Lani Florian
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Teacher Education for the Changing Demographics of Schooling

Issues for Research and Practice

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Volume 2

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Chapter 1
Teacher Education for the Changing Demographics of Schooling: Policy, Practice and Research

Lani Florian and Nataša Pantić

1.1 Introduction

The focus of this book is on the role that teacher education can play in responding to issues of diversity in schools. By diversity we mean the cultural, linguistic, ethnic, developmental and other aspects of human difference that represent some of the many aspects of identity that characterize both individuals and groups and account for differences between people. A conceptualisation of diversity as an integral aspect of humanity rather than a series of categorical distinctions that differentiate and separate individuals and groups underpins our analysis. We seek new theoretical approaches for the preparation of teachers which understands diversity from multiple perspectives and aims to enable all students to flourish as learners. This conceptualisation is particularly important at this time of global uncertainty and challenge. The need for an educated populace to live and work together in ways that fosters tolerance is vital to solving transnational problems that range from enhancing sustainable development to reducing income inequality. While this gives rise to broad implications for policy, practice and research related to teacher education, we concentrate on identifying some of the structural and content-related aspects of how diversity is conceptualised, taught and researched in teacher education programmes. We also consider the implications for future research.

The five key themes adopted by the international community at the 2015 World Education Forum (WEF 2015): the right to education, equity in education, inclusive

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education, quality education and lifelong learning, offer a framework for education policy developments within which teachers can be prepared to work in the diverse and changing world of schooling. The principles that inform this framework are articulated in the *Incheon Declaration, Education 2030: Towards inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning for all* (WEF 2015). This book draws upon these principles in support of the global 2030 education agenda based on the premise that while demographic trends may differ within and between countries and world regions, there are common issues of diversity in schools.

Enforcement of the right to education means that students who may have been excluded in the past on the basis of gender, disability status or language spoken are now attending school and the increasing movement of people both as a result of economic migration and refugee status has reopened public debates about civic responsibilities, including education for all. In other words, teachers in many places, in both urban and non-urban schools, are working with more diverse student groups than ever before, at a time when uncertainty about the future has engendered debates about the pros and cons of social inclusion. Yet, at the same time, there is a popular view that classroom teachers are somehow not qualified to teach certain groups of students. Dissatisfaction with student performance and poor outcomes for specific groups such as students from ethnic minorities, those living in poverty, or those who may have additional needs associated with disability or language, reflect inequities in many national systems of schooling and have led to calls for reform of both schools and how teachers are prepared. Many of these proposed reforms have perpetuated the idea that different kinds of schools are needed for different kinds of students, along with teachers with different kinds of qualifications to work with different groups of students. While this response may extend access to a wider range of students (Grubb and Lazerson 2004), it does not address key questions about preparing teachers to work with diverse student groups. Consequently fundamental questions about how teacher education can support teachers to respond to the challenges of diversity remain unanswered.

In addition, research in teacher education has often developed in isolation from research on teaching practice as well as from research on higher education and its organisational context (Grossman and McDonald 2008). For example, many university based teacher education programmes have responded to the challenges of diversity by adding additional content to existing courses or new courses to existing programmes. Such courses and content often focus on unitary markers of identity such as special educational needs status or cultural diversity, rather than reconsidering and restructuring how teachers can be prepared to work in schools where diversity is to be expected. Although this approach aligns with the conventional view that specialised knowledge is needed to teach particular groups, it has been argued that presenting issues of diversity as distinct and separate content marginalises them within teacher education programmes (Cochran-Smith and Dudley-Marling 2012) and that new ways of thinking about diversity are needed (Pugach et al. 2012).

For example, approaches to teacher education that take the concerns of teachers seriously as a central programme feature (e.g. Oyler 2006) can enable teacher education to be reframed from a technical-rational to a holistic model of the human endeavour of teaching and learning (e.g. Korthagen et al. 2001). However, this

requires integrating agreement about the knowledge, skills and values teachers need to be effective with diverse groups of students, including:

- integration of theoretical and practical knowledge and skills (Donnelly and Watkins 2011; Korthagen et al. 2001)
- being able to develop a pedagogy that is inclusive of all (Florian and Linklater 2010; EADSNE 2011; Blanton et al. 2011)
- collaborative skills and attitudes (Edwards 2007, 2010; Frost 2012; Nevin et al. 2009)
- recognising the importance of home environment and working with diverse families (Hornby 2010; Scorgie 2010; Villegas and Lucas 2002)
- broader understanding of educational change and how it affects the conditions for learning in contexts of exclusion and disadvantage (Slee 2010; Zeichner 2009)
- building relationships for improved learning outcomes (Cornelius-White 2007; Donnelly and Watkins 2011; Hattie 2009; Wubbels and Brekelmans 2005)
- capacity for reflection and inquiry (Liston and Zeichner 1990; Zeichner 2009)
- accounting for moral values and commitment to the education for all (Carr 2003; Kim and Rouse 2011; Pantić and Wubbels 2012)

Reconsidering *how* these themes can be integrated in teacher education policy, practice and research in support of preparing teachers for the changing demographics of schooling is taken up in various ways by the contributors to this book. The chapters that follow are the outcome of a UK Economic and Social Research Council seminar series that brought together key stakeholders to consider this challenge and articulate a framework for further research in the field. The seminars proceeded from an exploration of the kinds of classroom and school practices that support inclusive learning and environment in which all students meaningfully participate in educational activity, to the kinds of teachers' competences and practices that are needed for the enactment of inclusive principles in the different contexts in which teachers work. The implications for teacher education policy, practice and research were also considered.

1.2   Structure of the Book

The book is presented in four parts. Part I contains three chapters that outline key issues for teacher education and the changing demographics of schooling. They consider various forms of diversity (including the teaching workforce and routes into teaching), and note some of the obstacles facing schools of education in developing programmes that take account of the whole range of diverse student needs.

In the second part of the book, three chapters examine issues of teacher agency including the meaning and implications of teachers' moral and relational agency for social justice, and teachers' interpersonal behaviour as a specific form of agency. This section explores what it means for teacher education to produce teachers who can contribute to leading change in increasingly diverse schools and explores how

effectively classroom teachers are prepared to meet the needs of learners for whom English is an additional language.

Part III addresses teacher education for diversity by highlighting the challenges of preparing all teachers, not just specialists, to address diversity issues. Seven chapters describe approaches to rethinking the teacher education curriculum, guided by a broad vision for preparing teachers who are responsive to increasingly diverse student populations in different parts of the world. These chapters make an important contribution to understanding how approaches to teacher education that take the concerns of teachers seriously enable teacher education to be reframed.

In the final part of the book, two chapters address a research agenda for the future. These chapters emphasise the need for a robust conceptualisation of teacher education for inclusive education taking account of the complexity and context in which teaching and teacher education are practiced internationally.

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Part I
Key Issues for Teacher Education

Chapter 2
Teacher Education for the Changing Demographics of Schooling: Inclusive Education for Each and Every Learner

Lani Florian

2.1 Introduction

In today's globalised world, the demographic profile of students in schools is more complex than ever before, and the increasing cultural, linguistic and developmental diversity of today's classrooms, along with the pressure to achieve high academic standards for everybody has significant implications for teacher education. However, there are differences of opinion about the nature of the content knowledge prospective teachers should learn about these issues as well as different ideas about the structure and locations of teacher education programmes. As the movement of people throughout the world continues to alter the demographic profiles of many countries and education systems continue to expand, reflecting increasingly diverse student populations, consideration of the challenges facing the teaching workforce and how teachers are prepared to address them deserves renewed attention as a matter of social justice and equity in education.

While different aspects of these issues are explored in depth throughout this volume, this chapter takes as its starting point the widely accepted view that the 'diversity gap' between the demographics of the teaching workforce and the student population in many jurisdictions can cause problems when the range of prior experiences and other differences, whether social, cultural, developmental, linguistic, economic or faith based, lead to misunderstandings or create disadvantages that can affect teaching and learning. Traditional acknowledgment of the diversity gap is reflected in the idea that teachers need to be prepared to meet the challenges of 'diversity'. Another more recent response has focused on preparing teachers for 'inclusion', however this is a contested term often considered to be about special needs education, but sometimes referring to vulnerable groups who may be excluded

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or marganialised within an education system (Oyler 2006; UNESCO 2008). The difficulty with these responses is the positioning of differences as problems. The ideas presented in this chapter attempt to avoid this by accepting diverse learner groups are a fact of demographic change that should be assumed as foundational in the preparation of teachers rather than problematised as a challenge.

In this chapter, I argue in favour of shifting the focus on how teachers are prepared for the changing demographics of schooling as a matter of *teacher education for inclusive education* based on the premise that there is an inherent bias in education systems that are designed for *most* students, on the grounds that something different can be provided to *some* as a means of ensuring access for all. I use the term inclusive education deliberately following the principle expressed by the 2015 World Education Forum in setting out its vision for Education 2030:

> Inclusion and equity in and through education is the cornerstone of a transformative education agenda, and we therefore commit to addressing all forms of exclusion and marginalization, disparities and inequalities in access, participation and learning outcomes (UNESCO 2015, iv).

In adopting this orientation, it is important to acknowledge that the term inclusive education originated 30 years ago in response to what were considered to be social justice problems associated with special education, notably the separation and segregation of disabled learners from others not so identified. Inclusive education initially expressed the idea that all children should be educated together in mainstream schools. However, the use of the term has broadened over the past 30 years to include, as noted above, *all forms of exclusion and marginalization, disparities and inequalities in access, participation and learning outcomes.* This broader view permits a wider consideration of what it means to educate all children together. It also creates an opportunity for teacher education to develop a new understanding of inclusive education that can address the limitations inherent in current approaches to diversity and inclusion that position difference as a problem and focus on single identity markers such as language, race, disability status and so forth.

This is important because despite the achievements in sensitising teachers to diversity issues, many newly qualified classroom teachers continue to report feeing inadequately prepared to deal with a diverse range of student differences in the classroom (OECD 2014). This is at least in part because when human differences are isolated and treated as something additional or extra the idea of difference is reinforced as a problem. I have written about this elsewhere in terms of how special education might be reimagined (Florian 2014), and in how an alternative view of difference could inform a more inclusive approach to initial teacher education so that new teachers have greater awareness, understanding and skill in responding to the many problems that can affect children's learning (Rouse and Florian 2012). In this chapter I further explore these issues.

My argument is that the traditional mechanism for accommodating the increasing diversity of an expanding education system on the grounds that something different (for some learners) to that which is available to others of similar age (most learners)

is problematic as a social justice issue because it depends on a logic of exclusion (Allan 2006; Slee 2010) that is no longer tenable. We live in an uncertain world where the forces of globalisation mean that schools in many parts of the world are increasingly diverse and multicultural in terms of ethnicity, language, religion and range of ability. In Scotland where I live, 92% of students are white but come from homes where 143 different languages are spoken (National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC) n.d.). In Europe, as in many other world regions there are unprecedented demographic changes as economic migrants, asylum seekers and refugees seek economic, social and political stability. As increasing numbers of people of different national identities and ethnic groups continue to come to live and work in Scotland, linguistic diversity becomes more commonplace as does the idea that individuals are characterised by many different identity markers (Foresight Future Identities 2013). Yet many responses to diversity issues continue to target interventions based on single identity markers, for example, English language learners.

The problem is that including *all* learners by differentiating for *some*, can serve as a barrier to, rather than facilitation of learning, for different learner groups. At the same time, ignoring difference by treating everyone the same, overlooks the importance of individual differences between people that can also lead to exclusion. When construed in this way education for 'all' is limited by inherent contradictions that bind it to traditional practices focused on individual differences such as bilingual education, special education or other programmes for certain groups such as 'disadvantaged' students. However, issues of diversity and individual difference are not supported by the logic of exclusion which accepts that what is generally available in school will meet the needs of *most* learners. To move away from the logic of exclusion, an *acceptance of difference as an ordinary aspect of human development is needed*. The changing demographics of schooling reflects a world where diversity must be assumed. It acknowledges that there will be many differences within any learner group as a starting point for thinking about how teachers should be prepared to ensure that what is generally available to most learners is extended to everyone.

2.2 Inclusion Is About Each and Every Learner Rather Than Most and Some

If difference is construed as an ordinary aspect of human development, then inclusive education can be considered as that which ensures that *everyone* has access to a good quality education in systems that do not marginalise some through organisational and curricular structures that sift and sort learners on the basis of predetermined judgements about who they are and what they can and should learn. The implication of difference as ordinary is that what learners have in common is that each student is unique. Such a view is consistent with the idea that there are many different social, biographical and biometric attributes that can be used to

characterise people, and these overlap and intersect in ways that account for individual differences between them.

The idea of each learner as unique dissolves the barrier between most and some and enables the problem of difference to be replaced with ways of thinking about human diversity as a fundamental element of one's individuality and shared humanity. What is needed are approaches to teaching and learning that assume difference as fundamental to the individuality of each and every learner, rather than a problem of some. Allan (2011) addresses this directly in her discussion of "teacher competence for diversity as a relationship of responsibility, directed at all students within the classroom" (132). She argues that this reorientation is an ethical necessity stemming from the failure of current approaches to overcome the inequities of current practice. The idea of inclusive education for every learner aims to do this by reflecting a deliberate effort not only to ensure that it refers to anyone who might be excluded from or have limited access to the general educational system within a country but one that is extended to everyone. In so doing it embraces diversity as an imperative of practice rather than a secondary consideration to be dealt with separately.

2.3 All Learners Will Vary and Differences Are to Be Expected

Taking forward the idea that difference is an ordinary aspect of human development requires a theoretical construct that locates the idea. For a start, what is needed in part is a concept of identity that moves from a unitary notion to one of multiplicity: where the idea of *overlapping identities is seen as fundamental to individuality*. Such a view challenges the idea of different types of teacher education (e.g. bilingual, special needs, etc.) for different types of learners and calls into question some of the traditional ways that teacher education has prepared teachers to work with groups of students who are assumed to be broadly similar – most students – with specialised responses for some who are thought to need something different from or additional to others of similar age. It acknowledges that individual differences are to be expected and teachers have to be prepared for the changing demographics of today's schools.

If the idea that all children will vary and differences are to be expected as an ordinary aspect of human development is accepted, then all teachers, not just some, should be prepared in ways that support this view. This is an important element of a reform agenda for teacher education that is fundamental to developing new approaches to diversity in teacher education that do not position it as a problem. As a recent European Union report on the education of newly arrived migrant children (NAMS) makes clear:

> identification of NAMS as a specific target group in education is not a prerequisite for having a good and comprehensive integration policy. Often NAMS fall into a broader category of students with immigrant background or students with a different mother tongue.

The analysis shows that universal and loosely targeted education mechanisms aimed at supporting all underachieving students or immigrant students are often more inclusive and beneficial for NAMS in particular. Countries focusing on the development of comprehensive educational support systems addressing all kinds of individual needs contribute to the development of more inclusive education systems for NAMS in the long-run than those focusing on the targeted measures for NAMS (PPMI 2013, 5).

Comprehensive educational support systems that address many kinds of individual needs do not apply only to newly arrived migrant children. This term could easily be replaced with special needs, non-native language speakers and so forth. Yet the work of preparing teachers to work with these groups too often occurs within silos where teacher education programmes prepare teachers to work with different kinds of learners. Yet many of the strategies and approaches to teacher education advocated by these programmes are similar. Villegas & Lucas' (2002) "six strands, or organising constructs, for preparing culturally responsive teachers (gaining sociocultural consciousness; developing an affirming attitude towards students from culturally diverse backgrounds; developing the commitment and skills to act as agents of change; understanding the constructivist foundations of culturally response teaching; learning about students and their communities; and cultivating culturally responsive teaching practices" (26) can apply to any marginalised group, as the Villegas chapter in this book makes clear (see Chap. 10).

The idea of a multiplicity of diversities in terms of overlapping identities for individuals, and for individuals within groups, means that old ideas about singular identities and the problem of integration for particular types of individuals and groups can be replaced with new ways of thinking about human diversity as fundamental to humanity: what I have suggested as the assumption is that difference is an ordinary aspect of human development. As schools throughout many parts of the world are becoming more diverse, debates about which differences matter and how to respond to them must give way to new conceptualisations focused on developing the knowledge, attitudes and skills that support the teaching and learning of diverse groups of students as something to be expected rather than extra work for teachers. To move in this direction, links need to be made with the broader field of teacher education research where there is a long tradition of proposals for more holistic and integrated approaches to replace traditional theory-practice models of teacher preparation (e.g. Darling-Hammond 2000; Korthagen et al. 2001; Loughran 2010) and consideration must be given to the structure of teacher education.

2.4 Silos in Approaches to Teacher Education

In general the structure of teacher education is such that teachers are prepared for different types of student groups: primary, secondary, mainstream, special, bilingual and so forth. O'Neill et al. (2009) reported that New Zealand offers 85 different qualifications across different sectors. Elsewhere there are specialised programmes that prepare teachers to work in urban schools or multicultural classrooms and so

on. In other countries where there are fewer initial teacher education programmes leading to qualified teacher status, specialist 'options' are often available to enable teachers to undertake further qualifications or higher degrees in particular areas such as special educational needs, as is the case in the United Kingdom. Curricular responses within these approaches focus on rights based approaches to education, anti-discrimination practices, diversity training, critical pedagogy and so forth. However, questions about the differences between the content of the programmes as well as whether the approaches themselves are achieving the objective of developing teachers who can respond to human diversity in ways that are socially just remain unanswered. Responding to diversity and difference is contested territory with many different views about what constitutes an appropriate response. I have argued that the assumption that different types of courses and qualifications are needed to prepare teachers to teach different types of students might usefully be challenged on the grounds that the content of these programmes is not sufficiently different to justify them. As other commentators have noted, the problem with a silo-like approach is that it limits who teachers consider themselves qualified to teach (Young 2008) and perpetuates the problem that teachers feel inadequately prepared for the increasing diversity of student groups in school.

Today, the changing demographics of classrooms along with the pressure to achieve high academic standards for everybody demands that teacher education keep abreast of how shifting demographics can challenge existing practice in school. This is an important matter of social justice and equity in education because traditional markers of difference (linguistic, cultural and cognitive) tend to disproportionately affect those who are disadvantaged in society in some way, for example those more likely to be living in poverty than others (e.g. Shaw et al. 2016). 'Closing the gap' between the highest and lowest educational achievers cannot be accomplished by the logic of exclusion whereby differentiated teaching for some is the process by which all are 'included'. This is in part because targeted interventions do not address the structural issues that sustain or reproduce inequality.

2.5   Teacher Education for Inclusive Education

Is it possible to develop more equitable ways of working in schools through the reform of teacher education? And if so what might such reforms look like? In Europe, teacher educators are asking these questions with increasing frequency as many countries have adopted broad rights based policies of inclusive education and some are requiring teacher education to review how teachers are prepared in support of this agenda. The European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education (2011) has recently concluded a 25-country report on Teacher Education for Inclusive Education that examined the knowledge, skills, understanding and values that would be needed by all teachers for an inclusive society. This study asked about the kind of teachers needed for an inclusive society and the essential competences needed to promote inclusive education. It argued that initial teacher education has

an important role to play in how well prepared new teachers feel for the challenges of today's classrooms particularly since issues of disability and special educational needs are increasingly considered part of the larger diversity agenda in Europe.

2.6   A Pedagogy for Everyone

The idea that overlapping identities intersect in ways that produce individual differences is central to the topic of teacher education for inclusive education because it privileges the uniqueness of each person as a starting point for thinking about teaching and it calls into question the silos in teacher education programmes that have prepared teachers to work with groups of students who are assumed to be broadly similar – *most* students – with specialised responses for *some* who thought to need something different or additional to others of similar age.

Alternatively, the idea that *all* learners differ, is the starting point for what my colleagues and I refer to as inclusive pedagogy, an approach to teaching and learning that has emerged from studies of the craft knowledge of teachers committed to the rights based principles of inclusive education while also responding to the challenge of raising the achievement for all students (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011; Florian et al. 2017). This work demonstrates that high levels of inclusion can be entirely compatible with high levels of achievement in schools that address issues of inequality by widening access and participation to diverse student groups. This is consistent not only with the evolving international consensus on inclusive education as one that extends to *anyone* who might be excluded from, or have limited access to, the general educational system within a country (UNESCO 2008), but includes concern for the participation and achievement of a broad group of vulnerable children such as those living in poverty, newly arrived migrant children, others who may not speak English, or have a different ethnic, cultural or religious heritage. A key interest to the evolving debates about inclusion and achievement are developments in understanding that they are not mutually exclusive. Our approach to researching achievement and inclusion focuses on how schools extend what is generally available to everyone rather than responses that are tailored to the needs of different types of students.

In our conceptualisation, inclusive pedagogy is distinguished from other approaches by the ways that teachers respond to individual differences and the choices they make that inform how children and young people learn together. To this end, our studies show how teachers can embed responsiveness to individual difference within the process of whole class teaching in ways that disrupt some traditional assumptions and practices associated with teaching and learning (Florian and Walton, in press). These disruptions, (1) thinking differently about learner difference; (2) difficulties in learning as professional challenges for teachers and (3) replacing 'bell-curve thinking' in initial and in-service teacher education are associated with the key assumptions of inclusive pedagogy as we have articulated them for the development of teacher education programmes (Rouse and Florian 2012).

Table 2.1 Inclusive pedagogical approach (Rouse and Florian 2012)

Underlying assumptions	Actions	Key challenges
Difference must be accounted for as an essential aspect of human development in any conceptualisation of learning	Replacing deterministic views of ability with a concept of transformability	'Bell-curve' thinking and notions of fixed ability still underpin the structure of schooling
	Understanding what/how difference matters	
Teachers must believe (can be convinced) that they are capable of teaching all children	Demonstrating how the difficulties students experience in learning can be considered dilemmas for teaching rather than problems within students	The identification of difficulties in learning and the associated focus on what the learner cannot do often puts a ceiling on learning and achievement.
The profession must develop creative new ways of working with others	Modelling new creative ways of working with and through others	Change the way we think about inclusion (from 'most' and 'some' to everybody)

Table 2.1 shows how these assumptions provide guidance in the form of actions that can be taken in reforming teacher education as well as identifying the challenges that reformers can expect to encounter and should also address in any programme reform.

If inclusion in education is not about providing something 'special' or 'different' for some but providing a meaningful education for everyone then teachers must be prepared for a task that involves attending to the complexities of whole class teaching, taking into account that each learner brings a unique experience of their learning to the classroom, in which learning is a shared activity that depends in part on the relationships and interactions between its members, including other students and adults. As Table 2.1 indicates, there is a role for specialist support but the presumption that certain individuals need something different or additional to that which is provided to others of similar age must be replaced with the view that learning is a shared activity that involves the participation of everyone. A shift in thinking away from the idea of specialised responses to individual difficulty, towards one that focuses on extending what is ordinarily available to everyone in the learning community of the classroom, while acknowledging there will be individual differences, represents is a subtle change in focus with profound implications for practice. When specialists support class teachers to extend what is generally available to *everybody* rather than including *all* students by differentiating for *some*, they help avoid the negative effects of treating some students as different. Likewise class teachers need to view specialist knowledge as a resource that enhances learning as a shared activity rather than a support for some. This shift can help to align teaching practice more closely to its core values of equal opportunity, respect for human dignity and a belief in the capacity of all people to learn, values that are consistent with a social justice agenda for education.

2.7   Linking Inequality and Teacher Education

The idea that the demographics of schooling are changing and that teachers are not prepared to cope with the change has prompted calls for reform in teacher education (OECD 2010). These calls come from within and outwith the profession and are associated with a range of ideological and policy agendas that all claim teacher education as territory that can (and should) be reformed as part of an overall strategy to improve student outcomes. So far, this chapter has concerned itself with reform within teacher education rather than criticism of it. However, it is important to acknowledge that this discussion occurs within a broader context of criticism directed toward teacher education as inadequate for this task. Ironically, this recent wave of criticism reinforces concerns raised by the profession itself.

In 2005, Marilyn Cochran-Smith and Ken Zeichner edited a report on research and teacher education that surveyed the knowledge base of teacher education and found among other things, that we know very little about the effects of coursework on practice, and other variables thought to be associated with preparing quality teachers. Ironically, this paved the way for a new critique of teacher education that questioned its adequacy as an enterprise. While the profession viewed the report as a road map for future research and development, others saw it as an indictment of university based teacher education (e.g. Walsh 2006). By coupling the links between academic achievement, socio-economic status, race, ethnicity and disability status, with the lack of robust empirical support for many of the measures that had been developed to address educational inequality (whether they had been subject to empirical investigation or not), it was not difficult to argue that inadequate teacher education was at least partially to blame. The critique prepared the way for linking scholarly scepticism of academic achievement as the sole outcome measure for teacher effectiveness to the abdication of responsibility of teacher education programmes to prepare teachers to 'close the achievement gap'. In this way critics of formal teacher education appropriated poverty, ethnicity, race and other correlates of underachievement as tools in developing a reform agenda that has challenged the structure of teacher education and in particular its location in higher education. While an analysis of these reforms is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to consider how little agreement there is about the structure of teacher education. While there is a great deal of consensus that high quality teachers make a difference to student outcomes, how they are prepared remains contentious.

2.8   Conclusion

Any structural model of teacher education will be limited in what it can achieve unless it takes account of the content issue of how difference is conceptualised and treated. Over 25 years ago, Mittler (1989) compared developments in the areas of special and multicultural education and argued for a joint approach to equalizing

educational opportunity because both groups of students had been "denied equality of opportunity to some degree and have suffered varying degrees of deprivation, discrimination and marginalization". This chapter considered whether reforms of teacher education in support of a broad rights-based concept of inclusive education can respond to challenges of the changing demographics of twenty first century schooling. It argued that reforming teacher education for inclusive education requires approaches to teacher education that not only link with broader integrated approaches that aim to replace traditional theory-practice models but explicitly embed the following principles:

- A new way of thinking about human diversity that begins with the idea that difference is an ordinary aspect of human development. Each person is a unique individual consisting of multiple overlapping identities.
- A focus on how people learn and how they learn together taking account of learning as a social act that occurs in a context with and alongside others rather than in isolation.
- Alternative ways of working with 'specialists' and others (including families and members of the broader community) accepting that it is not what specialists and others know but how their knowledge is brought to bear on the lived experience of the learner that matters.

In many parts of the world, calls for reform in teacher education are being made in response to dissatisfaction with student performance and poor outcomes, particularly relating to the long tail of underachievement of specific groups such as students from ethnic minorities, those living in poverty, or those who may have additional needs associated with disability or language. Drawing on studies of inclusive pedagogy which have shown how inclusive education, properly implemented, can enhance the learning and achievement of all learners, this chapter argues for a conceptualisation of *teacher education for inclusive education* as a useful response of teacher education to the changing demographics of schooling.

Inclusive education, with its emphasis on the process of increasing participation and decreasing exclusion for everyone offers a unified approach to the possibility of achieving good outcomes for everyone but this requires some fundamental shifts in thinking about educating all learners. Such shifts in thinking open up new possibilities for practice as we have learned from students on our teacher education courses (Florian and Linklater 2010; Spratt and Florian 2015), but these practices occur within school structures that require teachers to also act as agents of change for inclusion and social justice. This requires an expanded competence to include shared responsibility for the development of schools and systems (Pantić and Florian 2015). In this regard, we suggest that teachers' agency involves: (1) a sense of purpose, including a commitment to social justice in education; (2) competence in an inclusive pedagogical approach, including working collaboratively with others; (3) autonomy, which involves understanding and making use of one's power, and positioning in relation to other relevant actors; and (4) reflexivity, a capacity to systematically evaluate one's own practices and institutional setting (Pantić and Florian 2015, 339). This implies a shift from thinking about teaching as

'implementing' policies designed by others, to a focus on the conditions that shape practice. This is complex work that requires teacher education to be structured in ways that support students to acquire a critical view and to develop alternatives based on different ways of thinking about human differences. Teacher education has a role to play in developing student teachers' capacity to extend what is generally available to everyone without marginalising some by predetermining who can do what based on judgements about language, ability, cultural background and so forth. Today those preparing to become teachers spend a large proportion of their time in schools where they are expected to both conform to the status quo *and* act as agents of change. As student teachers spend increasing time in school, the amount of time available within university courses to cover issues of diversity and to explore alternatives to current school practices has been reduced. Therefore by supporting student teachers to build on and make links with practices in school, teacher education can fulfill its obligation to both respect and challenge current practice in ways "that combines the language of critique with the language of possibility" (Giroux 1988, xxxii). Embedding the assumptions of an inclusive pedagogical approach into teacher education described in this chapter is offered as an example.

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Chapter 3
European Teacher Education in the Grip of 'Academic Tribes and Territories'

Pavel Zgaga

3.1 Introduction

Over the last two to three decades, teacher education has become a quite noticeable topic of academic research. For example, at the ECER 2015 – the largest European educational research conference – there were 210 conference presentations in the framework of the Network 10, which focuses on teacher education research (EERA 2015).[1] This is a fairly high share for an international conference with 3000 participants in as many as 32 thematic networks which are running in parallel. Obviously, this is about fundamental shifts in educational research: in the past, teacher education did not appear much in this context and in the archives we can keep abreast of developments in teacher education mainly through old textbooks and national statistics. The fact that teacher education research has been established and developed so intensively can be, in our view, mainly attributed to another fact: over the last two or three decades teacher education has been '*universitised*' internationally.

Teacher education was traditionally separated from universities. Despite significant differences between different countries and regions – here we are limited primarily to the European space – it is possible to identify some common trends. Thus, prospective primary school teachers were trained at colleges (*seminaria*, etc.), which were founded on the predominantly vocational ('pedagogy') paradigm. On the other hand, grammar school (*lycée*; *gymnasia*, etc.) teachers studied at universities and their studies were 'subject-based' while their identity (and status) was

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often closer to university teachers than primary teachers. The teaching profession was therefore split and very fragmented. To some extent all of this is still valid, but the development of education in the past decades has caused some irreversible changes. Teachers to different levels and orientation of education are now trained in higher education institutions (at least bachelor degree). The so-called universal education, the extension of time that young people spend in education, the entry in the 'knowledge society' and 'knowledge economy' – all of this has contributed to the strengthening of teacher education and to reduce differences (but not necessarily the status) between teachers at various levels of education. Nevertheless, these differences were not resolved, but continue to appear in new forms.

However, in this chapter teachers are not the central focus of interest; rather we look at changes in the system of teacher education after its inclusion in universities or in other higher education institutions. These changes have contributed to the reduction of certain traditional differences between teachers at different levels of education, as well as differences with some other professions, but on the other side the modified system of teacher education contributes – intentionally or not – to new differences that were just mentioned. We shall pay attention mainly on two aspects. *First*, after its inclusion in traditional academic institutions, mostly universities, teacher education has been subjected to dynamic relationship – and even conflicts – between various academic disciplines and academic professions. *Secondly*, and in parallel with this: ongoing national and European higher education reforms have had a major impact on the redefinition of the role of universities – and thus indirectly on the position of teacher education within them.

3.2   Teacher Education: Which Tribe? Which Territory?

Notwithstanding the expansion of teacher education research, this area remains in some respects under-theorised; for example, when it comes to issues of internationalization and globalization processes (see e.g. Bruno-Jofré and Johnston 2014), or when it comes to issues relating to higher education governance and power relations in the academic field. Among these topics, in Europe and beyond, issues related to the internationalization of higher education and mobility have been for a long time at the forefront of research interest: on the one hand, the 'organized' mobility, as for example in the Erasmus programme, on the other hand the issue of migrant students – the issue which has become increasingly important in recent months. Teacher education is an important segment of the higher education system (in this area about 10% of all students are registered), but this questions have remained rather neglected from teacher education perspective. This is surprising and problematic. These themes are not only related to general issues that cut across the whole higher education and irrespective of the specific discipline (e.g. creating opportunities for student and staff mobility; inclusiveness; openness of the system to migrants, etc.). They are associated with specific questions concerning the sub-field of teacher education, for

example competences of future teachers to cope successfully with mobile and/or migrant pupils and students in schools, etc.

Therefore, many important and urgent issues related to higher education are well researched today; however, they often remain neglected in research when observed from the specific field of teacher education. We ask why this is so. When it comes to research on higher education *in general*, a lot has been done; in general, academic profession, academic organisation and so forth, have been thoroughly treated in various perspectives. When it comes to individual academic professions, we can read a lot about sciences, humanities, medicine and so on, but teacher education occurs in these analyses very rarely. Within the field of teacher education research specific themes are dominating that speak of the teacher educator as a 'reflective practitioner': for example, case studies from teacher education departments and classes, recruitment and progression of student teachers, teacher education curricula, creating professional identity of (prospective) teachers, etc. However, there are other important and urgent issues that are missing from this list.

Nevertheless, the contemporary studies in higher education offer some good starting points from which it would be possible to address the ever under-theorised issues in teacher education. In our title we paraphrase the iconic work of Becher and Trowler (2001, 1st ed. Becher 1989) on 'academic tribes and territories'. Teacher educators are mentioned only marginally in the book; e.g. as the group which brought – contrary to traditional academic disciplines – the influence of their past careers in schools into the academy and which henceforth has not disappeared (Becher and Trowler 2001, 47). The book, therefore, is not directly concerned with teacher education but it offers theoretical paradigm that can significantly contribute to theorising the field of *teacher education within the academia*. Take, for example, the following excerpt from the book:

> A limited number of respondents – particularly in the more vocationally oriented disciplines – did choose to talk about undergraduate courses and students, but the large majority preferred to focus on their activities as seekers after knowledge rather than as communicators of it. The reason for this, it might be inferred, is that membership of the academic profession in elite departments is defined in terms of excellence in scholarship and originality in research, and not to any significant degree in terms of teaching capability (Becher and Trowler 2001, 28).

The tension between the 'research excellence' and the routine 'teaching capability' is one of the defining contradictions of contemporary higher education and can be especially important when dealing with teacher education. Becher's book had a huge impact around the world; it has been shown that reflection on profound contemporary changes in higher education calls, inter alia, "to consider their implications for the academic tribes and their disciplinary territories" (Becher and Trowler 2001, xiii). Teacher education is mentioned only marginally; nevertheless, the thesis on various 'tribal' features detected in different academic disciplines and professional areas remains in place and can also help to understand consequences of the inclusion of teacher education in the academia.

The question that we need to ask now is as follows: Is teacher education 'a tribe' and does it own a clearly delimited 'territory'? True: within today's universities

teacher education usually owns a building – or at least its wing – and teacher educators have some identifiable traits in common. But there are also a lot of reasons that a simple positive answer to this question is not possible.

The tension between *research* and *teaching* that was roughly sketched above occurs in the field of teacher education in several forms, for example, as tension between 'subject (matter)' and 'pedagogy', as tension between parallel and consecutive system of teacher education, last but not least, as tension between dominating 'fundamental' disciplines (that mainly provide the 'subject matter' to teacher education) and the 'applicative' – and therefore subordinated – field of 'teacher training'. The issue becomes even more complex if tensions and conflicts among the 'fundamental' disciplines themselves (e.g. between natural sciences and humanities, etc.) are taken at a closer look. These tensions have been reflected e.g. in requirements to include 'more subject matter' in the curriculum for prospective teachers; in determining the criteria for acceptability of teacher educators' research projects and/or articles; in the institutional criteria for the promotion of teacher educators, and the like. They often contribute significantly to the fragmentation of the teacher education field.

In short, within the contemporary university, faculties (schools, colleges and departments of education, etc.) for teacher education find themselves in close and often dangerous strait between their *teacher education function* and their *academic function*. What should be placed in a relationship 'and … and' is often treated as 'either … or'. Almost 20 years ago, this theme was discussed in an inspiring manner by two American researchers: John Goodlad, a distinguished educational researcher, and Burton Clark, the doyen of studies in higher education. Their discussion looks remote in time and limited rather to the then US situation, but it still offers a good basis for analysing the situation also in Europe (and perhaps elsewhere in the world) of today. What did they say?

In his *Whither Schools of Education*, Goodlad (1999) makes a provocative statement that "schools, colleges, and departments of education (SCDEs) […] were born with a congenital malaise, into an inhospitable surround, or both"; they were put into the strait between their "teacher education function" and their "academic function". In the academic environment, they were understood as "an affront to the traditional departments that saw themselves also in the business of education". Further on, Goodlad analyses this "malaise" or even "schizophrenia" in detail. What attracts our particular attention is his position that the "evolution of SCDEs in the twentieth century is, of course, *closely tied to the evolution of higher education*" (Goodlad 1999, 325, 327; emphasis added).

Apart from the sciences and humanities, Goodlad treats teacher education as education for the profession; however, when comparing it with other professions it appears quite different. For example, medicine, engineering or architecture have "had little problem in establishing their own curricula and degrees" in relation to the inner academic court of arts and sciences; on the other hand, the "arts and sciences distanced themselves from the SCDEs, charging them with conducting Mickey Mouse courses" (Goodlad 1999, 328). Being pressed between the arts and sciences (due to their hegemonic roles about the *content* of the school curricula) on one hand

and specific requirements of the *teaching profession* on the other, SCDEs acquired a marginal role within academia: "the teacher education purpose of schools of education connected them with the curricular component provided by the arts and sciences and probably contributed to their not seeking the greater autonomy enjoyed by most professional schools" (Goodlad 1999, 331–332). We can say that this development was not very different from developments in Europe.

Even within the US research universities there has been no better luck for schools of education: turned "toward scholarly purpose for its own sake" they have been better positioned but disconnected from elementary and secondary schools as their 'laboratory'. Goodlad brings his critical analysis of the SCDEs' positioning within higher education to somewhat expected outcomes. His views and recommendations can, perhaps, be best understood through his quotation from S. B. Nuland (1999), an analyst of medical education in the USA (here Goodlad suggests we substitute words such as 'teaching' or 'teacher education' for 'medicine' and 'medical education'):

> The expanding 'scientization' of medicine has led, more and more, to the worsening dehumanization of medicine. It is time once again to address the role of medical education in dealing with 'the manifold and various relations of the thoughtful individual person to the ever-changing world'. Unless the liberating influence of the entire university can be brought to bear, we in the medical profession will continue to deserve – now more than ever before – the pejorative description of 'doctor technicians', better at curing than caring, better at understanding pathology than understanding the distressed men and women who come to us to be healed (Cited in Goodlad 1999, 334).

In the same issue of the *Journal of Teacher Education*, Burton Clark (1999) reflected on Goodlad's ideas, focusing on the *constraint and opportunity* in teacher education. To him, all professional schools at American universities are subjected to constraints but schools of education are subjected not only to those which are common to schools "representing minor professions", but there are also constraints which are unique to the "profession of school-teaching". This unique constraint is the

> constraint of a profession organized around multiple subjects – school subjects – which are, at the university, in the hands of letters and science departments. […] Goodlad took note, in passing, of this special feature of school-university parallel subjects, when he observed that for students going on to medical or law schools the undergraduate work is precurricular, while for those entering school-teaching it is preservice. The first is a major source of autonomy; the professional school can go somewhat its own way once it has its hands on the students. The second posture entails a unique dependence on the arts and science departments. What the school of education does must necessarily build upon, and preferably meld with, is the subject preparation that is largely in the hands of others (Clark 1999, 353–354).

Against this background, Clark sees "no way that these three levels of constraint upon schools of education in universities can be waved away" but he also gives a consolatory tip: "But wait: Not all is hopeless" (Clark 1999, 354). He refers to a discussion on "new forms of knowledge production" (Gibbons et al. 1994) which was launched a few years before and includes the conceptual distinction *Mode 1* vs. *Mode 2* in the discussion on schools of education. Moreover, in addition to *Mode 1*

(discipline centred) and *Mode 2* (transdisciplinary; applications-generated), he proposes a specific *Mode 1 ½* (interdisciplinary knowledge) "to add a little fine tuning". To him, schools of education need all three streams. "For Mode 1, […] we turn to the psychology of learning and advanced research methodology; in Mode 1 ½ […] we find historians, sociologists, and economists […]. And for Mode 2, we find an increasing amount of transdisciplinary work on crucial problems faced by practitioners" (Clark 1999, 354).

Clark identifies the key problem as the *organizational problem*: it is, "how to best interrelate these streams of knowledge, particularly in preparing practitioners – school administrators, schoolteachers, and other such school-based professionals – as school counsellors and school psychologists". Within the extremely decentralised and diversified American higher education "there can be no one best way" and only through "local experimentation […] schools of education will have to find different pathways for their own general improvement and particularly for the strengthening of teacher education". He locates "reasons for optimism" precisely at this point and declares to be more optimistic than Goodlad. New patterns do not emerge overnight; they come out of "year-by-year trial and error" (Clark 1999, 354, 357).

3.3 Teacher Education in the Grip of National and European Higher Education Reform

Of course, higher education systems are not petrified formations into which contemporary teacher education could be caught and stopped in its development. On the contrary, higher education systems are laid down by specific dynamics, which have strongly intensified in recent decades worldwide. In this respect, we often read about massification of higher education, internationalization, growing mobility and the 'global battle' for students, growing academic managerialism, pressures of institutional ranking, etc. Until teacher education was not fully integrated in the higher education system, these dynamics were of relatively marginal importance. Today, of course, this is no longer so.

But unlike the US and perhaps all other world regions, in recent times these dynamics are much more complex in Europe. Changes to the national higher education systems are not only the outcome of *national* debates on needs and strategies; they are all the more affected by European, i.e. *transnational* discussion and policy. (Similar processes may be followed also worldwide, but drivers can be different). Two processes cannot be overlooked: the Bologna Process[2] which now includes 48 European countries, and the *Education and Training*[3] programme of the European Commission (EC), which generally include the 28 members of the European Union. Both processes were launched around 2000 and have so far passed several stages. In

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[2] See http://www.ehea.info/ for more information.

[3] See http://ec.europa.eu/education/ for more information.

both cases, the principle of free movement of people – and changed demographics – were put at the forefront: first and foremost, the task was set to remove barriers and promote mobility among students, graduates as well as teachers and other educational staff.

What to say about teacher education in this context? The Bologna Process as well as the EC Education and Training programme is about 'Europeanising education'. During the last 10–15 years there have also been efforts to gradually Europeanise teacher education as a sub-field. However, these efforts face the fact that teacher education and – even more – the regulation of the teacher profession have remained nationally-based and diverse. In this regard, two main trends are visible.

On one hand, within EU countries the *open method of coordination* (OMC)[4] has contributed to the convergence of practices, at least in certain segments. A series of Eurydice studies[5] is very helpful in providing the 'whole picture' of teacher education in Europe and in designing common reference points. In 2005, for example, the European Commission launched a drafting process of a document on "Common European Principles for Teacher Competences and Qualifications". The draft document highlighted four common principles (a well-qualified profession; placed within the context of lifelong learning; mobile; based on partnerships) and three clusters of key competencies (to work with others; with knowledge, technology and information; with and in society) (European Commission 2005; 2007). After a testing conference and a series of consultations, the Commission proposed "a number of steps that could now be taken" to improve the quality of teacher education – an action which is ongoing.[6] We could say that these activities focus on the system level. The principle of free movement of people on the strategic side and increasing demographic changes in practice have begun to push for greater openness and connectivity of the national educational systems and the teaching profession itself. In the past, these systems were significantly diverse and, therefore, often incompatible, while the teaching profession was 'national' – opportunities to work in other national contexts were very limited.

On the other hand, many activities have taken place on the 'micro level', i.e. in higher education institutions and between them. A number of Erasmus and other European developmental projects in the broad area of teacher education (e.g. Comenius programme) have been designed by consortia from universities and colleges in practically all eligible countries. Their impact has also been proven among non-EU countries via the dissemination of good practices promoted by transnational policy advice teams etc. (e.g. Tempus). Even on pure national bases, there has been

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[4] Within the EU, under the OMC "governments learn from each other by sharing information and comparing initiatives. This enables them to adopt best practice and coordinate their national policies". See http://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/open_method_coordination.html

[5] The Eurydice Network provides information on and analyses of European education systems and policies. See http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/

[6] See http://ec.europa.eu/education/school-education/teacher-educator_en.htm for more information.

a lot of experimentation. Altogether, 'year-by-year trial and error' has been firmly present during the recent period also in Europe. In this way, a European community of teacher educators and teacher researchers has been gradually developed. People who in previous times were bound to their national and local environments – differently than their colleagues in traditional academic areas – have a great opportunity to work together on the international level.

These activities affect a wider range of European countries (those within and outside the EU) and higher education institutions that have committed themselves to implement the principles of the Bologna Process. The trend towards *more comparability and compatibility* (a slogan from the Bologna Process) has become visible also in teacher education.

It could be said that a consensus has been reached that initial teacher education takes place at universities or similar institutions (e.g. 'universities of applied sciences' in some countries) and is now delivered not only at the undergraduate level as before. Eurydice reported that in "all European countries in order to become a qualified school teacher, candidates are required to have undertaken academic studies, including a course of study in education which provides them with the theoretical and practical skills (including school placements) needed to join the teaching profession". The concurrent and the consecutive models of initial teacher education are intertwined in all countries and "the number of countries offering the consecutive model of teacher education, in addition to the concurrent model, has increased for all levels of education" over the previous decade (Eurydice 2012, 109). Progressive comparability and compatibility of teacher education systems may importantly contribute to the mobility of students (study abroad) and graduates (work abroad) as well as acting teachers. Consecutive models can further facilitate the adaptation of an individual teacher to conditions of the educational system, which is different from that in which she/he has completed the initial training.

However, countries may differ a lot in how they employ these two models. The minimum national requirements for becoming a teacher differ markedly as well. European models of teacher education are still far from being uniform and there has been no decision on their 'harmonisation' so far. In the current circumstances, it does not look realistic option. During the previous decade, European higher education systems have been about to harmonise – whether we like this term or not – and during the same period European teacher education has consolidated its position within higher education. What does this mean?

"Progressive harmonisation of the overall framework of our degrees and cycles" was an initiative of the Sorbonne Declaration (1998), 1 year older than the much better known Bologna Declaration (1999). There was much ado about 'harmonisation' and the term ceased to appear in joint European policy documents. In 1998–1999 it was understood in its strict legal connotation: the European Treaty which was in force at that time provides that the "Community action" should exclude "any harmonization of the laws and regulations of the Member States" (Maastricht Treaty 1992, Art. 126). Responsibility for education at large has remained in the hands of the member states. However, without any legal measure from above, European higher education systems have in fact become "more comparable and compatible",

in other words – more 'harmonised' and more supportive to free movement of people.

The Bologna Process is a *voluntary* activity. This feature led it to success as well as to difficulties: formally, the 48 countries' systems came closer together than one could have believed a decade ago, but the guidelines have been interpreted differently and implementation has led to various directions. All of this affects teacher education as well. The idea to make European higher education systems *more comparable and compatible* was received both with acceptance and rejection, and last but not least, with a lot of embarrassment – depending on the country, institutional and disciplinary contexts. Teacher educators across Europe understood the Bologna challenge mainly as an opportunity for the better positioning and profiling of their field. Our recent research has shown that teacher educators deal with the effects of the Bologna Process more favourably than representatives from traditional academic disciplines (Zgaga 2013). However, even in this area it was not possible to proceed without complaints. This was particularly the issue of the duration of the reformed study programmes and of the relationship between the two 'Bologna levels' or 'cycles' of studies, which have been understood in many continental European universities as a provocative novelty.

