

New Zealand Teacher Education: Progression or Prescription?

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Abstract

The historical development of teacher education in New Zealand manifests several major contradictions and tensions. One of these involves two conflicting models of teacher education that have historically struggled for dominance. The first model holds teaching to be an essentially practical craft involving classroom management, whilst the second accepts the need for these skills but also sees teaching as a learned profession. A further and related contradiction, however, has been that whilst there has been a steady upgrading of institutional aspirations and induction programmes from early links with trade training to a broader identification with teacher education, successive displacements have often masked a corresponding increase in state control and surveillance. This paper argues that, despite more than a century of apparently progressive restructuring, these unresolved contradictions still remain clearly evident across the increasingly complex and diverse teacher education sector in early twenty-first century New Zealand.

It can be argued that the history of New Zealand teacher education in both the compulsory and the voluntary sectors is less about 'progress', than it is about how various provisions were superseded through a 'history of displacements' (Johnson, 1989: 243). The various changes in nomenclature are indicative of this process. In primary training, the pupil-teacher system was displaced by the normal schools. In turn, these were displaced by training colleges. These institutions were progressively re-named teachers' training colleges, then teachers' colleges, and finally, colleges of education. Over the last decade many colleges of education have themselves been displaced by University-College mergers, or by standalone institutions seeking university status. Whilst each displacement has indeed signalled *the steady upgrading of institutional aspirations from trade training to 'teacher education' with all of the ambiguities that the latter term implies* (Openshaw, 1996: 172),

successive displacements have also resulted in a corresponding increase in state control and surveillance.

The root cause of this historical ambiguity lies in the two conflicting models of teacher education that have historically jostled for supremacy. One sees teaching as a practical craft centred on classroom management. The other accepts the need for these skills, but also sees teaching as a learned profession, where members have a broad grasp of the social, historical and political context of schooling (Snook, 1993: 20). In 150 years of New Zealand teacher education, neither has completely succeeded in ousting the other, with the result that the two models have remained uneasily juxtaposed. The tensions between them are embodied in a number of essentially unresolved issues. How should teaching candidates be inducted, and where? What precise mix of knowledge, qualities and skills might be required of future teachers? Should the professional or the academic aspects of teacher education programmes predominate? Who should exercise ultimate control of the teacher education curriculum and programme? How can teacher supply be maintained both cheaply and efficiently?

Compared to England, Scotland and Australia, New Zealand had a relatively slow start to pre-service teacher education. Prior to the Education Act of 1877, each of the country's six Provinces depended on its own economic resources and educational commitment to provide teachers for their fledgling education systems. Methods varied widely from Province to Province, including the importation, or even the poaching, of trained teachers from elsewhere; prescribing detailed standards and regulations; examining, classifying and certificating teachers on the job; providing evening and weekend classes; establishing pupil-teacher, probationer or teacher assistant systems; and providing training at normal schools (later renamed training colleges) (Butchers, 1932; Cumming & Cumming, 1978; Harte, 1972). Private training establishments were also in evidence (Griffin, 2000).

Otago was the first to make provision for formal teaching training through its 1862 Education Ordinance, and rather than creating an indigenous system, it adopted wholesale the pupil-teacher system from England (Campbell, 1941). This model of teacher training was to form the national pattern and other Provinces subsequently followed suit, however, in order to eliminate the inconsistencies found across the country, however, legislation embodied in the first Education Act charged its newly created Department of Education with responsibility

for supplying a 'steady stream of educated professionally trained teachers for the national system' (Butchers, 1932:64).

The primary objective of the latter was the central control of all aspects of teacher employment including the education and examination of pupil teachers, the issuing of certificates of competency to teachers, and the establishment, maintenance and management of training colleges. Two such colleges, Dunedin (1876) and Christchurch (1877) were already in operation. Two additional colleges were established in Wellington (1880) and Auckland (1881), and all four colleges operated under the joint control of the Education Department and local education boards (Harte, 1972). Despite the centralist aims of the Act, the newly constituted Boards became largely responsible for the 'maintenance and education of pupil teachers' (Statutes of New Zealand Act, 1877, Section 43) in their respective regions, with the state prescribing a minimum age for pupil teachers (13 years), evidence of physical, moral and intellectual fitness, and a minimum Fifth Standard primary school pass.

