principals Federation but supported at least in part by the School Trustees Association and by teacher unions, requested the Minister to commission a review of teacher education. In October 1997 a Green Paper, *Quality Teachers for Quality Learning*, was published.

### **The Green Paper**

The Green Paper differed from previous reports in that it was produced entirely by officials and did not call for public submissions until after publication. Instead it commissioned a number of reports by consultants and academics. The Green Paper claimed to seek "policy solutions to support a long term vision for education" [which] must ensure that New Zealand has a world-class teaching profession capable of serving our country's needs into the future" (p. 6). The policy context spelled out in the report included other government initiatives: the move to a unified teaching force; the concurrent review of tertiary education and the qualifications policy, and Māori education strategy. All these policies, the report claimed, were geared at policy reform which would improve education for the future.

While teacher supply was acknowledged as a dominating issue, the Report also emphasised quality teaching. There was a major shift in terminology from earlier reports. In place of the Scott Report's insistence on accountability to individual students and communities, the Green Paper sought to establish minimum standards to ensure that "the taxpayer funds appropriated for pre-service teacher education are producing well trained beginning teachers" (p. 29). To this end, it asserted, "the Government sees a need to specify the requirements for pre-service teacher education" (p. 30). Teachers needed to be "versatile and committed to success" (p. 5) and would require both strong subject knowledge and pastoral skills. One of the most interesting proposals in the paper is the suggestion that a professional body for

teachers be established to review and develop standards of professional competency. Until this happened, the report suggested, the unit standards developed during the 1990s by the Teacher Education Advisory Group under the auspices of NZQA, "could provide a basis for Government's specification of the functional competencies it wishes to fund" (p. 30).

It is interesting to compare the competencies with the suggestions of the Consultative Committee headed by Arnold Campbell 50 years earlier. Both insist that teachers need both knowledge of children and knowledge of subjects. Campbell recommended that teachers have knowledge of the broad principles of education and of child development, general knowledge of the school system and the interaction of its parts, and a sense of vocation. In addition they needed specific skills in the selection and organization of subject matter, techniques with roots firmly grounded in principle. The Green Paper added specific reference to knowledge of te reo Māori and Māori tikanga, to assessment and to functional competence in information technology. The tone of the two reports is quite different. In the Green Paper the vision and concern for the individual which characterises the earlier report have disappeared.

### **Professionalism and Quality**

Whether teaching with its huge numbers and reliance on government funding is a profession has long been the subject of academic debate. "Professionalism" is a key concept in all the reports examined, but its definition has shifted, becoming more narrowly skills based in the 1990s. For the Campbell Committee learning to exercise professional judgement was essential. "Such a capacity requires both a good general education and professional knowledge of some depth and accuracy. . . . The day of detailed and official syllabuses rigorously imposed on all schools and all teachers has long passed, and in such professional matters very much is now left to the discretion of the individual school and the individual teacher. So far as professional direction from the Department still exists, its nature and degree is more and more determined on the basis of consultation and agreement with the teachers themselves" (p. 3). This level of freedom entailed responsibility, and a teaching service capable of exercising it wisely and well. Campbell was well aware, however, that such freedom would be exercised only within a Department-sanctioned framework, albeit a framework which teachers had helped to shape. The Aikman Committee accepted without question the need for training which would help develop such professional capacity and responsibility. By the 1970s the beginnings of a shift were evident. The Hill Committee produced a list of functions an effective teacher would be able to carry out which reads very much like those of the later unit standards. For the Scott Committee professionalism was equated with the interests of teachers rather than learners. The Green Paper returns to professional self-monitoring but only in the context of nationally-agreed standards.

Each of the policy documents also insists on the need for quality. Campbell addressed this by seeking higher academic standards for entry to training, by increasing salaries and resources, and by extending the length of training. The Aikman Report endorsed these ideas. By the 1970s the Hill



Committee, while suggesting practical internal changes to improve initial teacher education also recommended the establishment of a national body to co-ordinate and evaluate the development of teacher education and training. Its purpose would be continuous improvement and the collection of a range of data to help "those concerned in providing teacher education courses as fully as possible in objective analysis of their effects as a basis for making improvements" (p. 51). The committee also recommended that "instruments of research and evaluative procedures for the monitoring of teacher education programmes against criteria of success in the classroom would continue to be developed and used" (p. 51). Evaluations by visiting committees every seven years were suggested. A pre-requisite would be "an agreed statement on the essential core of components for effective teacher training covering separately initial training, induction, and in-service training" (p. 52). The Scott Report opted for a university-developed model for evaluating the quality of teaching and wanted community input to all evaluation procedures. Education had become too important to leave to the professionals, though this move had been strongly signalled also in the Hill Report.