The division between the first (bachelor) and second (master) cycle proved in practice as one of the most painful issues of the 'Bologna reform', particularly in the continental higher education systems that traditionally did not know such a distinction. In many of these countries the answer to this challenge was that "integrated master courses" (5 years continuous duration) occurred. The 2012 *Bologna Implementation Report* stated that "nearly all countries still have integrated long programmes in those fields which prepare for regulated professions[7] and for which the EU directive 2005/36/EC (38) and/or national legislation requires 5–6 years of studies: medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, architecture and veterinary medicine and to a lesser extent engineering, law, theology, psychology, teacher training" (The EHEA in 2012 2012, 32).

Integrated long programmes can be partly understood as a local heritage: in the process of adapting to the new two-cycle system the duration of the traditional undergraduate programmes posed a serious problem in most of the professional areas mentioned above. This is largely a result of the diverse national regulations of (some) professional qualifications reinforced by harmonisation through EU directives. The two-cycle system observed from a perspective of traditional (continental) philosophies of higher education qualifications seemed artificial and has even been understood as threatening to lower the professional standards already achieved.

However, a reference to the heritage cannot be fully applied to teacher education. First, teacher education is not included in the EU regulated professions; regulation in this area has so far remained at the national level. Second, 'long programmes' were traditionally truly exceptional in teacher education – e.g., for teachers in upper secondary education. It should be noted, however, that in some – albeit relatively

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[7] In the light of educational qualifications, the EU regulated professions are the most powerful tool for the implementation of the principle of free movement of people.

rare – countries the process of development of teacher education led to relatively long programmes already in previous decades, i.e. long before 'Bologna'. This was supported by various factors: systematic integration of practical training of students in the initial teacher education curriculum; school placement; pressures to increase the shares of both 'subject matter' and 'pedagogy' in the curriculum, and the like. For those systems that maintained shorter programmes until 2000, the 'Bologna' proved a "prospect of better times": the formula 3 + 2 (bachelor + master) was understood as an opportunity to consolidate and expand (for 1–2 years) the field of teacher education within the existing division of 'territories' between different 'tribes'.

Nevertheless, the Bologna reforms in teacher education also brought some new fears. In the systems where undergraduate programmes were relatively long, the systemic distinction between the first and second cycle awakened fears that the new system may shorten the curriculum (e.g. national regulation of the teaching profession could require bachelor only). In systems where the undergraduate studies lasted 4 years, teacher educators often opposed to 3 + 2 formula and pushed instead for 4 + 1; this can be interpreted as a tendency to maintain *status quo* and as fears that the reform can contribute to the collapse of the already achieved standards in teacher education. During the course of the reform very many questions remained open and various scenarios were possible. The fears have not only contributed by the Ministries of Education and theirs plans, but also by internal academic discussion on new higher education curricula. It is noteworthy that these reforms opened up opportunities for redefining the boundaries between existing 'tribal territories'.

The results of these reforms have started to receive increasingly clear contours since 2010 (Gassner et al. 2010); the year which was set as the 'entrance' in the European Higher Education Area, the aim of the Bologna Process of 1999. In some countries the total time required to obtain a teaching qualification has been increased – mainly from 4 to 5 years; the new programmes have been either divided into two cycles or presented as 'integrated 5-year programmes'. According to the Eurydice report, "a master's degree is [now] required in France, Portugal and Iceland"; in "the Czech Republic, Germany, Estonia, France, Portugal, Slovenia, Slovakia, Finland, Iceland and Croatia […] initial education for primary teachers is at master's level and usually takes five years" and "for prospective upper secondary teachers, the minimum qualification required in the majority of European countries is a master's degree, except in 11 countries or regions" (Eurydice 2012, 111). Can this data be interpreted as a happy end?

Even the extended duration has brought problems – new problems. Some are conceptual, others practical, e.g.: What should the new programmes aim for? Should the fifth year be focused on an advanced (research) qualification or on 'teacher training'? Should it be conceptualised rather as an induction year on top of the previous more theoretical 3 or 4 years of studies? If 5 years of teacher preparation is organised in two cycles, can graduates from other (i.e. non-teacher education) courses and areas enrol in the second cycle in teacher education – and acquire a licence to teach in schools? How to apply the concurrent and consecutive models to the new structure? Should the 'exit' degree allow for the continuation of studies at

PhD level? Can a *professional* master's degree allow continuing for a *research* PhD degree? What consequences result from the method of resolving these issues when it comes to mobility and migration of teachers? And so on. Experimentation with various scenarios which have been practised during the last few years should be thoroughly and comprehensively analysed in the light of these and further questions and dilemmas which they are facing today (Zgaga 2013). Last but not least, all these issues are fundamentally linked to the dynamics and frictions that can be observed among the 'academic tribes' and their 'territories'. Bologna reforms have strongly upset also this field, led to new tensions between (various) *disciplines* and (minor) *profession*, the *subject matter* and *pedagogy*, etc. On the other hand, the Bologna Process has, to a large extent, leveled national systems, but academic cultures ('tribes') in different parts of Europe have retained some specific differences that can also act as a barrier to mobility and migration.

Thus, European higher education reforms of the last decade opened up many new questions, also for teacher education. A number of them have been discussed and exposed to a detailed research approach. One of them – especially important when we observe teacher education from the perspective of power relations within the academia – is the question of academic autonomy. It seems that this issue has been so far rather neglected.

3.4   Teacher Education and the Issue of Academic Autonomy

Therefore, now we ask the following question: is *academic autonomy* a universal theme, glued to the total academic space as an indistinguishable whole, or perhaps it has some specific nuances with regard to specific 'academic tribes and territories'? Can academic autonomy be articulated differently in the field of teacher education – and other 'minor professions' as Clark would put it – than in the hegemonic disciplinary fields like natural sciences or humanities? To answer these questions, we must first reconsider transformation of the concepts such as academic freedom and institutional autonomy. Contemporary debate on these issues has clearly shown that in recent decades we have been witnessing a profound conceptual change in this area.

First, a brief note regarding the core concept is needed. The concept of academic autonomy is meant here as mutually tight tangle of both *institutional autonomy* and *academic freedom*. In the traditional understanding institutional autonomy was one of the main bulwarks and guards of academic freedom. In recent times, however, an understanding has expanded according to which in the today's democratic world academic freedom is no longer at risk (is this true?). As a consequence, in this world the concept of institutional autonomy has turned predominantly into categories of governance and management. In detail I argued this elsewhere (Zgaga 2012).

In a certain sense, this is true: in modern democracies, higher education institutions are not subjected to ideological pressures from external pillars of power (government, political party, church, etc.) as this was often the case in the not so

distant past. But contemporary societies expect much more from higher education institutions than in the previous times; nobody disputes *institutional autonomy*; with wide consensus it has become a feature of academic institutions – but in exchange for *accountability*. On the other hand, the question remains open regarding a new external pillar of power – market, competition, economy.

The extensive literature on these issues proves that the 1980s brought a new period in the history of higher education. It is broadly accepted that the governance of higher education in Europe (and worldwide) changed substantially, primarily as a result of ongoing social, economic and political processes. Despite fundamental differences, this was the case in both the West and East Europe. In the past, national systems were – particularly in continental Europe – deeply influenced by the State but this role started to change: the State had been withdrawing from direct institutional governance and its influence had started to be restricted to setting general objectives (e.g. structures, degrees, qualifications, financing etc.). This change strongly influenced the dynamics and tensions *within* the academic sphere.

The political and economic changes of the 1980s in the West and the so-called 'transition' of the 1990s in the East led to (pre-Bologna) *legislative reforms* which gradually transformed the traditional nature of the relationship between the State and higher education institutions in ever more European countries. Institutional autonomy has increased (while academic freedom has been forgotten as being "a problem of the past European totalitarianisms"); in addition, a number of complex tasks – which used to be in the hands of government before – were transferred to higher education institutions. Along with the traditional academic autonomy (related mainly to teaching and research), *financial, organizational and staffing autonomy* entered institutions. Let us consider financial autonomy: within a university, the role of Teacher Education (or e.g. Humanities) is completely different from the role of e.g. Pharmacy or Management. Within universities, teacher education is not a "profit making territory"; nevertheless, it can be treated as a "cash cow" (Darling Hammond 2010, 39). Finally, the internationalization and/or globalisation of higher education also made an impact (Bruno-Jofré and Johnston 2014) and contributed to the shift in accents: autonomy is no longer a philosophical – in particular epistemological and political – concept; it has been turned into an *instrumental*, *managerial* concept.

In a situation of gradually transferring (some) responsibilities from public authorities to higher education institutions, academic freedom could become – not just in theory – endangered. It should be kept in mind that even if the rationale for developing institutional autonomy were specifically to ensure academic freedom, there is no automatic link between the two. Members of academic staff may enjoy a high degree of academic freedom even if their institutions have a low degree of autonomy and, conversely, a highly autonomous institution may offer its members only a limited degree of academic freedom. In other words, in today's relationship between higher education institutions and the State, institutional autonomy does not necessarily subsume academic freedom.

Let us turn to some unpleasant questions. Institutional autonomy cannot be an excuse to exclude potential abuses (e.g. corruption within academic institutions)

from a critical discussion as well as from prosecution. These issues are not marginal to the concept of academic autonomy; they are the key issues to test the strength of this concept in today's societies. A possibility of abuses is usually growing in parallel to the power of individuals and institutions. Today, scandals are not exclusively linked to politicians and business people; they have also entered academia. There is a link between the strengthened field of institutional autonomy and the expanding higher education and research sectors which have encountered a serious limitation: public funds which drove both sectors in the past are no longer sufficient. Institutions have to search for other, i.e. non-public sources. Market forces have irreversibly entered the game and the university has become an entrepreneurial institution. This is a process which does not only make institutions more autonomous but also more responsible and accountable: not only in financial, but in the ethical sense. At the same time, this process makes institutions more fragile as well as exacerbates conflict situations between 'academic tribes' in new ways.

It is clear that the shift from the 'traditional' to the 'new' governance model is not possible until the definition of institutional autonomy is revised to include organizational, financial, staffing etc. autonomy – like with any contemporary enterprise. Today's universities are walking along a sharp edge: they are forced to decide about a difficult dilemma to either to support economic prosperity and development or to retain their academic and cultural identity and traditions. All academic disciplines are not confronted with this dilemma in the same way. University departments like management, computing, technology, medicine, etc., usually respond to it differently than, for example, arts, humanities, critical social sciences, etc. Practically each of them responds in their specific way. Also teacher education is involved in this dilemma in its specific way. Before a conclusion we will try to address at least some specific issues related to teacher education.

Would it be possible to say that there are different levels of academic autonomy on various academic 'territories'? There is quite a lot of evidence that this is so: e.g. debates on whether the 'privilege' of autonomy should be reserved for research universities only or broadened to 'universities of applied sciences' as well. Privileges usually belong to *elites*; what happens when *higher education becomes mass and universal*? In this context, Martin Trow (who explained the transition from "elite" higher education to its "mass" and "universal" stages) forwarded an important caveat:

> The claims of academic men to a special expertise, and of their institutions to special privileges and immunities, are increasingly questioned; much of what academic men understand by academic freedom, and the significance of the security of academic tenure for the protection of their pursuit of truth regardless of political interests or popular sentiment, are all challenged by the growing intervention of popular sentiments into these formerly elite arenas. The weakness of tenure or job security for the teaching staff of open access institutions is a reflection of the weakness of the autonomy of those institutions, which come increasingly to be seen as at the service of other institutions in the society (Trow 2005, 25–26).

Forget that Throw forgot the "academic women" (this could open up a whole new theme) and instead ask whether all academic territories can be "seen as at the

service of other institutions in the society" in the same way or to the same degree. In this respect, teacher education is in a particularly sensitive position even when compared with other professional schools: not only in terms of pressure from external 'stakeholders', but also in terms of internal academic dynamics. John Goodlad noted that the *autonomy of teacher education schools is lagging behind* other professional schools:

> Dependent on the arts and sciences departments for their necessary contribution to the pre-service teacher curriculum, education neither sought nor attained the autonomy of professional schools for whom the academic disciplines were largely precurricular admissions requirements. […] As I have written above, the teacher education purpose of schools of education connected them with the curricular component provided by the arts and sciences and probably contributed to their not seeking the greater autonomy enjoyed by most professional schools (Goodlad 1999, 325, 331–332).

Therefore, in the broad academic field some territories are more autonomous and some are less; because of its specificity (e.g. subject matter connects it to all disciplines; school placement, etc.) teacher education is particularly vulnerable in the broad academic field. Teacher education is fundamentally about *teaching* but as a rule academic autonomy is associated with *research*. However, Wilhelm von Humboldt – still today the key reference when it comes to the problem of academic autonomy – wrote at the dawn of the modern era: "University teaching is moreover not such a strenuous affair that it should be regarded as a distraction from the calm needed for research and study; it is, rather a help to it" (Humboldt 1970 [1810], 248). Even the most important document of modern times follows his understanding of the relationship between research and teaching: "Teaching and research in universities must be inseparable if their tuition is not to lag behind changing needs, the demands of society, and advances in scientific knowledge" (Magna Charta Universitatum 1988, Fundamental principles, pt. 2). Today's everyday academic culture opposes to this view; in practice the principle of 'publish or perish' gives hierarchical superior importance to research, while teaching is seen as a kind of academic 'reserve bench' in which the problem of academic autonomy cannot even arise. Therefore, significantly greater importance should be given to the issue of autonomy in teaching – not only in teacher education but in higher education at large.

Last but not least, this debate is also a debate on *purpose(s) of education*. Contemporary instrumentalization of (higher) education is increasingly consolidating one-dimensional view: the purpose of education is to support economic competitiveness. All the other purposes fade in the glitter of economic growth: for example personal development, preparation for life as active citizens in democratic societies, etc. Enthusiastic words are heard about how much higher education has gained from this, for example: "The widespread recognition that tertiary education is a major driver of economic competitiveness in an increasingly knowledge-driven global economy has made high-quality tertiary education *more important than ever*" (OECD 2008, 13; emphasis added). However, many signs indicate that we should be afraid of the fact that education has become "more important than ever".

In the field of teacher education in particular we have to be afraid of this because education – pre-school, school, continuing education – is too important to be subordinated to a single purpose.

3.5 Conclusion

European teacher education has achieved significant progress in recent decades; both in content and status. Now it is almost completely at universities – but universities are being challenged by deep structural and organisational reforms, rapidly changing social circumstances and financial cuts. There are no signs of an imminent improvement in the air. The Bologna Process was a success – but it was far from a 'perfect plan', in particular its implementation. The enthusiasm for a re-united Europe at the start of the 1990s has disappeared and the *Grande Idée* of "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world" which was announced in 2000 has recently been replaced by fears about the euro and the future of the European Union. It is not only about financial problems, but *conceptual*: education has been increasingly *instrumentalised*.

It appears that in this complex context also teacher education encounters some serious challenges. One of them is the idea that the formation of prospective teachers should be 'vocationalised' again. Contemporary teacher education is accused of a "lack of practical skills" and "too much theory". The process of *universitisation* of teacher education should not be treated an irreversible process, but we also need to consider, at least in theory, what would *de-universitisation* mean. And we need to search for solutions.

Almost two decades ago, Burton Clark warned that solutions do not emerge overnight but by "year-by-year trial and error":

> Analysts of modern complex organizations stress the need for substantial open-ended trial and error. In a fast-changing world, schools of education will need to experiment their way from one decade to the next. They will need multiple visions worked out in practice in varied contexts. Ideas are put to work as they are tested against the realities of environmental possibilities and the internal competencies that can be constructed (Clark 1999, 352).

To what Clark said, we don't need to add much. In the last two decades, teacher education has made a lot of experiments; it is time to analyse them systematically and thoroughly. Teacher education research should continue, on one hand, to pay attention to issues associated with quality teaching, inclusion, equity in education, etc. On the other hand, and as we indicated at the outset, teacher education research should also seriously deal with broader issues, such as issues of openness and inclusiveness of the education system, including issues related to mobility and migration. Finally, it must also address systematically the issue of its positioning within academia, within the university as well as in relation to contemporary society and the State. Teacher education should not become hostage to tensions between academic disciplines; it needs to strengthen its research-based character and establish parity

with other academic fields. Paraphrasing Nuland (see above), it must take advantage of the "liberating influence of the entire university" and academic autonomy in its traditional sense – but also must not forget the important part of the mission: namely caring and understanding for children and parents – and last but not least, children and parents from diverse social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

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Chapter 4
Diversity, Development, Devolution: The Three Ds of UK Teacher Education and Professional Development in the Twenty-First Century

Ian Menter

4.1   Introduction

Taking the topic of teacher professional development as the central theme, in this chapter I consider how several forms of diversity have important effects on teacher identity. This will include a discussion of diverse routes of entry into teaching as well as demographic diversity. But consideration will also be given to a range of contexts including the school, the local community and region and the influence of 'the nation'. The institutional contexts for teachers have different trajectories in each part of the UK, especially since the devolution 'settlement' at the turn of the century.

I draw on a range of studies, including several of my own, such as a report for the General Teaching Council for Scotland on the demography of the teaching work-force in Scotland (Hartshorn et al. 2005), a review of literature carried out for the Scottish Government (informing the Donaldson Report on teacher education) (Menter et al. 2010) and a review on teacher identity and formation (Menter 2010), as well as on the reports of the recent Inquiry into Research and Teacher Education carried out by the British Educational Research Association, in collaboration with the Royal Society for Arts, Commerce and Manufacture (BERA-RSA 2014).

The conclusion of my analysis is that teacher identity and teacher development cannot be separated from each other and that these are very important themes that connect closely with fundamental social questions of values, citizenship and the purposes of education.

However, before examining the three Ds of my title, I will set out some of the underlying premises upon which my analysis is based. Firstly, as outlined in greater detail elsewhere (Menter 2016) my contention is that teacher education is of great

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social, political and cultural significance in any particular nation – "by their teacher education ye shall know them!". Much is revealed about the underlying values and dispositions of a community by examining the arrangements for teacher education, including who provides it, how it is structured, what is and is not included in the teacher education curriculum and how beginning teachers are judged to be ready (or not) to enter the profession.

Secondly, we are living at a time when education has become an increasingly politicised aspect of societies and politicians have become increasingly sensitive to international comparisons. In the words of Marilyn Cochran-Smith, teacher education is now seen as "a policy problem" (Cochran-Smith and Fries 2005). Indeed, as Sahlberg (2011) has suggested, education systems in many parts of the world have become infected with the 'GERM' – the Global Education Reform Movement. Among the most visible symptoms of the GERM, Sahlberg (2011, 99–106) identifies:

- standardization;
- an increased focus on core subjects;
- a prescribed curriculum;
- the transfer of models of leadership and organisation from the corporate world;
- high-stakes accountability policies.

These characteristics are all evident in education in the UK and we may see different manifestations and different levels of influence of the GERM in each of the four nations, but nevertheless it is all too easy to detect their influence in the pronouncements and policies set out in each jurisdiction (for example in relation to the school curriculum across the UK, see Menter et al. 2015). This is no less the case in relation to teacher education than it is in relation to other aspects of education systems, as we shall see.

4.2   D for Diversity

In the twenty-first century diversity is a word that has taken on new connotations and a new significance. In relation to teaching and teacher education, there are two particular dimensions of diversity that seem especially important: diversity of student teachers and diversity of routes into teaching. I will explore each of these in turn.

One of the reasons that the idea of diversity has grown in significance is because of a growing awareness of social diversity. Reference is often made to cultural diversity, reflecting in part the range of different ethnic origins manifested in many contemporary societies. But there are many other dimensions of diversity that may be significant as well, including age, gender, sexuality, ablebodiedness and learning abilities. In a society which aims and claims to be democratic and 'inclusive' (a word discussed elsewhere in this volume), it may be seen as particularly important that the range of people entering the teaching workforce is seen to be representative

of this social spectrum. As we put it in a study carried out for the General Teaching Council for Scotland:

> The existence of a diverse workforce has a number of positive advantages. It enables the profession to be confident that it is drawing on the same broad range of cultural and social experiences as the pupils and families served by schools. The profession can draw on the wide range of cultural resources (including languages and arts) in its teaching and presentation of the curriculum. It demonstrates that teaching is a profession esteemed by all sections of the community. It provides role models for young people – teachers are amongst the most trusted members of society (Hartshorn et al. 2005, 5).

In that study we adopted a broad definition of inclusion and representativeness that incorporates at least eight dimensions: social class/socio-economic status, gender, ethnicity (including refugees and asylum seekers and travellers), bilingualism, religion, disability, sexuality and sexual orientation and age. In relation to the Scottish context where that study was carried out there was a severe absence of data available in relation to many of these dimensions, however in relation to gender, ethnicity and age, where data were available, we came to the following conclusions:

- There is significant under representation of men (especially outside secondary education) – and this is increasing.
- There is significant under-representation of members of black and minority ethnic (BME) groups (and there is little evidence that this is improving); the most recent census indicates that 4.6% of pupils in school are from backgrounds other than 'White-UK', that is approximately five times more than the teacher population.
- Promoted positions in the workforce are disproportionately occupied by men and by white people.
- However, this is also a workforce that is ageing rapidly, with a large proportion likely to retire during the next ten years. (Menter et al. 2006, 10)

Although it is 10 years since that study was carried out, imbalances in the workforce continue in much the same way, although some steps were taken to ensure that qualified teachers in the refugee communities were supported in entering the profession in Scotland (Kum et al. 2010). The main recommendations to emerge from that study were concerned with monitoring and provision of better data and with promoting teaching in communities that are under-represented in the workforce at present. These recommendations would be equally applicable across the whole of the UK, then and today.

The second element of diversity for discussion here concerns routes of entry into teaching. On occasion, the discussion about this is related to the discussion on social diversity. For example, it is sometimes suggested that conventional routes of entry into teaching do not appeal to particular sections of the community. So it is argued that potential career changers may find it difficult to attend a particular higher education institution in order to study. This difficulty may be heightened if the programme of study is long – up to 4 years in the case of traditional teaching degree programmes in Scotland. And geographical distance may make it difficult for

some – especially those with caring responsibilities – to attend. So there have been attempts in several parts of the UK to offer teacher education on the basis of part-time programmes of study or indeed, in part at least, through distance learning, using digital technologies.

However, in England in particular the move to diversify routes of entry has been couched much more in terms of ensuring that all of the best qualified potential candidates are encouraged to consider teaching as a career option and so we have seen the burgeoning of different routes, some of which are designed for particular sections of the community (Murray and Mutton 2016). At the time of writing we can see the following provision in England:

- Routes led by Higher Education Providers (HEIs)

    - Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) (usually a one year programme)
    - Bachelor of Education (BEd) and Bachelor of Arts or Science (BA/BSc) with Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) (now usually a three year programme)

- Routes that are school-based or school-led

    - School-Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT)
    - School Direct (nonsalaried)

- Routes that are employment-based

    - Teach First
    - School Direct (salaried)

But we also see:

- Teach Next, for career changers
- Troops into Teaching, for former members of the armed forces

In this mix of routes we see a number of important new stakeholders becoming involved in teacher education, including Teaching School Alliances (strategic alliances with partners which may or may not include universities, private sector, local authorities, dioceses, or other schools), academy chains (government funded schools outside of local authority control) and University Training Schools. There is still relatively little involvement of entirely for-profit private companies in teacher education, however the academy chains do include such elements. Teach First is backed by corporate bodies such as Mckinsey & Co. and there are entirely private providers 'waiting in the wings' for opportunities to arise in parts of the UK as they have already done in the Republic of Ireland, where Hibernia College has become a significant private provider of teacher education (O'Doherty 2016).

In England most of the initial teacher education provision is managed by the National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL) (although they refer to it as Initial Teacher *Training* rather than *Education* – ITT rather than ITE). There is considerable concern about recruiting sufficient numbers of teachers especially in certain subjects and in certain geographical areas. Incentives such as bursaries are offered to well-qualified candidates varying in amount according to the level of need and according to the class of the trainee's qualification. However, a National

Audit Office report investigating these matters (NAO 2016), while noting that the Department for Education "has missed its targets for filling training places over the last 4 years" (para. 12), also noted that:

> Potential applicants do not yet have good enough information to make informed choices about where to train and the plethora of routes has been widely described as confusing (NATO 2016, para 18).

We have not yet seen any sustained research which seeks to analyse any relationship between personal characteristics (demography) and different routes of entry into teaching. Nevertheless professional experience in teacher education leads to the suggestion that teachers' professional identity may well relate to both of these – their own personal profile and their experience of the process of becoming a teacher. But it is to processes of career-long teacher development that I now turn.

4.3   D for Development

In the discussion of diversity above, I tended to focus on the early stages of entering the teaching profession. Most of the national reports that have been carried out in the UK (and elsewhere) over recent years (Donaldson 2011; Furlong 2015; Carter 2015; DEL 2010) emphasise that professional learning in teaching should be seen as a career-long development. The initial stages can only provide a basis for entering the profession, there is a great deal to be learned by a teacher as she or he progresses and gains professional experience. In this section I explore some aspects of this widely held view. Three questions will lead us into this discussion:

- What is it that teachers need to know and be able to do?
- When do they best learn it?
- How do they best learn it?

The answers to these kinds of question depend very much on how we understand the work of teaching. There are some widely differing conceptions of teaching that exist and may shape policy and practice in particular ways. For example, it was the view of Michael Gove, who was the Secretary of State for Education in England during most of the period of the Conservative-Liberal Democratic coalition government that:

> Teaching is a craft and it is best learnt as an apprentice observing a master craftsman or woman. Watching others, and being rigorously observed yourself as you develop, is the best route to acquiring mastery in the classroom (DfE and Gove 2010).

On the basis of that conception of teaching and teacher learning he promoted the following policy trajectory. He wrote:

> …we will: Reform initial teacher training so that more training is on the job, and it focuses on key teaching skills including teaching early reading and mathematics, managing behaviour and responding to pupils' Special Educational Needs (DfE, 2010, p. 20).

On the other hand, at the end of a major review of teacher education in Scotland, the former Chief Inspector, Graham Donaldson, came to a very different conclusion. His conception of teaching was expressed thus

> The 'craft' components of teaching must be based upon and informed by fresh insights into how best to meet the increasingly fast pace of change in the world which our children inhabit. Simply advocating more time in the classroom as a means of preparing teachers for their role is therefore not the answer to creating better teachers. The nature and quality of that practical experience must be carefully planned and evaluated and used to develop understanding of how learning can best be promoted in sometimes very complex and challenging circumstances (Donaldson 2011, 4–5).

In other words, Donaldson was not denying the craft element of being and learning to be a teacher. He was however asserting that social change means that teachers need to be responsive to new demands and this creates an intellectually challenging context for them to learn within. He saw teachers

> ...as reflective, accomplished and enquiring professionals who have the capacity to engage fully with the complexities of education and to be key actors in shaping and leading educational change (Donaldson 2011, 4).

Thus Donaldson sees teachers as much more 'agentic' than Gove, who expressed a minimalist view of the skills and knowledge required by teachers, a view that significantly downplayed the intellectual component and could lead to the rapid marginalisation of the higher education contribution to the process of learning to teach. (These differences are discussed in considerably more detail by Hulme and Menter 2011).

In undertaking a review of international literature for the Donaldson Review, a team of us at the University of Glasgow (Menter et al. 2010) suggested that it is possible to define a range of conceptions of teaching. We suggested four paradigms that could be detected in the policy literature and were picked up in some of the research literature. We defined these (Menter 2010; Menter et al. 2010) as follows:

1. *The effective teacher* – emphasising classroom skills, curriculum content, with a performative view of teaching that could be measured against particular standards;
2. *The reflective teacher* – much of the above in relation to skills and content, but with the addition of highlighting the importance of knowledge about learners, and about the values and purposes of education;
3. *The enquiring teacher* – a teacher who undertakes systematic enquiry into all of the above and is capable of deploying research and evaluation methods and techniques in improving their teaching;
4. *The transformative teacher* – one who undertakes a critical approach in their enquiry, looking beyond the classroom, considering the social context, the moral and ethical dimensions of their work and is willing to engage in alliances to ensure improved learning (what Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 2009 call "inquiry as stance")

Mr. Gove's view of teaching aligns fairly closely with the first of these paradigms, while Donaldson's conception incorporates elements of at least the first

three and possibly also makes some connection with the idea of the transformative teacher.

So if we can see that there may be fundamentally different views of the nature of teaching, what might we say about the processes of learning and developing as a teacher? Much research that has considered these matters has given rise to the recognition that teachers' learning needs may change very significantly during the time of their career. These changing needs may reflect not only the growing experience of the teacher but may also reflect changes in the system and in society and indeed may reflect changing roles and responsibilities that the teacher takes on or indeed the possibility of moving to new settings.

Life history research on teachers such as that undertaken by Goodson (2003) has drawn attention to the interaction between the personal and the professional contexts for teacher learning. Timperley (2011) has used the term 'knowledge building' to capture the incremental nature of professional knowledge, while Shulman (1987) has drawn attention to the different forms of professional knowledge required by teachers (see Philpott 2014 for a summary of this work).

A major study by Day et al. (2007) investigating the changes over the course of teachers' working lives in England suggested that there may be six professional life phases:

- Years 0–3 – typified by commitment: albeit with a need for support and the experience of considerable challenge;
- Years 4–7 – typified by the establishment of a strong professional identity and growing efficacy in the classroom;
- Years 8–15 – during which teachers very often manage changes in their role and identity;
- Years 16–23 – in which teachers often experience work-life tensions – family commitments often loom large;
- Years 24–30 – where there may be a considerable challenge to sustain motivation;
- Year 31 onwards – as the end of the career approaches the teacher may be subject to declining motivation.

While these phases represent an ideal typology and cannot therefore be said to be experienced consistently by all teachers, they do nevertheless portray a pattern that may be important when considering policy towards and provision for teacher learning. They are also based on the assumption that teachers are staying in the classroom and not pursuing leadership opportunities in headship or other forms. We thus see how complex are the ways in which teachers' identities will develop. They are not simply formed at the outset of a career through an interaction between their personal characteristics and their initial experiences in qualifying as a teacher. They continue to be shaped by those forces but also interact with their personal life experiences as an individual and with the professional contexts – the role, the school, the community – in which they are working (Menter and McLaughlin 2015).

4.4   D for Devolution

I turn finally to our third D – devolution, which seeks to remind us again of the significance of the wider context in which teachers are learning and working. Education policy in Scotland has always been very different from that in the rest of the UK (Humes and Bryce 2013), but since the moves in 1999 to establish new forms of governance in Belfast and Cardiff, as well as re-establishing a Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh, we have seen all four parts of the UK developing their own distinctive approaches. In relation to teacher education and professional development we have also seen this divergence emerging (Teacher Education Group 2016). This 'natural laboratory' for 'home international' study lends itself to very fruitful analysis of policy and practice.

Indeed, in relation to teacher education, one of the most fascinating and interesting developments has been the establishment of major reviews of initial teacher education in all four countries. Chronologically, England has been the most laggardly of the nations to establish such a review. In Scotland there was a so-called two stage review early in the century which actually led to relatively little change. However the Donaldson Review, mentioned above, has had rather more significant impacts, affecting the nature of programmes and consolidating the contribution of universities (Hulme and Kennedy 2016). In Northern Ireland there was a whole series or reviews and reports but they have each in turn met with considerable resistance in leading to change (Clarke and Magennis 2016). The politics of Northern Ireland, with its history of sectarian struggle has meant that it has proved extremely difficult to bring about much institutional restructuring and this in turn has tended to slow down changes in practice as well. Wales has seen three reports over the last few years – the first and the third led by John Furlong and the second one undertaken by a former head of the Teacher Training Agency (based in England), Ralph Tabberer. This process has seen some restructuring and some fairly fundamental rethinking about the nature of provision (Beauchamp and Jephcote 2016). It was not until early in 2014 that the English Secretary of State decided to call on the headteacher of a primary school in Surrey, Sir Andrew Carter, to undertake a review of initial teacher training in England. This review led to a report in January 2015, by which time a new Secretary of State, Nicky Morgan, had been appointed. It has never been entirely clear what the reason for establishing the Carter review was although there were suspicions that it was ideologically motivated and would lead to an acceleration of the reduction or elimination of the university contribution to teacher education. However, this has not been the case. Indeed the general tenor of the report is that diversity is a very good thing and that all approaches to ITT – provided they are of high quality – can make a significant contribution to the overall picture (Mutton et al. 2015).

So, while there have been reports in all four countries – also in the Republic of Ireland and in many other nations, the only common theme that this really confirms is that initial teacher education is seen as a key policy area. It has become much more visible in the wider polity than it had been hitherto. But in other respects, in

terms of actual approaches and policies, the problems being analysed vary and most significantly the approaches being taken in England create a sense of this nation being very distinctive, almost an 'outlier', within the UK. In particular, the huge diversity in provision in England, as discussed above, is unique in the UK (although there are similar tendencies in the USA and one or two other nations are expressing some interest in broadening their range of provision). Secondly, the threatened demise or at least downgrading of the higher education element is a distinctively English feature. The National Audit Office report referred to above notes that very few universities have withdrawn from ITT altogether (NAO 2016). However, it seems that five have actually done so and such is the instability of resourcing now associated with ITT provision, that it certainly seems possible that others will follow suit.

It was against this backdrop that the British Educational Research Association (BERA) established its inquiry into the relationship between educational research (BERA's central interest) and teacher education. Anxiety about the situation in England had been foreshadowed by an earlier report produced in a collaboration between BERA and the Universities Council for the Education of Teachers (UCET) (BERA/UCET 2012). In 2013 BERA established a partnership with the Royal Society for the Arts, Commerce and Manufactures (RSA) and undertook an independent inquiry, led by a working group chaired by John Furlong (also including Pamela Munn and Geoff Whitty, former BERA presidents, myself as then President, with BERA Executive Officer Nick Johnson and Joe Hallgarten, RSA Education Director) to look at the connections between research and teacher education.

The inquiry commissioned a number of review papers and held a number of consultations across the UK and came to the following conclusions (BERA-RSA 2014):

- Internationally, enquiry-based (or 'research-rich') school and college environments are the hallmark of high performing education systems.
- To be at their most effective, teachers and teacher educators need to engage *with* research and enquiry – this means keeping up to date with the latest developments in their academic subject or subjects and with developments in the discipline of education;
- Teachers and teacher educators need to be equipped to engage *in* enquiry-oriented practice. This means having the capacity, motivation, confidence and opportunity to do so;
- A focus on enquiry-based practice needs to be sustained during initial teacher education programmes and throughout teachers' professional careers, ...embedded within the lives of schools or colleges and become the normal way of teaching and learning, rather than the exception – 'Research Literacy'.

Building upon these findings, a number of recommendations were made as follows.

- In building a research-rich culture, practitioners and policymakers in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland face different challenges and begin from

different starting points. For this reason, the inquiry's recommendations are jurisdiction-specific. These cover a range of issues, including: initial teacher education; continuing professional development; research leadership and capacity; practitioner engagement.

- With regard to both initial teacher education and teachers' continuing professional development, there are pockets of excellent practice across the UK but good practice is inconsistent and insufficiently shared. Drawing on the evidence, the inquiry concludes that amongst policymakers and practitioners there is considerable potential for greater dialogue than currently takes place, as there is between teachers, teacher-researchers and the wider research community.
- It also concludes that everybody in a leadership position – in the policy community, in university departments of education, at school or college level or in key agencies within the educational infrastructure – has a responsibility to support the creation of the sort of research-rich organisational cultures in which these outcomes, for both learners *and* teachers, can be achieved.

At the heart of the report therefore was the view that all teachers have an entitlement to develop their research literacy.

4.5   Conclusion

In this so-called United Kingdom, my review of the three Ds in teacher education has demonstrated that we are in the midst of considerable change. Times of change create opportunities as well as threats and it appears that both exist in different manifestations in different parts of the UK.

The promotion of diversity in the teaching profession appears to have slipped down the political agenda as has the promotion of diversity in many other aspects of social life, across all four nations. Where in the 1980s and 1990s there were several schemes, especially in England and Scotland, to increase the representation of people from BME backgrounds and to increase the number of men entering the profession, especially in primary schools, such initiatives have all but disappeared. In Northern Ireland the continuing concerns are about representation across the sectarian divide, with even less explicit attention to gender or ethnicity. In Wales the main focus is on improving the quality of teacher education and of teachers and this deliberation has rarely included a diversity element – other than in relation to the Welsh language.

The diversity of entry routes which has been so pronounced in England, less so in Wales and much less so in Scotland and Northern Ireland, whilst being promoted in the cause of improving quality and in reaching out to those who might not otherwise have entered the profession appears not be having any significant effect in relation to social diversity – although it is hard to know this given how little serious monitoring of the workforce goes on. Furthermore, as the National Audit Report suggests there is no hard evidence that it is actually having a positive effect on the quality of teachers being produced:

The Department does not yet have the information it needs to understand how different routes into teaching impact on schools' ability to recruit and retain newly qualified teachers, and cannot yet demonstrate how new arrangements are improving the quality of teaching in classrooms (NAO 2016, para. 23).

The time is long overdue in all four nations for a sustained, longitudinal and mixed methods study – or series of studies – that do address questions of teacher education and teaching quality. The only major study in the recent past in England, called *Becoming a Teacher*, looked at different entry routes under the previous New Labour governments and would not claim to have incorporated evidence arising from the subsequent quality of teachers' work, rather it focused only on the beginning teachers during their period of training and into their first year of teaching (Hobson et al. 2006).

It may be noted that in Australia the final report from a major project called *Studying the Effectiveness of Teacher Education* (SETE) was published at the end of 2015 (Mayer et al. 2016). The methodology was complex and the study was large-scale. The findings are worthy of careful scrutiny and have been framed in such a way that they cannot be readily susceptible to simplistic policy responses. Nevertheless they do conclude:

Overall, the large-scale and longitudinal SETE study highlights the messy, non-linear and sometimes unexpected ways of learning teaching that problematize generally accepted ways of thinking about graduates' preparedness for teaching by their teacher education programs and their effectiveness as early career teachers (Mayer et al. 2016, 20).

Furthermore, it is very noticeable that the report by the Teacher Education Ministerial Advisory Group (TEMAG, 2014), carried out almost simultaneously for the federal government in Australia, called for a sustained programme of research and development on teacher education. This agenda is currently being pursued by the Australian Institute for Teaching and Leadership (AITSL), which is a partial equivalent of the general teaching councils that exist in Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales. This call for a research programme in the TEMAG Report is in stark contrast to all of the reviews carried out in the UK. Some of these reviews do cite extant research but none identify a major research programme on teacher education as a key element is ensuring the continuing health and effectiveness of teacher education.

As we noted when reviewing the situation across the UK:

Writing more than thirty years ago, Alexander et al. (1984) commented on the preceding 'two decades of organisational change' but noted that this had been within 'a context of cultural and epistemological continuity' (Alexander et al. 1984: xviii). In some parts of these islands more than others, there has been some serious disruption to that continuity, both cultural and epistemological since 1984. It is to be hoped that through research and dialogue over the next twenty or indeed forty years, we can build new cultural and epistemological strengths for our important endeavours in preparing future teachers (Hulme et al. 2016, 232–233).

This chapter has demonstrated that:

- The three Ds – diversity, development and devolution – interact with each other creating a complex pattern of policy and practice;

- The contribution that research makes in this complex scenario is variable and needs major investment.

To return to my opening adage, "by their teacher education ye shall know them", it is crucial that we take teacher education very seriously if we are serious about developing an open and humane democracy. There are few aspects of policy that are more important for the future wellbeing of citizens and nations.

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Part II
Teacher Agency

Chapter 5
Educating Teachers as Agents of Social Justice: A Virtue Ethical Perspective

Nataša Pantić and David Carr

5.1 Introduction

The idea of teachers acting and being educated as 'agents of change' has had a fairly high profile in recent educational literature and policy-making, often in relation to social justice agendas (Ballard 2012; Zeichner 2009). For example, a review of teacher education endorsed by the Scottish Government (2011) suggests that: "teacher education must help to develop a teaching profession that sees its members as prime agents in the change process" (4), elaborating this as follows:

> Extended professionals are agents of change, not passive or reluctant receivers of externally-imposed prescription. They actively seek, apply and evaluate approaches to supporting children in ways which result in tangible improvement in learning. They are increasingly able to develop, sustain and use partnerships and networks both to achieve the best outcomes for each child and to extend and deepen professional learning. (Scottish Government 2011, 4).

'Change agency' is here explicitly identified as part of so-called 'extended' teacher professionalism: in this light, to be regarded as members of a profession, teachers need to be professionally pro-active – rather than waiting to be told what to do by others – to have the best developmental and learning needs of pupils at heart and to be capable of engaging or co-operating with other educationally interested professional and other parties such as parents, classroom assistants or social workers. However, this may seem obvious or uncontroversial to the point of vacuity: it merely identifies – though no doubt serving sometimes as a timely reminder – what good teachers have always taken to be their role or have always tried to accomplish.

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In this sense, agency can be seen as inherent in (rather than an addition to) everything that teachers do.

In light of the theme of this book, the view of teaching as 'extended professionalism' is certainly pertinent for socially just practice with increasingly diverse school populations. Teachers need to be concerned about the positive development and learning of all pupils, to exercise professional initiative, work with others to create opportunities for the meaningful educational participation and learning of all pupils and to provide necessary support to under-confident or vulnerable students. Teachers themselves often see justice and fairness as important parts of being a good teacher (Arthur et al. 2015; Olsen 2008). Yet, the gap in achievement between pupils from the lower socio-economic background and others remains wide in many countries including Scotland (see e.g. OECD 2012), suggesting that current provision is not equally good for all. The calls for teachers to act as agents of change in the contexts of changing demographics of schooling, might suggest the need for teachers to consider and address the various barriers to learning that some pupils face. The question is how they might be best prepared for such consideration?

Much of the talk of teachers as potential agents of change is, albeit often implicitly, linked to overcoming social and cultural inequities between pupils endowed with the 'cultural capital' that fits them for academic success, and those rather less well favoured by nature or home circumstance to benefit from 'academic knowledge'. While Fullan (1993) linked 'change agency' fairly generally to 'moral purposes', Villegas and Lucas (2002) are more explicit in connecting such agency to a 'view of teachers as participants in a larger struggle for social justice whose actions either support or challenge current inequalities' (55). However, there is less clarity about what teachers might usefully contribute to undoing or correcting the social circumstances and conditions that cause educational inequalities, or to change the institutional structures or arrangements through which such inequalities might be perpetuated in schools.

However, there is evidence that teachers might experience some anxiety about the 'new' role implied in the suggestion that they should be 'agents of change' (Biesta et al. 2015). Such suggestion might well be no less unsettling and confusing to those practitioners at whom such rhetoric is directed, than to those concerned to educate future professionals. Indeed, the educational rhetoric to which teachers are more frequently exposed would seem to focus – via increasing emphasis on raising standards of pupil achievement in fairly traditional subjects – less on changing, more on improving, *existing* educational provision and making it available to all pupils. Indeed, evidence suggests that it is precisely through extension of established academic knowledge that schools and teachers can improve the lot of pupils from underprivileged backgrounds by exposure of all pupils to what is ordinarily available (Flecha 2014; Iannelli 2013; Muijs et al. 2004). In what sense, then, could teachers be expected to act as agents of change towards justice? And, if so, how might they be educated for this role?

In this chapter, we explore what might be meant for teachers to act as agents of change for social justice, drawing on a virtue ethical perspective whereby moral agency involves developing qualities of mind and character that are intrinsic to

general moral personhood, rather than being contingent upon the professional or vocational roles that agents might happen to occupy. On this account, to be any sort of moral agent is to be *personally* not just professionally responsible. Adopting a perspective on teaching as an inherently moral profession (Carr 2007; Campbell 2004; Hansen 2001) we consider what teachers' moral agency means within the classroom, before considering what it might imply beyond classroom practices. Finally, we discuss the implications of this view for teacher education.

5.2   The Fair and Just Classroom Teacher

The philosophical or normative case for regarding teaching and other professions as morally implicated or, more particularly, as requiring the development of moral virtues commonly associated with good teaching such as fairness, honesty, justice or compassion, seems compelling. It would seem to be a professional desideratum that we do (and certainly *should*) not only want doctors and nurses with medical expertise, but caring and compassionate doctors and nurses; we should not just want lawyers who win cases, but lawyers with honesty and integrity; and we should not just want teachers who instruct reliably, but fair and just teachers. This is arguably even more evident in the case of teachers, not just because ordinary classroom teaching is directly implicated in the practical promotion of just and respectful interpersonal relations in the classroom, but is also concerned with the *moral educational* task of initiating children and young people into some understanding of such positive aspects of human association. It is also worth noting that while there may be some teachers who do *not* regard the acquisition of good character as especially important in teaching, available empirical evidence shows that it is considered to be so by the overwhelming majority of educational practitioners (Arthur et al. 2015). It is also evident that whereas we may be reluctant to criticize teachers for pedagogically unhelpful qualities of personality – such as lack of charm or charisma – we would actually criticize them for lack of commitment, prejudice, unfairness, disrespect and lack of care or sympathy. The case for qualities of character or virtues as an indispensable part of the make-up of good teachers is therefore hard to gainsay, even though there might be differences about which virtues might be educationally worthwhile. Russell's ideal teacher possesses a wide range of intellectual and moral qualities, including kindliness and courage, and also exemplifies in his or her judgements and conduct the kind of wisdom that should itself be one of the central aims of teacher professionalism (Russell 1954, in Hare 2002). In light of the book theme, however, we are particularly interested in the virtues of fairness and justice.

In this regard, what sorts of problems might require some measure of the virtue of justice or fairness in the classroom? Leaving aside more serious injustices arising from fairly obvious breaches of professional conduct – such as the actual physical or sexual abuse of pupils that would invite professional discipline if not actual criminal prosecution – we may mention some sources of actual or apparent unfairness to

which even the most well meaning of teachers could be liable. The first – probably fairly frequent – sort of unfairness follows from labelling or categorizing pupils in the light of preconceptions or prejudices. So while teachers may well have been alerted or sensitised in their professional training to the hazards of racial, class or gender stereotyping, it is perhaps more difficult for them – in everyday classroom life – to avoid thinking of pupils as 'good' or 'bad' or 'bright' or 'stupid'. Indeed, it is possible that the drive to discipline or regiment pupils in line with prevailing school norms of order and control and the pressure to achieve learning targets, often defined in terms of success in examinations, generally reinforces such stereotyping. At all events, much actual unfair treatment may well follow from failing to appreciate the individuality of pupils, or to recognise their strengths as well as weaknesses in a way that might bring out the best rather than the worst in them.

A related difficulty may follow from failing to appreciate that justice needs not only to be done, but *seen* to be done – and this may be especially apparent in relation to the teachers' role, not just as a disciplinarian but as an arbitrator in the seemingly endless conflicts, wrangles and disputes between pupils themselves. In this light, teachers will be all too familiar with complaints such as 'It wasn't me Miss, it was Senga' that pepper classroom dialogue throughout the day. They are likely to be all too aware of the great dangers – precisely to their reputation for justice and fairness – of appearing to take one side rather than another in such disputes. Indeed, as already noted above, the importance of avoiding such appearance is clearly not just judicial but *educational*. The significance of the virtue of justice in teaching is not just that pupils should receive – without fear or favour – a fair and impartial educational deal, but that they might in turn *learn* from teachers themselves what a fair deal is. So, while it may be doubted that any teacher has ever actually managed to escape being seen as unfair by at least some of their students some cultivation of the virtue of justice is clearly an educational imperative for helping others learn what justice is. This might be even more complicated in the contexts of diverse student populations, since it is one thing to agree about justice as a desirable virtue, and quite another to agree what justice actually means or what it means for different students in different circumstances (Campbell 2004). And, of course, professionals are liable to disagree about what counts as the right thing to do in this or that circumstance. Moreover, the moral influence of teachers extends to what they say and do without conscious intention as moral agents (Jackson et al. 1993).