A rapidly expanding school population became a major preoccupation and resulted in the introduction and gazetting of regulations regarding the training, certification and classification of pupil-teachers (NZ Gazette, 1878: 1309). Thereafter, the Education Act had little further impact on teacher training, which remained substantially unchanged for the remainder of the century. Economic expediency and a perceived need for social efficiency maintained contemporary support for the pupil-teacher system despite expressions of concern from the newly created teacher associations.

In Otago and Canterbury, it was soon proposed that the pupil-teacher system should consist of a four or five year apprenticeship followed by two years at a training college or normal school (Canterbury Provincial Gazette, 1871). When both components were provided, as in Otago when its normal school was established (Morton Johnston & Morton, 1976), the system, as viewed within its historical context, was successful. In Otago the training college provided 'for both sexes to receive instruction in the subjects they would teach in the schools, in theories and methods of education, and in practical teaching' (Cumming & Cumming, 1978: 91). Without the theoretical and pedagogical element the pupil-teacher system suffered and became increasingly regarded by many educators as inadequate. As the two-tier system was expensive and of relatively long duration, the college component was often regarded as dispensable and opposition to it grew steadily. Criticisms centred on the exploitation of cheap labour

(especially young, female teachers), inadequate training and poor working conditions. As pupil-teachers were predominantly girls between thirteen and eighteen years of age, there was also a growing belief that they should not be given charge of large classes of students, and concern for their social and moral welfare.

Such criticism has led some modern commentators to condemn the pupil-teacher scheme as both exploitative and inadequate. It should be remembered, however, that it was originally envisaged as a two-phase training model and, in addition, the current notions of apprenticeship did not preclude an advanced professional education. Many eligible pupil-teachers took advantage of university study and passed 'the Matriculation Examination of the New Zealand University, in addition to the examination provided by the Board's regulation' (Province of Otago, 1873: 26). This became relatively common practice and, in retrospect, can be regarded as the beginning of a partnership, albeit problematic, between the colleges and the university in teacher training.

Conversely, central control of teacher training through the colleges was thought to be the answer to the many criticisms directed at the pupil-teacher system. Attempts at greater political control and centralisation through the colleges, however, was to be compromised by political concerns that such regulations would bring too much conformity; 'one class of teachers, all trained in the same class, imparting but the one set of ideas, and their teaching regulated according to the wishes of the Inspectors, who, also were of the one mould' (Cumming & Cumming, 1978: 94). In addition, there was a noticeable lack of financial support from the government. Ambiguous attitudes to growing central control, along with continuing financial parsimony, were to become recurring themes throughout the history of teacher education.

For much of the nineteenth century teaching was considered a trade or, at best, a 'semi-profession' (Perkin, 1989). Technical efficiency was the primary philosophical rationale of teacher training and as long as schooling was based on the factory model, the pupil teacher system appeared to be the most cost-effective solution to the problem of teacher supply. It lasted for over sixty years, straddling the transition from provincial education systems to the creation of a national system. Its extent can be gauged by the fact that in 1887, a decade after the 1877 Education Act, a third of the country's teaching force consisted of pupil-teachers (AJHR, 1888, E-I, p.viii).

In New Zealand, the move away from a school-based apprenticeship towards a more institutionalised approach epitomised by training colleges paralleled developments elsewhere. In England, for example, Gardner (1995) argues that 'centrality of training colleges in the early decades of the twentieth century spoke of important changes in perceptions of professional identity and, more broadly, of professional status' (p.191). Professionalisation was also a major preoccupation of the newly-formed teachers' association, the New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI Handbook, 1929). Significantly, it was argued that this goal could best be achieved by centralised control of training, salaries and working conditions.

A coalition of interests, ranging from central and local government to educators, economists, and the NZEI, provided the impetus for the first concentrated efforts of the state to centralise the control of teacher education. The result was the Royal Commission of 1903 which, at the instigation of New Zealand's reformist-minded Inspector-General of Education, George Hogben, was to be instrumental in the overhaul of teacher training. Control of teacher training became integral to his educational aspirations. Before becoming Inspector-General Hogben had consistently expressed a deep concern with the existing curriculum and with the quality of the nation's teachers, hence centralised control of teacher training was vital to his future plans. Successful implementation of a complex and innovative new curriculum could hardly occur without the professional development of teachers and Hogben maintained that this could be engineered more effectively *inside* the colleges which were already demonstrating that they could they produce reasonably well educated and efficient student teachers.