During the 1990s there have been conflicting trends between the idea of institutional autonomy and market choice as regulators of quality. The National Government moved to deregulate the sector by making teacher registration voluntary, though this move was reversed after a successful private members bill initiated by the Parliamentary Opposition in 1996 with the support of teacher organisations. The Green Paper has suggested a professional body responsible for promulgating and monitoring the professional standards to be met at the completion of pre-service teacher education. Teacher education professionals have in general supported the establishment of such a body provided it is widely representative and not captured by any one group. It would differ from other professional bodies such as those in law or medicine by the involvement of the Government, because of the compulsory nature of education and government's interest in its outcomes. Methodologies for ensuring that published standards are in fact achieved are still problematic.

## SUMMARY

New Zealand teacher education, while it has been the subject of numerous policy reports, has followed a relatively homogenous and straightforward track for the last 50 years. The change from two-year to three-year primary teacher education programmes did not affect the basic nature of the institutions in which teachers were trained. Relations with the universities, at least until the 1990s, remained civilised but distant though various arrangements for concurrent study were gradually developed. There was little direct academic investigation of teacher education and few alternative training paradigms were seriously mooted. Until 1990 the Department of Education retained considerable control over resources, level of staffing, intakes of students and curriculum development. Students allowed to transfer from one college to another found the transition relatively painless. New Zealand teacher education policy has not mandated either full university provision or school-

based provision though the debate on professional standards to be reached by beginning teachers has been as fierce as anywhere else.

In the 40 years following the Campbell Report in New Zealand, the residual effects of the Fraser paradigm, the small size of the system, and the personal relationships between senior public servants, college principals and the leaders of the teacher unions, tended to foster a form of collegiality and a relatively shared culture. The Educational Development Conferences of the 1970s served to allow the Department to make concessions and assert a form of professional leadership as it did, for example, with the appointment of an officer for women. It was not until the early 1980s that serious challenge to this arrangement and the status quo began to occur. At the same time teacher education was savagely downsized with the closing of North Shore College and the major cutbacks in intakes. From the mid 1980s the bureaucracy, the teacher organisations and the teacher education institutions were all under attack. In 1989 the old relationships between bureaucracy and professionals changed fundamentally. The Ministry, at first "hands-off", became increasingly interventionist as teacher supply worsened, though their actions were driven by practical needs rather than educational theory. NZOA sponsored a major and protracted project to define the standards to be met by beginning teachers. Welcomed by some, it also attracted opposition from academics and resistance from practitioners. Such critique was denounced by the Authority as reactionary.

The last decade in New Zealand teacher education has been one of diversity and change. A number of new institutions have entered the field and provision has become much more distributed. There is a greatly increased sense of competition among providers in place of the collegiality which once allowed a comfortable cooperation. While there have been important innovations the need to attract students to maintain funding has sometimes led to claims and counterclaims which are not easy for potential students to assess. The pressures of the market can make it difficult for academic staff to take a critically evaluative stance. Likewise while the ongoing debate around professional standards has been healthy, there is a continuing danger that official prescriptions may stifle creativity and questioning.

Since 1970 the professional consensus that shaped New Zealand education has gradually evaporated. A new order needs to be built that incorporates wider perspectives but does not silence the professionals. The current diversity in education makes the task of establishing standards both pressing and problematic. Those engaged in teacher education must ensure, as our Australian colleagues have done through the Council of Deans of Education, that their voice is heard at national level, that there is academic and professional debate, as well as genuine dialogue with the profession and employer groups. The assessment and maintenance of quality is crucial; so is the realisation that such issues are ongoing and should continue to be subject to critical scrutiny and debate. Quality is an elusive concept. We can define minimum standards. We can recognise outstanding merit. We have difficulty recognising the gradations in between. We have to ensure that we do not settle only for the minimum nor insist that all teachers reach an unrealistic level of excellence perspectives but does not silence the professionals.

We are still to realise the vision of a graduate profession mooted by NZEI in the 1930s and the close links with the university sector recommended from the 1920s though developments of the last few years have brought the first of these closer. The aspirations of the professionals have continued to be dashed by the economic and practical realities faced by education bureaucracies and Ministers of Education. In the 1990s government has withdrawn from capital provision for buildings or libraries and the staffing ratios which improved steadily from the 1960s have fallen again to the level the Currie Commission considered undesirable. Links with the community may have been strengthened and a wider range of voices is being heard. The dilemmas of teacher education have changed little: the rhetoric of government has shifted markedly. As we engage in ongoing policy debate we might do worse than to adopt as our own the vision of the Campbell Committee: to develop teachers with integrity, a sense of justice, imagination, and interests of breadth and dignity.

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