Another problem about cultivating the virtue of justice in teachers is that the rules embodying standard norms and expectations of institutions such as schools may not always accommodate or make allowances for the diverse needs and circumstances of individuals. For one example, schools will require punctual attendance from pupils: but if those from a dysfunctional family have responsibilities of care to parents or siblings then punctuality may not be easy for them to manage. For another example, it may also be difficult for emotionally disturbed pupils to conform to the standards of order and discipline that schools or teachers require for pupils – as members of the school community in general or of this particular classroom – to observe easily. It may therefore be necessary to make exceptions to general rules in the case of some pupils. Some schools may have arrangements – such

as special units for 'difficult' children – to accommodate such exceptions, but such accommodation may further exacerbate unfairness or injustice – or, at any rate, pupils' perception of such injustice – rather than reduce it. First, such accommodation may risk some labelling or stereotyping; second, it may not be in the best interests of the child to remove them from the educational mainstream; third, there may be some risk to the general order, if some pupils are *perceived* by others as exceptions to the general rule. At all events, the key present point is that any and all decisions made in such 'exceptional' circumstances require careful deliberation about particular cases. This is consistent with the position of so-called virtue ethics which recognises that moral agency implies sensitivity to the contextual particularities of a situation, not a simple application of general rules (Carr 2007).

In this vein, acting as agents of justice beyond the classroom might require consideration of particular institutional arrangements focusing on particular instances of injustice in a given context (Keddie 2012). An aspect of extended professionalism promoted in the aforementioned policy statement is teachers' ability "to develop, sustain and use partnerships and networks to achieve the best outcomes for each child". Addressing the risks of exclusion and marginalisation often requires the collaboration of many agencies (Pantić and Florian 2015) and a relational agency defined as a capacity of diverse professionals to co-operate with others in bringing different kinds of expertise to bear on a given situation (Edwards 2007, 2010). Such relational agency for working with others such as parents, colleagues and other professionals might also require a range of interpersonal virtues of empathy and tolerance of disagreement (Hare 2002).

On a virtue ethics perspective, moral agents need to understand moral identity as to some extent distinct from and independent of their social roles if they are to be rightly held to account for their actions (MacIntyre 1999). Thus, while teachers' responsible deliberation may involve implementing those rules and policies required by their professional role in a particular context, it may at other times mean putting the established standards in question in the light of personal moral conscience. MacIntyre (1999) argues that moral agents can have good reasons, and even responsibility, to acknowledge the limitations of particular policies or standards embodied in the institutions of their own local social and cultural order. In this regard, empirical studies show that teachers in different contexts may exercise their professional agency by adapting or ignoring an externally prescribed change rather than simply complying with it (Noack et al. 2013; Pyhältö et al. 2014; Robinson 2012). On the one hand, agents may fail to execute well-intentioned policies because they fail to understand them properly or to think them through. But, on the other, they may fail to prosecute such policies or rules because they are not much committed to them or do not see them as meriting quite the priority given to them by others.

Further, to understand themselves and act as moral agents teachers must be treated as such. MacIntyre (1999) argues that "one cannot exercise the powers of a moral agent unless one is able to understand oneself as justifiably held responsible in virtue of one's ability to exercise those powers" (314). Moral agency requires a particular kind of social setting wherein questioning of standards is an accepted activity (MacIntyre 1999). By this account, if teachers are failing to address the

external reasons of inequality, this is not solely their individual responsibility but that of a whole social and cultural order. The degrees and kinds of tension between the established role requirements and the demands of moral agency will also vary in different contexts (see e.g. Buchanan 2015; Pantić et al. 2011; Vongalis-Macrow 2007). In this regard, it may well be that the narrower technical or pedagogical competence-focused conception of teacher development that has probably dominated much recent professional policy reflection on teacher education has sometimes fallen short of producing responsibly pro-active agents. For example, teachers in Scotland have been found to be deficient in professional discourses about teaching and education beyond those of accommodation to prescribed policy (Biesta et al. 2015).

With regard to teachers' roles as agents of social justice, however, the picture is further complicated by the varying and contested potential meanings of such a role. In light of the changing demographics of schooling and increasing levels of cultural and social diversity teachers' understanding of issues of social justice reflect a variety of views about the reasons for inequality of education outcome and ways of promoting greater equality. For example, where disadvantage is thought to be an economic issue, redistributive measures might be prioritised; but where it is thought to arise from cultural barriers, the focus might be on increased cultural recognition (Keddie 2012). On the other hand, an alternative approach would make high academic expectations and 'pedagogic demandingness' a central part of culturally responsive teaching (Keddie 2012, 272). Accordingly, the actions of a teacher who aims to address the inequality of educational outcome by teaching the 'traditional curriculum' and holding high expectations of all students will be different from those of a teacher who believes they should question the very assumptions about what constitutes worthwhile form of knowledge in the contexts of social and cultural diversity. In other words, teachers committed to the same broad cause of promoting social justice could act, or be seen to act as agents of change and of continuity in very different ways. Thus, while we may regard becoming a *fair* or *just person* or *agent* as a significant dimension of good teaching or becoming a good teacher, the implications of any more ambitious 'change-agent' vision of classroom teachers as champions of wider systemic social justice are less clear.

5.3   Educating Teachers for Justice and Fairness

At all events, any expectation that the classroom teacher might play a larger part in reforming the entire institutions of contemporary schooling would imply a significant revision of the teachers' role as well as of education. However, one might and should expect teachers to be prepared to improve the quality of young people's experience of education and schooling through, besides teaching them well, a sincere and proper professional concern for their personal as well as collective welfare; perhaps primarily by means of a sympathetic ear to their individual circumstances, anxieties and insecurities. Such 'relational' justice is clearly the real heart of

fairness on the rough ground of classroom practice. As already indicated, a concern to do what is fair and right for pupils should not be construed merely as a means to making schools more just in the more obvious distributive terms of opportunity and access – though this is no doubt important – but as educationally significant in its own right. For if learning to be just and fair is something that we want not only teachers but pupils themselves to be, then the sincere efforts of teachers to exercise virtues of courage, honesty, care, compassion, fairness and justice might also be considered the best lessons to which young people might possibly be exposed. So even if – as may all too often be the case – disputes over fairness are not always successfully resolved in the classroom, pupils may come to learn more about justice from teachers who are clearly making an effort to give firm but nevertheless sympathetic and proper hearing to all sides of the case, than from teachers who fall back on the imposition of authority and power.

It has already been argued that this is what good teachers have generally tried to do in their daily classroom practice: indeed, from a more pragmatic viewpoint, it has been argued elsewhere that all effective or genuine authority in the classroom is probably based on the positive human association of relational justice (Carr 2007). Still, while it is probably true that this is what *good* teachers *have* generally attempted, it may also be a lesson that has been somewhat lost in latter day emphases on school performativity. Returning to this evergreen issue, however, we might now be expected to say something about how teacher education might be modified or improved for greater improvement in this sphere.

The trouble is that it is hard to identify any *entirely satisfactory* – at least *sufficient* – remedies here. For example, any simple inclusion of courses on ethics or theories of justice in the curriculum for teachers – though we should not actually want to preclude this – would be unlikely in and of itself to produce more just or fair teachers in the sense lately explored. Notoriously, theories of justice as attempts to sketch the most workable form of just human association – from Plato to such modern writers as Rawls (1972) and such major contemporary political perspectives as liberalism and communitarianism – are seriously *rival* and hence widely contested. Essentially, the difficulty with all such general socio-political theories of fair human association is that they are largely 'upper case' attempts to develop and defend particular insights and emphases regarding the nature of human flourishing that are in some inevitable tension with one another. One of the theoretical distinctions most commonly made is that between the cross-cultural distributional justice of liberal-democratic policy (Rawls 1972), and the more particular justice of respect for local cultural identity and difference (Gewirtz 1998). In this respect, Fraser (2000) argues that the politics of recognition which displaces redistribution, e.g. by prioritizing gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity over class, may actually promote economic inequality insofar as it reifies group identities at the risk of reinforcing the very inequalities it purports to mitigate. It is beyond the remit of this chapter to consider the educational value of these varying understandings of social justice. The point for present emphasis, however, is that the task of educating fair teachers or teachers for justice requires more than injecting course of ethics or social philosophy into courses of pre-service teacher education.

Still, the present point is not that student teachers should *not* be introduced to moral and social theory; it is rather that such teaching and learning is certainly not *sufficient* for assisting them to be fair or just teachers. Moreover, while there may be little doubt that reflection and deliberation are required for the expression and exercise of such virtues as justice and fairness (Korthagen et al. 2006), it is not evident that they can be captured or codified in the general terms to which theories aspire. Precisely, the problems that inherently interpersonal associations between teachers and pupils raise are not of the kind that can easily be solved by formulating and applying a general rule (Carr 2007) – since, as we have seen, general rules are often themselves the problem – or by the exercise of some all-purpose skill or technique based on such rules. Insofar as the justice and fairness required for such interpersonal association is not the formal or 'upper case' justice of public or political legislation, but of 'relational' justice requiring context-sensitive appreciation of the very personal and particular nuances of human interaction, a potential hazard of teaching such theory to students may be that they may become disillusioned when they realize that it cannot settle many or any of the problems of fairness with which they are daily faced in the classroom. What Aristotle said generally of justice in his *Politics* – that it is no less unjust to treat unequals equally than it is to treat equals unequally – may be especially true of relational justice: that there can be no fully just or fair treatment of those with whom we are in genuine personal association that fails to take at least some account of their unique circumstances, needs, strengths and vulnerabilities.

5.3.1   'No Rules, However Wise, Are a Substitute for Affection and Tact'[1]

Insofar, it also seems that the judgements and deliberations required for relational justice are no less *affective* than cognitive (Korthagen et al. 2006). What is precisely needed for development of the character of virtuous justice is the cultivation – perhaps in the more refined sense that has been given to this term in aesthetic theory – of *sensibilities*. In this sense, sensibilities are not just a matter of *sensitivity* to – or of being able to feel or register – the affective climate or requirements of a situation, but of some capacity to *comprehend*, appreciate and/or evaluate its interpersonal or moral significance. In this regard, any virtuous registering or understanding the needs or concerns of another person cannot be reduced to mere casebook acquaintance with their personal history and requires active care and concern on the part of the virtuous agent. This is arguably the key point in the history of virtue theory that Aristotle makes against his predecessors Socrates and Plato (though Plato's *Republic* is not entirely blind to the need for some affective component of virtue) who may have sometimes come close to arguing that any affective attachments are inimical to

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[1] Russell 1972 in Hare 2002.

the development of essentially rational virtue. However, according to Aristotle's famous doctrine of the mean, while some vices or failures of virtue may certainly be traced to excess of feeling, affect or appetite others may be no less due to *deficit* of feeling or emotion: most obviously, the cruel or unkind may be so not just because they fail to reason aright but because they lack feelings of compassion. This is evidently true of the personal virtue of relational justice. For while it is clearly absurd to suppose that there might be a vicious excess of *justice* it is certainly true that the virtuously just may often need to hit the right mean between sentimental (and perhaps thereby damaging) excess of sympathy for the needy and an utter lack of it.

At all events, it would appear that the judgement and deliberation required for relational justice is not the abstract reflection of political or social theory, but precisely that closer to what Aristotle identified in his *Nicomachean Ethics* (1925) as *phronesis* or practical wisdom. Practical wisdom is essentially the intellectual virtue concerned with the proper ordering of the non-rational aspects of human nature – appetites, feelings and passions – towards goals of moral or other human flourishing. We require such deliberation to help us judge clearly what is needed for the appropriate – or virtuous – expression of such affective or affectively grounded states and dispositions as sympathy, compassion, generosity, like and dislike. The relevance of such reason and deliberation to teaching is that in order to deal fairly or justly with a troublesome pupil (or a pupil so perceived) one may need to suspend one's dislike in order to cultivate a more sympathetic or compassionate attitude to his or her circumstances.

Phronesis has also been described as the knowledge of how to act in particular situations (by contrast with *episteme* – generalized knowledge about many situations), which precisely involves an understanding of the relational aspects of a situation (Korthagen et al. 2006). One of the challenges for teacher education may therefore be some re-examination of views of practice as applied theories derived from disciplines such as psychology and sociology, and consideration of new insights into the nature of knowledge as situated and interwoven with experience and emotion (Korthagen et al. 2006). As such knowledge is personal and experiential; it rather defies 'transmission' of general theory, but may be explored with student teachers by encouraging them to reflect on the problems they have encountered in practice and on the feelings these have engendered. Insofar, the kind of practical wisdom needed for such professional illumination is much the same as that needed for ordinary positive non-professional human conduct and association. Still, there is one crucial difference between such virtuous deliberation in ordinary human affairs and that needed for the just and fair practice of teaching. While one may be (say) courageous or sympathetic in ordinary affairs without being fair or just, it does not seem that one could be a fair or just teacher without also possessing some measure of these other virtues. Precisely, cultivation of classroom fairness would appear to presuppose development of other virtues – of honesty, courage, patience, compassion, sympathy, respect, tolerance and so on – and it may be precisely in the sphere of such professional practices as teaching that the old Greek idea of the unity of the virtues has particular purchase.

5.4   Implications for Teacher Education

Insofar as the relational fairness of day to day classroom practice requires cultivation of such virtues as justice, an adequate teacher preparation may need to respond not with additional courses of ethics or inclusion, but with a broader conception of what it is to be a good teacher which certainly extends beyond the skill-based or 'competence' conceptions of teacher education that have often been the staple fare of recent days. Thus, for example, insofar as one may stand to learn as much if not more about human nature and association from the great literary achievements of human culture, there may be rather more to teacher education than the courses in psychology, curriculum theory and pedagogical method that have formed the curricular core of much past teacher education (on this, see Carr 1997).

Still, preparation for acting as agents of change beyond classroom may also require equipping teachers with conceptual tools that would allow them to consider their moral roles within a given system as well as to imagine alternative, often competing ways of dealing with issues of social justice and their implications for their professional actions. In this regard, consideration of different theories of justice may be one, albeit by no means sufficient, way of helping future teachers develop as morally responsible agents. In this light, systematic reflection on instances of injustice in contemporary school settings – using case studies of ethical dilemmas drawn from actual practical contexts – might be a worthwhile starting point for helping student teachers articulate and justify perspectives on appropriate action. Comparative perspectives on the ways in which issues of social justice have been addressed in internationally diverse education systems and policies may also help teachers understand something of the political, cultural and human complexity that any agency for social change must inevitably raise.

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Chapter 6
A Knowledge Base for Teachers on Teacher-Student Relationships

Theo Wubbels

6.1   An Interpersonal Perspective on Teaching

Throughout the past three decades a research programme at Utrecht University in the Netherlands has been aiming to improve teaching and teacher education by building a knowledge base about teacher-student relationships through studying beginning and experienced teachers teaching. In the study of teaching a variety of perspectives can be employed, including for example views of effectiveness based on methodology, discourse, moral positions and orientations toward gender and ethnic diversity. Because of the importance of human relationships in education we have chosen to analyse teaching from an interpersonal perspective that describes and analyses teaching in terms of the relationship between teacher and students. We analyse the perceptions of students and teachers regarding their interpersonal relationships according to the Model for Interpersonal Teacher Behaviour that originally was based on Timothy Leary's research on the interpersonal diagnosis of personality (1957) and its application to teaching (Wubbels et al. 1985). The Leary model has been investigated extensively among others in clinical psychology and psychotherapeutic settings (Strack 1996) and has proven effective in describing human interactions (e.g., Foa 1961; Lonner 1980). Two significant dimensions emerged from Leary's research, which he named 'Dominance-Submission' and 'Hostility-Affection'. According to interpersonal theory (Fiske et al. 2007; Judd et al. 2005) these two dimensions are primary to all interpersonal perceptions and are nowadays usually named Agency and Communion.

Following interpersonal theory we now present the Model for Interpersonal Teacher Behaviour a bit differently from the presentation in the early days of the model as a circle with eight titles placed equidistantly on the circumference (see

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Fig. 6.1 The Interpersonal
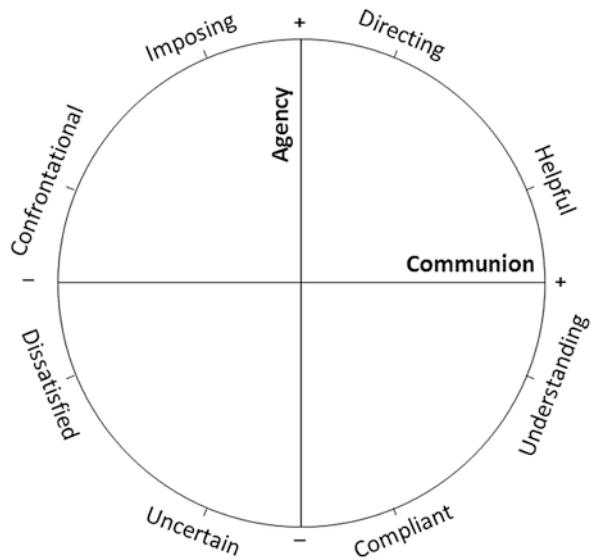Circle for the Teacher
(IPC-T; Mainhard 2015)

Fig. 6.1; Mainhard 2015). These titles represent a blend of Agency and Communion.
For example, directing and helpful teacher behaviour are both characterized by pos-
itive Agency and Communion. In directing Agency prevails over Communion and
includes behaviours such as teacher enthusiasm, motivating strategies, and the like.
Helpful behaviour includes more Communion and less Agency perceptions in which
the teacher demonstrates helpful, friendly and considerate behaviour.

6.2   The Questionnaire on Teacher Interaction

The perceptions of teachers and students of the teacher-student relationship can be
measured with the Questionnaire on Teacher Interaction (QTI). To map interper-
sonal teacher behaviour, the QTI was designed according to the two-dimensional
Model for Interpersonal Teacher Behaviour and the eight sectors (Wubbels et al.
1985, 2006a). It was originally developed in The Netherlands, and a 64-item
American version was constructed in 1988 (Wubbels and Levy 1991). The original
Dutch version consists of 77 items that are answered on a five-point Likert scale
ranging from 'Never/Not at all' to 'Always/Very'. The items are divided into eight
scales corresponding with the eight sectors of the Model for Interpersonal Teacher
Behaviour. Since its development the QTI has been translated, revised and adminis-
tered in over 30 countries, including Australia, Canada, Cyprus, Israel, Korea,
Poland, Singapore, South Africa, Turkey, Thailand and the UK. Several studies have
been conducted on the reliability and validity of the QTI. They have included
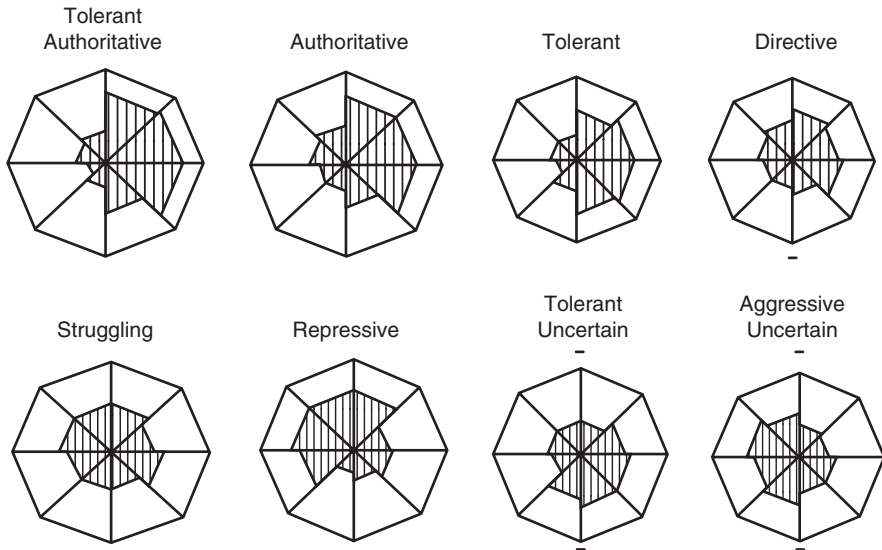
Fig. 6.2 Profiles of the eight types of patterns of interpersonal relationships

research on Dutch (e.g., Brekelmans et al. 1990; den Brok et al. 2006a; Wubbels et al. 1985), American (Wubbels and Levy 1991), Australasian (den Brok et al. 2006b; Fisher et al. 1995) and Turkish samples (Telli et al. 2007), among others. A less time consuming version with improved consistency of item formulation, in the Netherlands has led to a selection of 24 items (Pennings et al. 2014). A similar refining process on the English version is underway. The questionnaire can be administered to students about their perception of the relationship with their teacher and to collect data from teachers on their self-perceptions and how they perceive the ideal teacher. Results of administering the QTI for feedback purposes usually are displayed in profiles such as presented in Fig. 6.2. In student perceptions several profiles have been found in Dutch and American classes (Brekelmans 1989; Brekelmans et al. 1993), named Directive, Authoritative, Tolerant/Authoritative, Tolerant, Uncertain/Tolerant, Uncertain/Aggressive, Struggling, and Repressive; Fig. 6.2). In Fig. 6.3 we summarize each of the eight types on the basis of the two dimension scores (Agency and Communion) of the profiles by means of a main point indicated by the first letters of their names in the co-ordinate system. Although we characterize these profiles in terms of the teacher's style, it is important to remind that these are descriptions of a teacher in a particular class: a teacher-class combination. Classes of experienced or veteran teachers usually have the same type of interpersonal pattern, but there can be differences between classes (Brekelmans et al. 2002). For beginning teachers the variation across classes can be considerable (Brekelmans et al. 2002; Somers et al. 1997).
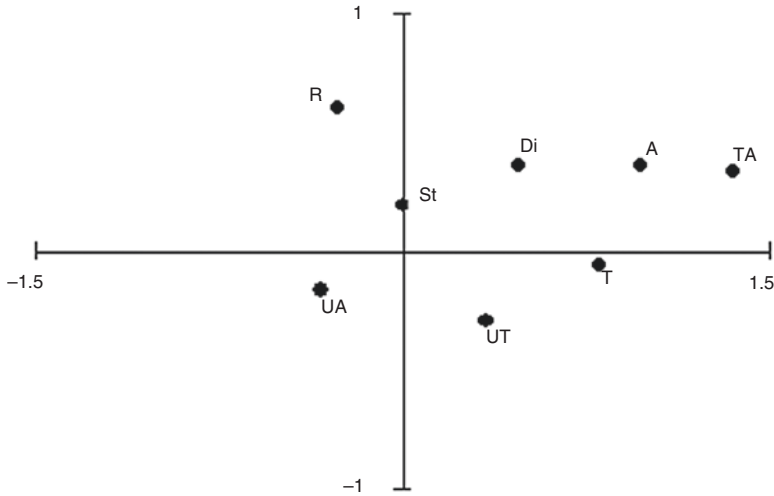
Fig. 6.3 Main points of the eight types of patterns of interpersonal relationships. (*A* authoritative, *Di* directive, *St* struggling, *T* tolerant, *R* repressive, *TA* tolerant/authoritative, *UA* uncertain/aggressive, *UT* uncertain/tolerant)

6.3 Teacher-Student Relationships and Student Outcomes

Classroom environment studies that have included the interpersonal perspective on teaching usually indicate a positive relationship between perceptions of Agency and Communion or their related subscales and cognitive and affective student outcomes (Wubbels et al. 2016). The first study on such relationships between student outcomes and students' perceptions of teacher interpersonal behaviour by Brekelmans (1989) investigated the relationship in terms of the interpersonal profiles as shown in Figs. 6.2 and 6.3. In Table 6.1, estimations for the (statistical) effects of the eight different profiles of students' perceptions of interpersonal profile type on physics achievement and attitude scores are presented (after correction for the influences of other variables).

The results of Table 6.1 show that, on average, the teacher with a Repressive profile has the highest achievement outcomes. Teachers with disorderly classrooms (Profiles Uncertain/Tolerant, Uncertain/Aggressive, Struggling) reflect relatively low student achievement, whereas Directive, Authoritative and Tolerant teachers have relatively high outcomes. The Authoritative and Directive teachers have the highest student attitude scores. Students of the Struggling, Uncertain/Aggressive and Repressive teachers have the worst attitudes towards physics.

The Brekelmans' study and others (e.g., Goh and Fraser 1998, 2000; Henderson et al. 2000; Georgiou and Kyriakides 2012; Zijlstra et al. 2013) show that the higher a teacher was perceived on Agency, the higher the student cognitive outcomes and

Table 6.1 Effects on achievement and attitudes of students' perceptions of the interpersonal profile of their physics teachers

Interpersonal profile type	Effect on achievement	Effect on attitude
Directive	0.17	0.62
Authoritative	0.07	0.79
Authoritative/tolerant	Missing[a]	Missing[a]
Tolerant	0.23	0.53
Uncertain/tolerant	−0.17	0.51
Uncertain/aggressive	−0.15	0.20
Repressive	0.40	0.38
Struggling[b]	0	0

[a]Too few cases to include in the analyses
[b]Reference group

these associations were usually moderate to small (Wubbels et al. 2016). Generally, effects of Communion are somewhat stronger than effects of Agency. Some studies found that only one of the two dimensions was related to student achievement: either Agency (den Brok et al. 2004; Sivan and Chan 2013) or Communion (Bacete et al. 2014; Gupta and Fisher 2011). "Also, some studies have indicated associations with only one side of a dimension. For example, Rawnsley (1997) found that negative Communion was negatively associated with student achievement, but no association was found for positive Communion. The study by Gupta and Fisher (2011) reported a negative association of Agency with student outcomes, where other studies reported mainly positive associations" (Wubbels et al. 2016, 137). In some studies the relationship between Communion and cognitive outcomes was not linear but curvilinear (i.e. lower perceptions of Communion go with low outcomes, but intermediate and higher values with higher performance until a certain ceiling of optimal Communion has been reached (den Brok et al. 2004). Studies on associations between the teacher-student relationship and affective outcomes are more consistent in their results than studies on the relationship with cognitive outcomes. All studies find a positive relation of both Agency and Communion with affective outcome measures, usually measured in terms of subject-specific motivation. The higher the perception of Communion is, the higher the motivation of the students. Associations may differ for ethnic minority and mainstream students. We found in a study using report card grades as outcome measures a positive association between teacher Agency and report card grades for Surinamese students in Dutch multicultural classes, but negative associations for Dutch and Moroccan students and no association for Turkish students (den Brok et al. 2010). In this study, no direct effects were found for communion on report card grades, but indirect effects were found for communion, with student motivation as a mediator. Teacher-student communion showed strong associations with positive attitudes towards subject content among all cultural groups. However, higher levels of teacher agency did not correlate with subject attitude among students with a Dutch background. For students with a Moroccan, Turkish or Surinamese background (but born in the Netherlands), higher
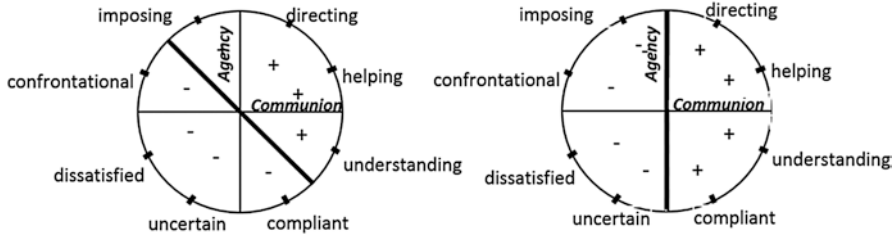
Fig. 6.4 Sign of correlations between QTI scales and cognitive student outcomes (*left*) and affective outcomes (*right*)

levels of teacher agency had small to medium positive effects on subject attitude. A potential explanation might be that most multicultural schools in the Netherlands are situated in the major cities, where teaching is often rather challenging for teachers from a classroom management perspective (van Tartwijk et al. 2009). Low success in classroom management may result in low agency in student perceptions of the teacher-student relationship indicating disorder, that is negatively related with student motivation (Wubbels et al. 2016). Overall these results indicate that ethnic minority students might be a bit more dependent for outcomes and motivation on the teacher-student relationship than mainstream students.

Figure 6.4 summarizes the findings for student outcomes and teacher-student relationships on the scale level. All scales on the right side of the model are positively related to student affective outcomes such as subject specific motivation and all scales on the left side negatively. For cognitive outcomes the results are rotated one scale counter clockwise: imposing is positively related to cognitive outcomes whereas it is negatively related to affective outcomes. Similarly compliant teacher behaviour is negatively related to cognitive and positively related to affective student outcomes. The results show that for six scales the relationships with student cognitive and affective outcomes are the same and lead to straightforward recommendations for practice. In order to get positive student outcomes teachers should aim for student perceived relations that are high on directing, helpful and understanding and are low on confrontational, dissatisfied and uncertain.

6.4 Relationships Over Time

Several studies (e.g. Wubbels and Brekelmans 1997) have investigated changes in the teacher-student relationship over the years comparing the mean scores for a sample of teachers in different years. Brekelmans (2010) showed in a large Dutch database that these relationships are remarkable stable over time (see Fig. 6.5). Also the Wubbels and Brekelmans' (1997) study showed small differences in the behaviour of physics teachers over a 10 years period.
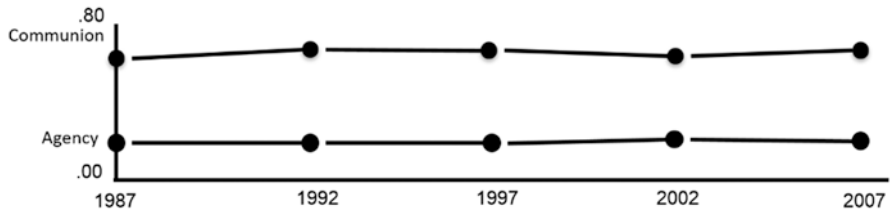
Fig. 6.5 Agency and Communion between 1987 and 2007 in a large Dutch database of student perceptions of the teacher-student relationship (Brekelmans 2010)
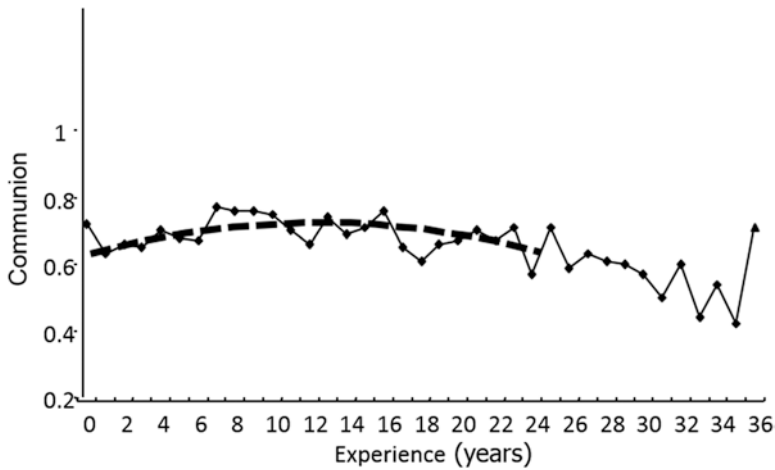

Fig. 6.6 Teacher Agency with experience in cross-sectional and longitudinal (*dotted*) data set (Brekelmans 2010)

6.5   Interpersonal Relations Across the Teaching Career

Whereas mean student perceptions of the teacher-student relationship collected in different years in a sample of teachers do not differ much across the years there are differences according to teacher experience. In earlier studies (Wubbels et al. 2006a) teachers' ideal perceptions during the teaching career appeared to be are rather stable for both dimensions. Throughout their careers, teachers seem to agree on the amount of Agency and Communion desired in the classroom. Figures 6.6 and 6.7 plot the mean Agency and Communion scores based on a more recent study (Brekelmans 2010) for students' perceptions based on cross-sectional and longitudinal data. Students' perceptions of actual teacher-student relationships, noticeably varied for teachers across experience levels. It appeared that Agency grew for most teachers, which means that it comes in the first 8 years of their careers every year closer to their ideal and towards high Agency levels that are good for student outcomes. The differences between individual teachers however can be rather big. For Communion it appeared that there is a slight tendency for lower communion levels
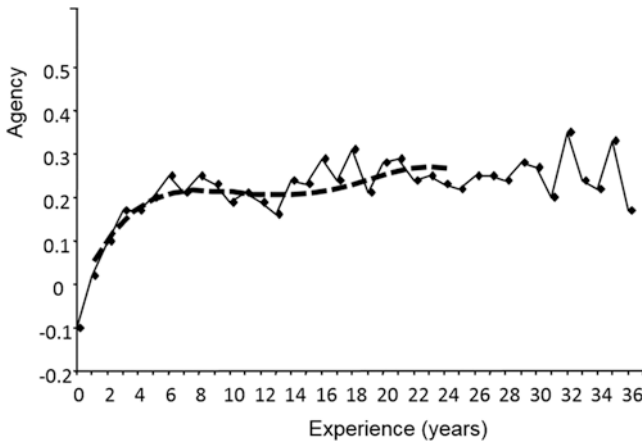
Fig. 6.7 Teacher Communion with experience in cross-sectional and longitudinal (*dotted*) data set (Brekelmans 2010)

at the end of the career. Such a decrease in Communion is detrimental for student outcomes and a movement away from the teacher ideal perception of the teacher-student relationship.

From the outset of our research programme it appeared that a considerable number of teachers is not sufficiently able to create positive learning environments. Beginning and experienced teachers encounter (different) problems in this domain. These problems can be described with the help of results of cross-sectional and longitudinal studies on the teacher-student relationship and teacher experience level.

For many beginning teachers it appears to be difficult to create and maintain order in class (e.g. Veenman 1984), and this can be seen from the relatively low students' perception score on Agency at the beginning of the career presented in Fig. 6.6. It appears that most teachers learn to cope in the first years of their career with these problems. "At the start of their careers, most teachers are about twenty to twentyfive years old and have not, to any large degree, as yet provided leadership to other people. From this point of view, the professional role does not coincide very well with their stage of personal development. Beginning teachers are often confronted with a lack of behavioural repertoire and inadequate cognitions in this area. This can result in students' perceptions of their interpersonal style as Uncertain/ Tolerant and Tolerant, styles with a relatively low Agency score" (Wubbels et al. 2006a).

The lower level of Communion of the end of the career is also problematic in light of the earlier reported relationships between student outcomes and teacher-student relationships. A decrease in Communion may lead to lowering of student affective and cognitive outcomes. The decrease of Communion shows that experienced teachers tend to become stricter when they get older, perhaps becoming sometimes unreasonable in their demands.

"Because of the distance, both emotion ally and in age, older teachers may be less connected with the students' life style. Therefore, these teachers may become more and more dissatisfied with students behaviour, thus becoming a problem for themselves as well as for their students. These high demands on and low connection with students can provoke student protest that at first can be handled easily, but gradually can become a real threat for a good classroom atmosphere. Thus the teachers are faced with a difficult problem and they may feel required to act even more demanding and admonishing, stimulating a negative communicative spiral: the teacher showing ever more oppositional behaviour as a reaction on the students protest behaviour. So the origin of the decrease in co-operative behaviour may be an inadequate repertoire in and inadequate cognitions about strict behaviour and lack of skills to give students responsibility. Giving responsibility to students is inherently risky, because it 'naturally' very often is accompanied by uncertain teacher behaviour. This kind of behaviour will provoke student disorderly behaviour and shape undesirable classroom situations. Teachers need to be able to show behaviours suited to give students responsibility for their own work without showing uncertain behaviour, or being a demonstration of the teacher's weakness. Training to give students freedom and responsibility thus may be a prominent part of in-service education for very experienced teachers. In addition, training on setting norms and standards in a clear, but not provocative way may be useful" (Wubbels et al. 2006a).

Studies by Wubbels et al. (2006b) and van Tartwijk et al. (2009) reported on the problems teachers experience in classroom management and related to that the levels of Agency and Communion in multicultural classrooms. Their results indicate that competence in teaching a multicultural class generally can be considered to be an aspect of generic teaching competence. The aspects of good teaching the teachers mentioned in these studies have been mentioned before as important for good teaching in every classroom. This applies for example to the importance of clear and structured lessons, of giving feedback and of correcting students. Teachers mentioned that they felt it was of particular importance for them in multicultural classes to show being in control, to respond to small student misbehaviour with early and small corrections and to re-establish rapport with students after corrections or problems. The latter is of specific importance because of the danger that students from ethnic minorities more easily might feel losing face when being corrected by the teacher. Although these teacher opinions align with more generic advice for teachers on classroom management (e.g. Wubbels 2011) it seems that the multicultural classroom puts heavier demands on the teacher competence than a less diverse classroom; this might be a result of the fact that so many difficult factors play a role simultaneously in multicultural classrooms (Wubbels et al. 2006b).

6.6   Complementarity in Interactions

Teacher-student relationships can be understood as the generalized interpersonal meaning students and teachers attach to their interactions with each other. These interactions take place at a short time scale and the behaviour varies from moment

to moment. Not only teacher-student relationships, but also interactions can be mapped with the two dimensions Agency and Communion. On the level of moment-to-moment interactions the interpersonal valence of teacher behaviour can change from second to second. An important characteristic of interactions is the tendency to show complementarity. Complementarity describes the behaviour in interactions that most probably invites specific reactions (e.g., de Jong et al. 2012). Research on human interactions has shown that for the Communion dimension, behaviour of one party in the interaction most probably invites similar responses of the other person. For example, friendly behaviour triggers a friendly reaction, and angry behaviour evokes anger (Tracey 1994, 2004). Such a response may lead to a positive spiral in interactions in class, where teacher and student become more friendly to each other creating a warm, supportive and pleasant classroom environment (Wubbels et al. 1988). On the other hand this complementary response at the Communion dimension also can lead to a spiral of increasing aggressive reactions of the teacher towards students and vice versa. Confrontational behaviour of the teacher invites aggressive behaviour of the students that in turn may evoke teacher aggression and so on. Thus an aggression spiral may evolve with destructive implications for the classroom atmosphere.

Behaviour of one person on the Agency dimension most probably invites responses with opposite interpersonal valence of the other involved in the interaction: dominant teacher behaviour, for instance, might invite a submissive student reaction, and submissive behaviour can lead the recipient to try and take control (Dryer and Horowitz 1997). For example, a person might be talking (high Agency), while the companion responds by listening (low Agency). A teacher might be explaining for a long time and then ask students a question. Often the students will not quickly respond because they have to come out of the submissive position that the teacher talking has reinforced. When then the teacher answers his or her question her or himself the escalated hierarchical teacher and student positions are even further strengthened with negative implications for student learning opportunities.

Sequences of communication are called complementary if they proceed according to these patterns. Complementarity is theorized to be the most probabilistic pattern, but other responses may occur (Estroff and Nowicki 1992; Markey et al. 2003; Tiedens and Fragale 2003; Tiedens and Jimenez 2003; Tracey 1994, 2004, 2005). This probabilistic character of responses is one of the reasons that we do not know very well how moment-to-moment interactions of teachers and students add up to the more general conceptual level of teacher-student relationships. Dynamic systems theory (e.g., Thelen and Smith 1994) may provide a framework for analysis of the relationship between these two levels in communication by connecting the two separate time scales of development: the micro-social or moment-to-moment scale (i.e., teacher-student interaction) and a macro-social or outcome scale (i.e., the teacher-student relationship). According to Bronfenbrenner and Morris's (1998) the moment-to-moment time scale (teacher-student interactions) is the primary engine of development and outcomes (e.g., teacher-student relationships). Self-stabilizing feedback, of which complementarity is an example is the mechanism by which

moment-to-moment processes determine macro-level outcomes. In turn, macro-level factors feed back on and restrict moment-to-moment interactions: teacher-student relationships influence the way messages in interactions are interpreted by the other party. When a teacher and class have a friendly relationship the students may interpret a teacher correction of student behaviour for example as a necessary act because of the undesired student behaviour. This can be very different in a hostile relationship in which the students might see such a correction as another sign of the bad temper of the teacher.

6.7 Coercive and Supportive Behaviour and Teacher-Student Relationship

A challenge for future research is to learn the type of moment-to-moment interactions that lead to profitable teacher-student relationships at the macro-social level. On this topic, one study investigated the effects of students' perceptions of coercive and supportive teacher behaviour in one lesson on the relationship in the same and in following lessons (Mainhard et al. 2011). The occurrence of supportive and coercive incidents were measured with the Teacher Behaviour Observation Checklist; an example of a coercive incident item is "In this lesson the teacher yelled at us", and an example of a supportive incident is "In this lesson the teacher said we were doing well".

Overall, for supportive behavioural incidents the relationship improved and for coercive episodes it declined. It appeared that when teachers exhibited supportive behaviour repeatedly in consecutive lessons they were perceived by students as demonstrating a high level of Communion compared with teachers showing such supportive behaviours less frequently. Such effects of frequent supportive behaviours in one lesson led to greater Communion up to lessons 2 weeks later and then had faded away. Frequent supportive behaviour was not significantly associated with the level of teacher Agency.

Coercive teacher behaviour incidents in one lesson (e.g., using sarcasm, yelling at students, or punishing students during a classroom lesson) were associated with lower teacher Communion, both during the same lesson and in a lesson a week later. Thus, using coercive behaviour immediately disrupted the relationship between teacher and class, and unfortunately the effect remained for a week. However, if no new additional coercive behaviour occurred in the subsequent two weeks after the incident, the Communion level was re-established. There was not a straightforward link between coercive behaviour and the level of student perceived teacher Agency in the teacher-student relationship. The use of coercive behaviour in one lesson was associated with somewhat more Agency in class, but acting coercively in two consecutive lessons appeared to diminish Agency. This finding contrasts more general theories on interpersonal power (French and Raven 1959; Schrodt et al. 2008) that assume that coercive behaviour strengthens interpersonal influence. It is plausible

that teachers use coercion based on this general assumption that coercion strengthens power, and expect this will also apply in the classroom. Unfortunately this use of coercion seems to work differently in the hierarchical class context and may have an opposite effect. In class the use of coercion in the long run may even lead to lower control of the teacher. This result is in agreement with some studies showing that coercive strategies are associated with more student misbehaviour (Lewis et al. 2005; Miller et al. 2000). Further, coercive behaviour also seems unproductive given its effect on the Communion dimension. Although teachers who engage in coercive behaviour may understand that this is not beneficial to their Communion with students they perhaps deliberately sacrifice Communion assuming that it will ultimately be re-established or be replaced by greater control of the class. The results of our study do not support this assumption. We want to emphasise, however, that on the other hand it is clear that disciplinary actions are necessary at times because we cannot expect students to be compliant all the time. It is a challenge for teachers to do this in such a way that it doesn't ruin the classroom atmosphere and to make as few disciplinary interventions as possible.

6.8   Conclusion

Teachers should create classroom environments where students perceive high teacher Agency and Communion in the teacher-student relationship. How teachers can do that is not yet very clear from the research available until now. However there is support for the recommendation that teachers should use small rather than intense corrections, behave as unaggressively as possible (Evertson and Weinstein 2006), and apply increased intensity of disciplinary actions only for seriously disruptive student behaviour (Créton et al. 1989). Such advice seems to be even more important for teachers in multicultural than in mainstream classrooms. In our teacher education programme we train student teachers to prevent student misbehaviour rather than correct it and to catch disturbances early with as small interventions as possible. For example they have to design a list of ever more intensive interventions for the case one or more students disturb the lesson or do not pay attention. Such a list can have over 20 items starting with low intensities such as looking at a student, move one step toward a student, stop talking for a half a second and so on before really addressing a student and say something about the undesired behaviour. We also have them practice such interventions in microteaching situations and in real classes. For teachers in multicultural classrooms we specifically train different ways of re-establishing the relationship with a student after having corrected a student. These are some examples of how the knowledge base on teacher-student relationships and interactions can inform practice.

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Chapter 7
The Place of Leadership Development for Change Agency in Teacher Education Curricula for Diversity

Christine Forde and Beth Dickson

7.1   Introduction

In this chapter we explore the question of what it means for teacher education that we produce teachers who are change agents for diversity. We argue that there is a real need for change because schools have perpetuated inequalities in the past and this will become even sharper in contemporary and future contexts of increased diversity. As populations, on an unprecedented scale, become more mobile globally, the task of providing public education in a context of increasing diversity is complex, demanding that teachers not only understand and value the diverse cultures and beliefs of different groups of learners but that they grapple with some of the dilemmas they face where, with diverse populations, there will be not only competing demands but tensions between beliefs, cultures and rights. Recent history has illustrated the limitations of top-down policy-mandated reform in changing practice (Hargreaves and Shirley 2009). Greater emphasis is now placed on schools engineering their own solutions to the challenges they face (Fullan 2009), and so enhancing the quality of leadership has become a key focus of efforts to improve educational provision. Leadership is regarded as one of the important leverages in increasing and sustaining teaching quality (Leithwood and Jantzi 2008) both strategic leadership exercised by school principals and increasingly forms of leadership exercised by teachers in leading change.

Teacher leadership has an appeal, not just to policy makers and local administrators driving system improvement. It can also be seen as a means of promoting a more democratic approach to the organisation and development of schools. Indeed this is seen as a more liberatory construct whereby teachers can reclaim their professionalism from the dominant managerial discourse. However, Fitzgerald and Gunter

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(2008) challenge this seeming scope for agency and autonomy in leadership exercised by teachers, arguing that these forms of leadership are a means of reform implementation. The power relationships underpinning education policy and decision making are left unchanged.

The use of the idea of teacher leadership in reform programmes is graphically illustrated by the discussion of the importance of teacher leadership at the 2015 *International Summit on the Teaching Profession*. Although managerial models of change are set aside, nevertheless teacher leadership is rooted in a system improvement agenda whereby teachers are enabled and potentially compelled to take an active role.

> There is a wide agreement that school leadership needs to move away from the traditional top-down managerial model to one of collaborative leadership, involving teacher leaders who can participate in making decisions about the school and strengthen its pedagogy. […] from a change management perspective, if there are too few people involved in leadership in a school, there may be little change because there are so few people promoting change and so many potentially against it. Teacher leadership is seen as something that can strengthen the instructional core of the school, create career opportunities for talented teachers, and promote innovation and improved student outcomes. (Asia Society 2015, 11).

Attention, therefore, has turned to the role and contribution of teachers as leaders. Side by side with this concentration on leadership there has been a focus on reforming teacher education as a means of realising systems wide improvement in pupil learning outcomes including pupils from groups and backgrounds who have been marginalised historically and who continue to have limited attainment in school. In this we can see that leadership and teaching have become entangled, not as separate activities or roles but are increasingly blurred in evolving understandings of what it means to be a teacher. The logic of the conflation of teaching and leadership is that firstly, leadership is now part of what it means to be a teacher and secondly, leadership development should be a concern for the development of all teachers across the continuum of teacher education including teacher preparation.

There is a limited literature dealing specifically with the issue of leadership development in initial teacher education. Forster (1997, 93), in an early article argues that:

> Teacher education institutions carry a particular responsibility by preparing teachers not only to understand and accept a leadership role, but to be able to effectively function in that capacity. Teacher leadership must move beyond a definition, concept, or theoretical construct to distinct dispositions and actions which are understood and expected as part of a teacher's professional role and demonstrated as norms of behavior.