The result was the establishment in 1905 of a national system of teacher training which remained in place for half a century. The education boards retained administrative control of training colleges while the Department of Education became responsible for all matters of policy. The regulations also put in place a two-year pattern of training and reinforced the tradition of concurrent part-time study at the university. In 1908 the four-year pupil-teacher apprenticeship period preceding training college was reduced to two years for those successfully passing University entrance (Allan, 1968). There is a need, however, to be cautious about seeing teacher education as one long progression towards the learned profession model preferred by Snook. A key reason for the often confused development of teacher training has been the longstanding and still unresolved dichotomy between theory

and practice. Before 1886, all students who had passed Matriculation were entitled to enter the university (Check, 1948: 26). Collaboration with the universities was also encouraged by Hogben during the early twentieth century. Whilst this might be seen as a move towards a more academic and philosophical model of teacher education, little actually changed in practice. For one thing, the rationale for a closer liaison was based on financial expedience aimed at reducing the unnecessary duplication of staffing and resources (Harte, 1972), while the teacher education curriculum was sharply differentiated between the academic, theoretically-oriented subjects provided by the university and the practical, applied 'method' courses undertaken by the training college (AJHR, 1908, E-1e, p.2).

The precise nature of the relationship was to prove politically difficult to untangle. On the one hand, colleges pursued links with the university colleges with varying degrees of success. On the other, they complained about excessive student workloads and the limitations that concurrent study placed upon the practicum. Moreover, it was often in the interests of government to retain control of teacher training, via the colleges. The 1920 Teacher Training regulations increased staffing and resource allocation to colleges and empowered them to provide both general education and professional education courses without recourse to the university; they were also given the exclusive right to certificate teachers (Allan, 1968). Links with the universities were reduced, and only academically talented trainees were allowed access to concurrent university study. Dissatisfaction with this arrangement was subsequently expressed in the 1925 Reichel-Tate Report which concluded that any system involving both university study and professional training risked a situation whereby students 'acquired neither adequate scholarship nor adequate professional training' (AJHR, 1925, E-7A, p.33).

In 1926, as the number of ex-pupil-teachers steadily dwindled, the term 'probationer' came to be applied to those trainees who, prior to entering a two-year training college course, were required to spend a year as a 'probationary assistant' in a school. In 1932, the single probationary year in schools before entry was abolished thereby effectively extinguishing the pupil-teacher training system, however, financial considerations continued to dominate teacher training. During the Great Depression (1929-35) all the training colleges were closed for varying periods. When the first Labour Government came to power at the end of 1935, the colleges reopened and teacher training was

reorganised in a way that would become familiar to several post-war generations. The new system, legitimated and standardised on an initial two-year course at training college, was followed by a probationary year in schools prior to certification (Allan, 1968). Labour's influence on teacher training was, however, to be more than just organisational and material. The new government facilitated liberalisation of both educational thought and practice through its sponsoring of the New Education Fellowship Conference of 1937, which saw 14 lecturers from seven countries who attended the New Education Fellowship conference in Australia, tour New Zealand, creating enormous public and professional interest. Schools were closed to allow teachers to attend public meetings in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin and the tour proved to be a turning point for New Zealand education (Beeby, 1992: 103-106). Sweeping changes to the education system saw the removal of the Proficiency examination which freed the primary school curriculum from the demands of a prescriptive external assessment. The abolition of Matriculation as a prerequisite for entry to a teachers' college, the introduction of a common core curriculum in secondary schools and the raising of the school leaving age to 15, further encouraged the process of liberalisation within teacher training.

Towards the end of the second world war, the *Mason Report* (1944) provided a summary of the state of education at the time as a basis for the 1944 Conference of Education which was held to reflect on current practice and to make suggestions for the future. The new Minister of Education, H.G.R. Mason, summed up the new reforming mood in his admission that 'I would not pretend that a period of two years in training college and one year as a probationary assistant is sufficient to fit teachers to meet all the demands of the modern primary school' (p.67).

It is important to note, however, that liberalisation notwithstanding, the older apprenticeship model of teacher training was by no means discarded. The perennial concerns over teacher supply remained as strong as ever. Accordingly, Mason's concerns over the inadequate length of primary teacher training did not prevent him from introducing an emergency one-year course for teacher training in order to alleviate the acute teacher shortage, whilst many trainees still continued to be admitted to a teachers' college either too young to benefit from the training, or with minimal entry qualifications.