This advocacy for leadership development has begun to grow in recent years with Hilty's (2011) call that teacher leadership is now 'the new foundation' of teacher education in which leadership development is regarded as a critical part of pre service teacher education. Bond (2011), in probably the most extended discussion of leadership development in teacher preparation to date, argues that there are three reasons why it should be included and in this we see some of the assumptions we will challenge:

- "preparation time is a critical period in a teacher's professional life;"
- "novices are expected to function at the same level as veterans in terms of instruction in the classroom and engagement in the activities in the larger school community;" and
- "all teachers possess the potential to become teacher leaders" (Bond 2011, 28).

We need to consider how teacher education can contribute to realising change, through the development of teachers who will participate in, and indeed, lead, change for diversity. What does it mean for the nature of teacher education that we have to produce teacher change agents for diversity? Menter (2015) argues that there is potential in the development of leadership across each stage of the continuum of a teaching career. This raises questions about initial teacher education where historically there has been limited emphasis on leadership development.

In this chapter in order to consider the place of leadership development in teacher education, we begin by interrogating three commonly held assumptions about initial teacher education that underpin efforts to include leadership development in initial teacher education and move on to examining the concept of 'leadership' and again surface some of the tensions related to this concept. We end the chapter by examining three pivotal concepts of identity, agency and expertise implicit in notions of teachers exercising leadership that we need to consider if we are to build a model of teacher education for change agency.

7.2   Initial Teacher Education

There are contrasting approaches in the preparation of teachers with university-based initial teacher education (ITE) and or school based initial teacher training (ITT) found in different jurisdictions in the UK. However, there is one common dimension, that now more than ever this initial phase is regarded as vital in system wide improvement. Initial teacher education does not sit separate from policy imperatives that underpin current educational policy and is subject to ideological fads and policy emulation as other sectors of education. For example, the McKinsey Reports on firstly, high performing educational systems (Barber and Mourshed 2007) and secondly, on the most improved educational systems (Mourshed et al. 2010) had a significant impact on initial teacher education particularly recruitment criteria and the formulation of 'effective' teacher preparation (Forde et al. 2011).

There is, in our view, an important contribution that initial teacher education can make to ensuring teachers have the skills and understandings necessary to address the learning needs of diverse groups of learners as well as enable them to exercise influence in shaping policy and practice on these issues so that schools can develop their capability and capacity to build different forms of provision. However, Feiman-Nemser (2001, 1014) argues that teacher preparation is a weak intervention compared to the students' own experience of schooling and on-the-job experience. There is also evidence that initial teacher education provision is limited in its focus

on issues related to equality, social justice and diversity. Florian (2015) cites a US report on teacher education to point out that critics of teacher education "have argued that inadequate teacher education is at least partially to blame for inequality in student performance outcomes" (1). Various studies highlight some of these issues. Writing on racism, Bhopal and Rhamie (2014) find in their interviews with newly qualified teachers that "The lack of knowledge and confidence in how to deal with racist incidents is clear in these accounts which highlight the importance of adequate ITT provision in this respect" (314). They also point to the failure of pre-service teacher education to adequately prepare trainee teachers to "effectively and confidently deal with racist incidents despite 40 years of race policy and legislation" (Bhopal and Rhamie 2014, 315) and in an English context suggest that "issues of identity and diversity [are] being progressively squeezed out of ITE" (Bhopal and Rhamie 2014, 327). Writing on gender, Skelton (2007) agrees that there is less time devoted to issues of gender and ethnicity on ITE programmes and differing facets of discrimination are hidden under such terms as 'social justice'. There is then much to be done in initial teacher education in relation to equality and diversity. However, we are cautious in suggesting that the solution lies in the development of leadership skills in initial teacher education as a means of bringing about the necessary change to address the needs of increasingly diverse groups of learners.

There are three commonly-held assumptions which underpin current effort to utilize initial teacher education as a key strategy for system reform, each of which we will unpack:

- The initial phase is the main (only) time when teachers learn;
- The kind of knowledge teachers need can be transmitted to them during this initial phase;
- Teachers demonstrate their grasp of knowledge by 'using' it, or 'applying' it in practice.

7.2.1   Assumption 1: The Initial Phase Is the Main (Only) Time When Teachers Learn

Teacher learning is sometimes constructed as an intensive initial phase, which may or may not include some school experience. At the end of this programme it is popularly believed, the teacher is 'trained' and ready to enter the classroom. There may be a period of probation after which there is the remainder of a career, which may last for three or even four decades, studded with intermittent day-long courses or in-service presentations with varying relevance to teachers' learning needs and with little success in changing practice. A finite 4-year, or still less, a 1-year programme of initial teacher education cannot be held responsible for deficits in teaching practice across such a career span. It has been shown, moreover, that after 4 or 5 years, any effect that an initial programme may have had is washed out. Even if ITE students graduated as highly competent inclusive pedagogues, after an initial period

there is a definite possibility that the capacity of schools to establish norms would wash out their initial training (Zeichner 2007) – and this is how schools reproduce inequalities. Bhopal and Rhamie (2014), citing an earlier study, report that preservice teachers who have had interventions on racism during their initial phase of learning "do not go on to become anti-racist educators" (Hytten and Warren 2003, cited in Bhopal and Rhamyie 2014, 319). Thus changes to ITE curricula, no matter how thoughtful cannot, by themselves, change the body of professional practice as it exists in the field.

7.2.2 Assumption 2: The Kind of Knowledge Teachers Need Can Be Transmitted to Them During This Initial Phase

Teacher learning can also be characterised by a belief that all the knowledge teachers need is transmitted to them during their initial learning. This view contains several problematic aspects. Historically, teacher professional learning has been characterised by uncertainty about its knowledge base (Schön 1987) as can be seen in the arguments about what initial teacher education curricula should contain. Currently as Skelton (2007) and Bhopal and Rhamie (2014) demonstrate, there is academic concern about the lack of preparation for newly qualified teachers to address issues of discrimination in schools. In addition to concerns about inequity, the English education department is concerned about new teachers being able to teach literacy and numeracy. Even where initial teacher education is located in universities as in Scotland, this is not a carte blanche: such programmes and their providers are subject to regulation and scrutiny. There are constraints on curricula and the design of teacher education with the need to address specific government priorities as well as prepare student teachers for the detail of prescribed curricula and assessment programmes within a specific national or regional educational system. Academics, governments and third sector groups have high expectations of teacher education curricula across a very wide range of disciplinary, pedagogical and social outcomes. Such pressure on teacher education curricula can lead to an incoherent curriculum — wide at the expense of deep understanding — or a deficit curriculum which misses out some areas of the knowledge base by providing a deeper understanding of others.

Teachers need a variety of different kinds of knowledge, among which, are disciplinary, pedagogical, pedagogical content knowledge. These forms of knowledge are often taught within tertiary institutions as propositional knowledge. The academy itself becomes problematic at this point as propositional knowledge is valorised at the expense of what Eraut (1994) calls process or practical knowledge. However, there is much support for the provision of procedural knowledge, which a professional needs in order to be able to address new and surprising issues of practice as they occur on a day-to-day basis (Schön 1987). These types of knowledge needed for teaching and the inquiry pedagogies which develop it are not considered

'research' and those who practise these forms of inquiry are not thought of as 'researchers' (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009). While the academy valorises propositional knowledge, preservice and inservice teachers also need access to process or practical knowledge they build up through practice. Preservice teachers know that they learn more about processes of teaching in schools than they do anywhere else and they become frustrated with preservice programmes which deal predominantly with theoretical issues (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009). Building largely propositional knowledge will be insufficient and so there has to be a building of process or practical knowledge in initial teacher education as the starting point for a continuing process of development of skills, knowledge and understandings across a career. Processes of career-long professional learning can foster the tacit knowledge of practice essential for expert practice (Schön 1987).

7.2.3   Assumption 3: Teachers Demonstrate Their Grasp of Knowledge by 'Using' It, or 'Applying' It in Practice

Teachers are commonly thought of as consumers of knowledge produced elsewhere. Thus pre-service teachers are thought to 'use' or 'apply' the knowledge that they gain in university to their classroom practice. This view has several problematic aspects. Firstly, there is too long a time gap between acquiring some information on a subject and then being able to recall it when it is needed in the classroom. Secondly, the knowledge that is gained at university may help in explaining aspects of school or classroom dynamics but it does not provide preservice teachers with a script or a process which enables them to address the varied events, relationships and politics of the classroom. Thus the knowledge that has been gained from university can become devalued because it seems of relatively little help in addressing classroom complexity. Preservice teachers/NQTS in those sorts of difficulties, are likely to seek help from a tutor or more experienced teacher whose advice is likely to be acted on; for example, they are very likely to find out how to 'deal with racist incidents' by asking a member of staff whom they perceive as sympathetic. As beginning teachers develop in their careers, their main source of learning is from other teachers. Thus existing practice is replicated as new teachers are socialised into normative values. The theory-practice binary is perpetuated.

   To summarise this first section, by exposing the misconceptions present in assumptions made of initial teacher education as a system improvement tool, we conclude that if we focus on initial teacher education only, we will never solve the problems of practice that concern us. Our expectations of ITE are unrealistic. We work with students during a relatively brief period and even if we are able to provide experience in schools for them, they will only ever be ready to start. They will never be the competent practitioners which assumptions about initial teacher learning construct them as. Such competence is not universal among more mature teachers, why should it characterise beginners? The three assumptions discussed above, exist,

along with many others, within the theory practice binary. To free ourselves from the restrictions of this pervasive conceptualisation of learning to teach, we must critique the binary and identify or generate new concepts with which to think about this issue. The question to consider now is whether the concept of leadership development holds the possibilities for bringing forward teachers who are change agents for diversity.

7.3 The Concept of Leadership

Leadership has become a dominant theme in educational policy, and particularly teacher leadership is seen as a means by which improvement in schools can be realised (Asia Society 2015; Hilty 2011). The logic of this is that leadership development should be an element in teacher preparation. While there are some empirical studies of leadership development in initial teacher education, these are largely small investigations or curriculum development projects (Main 2007; Dunlap and Hansen-Thomas 2011). Cruz-Janzen (2000) looks specifically at the development of leadership for equity in initial teacher education but again reports on a small-scale programme. Nevertheless, there is an increasing focus on teacher leadership and the need to develop leadership from the earliest stage in a teacher's career. In Scottish education, for example, the General Teaching Council Scotland (2012, 5) states that "all teachers are leaders". However, what we mean by 'leadership' is problematic.

Leadership is one of these slippery terms where an agreed and concise definition is illusive. The literature is replete with different variants of leadership to be exercised in educational organisations (MacBeath 2003). In a searching critical appraisal of the idea of leadership, Gronn (2003), drawing from Calder (1977), notes that leadership is a "lay everyday knowledge term not a scientific construct" (276). Gronn identifies a range of issues that need to be grappled with if we are to consider leadership development in initial teacher education. Among these the most pertinent for the exploration of the development of teacher change agency are (1) the relationship between leadership and management, (2) the relationship between leadership and power and (3) the use of leadership as the dominant explanatory framework for change. We will discuss briefly each of these issues.

The emphasis in policy has been on the development of leadership to the neglect of management. Gronn argues that this creates an artificial binary which privileges leadership with the danger that aspects of work and actions critical to the educational organisation are overlooked or regarded as less valuable. In this promotion of leadership over management what is often overlooked is the connection between leadership and power. Further, Gronn asks that "when describing and analyzing the flow of collective action and the conduct of persons as part of that process, why is it leadership we are talking about rather than influence and power" (271). This becomes a critical issue when we look to those with limited professional experience and reputational power to exercise influence as a student or novice teacher.

Perhaps one of the most important issues raised by Gronn in this article is his questioning the premise underpinning policy that leadership, especially transformational leadership (Leithwood and Mascall 2008), is key to teacher change. Gronn goes back to an earlier work, Kerr and Jermier (1978) who proposed that there were elements of organisation life and worker behaviour which, though in line with the overall goals, were not attributable to the interactions or interventions of a leader. Gronn highlights two dimensions: "where a teacher through self-generated enthusiasm and ability to learn from experience" or "where work tasks are routine, well-rehearsed, unambiguous and learned by heart" (277). Thus actions are shaped by the teachers' interest, skill or experience. Further, the leader and follower binary overlooks what is actually happening in organisations: "collective endeavour, then, became masked by an individualistic bias" (280). Leadership continues to be constructed in terms of exceptionalism and this has consequences for firstly, promoting a view of the presumed superiority of leaders and a cult of dependency among 'non-leaders' and secondly, for the disengagement by 'non-leaders': "creates strong incentives for individuals to disengage from the pursuit of career roles that carry with them expectations of leadership" (282).

Gronn instead argues for the construct of distributed leadership that is not simply as either about winning hearts and minds, a facet of transformational leadership (Bass 1991) or out of a democratic impulse. Gronn bases his argument on a process of visibilisation (Star 1991). 'Visibilisation' refers to the "de-reifying of abstract terminology that masks or glosses the processes and properties of real world phenomena" (280). Therefore, Gronn argues that we need to pay attention to two key ideas in leadership in educational organisations: firstly, interdependence where actions are reciprocal rather than leaders seeking to direct the actions of others. Secondly, coordination is important as there needs to be an alignment across the totality of the work of an organisation. Leadership is therefore, an organisational property rather than a set of actions and decisions by the leader to direct the actions of others. Gronn's teasing out of the concept of leadership as an organisational property highlights the importance of not direction by leaders and action by followers but con-joint action: events happen in a more connected way with groups of people in an organisation acting con-jointly. Leadership is an interactional process where influence and power are exercised in different ways, in different locations by different people across an organisation. If this is the form of leadership to be fostered then we need to consider the implications for initial teacher education.

Expectations and demands on teachers are changing as are pedagogical practices alongside assumptions about learners. The current emphasis on teacher leadership highlights a process of 're-professionalisation' (Torrance and Forde 2016). However, we need to get under this problematic concept and consider what are the critical dimensions we need to focus on to enable teachers address the needs of diverse groups of learners. Therefore, we propose three concepts to underpin the reformulation of teacher education – both preparation and continuing teacher education – to enable teachers become agents of change in addressing the needs of diverse learners (Fig. 7.1). While two of these concepts, identity and agency, are now regularly discussed in relation to teaching; the third concept, that of expertise, is less well explored.

Fig. 7.1 Three interconnecting concepts underpinning teacher leadership

7.3.1 Identity

Professional identity is a foundational concept in teacher development and increasingly is accepted as complex and dynamic. Thus, Watson (2006, 525) argues that:

> The relationship between professional identity and practice is not a simple unidirectional one on which some essential core of self, a stable entity comprising who we think we are, determines how we act in a given situation. Rather, the processes involved give rise to different possibilities as changing contexts shift perspectives.

Teacher identity can evolve over a teaching career: a teacher's professional identity is "formed and re-formed constantly over the course of a career and mediated by a complex interplay of personal, professional and political dimensions of teachers' lives" (Mockler, 2011, 518). Identity is also in flux at some of the key transition points such as student to novice teacher (Forde et al. 2006) and into senior leadership roles particularly that of headteachers (Reeves et al. 2005) as well as critical phases found by Day and Gu (2010) where identity is vulnerable particularly in relation to long serving teachers. Here the social context seems to be important. Beauchamp and Thomas (2009, 178) argue that, "A teacher's identity is shaped and reshaped with interactions with others in a professional context".

Beijaard et al. (2004) also point to the importance of context as one of the four dimensions of teacher identity. Identity is formed through the particular interaction of the individual and the context and so this will be unique for each individual teacher. Beijaard et al. also suggest that identity will have multiple strands, sub-identities, some of which might appear contradictory and so these strands need to be balanced to avoid conflict. Contextual change and policy driven change demanded of teachers can threaten this equilibrium. One of the perceived 'sites of struggle' is that of teachers' understanding of what it means to be a teacher and their identity as

a teacher stands in contrast expectations of policy (Buchanan 2015). Buchanan highlights the significance of policy contexts including accountability policies which "emphasize performance and individual responsibility for student success" (700) and which then have "introduced new professional norms" (700). Buchanan is writing about the US context but the trends she identifies are played out across many educational systems. Such approaches, in her view, have reshaped the nature of teachers' professional identities where there is "an emphasis on instrumentalist notions of what it means to be a teacher" (700). The impact of the policy environment with increased accountability, international comparisons and policy emulation on teachers' work can challenge teachers' understanding of what it means to be a teacher and their identity as a teacher. However, this is not a question of, on the one hand, an externally mandated policy and, on the other hand, resistance by teachers. Buchannan found that teachers adopted an active role. To her mind, extant identities are not the means to simply resist these demands but teachers "actively use their own pre-existing identities to interpret, learn from, evaluate, and appropriate the new conditions of their work in schools and classrooms. In this process, their identities are reformed and remade – and professional agency is carved out" (Buchanan 2015, 701).

7.3.2   Agency

The ways in which teachers engaged with policies and programmes indicates that agency is strongly linked to identity. In van der Herijden et al.'s (2015) study the participants drew most heavily from their previous experience to evaluate their current situation and determine their response and "this process occurred around a particular mix of identity, agency, determinism and intentionality" (701). Buchanan (2015) found two types of agency. The first type she characterised as 'stepping up', "a way of exhibiting agency in which a teacher sought to go above and beyond the perceived expectations of her role" (710), a form of grassroots teacher leadership. The second type was characterised as 'pushing back'. Where there was a lack of fit between policy and identity, pushing back becomes "… a form of resistance where teachers reject, negotiate or reconfigure particular school and district policies with which they do not agree" (710).

Stillman and Anderson (2015) also see identity and agency as entwined. They explored the issue of teacher agency in the context of tight regulation: "one of the more pervasive dilemmas facing teachers today resides along the fault lines of professional expertise and policy mandate" (720). This study looks at how teachers respond when their expertise, personal beliefs and identity clash with policy. Teachers have a bounded autonomy where there are two aspects. Stillman and Anderson make the distinction between 'mastery' and 'appropriation.' Mastery is about learning how to use a cultural tool as intended by others and here a teacher learns to implement the mandated policy. Appropriation has an emotional dimension where by 're-authoring', a teacher uses the policy tool to achieve their own

purposes. Stillman and Anderson argue for "a more agentive and dialectical relationship between teachers' identities and their participation in policy implementation" (721). Much of the research underscores the complexity of teachers' responses and the primary role of their pre-existing professional understandings and established instructional practices" (721) in shaping that response.

Stillman and Anderson (2015) and Buchanan (2015) are concerned about teacher agency in a context of external regulation and policy development. van der Herijden et al. (2015) propose that agentic action can also come from a teacher's curiosity. In this there seems to be something related to teachers as generators of changed practice. van der Herijden et al.'s study identified four characteristics of agency from the literature: mastery, entrepreneurship, collaboration and lifelong learning. Like Stillman and Anderson, van der Herijden et al.'s study identified mastery as a critical dimension of change agency: "apparently being skilled and successful are prerequistes for teachers being or becoming real change agents in the school" (van der Herijden et al. 2015, 694) However, for change to move beyond reforms directed and constrained by policy demands, there is a need to consider other dimensions.

Teachers as change agents in van der Herijden et al.'s study (2015) are innovative and critical of the current circumstances. The second characteristic of entrepreneurship relates to Buchannan's notion of 'stepping up', where teachers look for and engage in innovative practice. In exercising entrepreneurship the culture of the context of practice is more important than the length experience of a teacher and links to the third characteristics of collaboration. Here the professional norms of the professional culture and opportunities to work more collegiately are vital. The final characteristic of agency is a teacher's readiness to learn and thereby seek to increase their expertise. While the four characteristics of agency identified by van der Herijden et al. demonstrate the complexity of the process, this fourth dimension of expertise needs further exploration if we are to consider the place of leadership development to support the change agency of teachers.

7.3.3   Expertise

There has been some work on expertise in teaching, largely found in the various studies by Berliner (1986, 1994, 2001, 2004) of expert teachers. van der Herijden et al.'s (2015) fourth characteristic of teacher agency, a readiness to learn and develop expertise chimes with Berliner's description of expert teachers. While expert teachers might develop some degree of routinization, nevertheless they understand and are attuned to the context and are able to make sense of what they are seeing. Thus as Berliner found, expert teachers might actually take longer to solve an issue because of a conscious engagement with the problem or issue. This chimes with what Hammerstein et al. (2006) argue. They point to what might seem to be paradoxical in the practice of expert teachers: they display high degrees of efficiency as they perform a variety of activities skilfully but at the same time they readily break these routines and rules by being innovative and so move beyond their

existing expertise. These characteristics of skilful practice combined with a continuing readiness to learn, adapt and forge new practices are essential if teachers are to create learning contexts and generate the range of pedagogic practices necessary to address the needs of diverse groups of learners. If we are to look to develop teachers' practice in contexts of increasing diversity, we need to consider how might expertise be developed and what would the substance of this expertise.

Dreyfus and Dreyfus's (1986) model of expertise is perhaps one of the more widely used. They outline five sequential stages with the final stage of expert where the practitioner sees what needs to be done and decides how to go about this and, rather than follow routines, can draw from a rich repertoire to determine the course of action. It is the ability to perceive subtle distinctions, and make decisions or take courses of action, which potentially forge new ways or practices that distinguishes between proficient and expert. Levin's (2003) longitudinal study of teacher development does suggest growth over a career, where thinking becomes more complex and there is a greater congruency between understanding and actions. However, there are difficulties in using a stage model because it can suggest that experience is the impetus in the development of expertise. Schön (1983) argues that 'reflection-in-action' is a keynote of experienced and skilled practitioners but is built on tacit knowledge. Thus, it is not just experience but the development of tacit knowledge developed through reflective thinking, that is significant in expert performance.

Collins and Evans's (2007, 14) construction of expertise is built on the notion of tacit knowledge where the process of building expertise is about developing sophisticated and flexible forms of tacit knowledge. Collins and Evans identify two broad types:

- Ubiquitous tacit knowledge: the knowledge we all need to survive everyday life in twenty-first century such as language, the ability to use certain technologies etc.
- Specialist tacit knowledge: the knowledge needed to be able to work within a specific field or discipline.

What is interesting in Collins and Evans's (2007) schema is that included in 'ubiquitous tacit knowledge' is 'primary source knowledge', that is, the knowledge gained from the academic literature. Primary source knowledge is ordinarily conceived of as expert knowledge – the bodies of knowledge within a specific domain. However, in a context of professional practice, primary source knowledge is not sufficient as this is largely propositional knowledge and not knowledge of practice, the tacit knowledge of process. Instead, in Collins and Evans's schema expertise is associated with 'Specialist Tacit Knowledge' where there are two aspects: 'interactional expertise' and 'contributory expertise'. Contributory expertise is akin to the one which we commonly think of as expertise, for example, a leading scientist adding to the body of knowledge in a particular field. The other category which proceeds contributory expertise, that of 'interactional expertise' comes from being immersed in a community of practice:

Enculturation is the only way to master an expertise, which is deeply laden with tacit knowledge because it is only through common practice with others that the rules that cannot be written down can come to be understood (24).

Within science the relationship between interactional expertise and contributory expertise is fundamental to the generation of ideas and practices – a combination of peer exploration, exchange, review and the individual creative and generative thinking. However, in education we have broken that relationship – expertise is commonly understood to lie in academic work, in research, in theory. These are crucial elements but this has left us locating expertise and the generation of ideas away from the site of practice. Thus part of the development of tacit knowledge critical to expertise in practice is through participation in genuine communities of practice where ideas and practice are explored. Therefore, we need to recast career long teacher education not as the process by which teachers master externally mandated change but where teachers are enabled to build their expertise collectively as pedagogues in order to lead the change needed to address the needs of diverse learners.

The other issue is the substance of teacher expertise in contexts of diversity A consistent theme in Scottish education to be found in the professional standards, the quality assurance framework and curriculum guidelines is that of addressing the learning needs of 'all learners' (Torrance et al. 2015). However, while implicit in this notion of 'all learners', is the possibility of diversity, this needs to be a much more fine-grained idea. The literature provides a substantial body of knowledge looking at pedagogy and the needs of different groups of learners (Forde and Morley 2014) including, for example, culturally responsive education (Villegas and Lucas 2002), queer pedagogies, (Quinlivan and Town 1999), gender-sensitive education (Forde 2014) and inclusive pedagogies (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011). Each of these sets of ideas signal specific issues with regard to particular groups of learners and this seems a useful starting point in initial teacher education for building bodies of knowledge. However, there has to be a process of building expertise as a continuing process of teacher education, otherwise there is the danger that such ideas become moribund and sets of pedagogic practices become overly routinized.

7.4   Developing Teacher Education

Now with the public duty to promote equality and the urgent need to address issues of diversity in education, initial teacher education could be seen as the means of building practice for diversity. It is essential that initial teacher education prepares entrants to the teaching profession for contexts of increasing diversity where, as practitioners, they will be called upon not only to address diverse and sometimes competing needs but also to address the issues and tensions that arise in such contexts. However, seeing initial teacher education as the means to produce a cadre of young teachers who will lead changes around equality and diversity is problematic. Woodgate-Jones (2012) raises questions about the receptiveness of student and

novice teachers to leadership development and acting as leaders. Student and novice teachers identified concerns about having to deal with more experienced and possibly unsupportive staff, handling conflict and dealing with multiple demands; in other words dealing with the core political processes of leadership: power and influence. These issues are particularly concerning if we are seeking to use initial teacher education to create teachers as agents of change to address issues of diversity. Hulme et al. (2008) examined the impact of probationary teachers in Scotland on the professional culture of the school, and found that:

> The capacity of more recent entrants to the profession to act as catalysts of change, sponsored by senior management, is influenced by social relationships within the school and specifically the degree of peer acceptance that is achievable (69).

Further, Buchanan (2015) found that the teachers were not critically reflecting on their own identity development and how identity is shaped by wider forces and the school context. She argues that:

> If teachers are encouraged in their professional preparation or ongoing development to critically interrogate authoritative discourses (Britzman 1991) and understand their own professional identity through a process of critical self-reflection, identity could become a conscious tool that teachers could employ to push back rather than an unconscious or automatic response (Buchanan 2015, 715).

The other dimension is to not only build teacher expertise but reify teachers' positions as experts but this has to be the basis of career-long teacher learning. Biesta et al. (2015) suggest that while there is a sense of teachers wanting to achieve 'the best' for their pupils this is often constrained partly through a limited understanding of their role and responsibilities but also a lack of wider vision and purposes. They also raise questions about initial teacher education and "the extent to which teacher education can be a place where student teachers are exposed to and have the opportunity to engage with a range of educational discourses and discursive repertoires" (638). Therefore we have to look at initial teacher education as part of a developmental continuum.

Darling-Hammond and Bransford (2005) argue that initial teacher education should look to produce 'adaptive experts'. However, while initial teacher education might create a set of attitudes and skills to enable teachers to appreciate the need for and to enact changes in practice as contexts, demands and learning needs change, this is a process to be undertaken across the life span of a teaching career. Further, Collins and Evans's (2007) idea of interactional expertise, points to the importance of the community of practice in which a teacher works with others in building new ideas and practices. In this we can see the seeds of the form of teacher leadership, which enables teachers working collaboratively to build practice and understandings.

Initial teacher education has to be seen as one element in a career-long development continuum to build teacher leadership of change. We do not advocate for leadership development as a panacea – as it is currently positioned in policy. Here there is a danger that we revert back to a construction of leadership that is largely individualistic, often referred to as 'heroic leadership'. Leadership is not just about an individual leader influencing others to implement externally mandated change.

Therefore, we have to understand what we mean by 'leadership' beyond seeing it as a rhetorical fix. Notions of leadership, particularly those forms exercised by teachers, are more complex and are about teachers' agentic action individually and collectively to generate ideas and practices to meet the changing needs of learners that increasing student diversity will bring. To do this teacher education needs to foster understandings of what it means to be a teacher, engage in overt identity building, build skills and understandings for collaborative practice. In this way we can move beyond the adoption and resistance binary in change management. Instead we can recognise, use and enhance professional expertise as the basis for teacher leadership of change.

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Part III
Teacher Education for Diversity

Chapter 8
How Effectively Are Mainstream Teachers Prepared to Meet the Needs of Learners for Whom English Is an Additional Language?

Charles Anderson, Pauline Sangster, Yvonne Foley, and Hazel Crichton

8.1 Background

In the UK as a whole there are currently more than a million pupils in mainstream schools who speak more than 360 languages in addition to English (PLASC, DfE 1997–2012). In Scotland, where the study reported in this chapter was conducted, the figure for primary and secondary school pupils in 2015 was 35,441, (5.2% of all pupils) (Scottish Government 2015). The linguistic diversity of this EAL (English as an Additional Language) pupil population is paralleled by cultural diversity and marked by wide variation in socio-economic status. Use of the term EAL to refer to these pupils does carry the danger of focusing attention too narrowly on the matter of learning English, thereby overshadowing the efforts that schools need to make to establish a multicultural, hospitable environment for these learners. It can also obscure the fact that these pupils are not simply learning the English language as an end in itself but also as a means of engaging with subject knowledge that is being provided through the medium of English (Anderson et al. 2016a).

From the 1980s onwards, following the Education (Scotland) Act of 1981 and the recommendations of the Swann Report in 1985, the central principle guiding the education of EAL learners throughout the UK has been that "they should be educated in the mainstream classrooms alongside their peers to avoid segregated provision and to guarantee equal access to the curriculum" (Harris and Leung 2011, 251). In the last two decades a series of policy guidelines and curricular statements has been issued setting out how this mainstreaming agenda was to be taken ahead.

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However, evidence from research studies indicates that successful mainstreaming of EAL pupils has not been achieved (e.g., Andrews 2009; Foley et al. 2013). Costley (2014) has claimed that the way in which the policy of mainstreaming has been interpreted and enacted contains a 'tension or contradiction' as it has 'embraced cultural and linguistic diversity in the classroom and society' but has 'ultimately disregarded the difference' (284), given that EAL has not been afforded a distinct place within the curriculum. She observes that: "Essentially what this did was to 'mainstream' the ethnolinguistic identities of all students. Learning English as a mother tongue and English as an additional language have, as a consequence, been conflated" (Costley 2014, 284).

To take forward this agenda of mainstream provision for EAL learners, teachers clearly need to have the requisite knowledge and skills. Murtagh and Francis (2012, 209), summarising the arguments of Filmore and Snow (2002), note that "educators must know enough about language learning and language itself in order to evaluate the appropriateness of various methods, materials and approaches for helping students make progress in learning English as an additional language." As we go on to argue in this chapter, it is desirable that teachers see an appropriate response to EAL learners as not only requiring the development of necessary 'technical' expertise but also in terms of gaining a wider socio-cultural perspective on language and literacy.

8.2 EAL Learners: Languages, Literacies, Power and Identity

8.2.1 Second Language 'Acquisition'

Research that can inform teachers' understanding of, and pedagogical responses to, EAL learners covers a wide front, coming from different disciplinary perspectives and areas of empirical investigation. There is now a large body of work on second language acquisition and on its relationship to first language acquisition. A well-attested finding concerns the length of time required to achieve full competence in the use of academic English. Studies (e.g. Cummins 1984; Collier 1995) indicate that pupils learning EAL acquire conversational fluency in everyday language within 1 or 2 years. However, academic language needs a longer period of time to develop and studies suggest that a period of between 5 and 11 years is needed for pupils learning English as an additional language to catch up with their native speaking peers (e.g. Thomas and Collier 1997; Cummins 1984, 2000).

There is a clear consensus in the EAL literature concerning the value of EAL learners having at least a degree of recourse to their first language(s) in the classroom, (see, for example, Cummins 2000), not only in terms of its cognitive and linguistic benefits but also in terms of a recognition of their ethnolinguistic identity. Through initial teacher education and continuing professional development (CPD) teachers can be assisted to engage in literacy practices that intentionally draw on first language resources, (in speaking, reading and writing), and explore a variety of

viewpoints and experiences that are represented within the class. This would challenge the monocultural and monolingual assumptions and perspectives that are often dominant within 'English-only' classrooms (Grant and Sleeter 2011). In contrast to popular representations of EAL pupils where they are often presented in 'deficit' terms, researchers in the field of EAL have highlighted how biliteracy can be viewed as a resource and not simply a problem.

8.2.2 Language Diversity and Literacies

Since the turn of the twenty-first century there has been a shift in how languages and indeed bilingualism are conceptualised. Today monolingual views of language have given way to the notion of *translanguaging* (e.g. Creese and Blackledge 2010: Garcia and Wei 2014; Canagarajah 2011) which views languages as intersecting, complex and fluid, selectively deployed to make meaning, rather than as discrete entities. *Translanguaging* draws attention to the ways in which individuals can possibly move seamlessly across the languages that they know and use for different communicative purposes. Contemporary EAL scholarship draws on socio-cultural theories of learning (Lantoff and Poehner 2014; Johnson 2009), influenced by a conceptualisation of literacy as multidimensional in nature, involving cognitive skills that are woven into specific practices that take place within particular socio-cultural contexts (New London Group 1996). Literacy practices are seen as varying across cultures and social contexts within individual cultures and genres of texts (e.g., Street 1996; Kucer and Silva 2013). This view of literacy as sets of social/cultural practices brings into focus the fact that pupils learning English as an additional language do not face the unitary task of 'mastering English' but rather need to engage with the subject specific literacies of secondary schooling. For example, the language of science may present particular challenges due to its technical vocabulary and complex linguistic structures (Miller 2009).

Despite theoretical developments in understanding of languages and translanguaging, there is a consensus in the international literature, (see Anderson et al. 2016b, for a summary review), that mainstream teachers have not received sufficient preparation for teaching in classrooms that are linguistically and culturally diverse. In particular, a number of research studies has found that insufficient attention has been given in Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programmes to preparing novice teachers to support EAL learners; and there is distinct variability across programmes in the nature and extent of the input that is provided (e.g. Murtagh and Francis 2012; Skinner 2010; Edwards 1999). Tarone and Allwright (2012) claim that this lack of sufficient preparation can have a direct impact on how needs are met in the classroom. Driven by a desire to make a contribution towards addressing this limitation, we initiated a research and development study, funded by the British Council EAL Nexus Project, that examined the current preparation of teacher education students in two Scottish university Schools of Education and sought to explore how provision could best be developed in these two sites and more widely within the UK.

8.3   Investigating Teacher Educators' and Student Teachers' Preparedness to Support EAL Learners

8.3.1   Focus and Structure

The study comprised the following central elements: a survey of teacher educators in these two Schools of Education; an initial survey of student teachers; an intervention that introduced students to key matters in EAL; and a second survey of students after they had experienced this intervention.

The following section gives a synoptic account of the surveys of teacher educators and students within the study and of the intervention that was at its core. The description of the intervention sets out its theoretical underpinnings and shows how it was actuated by the concern that the student participants engaged with issues of social justice. Attention then turns to a summary of salient features of the background of the teacher educators within our sample and their perceptions of their own and their students' development needs in relation to EAL. Their views of their programme's responsibilities in the area of EAL are also considered. The focus then shifts to the findings concerning the student teachers, starting with a snapshot of how, in the main, they had not experienced any movement between languages and crossing of national boundaries in their own educational experience. Their conceptions of their own responsibilities to EAL learners are considered, along with their perceptions of the challenges that such pupils may face. Their views of their own preparedness to support EAL learners and development needs in relation to EAL are summarised, together with the challenges that they envisaged they would encounter in responding to these learners. The students' evaluation of the intervention is presented along with an examination of the insights that they reported that they had gained and the strategies they intended to deploy to assist EAL learners. A final section sets out the lessons for policy and practice in ITE that appear to flow from this project. It considers how student teachers may best be encouraged and enabled to adopt a truly inclusive approach to the education of EAL learners that has social justice concerns at its heart.

8.4   Design and Methods of the Study

Earlier paragraphs have set out the rationale for embarking on this study that investigated, in the academic year 2014–2015, how well two Schools of Education in Scotland prepared Professional Graduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) (secondary) students from a wide range of specialist subject backgrounds to understand the needs of EAL learners and develop the knowledge, framing perspectives and pedagogical skills required to meet these needs. The two universities have a long history of educating teachers for entry to the profession and were chosen in part because

their PGDE programmes were similar in size and included students from a wide range of subject specialist backgrounds. In the academic year 2014–2015 there were twenty lecturers associated with the secondary PGDE programme in the university we are designating as A, and 27 in University B. A full account of the study's methodology and methods can be found in Anderson et al. (2016b).

The study comprised the following elements:

- a survey, producing both qualitative and quantitative data, of university teacher educators' perceptions and development needs concerning EAL;
- a first survey of students, producing qualitative and quantitative data, investigating their perceptions, attitudes and development needs concerning EAL;
- the construction and delivery of a day's intervention on EAL to the students in both programmes;
- a second survey of students that asked for their evaluation of the intervention and revisited the questions on perceptions, attitudes and development needs that they had encountered in the first survey.

The staff survey collected a range of relevant background information about their experience, including preceding continuing professional development (CPD) in relation to EAL. Questions included:

- their degree of satisfaction with current provision on their programme concerning EAL;
- what they considered to be (a) useful areas of CPD input for themselves and (b) key matters in relation to EAL learning and teaching that needed to be addressed with students in their subject areas, with a list of 12 topics being provided to rate in importance on a five-point scale;
- a rating on a five-point scale of the degree to which ITE providers; EAL specialist services; English teachers; class teachers of subjects other than English; classroom assistants; and school management were responsible for meeting the needs of EAL learners.

In total there were twenty responses to this survey – ten from each university – giving an overall response rate of 43%.

The first student survey collected background information, including language(s) spoken and the site(s) of their primary and secondary education. They were asked to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with a series of statements concerning language and teaching (see Box 8.1) and, mirroring questions in the staff survey, to rate the extent to which different educators are responsible for meeting the needs of EAL learners and the degree to which they felt it would be useful for their future careers to have EAL-related input on key aspects of learning, teaching and assessment. Other questions included an invitation to identify any challenges they perceived that EAL learners may face, (particularly in the subjects that they would be teaching), and any challenges they perceived they may face in their own practice when teaching individuals learning EAL.

Box 8.1 Students' Views on Language and Teaching
- English is best acquired by being immersed in an English-speaking environment.
- English is best acquired by the explicit teaching of the vocabulary and structure of the language.
- EAL learners acquire language best through participating in mainstream classes.
- EAL learners acquire language best through out-of-class provision.
- Learners need to be taught explicit strategies for transferring meaning from their first language to their second language

8.4.1 The Intervention

The 1-day intervention that featured in this project was viewed as providing students with an initial encounter with issues concerning EAL and strategies that could be deployed in the classroom. The intervention also served as a vehicle to evaluate how best to sensitise students to the needs of EAL learners and how future input in this area could be tailored to meet the expressed needs of novice teachers.

Its design was centrally driven by a concern that participants engaged with issues related to social justice. It aimed to assist participants to see the connections between language, culture and identity and to appreciate the linguistic and sociocultural demands inherent in classroom activities. Within the design language was seen as comprising sets of socially and culturally situated practices. One of the areas of literature that informed the intervention was the body of work on critical literacy (e.g., Shor 2009; Janks 2010; Vasquez 2008), where attention is given to the operation of power in classroom literacy practices. This literature notes how marginalised groups can be silenced; and raises questions concerning the types of interactions and the cultural and social knowledge that is taken to be the norm within multilingual and multicultural schools. There was a focus on how participants could draw on the cultural and linguistic resources within their classrooms, (coupled with attention to how language is deployed in specific subject areas such as science, maths, history, drama), to create an environment that meets the needs of pupils from diverse backgrounds.

The intervention had three main elements: a lecture; two workshops; and a question and answer session. A pack of resources for use in classrooms was also provided. The *lecture* aimed to alert students to the diversity in languages, background and experiences of EAL learners in Scotland, to introduce second language theories, and to present strategies, based on these theories, to assist EAL learners. Some examples of good practice were also illustrated.

Table 8.1 Number of responses; and percentage of responses by institution

	Survey one		Survey two	
University A responses, % of University A cohort	116	69%	56	33.3%
University B responses, % of University B cohort	58	34.5%	79	47.0%
Total responses, % of all potential respondents	174	51.8%	135	40.2%

The highly interactive *workshops* were designed in part to model how one could move from theory to practice in supporting EAL learners. In the first workshop one of the activities involved using a progressive brainstorming strategy to engage with a modern studies text on 'The Gulf War' (Janks 2010, 45). Cultural differences and multiple interpretations of this text were explored, allowing the participants to recognise how language was used to position the reader and frame the ideas within the text, while modelling how pupils can be aided to critique dominant ideologies that are portrayed within a range of materials used in classrooms.

Importantly, the intervention sought to place participants in communicative situations similar to those experienced by EAL learners. Accordingly, part of the lecture was delivered in German; and in the second workshop participants were required to write about an image in a language other than English, before considering the emotional and cognitive demands that this exercise placed on them. In the second workshop, theoretical input and a range of activities and resources introduced the student teachers to ways in which EAL learners could be given scaffolding support through the different stages of writing. These activities were underpinned by a genre approach to writing where it was recognised that writing is goal-oriented and has particular social purposes. The final *question and answer session* where queries were posted anonymously by students to a text wall allowed them to raise concerns, seek clarification, and pursue matters that had not been dealt with in earlier sessions.

8.4.2   The Second Student Survey

The second student survey, administered immediately after the intervention, asked respondents to rate the degree to which the intervention had given them a better general understanding of the needs of EAL learners and the extent to which it had provided them with strategies/ideas for responding effectively to EAL learners. They were also asked for commentary on: ideas/insights that had surprised them; particularly helpful aspects; matters that were not covered or needed to be addressed in greater depth; and strategies that they intended to put into practice. A number of the questions posed in the first survey were revisited and respondents were asked to rate their current level of confidence in their ability to support EAL learners. Response rates to the two surveys are set out in Table 8.1.

8.5   Teacher Educators' Perceptions and Development Needs Concerning EAL

Turning to present central findings of this study, a key observation concerns the background of the staff who responded to our survey. Consonant with the age distribution of teacher educators in these two sites (and in other institutions), two thirds of respondents were in their fifties or older. Most of the respondents had considerable experience of teaching in schools before they had moved to the university sector. However, only a small minority reported having had 'considerable' or 'very considerable' experience of teaching EAL learners. (Very considerable experience of teaching EAL learners, 1; considerable, 2; some, 9; little, 3; very little, 4). Thus many of them were in the potentially challenging position of advising student teachers on matters that they had not experienced directly. All of the respondents identified English as their 'primary/native language' and only seven of the 20 responded positively to the question that asked what languages they spoke in addition to their primary language.

The staff respondents were asked to indicate what kinds of CPD related to EAL would be of value to them and to rate the usefulness of the areas of input in the bulleted list beneath. The list gives the figures for those respondents who rated each of these areas within the categories of *very useful* and *useful.*

- general input on learning/teaching an additional language, **13**;
- recognising language that can cause challenges, **15**;
- devising resources/materials, **14**;
- differentiation of content/activities, **15**;
- involving EAL learners in group work, **17**;
- language for conceptual understanding of their subject(s), **15**;
- developing EAL learners' vocabulary, **14**;
- drawing appropriately on EAL learners' own linguistic and cultural backgrounds, **14**;
- creating appropriate assessments, **11**;
- providing effective feedback, **14**;
- and involving EAL learners socially in the life of the classroom and school, **13**.

It will be seen from this list that, with the exception of the item on creating appropriate assessments where only 11 of the 20 answered in the categories *very useful* and *useful*, a large majority of respondents rated all of these areas of EAL-related CPD in the categories 'very useful' and 'useful'.

These responses suggest a receptiveness to CPD sessions on EAL. The teacher educators were also asked to indicate "what in your opinion are key matters in relation to EAL learning and teaching that need to be addressed with students in your subject area?" by rating the usefulness of the areas in the preceding list. All of the areas in this list were highly rated; and their responses to a question on their perceptions of current provision for students on EAL revealed considerable dissatisfaction with the status quo.

These findings can be read as suggesting that these teacher educators perceived a need to offer a much more comprehensive programme of education on EAL to their student teachers. However, a more mixed picture emerges when the responses to two other questions are taken into account. When asked: "From your own perspective, given the many areas to be covered in the PGDE (Secondary) Programme, do you feel that sufficient attention is given to EAL?", three replied 'yes', five replied 'no' and 12 'don't know'. This pattern of response does not suggest any marked drive to bring about change. These findings need to be read against the frequently noted observation that: "much is asked of teacher training programmes and the complexity of current classrooms means that programmes need to fit more and more into tightly packed programmes" (Costley 2014, 288). Thus responses to this question need to be viewed against this background of pressure to meet competing demands. In the final section of the chapter we consider how change might be achieved in this set of circumstances.

When asked to rate the responsibilities of different educators in relation to EAL, there was a marked division between those teacher educators who saw ITE providers as having a 'very large responsibility' (5) or 'large responsibility' (4), and those who saw them as having only 'some responsibility' (10), or 'little responsibility' (1). This variability in attribution of responsibility would seem to indicate the need for 'awareness-raising' activities concerning EAL to foster a stronger sense of personal commitment to this area of practice.

8.6   Student Teachers' Perceptions, Attitudes and Development Needs Concerning EAL

We move now to focus on key findings from the student surveys. The student respondents' views on EAL need to be interpreted against the background of their educational and linguistic experience. 86.1% of respondents in the first survey had received their primary and secondary education in the UK and 89.7% stated that English was their first language. In the same survey, only 35.1% of respondents indicated that they spoke a language or languages in addition to their first language. Thus this group of students who were going to teach in classrooms that are increasingly culturally and linguistically diverse were in the main monoglot and in their own education had not experienced a crossing of national boundaries. In other words, while pupils in classrooms are now more diverse, there has not been a corresponding change in the demographics of individuals entering the teaching profession in Scotland. As one of the student respondents observed:

> … I think it is important to invest in more EAL teachers and be encouraging EAL pupils to go into education. I have noticed that the majority of people on my course don't have EAL so they find it hard to understand the challenges – myself included.

Table 8.2 Students' perceptions of the extent to which educators in different roles are responsible for meeting the needs of EAL learners

Response options	ITE providers	EAL specialist services	English teachers	Class Teachers of subjects other than English	Classroom assistants	School management
Very large responsibility	34	114	34	30	25	62
	19.5%	65.5%	19.5%	17.2%	14.4%	35.6%
Large responsibility	77	51	87	79	75	72
	44.3%	29.3%	50%	45.4%	43.1%	41.4%
Some responsibility	59	9	49	57	64	33
	33.9%	5.2%	28.2%	32.8%	36.8%	19%
Little responsibility	4	0	4	7	9	6
	2.3%	0%	2.3%	4.0%	5.2%	3.4%
No responsibility	0	0	0	1	1	1
	0%	0%		0.6%	0.6%	0.6%

8.6.1 Responsibility for Meeting the Needs of EAL Learners?

The introduction to this chapter has described how policy statements within the UK in effect require that teachers respond appropriately to the needs of EAL learners. This is the responsibility of the whole education workforce. However, it cannot be assumed that this expectation will have been received and accepted by novice teachers. Accordingly, it was important to investigate the degree to which they attributed responsibility for meeting the needs of EAL learners to educators occupying different roles. Table 8.2 presents the responses to a question in the first survey concerning who within the education system is responsible for meeting the needs of EAL learners.

It can be seen from this table that, in contrast to the division of opinion among the teacher educators, they were seeing ITE providers as definitely having responsibilities in relation to EAL. The table also reveals that supporting EAL learners did not seem to be generally perceived as solely the business of EAL specialist services and English teachers. Class teachers of subjects other than English were viewed as having a role to play in supporting EAL learners. This pattern of findings does suggest that the majority of respondents had taken on board the message that supporting EAL learners is the responsibility of all educators.