The influential report of the Consultative Committee (1951) on the recruitment, education and training of teachers perpetuated existing

tensions. On the one hand the Committee emphatically rejected the apprentice model in favour of a broader conception of teacher education:

The implications for teacher training are clear. The old notion of 'lower-class usefulness' called for the 'good disciplinarian' who could drum in the three Rs; and it was associated with cheap, culturally limited, mass-production methods in the training of teachers. The new conception implies that the teacher himself must be a cultivated person, equal to the demands of a much broader curriculum and that his [sic] education and training must be liberalised accordingly.

(Consultative Committee, 1951: 2)

On the other hand, it rejected the 1930 Atmore Committee's view that teacher training in the compulsory sector should be centred on the university. Instead, the Consultative Committee envisaged that teachers' colleges would provide the main focus for both teachers' post-secondary education and their professional training. This view ensured that existing theory-practice divisions remained largely unresolved. The situation was further exacerbated because while the committee accepted academic and professional arguments for three-year training for primary teachers, it reluctantly rejected its immediate implementation on the grounds that the supply of teachers could not be disrupted at a time of considerable national demand (Consultative Committee, 1951). The existing two-year programme thus provided only for classroom practice and a basic core of compulsory courses in English, music, physical education, art, science (including social studies), and education, the latter being roughly analogous to professional studies. The Consultative Committee also recommended the introduction of so-called credits (later termed selected studies) to provide an improved general education for student teachers (Consultative Committee, 1951), but most colleges found these difficult to include in an already crowded curriculum.

Both the Parry Report of 1959 and the Currie Report of 1962 identified these weaknesses, and suggested remedies. The Parry Report urged an amalgamation between colleges and universities. Neither the colleges nor the state, however, had any wish to lose control of teacher training courses. Adopting a more conciliatory approach, the Currie Commission suggested a 'merger' between the two institutions. Teachers' colleges were to have the same standing as other (autonomous) tertiary institutions and universities were to have more responsibility in the training of teachers. The existing primary training course was to be extended in length and improved in quality. The newly established National Advisory Council on the Training of Teachers

endorsed the Currie Report's recommendation that training be extended. This was partially in response to the concerns of many college staff that student teachers had been struggling to come to terms with an increasing range of subjects which had been added to the primary school curriculum well beyond the traditional emphasis on the three R's. In addition, it was argued that there had been an enormous growth in the discipline knowledge and pedagogy relevant to learning and teaching (Allan, 1968; Middleton & May, 1997).

In its first report to the Minister of Education in 1964, the National Advisory Council published a proposal entitled 'Introducing the Three Year Course'. This recommended the staged introduction of three-year training into teachers' colleges. Although this option had been reluctantly rejected by the 1951 Consultative Committee, by the mid-1960s forecasts were anticipating a peak in primary school rolls, thus easing the pressure on college intakes. As a consequence between 1966 and 1969, colleges were progressively able to introduce three-year training. This move alleviated some of the concerns expressed by college staff that their students 'survived by hurrying from one small task to another small task, and that their energies tended to be dissipated instead of concentrated' (Allan, 1968: 128).

Despite the addition of an extra year serious issues still remained regarding the balance of the three principal components of teacher training: moral and social values, subject knowledge, and teaching practice. Most colleges still had insufficient time to teach anything much beyond the compulsory core. Moreover, selected studies were taught at a fairly low academic level, partly because students were encouraged to take as many subjects as they wished, and partly because few subjects were available at the second year due to the shortage of appropriately qualified staff (Communications Committee, 1977: 1). To make matters worse, teachers' college buildings, libraries and annual grants remained inadequate well into the 1960s. Wellington (Kelburn), for instance, was allegedly so overcrowded that students were compelled to spend half of their total course time on school postings (Communications Committee, 1977: 1).

Philosophical issues also remained unresolved. Shortly before the introduction of three year training, a group comprising college principals, departmental officers and other interested parties met at Lopdell House to consider the implications of extending the training for teachers' colleges, schools and universities. It was recognised that the *Currie Report* had commented favourably on the aims and content of a

satisfactory course of training for the primary service developed by the 1951 Consultative Committee more than a decade earlier. The *Currie Report* had also considered the existing course prescribed by the Teachers' Training College Regulations of 1959 to be satisfactory with one reservation. This related to the difficulty of striking a proper balance between studies which added to the breadth of student knowledge concerning the school curriculum, and those such as credit studies which permitted a deeper understanding of a much smaller number of subjects selected by each individual student (Pinder, 1964: 1).

Subsequent discussions between college principals at Lopdell House highlighted this particular difficulty, with W.J. Scott, the principal of Wellington Teachers' College perceptively observing that 'the prevailing atmosphere of a teachers' college is not one of sustained intellectual endeavour in any field of study' (Pinder, 1964: 1). Achieving unreserved university recognition for college courses, and beyond that, the tempting possibility of the entire three year college course receiving university blessing for degree status, as suggested in the British Robbins Report, still seemed some way off. It was reluctantly conceded, therefore, that a good deal of upgrading of academic standards in teachers' colleges would be necessary in order for even a small proportion of students to reach standards that would be acceptable to the university (Pinder, 1964: 9-10).

In 1969, an interim report on the three-year programme of training recently introduced by the Dunedin Teachers' College was prepared (Logan, 1969). This report cited the findings of a recent New Zealand article that critiqued teacher education, citing recent British research on the question of whether the three-year course had actually produced better teachers (Doolin, 1967). The article emphasised that the vast majority of primary and secondary school principals polled in the British study believed that the extra year had resulted in little substantial improvement, with any gains stemming largely from added maturity. In addition, a considerable majority thought that too little time was spent on subject matter closely related to the classroom.

Both the report and the article it cited concluded that it would be instructive to see if New Zealand could manage to avoid the shortcomings revealed by the British experience, and instead strike an ideal balance between academic and practical components (Doolin, 1967: 5). Logan's preliminary findings from his study of Dunedin Teachers' College students indicated that they placed considerable emphasis on the importance of practical experience in developing an understanding

and appreciation of the professional course. The students also made a very strong plea for increased practical experience but they gave a mixed reception to the suggestion that the college course be more concerned with the development of social and cultural activities (Logan, 1969: 19). In any case, the three-year course offered by New Zealand teachers' colleges continued to be closely modelled on the report produced in 1964 by the National Advisory Council on the Training of Teachers. Prescriptions could not be changed significantly because they were built into regulations (Communications Committee, 1977: 1).

The status and recruitment of teachers remained key areas of contention in the later decades of the twentieth century (Minogue, 1971: 87). A contemporary UNESCO report on New Zealand education observed that there was a steadily increasing demand for teachers brought about by the continuing expansion of the education system and a gradual reduction of class sizes. State primary and secondary schools in 1900 required around 3,000 adult teachers; in 1950 the number required was nearly 10,000; by 1969 the figure was approximately 25,000 (UNESCO, 1972). This rapid expansion resulted in most education boards experiencing major difficulties in recruiting sufficient students to fill increasing college intake quotas. Only a modest proportion of recruits held a university entrance qualification and the great majority of teachers were still recruited at the age of 17 or 18.

By the 1970s, the years of rapid expansion were drawing to a close. By then there were nine teachers' colleges in New Zealand: seven training primary teachers, one training secondary teachers, and one training both primary and secondary teachers (UNESCO, 1972). One or more normal schools were also affiliated to each primary teachers' college where 'modern educational practices' were demonstrated to students. In addition, the 1970s witnessed a steady rise in the academic qualifications of college entrants. By 1977, some 95 per cent had University Entrance and in the last four Wellington intakes, some 25 per cent had at least the equivalent of half of a university degree. Alcorn argues that as a result of the implementation of recommendations from both the Currie Commission and the National Council, the colleges entered the 1970s as much improved institutions compared to those of ten years earlier with regard to staffing, salaries, rebuilding programmes and course content (Alcorn, 1999). The teacher shortages of previous years appeared to be at an end and the teacher training curriculum had been lengthened and liberalised (Fletcher, 2001).

Despite these apparent gains, economic recession coupled with a drastic decline in the hegemony of the colleges was soon evident and the longstanding tensions in teacher education still remained essentially unresolved. In March 1977 the Superintendent of Teacher Training, Basil W. Kings, distributed to teachers' college principals a paper prepared by a small working committee of college principals and departmental officers. The paper sought to balance the various components of the teacher education programme as a first step towards producing a mandatory national model (Communications Committee, 1977: 1-2). A major contention of King's paper was that qualifications and quality of intakes had improved sufficiently to justify an increased emphasis on professional studies, and less on general education and specialist study for personal development.