There were a few notes of resistance, with one student stating that:

> I feel that teaching is hard enough as it is, the burden should NOT be on the teacher and EAL learners would be better suited being placed together until they have the rudimentary essentials of language so that other pupils do not miss out on their learning ability.

However, dissenting voices were very much outliers in the large volume of qualitative data from both student surveys, and quite a number of students not only displayed commitment to EAL learners but also strong advocacy for action related

to EAL, with one, for example, writing that: "I believe every class teacher should take responsibility for helping EAL students. As our country is becoming increasingly more diverse we really need to be learning how to best help EAL students."

Another respondent wrote movingly of how:

> I see this as a serious issue in Scottish schools today. I saw some troubling situations for EAL students on my serial placement. Some teachers clearly didn't have any idea of how to engage with these students. Teachers were clearly frustrated, students confused, nervous and disengaged. I perceived that one student's experience in school was a very lonely and isolated one; I may be wrong about that, but it has been playing on my mind ever since. I feel that this is something that we all need to learn about. It is as important as any other barrier to learning. You know this ... but I think that many do not.

8.6.2   Perceived Challenges for EAL Learners

An encouraging picture also emerged from the question in the first survey that invited respondents to identify challenges that they perceived EAL learners may face, "in particular in the subjects that you will be teaching". One hundred and forty two respondents took up this invitation and commented on a wide range of challenges. These included the general difficulties posed by a new linguistic environment and the tasks that EAL learners might face in 'fitting in' and in gaining culture-specific knowledge and practices. The ways in which EAL learners might be disadvantaged in assessment were highlighted; and consideration was given to the specific challenges posed by particular secondary school subjects with their own cognitive, interactional and literacy demands on pupils. Among the matters they flagged up were the cognitive processes and load involved in mental translation between English and a first language: "Processing sets of instructions. Translating their 'own language' thoughts into English language in writing." The following quotation draws attention to the fact that not only does subject-specific vocabulary need to be mastered, but it also has simultaneously to be deployed within demanding cognitive processes: "Specialist vocabulary and specific skills such as evaluating and making judgements must be very difficult when you are unclear as to what you are reading."

Viewed as a set, responses to this question revealed how a considerable number of these student teachers were alert to, and were displaying empathy with, the challenges that EAL pupils may face in their learning and their lives within school. Commentary in response to other questions in the surveys similarly displayed an awareness of the difficulties that EAL learners may face and a sensitivity to the emotionally taxing situations and social obstacles that they could encounter. On the topic of obstacles to social inclusion, one respondent observed that EAL learners might not be included in groups if their peers had not been provided with strategies that would draw them into participation: "When working in groups, other children find it hard to include EAL learners as they are not equipped to help."

8.6.3   Development Needs in Relation to EAL

In both surveys respondents gave high or very high ratings of the usefulness for their future career of EAL-related input on all of the topics that have been listed in our description of the staff survey. This pattern of responses appears to show that these respondents felt that they required a wide-ranging education on how to provide effective support to EAL learners; and it is heartening to see that they did not concern themselves solely with the practicalities of 'devising resources/materials' but were also receptive to learning how to foster EAL learners' integration into, and contribution to, the life of the classroom and school.

This picture of the need for a comprehensive programme of input on EAL is reinforced by the content and tenor of the 134 responses to the question in the first survey that invited the students "to indicate briefly what, if any, challenges you may face in your own practice in teaching individuals who have English as an additional language?" Quite a number of the students indicated that they felt generally very unprepared to respond appropriately to EAL learners. Others pointed up the specific challenges of: communicating effectively with EAL learners; fostering participation/inclusive social relationships; diagnosis of language difficulties; assessing understanding; providing feedback; differentiation/providing appropriate support; encouraging motivation/engagement; finding sufficient time to support EAL students; acting in a culturally responsive manner; attending to individual EAL learners/attending to the whole class; and school support/resources for EAL work. Some of the students' observations on the challenges they might face as teachers displayed their wish not simply to be supportive to EAL learners but to do so in a way that was responsive, well-judged and sensitive. One student identified building a relationship with an EAL student as central to integration: "Being able to build a relationship, which I believe is key to creating a thriving learning community." Others saw the need to exercise careful, sensitive judgement in encouraging participation:

> I don't want to cross the line between pushing them to be involved and making them upset.

> The challenge for the teacher is how best to support them when they experience difficulties in the class. They need additional support yet you want them to feel included.

Another respondent had a clear understanding that fostering EAL learners' participation and integration within a class required working actively with all pupils to create an inclusive ethos:

> Trying to involve EAL learners in group work and promoting social inclusion within the whole class, helping other pupils understand the challenges that some pupils have to deal with and therefore for them to be sensitive and supportive.

Table 8.3 Responses to the question asking if the intervention "has given you a better general understanding of the needs of EAL learners?"

Response categories	University A		University B		Total	
No/very little increase in understanding	5	8.9%	17	21.5%	22	16.3%
Some increase in understanding	37	66.1%	49	62.0%	86	63.7%
Considerable increase in understanding	14	25.0%	13	16.5%	27	20.0%

8.6.4   Perceptions of the Intervention

Table 8.3 presents students' ratings in response to the question on the degree to which the intervention had "given you a better general understanding of the needs of EAL learners?" It will be seen that there is a rather different pattern of response between the two universities, which can be read as a reminder that any intervention or novel programme will be mediated by the histories and characteristics of the individual sites where it is enacted (Pawson and Tilley 1997).

In their comments on the intervention, a small number of respondents noted that it had not been useful and there were a few notes of resistance. The large bulk of commentary, however, surfaced a range of gains in understanding, coupled with the development of a greater sense of empathy with EAL learners. These new insights included: an alertness to the difficulties that EAL learners may have experienced before arriving in the UK; a widening of cultural horizons; an appreciation that "immersion is not enough to ensure fluency in a language"; an awareness of the finer details of the functions and forms of language; a capacity to see texts in terms of their contexts, rhetorical purposes and effects; and a realisation of the multivalent and culturally contingent meaning of texts. Among the insights reported, one respondent was struck by "the workshop on the power inherent in language", while another revised the belief that language is best acquired through immersion: "[The] concept of EAL pupils being submerged not immersed in [the] classroom when there is insufficient support." One student observed how a new awareness of the culturally-dependent meaning of texts pointed up the need for flexibility and responsiveness in teaching:

> The second session really placed a strong emphasis on precisely how a single image/object can be interpreted in so many different ways, beyond that of simply [your] own knowledge, but rather into background, culture, etc. This really helped me consider I cannot make any assumptions about how a text (in whatever form) may be interpreted and must instead be prepared and plan for all (or rather many) eventualities.

8.7   Strategies and Ideas for Responding to EAL Learners

Table 8.4 presents respondents' ratings of the degree to which the intervention had given them strategies and ideas for working effectively with EAL learners. Different judgements can be made of this set of results. It can be seen positively as indicating

Table 8.4 Responses to the question on the extent to which the intervention "has given you strategies/ideas for responding effectively, (within your own subject specialism(s)), to EAL learners?"

Response categories	University A		University B		Total	
No/very little increase in strategies and ideas	17	30.4%	24	30.4%	41	30.4%
Some increase in strategies and ideas	32	57.1%	42	53.2%	74	54.8%
Considerable increase in strategies and ideas	7	12.5%	13	16.5%	20	14.8%

that a short intervention had given the majority of participants strategies and ideas, or more negatively if one focuses on the 30.4% who reported no or very little increase in strategies and ideas.

In response to a question that sought to gain a sense of where the intervention might have failed to meet participants' expectations, some participants stated in general terms that they would have wished to be provided with more strategies, while others called for more subject-specific strategies and discussion: "Would have been a benefit to have further discussion with student[s] from similar subject areas e.g. specific strategies for certain types of subjects." A number of respondents wished for more input on how to respond to EAL learners who have no or very little English at all, and some considered that the intervention was not sufficiently apposite to mathematics.

Responses to other questions produced a large body of commentary that expressed appreciation for the activities, materials, ideas and strategies that had been provided. Here it is worth highlighting that quite a number of respondents observed that the part of the lecture conducted in German had had a powerful impact on them, giving them a direct sense of the difficult emotions and the challenges that EAL learners may face in comprehension and communication; and that the workshop activities had given them a greater understanding of language and of the need to contextualise content appropriately for EAL learners.

Respondents expressed appreciation for a range of ideas and strategies, including ways of making use of an EAL learner's first language and/or life experience. Sixty six, just under half of the respondents, stated that they would be taking ahead strategies and ideas from the intervention, with a considerable number intending to use multiple strategies. Strategies and ideas that they wrote they would employ included: "more use of visuals'/graphic organisers; greater attention to language and how it functions within a wider context; ways of developing EAL students' vocabulary/subject-specific vocabulary; the use of writing frames; focusing effort on differentiation; integrating EAL learners into group work; employing a buddy system; making use of L1 in the classroom; and promoting linguistic and cultural inclusion in a number of ways". On this last topic one student highlighted the need to make "your classroom multi-ethnic every day not just on specific days."

It is interesting to note how some respondents at least had taken from the intervention the wider message of creating an inclusive classroom for all learners: "Try to use differentiation to include all learners at all times." On this theme of inclusive practice, another respondent pointed up the importance of "being more

Table 8.5 Responses to the question "At this point in your ITE programme, how confident do you feel in your ability to support EAL learners?": 1st survey versus 2nd survey

Response categories	First survey responses		Second survey responses	
Very confident	5	2.9%	4	3.0%
Confident	15	8.6%	21	15.6%
Some confidence	56	32.2%	66	48.9%
Little confidence	71	40.8%	37	27.4%
Not at all confident	27	15.5%	7	5.2%

aware of the needs of EAL learners and trying to incorporate EAL 'learning' into 'regular' learning."

The student teachers gave a more positive rating of their confidence in their "ability to support EAL learners" in the second survey conducted immediately after the intervention, compared to the ratings in the first survey, as can be seen from Table 8.5.

Given that by the time of the second survey respondents had had a greater amount of teaching experience that may have led to a general increase in their confidence in their teaching, these gains in confidence in relation to EAL cannot straightforwardly be attributed to the intervention.

8.8   Policy and Practice in Initial Teacher Education for EAL: Ways Forward

Safford and Drury (2013, 73) state that in England there is an education policy "which encourages teachers and schools to celebrate children's linguistic diversity but which does not require or promote mainstream teachers' language knowledge and training." Preceding studies (Sangster et al. 2013; Foley et al. 2013), and the findings of the surveys concerning ITE reported in this chapter, suggest that this is also very much the case in Scotland. Rather than simply point up this finding, it seems necessary to consider ways in which education concerning EAL might be moved ahead. We recognise that surveys of perceptions and needs cannot give an unequivocal guide to action; but even with this note of caution, it seems appropriate to make the following recommendations. If the picture that emerged from the survey in this study of many teacher educators lacking direct experience of teaching EAL learners, and requiring greater knowledge in this area, is replicated in other institutions, there would seem to be a need for a comprehensive programme of professional development for these educators themselves. Given that in England much of the responsibility for the development of student teachers now rests with primary and secondary schools, and the mentors in schools in effect have the role of the educators of trainee teachers, the provision of CPD for teacher educators can be seen as intersecting with a wider programme of CPD related to EAL for schools. Advocacy for strategic initiatives by the UK governments to invest resources in

building the requisite foundation of knowledge and skills relating to EAL among the educators of teachers would seem to be a clear priority.

Turning to provision for initial teacher education students, our own position is that a truly inclusive approach to EAL learners needs to be framed as part of a wider agenda of social justice and underpinned by the theoretical perspectives reviewed earlier in this chapter that bring out the connections between language, literacies, culture, identity and power.

While education in EAL may need to be tailored to a degree to the profiles of particular cohorts of ITE students, some of the features of the intervention presented in this chapter could be adopted on other teacher education programmes. In particular, we suggest that a general orientation includes activities which force student teachers to struggle with a language that is unfamiliar to them.

An intervention of the type that we have described only serves as an introduction; and we have noted that the preparation for EAL work will take place in tightly-packed programmes where a wide agenda needs to be covered in a comparatively brief period. Accordingly, we recommend that a 'dual' approach is taken within teacher education programmes. A number of general sessions for all students could give a grounding of knowledge and strategies in EAL. Then, rather than adding a large 'block' of input on EAL, consideration could be given to how this input could be infused throughout individual subjects, such as science, PE and history and, importantly, across all of the central concerns of a teacher education programme, such as feedback, assessment, group work, etc. (This of course would require that all teacher educators are themselves sufficiently equipped to take ahead this agenda.) We would argue that 'folding' EAL into the ITE curriculum in this way has a number of advantages, including being compatible with the vision of inclusive pedagogy "that encourages open-ended views of all children's potential for learning and encourages teachers to extend the range of options that are available to everyone in the community of the classroom" (Florian 2012, 277). However, an important caveat needs to be inserted here. This 'folding' in of EAL throughout the ITE curriculum needs, (employing Costley's terms), to avoid "'mainstream[ing]' the ethnolinguistic identities of all students" (2014, 284), and acting on the implicit assumption that the task is one of 'assimilating' EAL students rather than opening out to embrace greater diversity in the classroom and in our lives as teachers.

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Chapter 9
Teaching Culturally Diverse Pupils: How Ready Are Scottish Student-Teachers?

Ninetta Santoro

9.1   Introduction

In the last 30 years, unprecedented levels of global mobility have meant that culturally homogenous societies are rare. For example, in Europe, Scandinavia, the USA, Australia and Canada, the rate of demographic change has been significant. In some countries which have histories of relative homogeneity, such as Ireland and Iceland, it has been unparalleled (Government of Ireland 2012; OECD 2013). Some of the global mobility in Europe can be attributed to the voluntary movement of people between various nations in the European Union. Other mobility is due to the seeking of asylum by those affected by war and conflict in their homelands. In the case of Scotland, there has been a steady increase in the cultural diversity of pupil populations in the last two decades (The Scottish Government 2015; Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity 2014a). This trend seems likely to continue. One hundred and thirty-nine languages are represented in Scottish schools, with Polish, Urdu, Punjabi and Arabic being the most frequently spoken additional languages. Overall, there are in excess of 40 African languages spoken (The Scottish Government 2014a). Approximately 5% of pupils speak English as an Additional Language (EAL) (The Scottish Government 2014b). In some urban areas, such as Glasgow, EAL pupils constitute 15.8% of the total pupil population, with numbers are as high as 65% in some areas of the city (Scottish Government 2014c). There is also a growing disparity between some ethnic groups and the dominant white cultural group in regards to resources and standard of living. In 2011, Black and Asian groups were three times more likely to be unemployed than White groups in Glasgow. Between 2001 and 2011 there was an increase in the numbers of African, Caribbean, White Other and Chinese ethnic groups living in Glasgow's most deprived neighbourhoods while the

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proportion Of White Scottish and White Other British in the 10% most deprived areas in the city remained stable (Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity 2014b). In other words, Black and Asian groups are more likely to experience economic and social marginalisation. This trend is clearly of concern, and it points to an urgent need to redress the problem before it worsens.

Raising the educational attainment of minority and/or marginalised groups and developing attributes of fairness, social justice and respect for difference in those from the powerful dominant group has long been regarded as one way to achieve a socially just and equitable society. Teachers' responsibilities in this regard are reflected in most professional standards. For example, in Scotland, a concern with social justice is identified in teacher professional standards for registration, as well as career-long learning and leadership. Specifically, Scottish teachers should commit to the principles of democracy and social justice through practices that are inclusive of a range of learner characteristics, including race, ethnicity, religion and belief. They should value and respect social and cultural diversity (GTCS 2012). The current Scottish *Curriculum for Excellence* has a focus on education for citizenship which "provides learners with the opportunity to develop an understanding of fairness and justice, equips them with skills of critical evaluation and encourages the expression of attitudes and beliefs to respond to the challenges we face as global citizens in a constructive and positive manner" (Education Scotland n.d.). Thus, Scottish teachers are not only expected to effectively teach culturally and linguistically diverse pupils, they are also expected to enable all pupils to respond to the challenges of citizenship in an increasingly culturally diverse Scotland and Europe. This means they need to be concerned with the promotion of social justice through naming and critiquing discourses of inequality within, and beyond the classroom.

Culturally responsive pedagogies, sometime called culturally relevant pedagogies, are based on a fundamental teacher belief that all pupils can succeed, and that culturally diverse pupils' cultural knowledge, or 'funds of knowledge' (Gonzales et al. 2005) is an asset upon which teachers should build. Culturally responsive, or culturally relevant teachers bring to their teaching, a repertoire of practices such as using pupils' first language in the classroom in order to facilitate effective second language learning, designing culturally sensitive assessments and making curriculum culturally relevant and accessible (Sleeter and Cornbleth 2011; Griner and Stewart 2013; Harry and Klingner 2014). I also want to suggest that culturally responsive and culturally relevant teachers develop in all pupils, attributes of acceptance and respect for cultural diversity and difference. However, underpinning their knowledge about what to do and how to do it, should be "a conscious understanding of the cultural, historical, social, and political context of teaching and student learning" (Durden et al. 2014, 2), and an ability to critique the discourses that shape these contexts. This is the framework on which the 'nuts and bolts' of teaching practice and policy should be built. It contextualises pupils' responses to schooling, teachers' expectations of pupils, and is the basis for effective and empowering educational practice.

However, far too often, teacher education focuses on developing teachers' knowledge *about* pupils' cultures. While this is important because knowing pupils

is integral to developing good student-teacher relationships as well as meaningful and relevant classroom practice, often teachers have a superficial knowing of the cultural other, and pupils' cultures can be positioned in comparison to the dominant majority as exotic or deficit (Santoro and Major 2012). Writing from a US context, Durden et al. argue that rather than focusing only on knowing pupils' cultures, teachers should also understand how a student's race "inevitably pre-disposes them to certain struggles or opportunities" (2014, 2). Although it is worth noting that Durden et al. do go on in their article to provide a detailed discussion of the complexities of racial identities, the notion that pupils are *predisposed* to particular experiences because of their race, might be considered a problematic concept because it risks essentialising and defining pupils while ignoring agency. Nevertheless, it is a useful way to extend teachers' thinking about the discourses that shape the experiences of particular groups of pupils and how particular groups of pupils can become racialised. For example, if Scottish teachers were to consider how their pupils of Asian or African backgrounds were predisposed to particular struggles *because* they are of racial minority, they might develop greater understandings of the social and discursive practices that shape their pupils' aspirations, and the barriers they encounter. The same is true of white pupils, and for that matter, white teachers. Being white predisposes them to particular opportunities; what some scholars have called white privilege (Frankenberg 2009; McIntosh 1990). Frankenberg (2009, 519) asserts that whiteness is an advantaged standpoint from which others are observed; it is 'unnamed and unmarked'. Over time, it has not only come to occupy and represent a position of privilege and power, it has silently and invisibly constituted the 'norm'. Understanding the opportunities available to them, means white teachers also need to understand the cultural practices and values of the group to which they belong. In order to really know their pupils, teachers need to understand how their own cultural beliefs and values shape how they see and interact with pupils, what they expect of them, and what they 'know' to be valuable and correct about particular schooling, and teaching practices (Santoro 2009).

In this chapter, I draw on data from a study that had two main foci: (1) an investigation of the attitudes of a cohort of Scottish student-teachers towards culturally diverse classrooms and their perceptions of their readiness to teach in such contexts, and (2) their attitudes towards travel and study-abroad programmes and how they perceive time abroad as beneficial to their development as teachers. In this chapter, I present data to highlight two main sets of findings from the first of the study's foci: (1) the student-teachers had insufficient knowledge of pupils' cultures and backgrounds; and (2) they lacked awareness of themselves as encultured and how their membership of the dominant cultural group shaped their professional and personal values and beliefs.

9.2   The Study: Design and Methodology

After obtaining university ethics approval, a cross-sectional survey was conducted of all student-teachers enrolled in a Bachelor of Education program in one Scottish university. A pen-and-paper anonymous questionnaire elicited data about: the student-teachers' backgrounds, gender, ethnicity, knowledge of other languages, the schools they attended as pupils, and as student-teachers; their understanding of the cultural characteristics of pupil populations in Scottish schools, their levels of contact with culturally and linguistically diverse people, the extent of their experience teaching culturally and linguistically diverse pupils, their levels of confidence in teaching such pupils and their perceptions of the effectiveness of their teacher education course in preparing them to teach in culturally diverse classrooms. Overall, 318 student-teachers returned a completed questionnaire. Individual in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with 12 student-teachers who were selected to achieve a range of age, gender, year group. Most interviewees were aged in their early twenties, and female. The interviews explored some of the key issues highlighted in the survey, and elicited in-depth data from the student-teachers. The interviews lasted between 40–60 min each, were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim.

The responses to the closed items on the questionnaire were analysed using descriptive statistics, undertaken in SPSS 21. The qualitative responses to the 11 open questions in the questionnaire were read and re-read to identify patterns and themes. The interview data were analysed using a thematic approach, with individual transcripts being read and re-read using a process of open coding to identify patterns in each of the interviewees' experiences and attitudes. These patterns were then compared and contrasted across, and between the individual interviewees' data in order to identify differences and similarities, tensions and contradictions.

9.3   A White and Monolingual Teacher Profile

The student-teachers in the study reported here, like the majority of teachers in the UK are white, British born and monolingual (The Scottish Government 2011; Department for Education 2012). When asked to describe their ethnicity in an open-ended question in the survey, 88.4% of respondents identified themselves as 'Scottish white', 'white-British' or simply as 'white'. Two student-teachers identified as British-Pakistani, 2 identified as Scottish-Indian, 2 as Chinese and 1 as African-mixed heritage (total 2.1%). This group was also linguistically homogenous with 97% of respondents indicating that English was their first language and 67% of saying they were monolingual. Of the approximate 30% who said they had some knowledge of a language other than English, only 10% said they were fluent speakers of another language. Being white and monolingual does not, in itself, mean that these student-teachers cannot be effective, culturally responsive teachers.

However, there is a growing body of literature that suggests in general, white mono-lingual teachers are likely to struggle to understand the cultures of students who are culturally different from themselves, they may feel more comfortable teaching pupils from their own cultural group, may have lower expectations of culturally diverse pupils and be less likely to understand the hidden curriculum that privileges the knowledge of the dominant majority (Durden et al. 2014; Santoro 2015). Furthermore, they are unlikely to have experienced racism and to understand the marginalisation that shapes the experiences of some of their pupils, or even, to understand themselves as having an ethnicity (Santoro 2015).

The majority of the student-teachers in the study lacked awareness of their positioning as members of the dominant cultural majority. During the interviews they generally struggled to articulate how their culture shaped their own educational experiences and how this shaped their personal and teaching identities. In the following excerpt of data, Lisa struggles to respond to a question about how her own culture shapes her as a teacher.

> Ummm …… I don't know…… I haven't really thought about it…I'm not sure……Do you mean…… ? Like, well, I've always been brought up with, like my mum's always saying "remember your manners". And say "please" "thank you" and always be kind to other people. And I think that does kind of affect the way you relate to other people. Like when I talk to children in my class, I want to set a good example for them and I want to show them that it's important to have manners and it's important to say "please" and "thank you" and to be nice to other children. I suppose that does kind of shape you as a person and a teacher as well.

Michelle answered the same question with similar uncertainty.

> I can't say that I've thought about it much, no … ummm. I think my experience of being through the Scottish system will always be something that affects how I am as a teacher. Umm, but as far as culture necessarily goes… I wouldn't say……, there's not been …… I don't really know, not really sure.

Ben, on the other hand, is much more certain that there is no connection between his culture and his professional identity. He said, "I don't think my culture's really impacted on me too much at all". While there are a number of ways in which they might understand the term 'culture', a theme emerging from the data was that the majority of student-teachers had never before thought about themselves as encultured. In response to the same question, Anne stated she was "white and boring". These findings resonate with research I have undertaken in Australia with student-teachers from the hegemonic mainstream who also saw their cultural values, knowledge and practices as boring compared to the cultural practices of others whom they deemed to be more interesting in comparison to themselves (see Santoro 2009; Allard and Santoro 2006). In some cases, these student-teachers were unsure that they even had an ethnicity. As one young Australian woman told me in response to a question about her ethnicity, "I'm just normal".

Ben elaborated on his comment about his ethnicity not impacting on him by saying; "It's important for teachers to treat all students the same regardless of their own culture, or the culture of the students". While probably underpinned by egalitarianism, Ben's view that it is important to treat all students the same, is what has been

called 'naïve egalitarianism' (Causey et al. 2000). Treating everyone the same may simply perpetuate the status quo and maintain existing inequalities. However, in order to give everyone the same opportunities, it may be necessary to treat people differently. Rachel on the other hand, displays a deeper level of reflection: "To be honest I'm not sure how much you should let where a child's from make a difference. It's about giving him or her the same chance as everybody in the class". So while Rachel has picked up the need to provide the same access and opportunities to all pupils, she appears to not understand that where pupils are from, that is their cultural and racial backgrounds, actually shape how they are pre-disposed to opportunities or barriers.

The inability to see how, as a member of the hegemonic 'mainstream', one is encultured and embedded in dominant discourses, is a characteristic of 'whiteness', a concept and an area of scholarship that has been taken up and developed by a variety of scholars over more than 20 years (e.g. Morrison 1992; Frankenberg 1993; Schick 2010; Matias 2012). Whiteness can be defined as a process of being and acting in the world, it is the subscription of ideologies that lead to, and maintain, either advertently or inadvertently, the domination of white people. Whiteness is "socially, historically, and culturally constructed in social structure, ideology, and individual actions" (Yoon 2012, 589). Yoon talks about 'whiteness-at-work' as a "socially constructed, dynamic set of strategies in speech and action" (2012, 10). The practice of denying the ethnicity or race of either oneself, or others, is an example of 'whiteness-at-work', and an example of colour blindness. Being blind to race and ethnicity difference can, either inadvertently or otherwise, maintain current power structures.

Only one of the Scottish student-teachers, Cara, made any connection between her own membership of the dominant culture and her understanding of culturally and linguistically diverse students:

> I feel…… I kind of feel a bit, sometimes, not embarrassed, but you know I'm like the *classic* student, you know ,white, young female, Scottish. And I think, sometimes , I think oh, I wish I wasn't because I might have a better chance of connecting with children with different cultures. I might understand them better.

Cara's acknowledgement that being white presents particular challenges in understanding pupils who are not white, points to a reflexive disposition that did not appear to be apparent in the other student-teachers. However, what is important for Cara, given that she *is* Scottish and white — and this is not going to change — is that she is able to critique what being white and Scottish actually means, and how she might develop better understandings of herself in order to understand others.

As well as being cultural homogeneous these student-teachers have had little sustained contact with people who are culturally different from themselves. They also have little knowledge of the richness of cultures present in Scotland. When Morag was asked during an interview whether she knows what ethnic groups are in Scotland and represented in Scottish student populations, she replied:

> I wouldn't have a clue. I don't know. I would say it is probably ummm … I would say there's quite a lot of … Eastern European culture. I would probably say that there was a lot

of… does Poland and that, come under Eastern European? [Interviewer: Yes. Poland is European]. Is it? So I would say, Eastern Europeans, but that would be as far as my knowledge would be able to stretch.

So, while Morag is correct in saying there are significant numbers of Polish people in Scotland, she appears to not know what other groups are represented, such as those from various African nations, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis and those from various locations in the Middle East. While Morag's significant, and worrying lack of knowledge is not typical of all the student-teachers, there was not one student-teacher who expressed good understanding of the demography of the student population in Scotland.

As school students, generally, the student-teachers attended schools in areas where there was little cultural diversity. Morag, conflating cultural diversity with colour, said during her interview;

there weren't any black children in my school. And I think there was one in another school that I knew of and that's it. Like, I really didn't have any contact with anyone else that wasn't white because that was just the people I grew up with and the school I went to. And then you come down to Glasgow and then it is like another big culture shock because there's loads of like coloured people with black coloured skin and you are like, "Wow, that's really different". It's a really big culture shock.

Most of the student-teachers have had little, or no experience of working with culturally and linguistically diverse students on school experience placements. Generally, they have been placed in schools close to their homes in areas where there is little cultural and linguistic diversity. Stephanie is representative of the cohort in general, when she said; "I have always taught in schools [for placement] where the children's first language has been English and it has never been an issue for me, but I think if it does happen, it is going to be a lot harder to cope".

9.4 Teacher Education for Culturally Diverse Classrooms

The data presented in this chapter raises some concerns about the student-teachers' knowledge about teaching for cultural diversity. While the gaps in their knowledge about the demographics of the pupil population in Scotland can be easily addressed, understanding how pupils are pre-disposed to particular educational barriers and opportunities because of their cultural and racial backgrounds, is more difficult. It requires them to not only understand their pupils' cultural knowledge, beliefs and values, it requires them to understand the 'cultural self' and their membership of the hegemonic mainstream in relation to the cultural other. This can be challenging, especially if student-teachers understand privilege only in economic terms, and don't see how their whiteness affords them particular opportunities. It is also challenging because being white and a member of the hegemonic mainstream is a position that can allude interrogation and critique because it is seen to be the 'norm', and taken for granted as the position from which all else is judged as different. Teacher

education and teacher educators aiming to facilitate the reflective and reflexive qualities required for this deep understanding can face significant challenges. They need to move student-teachers to a potentially risky place of learning where they must question and critique their beliefs and values, and what they 'know' and assume to be 'normal'. Prospective teachers need to be enabled to see how their own autobiographies are nested within particular socio-cultural discourses and need to engage with "a variety of ideological postures so that they can begin to perceive their own ideologies in relation to others' and critically examine the damaging biases they may personally hold" (Bartolomè 2007, 281). Teacher educators who have attempted to help student-teachers do this, know it is difficult work. Attempts can be met with resistance and opposition from student-teachers (Smith 2014; Aveling 2012). But, as Lanas suggests "education exists in the possibility of being disturbed" (2014, 176).

The facilitation of student-teachers' engagement with complex issues and the development of skills of reflection, reflexivity and critique is not a quick process. It takes a significant investment of time. In the face of demands from a range of stakeholders that teachers develop an ever increasing range of competencies and broadened knowledge base, teacher education curricula has become 'crowded' with the development of different teacher competencies competing for space and time in courses. At the same time, some courses have become shortened, or in some cases, they have partially shifted away from universities into the private training sector, or into the schools — an increasing trend in England for example. In these contexts, teacher education is increasingly shaped by instrumentalist and modernist discourses whereby knowledge is not valuable unless it respresents 'the truth' about teaching and learning, provides clear cut answers and has direct and immediate application and can be acquired in a predictable and systematic way (Phelan 2011; Lanas 2014). There is a risk therefore, that "normative expectations of professionalism exist as 'ready' instead of 'becoming', which creates an impasse; the assumption of professionalism as finished and 'ready' prevents a teacher from engaging in the process of 'becoming'" (Lanas 2014, 174). Thus, the time to engage student-teachers in reflection about dominant ideologies and their own deeply rooted beliefs and values, may not be a priority for current teacher education. There is a danger that teacher education for culturally diverse contexts is limited to short and discrete elective modules in which there is a focus on understanding the characteristics of the 'cultural other' and how to facilitate culturally and linguistically diverse students' assimilation into the dominant culture. The likelihood of student-teachers developing superficial and stereotyped views of particular cultures, is high.

At the same time as we work towards an effective teacher education for culturally responsive practitioners, there is the imperative to acknowledge that teacher educators themselves may inadvertently contribute to perpetuating a teacher education that is rooted in, and reflective of the practices, values and privileges of the dominant cultural majority. While it is extremely difficult to obtain statistics about the ethnicity of academics in faculties and departments of education, those of us who work in them, know they are not culturally diverse. Helping student-teachers deconstruct the ongoing distributions of power and privilege that accrue to members

of the hegemonic majority, requires teacher educators to also identify and interrogate the socio-cultural discourses in which *they*, as individuals and members of a professional collective, are embedded. However, in general, it is difficult for anyone to clearly 'see' the discourses in which one's professional and personal life is embedded — it is as much of a challenge for teacher educators as it is for teacher education students. "When a student teacher engages with difficult knowledge […], the teacher educator also enters a zone of discomfort" (Lanas 2014, 176). However, in order to disrupt the values and practices that are rooted in the discourses of dominant cultures, I want to raise for consideration, the importance of changing the cultural and ethnic profile of those who teach the teachers. I do not want to suggest that all teacher educators from the dominant white majority in Scotland, or anywhere else, unquestioningly and uncritically preserve the values and practices of the existing social order. There are some teacher educators who have nuanced understandings of how, as members of the dominant majority, they might be complicit in maintaining a social order characterised by inequity. Many are committed to working for social change, and do so effectively. However, it may also be the case that culturally diverse teacher educators will potentially enhance efforts to prepare culturally responsive teachers. The reasons made in scholarly literature for the cultural diversification of the teaching profession, and highlighted earlier in this chapter, are also relevant to the diversification of the teacher educator profession. Culturally diverse teacher educators may have professional and personal experiences of discrimination, they will have different cultural knowledge, values and practices and may be able to see what teacher educators drawn from the dominant cultural majority, can't see, including a hidden curriculum that privileges the status quo. However, I also acknowledge that they, like any other teacher educator of any ethnicity, are positioned by a range of discourses such as gender and social class for example. Their professional identities are a complex intersection of factors that impact upon, and shape who they are and the nature of their professional practice. Therefore, I don't want to suggest that all culturally and linguistically diverse teacher educators will *necessarily* contribute to an effective critical teacher education curriculum for culturally responsive practitioners. Far less tentative however, is my assertion that this is an area that needs research attention. While there has been a growing interest in the nature of teacher educators as a professional group, their work histories prior to joining academe and their experiences within schools and faculties of education as researchers and practitioners, there has been little research that has investigated the professional experiences of culturally diverse teacher educators. Little is known about how they draw upon different cultural understandings and practices to shape pedagogy and curricula and how they contribute to making visible, ideologies and inequities and how 'cultural others' are positioned.

Finally, in returning specifically to the context of Scotland, traditionally, teacher education has not prioritised, or seen the need to prioritise the preparation of teachers for culturally and linguistically diverse contexts. However, Scotland's growing cultural and linguistic diversity, juxtaposed against a largely homogenous teaching profession, presents challenges for teacher educators. It is clear that these are challenges that needs to be addressed. Teacher education must prioritise, via a critical

and reflexive approach, the preparation of teachers who can disrupt, rather than simply replicate the values and practices that are rooted in the education discourses of the dominant majority. In an increasingly diverse Scotland, it is no longer an option, but an imperative.

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Chapter 10
A Framework for Preparing Teachers for Classrooms That Are Inclusive of All Students

Ana Maria Villegas, Francesca Ciotoli, and Tamara Lucas

10.1 Introduction

In the past three decades, student enrollments in elementary and secondary schools have become increasingly diverse relative to race, ethnicity and language in many developed nations (Cochran-Smith et al. 2016). Two salient factors help account for this trend—higher birth rates among racial and ethnic minority groups, which have increased the numbers of school-aged children and youth of color (Population Reference Bureau, 2014), and growing worldwide migration related to globalization—particularly from parts of the world plagued by persistent war and poverty—which has added considerable linguistic and racial/ethnic diversity to today's schools (Ben-Peretz 2009). Beyond these demographic factors, the adoption of inclusive educational policies, which call for placing students with disabilities in the 'least restrictive' learning environment possible, has also helped diversify the makeup of general education classrooms (Pugach and Blanton 2009). In the United States, for example, students of color already comprise 49% of total public school enrollments in elementary and secondary schools (National Center for Educational Statistics 2014); students who speak a language other than English at home account for more than 21% of enrollments in pre-college classrooms (Aud et al. 2012); and students with disabilities represent approximately 13% of the overall K-12 (primary and secondary education) student population (Snyder and Dillow 2015).

This marked trend toward increasing student diversity in schools in general, and mainstream or general education classrooms in particular, has put considerable pressure on preservice teacher education to prepare all teachers, not just specialists (bilingual, ESL, multicultural, urban, and special education teachers), for a growing

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number of students who historically have been bypassed within schools—that is, students of color, students who live in poverty, immigrant students (including those who speak a language other than the dominant language of the host society), and students with disabilities. For the most part, however, teacher education has responded slowly and superficially to urgent calls for change. The response has consisted primarily of adding one or two courses on diversity to an already packed teacher education curriculum, sometimes offering these courses as electives, a practice that allows teacher candidates to avoid learning about issues of student diversity altogether (Goodwin 1997). More frequently, however, individual teacher educators have taken it upon themselves to infuse attention to issues of diversity into the courses they teach, with little or no attention paid to how those ideas are reinforced and/or extended in other courses within the program (Cochran-Smith et al. 2015). Not surprisingly, both of these strategies generally result in a weak and fragmented teacher education experience that leaves future teachers fundamentally unprepared for today's diverse classrooms (Villegas and Lucas 2002).

In this chapter we argue for a coherent and programmatic approach to rethinking the teacher education curriculum—one that places issues of diversity, broadly conceived, at the center of the teacher preparation experience. To help move the field in this direction, the chapter offers a framework that could serve as a guide for the needed curriculum transformation. Originally developed by Villegas and Lucas (2002, 2007), the framework embodies a vision of the type of teacher that today's increasingly diverse schools and classrooms need. As used here, the term *teacher education curriculum* refers to the content and learning opportunities offered teacher candidates in courses (focused on educational foundations and curriculum and instruction) and through fieldwork (in schools and communities), all of which comprise the teacher education sequence. We define *content* as the knowledge, skills and dispositions preservice teachers need to responsively teach a diverse student population, and *learning opportunities* as those activities intended to engage future teachers in learning to teach for diversity. Due to space limitations, our discussion primarily focuses on the content of the teacher education curriculum, although we also offer a few comments about learning opportunities. The chapter is organized in three sections, the first of which presents the framework. This is followed by a discussion of how teacher educators could use the framework to systematically transform the teacher education curriculum for diversity. The concluding section offers recommendations for research.

Because we believe that the background experiences of scholars help shape their perspectives, we want to be explicit about who we are. Villegas is a senior scholar of teacher education at Montclair State University, where issues of diversity and social justice are central to its mission. She identifies as a Latina from an economically poor background who as a child immigrated to the United States from Cuba and began school in her new country as a speaker of a language other than English. These experiences have informed the critical perspective she takes on issues of diversity in teaching and teacher education. Ciotoli is an experienced teacher and

school-based teacher educator currently enrolled in a doctoral program in teacher education and teacher development. She is a white woman of European American and English speaking background and middle class roots. She is also the mother of a child with a disability. These experiences have shaped the critical perspective she takes on education, including teacher education. Lucas is a senior scholar of issues related to the education of English language learners and the preparation of teachers to teach them. She is a white woman who has spent her adult life in highly diverse urban areas on the East and West Coasts of the United States but who grew up middle class in a small town in Appalachia with very little ethnic diversity but with a significant amount of poverty.

10.2   A Framework for Preparing Teachers for Inclusive Classrooms

The framework discussed here is comprised of six interrelated characteristics that collectively offer a vision of what Villegas and Lucas (2002) originally called "the culturally responsive teacher." Those characteristics, shown in Box 10.1, were drawn from a comprehensive review of the conceptual and empirical literature focused on teaching students who historically have been marginalized within schools based on race, ethnicity, class, and language. Thus, the framework was informed largely by the scholarship that depicts the schooling experiences of students of color from economically poor backgrounds who are speakers of a language other than (Standard) English outside schools. Despite this primary focus, we argue here that the framework is applicable to the preparation of future teachers to teach students from groups marginalized within schools based on a range of social factors, not just race, ethnicity, class, and language. In this chapter we test this idea by exploring how the six characteristics of the culturally responsive teacher proposed by Villegas and Lucas play out in the preparation of general education teachers for students with disabilities.

As we started our collaboration on this chapter, we had several conversations about what to call teachers who were broadly prepared to address issues of student diversity since the term *culturally responsive* seemed too narrow for our purposes. We ultimately agreed on using the *inclusive teacher* to signal the broad conception of diversity that inspires this chapter, one that affirms the right of all students to an education, regardless of their individual and/or socio-cultural backgrounds. While 'inclusive education' has traditionally been associated with the education of students with disabilities, particularly in the United States, this terminology is currently used in international circles to denote a broader strategy that aims to give all students access to learning (see Chap. 2). Thus, our use of the term 'inclusive teacher' aligns with this international development.

Box 10.1 The Characteristics of the Inclusive Teacher
1. Sociocultural consciousness.
2. Affirming views about diversity and students from diverse backgrounds.
3. Commitment to acting as change agents in schools and advocates for students.
4. Understanding how learners construct knowledge.
5. Knowing about students' lives.
6. Using insights into students' lives to help them build bridges to learning.

Adapted from Villegas and Lucas (2002).

In the remainder of this section we discuss the characteristics that define our vision of the inclusive teacher. For each, we first discuss what Villegas and Lucas originally meant by it, giving attention to the central concepts and skills associated with that characteristic; then we consider how those ideas apply to the preparation of teachers to teach students with disabilities in inclusive classrooms. The six characteristics can be roughly organized into two groups, the first of which encompasses fundamental orientations toward diversity (characteristics 1–3) and the second of which comprises the pedagogical perspectives and practices of inclusive teachers (characteristics 4–6).

10.2.1 Orientations for Teaching a Diverse Student Population

Successfully teaching students who differ from their mainstream peers relative to race, ethnicity, social class, language and ability, among other factors, involves more than applying specialized teaching techniques. It demands a new way of looking at society and the function of schools, at student diversity, and at the role of teachers. The initial three characteristics of inclusive teachers comprise what we see as the essential orientations for teaching today's increasingly diverse student population, as we elaborate below.

10.2.1.1 Sociocultural Consciousness

By sociocultural consciousness we mean an understanding that a person's view of the world is not universal but is profoundly shaped by life experiences, as mediated by factors such as race, ethnicity, social class, ability, gender, sexual orientation and religion (Banks 1991). Teachers who lack sociocultural consciousness will unwittingly rely on their own personal experiences to make sense of students' lives, an unreflective practice that typically results in a misinterpretation of many students' experiences and leads to miscommunication. Because the overwhelming majority

of future teachers are from mainstream social groups and have radically different background experiences than those of the diverse students they will teach (Villegas et al. 2012), programs of teacher preparation must attend to the development of teacher candidates' sociocultural consciousness.

To become socioculturally conscious, future teachers must learn about inequities in society. In all social systems, some positions are accorded greater status than others and such a status differential gives rise to differential access to power. Thus, teacher candidates need to learn that differences in social positioning are not neutral and that members of dominant groups are customarily accorded more social status than members of marginalized groups. Equally important, if not more so, teacher candidates must examine how ideas about the hierarchy of power in society play out in their personal lives. This involves a self-exploration of their layered identities and how the various social groups to which they belong have shaped their biographies—according them social privilege in some aspects of their lives but perhaps relegating them to subordinate social positions in others—and ultimately how such privilege and marginalization shape their perceptions of others, especially those who are different from them.

Teacher candidates striving to become inclusive teachers also need to understand that inequalities are produced and perpetuated in society through systematic discrimination. More to the point, they need insight into how schools maintain social arrangements of privilege and oppression through the use of biased curriculum and testing practices, tracked and non-inclusive instructional approaches, and a climate of low expectations for students who differ from the mainstream norm, among other practices that place students from low-status groups at a decided disadvantage in school learning.

We want to emphasize that sociocultural consciousness develops slowly and is best conceptualized as a continuum, with sociocultural dysconsciousness at one end and sociocultural consciousness at the other. Most educators, including ourselves, probably lie somewhere between the two ends of the continuum relative to our understanding of the social hierarchy of power, our layered identities and how this influences our perceptions of students, and the ways in which schools structure inequalities. Of the six characteristics in our conception of the inclusive teacher, sociocultural consciousness is perhaps the most difficult to cultivate because it challenges deeply entrenched and taken for granted understandings of individualism, meritocracy, and normalcy.

We see sociocultural consciousness as having direct bearing on the preparation of general education teachers to teach students with disabilities. That is, being socioculturally conscious enables future teachers to challenge social conceptions of normalcy embedded within educational structures and related practices that marginalize students with disabilities. As teacher candidates gain sociocultural consciousness, they come to understand that the medical model view of individual differences, which is deeply entrenched within schools, works to preserve the existing social hierarchy that accords students with disabilities less status in schools relative to their 'normal' peers. Socioculturally conscious future teaches are also better able to understand how the *normal curve*, a seemingly technical and unproblematic con-

struct, functions "as a means of measuring and categorizing and managing populations" (Baynton 2013, 18) by conceptualizing 'differences' as problems that need to be fixed. Thus, sociocultural consciousness primes teacher candidates to critique the identification, diagnosis, labeling, and classification process which pushes to the margins ways of thinking and acting that differ from the socially privileged norm. Similar to racial, ethnic, class, and language categorization systems, ability categories have "meaning and significance" (Crenshaw 1991, 1297) in that they politicize student identities, reducing them to a single identity marker.

10.2.1.2 Affirming Views About Diversity and Students from Diverse Backgrounds

Evidence suggests that many teacher candidates see students from socially subordinated groups from a deficit perspective (Sleeter 2008). Lacking faith in their students' ability to learn, teachers are likely to develop low academic expectations of their students and ultimately treat them in ways that stifle their learning (Hollins and Guzman 2005). By contrast, teachers who see students from an affirming perspective are more apt to believe that children and youth from marginalized groups are capable learners, even when these students enter school with ways of thinking, talking, and behaving that differ from the dominant norm (Ladson-Billings 1994). Building on this line of research, the second fundamental orientation for successfully teaching all students in inclusive classrooms calls for future teachers to develop affirming views about diversity in general and students from marginalized groups in particular.

To promote affirming views of differences, teacher preparation programs must help teachers-to-be to see *all* students, not just those from dominant groups, as learners who already know a great deal and who have experiences, ideas, and language that can be built upon and expanded to help them learn even more. While recognizing that the ways of the dominant group are privileged in society, teachers with affirming views understand that such status is derived from the power this group holds, not from an inherent superiority of those ways (Delpit 1995).

Without question, to successfully teach students with disabilities, future general education teachers must develop affirming attitudes toward these learners. Students who have disabilities, much like their counterparts from other socially oppressed groups, tend to be seen by mainstream teachers as academically deficient and behaviorally problematic (Pugach 2005). Such deficit thinking may help explain why many mainstream teachers resist having students with disabilities placed in their classrooms. Clearly, to realize the promise inherent in inclusive educational policies, prospective teachers must be helped to confront deficit views of individual differences they might hold and adopt affirming views.

Teachers who learn to see individual differences through an affirming lens are more apt to understand that the disability discourse generally frames students with disabilities as 'others' and 'not like us'. In the process, those students are constructed as 'deficient' and needing 'remediation' (Gallagher et al. 2014). Armed

with this insight, prospective teachers are well poised to reject deficit labels that define a student's identity solely by his or her (dis)ability status. In brief, by engaging teacher candidates in a critical inspection of deficit views they might hold about diversity, teacher educators create space for them to consider alternative ways of thinking about and reacting to ability differences.

10.2.1.3 Commitment to Acting as Agents of Change and Advocates for Students

Despite progress over the years to make schools more equitable, embedded in the fabric of everyday schooling are numerous practices that continue to put students from nonmainstream groups at a decided disadvantage in the learning process. These include a school culture of low expectations for students from low-status groups, a curriculum that is not inclusive of all students' experiences and perspectives, frequent assignment of the least experienced teachers to classes in which students need the most help, and questionable testing policies and practices (Villegas and Lucas 2007). Teachers who consider themselves agents of change see teaching as an ethical activity and assume responsibility for interrupting inequitable school practices that affect their students.