The colleges, however, were no longer simply another variety of secondary school under tight Department control, as they had been in the early post-war years. The 1960s had seen the establishment of semi-autonomous college councils together with the first steps towards the establishment of closer links with universities. A contemporary Departmental summary of the college responses to the draft paper acknowledged that it was viewed as 'inflexible and imposing a rigidity and uniformity on colleges which was unacceptable' (Gianotti, 1977: 1). College staff had become converted to the view that teacher education should have an intellectual challenge in order to bring richness of understanding and knowledge to teaching. In addition they argued that the growing diversity of student intakes required more flexibility in any proposals that purported to offer national solutions. Other concerns centred on the fact that the draft appeared to lack any theoretical construct or philosophical underpinning, and made little reference to research in teacher education. Echoing statements made decades earlier, the Departmental summary encapsulated the colleges' position, thus: the model appeared to emphasise too much a trade-training model. It was thought that this model could produce teachers who were skilful but not well informed (Gianotti, 1977: 2). The longstanding difficulties inherent in trying to balance the various components of teacher education programmes thus remained. In 1977, the Hon. Les Gandar, Minister of Education, set up a conference to review teacher education. The conference produced a substantial working document (Working Paper for Review of Teacher Training Conference, 1978). The following year saw the appearance of a Departmental paper, DTE 78/6 which proposed reducing to three the general categories of components now proposed as the basis for a national policy of teacher education. These categories

were: background content studies (800-1000 hrs); teaching/vocational studies (800-1000 hours); and teaching experiences (500 hrs).

The 1979 *Review of Teacher Training* argued that three factors had influenced its deliberations: the increasing acceptance that teaching would eventually become a graduate profession; the growing support for a unified teaching service; and a recognition that teachers required advanced qualifications gained through professional programmes as well as through the academic programmes offered by the university. The Review contended that there were 'continuing doubts about the sacrifices being made in favour of a more academic approach required by the universities and the classroom relevance approach necessary for the credibility of teachers' college courses' (Review of Teacher Training, 1979: 37). Whilst the Review supported the strengthening of existing arrangements made between colleges and universities, it also asserted that 'it should be possible by college study alone to achieve equivalent qualifications' (p.59). This review of teacher training once again raised the possibility of direct competition between the two types of institution – an issue that had not been satisfactorily addressed since the pupil-teacher era, and one that was to become a reality after deregulation in the late 1980s.

The period from the mid-1970s saw an end to the post-war expansion of teacher training. North Shore Teachers College was closed. Other colleges suffered cutbacks in student quotas and staff redundancies (Openshaw, 1996). There were renewed calls for teacher training to be more classroom based, with less emphasis on educational theory and a wider understanding of society. These developments led commentators such as Alcorn (1999) to maintain that the consensus on teacher education that had prevailed previously was shattered in the 1980s. Such conclusions, however, tend to downplay the continued existence of long standing and unresolved issues that have dogged each successive reorganisation of teacher education since the mid-nineteenth century.

In 1985, the Education and Science Committee announced its intention to examine the policy, administration and expenditure of departments and associated non-departmental government bodies related to education. The subsequent inquiry *Quality of Teaching* (Education and Science Select Committee, 1986), known as the *Scott Report*, was of particular significance to teacher education. On the issue of pre-service teacher education, The Select Committee report stated:

That agencies providing teacher education should cooperate on research to identify the **essential theoretical and practical components** or common core of teacher education across all levels of teaching, and that required teaching **skills and competencies** should be clearly identified.

(p.49; emphasis in the original)

The Scott Report was overtaken by extensive reforms of the public sector and in education these were outlined in the report of the Taskforce to Review Education Administration (known as the Picot Report). In order to tackle the problems of inequality and underachievement highlighted by the Scott Report, the Picot Report argued that it 'could find no compelling reasons for continuing the present arrangements for the training of teachers'. Instead, the Report recommended that teacher education be made accountable through stringent assessment and surveillance procedures. It also suggested that colleges might become schools of education within universities, whilst at the same time maintaining their autonomy. This last pronouncement was seemingly contradicted by the Report on Post-compulsory Education and Training in New Zealand (the Hawke Report) which appeared a few months later. The Hawke Report proposed that colleges should be free to choose whether to retain their stand-alone status or to amalgamate with universities or polytechnics (p.10). This apparent nod to institutional autonomy was to be balanced by means of a negotiated charter with a newly created Ministry of Education. Professor G. R. Hawke, the author of the report, was dubious of the merits of an amalgamation between the colleges and the universities, maintaining that an 'academic environment is not entirely suitable for teacher training and for some other current activities of the colleges' (ibid: 85). Instead, he favoured a closer relationship between colleges and polytechnics, thus reviving the notion of teaching as a trade which had underpinned much earlier teacher education history (ibid).