To produce teachers who are willing to serve as agents of change, programs of teacher preparation must cultivate preservice teachers' sense of responsibility for making a difference in the lives of all students, but especially those typically overlooked within schools; nurture passion and idealism as well as a realistic understanding of obstacles to change; raise their awareness of specific ways in which schools systematically discriminate against students who differ from the mainstream norm; develop their ability to reflect on their own teaching to ensure that all students have an equitable chance to learn; provide evidence that schools can become more equitable; and promote teacher candidates' skills for working collaboratively with colleagues to make schools more just (Apple 1996; Cochran-Smith 1997; Goodlad 1990).

Given the many ways in which schools stack the deck against students with disabilities (Baglieri et al. 2010), general education teachers must consciously work as agents of change if schools are to serve this student population well. For this to happen, future mainstream teachers need to see themselves as participants in a larger struggle to promote equity in society. Along related lines, they need to recognize that the actions of teachers, including themselves, are never neutral. Thus, teacher preparation programs must engage teacher candidates in an examination of the 'hidden curriculum', which normalizes practices that perpetuate the discrimination of students with disabilities. Also important, but often overlooked, teacher education must prepare future general education teachers to collaborate with other educators, including special education teachers, to serve the best interests of students with disabilities and realize the promise of an inclusive education.

As the above discussion suggests, the three fundamental orientations of the responsive teacher are tightly connected and interrelated, with sociocultural con-

sciousness anchoring the other two. Without understanding that it is the power of the dominant group that makes their ways of using language, thinking, interacting and behaving most valued in schools, future teachers are not likely to develop affirming views of children and youth who differ from the mainstream. Furthermore, without developing respect for individual and group differences, they are not apt to develop a personal vision of teaching for change. In a sense, developing the fundamental orientations of inclusive teaching involves a profound personal transformation for nearly all teacher candidates, a process they often resist, at least early in their preparation. Among the learning opportunities shown to promote this type of personal growth or transformation are engaging teacher candidates in autobiographical and journal writing (e.g., memoirs of schooling, sociocultural autobiographies, and family histories); participation in games and simulations intended to make visible the dynamics of privilege and oppression; analysis of cases of inclusive schools and classrooms designed to promote learning for all students; field experiences in diverse communities accompanied by guided reflection; service learning experiences that place teacher candidates in direct contact with students and adults who are different from them; preparation of case studies of students from diverse backgrounds; and conducting community studies (Cochran-Smith et al. 2015).

10.2.2 Pedagogical Perspectives and Practices for Teaching Diverse Learners

The last three characteristics that define the inclusive teacher in our framework shift the focus of analysis from fundamental orientations to pedagogical perspectives and practices for teaching diverse learners. These are: understanding how learners construct knowledge, learning about students' lives, and using insights into students' lives to help them build bridges to learning. We take up each of these characteristics next.

10.2.2.1 Understanding How Learners Construct Knowledge

Future teachers often begin their preservice preparation with transmission views of learning, derived largely from their prior experiences as students in elementary and secondary schools, or what Lortie (1975) called apprenticeship of observation. From this perspective, knowledge is seen as the collection of objective facts comprising the school curriculum; learning is viewed as receiving and memorizing the package of facts built into the curriculum; and teaching is depicted as the transmission of information from the curriculum to students. Breaking from this transmission-oriented tradition, the framework for inclusive teaching discussed here is grounded in constructivist views of learning. According to this perspective, learners use their prior knowledge, experiences, and beliefs to make sense of new ideas they

encounter in school (Piaget 1977; Vygotsky 1978). As this suggests, the knowledge children bring to school resulting from their personal and cultural experiences is necessarily the starting point for learning. A salient role of the inclusive teacher, then, is to support students' learning by helping them build bridges between what is familiar to them from their lives outside school and what they need to learn in school. Embedded in this view of teaching is a recognition that students learn in different ways and at different paces. We have grounded our vision of the inclusive teacher in a constructivist view of learning primarily because it is respectful of differences and acknowledges that all students—not just those of mainstream backgrounds—bring to school resources that, if tapped by teachers, will help them learn even more.

As the above discussion suggests, a constructivist view of learning is supportive of inclusive education in that it conceptualizes teaching as a complex activity that involves tailoring instruction to students' strengths while scaffolding their learning through what Vygotsky called the "zone of proximal development". Prospective teachers who are helped to see learning in this individual, contextual, and dynamic way will readily understand that teaching to the 'edges' is just as important as teaching to the 'average' (Rose 2016). They are also likely to grasp that not all students with disabilities who share a categorical designation necessarily learn in the same ways, an insight that will lead them to reject the use of labels as prescriptions for teaching practice (Dudley-Marling and Gurn 2010).

To successfully teach students with disabilities in general education classrooms, future mainstream teachers not only need a solid understanding of how students construct knowledge but must also understand child and adolescent development. Admittedly, the culturally responsive teaching framework originally proposed by Villegas and Lucas gave relatively little attention to human development, an important component of the knowledge base for teaching. To address this gap in the framework, teacher educators could tap the literature on preparing teachers for student with disabilities, in which issues of human development receive a fair amount of attention. We want to note, however, that in teaching future teachers about how children and adolescents develop, traditional models of human development must be critically inspected and assumptions about 'normal' development must be problematized (Rogoff 2003). This addition to the framework would strengthen the preparation of teachers for all aspects of diversity, not just those related to ability.

10.2.2.2   Knowing About Students' Lives

If teaching involves assisting students in making meaningful connections between their preexisting knowledge and experiences and the new ideas they are expected to learn in schools, then teachers must know not only the subject matter they will teach but also about their students' lives, the fifth characteristic of the inclusive teacher in our framework. We are not suggesting that inclusive teachers should learn generalized information about the many different social groups represented in their classes. Such thinking would inevitably lead to stereotypes that do not apply to individual

students. Instead, inclusive teachers need to learn about the lives of the particular children they teach. For example, they need to know about students' family lives (e.g., family makeup, educational history, immigration history); social life (e.g., their use of leisure time, favorite activities, interests, concerns and what they excel at); beliefs about schooling, including the potential of schooling to improve their lives in the future; and experiences with literacy, mathematics, science and other subject matter in their everyday settings. Insights such as these enable teachers not only to establish relationships with students to help them feel connected to schools, but also to make pedagogical decisions that build continuity between students' experiences inside and outside school. While these personal and pedagogical connections are important for all students, they are especially meaningful for learners with a history of social marginalization.

Because each student's identity is multi-dimensional and complex (given that social markers such as race, ethnicity, class, language and ability intersect in unique ways for different learners), it is impossible for teacher candidates to learn about the lives of their future students during their preservice preparation. However, teacher education can equip prospective teachers with a variety of strategies they can later use to learn about students in the specific settings where they teach. These include engaging students in informal conversations, creating opportunities in class for students to discuss their dreams and future aspirations, posing problems for students to solve and noting how each goes about solving them, and talking with families and other community members.

Given the segregated lives we live, future general education teachers—many of whom are from mainstream backgrounds—are likely to bring to their preparation for teaching limited direct contact with people who are socially different from themselves. It is not surprising then that they tend to know little about the lives of students from marginalized groups (Villegas et al. 2012). Consequently, teacher candidates will need multiple opportunities to interact with students of diverse backgrounds, including students with disabilities, as part of their preservice preparation. To avoid reinforcing stereotypes, those experiences must be carefully structured and systematically debriefed in light of current thinking about the benefits of inclusive education for all students. Because teacher candidates' everyday understanding of 'normal' can get in the way of seeing students with disabilities beyond what a classification or label might suggest to them, teacher educators must work diligently to help future teachers recognize the many resources these learners bring to school. As this discussion suggests, teacher candidates with a strong sense of sociocultural consciousness and affirming views about diversity are more apt to recognize strengths in learners from marked social groups, including students with disabilities, than those with minimal sociocultural consciousness and with deficit views of diversity.

10.2.2.3   Helping Students Build Bridges to Learning

The sixth distinguishing characteristic of the inclusive teacher in the framework discussed here is the ability to draw on their familiarity with students' lives to help students build bridges to learning. Teaching must be tailored to the backgrounds of specific students and particular situations to be considered inclusive of all leaners, and it is therefore beyond the scope of this chapter to offer a comprehensive picture of such practices. Broadly, however, inclusive teaching involves practices such as helping students see connections between what they are learning in school and their current and future lives; embedding new ideas and skills in problem solving activities that are relevant to the learners; using examples and analogies from students' lives to introduce or clarify new concepts; using curriculum and instructional materials that reflect diverse perspectives; and creating a classroom environment where all students feel valued and are encouraged to make sense of ideas (see Villegas and Lucas 2002 for more details). We want to emphasize that inclusive teaching is not simply a matter of applying instructional techniques. It is more appropriately thought of as a blending of the dispositions, knowledge, and skills that underlie the five salient characteristics of the inclusive teacher discussed above.

Practices such as those described above transfer smoothly to teaching students with disabilities in the context of inclusive classrooms. Clearly, future general education teachers must recognize that there is no one-size-fits-all practice that ensures learning for all students. To prepare the next generation of teachers for inclusive classrooms, teacher education must ensure that teacher candidates develop both a wide repertoire of instructional strategies and the ability to select from this repertoire those that apply to specific students in particular contexts; they also must cultivate preservice teachers' commitment and skills to offer all learners, including students with disabilities, space in the classroom to express who they are and how they experience the world.

Our review of this last characteristic of the inclusive teacher suggests that as helpful as the broad practices discussed here might be, future teachers would benefit from learning a structured approach to instructional design to guide their teaching. Universal Design for Learning (UDL), an instructional model frequently used in programs that focus on preparing teachers to teach students with disabilities, is one possibility. This model gives teachers a way of monitoring their teaching to ensure it includes multiple means of representing ideas to be learned and a variety of options to engage students with learning. As Rapp and Arndt (2012) have argued, UDL is a helpful way to teach all learners.

In the past 15 years, preservice teacher preparation programs have experimented with a variety of learning opportunities to develop among future teachers the pedagogical perspectives and practices detailed above. Among those that have shown the most promise are engaging future teachers in reflection on their learning, examining views of learning depicted in different teaching cases, modeling constructivist practices in teacher education courses to give teacher candidates direct experiences with constructivist learning, viewing and analyzing segments of videotaped instruction in diverse classrooms, observing inclusive teachers in action, preparing case studies

of diverse students, and engaging in practice teaching in diverse schools and class-rooms (Cochran-Smith et al. 2015).

To summarize, in this section we discussed the six salient characteristics of inclusive teachers in the Villegas and Lucas framework for preparing teachers for diversity, three of which focus on fundamental orientations for teaching and the other three of which focus on pedagogical perspectives and know-how. To test our assertion regarding the broad applicability of these six characteristics, originally derived from the literature on teaching students of color, students living in poverty, and English language learners, we examined ways in which they each played out in the preparation of general education teachers to teach students with disabilities. From our discussion we concluded that all six characteristics, but especially the three orientations for teaching, are clearly applicable for this purpose. We also argued that the original framework proposed by Villegas and Lucas could be expanded somewhat to give explicit attention to human development in the context of growing student diversity. Along related lines, we concluded that a structured model for instructional design, such as UDL, might give teacher candidates more assistance in making their teaching inclusive of a wide range of student diversity. With these adjustments, we think the framework discussed here offers a compelling vision of the type of preparation general education teachers need to successfully teach students of diverse backgrounds in inclusive classroom settings. Next, we turn our attention to how teacher educators can use this vision to systematically rethink the teacher education curriculum for diversity.

10.3 Transforming the Teacher Education Curriculum for Diversity: Working Toward Coherence

It is generally agreed by now that one course on diversity is insufficient to prepare future teachers for today's diverse classrooms. To reverse the pattern of inequitable school outcomes experienced by the growing number of students from non-dominant social groups in general education classrooms, the entire teacher education curriculum must be transformed to make diversity a central element in the preparation of all teachers. One approach to this critically important work is for teacher educators in their respective programs to adopt a vision of the inclusive teacher, like the one we presented above, that they could then use to guide the needed curricular reconceptualization. Once consensus has been reached on a vision of the inclusive teacher, a second step is to systematically integrate that vision throughout the teacher education curriculum. That is, each characteristic of the inclusive teacher could be considered an essential strand (comprised of dispositions, knowledge, and skills) to be systematically threaded throughout the teacher education curriculum.

The experience of teacher educators at our home institution undertaken some years back illustrates this approach to rethinking the teacher education curriculum for diversity. After much discussion about the qualities of the inclusive teacher in

Table 10.1 Coordinated integration of diversity strands throughout the teacher education curriculum at Montclair State University

Courses in the teacher education sequence	Diversity strands					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Public purposes of education	√ᵃ	√ᵃ			√	
Sociocultural perspectives on teaching and learning	√ᵃ	√ᵃ	√ᵃ	√	√	√
Educating ELLs module	√	√	√ᵃ	√ᵃ	√	√
Inclusion module	√	√	√ᵃ	√ᵃ	√	√
Language and literacy				√ᵃ	√	√
Methods				√ᵃ	√	√ᵃ
Fieldwork				√ᵃ	√ᵃ	
Teaching for learning I				√ᵃ	√ᵃ	√
Teaching for learning II				√ᵃ	√ᵃ	√ᵃ
Student teaching	√	√	√	√	√	√ᵃ

[a]Indicates that attention to the identified strand was given primary attention in the course

the Villegas and Lucas framework, a process that helped the faculty clarify what this concept meant to us collectively, we adopted the framework with a few modifications. We then worked to systematically distribute the responsibility for developing those characteristics across the courses in the teacher education sequence. Table 10.1 summarizes the results of those deliberations. It is important to note, however, that to maintain a clear and coordinated focus on issues of diversity in the teacher education curriculum over time, ongoing conversations among the faculty are essential.

10.4 Conclusion

We conclude the chapter with a few recommendations for research that could advance our understanding of how to prepare general education teachers for a wide range of student diversity.

- It would be instructive to investigate how general education teachers are being prepared to teach a diverse student population across different countries. What different approaches are being used for this purpose? Are some approaches more successful than others? How is success defined? What is the overall content of the teacher education curriculum for diversity? To what extent are the characteristics of the inclusive teacher discussed in this chapter reflected in teacher education curricula internationally?
- In light of recent attention to learning to teach as a lifelong process, it would be productive to learn about the development of inclusive teaching practices across the different phases in a teacher's career. Given the limitations of preservice teacher education—including the pressure to reduce teacher education coursework and increase field-based practice, particularly in the context of limited access to high quality field placements—what can teacher candidates realistically

be expected to learn about teaching students of diverse backgrounds in inclusive classrooms at the preservice level? Given the major influence that the fundamental orientations for teaching have on learning to teach for diversity, should preservice programs focus primarily on developing those orientations? What are the main concerns of general education teachers relative to issues of student diversity in the first two years of teaching (the novice phase)? Should mentoring programs for novices focus on developing these teachers' skills for learning about the lives of the diverse students in their classes (Strand 5) and building an early repertoire for inclusive teaching (Strand 6)? What aspect of inclusive teaching should professional development programs for experienced teachers address?

- From their review of an extensive body of research on preparing teachers for diverse classrooms published from 2000 through 2012, Cochran-Smith et al. (2016) found most of the extant research consisted of teacher educators examining their own teaching typically in the context of single courses. While these studies provide rich insight into conditions that affect teacher educators' classroom practices, they do not address the influences of the entire teacher education experience on candidates' learning to teach for diversity. To capture the influence of the entire teacher education curriculum, we need high-quality studies that address questions about teacher candidates' learning to teach for diversity at the program level and across multiple programs.

- As framed by UNESCO, inclusive education is "associated with schools for all" (Kiuppis and Hausstatter 2014, 2), including students with disabilities. It follows that a conceptualization of teacher preparation that better addresses the complexity of teaching and student diversity beyond unitary categories is needed in order to prepare teacher candidates for inclusive classrooms (Baglieri et al. 2010; Cochran-Smith and Dudley-Marling 2012; Pugach and Blanton 2012; Blanton et al. 2011). An examination of the ways different preparation programs include disabilities as an element of student diversity would contribute to a better understanding of inclusive teaching.

- The field of education is ripe for cross-disciplinary research on the intersection of diversities related to race, ethnicity, language, social class, and ability; how these diversities play out in schools; and how teachers can be prepared to provide challenging, rigorous, and scaffolded education for all students. We urge teacher educators to venture beyond their disciplines and specializations to explore ways to prepare inclusive teachers, and hope the framework we have outlined in this chapter can serve as a guide for collaborative action.

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Chapter 11
Navigating the Boundaries of Difference: Using Collaboration in Inquiry to Develop Teaching and Progress Student Learning

Joanne Deppeler

11.1 Introduction

A recent Commonwealth of Australia (2016) report emphasized the importance of teacher education in relation to the impact of policy funding and culture on the learning of students with disability, recommending that the Australian government work with states and school systems to:

> Make it mandatory for all initial teacher education courses to ensure beginning teachers enter the classroom with best-practice skills in the inclusion of students with disability… and to ensure current teachers, principals and support staff, are supported to develop inclusive education skills... This should include implementation tools and professional development support for teachers to ensure that all students are supported to learn to their fullest potential (ix).

The senate committee noted that best-practice "teaching for students with disability is often equally useful for all students" (69) which potentially contributes to better school outcomes. These statements are not new there have been countless policy and research efforts to link teaching approaches that respond to diversity in inclusive education contexts with those promoted by special educators and other allied health professions. Yet despite a common commitment to inclusive schooling, teaching and learning practices adopted by schools to respond to diversity vary greatly (Deppeler 2015; Forlin et al. 2013). The issues are complex and tensions and strong divisions have persisted in what Cochran-Smith and Dudley-Marling (2012) have referred to, as the "enduring fissures between general and special teacher education" (237).

This chapter draws upon research conducted in schools with teachers and other professionals over the past 15 years using evidence as a means of stimulating

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practitioner inquiry. The underlying principles of the inquiry share much with genres of research that are democratic, participatory, reflective and context-based (e.g. Bray et al. 2000; Cochran-Smith and Lytle 2009; Groundwater-Smith et al. 2013) and work conducted by colleagues in a range of international contexts (e.g. Deppeler and Ainscow 2016). The work is founded on the assumption that research inquiry is shaped by the perspectives, professional traditions, values and experiences of the participants, which in turn, influences the practices of teaching and learning and assessment and directly affects how students are understood and how they experience schooling. Thus, in the first part of the chapter I describe how my professional experiences as a scholar, a teacher and a psychologist, have influenced my perspectives and the constructs I use to address the professional challenges of navigating boundaries that divide practitioners to build collaboration in educational research.

11.2   Professional Stance

My early work as a teacher involved providing learning support to students and their teachers in primary and secondary schools and special education settings in Canada and Australia. These students had been diagnosed with various disabilities and/or behavioural and learning difficulties and/or were from indigenous or disadvantaged backgrounds. As a qualified and registered educational psychologist I simultaneously worked for many years in consultancy with both individual families and schools primarily in the role of diagnosis and intervention. This work was largely underpinned by psychometrics and behavioural theories of learning. Subsequently, in the tertiary sector I have been centrally involved in developing teacher education and engaged in supervising the research and practice of educational psychologists. My research in university partnerships with school systems, and schools across many international contexts as well as in Australia has focused on improving equity and quality of schooling for disadvantaged and vulnerable students. I have attempted, as do most academics to use my theoretical and professional knowledge in new ways and to continually search for theories to explain my professional experiences. Thus, my professional perspectives have progressively become aligned with scholars who reject behavioural models and are focused on pedagogical approaches to teaching and learning (e.g. Deppeler et al. 2015b) and social learning theorists, such as Vygotsky, Lave and Wenger to better understand the influence of the learning context. I use a variety of research methods to address issues of context, culture and power (e.g. Deppeler et al. 2008; Malak et al. 2015). I work with scholars and practitioners who consider the implications of education development research within different policy contexts (e.g. Deppeler and Ainscow 2016; Deppeler et al. 2015a; Deppeler and Zay 2015; Loreman et al. 2014). I maintain my registration and professional membership as an educational psychologist, which provides me with a context for continued professional collaboration and learning with a range of health professionals and importantly a platform for critique (Deppeler 2015). This

professional stance positions me at the outer margins of the fields of special education and educational psychology from where I began my journey.

11.3   The Shifting Boundaries of Difference

Difference is often heard in the context of teaching and learning to highlight distinguishing characteristics of students. Ways of thinking about difference continue to influence the teaching and assessment practices and are aligned with particular disciplinary traditions. Drawing from behavioural, neuropsychological and developmental psychology, and medicine, positivism has been the dominant theoretical basis of special education (Farrell 2012). Positivism informs special education provision including the normative diagnosis and assessment of those with disability, impairment, disorder or those deemed to be special or *different.* Difference is defined as not 'normal' using statistically defined constructs with reference to normal as 'average' in reference to various frames (e.g. size, stage and level of development, expectations for acquired knowledge, speed of processing, attention and so forth) and intervention. For example, disabilities such as Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD), Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) and others, characteristically rely on individual assessment of behaviourally defined criteria to determine the specific points at which individual differences in behavior are considered abnormal. These diagnoses are consequently based on the assumptions of the normative majority (educators, medical and allied health professionals, policy makers).

The primary diagnostic tool for determining the boundaries between 'normal' and different is the American Psychiatric Association's (APA) Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders. DSM-5, the latest revision to the classification has generated considerable debate and criticism centered on several issues including:

- empirical and conceptual problems with the categorical distinctions between 'abnormal' and 'normal' and the lowering of diagnostic thresholds,
- the decreased emphasis on sociocultural variation,
- the absence of the voices of the diagnosed and other professionals in revision, and
- more serious questions regarding the financial and ethical relationships between the APA and the pharmaceutical industry (Cooper 2014a; Francis 2013; Paris and Phillips 2013; Shorter 2015) social workers Washburn 2013).

Rachel Cooper (2014a) argues that DSM both influences and is being influenced by multiple cultural, economic, bureaucratic and ideological contexts. She presents undisputed evidence of the powerful impact of the pharmaceutical industry and special interest groups on the APA's development and revision of the diagnostic criteria; criteria that are purportedly neutral and objective. APA via DSM in turn, influences what and how research is funded and training is conducted and the practices of psychologists and other health professionals are enacted and adopted by

teachers and ultimately influencing the lives of children youth and families in schools. The expansion of diagnostic categories and the "creeping medicalization where gradually milder and milder conditions come to be considered disorders" (Cooper 2014b, 183) will inevitably increase the percentage of individuals who will be diagnosed (Paris and Phillips 2013). "A diagnostic manual which deems half of the world to be mentally ill is certainly problematic" (Svenaeus 2014, 242).

Diagnostic judgements are also strongly influenced by cultural and social values and assumptions and consequently there can be considerable variation according to the "personal tolerance of non-compliance as well as the social and cultural norms of different groups" (Harry 2014, 75). Not only do values have considerable influence they may also be quite different to the values and assumptions of the individuals they seek to support (Kapp et al. 2013). For several decades, students from minority groups in the US have been disproportionately included in disability categories and special education at higher rates than that of their presence in education (Artiles and Trent 1994; Artiles et al. 2010; Harry 2014; Harry and Klinger 2006; Zhang et al. 2014). Further, minority students are more likely to be disproportionality represented in what are referred to as 'high incidence' disability categories (i.e., learning disabilities, emotional disorder and mild intellectual disability). Data in Australia, reported by Linda Graham and her colleagues (e.g. Van Bergen et al. 2015) documented increasing over-representation of indigenous students and boys in special schools and classes and with the greatest number and rate of diagnoses in the area of behavioural disorders; (e.g. ASD and Attention Disorders). The disproportional placement of some students in diagnostic categories because of perceived attributes denies them benefits of a particular classroom or school and reflects the inequities and exclusions in education and society. Disability and other diagnostic categories are largely arbitrary with substantial variability within diagnostic categories and with rates of diagnosis likely to shift with changes in the awareness of conditions and/or the local levels of funding and service available to support them. For example, across the various jurisdictions in Australia, differences in definitions, eligibility criteria and diagnostic categories, determine marked variations in access to disability support and funding (Forlin and Chambers 2013; Forlin et al. 2013).

Deficit explanations of difference and school failure construct boundaries between what is assumed to be 'normal' and what is 'deviant' or 'deficient' (Humphrey 2014). These deficit explanations continue to influence teaching and assessment practices. However well intentioned, this view continues to have negative impacts on children and youth, and the school communities who are the targets of this discourse heightening their vulnerability to injustices and perpetuating inequalities in education (Artiles 2015). This is particularly true where differences intersect across disability, social class, gender, cultural, racial and language background (Artiles 2011; Paugh and Dudley-Marling 2011).

11.4   Is Difference of Any Educational Consequence?

A related question for education is whether or not individual difference is of any educational consequence. The challenge is that researchers, clinicians, policymakers, teacher educators, teachers, disability advocates and other stakeholders (including those who are *different)* typically disagree over whether difference is of any consequence. Although the mechanisms by which development is impacted are not yet fully understood, it is well known that the quality of early biological and social environments do shape the ways that genes are expressed, and influence individual differences in development (Human Early Learning Partnership 2013). For example, severe neglect in early life is associated with compromised brain development and associated behavioural functioning (Boyce 2015). Low-SES and English as second language background is reported to contribute to differences in language trajectories that have negative consequences for academic achievement (Hoff 2013). The importance of early experiences remains controversial with alternative evidence that some experiences may have more enduring impacts than others (Fraley et al. 2013). Longitudinal studies of developmental trajectories have shown that there is tremendous variation in children with the same diagnosis and children at the same stage of development at one point can develop at different rates and different times and in very different ways over time (Lloyd et al. 2009).

Recent estimates show that up to 10% of Australian children who are not 'developmentally ready' to begin school remain behind on measures of physical health and well-being, social competence, emotional maturity, language, cognitive skills and academic skills at all stages of schooling and do not complete year 12 or equivalent (Lamb et al. 2015). There are other Australians who were 'behind' at one stage of schooling that have achieved at or above academic benchmarks in later stages of schooling.

These findings potentially reinforce the importance of context and culture as critical to assessment and in particular for determining what developmentally 'behind' might look like for different students in different contexts and at different stages of schooling. These findings are also affirming for teacher educators, teachers and other professionals who support children and youth to overcome challenges and achieve success in schooling. Future developments in brain research will continue to contribute to our understandings of brain differences and the changes that occur under different conditions. However, it will be the understandings of the complex interrelationships of the brain and the child in the context of their learning environment that will support educators to implement appropriate assessment and teaching – rather than simply adopting 'brain-based' or other forms of instruction that are devised as 'recipes' for practice linked to a particular diagnosis.

Unlike medicine where treatment is directly linked with diagnosis, teachers gain little that is relevant to teaching and learning (Harry 2014). Yet, despite more than 25 years of critique, rejecting 'deficit' constructions of difference for educational purposes (Farrell 2012) they remain a powerful influence in education, that is, applied to the training of teachers and educational psychologists, the organization of

school environments and most importantly to the teaching and assessment practices are enacted by teachers and health professionals. As a consequence, 'difference as deficit' continues to shape the way teachers view students and the practices they adopt for those who do not meet expectations of 'normal'.

Alternatively, greater educational value might be gained by considering the teachers and learners in terms of their interaction with their environment, including the context in which the teaching and learning takes place. Teaching and learning takes place in a social political context, in a specific geographic, institutional location, with particular people and at particular point in time (Kelchtermans 2014). The cultural context includes what teachers and learners bring and what institutional and social practices that are already in place and have "deep connections to views of learning" and difference (Artiles 2015, 2). This includes the teacher's and the learner's previous experiences and expectations for the present and future and the resources and opportunities that are available for engagement in particular practices. The context influences how students and teachers act and interact and shapes participation and learning.

11.5   University-School Partnership: Navigating Between the Local and Broader Context

This section of the chapter focuses on teachers and learners in the context of inclusive schooling. I draw on university-school partnership research focused on equity and quality within complex neo-liberal policy contexts that increasingly emphasize standards and accountability, high-stakes testing, school diversity and autonomy and historical and established practices that view 'difference' as deficit. I draw on research conducted in two school-system research partnerships in Victoria, Australia. The projects were school-based and engaged teachers in participation in collaborative research inquiry as the strategy for professional learning and school development. The projects aimed to conduct participatory, democratic and reflective research *with* teachers and other professionals in school communities rather than research *on* them. A convincing argument, for using such approaches was provided by Kemmis (2010) who stated:

> Researchers who study education from the outside do not grasp the palpability and actuality of individual and collective educational praxis, with all its wanted and unwanted consequences, and its incessantly urgent need for development in the light of changing circumstances. In the end, educational praxis can only be changed from within, by those whose work – whose individual and collective praxis – is education (25).

In our approach, cycles of collaborative critical reflection and assessment followed by action were systematically used to inform and develop local practice and were intended to support on-going commitment to school development in areas related to pedagogy, teaching and learning. The project schools shared a commitment to improving practices and learning for all students but with a particular focus

on the equity and quality of schooling for students disadvantaged by personal or environmental circumstances. While the purpose for the research was necessarily influenced by the school system and the political context for the partnership, the teachers' questions and investigations were intended to guide the school-based direction of the work. Our aim as researchers was to work with teachers and others to building collective capacity for generating and using evidence that could be used to understand and address the inequities in their local school. Collaborative engagement with evidence provided a mechanism and opportunities for teachers, health professionals and other community members to interrogate varied perspectives and understandings and to generate questions for further investigation and experimentation (Deppeler 2014, 2012, 2010; Deppeler and Huggins 2010). The aim was to expose and explicate potentially conflicting constructions of students through the voices of families, students, teachers, professionals and other members of the community. We therefore made explicit a number of common obligations for teachers to frame their inquiry:

- *Systematic* – to conduct research inquiry across several cycles of research and include multiple sources and forms of evidence;
- *Multi-vocal* – to better understand, expose and explicate potentially conflicting perspectives by engaging the voices of families, teachers, and professionals and the students themselves;
- *Student centered* – to explicitly focus on developing practices that improved the quality of student learning and engagement;
- *Collaboration* – to share knowledge and understandings gained through the inquiry with members of their school community, with the network of project schools and with the wider educational community through a range of in-person presentations and print and electronic forums;
- *Inclusive* – to design learning environments that ensure students are able to participate, achieve and are valued; and
- *Non-Discriminatory* – to prohibit discriminatory practices and discriminatory language

We also expected that this process would necessarily create tensions for the practitioner researchers and for us as researchers and as partners in working within and against established practices and the broader mandates for standards and accountability.

11.6 The Dynamics of Power and Voice

The broader social political context in which these projects took place was framed by accountability, standards and compliance for schools and teachers. The expectation was that educators would share accountability and responsibility for the progress of all students including those with disabilities and those from diverse backgrounds within a 'standards-based' reform context – that is to ensure that all

students achieve common educational standards – including teacher standards. Indeed, the research funding and the establishment of the university system-partnerships themselves depended on shaping the focus and measured outcomes of the research project to these reform agendas. The partnerships both endorsed teacher engagement in inquiry driven by school agendas and concerns. The tensions in negotiating these dual and competing goals were apparent from the outset. On one hand, the projects were designed to empower teachers and other professionals to work together in inquiry and to find solutions to the unique challenges in their context. On the other hand, we wanted to disrupt and challenge deficit constructions of students encouraging teachers to critically examine the evidence they gathered about student's learning and listening to their voices and examining their teaching and student work.

There is no denying that some previous attempts to lead education development using standardized approaches including assessment of students' performance using large-scale, standardized tests and/or mandated practices have been contentious and provoked much debate. The key criticism of such top–down initiatives is that they fail to recognize the knowledge and expertise of educators and underestimate the importance of teachers in developing practices to meet local needs, and undermine teachers' agency and investment in innovation. The following journeys involved working within and against the top-down reform agendas and deficit informed ways of working in efforts to change practice. Challenges and debate arose at all levels in making decisions regarding the voicing of unpopular and 'difficult' views and with maintaining spaces for genuine and authentic critique. Attempts to navigate these agendas played out it quite different ways in each of the projects for the teachers within them and for the research partners.

11.6.1 *Working with and Against National High Stakes Testing*

The *Learning Improves in Networking Communities* (LINC) research projects involved the Faculty of Education, Monash University and the Catholic Education Office, Melbourne (CEOM) and a number of Catholic secondary schools in Melbourne and regional Victoria, Australia and were conducted over a period of 6 years from 2004 to 2010. The early focus on investigating student underachievement later narrowed to improving literacy outcomes in lower performing secondary schools (Deppeler 2010; Deppeler and Huggins 2010). A distinctive feature of LINC partnership was that CEOM applies the principle of *subsidiarity* that assumes that central authority maintains a *subsidiary* function and therefore does not make decisions on any matters, which can be handled at a school level. Thus, each school is self-governing and determines the ways in which curricula and pedagogy are enacted including how professional development and support is provided to teachers and students. A school's willingness to participate in the project depended on their initial and on-going perceived value of the project. The self-governing nature of these schools was a key enabler for the teams in identifying and 'owning'

priorities for investigation and in voicing their findings. This team leader's statement not only clearly describes their professional learning and school improvement goals but the well-established community confidence and agency in shaping their agenda:

> We see ourselves as a learning community and that every member of this community learns, and that includes the staff as well as the students, and particularly given the changes that take place in the world, you know, there is so much to keep abreast of. So that would be one arm of it. The other arm of it would be that, given – as I indicated to you – the language impoverishment of many of our students coming from multicultural backgrounds, coming from homes where they don't hear English spoken at home, that literacy is a real issue for us, and as I know it is for a number of other schools, but it's a significant issue for us. It's a key pillar of our school improvement program, and therefore this was an opportunity to enhance the literacy skills of a team of people which one would hope would have an impact across the school. We do try and avoid sort of one-off PDs with one person, you know, send X off to do a day on literacy, because they might pick up one good hint, but by and large it doesn't go anywhere. But our approach to professional learning across all areas of the school has always been to try and get teams of people working together, and working particularly in action research type of stuff so that we can make a real difference.

Secondary school inquiry teams who shared common concerns about student literacy and the newly introduced *National Assessment Program Literacy and Numeracy* (*NAPLAN*) tests began with a critical examination of the literacy outcomes for the year 7 cohorts in their respective schools. The purpose was not to use the overall test scores to compare their performance with other 'like' schools or to sort teachers and/or students into under achieving and high performing categories. Rather, they wanted to dig down into the data and examine the various test tasks, individual test items and responses of various students to better understand what was being measured and how students were responding. The following are illustrative of initial questions that teachers asked in their examination of the NAPLAN data:

> What items did the majority of our students fail or do well at? Why? What were these items intended to teach? Is this concept important for our indigenous students? Do we teach this skill? Where? How? What literacy practices do our teachers use? Do we think our practices are of value? Why? What forms of teaching engage our students? What classroom assessment practices and criteria do we use to understand literacy learning? How do we share assessment information? Are our literacy practices consistent across curricula?

The analyses acted as a catalyst for the inquiry prompting new questions and cycles of investigation and experimentation. Over the next 2 years each team developed a wide range of approaches to teaching and assessment to support literacy learning. Working within the standards agenda, NAPLAN testing prompted the initial examination. However, it was the cycles of inquiry that empowered teachers to share knowledge and to voice critique – presenting their research in both local and wider forums including state and National Catholic school conferences. Many of these papers 'talk back' to the high-stakes testing and include critical comments on the narrow focus of the literacy measures and the way in which they failed to capture the literacy progress of some students. Others drew attention to the areas of importance not addressed by these tests.

> One of our teachers went on Master Chef and because the students were interested in her cooking … this has grown into our Friday night take-away kitchen. Of course we know that the students' language and reading and understanding has developed from this – they are using the recipes to prepare the food, writing the survey and the newspaper ads. The NAPLAN won't measure any of this and it won't measure the leadership and organizational skills of the students or the ways they've worked together to decide what's on the menu and what they need to buy or how they persuaded more and more of the community to buy Friday night takeaway from us. One of our girls who is a new arrival had hardly ever spoken in class began suggesting ideas for the menu – she probably will still be very low on the NAPLAN.

At the school level the positive outcomes on student engagement and literacy learning resulted in larger and diverse changes. Key findings of the LINC project demonstrated that engagement in research inquiry fostered teachers' professional learning and accountability, generated significant positive changes in teacher knowledge, practice, and efficacy and lead to improvement in students' literacy achievement with a greater parity of outcomes across all groups of students (Deppeler 2007; Dick 2005; Meiers and Ingvarson 2005). We regularly heard teachers describe assessment as something more than test scores and witnessed their increased confidence in designing and implementing differentiated teaching and assessment practices.

At the system level, the CEOM invested resources and trusted schools to respond and address the unique needs of their diverse school communities, never attempting to shape the inquiry or reporting of their findings. In contrast, at higher state or national levels, administrators and some researchers became interested in five of the previously identified 'lower performing' schools when there was evidence of marked improvement in their performances in the writing component of NAPLAN. The premise was that if these schools could demonstrate substantive improvement on these 'objective' measures then clearly this warranted a closer look. Despite the many positive outcomes reported for these schools, the accountability mechanisms in the wider policy context were identified as of greater value and dictated priorities for action.

11.6.2   *Working Silently and with Hidden Agendas*

The *Inclusive Support Program (ISP)* partnership project (2012–2013) between Department of Education and Early Childhood Development (DEECD) and the Faculty of Education, Monash University was designed to examine the integration of policy and the development of practice with a focus on students with ASD. The ISP involved a network of 15 primary and secondary schools in regional and metropolitan areas across Victoria, Australia. (Deppeler and Sharma 2013; Deppeler et al. 2012a, b). In contrast, to the principle of *subsidiarity*, the ISP was characterized by departmental requirements and accountability to ensure compliance. The expectation was that each school would develop initiatives consistent with the common goals and expectations set by the Department (e.g. ISP guidelines for 'best'

practices to improve student attendance, engagement and participation and achievement) and would identify the efficacy of their initiatives through the systematic collection and analysis of relevant data. Financial and other resources provided incentives for schools to participate. The Inclusion Support Coordinator (ISC) and the principal in each school were expected to lead ISP initiatives including those not related to the inquiry.

Conditions in the partnership created a number of tensions, resistance and challenges for the collaboration and for the inquiry. The specific focus on ASD and in particular 'best' practices outlined in the ISP guidelines narrowed the research inquiry from the outset. In individual schools there were common and less visible patterns of power and these varied over the course of the projects and on a number of levels. Leadership was critical in influencing the school organizational culture to support (or not) the ISP and to use evidence-informed practices. Collaboration between the ISC and school principal had a direct and significant impact on the level of success achieved by individual ISP schools. Some ISCs and principals worked together and used their agency to navigate situations and interactions by not only applying the regulative rules of the Department but also by improvising in response to their school's perceived needs. These schools were able to use and build upon existing resources, expertise and networks to enhance their school activities and achievements. Despite DEECD mandates, in other schools this was less evident. For example, one principal showed no support for the ISC or the program. The ISC spoke of feeling isolated and powerless to secure resources and to influence and work with teachers:

> If I organize a 30-minutes time slot to speak at the staff meeting, he either takes me off the agenda or reduces my time so I only have the last 10 minutes before lunch. I don't have anyone to work with me and it's a very big school and when I ask for resources I am told there aren't any. It's pretty clear that sport is what matters in this school not inclusion. I have asked teachers to work with me but they won't because he's told them they don't have to – it's my responsibility. I can't do or say anything or I will lose my position.

Opportunities for teacher dialogue and critical discussion in networking activities and ISP conferences provided an important platform for sharing knowledge, celebrating success and to gain important feedback from other ISCs, university researchers and representatives from the Department. Much of the critique of the ISP (shared privately with researchers) was silent in these activities and other public forums. Work that did not align with the Department's agenda for the ISP, or was not compliant with the narrow focus was not reported and actively hidden from other schools in the ISP network and the Department authority. What was reported in these forums did not tell the whole story of what was done. For example, one school reported that their inquiry specifically focused on enhancing the use of technology with six students diagnosed with ASD in conjunction with a specific expert. Unreported were the technology teaching resources provided through the ISP that were used more widely with students, across classrooms and teachers. The principal and ISC also actively supported and encouraged teachers to collaborate with a doctoral student in including the voices of the students and their families along with outside professionals. This research was not included in the official reports or

presentations. In addition, ISP schools were required to submit their research posters to the DEECD for approval before they could be presented at the final project conference, where a number of government officials would attend. This involved extensive editing of text and deletion of some material prompting one ISC to comment:

> It (research poster) doesn't even look like our project now– but it won't stop us from talking about our work.

11.7 Sharing Expertise: What Counts and for Whom?

Meaningful collaboration in inquiry depends on transparent and equitable processes for maximizing the voices of students, families and teachers in genuine dialogue. When particular voices are privileged and allowed to determine what is important and what is not, particular practices become legitimized and reported (Deppeler 2014). Across both projects there were a range of professionals who worked as a member of a school team and others who worked with more than one school across the network. These professionals highlighted the vast differences in perspectives among psychologists and other health professionals and special education teachers, ASD specialists, and classroom teachers and the tensions around their various roles and responsibilities. When teachers and other professionals operated in fixed ways by making assumptions about what a student could or could not do based on the student's diagnosis, the 'best' practices typically nominated and adopted were those advocated for the diagnosis. Thus, the assessment remained disconnected from teaching. Many 'special education' professionals had a vested interest in maintaining what they perceived as their role and area of expertise and were highly resistant to change the way in which they worked. For example, the dominance of one autism coach was such that the school's inquiry projects were reshaped around the skill set of this professional and a 'one size fits all' strategy was adopted for students diagnosed with ASD. In asking whether the 'coaching' might be re-shaped in light of an individual teacher's approach and the students in her classroom the autism coach responded:

> …this is the process…it's the way I work with teachers who can't manage the ASD kids... I have been doing this for some time now and don't see any reason why I would change what's working. If (school name) doesn't want this there are plenty of others who do.

Some psychologists made genuine efforts to collaborate with schools, aligning or re-shaping their practices around the identified inquiry priorities and the specificity of the school. However, only a few of these were able to successfully maintain a focus on individual student learning as constructed through interactions within a classroom, rather than as a set of individual attributes associated with psychological assessment and diagnosis.

Families often received support from a range of services and health and educational professionals within and outside the school. Many reported that they did not

use or understand the professional language used in meetings or decision-making processes, which often served to exclude them from actively participating. However, some emphasized the potential of the school as a key place for gaining as well as sharing information in what "one mother described as a 'fragmented' system" (Reupert et al. 2014).

Acknowledging and also confronting the varied and often competing perspectives and knowledge of various stakeholders is highly complex and challenging. Health and education professionals use specific language and assessment tools and practices to describe their understandings of *difference* – this creates distinctive points of view that can sometimes be poles apart. Dancing between these multiple perspectives involves both moral and practical imperatives for school based collaboration in inquiry. Individual teachers and schools were not always able to take or maintain a critical stance. As a consequence, deficit discourse often dominated discussions of students who did not perform according to expectations.

11.8   Navigating the Boundaries of Difference – Final Thoughts

In terms of the current equity landscape, navigating the boundaries of difference through collaborative practitioner inquiry, is a conceptual and practical labyrinth, made messier by educational policies that encourage competition among schools and where accountability mechanisms dictate priorities for action. In some ways, this chapter raises more questions than answers and further complicates the journey. This is not unexpected given the long history of established exclusionary practices and the tension of meeting local needs within broader accountability and funding frameworks. This work has reinforced my certainty that deficit thinking, at the heart of special education and diagnostic practices, dominates and acts as a significant barrier to professional collaboration that is critical for achieving the goals of equity and quality in inclusive schools. I remain concerned with the way in which professionals and researchers who work from the positivist paradigm, in relation to difference ask narrowly focused questions and offer an equally narrow set of solutions. This in turn artificially restricts the practices that are funded, reported and advocated by researchers and adopted by teachers and other practitioners as 'best' practice. Narrow paths of practitioner inquiry are shaped by this dominant paradigm such that important questions that have been asked are suppressed or marginalised. The answer as to why this approach has persisted is embedded in larger questions which remain regarding – whose purposes are being served and which interests and values are structuring the various discourse being articulated.

The broader vision of difference discussed in this chapter attempts to re-connect issues of equity and quality in schooling with the work of teachers and the concerns of their local community, bringing into focus the relevance of the changing landscape of inclusive education addressed by this publication. Universities are in a

unique position, with unparalleled knowledge resources and expertise in multiple modes of research and inquiry. There is enormous potential for cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary collaborations of many kinds, including research and professional collaborations between teachers and health professionals working in teacher education. This is not about advocating for particular practices but rather thinking seriously about whether the practices we adopt in teacher education and in schooling truly reflect the espoused democratic ideals of representation and participation and principles of inclusive education. It is about asking what forms of participation we want to support and challenging deficit assumptions that pathologize vulnerable students and their families and exclude them from schooling. It is imperative that we continue to disrupt existing boundaries and build new collaborative spaces to unite professional communities in teacher education research.

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Chapter 12
Professional Learning to Support the Development of Inclusive Curricula in Scotland

Mhairi C. Beaton and Jennifer Spratt

12.1 Introduction

Policy concerns about the provision of quality education for all children, in the context of demographic changes, are creating challenges for teacher education worldwide (Opertti and Brady 2011). Whilst all countries are subject to similar global pressures on their education systems, each country responds according to its own culture, history and values (Lingard 2008). For this reason, we can all learn from approaches taken by colleagues in different countries. This chapter will discuss how the Scottish policy context provides both opportunities and challenges for teacher education for inclusion. It will focus on the development of a Master's level teacher education course which draws on the concept of Inclusive Pedagogy to support experienced teachers in their understanding and development of the curriculum.

12.2 The Scottish Policy Context

Scotland has a long and proud tradition of egalitarian, meritocratic, state education (Paterson 2003). For example, universal compulsory education was introduced by the Education Act (Scotland) 1872, ahead of other UK and many European countries. Since 1965 all secondary schools have been comprehensive, with no academic selection at the point of entry. In recent years Scottish policy has further widened the access to schools with the 'presumption of mainstreaming' ushered in through the Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act 2000 which expects all children to

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attend their local school unless a strong argument can be made for them to attend a separate educational provision. Hence there is a strong sense that all children are treated equally in terms of their rights to be educated.

However, whilst equality of access to schooling is an important foundation to an inclusive system, it is only one aspect of an inclusive education (Black-Hawkins et al. 2007). What happens to children once they join the school is crucial. As school systems are working with increasingly diverse populations of pupils, it is becoming clear that flexibility in the curriculum and pedagogy is necessary in order to support all pupils to engage with learning. In other words, equality is not necessarily achieved by a system of universality that treats everybody the same (Riddell 2009).

Scotland's national curriculum, the 'Curriculum for Excellence' (Scottish Executive 2004), claims to be: "designed to achieve a transformation in education in Scotland by providing a coherent, more flexible and enriched curriculum from 3 to 18". By encouraging social constructivist styles of learning, fostering good communication between teachers and pupils and allowing teachers discretion to adapt content and pedagogy according to local circumstance, the curriculum encourages schools and teachers to respond positively to differences between children. Moreover, the 'Curriculum for Excellence' is not purely driven by attainment. By placing a high value on the attributes termed the 'four capacities', namely 'successful learners', 'confident individuals', 'effective contributors' and 'responsible citizens' it sends out a strong message that education is more than acquisition of knowledge.

'Curriculum for Excellence' is closely linked to the inter-agency policy 'Getting it Right for Every Child' (Scottish Government 2012). This policy advocates a system of 'joined up working' between different childhood professionals, with 'the child at the centre'. With a focus on the wellbeing of children this policy advocates responses to difficulties that start with the individual child and family, thereby creating possibilities for imaginative responses to address the diversity of circumstances and people. The Scottish curriculum has been criticised by some commentators, for example for lack of coherence in its value base (Gillies 2006); for conflating process and content approaches to curriculum design (Priestley 2010); and for tensions between the aims for contextualised local development and a centralised managerialist style of accountability (Reeves 2008). Nonetheless, the 'Curriculum for Excellence' seems to offer some space for schools and teachers to foster approaches to teaching and learning that are better suited to the pupil population within their classrooms. Moreover, it provides a useful vehicle for teacher educators to explore different approaches to teaching and learning with the wider teaching profession.

For universities in Scotland, policy opportunities also exist to foster more research-informed practice within the teaching profession. An influential report on the future of Scottish teacher education 'Teaching Scotland's Futures' (Donaldson 2011), proposed that the teaching profession should aspire to become a Master's level profession, with university-based, research-informed teacher education forming an integral part of all teachers' professional development. Teachers' research and enquiry skills, the report argued, were essential to inform and develop practice. Unlike other UK countries, the Scottish government has rejected alternative models

of initial teacher education provided by organisations other than universities. Instead, arguing for stronger relationships between schools, local authorities and universities, with enquiry skills seen as an integral part of teacher professionalism, this policy provides a window for the development of resilient links between research, practice and teacher education for inclusion.

It would appear that Scotland provides a positive context for inclusive approaches to education. Indeed, this has recently been confirmed by the OECD (2015) who compare Scotland favourably to other successful countries, saying "Scottish schools do very well on measures of social inclusion and mix, along with Finland, Norway and Sweden…Scotland enjoys one of the smallest proportions of low performers among its immigrant students" (9). Yet, before we become too effusive about our own success, it must also be acknowledged that Scotland faces some ongoing challenges, and it is to these we turn in the next section.

12.3   Challenges to Education for Diversity in Scotland

Scotland is a country of contrasts. In common with other Northern European countries, a significant proportion of the population live in thinly populated rural areas, with some very remote Highland and Island communities. At the same time, approximately half of the population live in busy cities such as Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen. Whilst the contrast between different socio-economic groups may be highly evident in cities, and poverty is often associated with 'inner city deprivation', differences in experience in rural living can also be stark. In the apparent 'rural idyll' of country life poverty may be masked, as rich and poor live in close proximity and difference may be marginalised as 'other' (Milbourne 1997). Moreover, the Scottish countryside is peppered with small ex-industrial fishing and mining towns where the communities that were built up around specific industries continue to exist, in spite of significantly curtailed employment prospects.

The geography of Scotland, then, lends itself to a widely diverse population. In recent decades, international movements of people have also led to a much greater diversity in ethnicity, largely, though not entirely in the cities, and this will no doubt increase in the coming years. Whilst the national curriculum arguably allows for flexible, localised approaches to teaching and learning, one of the challenges for teacher education is how to prepare teachers to work inclusively in such a wide range of settings.

The geographical spread of the population creates particular issues for recruitment and retention of teachers, particularly in the most remote and rural populations. There is currently a shortage of teachers in the North, particularly Aberdeenshire and Highland. This is occurring at a time when local authorities are facing budget cuts and school staffing has been reduced nationally (Riddell and Weedon 2014).

Once teachers are recruited, there is a further issue of career-long professional development. How best to support teachers in remote schools to engage in the

contemporary call for Master's level learning, or indeed any form of professional development, is an ongoing challenge. The distance of travel involved, coupled with the difficulties of finding substitute teachers make the prospect of attending Professional Development events rather more daunting than it would be for city-dwelling colleagues. We try to address this in our work at the University of Aberdeen. One of our responses, which will be discussed in more detail later, is to make our Master's level learning available in innovative online formats, using technology to develop an online community of course participants learning together.

In spite of Scotland's policy commitment to inclusion, there is a persistent socio-economic disparity between the educational success of young people, as highlighted by the OECD (2007). This inequality was shown to be due to differences within schools (rather than between schools), demonstrating that children can have very different experiences of the same school, according to their social background. This marked difference in educational outcomes was reiterated, more recently, by Sosu and Ellis (2014). Government concern about the so called 'attainment gap' between rich and poor has resulted in the Education (Scotland) Bill 2015, calling for schools to address this inequality. This has led to the development of the 'Attainment Challenge' Programme which will target funds at schools who present innovative approaches to address the problem (Scottish Government 2015). The First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon (2015) has also indicated the Government's intention to introduce standardised testing as a means of monitoring the success of the programme. As a key focus of 'Curriculum for Excellence' was to reject narrow attainment measures in favour of a broader focus on achievement, it remains to be seen what the effect of the introduction of standardised tests will have on Scotland's flexible, locally responsive curriculum.

12.4 Inclusive Pedagogy as the Fundamental Premise of Teacher Professional Development for Diversity

The previous sections have argued, that, broadly speaking, Scottish policy provides a context that allows for the development of innovative inclusive responses to support the learning of a diverse population of pupils, albeit constrained by some contemporary challenges. It has also argued that there is an increasing diversity of pupils and communities that schools must support. If our expectation of teachers is that they will work in very different contexts, the challenge for teacher educators is how to provide a coherent approach to inclusion that can be applicable in a wide range of circumstances. It is clear that inclusive practice cannot be prescribed, in a technocratic way, since the point of inclusion is to recognise, value and respond to the unique differences between people. Instead, our courses need to support teachers to make decisions about their classroom practice that are both consistent in terms of their conceptual understanding of inclusion, and responsive to the situations that they encounter.

The University of Aberdeen offers a suite of Master's level modules in its Inclusive Practice Programme, through which course participants can gain a Post-Graduate Certificate, then Post-Graduate Diploma and ultimately a Master's Degree in Inclusive Practice. All of the courses are underpinned by a commitment to the theoretical concept of Inclusive Pedagogy (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011). The notion of Inclusive Pedagogy provides a framework to support teachers to interrogate their own pedagogy and practice in their own setting (Florian and Spratt 2013). Research into the concept of Inclusive Pedagogy has taken place, in part, at the University of Aberdeen and has been used to develop undergraduate pre-service courses (Florian et al. 2010). The extension of this work to the development of Master's level courses with Inclusive Pedagogy at their core was the next stage of an ongoing cycle of research, practice and teacher education that is mutually enriching and continually progressing. As researchers, we have further developed the concept of Inclusive Pedagogy as we study teachers who enact the ideas (Spratt and Florian 2015). As will become evident within this chapter, we, as teacher educators, are constantly learning from the teachers who attend our courses and enact the theoretical principles that we espouse.

The concept of Inclusive Pedagogy provides an interrelated set of theoretical principles that were identified by analysing the 'craft knowledge' that underpinned the practice of teachers committed to inclusion (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011). Hence, the word 'pedagogy' is used (rather than practice) as it refers to teachers' knowledge and skills that inform the practical actions that they take (Alexander 2004). Inclusive Pedagogy assumes there will be differences between children and is committed to developing teaching approaches that account for those differences, in ways that do not categorise or stigmatise. Inclusive Pedagogy is based on a belief that the capacity of children to learn is transformable, if conditions are right (Hart et al. 2004), and that it is the responsibility of the teacher to support the learning of all children. In this vein, teachers are encouraged to view difficulties in learning as dilemmas for teachers rather than shortcomings in children.

Inclusion is seen as participation in the life and learning of the community of the school (Black-Hawkins et al. 2007). Hence attention must be paid to the spoken and unspoken messages through which pupils may develop their sense of themselves as learners (Beaton 2015). In particular, Inclusive Pedagogy asks teachers to consider how children are supported when they face difficulties in learning. It suggests that teachers look for ways to extend the choices ordinarily available to everybody, so that all learners are invited to participate on equal terms. Thus, when planning, teachers consider the individuality of each child to ensure that there are options available for all, but they are offered in ways which do not limit progress for any learner by prejudging what they might, or might not, do (Spratt and Florian 2015). Importantly, teachers are encouraged to seek and respond to the views that children hold about their own learning, so that learning experiences can be planned that the children themselves value.

In Scotland, the 'Curriculum for Excellence' encourages teachers to adopt pedagogical approaches based on a social constructivist view of learning. This provides ample opportunities for collaborative approaches to teaching and learning where

children are scaffolded in their learning by their peers. Teachers are encouraged to use formative assessment to support learning, and to provide choice to children in the way that they learn. It is in this pedagogical space that teachers can look for ways of managing their classes in innovative ways to provide open ended learning opportunities for everybody.

Importantly, Inclusive Pedagogy encourages teachers to view themselves as responsible for the learning of all children in their class, rather than seeing some learners as the responsibility of other specialists. As active professionals (Sachs 2000) teachers are urged to constantly look for new ways of working to support the ever-changing diversity of children in their class. In keeping with Donaldson's (2011) vision of the Scottish teaching profession, collaborative, research informed enquiry is encouraged. As Inclusive Pedagogy seeks new ways of supporting children's learning it challenges the traditional silos of professional responsibility that may keep classroom teachers and learning support teachers apart, and instead encourages teachers to work with specialists to find new ways of supporting children. Equally, teachers are encouraged to work closely with parents to better understand difficulties that children encounter.

The introductory module for participants in the online Master's Programme in Inclusive Practice at the University of Aberdeen is titled 'Inclusive Pedagogy', in which teachers consider these ideas in relation to their practice. This module has been discussed in detail elsewhere (Spratt and Florian 2014). In the remainder of this chapter we will discuss another module, 'Curriculum Transformation and Change'. Here the gaze moves from pedagogy and practice to consider broader issues of curriculum. In this module the participants draw from the stance that is articulated by Inclusive Pedagogy and explore how these principles can be used to inform the development of an inclusive curriculum.

12.5   The 'Curriculum Transformation and Change' Module

School curricula are often constructed and delivered in ways that create hierarchies within school, through which children learn their place, thus reproducing existing patterns of social inequality (Booth and Ainscow 2011). Decisions related to curriculum determine the culture which is transmitted to the next generation (Ross 2000). Booth and Ainscow (2011) advocate that educationalists should counter this by examining what is taught, how it is taught and to whom it is taught, giving voice to a wide range of members of the school community including parents and children. This would be supported by Opertti and Brady's (2011) view that,

> Respect for cultural, local and individual diversity is a core concept in the process of inclusive schooling, which requires shared agreement amongst diverse groups around the basic organisation and functioning of a given society and culture.

As Dewey (1916) pointed out curriculum may be viewed as 'transformative' and a process to promote equality in society, but this will only occur if the 'respect' and

'shared agreement' articulated by Opertti and Brady (2011) is inherent within the curriculum decisions being made. Of course, in reality, teachers are obliged to frame such changes within the boundaries set by national or local policy. The aim of the Curriculum Transformation and Change module is to support teachers to critically examine the nature of formal and informal curricula in their own setting and to identify how they can bring about changes for the better.

Curriculum Transformation and Change is often the third module undertaken by the participants. At this stage many of them have gained confidence through experience of Master's level learning. They also appear to have begun to see themselves as leaders of learning within their educational contexts. However, as their gaze moves from Inclusive Pedagogy to inclusive curriculum, new challenges emerge.

Conversation with participants revealed that the idea of interrogating the curriculum was often novel. As with many other nations, Scotland provides guidance on curriculum with an aim of providing coherence and progression for pupils across the country. During the initial stage of the module participants often revealed assumptions about what to teach and when such as in which year groups to teach mathematical concepts such as multiplication and division. These assumptions were, they commented, often communicated unconsciously from teacher to teacher with little scrutiny.

As a starting point, in delivering the course we acknowledge that curriculum is "notoriously difficult to define" (Gillies 2006), and this sets the scene for the discussion-based approach that is encouraged throughout the course. The module is delivered in a distance learning format with four online classroom sessions supported by ongoing reading and guided discussion fora. The main foci of the course are:

- An understanding, within the context of schools and institutions, of the influences and assumptions which shape curriculum policy and its implementation
- The concept of change as it relates to the development of inclusive curricula
- Possible sources of conflict and tension which may affect relationships particularly within the working contexts of participants
- The role of curriculum leadership and professional activities within interconnected systems

As with all the modules, the course materials draw together research knowledge, professional development and the teaching, learning and assessment occurring in participants' classrooms. There is a strong emphasis on these elements mutually informing the others. In the final assignment participants are required to demonstrate understanding of the theoretical concepts examined in the course and to critically plan, implement and evaluate a change in practice, showing how theory and practice were integrated.

12.6   Process of Critically Reflecting on the Course

The course started running in the academic year 2013/2014 and at the time of writing three cohorts of participants (48 teachers in all) had completed it. Participants engaged with the online course from across Scotland and beyond. Participants were a mix of primary and secondary teachers, and of class teachers and specialist teachers who supported children with additional support needs. In encouraging discussion between teachers with different experiences we believe we are addressing one of the principles of Inclusive Pedagogy as teachers are invited to share perspectives with others.

In this chapter we are reporting our reflective observations based on a range of sources available to us as tutors, and as active researchers in this area. These sources include extensive discussions within the online classrooms and discussion boards, participant feedback at the end of the module (conducted in line with University procedure for quality assurance) and the assignments that the participants submitted. Whilst there was a richness in these sources of evidence we understand the limitations of communications made in the context of assessed assignments, and we look forward to conducting more formal follow-up research with some of our participants after they leave the course.

Nevertheless, we believe that the reported experiences of qualified practitioners have much to tell us of how teachers might be supported to provide more inclusive curricula for young people. For example, it is interesting to note the theoretical concepts which resonated most deeply with the participants. As the participants were already familiar with the concept of Inclusive Pedagogy from previous modules, they could draw from these principles to critically examine national and local curriculum guidelines, and their implementation. Through discussion they considered what factors might hinder the development of an inclusive curriculum and how they might bring about change for the better in their own context. Their reactions are described in the following section.

12.7   Key Concepts Resonating with Participants

By reflecting on conversations within workshops and the following online (written) course discussion board, it became clear which concepts the participants found most stimulating and / or challenging. Firstly, the idea of curriculum as a social construction aroused interest and discussion. Gillies' (2006) suggestion, that curriculum is not a naturally occurring phenomenon but is constructed for social and political reasons, generated much discussion. A number of participants acknowledged that they habitually followed instructions in policy documents regarding the curriculum. They revealed that they seldom interrogated reasons why changes were made to prescribed curricula, nationally or locally, nor were they required to do so. Gillies' (2006) suggestion that curriculum design might be based on values was

seen as emancipatory, as it stimulated discussion about which values might be appropriate in their own educational contexts.

Sloan's (2009) distinction between 'curriculum-as-written', 'curriculum-as-enacted' and 'curriculum-as-experienced' enabled the participants to consider that curriculum might be viewed and experienced differently by different social actors. Particularly powerful was the notion that they, as experienced practitioners, had agency within the enactment of curriculum through the decisions they made. Equally, participants were stimulated by the thought that each pupil might experience the curriculum differently.

Finally, Sloan's (2009) distinction between a product and process curriculum was considered valuable by the participants. Priestley (2010) has voiced concern that Scotland's 'Curriculum for Excellence' is the result of an uncomfortable composite of both product and process approaches to curriculum design. Priestley (2010) comments that in the early stages of the development of the new curriculum guidelines, the emphasis lay on a process curriculum evidenced in the aspirational aims for all learners to become 'successful learners', 'confident individuals', 'effective contributors' and 'responsible citizens'. However, Priestley also notes that as 'Curriculum for Excellence' moved to the implementation phase, there was an increasing emphasis on a product view of the curriculum with learning objectives in the main subject disciplines being broken down into discrete goals.

This distinction between process and product elements of the curriculum guidelines provided insights into some of the challenges participants faced in their own enactment of curricular guidelines, allowing them to understand where many of the tensions lay in the policy documentation. It also highlighted how the shift in emphasis towards a product curriculum might hinder the development of a more inclusive curriculum in which all learners could participate. Nevertheless, it also allowed them to note spaces between the process and product elements of the 'Curriculum for Excellence', where they might find opportunities to create a curriculum that accounted for the diversity of learners in their current context. In the section below we describe how participants used their new understanding of curriculum, coupled with a commitment to inclusion, to inform the implementation of changes in in their schools. Pseudonyms are used.

12.7.1   Laura – Co-construction of Certificated Learning for Senior Pupils

Laura taught in a rural secondary school in the North-West of Scotland. She was newly promoted to Principal Teacher of Additional Support Provision. At the start, Laura articulated considerable concern for a group of pupils nearing the end of compulsory schooling; 4th year in secondary school. Some pupils leave school at this stage to enter further education or employment, while others choose to remain at secondary school. Laura's project took place at a time of change when an option

of a skills-based course, delivered in school, in collaboration with a Further Education College, had been withdrawn from the school curriculum. This course had been an alternative to studying for national qualifications for pupils who did not want further academic study, but did not feel ready to leave school.

A group of pupils approached Laura, concerned that that there was no longer a suitable curriculum for them in school. Laura recognised the pupils had identified a learning need and she decided to create a suitable course. She scheduled a number of sessions with the pupils to discuss what they felt they needed to learn to prepare for the future at college or work. Together they constructed a course entitled 'Skills for Life and Learning'. This approach contrasts sharply with usual practice where a curriculum is designed centrally and interpreted by teachers for their pupils. Using Sloan's (2009) definition, instead of the 'curriculum-as written' as the start point, Laura and her pupils began with 'curriculum-as-experienced'. Through their involvement in decision-making a suitable curriculum was designed ensuring that learning would be relevant and worthwhile.

Priestley and Humes (2010) note that tension often exists between the process model of curriculum and final assessment procedures. However, for Laura one of the drivers was a desire for her pupils to be included in learning that was validated through certification. Hence, in this case, process and product were complementary rather than oppositional. By working with the pupils, and simultaneously maintaining communication with colleagues and senior management, Laura was able to match learning planned with the pupils to national certification opportunities. As Laura noted in her report, "participation is about being with and collaborating with others" (Booth and Ainscow 2011) and she felt strongly this must apply to all aspects of the educational process. The new course was so successful that it is now being offered to all pupils in fifth year as its universal relevance has been recognised.

12.7.2   *Benjamin – Parental Involvement in Choosing Values of Mission Statement*

Benjamin worked within the primary sector in a Social and Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties (SEBD) unit attached to a mainstream school building. The idea of curricula being based on values resonated deeply with Benjamin. He was concerned that many parents found approaching the school to be an alien and difficult experience. Crozier and Davies (2007) point out that teachers find engagement with some parents to be a challenging for a range of reasons. Benjamin knew that many of the parents he worked with felt stigmatised as the parents of difficult and unruly pupils resulting in their avoidance of communication with the school. Consequently, he suggested that in developing a new mission statement for the unit, it was important to involve parents and pupils in the decisions about the values that inform and shape school life, including the curriculum.

Benjamin demonstrated a keen understanding of the curriculum as a social construct, which was currently underpinned by values which may have little meaning for the parents. As 'Curriculum for Excellence' defines the curriculum as the "totality of the experiences which are planned for the children and young people through their education, *wherever they are educated*" (emphasis added), then, if the values of the curriculum offered by the SEBD unit was out of alignment with those of the families it served, the curriculum would not be meaningful to either the parents or the pupils. Booth and Ainscow (2011) suggest that development in schools should arise from the school and its participants' own values rather than on a series of programmes and initiatives designed by others and informed by their values.

Benjamin engaged all parents in discussions, through a variety of means, to explore values they believed should underpin work in the SEBD unit. Despite initial difficulties, the new mission statement was collaboratively constructed by staff, parents and pupils. Benjamin believed strongly that this commonly understood framework of values, such as trust, integrity and care, provided avenues to structure and shape the curriculum with actions that felt relevant and were inclusive to all. Interestingly it also created a new dilemma. Parents and pupils experiencing a split placement between the SEBD unit and mainstream schooling now expressed dissatisfaction with the mainstream where the curriculum was not informed by their values.

12.7.3   Josephine – Co-construction of New Curriculum on Disability

Josephine worked in a rural secondary school. She was a full time Guidance teacher with sole responsibility for all year groups. Guidance teachers are employed in Scotland with a pastoral remit to offer advice, to help troubled students and to assist in making career or college plans. Although many Guidance teachers do not hold teaching remits, Josephine also taught Personal and Social Education to all year groups.

The origin of her project lay in a local authority decision to implement a new curriculum on discrimination. Josephine was very concerned that, as Gillies (2006) suggests, centrally imposed values were determining the curriculum without these being clearly articulated. For example, Josephine commented that the policy privileged physical disabilities whereas many of the additional support needs of the pupils in her context were not physical in origin.

She felt strongly that the new curriculum on disability would only be meaningful to the pupils in her school if they were consulted on its implementation. Questionnaires were distributed to all pupils, then Josephine formed a committee, of pupils deemed to have Additional Support Needs, to advise on the implementation. Two main ideas stood out. Firstly, pupils indicated a desire to move understanding about disability from the 'hidden curriculum' to the overt curriculum.

Secondly, they suggested that the optimum time to teach about disability was third year. Any earlier, it was felt, the pupils would be too immature. Any later, pupils would be preparing for national examinations and may not attend sufficiently to the learning.

Pupils also wanted to extend the Local Authority definition of disability from physical disability to include a wider range of disability including learning difficulties and social and emotional difficulties, both long and short term. Interestingly this aligns with Scotland's Additional Support Needs Act (2004) which recognises the diverse range of challenges pupils may face during their educational career.

Taking account of pupils' views, Josephine designed a learning package for Personal and Social Education classes in third year. Staff and pupils reviewed the materials, before implementation the following year. Josephine believed that this process contributed to a more inclusive curriculum on disability. In evidence, she reported that some pupils with hidden disabilities offered to brief classes about their experiences as part of the course.

12.8   Discussion

We see our work as teacher educators as part of a complex reciprocal cycle of research, teacher education and school-based practice. As described earlier, this course was informed, in part, by research on teacher education which has taken place in this university. The reflective analysis reported in this chapter is the start of the next phase in this cycle. From the data that was available to us through our course review, particularly the online discussions, the written record of web-based discussions, and written accounts of the projects undertaken we are able to provide evidence of the ways in which teachers engaged with the ideas of the course and how these translated into practical outcomes, in the form of redesigned curricula in schools. The positive findings to date invite closer research over time into the ways in which these ideas are enacted as the teachers progress through their careers, and the impact that this has on the wider community and on the learning of pupils.

Throughout our Master's level teaching we emphasise the interaction between teachers' experiential knowledge and skills and their theoretical learning gained through critical engagement with research literature. For this reason, we use the concept of Inclusive Pedagogy, seeing practice as the manifestation of informed choices that teachers make. Within the Curriculum, Transformation and Change module, participants drew from the principles of Inclusive Pedagogy, studied in previous modules and turned their gaze to the design and implementation of curriculum.

Empowered by a newly found understanding of the socially constructed nature of curriculum, course participants were able to make the curriculum they were offering more inclusive. Based on the belief that all children's capacity to learn is transformable if the conditions are right (Hart et al. 2004), the participants sought to collaboratively design curricula for the young people they were working with that

permitted or enhanced their participation in learning. For Laura, this meant the development of a collaboratively designed and implemented curriculum to develop 'Skills for Life,' rather than the existing curriculum offerings for that year group which were not meaningful to them. For Josephine, the collaboratively designed curriculum package of learning about disability was a locally relevant response to a centralised policy edict.

In both Laura and Josephine's projects, collaboration occurred between teachers and pupils. However, Benjamin shows how extension of collaboration to a wider range of stakeholders further enhances the inclusivity of curriculum design (Booth and Ainscow 2011). By involving parents in decisions about the values which should underpin the SEBD unit's mission statement, he endeavoured to make decisions about appropriate curriculum be meaningful to the learners in his context. In all of the projects described the participants were demonstrating activist professionalism by working with and through others (Sachs 2000; Florian and Spratt 2013)

In each instance outlined above, the participants were working with pupils who may, in some circumstances, be marginalised by the curriculum. Laura was working with a group of pupils who would otherwise have left school without certification. Josephine's committee was composed of a number of pupils who had identified additional support needs or disabilities. Benjamin was working with a traditionally stigmatised group of children whose behaviour was considered challenging in a mainstream context. However, based on the belief in their capacity to learn if the conditions were right and respecting the dignity of all learners they worked with parents, pupils and colleagues to develop a more inclusive curriculum for all in their own contexts.

The participants were able to enact these changes through their increased knowledge and skills gained through Master's level study. Taking Sloan's (2009) three planning models, the participants were able to distinguish between curriculum as content and education as transmission, curriculum as product and education as transmission and curriculum as process and education as development. These distinctions permitted them to view the creation of curriculum in a more inclusive manner which provided meaningful learning for all. The projects outlined moved beyond pupils taking a consultative role in deciding what was to be taught and learnt but moved to a deeper level of participation by a range of stakeholders.

In all instances the participants on the course had begun to view themselves as change agents. In order to create a meaningful learning experience for all the learners, they acknowledged the need to consider the purposes of education and work in a collaborative manner with all stakeholders. The participants recognised the need for Senior Management approval but believed that they had the agency, knowledge and language to effect this change.

Therefore, a key finding emerging from our course review was that engagement with Master's level learning facilitated the participants' ability to work in ways that were more inclusive; not in a prescriptive manner but by taking the theoretical ideas presented in the course, both Inclusive Pedagogy and Curriculum, and implementing them in unique and diverse ways to suit their own particular context. This aligns with the aspirational notion for Scottish Teacher Education articulated by Donaldson

(2011). Nevertheless, the experiences of the participants also indicate some of the challenges presented by this type of leadership in learning activity for teachers.

12.9   Conclusions

Opertti and Brady (2011), in their UNESCO report, encourage teachers to see themselves as co-developers of the curriculum whilst maintaining positive attitudes to inclusion and diversity. Teachers, they argue, must be viewed as competent professionals able to make decisions for the pupils they are working with in the context of inclusive schools and also inclusive communities and societies. This chapter explored how university based teacher education, by introducing practicing professionals to a research-informed understanding of key educational concepts such as curriculum, inclusion and diversity, can inspire teachers to reconceptualise their roles as educators as they examine their practice through a more theoretical lens. Importantly, this approach to teacher education does not seek to provide 'one size fits all' approaches to teaching and learning, instead it fosters within teachers the knowledge and confidence to make informed decisions that are appropriate to the community in which they work. In the Scottish context, the teachers are supported to identify and work creatively with the pedagogical spaces that exist in 'Curriculum for Excellence'.

There has been much debate in Scotland, following the publication of the Donaldson (2011) report about the need for 'enquiring professionals'. Some might argue that professionalism is exemplified by the competent practitioner who efficiently implements whatever current policy dictates, in ways that enhance their own career, characterised by Groundwater-Smith and Sachs (2002) as the 'entrepreneurial professional'. Our experience would suggest that instead the 'enquiring practitioner' aspired to by Donaldson is the competent and critically questioning professional who interrogates both policy and practice to provide the most suitable curriculum for the learning of all his/her pupils equipped with the language and confidence to defend the decisions he/she makes.

To enable this to occur, teachers must be involved in research-led learning about diversity throughout their careers. Teachers are best supported by a policy framework that allows them freedom to make context-specific professional decisions about curriculum, in the light of the diversity of pupils in their classrooms, and those pupils' current rights and needs. Perhaps this is the important message to be learnt from working with these professionals. It is necessary that teaching workforce is trusted to make good decisions. Only then will they have the confidence and agency to create inclusive curricula with meaningful learning and relevant assessment opportunities for all the pupils in their care.

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Chapter 13
Feeling Our Way Toward Inclusive Counter-Hegemonic Pedagogies in Teacher Education

Esther O. Ohito and Celia Oyler

13.1 Introduction

We place our work as teacher educators and researchers as part of a growing area of study "concerned with how to prepare a teaching force capable of producing equitable learning opportunities and outcomes for diverse students in the context of enduring inequalities" (Cochran-Smith et al. 2015, 114). We do so as teacher educators with political and ideological commitments to inclusivity and pluralism. Preparing teachers for inclusive classrooms is not a novel project for a fair number of teacher educators and teacher education programs in the United States (U.S.). Indeed, the project of creating more inclusive classrooms and schools, although not widespread, has been underway for decades. Yet progress toward pedagogical practices that are responsive to a wide range of students is still more of an aspiration than a reality in the majority of classrooms in New York City, where we work as teacher educators. In this chapter we take up this worrisome matter by beginning with a dissection of the inherent contradiction between the project of compulsory state schooling, and the more recent call for schools that are welcoming to groups of students who have been historically excluded, underserved or marginalized by schooling in U.S. society.

Since the inception of U.S. state schooling, schools have largely been inconsiderate of students' diversities in relationship to curriculum and instruction. This fact has become pronouncedly glaring over the past five decades, at least, as the populations in our nation's schools have changed with accelerating rapidness. A demographic threshold was recently crossed. At present, Latinos, Blacks, and Asian Americans compose more than 50% of students (National Center for Education Statistics 2013). At the same time, the percentage of White, female, and

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overwhelmingly middle class teachers—who are the dominant population comprising our teaching force—remains stagnant.

In terms of students, U.S. schools have increasing numbers of children and youth who come from families that are not Christian. Currently, in New York City public schools, over 10% of students are Muslim. There are more Muslims in our schools as immigration from Somalia, Sudan, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and various Arabic speaking countries sharply rises. Immigrant groups seek recognition in ways they did not 100 years ago when assimilation was what was expected. Assimilation, of course, requires the erasure of difference. Indeed, throughout the development of the United States, the image of a "melting pot" has reflected the core mission of public schools. If we scrutinize the climate of education in the United States during the 1700s and 1800s, then we must note that originally, schools were neither for girls nor Black (enslaved or free) children (Anderson 1988). Adding to the racial, religious, linguistic, and ethnic diversity, New York City's schools also now serve more students with more complicated disabilities than 50 years before. Additionally, the growing success of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans (LGBT) equality/liberation/ rights movement means that schools are also needing to become competent at attending to LGBT-identifying children and youth.

The multiplicities of students who enter public schools with an array of languages, religions, races, ethnicities, sexualities and gender expressions vex notions of the adequacy of a one-size-fits-all curriculum. In the midst of this intermingling of diversities, the primary project of schooling continues from unstated but pervasive assumptions of this as a meritocratic process. In other words, schools historically and contemporarily uphold an assumption of meritocracy, that is, the unproblematized idea that the provision of the same curriculum and structure to all students allows for the most talented to rise to the top (Kliebard 2004).

13.2   Schools as Homogenizing Agents

Schools forward the fantasy that they function as a great leveler of status. Evidence is scant to non-existent that this is present or past reality. This was certainly never the intent of schooling as it was initially conceptualized. In 1786, Benjamin Rush, considered the father of U.S. psychiatry and a signee of the Declaration of Independence, remarked that, "By producing one general and uniform system of education, will render the mass of the people more homogeneous and thereby fit them more easily for uniform and peaceable government." Almost 250 years later, the United States has experienced successive waves of forced and voluntary migration, contributing to major shifts in the demographics of schooling. Troublingly, our curriculum and pedagogies remain unchanged. As such, the project of schooling continues to be oriented toward obedience and compliance with the teacher and the text as authorities. Children and youth learn that (sanctioned) knowledge comes from either the teacher or the text, and never beyond or despite these bodies. Teachers learn that they have less power in their classrooms than politicians,

economists and those seated at the figurative 'Business Roundtable' (Taubman 2009). Therefore, despite the aforementioned shifts on the demographic landscape, what is often missing is a version or vision of schooling *not* based on disciplining the unruly body that threatens the homogeneity promised by Rush.

In this chapter, we propose that it is not the demographic shift of public school students that demands our attention in justice-oriented teacher education, but the tension between principles of equity undergirding inclusive education and who the public school was intended for plus what it was intended to accomplish. Momentum toward this inevitable clash has been building since the launch of state schooling, and has risen to a fever pitch due to an uptake of the more recent project of equity by way of inclusion. These notions of inclusion compete with the historical objective of schooling, and press up against the (mis)education or (mis)information that many teachers receive about the purpose of U.S. schools. The fact is that the aim of schooling in service of greater uniformity runs in absolute contrast to the goal of inclusive education—which is predicated on disability rights, civil rights and indeed, human rights. Thus, the stationing of schools as key homogenizing state interventions is in direct conflict with the project of inclusive education. As justice-oriented teacher educators, we actively prepare teachers to enact inclusive pedagogies in their classrooms. Yet we argue here that we have not sufficiently addressed how these pedagogies are an alternative to the norm in that they require a decentering of the dominant discourses of schooling. Thus, the destabilization of the center and all it encompasses—that is, the rattling of notions of normalcy based on ableness, whiteness, cis-genderness and heteronormativity—must be boldly and explicitly (re)named as counter-hegemonic (Zembylas 2013) work in order to be understood and employed as such.

Given the diversities of students in classrooms and challenges of working against schools as homogenizing agents, a 'teaching tolerance' or 'appreciating diversity' liberal-humanist lens on the preparation of teachers is wildly insufficient. We maintain that teacher education students must graduate from teacher education programs with knowledge about how the -isms—for example, ableism, racism, hetero/sexism, classism—alongside xenophobia, linguistic privilege and religious intolerance, operate on classrooms and schools in grand and minute ways. Moreover, they must recognize how they are implicated in maintenance of these modes of oppression, and therefore, how they can disrupt them. Inclusive classroom pedagogies allow them to do so in the micro, or the day-to-day, through *everyday activism* (Zembylas 2013).

Undertaking inclusive classroom pedagogies as counter-hegemonic practices requires that we orient ourselves to how learning occurs beyond the cerebral realm, and how beliefs in a vision of schooling as just and equitable must be kindled by reaching past rational ways of knowing. Along with our proposal for (re)naming inclusive classroom pedagogies as counter-hegemonic, we posit that these pedagogies require continual dialogue with the affective domains of teaching and learning. This accentuation of the affective asks that we take heed of emotions and feelings that circulate around disabled, racialized and otherwise marginalized bodies that occupy public schools in the United States. As such, the two assertions we make in

this chapter are: first, the classroom practices that are commonly understood as 'inclusive pedagogies' (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011) are inherently counter-hegemonic and should be explicitly marked and taught as such; and secondly, teaching inclusive classroom pedagogies as part of justice-oriented critical consciousness raising teacher education must be approached as not only technical work but also as ideologically informed affective labor.

13.3 (Re)Producing Cultural Hegemony in Schools

To understand what might be considered counter-hegemonic, we turn to Antonio Gramsci—the Italian, anti-fascist intellectual and activist who, writing from a prison cell, explained that society is permeated with an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that supports the status quo and limits people's ability to think and act outside it (1971). To the extent that this prevailing consciousness is internalized by the population, it becomes part of what is generally called 'common sense' so that the philosophy, culture and morality of the dominant center comes to appear as the natural order of things.

For schools and the teachers within them, one key hegemonic force is the positioning of human difference as a problem that requires sorting, leveling and labeling. As Larry Cuban (1989) contends, the common school movement signaled the beginning of the considering of difference as a problem and the beginning of labels to identify students who did not fit in easily with the mainstream. The Civil Rights Movement in the U.S. broadened to include myriads of groups marginalized by race, ethnicity and disability status, such as Blacks, Mexicans, and students with disabilities. Yet the curriculum remained stagnant (Oyler 2008). In fact, the practices of sorting, labeling and leveling central to fueling the project of schooling were further developed by the bureaucratization of an elaborate apparatus of special education. How students are filtered into special education offers a prime example of how cultural hegemony lives in schools and classrooms. In other words, cultural hegemony thrives through the development of oppressive policies and enactment of practices of exclusion (Leonardo and Grubb 2013). We elaborate on two entangled paths through which cultural hegemony is (re)produced in schools in relationship to disability and race: the practice of ableism, and the enactment of white supremacy.

13.3.1 The Practice of Ableism

As Christine Sleeter (1986) pointed out decades ago, at the height of racial integration of U.S. public schools, the very creation of the category of 'learning disabled' served to resegregate Black and Latino children into self-contained special education settings. This pattern holds constant in New York City classrooms today, where a disproportionate number of Black, Latino, and Native American children and

youth are classified as disabled. Furthermore, and even more disconcerting, non-White students are disproportionately schooled in the most restrictive and segregated settings and hence have the least amount of contact with their non-disabled peers.

The sorting, leveling and labeling of students has only increased in the last two decades with intensity of the neoliberal accountability movement where classroom work is oriented around testing using standardized measures in order to determine who is above, on, or below grade level. Thus, it is clear to us that 'bell-curve thinking' (Fendler and Muzaffar 2008), permeates the day-to-day instructional practices and milieu of the vast majority of public schools in the U.S. The bell curve is the apparatus that constructs normalcy by engendering placement of all students in one of the three general spots: below normal, within normal and above normal. Below normal is then marked as inferior, damaged and is pathologized; above normal is deemed gifted, talented and smart. In other words:

> A substantial part of the ideological work of schooling constructs and constitutes some students as "smart," while simultaneously constructing and constituting other students as "not-so-smart"—that is, some students are taught their intellectual supremacy and concomitant entitlement to cultural capital, whereas others are taught their intellectual inferiority and concomitant lack of entitlement to both an identity as a 'smart' person, and the cultural and material spoils that such an identity generally affords (Leonardo and Broderick 2011, 2214).

The idea that students need to be sorted into categories and then directed to particular places (think of the processes of streaming and tracking, and of special schools) in order for teachers to efficiently and effectively teach them is one of the most pernicious assumptions of the common school. We argue that it is the devotion to meritocracy that undergirds this ranking, sorting, leveling, and labeling, and that in order to build schools with the commitment to equity and justice for all learners, we must greatly amplify teachers' skills at teaching widely heterogeneous classrooms.

13.3.2 The Enactment of White Supremacy

Renowned British cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1996) siphons from Gramsci when defining ideology as the "mental frameworks—the languages, the concepts, the categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representations—which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out, and render intelligible the way society works" (26). Hall posits that we make meaning of the organization and operation of society through 'mental frameworks'. From this strand of thought, white supremacy becomes ideology in that it explains how these 'mental frameworks' make meaning of the measured protection and preservation of the privilege and power bestowed to Whites. Cleveland Hayes and Brenda Juárez (2012) expound upon this, explaining this ideology as premised on "the supremacy of Whiteness—that is to say, the systemic and historical privileging of

Whites' collective interests, accomplishments, values, beliefs" (p. 2). Whiteness can thus be further defined as a "way of being in the world that is used to maintain White supremacy" (Picower 2009, 198). White supremacy traffics in granting privilege and power interpersonally, institutionally and systemically to those whose White racial identity is ascribed and/or corporeally inscribed. As such, it operates bodily and discursively. Moreover, it can be sustained even by those who are not racially marked as White.

To explore how this is so, we turn to data indicating that in U.S. public schools, Black-identified children and youth are suspended and expelled at three times the rate of their White-identified peers (U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights 2014, 3). Punitive disciplinary practices linked to zero-tolerance policies—all of which reek of white supremacy—lead to disproportionate increases in the number of arrests, suspensions and expulsions of racially marginalized students (Rich 2014). They also contribute to the 'school to prison pipeline', a phrase researchers use to explain how the aforementioned policies and practices route racially marginalized children and youth into the criminal justice system (Alexander 2010; Heitzeg 2009; Hirschfield 2008; Skiba and Noam 2002; Skiba and Rausch 2006). Among the Black children who constituted 18% of public school preschoolers in 2011–2012, 42% received one-time suspensions, and 48% were suspended multiple times (U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights 2014, 8). Ivan Watts and Nirma Erevelles (2004) posit that these "policies to prevent school violence become the most effective way of disciplining, regulating, and controlling students and teaching them their place within a racial and class hierarchy" (292). The practice of white supremacy in education occurs through such policies and practices. As Paulina Vivanco (2009) notes, "the subtext that anchors the over-representation of [racially marginalized] people on the receiving-end of harsh disciplinary action (whether in the classroom or on the street), then, is that their bodies are always and already read as an inherent threat" (31).

We also turn to Tuppett Yates and Ana Marcelo's (2014) study of teachers' perceptions of the imagination and creativity of preschool-aged children movements during pretend play. The researchers aimed to assess the correlation between the meaning that teachers assigned to a child's behavior and the child's race. Based on data culled from observations of classrooms, the researchers deemed the children of all races similarly imaginative and expressive. Teachers, however, when asked to evaluate the children, reached different conclusions. As the researchers explain:

> Among Black preschoolers, imaginative and expressive pretend play features were associated with teachers' ratings of less school preparedness, less peer acceptance, and more teacher–child conflict, whereas comparable levels of imagination and affect in pretend play were related to positive ratings on these same measures for non-Black children. These results suggest that teachers may ascribe differential meaning to child behaviors as a function of child race (Yates and Marcelo 2014, 1).

The data demonstrate that white supremacy shapes teachers and other educators' responses to racial difference, in both policy and practice, thought and action. This ideology influences "the attribution of corporeal deviance—not so much a property of bodies as a product of cultural rules about what bodies should be or do"

(Garland-Thomson 1997, 6). Consequently, children and youth are either granted or refused access to material necessities (such as physical safety) and immaterial needs (such as belonging, validation, affirmation, and acceptance). For racially marginalized students suffocating under the hegemonic burden of white supremacy, such restrictions have profound consequences for what becomes a tolerable and 'viable' (Butler 2004) life in classrooms and schools.

13.4 Teacher Education for Critical Consciousness

At the very heart of work on pedagogies for inclusive classrooms is a need for repositioning human difference vis-a-vis disability, race and other social differences not as a problem but rather as a resource. However, as Rush's previously noted statements indicate, the dawning of compulsory schooling in the United States did not include devotion to pluralism and an embrace of human diversities. Our work as justice-oriented—that is, *critical*—teacher educators champions human diversities. We orient our teachers to engaging with the richness of those differences by nurturing the understanding that "a teacher's personal history, life experiences, and sociocultural positionings deeply and somewhat firmly shape his or her consciousness" (Olsen 2011, 261). The task of educating teachers for critical consciousness requires supporting (future) teachers in analyzing root causes of systematic oppression and then imagining vast possibilities for social, economic and political justice. This process of conscientization can lead to continued and ongoing expansion of critical consciousness and potentially transformative action (Freire and Macedo 2005).

We have come to recognize the task of cultivating critical consciousness as not only cognitive, but also intensely *emotional* and therefore corporeal. Queer theorist Eve Sedgwick (2003) reminds us that emotions or affects, "can be, and are, attached to things, people, ideas, sensations, relations, activities, ambitions, institutions, and any number of other things, including other affects" (19). As such, emotions are interwoven with commitments. In other words, as Michalinos Zembylas (2013)— with credit to Gramsci—argues affect and ideology are enmeshed in the development of critical consciousness. What this means, then, is that gaining familiarity with pedagogical practices that actively recentre marginalized children and youth to be full participants in the production and circulation of knowledge in the classroom demands the understanding of the fact that "issues of identity and difference are relational, and thus learning–or unlearning–about these matters [requires] teachers to reconsider aspects at the heart of their relations with others" (Leibowitz et al. 2010, 89).

In our work as teacher educators, we aim to foster within future teachers this critical consciousness. As the narratives that we offer below illustrate, we bring our knowledge of the affectively intense dimensions teaching and learning to bear on this endeavor. We share our teacher education practices in order to make visible how we design learning experiences for our teachers to engage in critical consciousness

work. Specifically, we elaborate on a pair of generative teaching strategies that we have utilized: critical autobiographical analysis and embodied dialogue.

13.4.1 Critical Autobiographical Analysis

I, Celia, teach a yearlong class that accompanies a year-long practicum experience for preservice teachers. One of the key aspects of our course of study is to carefully unpack how our culture has shaped us, what we have been taught is 'normal' and right and particularly how our own social locations—our race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexuality, class, language and religion—situate and frame our learning. The student teachers read many books and articles that help focus their reflections on their own lives around the many dimensions of social difference that often end up mattering in classrooms.

As a support for student teachers to start examining their own lives and social locations as a powerful influence on their pedagogy, we lead them through the creation of a genogram (Bahr 1990). In our version of this psychology-derived tool for self-understanding, we ask students to portray their family tree with an emphasis on the messages they received about human difference and diversities. In small and then larger groups, they share these various messages and are asked to pay close attention to not only what was said, but also what was left out of their genogram all together. Where are the silences and gaps? What were on your classmates' genograms that were never mentioned in your own life? What are you prepared to talk about and examine, versus what will be new territory for you here in this program this year?

Unpacking one's implicit expectations for schooling is central to our process. Taking up the matter of disability for example, we want our students to see how their own able/disabled location affects many of their assumptions and then helps structure their subsequent instructional plans. In this instance, teachers must understand how school structures of special education and the segregation of the disabled student from classroom curriculum and participation not only marginalizes the excluded student but also sets up the non-excluded students for reacting to disability as either stigmatized or invisible. As Barbara Wang wrote in one of her critical autobiographical reflections:

> In elementary school, Bettina, my classmate was paralyzed from the waist down and used crutches to move around. She was also a child with significant intellectual disabilities. She did not spend much time in our classroom: never came to math, reading, writing or gym. She did not even lunch with the rest of the class. I remember during the first week of third grade wondering where Bettina disappeared to after 11:00 in the morning. She was part of our classroom for a few hours each day and then seemed to have vanished. When we asked where Bettina was, our teacher responded: 'Don't worry about it. It doesn't concern you.' I soon stopped wondering why Bettina didn't get to go on field trips or eat lunch with the rest of the class. I quickly learned that the correct response to difference was to turn the other way and avoid it at all costs.

Most of our student teachers come to us not having had a 'Bettina' as a full-time classmate; so unless they had a family member or a neighborhood friend with a noticeable disability, they have few experiential resources upon which to draw. This lack of exposure, familiarity and confidence with difference (whether it be racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious, gender performance, sexuality or disability) often results in feelings of chagrin, embarrassment or guilt when student teachers realize that what they had taken for granted as truth of human life is revealed as based on their own social locations and is not shared by all.

We work with them continually to recognize what excellent learners we all are of the cultures that form us and to understand any feelings of guilt and embarrassment as potential catalysts for action. We say continually, "This is what your culture carefully taught you," and help them begin to build a teacher identity that includes critical interrogation of what our culture has taught us about ourselves and about Others. As Luis Moll and Elizabeth Arnot-Hopffer wrote, teachers need to have "ideological clarity" (2005, 242) about the work they do and to understand that teaching is always a political undertaking (Howard and Aleman 2008) This political education for many in our master's program is not particularly what they thought they were signing up for when they registered for their teacher education program. We want them to understand that individual prejudice or ignorance is not the main problem in education, but rather, as Tyrone Howard and Glenda Aleman (2008) explain, it is the systematic institutionalization of such prejudice. Although we want our graduates to keenly understand individual differences in all students we want them to concentrate their gaze (at least) as much on the institutional and discursive traditions and practices which mark some students as deficient. Moving back and forth from the critical consciousness work we invite teachers to build counter-hegemonic practices or pedagogies. By counter-hegemonic we are drawing from critical race theorists that invite people of color to tell and write and live counter narratives.