The educational reforms encapsulated in the Picot and Hawke Reports were an attempt to appease both left and right wing political views. Both reports endorsed a future of competitively provided teacher education whilst simultaneously, and paradoxically, emphasising the earlier egalitarian and inclusive values espoused by Fraser, Beeby and Currie. A year later the Education Act of 1989 initiated the most radical restructuring of education since its inception in 1877. The Department of Education and the education boards were abolished and a new Ministry of Education created which retained policy making power

(Openshaw, 2003). Schools were to elect Boards of Trustees which would become responsible for school management whilst the Education Review Office assumed a surveillance and accountability role over teachers - the re-assertion of a role abandoned as ineffectual decades earlier. The rationale for the reforms was stated to be a response to community needs, including increased choice for the educational consumer, an end to 'provider capture' by teachers and teacher educators, a reduction in the 'tiers' of authority and its accompanying bureaucracy, and an overhaul of out-dated, unresponsive management and administrative practices (Adams, Clark, Codd, O'Neill, Openshaw & Waitere-Ang, 2000). The state, nevertheless, still retained control of the major policy functions in education and teacher education through agencies such as the Educational Review Office and the more recently created Teachers' Council.

Thus in the 1990s teacher education institutions were obliged to respond to a deregulated and competitive environment in which they were to compete for students and funding. Competition between providers of teacher education grew steadily, and newly established private providers challenged the existing colleges (Gerritsen, 1998: 5). Funding was granted on an EFTS (Equivalent Full Time Student) basis which meant that the Ministry funded colleges on an aggregated per capita basis, forcing a scramble for students from a limited pool of recruits. Colleges were now in the business of predicting student numbers and having to make up the financial shortfall if numbers fell short of this. College principals underwent a metamorphosis from professional leaders heading a staff of teacher educators, to chief executive officers in charge of multimillion, large-scale business enterprises (Keen, 2001).

While the perennial concern of teacher supply remained an issue for successive governments, renewed attempts to establish standards for teacher education fostered sharp debate. The New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) authorised the creation of new, standards-based qualifications for the tertiary education sector including teacher education courses. The latter, Qualification Standards for the Education of Teachers (QUALSET), were the cause of much academic controversy. Whilst the early authors (teacher educators themselves) appeared keen to ensure that breadth and depth of knowledge were not sacrificed in their attempts to standardise teacher education, alarm and caution were expressed by the educational community. Supporters of the standards viewed them as a potential curriculum that could be directly

implemented (Gibbs & Munro, 1994; Gibbs, 1995), whilst critics argued that the imposition of such standards would reduce teaching to a rigidly, technicist set of demonstrable behaviours and competencies (Alcorn, 1999; Snook, 1993; Sullivan, 1999).

In October 1997, the Green Paper *Quality Teachers for Quality Learning-A Review of Teacher Education* (Ministry of Education, 1997) was released for public consultation and feedback. The paper suggested three key factors that provided the impetus for the review; policy reform to improve education for the future, teacher education integrated into broader education policy goals; and teacher supply (Ministry of Education, 1997: 5-6).

Once again, issues of teacher supply or, in the words of the review, 'a broad teacher labour market strategy' appeared critical. So too did cost effectiveness, conveyed in the statement; 'the public must be assured that public spending on teacher education produces and maintains a consistently high quality teaching profession' (p.10). The publication of two reports from the quasi-official Educational Review Office (ERO) *The Capable Teacher* in 1998 and *Pre-Employment Training for Teachers* a year later, merely added to existing confusion. Both were criticised by many teacher educators for their reduction of teaching to a set of competencies, for the over-emphasis on teaching performance measured against the attainment of specified results, and for the promotion of frequent assessment of teachers' performance outcomes by line managers (Clark, 1998; O'Neill, 1998).

If the sheer quantity of reports was not sufficient, yet another Inquiry into teacher education was instigated by the Education and Science Committee in 2001. This was inconclusive but a resurrection of the inquiry led to the publication of a report in 2004. Amongst its recommendations was a call for nationally developed standards of entry into teacher training courses, and a unified set of standards with common quality assurance mechanisms for the approval of teacher education courses. Ironically, these recommendations appeared rather similar in spirit to the regulations, and accountability measures condemned at the close of the nineteenth century.

A further Working Party on teacher education was set up by the Minister of Education, Trevor Mallard, in 2003. Its brief was to develop a long term strategy for pre-service teacher education and the ongoing professional development of teachers. Under its chairperson, Noeline Alcorn, it attempted to formulate a set of longer-term educational principles rather than simply outline outcomes-driven mandatory

requirements. These included ensuring that primary teaching becomes a graduate profession, that effective teaching enhances both students' academic and social achievement, that teachers be life-long learners and recognition that, at different stages of their careers, teachers require different kinds of learning leading to different types of qualifications (*the Alcorn Report*).

Responding to the proliferation of reviews on teacher education, John Langley, Principal of the Auckland College of Education, questioned the need for yet another review, noting that the ink had not dried on the last review (Langley 2002). Langley claimed that the past decade had seen seemingly endless reviews of teacher education, none of which had produced anything of value or significant change. He went on to complain that:

The fact that the term 'inquiry' has been used places this whole operation in the same category as a train crash even before it begins. So why have another inquiry or review? Reviews are often things we do when we don't know what else to do or are not prepared to do what needs to be done.

(Langley, 2002: 15)

This verdict could well serve as an epitaph to the history of teacher pre-service education in New Zealand over the last 100 years. In conclusion, any notion that developments in teacher education have witnessed a *steady* progression towards the concept of a learned profession and away from the apprenticeship model must be treated with caution. Indeed, a closer examination of key historical issues and tensions furnishes a more equivocal picture in which the two models continue to co-exist uneasily, with the balance continuously shifting between them in response to teacher supply concerns and economic constraints. One result is the perseverance of ongoing issues such as the continuing control of the teacher education curriculum; qualification and certification processes by the State; the long standing debate over the content and location of teacher education; and the various attempts to reconcile the long-standing dichotomy between theory and practice.

What then, of the future? An article by Ramsay (2000) revealed a raft of intertwined issues and problems that still confront New Zealand teacher education at the beginning of the new millennium, many of which have been highlighted in this chapter. These include:

1. The quality of students selected for training, reflecting the common perception of teaching as a lower-status profession.

2. The nature of training programme and their standards, including the tension between arts education and professional preparation; the perceived gap between theory and school classroom practice; and the relationship between curriculum areas and professional studies.
3. The serious dislocation between pre-service and in-service programmes, with little formal relationship between teacher education institutions and their former students.
4. The considerable variation in the adequacy of the school induction process, where some beginning teachers are mentored through an unpaid 'buddy' system, while others receive little or no assistance.
5. The physical location of training in relationship to questions of expenditure, manifesting itself in the renewed debate over the extent to which teacher education should be provided by schools themselves, with current English models apportioning a longer time in schools being reminiscent of the old debate over pupil-teacher system.
6. Questions of modularisation through the NZQA and recognition of prior learning, current NZQA proposals and the prevailing market model's endorsement of student teachers picking up parts of a programme from variety of providers (pp.142-148).

Each of these problems has its origins in the ongoing and still largely unresolved debates over the nature of teacher training. Arguably, the state has not only maintained but increased its control of teacher education from its early involvement at the turn of the 20th century. Its growing influence can be readily discerned today in the activities of two government agencies with an obviously major role to play in the future of teacher education: the newly established New Zealand Teachers' Council (NZTC), formerly known as the Teachers' Registration Board, and the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC). The Teachers' Council is becoming a major player in the scrutiny and accountability of teacher education courses and has recently devised a set of standards which are currently being sent to teacher education institutions for comment. Furthermore, the Government's recent funding of universities according to research capacity, known as Performance Based Research Funding (PBRF), may also affect the nature of teacher education by imposing 'a regulatory regime on academic work that emphasises short-term performance at the expense of learned reflection and deliberative contemplation' (Codd, 2006: 17).

The sheer diversity of the teacher education environment may make its funding an increasingly complex task. At the time of writing there are twenty seven institutions providing initial teacher education, ten of

these offer secondary programmes, seventeen provide primary programmes and twenty offer programmes in Early Childhood Education – all of these provide qualifications which result in teacher registration. A range of institutions are involved including nine private training establishments, seven polytechnics, six universities, three wananga, and two colleges of education. (Ministry of Education, 2005). A variety of groups now contest the educational landscape ranging from government officials, unions, local boards of trustees, teacher educators, principals, teachers and parents to employers and business leaders, conservative and liberal political reformers and Maori, minority and gender interest groups, each with different agendas shaped by different educational and political ideologies.

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