13.4.2 Embodied Dialogue

I, Esther, explored the coalescence of my interests in pedagogy, affect, ideology and critical consciousness in a course that I taught on race and social justice in education. Most teachers enrolled in the yearlong course were simultaneously participating in their year-long practicum or student teaching experience. My inspiration to develop the course bloomed from a nagging curiosity about the pedagogical affordances of charged feelings like anger, discomfort and guilt, which are cited as common responses to conversations about race in teacher education classrooms and programs (e.g., Aveling 2006; Case and Hemmings 2005; Mazzei 2008; McIntyre 1997; Nieto 1998). These feelings are fundamentally upsetting to our emotional equilibrium; as such, they are also often held responsible for white teachers' resistance to critical inquiry about race (e.g. Case and Hemmings 2005; McIntyre 1997). My overt objective for this course, as noted on the syllabus, was as follows:

> This seminar aims to cultivate *methodical and sustained dialogue* about race and racism by stoking our individual and collective critical awareness, and inviting investigation and deepening of racial consciousness in our work as social justice educators. We will dissect race—as a construction and a reality—and interrogate the manifestations of individual, institutional, and structural forms of racism. This exploration will be supported by a combination of interdisciplinary texts, as well as assignments that draw upon multimodal literacies.

What I hid from teachers was my anticipation of the emotional eruptions that would emerge from this "sustained dialogue about race and racism". My covert agenda was to reposition the kind of unsettling emotion common to critical scrutiny of race in order to interrogate its utility with regard to critical consciousness building. In accordance with this objective, I eschewed including traditionally academic readings in the syllabus, instead favoring evocative fiction, nonfiction, and poetry texts. Opportunities and structures for dialogue were plentiful, both in-person during class sessions, and virtually, on the class blog. Discussions focused on the themes in assigned readings, and pre-service teachers' navigation of those themes in the personal and professional spaces that they traversed; that is, in their homes and communities, and in the classrooms and schools in which they were completing their teaching practicums. Our dialogue was also *embodied* in the sense that it brought forth our reflection on the presence and circulation of emotions in our classroom.

There were numerous emotionally charged moments during the seminar—instances that I began to think of as racialized "hot spots of affective intensity" (Niccolini 2013). I describe such an episode here, one that revolved around a large group conversation of essayist Kiese Laymon's (2013) *How to Slowly Kill Yourself and Others in America*. During the discussion, Peter (pseudonym), a White teacher, read aloud a passage from the text containing a racial epithet, the term 'nigger'. Perhaps because of the historical weight that the word carries, or the fact that course participants formed an interracial group, discomfort jettisoned into the room, and hung threateningly over us like a grey cloud warning of torrential downpour. This feeling was noticeable on the faces and bodies in the room, including my own. Yet neither I nor the teachers addressed it, and class session progressed more or less as usual. However, I remained troubled well into the evening. Later that night, I posted a message on the class blog inviting teachers to engage this feeling of discomfort that had gone unacknowledged, and to examine our subsequent collective silence. I emphasized that it in order to better understand why Peter's utterance of the word had triggered discomfort, we had to move past cerebral interrogation of the term and into emotional examination of our emotional responses. I wrote the following blog entry:

> Discussions were lovely, and we were *very* polite and *very, very* nice to each other…What does politeness and niceness mask? What does it prevent us from getting to?…What do those moments reveal about (our positions in and understandings of) intersections and interstices of identities?…What do they say about our awareness of and willingness to disrupt what's problematically comfortable? [emphasis in original]

As I expected, several teachers penned thoughtful responses to my musing. One expressed a desire to have more conversations that pivoted on our emotional selves and the relationship between those and the discussions of the texts that were focal to the class. She noted her "fears around being vulnerable" when saying:

> I would like to see our group (myself included) do some more stepping outside the conversations we are having and looking at ourselves in the context of these conversations. This involves embracing being vulnerable and this is terribly uncomfortable…I think this involves acknowledging that we all have our own fears around being vulnerable, judged, and misunderstood when talking about race.

Another teacher replied by referencing the anger that surged within her when she heard a comment I made referencing the messy interplay of loaded language like 'nigger', race, and power during a group discussion prior to ending the class session that night:

> When Esther first said that, I was really angry. I know she wasn't speaking directly to 'me', but I still felt backed into a corner. I didn't know what to do in that moment. I still don't. I didn't know how to make her feel respected or myself not attacked.

A third teacher focused on how introspectively deconstructing her emotional engagement with the discomfort of that 'hot spot' was transforming her thinking about how to critically approach teaching and learning in her future classroom:

> If I avoid conflict, discomfort, dissonance, how will I engage in conflict in a way that results in meaningful and transformative learning experiences for the students?…[I]n our conversations, I struggle with disagreeing and then end up circling around in my own head as to whether my idea is just wrong…I am just coming to terms myself with the realization that I have a lot of fear around talking / posting in our seminar, particularly fear of making others or the mood uncomfortable and of being judged.

I present this vignette regarding my use of embodied dialogue as a teaching strategy in order to assert that the process of gaining 'ideological clarity' is not solely cognitive. In fact, it is emotionally laborious in the sense that it involves being present with our embodied feelings. Ben Anderson (2014) explains that, "affects are constantly infusing embodied practices, resonating with discourses, coalescing around images, becoming part of institutions, animating political violences, catalysing political communities, and being known and intervened in, amongst much else" (6). Yet the emotional dimensions of critical consciousness raising—the idea that affects *move* us, and therefore, are at the root of the beliefs undergirding the shifts to or blockages in our pedagogical practices—has received little to no attention in teacher education. The field of teacher education has focused on teachers' *minds* rather than *bodies* in an effort to equip them with knowledge of pedagogical approaches to attending to students' diversities in classrooms (Ladson-Billings 1999). As teacher educators with investments in critical consciousness raising, we must orient ourselves to the understanding that the destabilization of hegemonic forces happens in large part in and through the affective realm, and embrace the implications of this for the teaching of inclusive classroom pedagogies that are essential to the goals of equity-oriented teacher education.

13.5 Inclusive Classroom Practices as Counter-Hegemonic Pedagogies

What we are calling inclusive classroom pedagogies emerge from the three-part framework that Lani Florian (Florian 2013; Florian and Spratt 2013) derived from her research with successful teachers of all students. First, teachers who enact inclusive classroom pedagogies view students as unlimited in their potential for growth and learning (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011). School practices that level and label students and sort them into categories such as 'high flyers' and 'low level kids' are instead replaced by the knowledge that all students "can make progress if the conditions are right" (Spratt and Florian 2015, 92) and that a wide range of human difference is always a part of the human condition. Secondly, these teachers believe that they can teach all students and thus approach the difficulties that students demonstrate in acquiring knowledge as quandaries of teaching that are ripe for subjection to problem-solving as opposed to evidence of inherent deficits. The third part of the inclusive classroom pedagogies framework acknowledges that the work of welcoming all students into classrooms is supported by strong collaborations among educators, realizing that complex learning dilemmas sometimes require "creative new ways of working with and through others" (Spratt and Florian 2015, 92).

At this point, a fair question to pose would be, but what *concretely* are these inclusive classroom pedagogies? They are, in short, practices of *everyday activism* (Zembylas 2013) that (re)locate critical consciousness work—which is continual and incomplete—into classrooms filled with students. They provoke teachers to explore with unceasing vigor the ways in which they are implicated in—and therefore, might sabotage—the production and perpetuation of inequality and injustice through their ongoing interrogation of all aspects of teaching diverse students in schools. We list seven manifestations of these pedagogies below as a way of illustrating how teachers can *do* or enact them.

- *Equalize status interactions in the classroom* particularly around class, ability, physical appearance, gender and gender expression, race, ethnicity, language
- *Utilize relational approaches to classroom management*, discipline, behavior
- *Plan for collaborative inquiry* by students, not passive receiving of knowledge
- *Design accessible instruction*, through multimodality, assistive and instructional technologies, Universal Design for Learning
- *Engage in ongoing formative assessment* for learning, not for leveling and labeling
- *Position families as experts* on their children and communities and listen actively to their needs and experiences to learn from them
- *Use assets-based, capacity language* with students, colleagues and families

These inclusive pedagogies are immanently affective in that they bring attention to diversities and differences as felt and embodied. We must forcefully stress that they are not technical skills, which are frequently dehumanizing. What salvages them from being such is the intricate embedding of emotion into their skeletons.

Therefore, there is a *humanizing* bend to their usage. All of the pedagogies listed arouse affect and re-direct us to embodiment. For example, a teacher's constant alertness to how her own body is physically, socioculturally and historically situated in relationship to other bodies, and a recognition of how the social identities mapped onto those bodies are tied to sometimes traumatic histories is vital to "equalize status interactions in the classroom" and "utilize relational approaches to classroom management". In order to "plan for collaborative inquiry", and "engage in ongoing formative assessment", a teacher must attune to the relational, dialogic elements of learning, and understand that students are not mere passive receptacles of information, but rather active, agentic, textured, and unpredictable sentient beings. In order to "design accessible instruction", a teacher must tackle not only thought but also feelings about normalcy and deviance. Critical intellectual and emotional excavation of ingrained and possibly deficit values—for example, views about the inferiority of certain social and cultural groups—must occur before a teacher can "position families as experts" and authentically "use assets-based, capacity language", Absent of this, the teacher's beliefs may inadvertently precipitate speech and (inter)actions that harm families, bruise students and indeed, hurt entire communities.

Latent within the affective inclinations of these pedagogies is the potential to produce action that insists on human heterogeneity as numerous, ever-expanding and uncontainable. Therefore, what we propose is a (re)naming of these inclusive classroom pedagogies. Specifically, we contend that in order for these pedagogies to be understood as inherently counter-hegemonic given that they challenge the very basis of over a century of U.S. schooling oriented toward homogeneity, they must be called such. This (re)naming must happen as a declaration of the commitment to disrupting the status quo that plainly informs the practice of inclusive classroom pedagogies. This (re)naming may sound a clarion call to teacher educators and teachers with shared commitments to resisting oppression, and extend an invitation to the work of critical consciousness raising.

13.6   Teaching Toward Inclusive Counter-Hegemonic Classroom Pedagogies

We have argued that justice-oriented teacher preparation must deliver a distinct blow to virulent conceptions of schooling in the United States as a meritocratic process. Those of us in this field must prepare teachers to unflinchingly confront how ever-growing social and economic stratification appear and lodge in their classrooms. We must suggest specific affect-igniting steps that teachers may undertake to intentionally dismantle those inequalities, such as those practices of *everyday activism* that we (re)name in this chapter as inclusive counter-hegemonic classroom pedagogies. As critical teacher educators, our work with teachers has affirmed our belief that "the self is in continuous construction, never completed, never fully

coherent, never completely centered securely in experience" (Boler and Zembylas 2003, 120). The same can be said of society. It is upon this promise of self and societal malleability that we hinge our hope for the possibility of inclusive learning spaces. This hope is our compass, leading us as we feel our way toward inclusive counter-hegemonic pedagogies in teacher education and guide our teachers toward equitable classrooms and schools.

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Chapter 14
A Lifeworld Perspective on the Role of the Body in Developing Inclusive Pedagogy

Archie Graham

14.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the theme of embodiment in theorising inclusive pedagogy. The starting point is the idea in the literature on inclusive pedagogy that it is *how* teachers respond to difference in the classroom that makes a difference to practice (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011). The relevance of phenomenology as the focus for research and enquiry in relation to inclusive pedagogy and key phenomenological perspectives on the theme of the body, in particular the phenomenology of the body as described by Merleau-Ponty (1968 [1964], 2008 [1945]) is foregrounded as a useful method for exploring potential relationships between the theme of the body, as understood from a phenomenological lifeworld perspective, and inclusive pedagogy.

Inclusive pedagogy advances the idea that it is *how* teachers respond to difference in the classroom rather that what they do that distinguishes inclusive practice from other approaches to teaching (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011). In this *how* the theme of the body is implicit but remains under theorised and under researched despite a growing contemporary interest in examinations of the embodiment of knowledge as a means of understanding the nature of knowledge and what it means to know. The suggestion that inclusive pedagogy may invoke the role of the body was explored by Florian and Graham (2014) in their examination of phronesis and its potential role in teacher development for inclusive education. This chapter further develops the theme of embodiment in theorising inclusive pedagogy following Merleau-Ponty's idea that it is through our extended bodies that we make sense of our worlds. This conceptulaisation is applied in an exploratory study investigating

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how an abstract tool can be used to extend the body to help student teachers perceive the complex practical situations involved in seeking to include all learners in lessons and activities.

14.1.1   Inclusive Pedagogy

One approach to the preparation of new teachers for inclusive education has been to embed the principles of inclusive pedagogy into initial teacher education programmes (Rouse and Florian 2012). This approach focuses on extending what is generally available within the classroom environment in order to respond to differences between all learners rather than providing something different or additional only for those learners experiencing difficulties (Florian 2010; Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011). Supporting new teachers to enhance and extend what is generally available within the classroom environment to everyone is one way in which teacher education can help prepare teachers to plan for and adapt the learning environment in their classroom to support all learners.

The *Framework of Participation* (Black-Hawkins 2010) provides a means for thinking and talking about inclusive pedagogy. The framework is organised around four key elements: access, collaboration, achievement and diversity. These elements can be used to help teachers accommodate differences between learners by encouraging them to focus on all learners in the classroom, to think carefully about the planned learning to avoid identifying some learners as different or pre-determining the learning that is possible (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011, 187). The aim is for teachers to adapt the learning environment by extending what is ordinarily available so that all learners can participate rather than marginalising some learners by singling them out as different.

The idea that it is *how* teachers respond to difference and diversity in the classroom that distinguishes them as inclusive practitioners was explored further by Florian and Graham (2014) in their examination of phronesis as a way of thinking about how teachers can be more inclusive of learners' individual needs. They proposed an expanded Heideggarian understanding of phronesis that centres on the underlying concepts of: circumspection (understanding), comportment (demeanour/tact), essence (values), solicitude (care), and conscience (self-awareness). For Florian and Graham phronesis,

> …frames the role of the teacher as a thinker, interpreter of social norms and decision-maker, someone who can sensitively exercise professional judgements while simultaneously making sense of complex social and practical situations… (Florian and Graham 2014).

The concepts: circumspection, comportment and essence foreground the role of the body in disclosing what is important to inclusive practitioners, whereas acts of solicitude and conscience highlight the orientation of phronesis towards practices of human concern. Of interest here is the suggestion that the demands of an inclusive pedagogical approach invokes the role of the body in so far as teachers first perceive complex and practical situations for inclusion physically, and sensitising them to

this while they are enrolled on teacher education courses might be useful in developing practice.

Turning attention to the theme of the body in relation to inclusive pedagogy may appear at first to be an unexpected line of enquiry as the body has tended not to feature overtly in the literature on teacher education. However, if we accept the underlying premises that our bodies connect us to the world and that our bodies help us to interpret our world then an exploration into potential links with the practice of inclusive pedagogy may prove fruitful. Recently Riveros (2012) has argued that teachers' professional knowledge is embodied and that it is through embodied action that student teachers make sense of their professional practice. Riveros contends that attending to teachers' ways of knowing (in and through the body) can illuminate new perspectives on teacher learning and professional knowledge that have been overlooked to date. Privileging the idea that the body plays an integral role in teaching and learning has been explored by Latta and Buck (2008) who identify disembodied, decontextualised knowledge from practice as a problem for teacher education. It is their contention that the role of the body in teaching and learning is about 'building relationships between self, others, and subject matter; living in between these entities' (Latta and Buck 2008, 317). Thus it can be suggested that it is through the physical presence of their bodies in the classroom that teachers relate to their pupils and attempt to be inclusive in their everyday practice. In this exploration into the role of the body, the body is not only seen as a biological object but as a potential source of information that can be used by the teacher. The idea that there may be an overlooked relationship between the role of the body and how we interpret the world resonates with a phenomenological lifeworld perspective of the body in understanding our perceptions of the world.

14.1.2   Phenomenology and a Lifeworld Perspective

The modern phenomenological tradition dates back to the work of Edmund Husserl (2001 [1913]) and focuses on the ways we experience phenomena, things that register in our experience, and the meanings we attribute to such phenomena. In other words, phenomenology can be thought of as: "the study of lived experience" (van Manen 1990, 9). The relevance of phenomenology to the theme of the body can be linked to its core aim to study lived experience. For example, rather than analyse the component parts of a classroom, phenomenologists are more interested in people's perceptions of being in a classroom. This is important because being in a classroom is different for a pupil, a teacher or a parent helper and, by extension, being in a classroom can also be a very different experience for different pupils. Phenomenology seeks to reveal the meanings of different people's perceptions which, in turn, are important for understanding action because, for phenomenologists, action is based on meanings that people hold (Cohen et al. 2000). Therefore, understanding the action and the lived experience of phenomena provides the possibility of revealing insights that may guide beginning teachers to act, for example, in inclusive ways.

The lifeworld is a technical term in phenomenology that refers to the world of immediate experience. It is possible to speak of multiple and different lifeworlds and it is possible for each of us to inhabit different lifeworlds at different times of the day (Schutz and Luckmann 1973). Lifeworlds are experienced through what Husserl termed the "natural primordial attitude" (Husserl 1970 [1954], 281) where the term 'natural' is understood as original, prior to critical or theoretical reflection, and as such, is a taken-for-granted attitude to living in the world. Our natural attitude results in so much of our everyday living being taken-for-granted that we often fail to notice it, unless, for example, something goes wrong and our attention is awakened by some means or another, otherwise a deliberate attempt is required to create a disruption in our everyday lived experience to bring what is taken-for-granted into view. Lifeworlds are understood in this context as the habitats of our everyday preoccupations and perceptions which shape and guide our actions and our understanding of ourselves, others and the world around us.

While the concept of the lifeworld is central to phenomenology it is also a point of disagreement for many phenomenologists with the key issue centring on the possibility of transcending the lifeworld. Unlike Husserl (2001 [1913]), who thought it possible for us to step outside the lifeworld and adopt a dispassionate, objective view of the world, Merleau-Ponty argued the opposite. Merleau-Ponty (1968 [1945]) emphasised the role of the body in human experience on the grounds that our bodies connect us to the world we live in and being in the world cannot be separated from bodily experience. For Merleau-Ponty the body is integral to perceptions and cannot be dismissed or ignored in understanding what it means to know the world. Accordingly whenever we speak about, or refer to something in our lifeworlds we cannot do so without implicitly including consciousness as lived through human experience, and this encapsulates the importance of embodied knowing.

> … when I reflect on the essences of subjectivity, I find it bound up with that of the body and that of the world, this is because my existence as subjectivity is merely one with my existence as a body and with the existence of the world, and because the subject that I am, when taken concretely, is inseparable from this body and world. The ontological world and body which we find at the core of the subject are not the world or body as idea, but on the one hand the world itself contracted into a comprehensive grasp, and on the other the body itself as a knowing-body. (Merleau-Ponty 2008 [1945], 475)

The implication arising from this insight justifies an exploration of the role of the body as a line of enquiry in teacher education.

14.1.3   Body-Consciousness and Body-World

The literature on phenomenology makes a distinction between the body as lived and experienced, hereafter referred to as *subjective body*, and the body as observed and scientifically studied, hereafter referred to as *objective body*. While the subjective body and the objective body are distinctions made for discussion purposes they are intrinsically linked as different aspects of the same body.

In lived experience the *subjective body* is simultaneously lived and experienced. For example, it is through our bodies that we perceive the world, interact with our environments, relate to others, and learn about ourselves. Our bodies are integral to our everyday lives which at first may appear self-evident for we are always bodily present in the world. However, for Merleau-Ponty (2008 [1945]) bodily presence is more than a physical body in the world rather; bodily presence refers to the capacity of the subjective body to be pre-reflectively immersed in the world without being aware of anything in particular. As we go about our everyday activities as subjective bodies there is a tendency to take our bodies for granted and we tend not to be aware of our bodies unless something happens to awake us from what we take for granted. In contrast, the objectification of the body results in a disruption of taken-for-grantedness. Findlay (2006) points out that we can objectify our own bodies when, for example, we become ill, and our bodies do not respond in the way we expect. On such occasions, we may turn our attention to specific parts of our body where we are experiencing pain or discomfort. Under such circumstances we no longer take the body for granted as it has become the focus of our attention. Such disruptions to taken-for-grantedness produce a shift in what stands out in our worlds as being sufficiently important to merit attention. Once brought to conscious awareness the body is transformed from subjective body to objective body. In other words we are more self-conscious of our bodies and this provides the basis from which we can source information that might be otherwise overlooked or ignored to understand ourselves and others.

The idea that our understanding of the world is intrinsically linked to self-understanding is developed more fully by Gadamer (2006 [1975]) who argues that our views of the world are limited and partial, because they are inevitably shaped by the biases and prejudices that give rise to different world views. However, for Gadamer our views of the world need not be fixed; rather bringing biases and prejudices to reflective awareness presents an opportunity to replace prior understandings with new or more nuanced understandings. Change is possible. However, Gadamer asserts that while we can be aware of our biases bringing prejudices to the level of consciousness must be provoked. This occurs when we become aware of bodily emotions for example, and resonates with the idea of living in a more self-conscious manner. A body conscious perspective also foregrounds the possibility of opening up bodily-conscious moments as a potential source of information from which to source information to further our understanding of ourselves and others.

Key to understanding what is being suggested is the idea that our bodies are more than what is physically bound by our skin. For Merleau-Ponty, our bodies merge with the world. For example, the act of pointing at an object in a room extends the 'body' beyond the fingertip to include the object identified as the focus of attention. In this example the finger and the object of attention are conceived as a body-world relationship. In this way our bodies extend beyond their physical limits and intertwine with the world as body-world. For Merleau-Ponty, it is through our extended bodies that we make sense of our lifeworlds.

Merleau-Ponty's (2008 [1945]) phenomenology of the body asserts that the body can be altered or extended, through the use of tools, for further engagement with the

world. For example, the use of equipment extends the reach of the body when we use a mobile phone or a microscope. Drawing on the work of Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty (2008 [1945]) developed the concept of 'extension' to show how objects and tools become incorporated into one's body schema. His idea of body schema is integral to his phenomenology of perception. For Merleau-Ponty, it is the pre-reflective function of the body schema that makes perception possible in the first place. Therefore, body schema is not a thing but a way of being in the world.

The idea that our body schema can be altered through the embodiment of tools means that we have the potential to extend our entwinement with the world. This body schema alteration is more than simple engagement with discrete objects in the world rather; it is habit forming such that the use of the tool requires no thought but is taken-for-granted. For example, the embodiment of a microscope can extend the reach of the scientist's body to enable the microscopic, invisible to the naked eye, to be observed. The embodiment of the microscope is taken-for-granted, the scientist does not have to think about how to use it, allowing the scientist to focus elsewhere. As such, the scientist, the microscope and the microscopic objects of the scientist's attention merge in a body-world relationship. In this example, a microscopic world previously invisible to the naked eye becomes accessible to the scientist, alters the scientist's perception of the world and impacts upon the scientist's practice. Extending our entwinement with the world through the embodiment of tools can, therefore, help shape our ways of acting in the world.

This idea is explored further by Sandberg and Dall'Alba (2009) who argue that the performance of organisational practices can be examined by foregrounding the manner in which practice is constituted through entwinement with others and objects in our world. Of particular interest here is the idea that formulae or conceptual frameworks, understood as abstract tools, can extend the body and shape the social practices in which they are applied. The idea that such abstract tools can help certain things to stand out over others by showing us what to look for seems worthy of further investigation for inclusive pedagogical practice For example, if abstract tools can be used to extend the body and shape social practices then what, if any, abstract tools might help student teachers apply the concept of inclusive pedagogy in practice?

14.2   An Exploratory Study

The idea that our bodies can be extended to help interpret the world and impact on practice was explored within the context of a university-based teacher education course supporting student teachers to apply inclusive pedagogy. A key premise of this course was that teachers should expect to work with diverse groups of learners, some of whom may require additional support to ensure learning and participation in the classroom community. This interpretation of inclusion is consistent with moves away from conceptualising inclusion as responding to the identified needs of a small number of learners towards a view of it as enhancing the learning and

achievement of all learners. This is not to reduce the idea of inclusion to a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to teaching, but rather to recognise the situated and contextual nature of individual learners in classrooms and to consider how teachers can adapt the learning environment to make it more conducive to supporting everyone rather than most with additional support for some (Florian 2010).

However, despite individual differences between learners there are some similarities in teaching strategies used to support those who require additional or specialised support to access the curriculum. For example, planning to support learners in the acquisition of English as an additional language (EAL) involves the teacher in consideration of three simultaneous processes; (i) *social* whereby learners benefit from interacting purposefully with others in the classroom, (ii) *cognitive* through which learners benefit from active participation and engagement with planned learning activities and, (iii) *linguistic* where key vocabulary is developed and consolidated within the context of the planned learning (Scottish Executive 2005). Similarly, these processes are key considerations in relation to learners whose life chances have been diminished by poverty. The finding that children from high-income households significantly outperform children from low-income households in relation to both vocabulary and problem solving (Bradshaw 2011) resonate with the linguistic and cognitive processes identified above to support EAL learners. Therefore, it is possible that an awareness of social, cognitive and linguistic processes may be helpful in supporting new teachers to adopt an inclusive pedagogical approach in mainstream classrooms and the exploratory study describes below was designed to scrutinise this idea.

A tool that enabled student teachers to maintain an awareness of social, cognitive and linguistic processes within the key elements of the Framework for Participation (discussed above) was needed. A planning template developed by the Learning and Teaching Scotland (Scottish Executive 2005) to support the effective inclusion of EAL learners, was adapted to incorporate the key elements of the Framework for Participation and 'extend the student teachers' bodies to bring data on the learners into sharper focus. Referred to here as the 's/c/l matrix', the tool was intended to help student teachers develop a more nuanced understanding of the differences between learners during a 4 week school experience placement and support planning and implementation of additional support within the framework of the inclusive pedagogical approach.

The aim of the study was to explore whether and how the tool 'extended' the bodies of the student teachers to develop and shape their practice and to see 'more clearly' (as in the example of the way a microscope enables a scientist to focus and 'see more clearly') by providing them with a conceptual framework to help them make sense of the complexities of the classroom. The idea was that a tool that incorporated key elements of the Framework for Participation while enabling student teachers to maintain an awareness of the social, cognitive and linguistic processes involved in learning would enable the student teachers to collect relevant and sufficiently nuanced data about learners to support them in responding to the individual differences of the learners without marginalising some learners by treating them differently to others. Could use of the 's/c/l matrix', designed to support the effective

Table 14.1 An example of a student teacher's initial use of the s/c/l matrix

	What do the children bring?	What are the task demands?	What additional support needs to be planned?
Social	Class have worked with me in a carousel situation before. They know what to do when they hear the timer, understand the concept. They work well in collaboration although some boys, as well as J and K cannot productively work together. Class are on a whole accepting of each other and differing abilities are supported (Diversity)	Groups will need to be well balanced to ensure that all can access the learning, e.g. L will benefit from being in a group that is able to kindly work with and help her. Group of all boys will lead to distraction, K will benefit from a group that stays focused easily to help keep him on task.	I will pre decide the groups so that I can be sure that they are evenly spread with a range of abilities. This will help L, J and K as there will be children in the group capable of more challenging roles, thus they will better access the learning. Ensure that L is with the girls who work productively with her (K is best).
Cognitive	Class have spent 2 lessons looking at the eat well plate and food pyramid. They understand the concept of a balanced diet and know what foods they should eat the most of.	Lots of new info this week, class will need refresher session to ensure they are familiar with the info that they need to know.	I will have a refresher in the input, ask open questions to spark a discussion about what they have learned during the week. There will be a diverse range of tasks and ability within these to allow for all to participate.
Linguistic	Familiar with words related to the task such as dairy, protein etc. and what foods fall into these categories.	Lots of instructions to follow as well as remembering new words from the lessons earlier in the week.	I will clearly explain each station whilst the class is on the carpet. I will do thumbs up at each station and take questions, as well as helping groups who need it, i.e. L, J and K.

inclusion of EAL learners, 'extend the student teachers' bodies to bring data on learners into sharper focus?

Use of the s/c/l matrix was underpinned by three key questions in relation to each of the social, cognitive and linguistic processes: (i) 'What do the learners bring to the task?' (ii) 'What are the task demands?' and (iii) 'What additional support needs to be planned?' The student teachers were encouraged to compare and contrast their responses to questions (i) and (ii) to surface enablers and barriers to accessing the planned learning. In relation to the third question on additional support the student teachers were asked to think about this in terms of the key elements of the Framework for Participation: access, collaboration, diversity and achievement. Table 14.1 presents an example of a student teacher's early attempt to use the s/c/l matrix. Clare (a pseudonym) was new to teaching and had only 3 weeks of school experience. In the

example provided she uses the s/c/l matrix to consider prior learning, the demands of the planned learning and additional support for learning.

As can be seen, Clare is beginning to demonstrate a nuanced understanding of the learners, the demands of the planned learning activities and the learning environment in which she finds herself. In discussion with Clare she talked about the content of the s/c/l matrix rather than the matrix itself. This suggests that the matrix was no longer an object in the world and perceived for itself, rather the matrix was becoming taken-for-granted as it became entwined in Clare's lifeworld as a student teacher developing an inclusive pedagogical approach. For example, there is evidence that Clare is making alterations to the learning environment to make it more inclusive. The words highlighted by Clare: 'collaboration', 'diversity', 'access' and 'diverse' all link to the Framework for Participation. Additional support is identified and teacher time is used to support learning for all without marginalising some.

Subsequently, a small scale exploratory study was designed to investigate further how the s/c/l matrix could be used to support student teachers' capacity to 'see more' and be more responsive to the individual differences of learners for inclusion. Ten student teachers, preparing to become primary school teachers, participated in this study. All ten students were struggling to apply the concept of inclusive pedagogy in practice. The student teachers were all assigned to the same university based tutor group and assessed using the 2012 General Teaching Council Scotland Standard for Provisional Registration.

The students were introduced to the Framework for Participation and the s/c/l matrix in the university classroom and worked on problems of practice to help them understand how they might use the s/c/l matrix in practice. A questionnaire invited responses in relation to (i) the practice of using the s/c/l matrix, (ii) aspects of the GTCS (2012) Standard for Provisional Registration that were met through the practice of using the s/l/c matrix, and (iii) the ease of use of the s/c/l matrix. Data were recorded using a Likert scale where 5 = Strongly disagree, 4 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 2 = Agree, and 1 = Strongly agree. Open ended questions inviting written responses to the pros and cons of using the s/c/l matrix were also included in the questionnaire.

The findings indicated general agreement that the participating student teachers found completing the s/c/l matrix supported meaningful discussion with their class teachers and university tutor about the children in their classes. There was strong agreement that students found completing the s/c/l matrix supported their thinking in terms of identifying additional support to adapt the learning environment for the children in their classes. There was some agreement that students found completing the s/c/l matrix enabled them to develop a more nuanced understanding of all the children in their care. There was strong agreement that the student teachers found completing the s/c/l matrix helped them to provide evidence of their commitment to respecting the rights of all learners.

There was unanimous agreement that the student teachers found the s/c/l matrix helped them to provide evidence in relation to four aspects of the GTCS Standard for Provisional Registration as indicated in Table 14.2 below.

Table 14.2 Aspects of the GTCS (2012) standard for provisional registration met through the practice of using the s/l/c matrix

1. Professional values and personal commitment	Level of agreement
1.1 Social justice	Unanimous agreement
1.2 Integrity	Some agreement
1.3 Trust and respect	General agreement
1.4 Professional commitment	Strong agreement
2. Professional knowledge and understanding	Level of agreement
2.1 Curriculum	Strong agreement
2.2 Education systems and professional responsibilities	Strong agreement
2.3 Pedagogical theories and practice	General agreement
3. Professional skills and abilities	Level of agreement
3.1 Teaching and learning	Unanimous agreement
3.2 Classroom organisation and management	Strong agreement
3.3 Pupil assessment	Unanimous agreement
3.4 Professional reflection and communication	Unanimous agreement

Finally there was strong agreement that students found the s/c/l matrix easy to use. The process of completing the s/c/l matrix enhanced the students planning for learner differences and inclusion. Students reported that the process of completing the matrix enabled them to think more deeply and carefully about each child in terms of identifying additional support. Students also reported that the process of completing the s/c/l matrix enabled them to make sound links to assessment data they may not have otherwise considered. However, the process of completing the s/c/l matrix was time consuming and the use of a matrix did not suit all of the student teachers' preferred ways of working. Students reported that it took time to get used to thinking about the social, cognitive and linguistic demands of the planned learning as part of their planning process. Some student teachers reported that use of the s/c/l matrix could be enhanced if they were introduced to it earlier in their course and expressed the desire for more opportunities to use the s/c/l matrix in a range of curricular areas prior to using it in school.

14.3   Discussion

In this chapter, Merleau-Ponty's (2008 [1945]) idea of extending entwinement with the world through the embodiment of 'tools' has provided the stimulus for an investigation into how student teachers might be supported in applying the principles of inclusive pedagogy in their teaching practice. In the exploratory study reported here all ten student teachers were struggling to respond to learner differences in an inclusive learning environment. On the one hand the student teachers knew about inclusive pedagogy from attending university classes, on the other hand they had not yet

worked out how to enact the concept in teaching practice. In using a phenomenological lifeworld perspective there is an assumption that to implement the concept of inclusive pedagogy, some sort of action has to be revealed through bodily knowing. The use of a tool to help the student teachers 'see more clearly' enabled them to incorporate inclusive pedagogy into their lifeworlds through bodily action.

This modest finding suggests that attention to the role of the body has a contribution to make to teacher education but further work is required to address the complexities involved in articulating a view of practice as constituted through our entwinement with others and things in the world (Dall'Alba 2009). From a lifeworld perspective, entwinement is the point of departure both theoretically and methodologically for investigating practice. Accordingly, there is a shift away from focusing on characteristics of activities, people, concerns, and tools to focus on the re-configured entwinement in enacting practice by seeking to make the 'invisible' visible. Future research focused on understanding how teachers (re)configure their lifeworlds in order to respond to differences between learners while using an inclusive pedagogical approach may reveal previously invisible aspects of practice that may be useful to teacher educators supporting student teachers to apply an inclusive pedagogical approach in their teaching practice.

Merleau-Ponty's emphasis on *embodiment*, the lived body, has practical implications for developing self-awareness and awareness of others. Paying deliberate attention to the body offers the potential to extend self-awareness by placing the body as a potential source of information to support inclusive practice. To date the research on inclusive pedagogy has not been designed to collect data that specifically addresses the role of the body as a source of information for helping new teachers to act in inclusive ways in the classroom. However, Florian and Graham (2014) presented an expanded interpretation of phronesis as a means of exploring the role of the body in enacting inclusive pedagogy. Studies researching body-consciousness could potentially open up new spaces for learning about inclusive pedagogy and helping prepare new teachers to develop their own understanding of it when they experience such body-consciousness moments.

The idea of body schema as the ground for perception resonates with Florian and Graham's (2014) proposition that inclusive pedagogy may invoke the role of the body as a way in which inclusive teachers perceive complex and practical situations for inclusion. In Florian and Graham's version of phronesis for inclusive pedagogy, *comportment* (demeanour / tact) is most closely related to body schema due to its non-cognitive nature whereby the teacher embodies an inclusive disposition orientated towards 'everybody' in the class. While a student teacher may be able to observe an experienced teacher practicing inclusive pedagogy, Merleau-Ponty's assertion that the body schema can be altered or extended through the entwinement and embodiment of tools suggests that some aspects of the experienced teacher's comportment will be invisible to the observer. For example, gesture, body language and certain facial expressions are socially and culturally learned and can have different meanings in different cultures. Therefore, knowing when to smile at a child could be interpreted as an example of comportment that may need to be made

visible. In this example, the smile may be sufficient to include the child. The body-world perspective explored here, foregrounds entwinement of body schema with the world in the examination of inclusive pedagogy and seeks to make visible aspects of practice hitherto invisible.

14.4 Conclusion

A phenomenological lifeworld perspective foregrounds the role of the body in lived experience that makes perception possible. For phenomenologists our bodies connect us to the world and the body can be thought of as a sensory body capable of pre-reflective engagement with the word. To date the theme of the body has been implicit in the preparation of the teacher for inclusive pedagogy. As such research on inclusive pedagogy has not yet been designed to collect data that specifically addresses the role of the body as a source of information for helping new teachers to act in inclusive ways in the classroom. There is a tendency to take the body for granted yet it is the body that connects teachers to their practice. Therefore, paying careful attention to the theme of the body offers the potential to grasp a more full understanding of the lived experiences of teachers of inclusive pedagogy. Moreover, working towards a robust theory of the body in and for inclusive pedagogy may prove fruitful in terms of surfacing new perspectives, asking new questions and developing new research approaches. Empirical investigations centred on the key idea in this chapter that paying overt attention to the role of the body as a potential source of information in and for inclusive pedagogy may be a good place to start.

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Part IV
A Research Agenda for the Future

Chapter 15
A Dynamic Model for the Next Generation of Research on Teacher Education for Inclusion

Linda P. Blanton and Marleen C. Pugach

15.1 Introduction

Teacher education for inclusion has become an international commitment as a means of assuring a more effective equity agenda in the schools. Internationally, the ideal of 'Education for All', which includes, but is not limited to, equal access for students with disabilities, challenges teacher educators in all countries to implement programs that prepare teachers to attend to the needs of all learners (Florian 2014). Along with the development and implementation of teacher education programs that focus on the inclusion of all learners is the need for teacher education research that provides evidence for what works in such programs. Although many teacher educators have moved forward to revise pre-service programs for inclusion, research that focuses on teacher education for inclusion has not received the same level of attention (e.g., Pugach et al. 2014a). And when it has received attention (e.g., Forlin 2010), it has done so in the absence of a common research agenda. In this chapter, we argue, first, that the next step in the ongoing development and maturity of the international community on teacher education for inclusion is the development of suitable research models. Second, we propose one model for research designed to support teacher education researchers as they grapple with and inquire into complex questions about teacher education for inclusion.

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15.2   The Need for a New Generation of Research

What we view as the first generation of research on teacher education for inclusion has, to no surprise, been dominated by relatively isolated concerns for how general and special education teachers are prepared to work with students who have disabilities. As more and more students with disabilities began to be educated in general education classrooms, it stands to reason that teacher educators would have been committed to shedding light on this particular aspect of teacher preparation. But as definitions of inclusion have broadened—internationally—toward an overarching concern for all marginalized groups, and most recently, for transforming schools (Danforth and Naraian 2015; Opertti et al. 2014), a new generation of research needs to develop to take into account the larger picture of how to address educational marginalization across all students, even as the original—and continuing—concern for students with disabilities remains in place.

Further, although most professionals agree that teacher education research is complex and includes components of both the structures and content of teacher education programs, as well as external influences that impact any given context, teacher education researchers who are interested in inclusion have often focused on one relatively narrow component of a program. As examples, researchers who study special education may examine explicit reading instruction for students with disabilities in a particular field experience, or explore embedding special education content in an assessment course. Similarly, teacher educators who study multicultural education typically do so in the context of a single, decontextualized course with little to no follow up across a program (Hollins and Guzman 2005). Consequently, we may learn little, and do not often understand, how individual components or isolated courses under study have been connected to the overall structure of a program, or what content was included and how that content was taught. When inquiry is isolated in narrow pockets of interest, the resulting research is fragmented, and subsequently imbalanced, by failing to inquire in a robust way into questions that could better foster understandings of how to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse and global student population. Additionally, the current research on teacher education for inclusion specifically as it relates to disability reveals a great deal of research in some areas (e.g., teacher attitudes or co-teaching) and far less research in other areas of teacher preparation (e.g., success of graduates from programs that redesigned program components versus those that redesigned a complete program). We view these issues of narrow foci and underdeveloped lines of research in any area related to struggling, marginalized students as evidence of a research agenda that has failed to evolve in broader ways and support teacher educators in developing lines of inquiry that consistently reflect the complexity of this research enterprise.

Missed opportunities for inquiry into the complexities of research on teacher education for inclusion, representing the broad definition that has developed over time, impact not only how faculty think about research on individual teacher preparation programs, but also how policy makers and professional organizations

conceptualize the research related to larger reforms proposed for teacher education. One explanation for these missed opportunities is the absence of models for researchers to use in guiding and supporting research—either for individual programs or for major reform proposals. Such models may lend support to broadening and deepening inquiry into, and the subsequent understanding of, the international project of teacher education for inclusion—a project that has shifted substantially from its roots in educating students with disabilities to much more expansive notions of how educators are prepared to work with the widely diverse students in their charge.

In considering the many questions that arise—and may need to be prompted to arise—about the next generation of research on teacher education for inclusion, in this chapter we propose one model, a model that is designed to address what seems to be hindering a broader, more coordinated approach to inquiry around this complex work. First, the proposed model has the potential to help teacher education research move beyond the current discursive comfort zone of fragmented inquiry that contributes to maintaining narrowly focused research studies. Next, the model is designed to foster greater transparency about what research is lacking and can help answer questions about whether a particular area of research warrants further inquiry. Further, the model creates individual and collective dissonance about the types of research that may indeed be needed so that the field can more openly wrestle with what deserves greater consideration. Fourth, given today's fragmented research agenda on teacher education for inclusion, models such as the one proposed here may help more complex questions emerge to move the research agenda forward. Finally, this model suggests a dynamic relationship between the practice of teacher education for inclusion and research on teacher education for inclusion, placing them in a reciprocal relationship, where advances in discourse and practice can lead to new conceptions of what counts as research on teacher education for inclusion.

15.3 A Proposed Model for Research on Teacher Education for Inclusion

The vision of a model for the next generation of research on teacher education for inclusion presented here rests on understanding the complexity of features that make up and influence how we think about inquiry on this critical issue. These features not only include the multiple components that make up teacher education, but also external influences that need consideration when research is conducted in relationship to the components themselves. As illustrated in Fig. 15.1, this model shows teacher education programs—comprised of two main components—*structure* and *content*—in the center, nested within several other features that influence not only pre-service programs themselves but, central to this discussion, the research that is conducted on teacher education for inclusion. Nested closest to programs are the
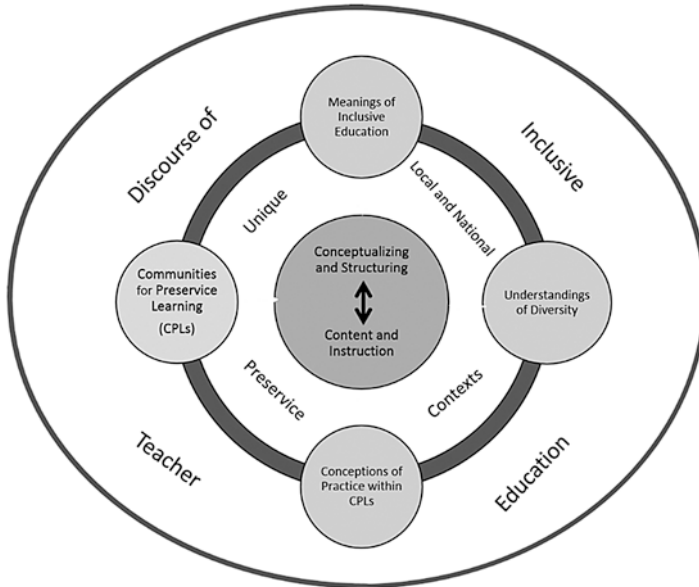
Fig. 15.1 A dynamic model for research on teacher education for inclusion

unique local and national contexts in which they are offered – the historical, political, socio-cultural factors that shape teacher education in a particular, local setting, for example, national teacher and program standards, or particular relevant legislative mandates. The clear articulation of contextual factors is essential if meaningful cross-context discussions and comparisons are to occur.

Located at the outer ring of the model are four prominent discourse communities that exist locally, nationally, and internationally, but that, despite common overarching commitments, may or may not reflect agreement at the level of practice either within or across these levels. The first, *Meanings of Inclusive Education*, represents the discourse around whether the practical applications of inclusive practice match the overarching, commonly agreed upon theoretical and philosophical meanings held about inclusion. A second area of discourse is *Communities for Pre-service Learning*, which draws attention to the extent to which teacher education faculty, along with their school partners, function together or separately in how they engage with and study the work of teacher education for inclusion. Third, *Understandings of Diversity*, relates to discourse regarding how understandings of diversity take (or do not take) into account the specific needs of particular students who are marginalized based on one or several social identity markers, which of those identity markers are more or less overtly included in or excluded from that discussion, and how such markers are viewed in relationship to one another. The fourth discourse, *Conceptions of Practice*, concerns the ways in which teacher education programs for inclusion differ, both in their structure and focus, and how making the complexity of these differences prominent may promote additional questions and inquiry.

Combined, the multiple features of this model offer a framework for examining a fuller range of questions that need consideration in order to advance a new generation of research on teacher education for inclusion—in all of its complexity. The model is intended to support teacher education researchers not only in terms of thinking through connections within and across features, but also in terms of how these connections might help reframe the fundamental questions that are being asked.

15.4 How the Model Highlights the Dynamic, Complex Components of Research on Teacher Education for Inclusion

Foremost, we emphasize the complexity of the study of teacher education for inclusion and strongly promote the importance of taking into account both the structures of pre-service teacher education *and* its content, as well as the unique local and national contexts and discourse communities that influence these pre-service structures and content. In short, we are advocating that research on teacher education for inclusion not be reduced to any single dimension of teacher education—a practice that contributes to the current, often narrower agenda—in the absence of its clear connection to and consideration of the whole of the endeavor. We agree with Cochran-Smith et al. (2014) about the need for "new research questions and theoretical frameworks that account for wholes, not just parts, and take complex, rather than reductionist perspectives" (1).

As noted previously, teacher education programs, and the research conducted about them, can be organized under two key components (see Fig. 15.1): *Conceptualizing and Structuring* programs and the *Content and Instruction* within them. Each of these components is also comprised of multiple parts, as shown in Fig. 15.1. In the United States for example, research on teacher education for inclusion has most often focused on a single part (e.g., particular instructional approaches) of one component (i.e., *Essential Content and Instruction*) of teacher education for inclusion. While it is no doubt essential to know that a particular practice (e.g., explicit instruction) may have an important place when teaching struggling learners, it is equally important to understand – at the least in rich discussions of research implications – how this practice connects to other program components, for example, how an instructional practice aligns with the program's curriculum or is related to how the program was initially conceptualized and structured. The failure to gain these understandings in designing and/or reporting on research may simply result in the addition of a single practice—often targeted for one group of struggling, marginalized students—in a course where the potential for producing promising outcomes is limited. As noted, approaches like these represent simple solutions to the complex challenges of research on teacher education for inclusion.

15.5 Disrupting the Discourses of Teacher Education for Inclusion to Move the Research Agenda Forward

In the outer circle of the model are four discourses representing issues that may seem to have been already settled with regard to teacher education for inclusion. However, we believe they illustrate significant issues that demand to be recognized for their complexity—that is, issues that need to be problematized, interrogated, and disrupted—in order for significant progress in research to occur. Further, these discourses exist is relationship to one another, as well as in relationship to the other features of the model. The extent to which these four conceptions of discourse are moved forward—or not—influences not only how research on teacher education for inclusion is conceptualized, designed and conducted, but also how teacher education for inclusion as a practical enterprise is strategized and implemented.

Given this larger complex picture of what constitutes research in teacher education for inclusion, then, we suggest that it is vital to push the conventional contemporary discourse out of its comfort zone. In so doing, the model is meant to challenge the master narrative that may be holding back how we study the field, while simultaneously pressing out the boundaries of what counts as research on teacher education for inclusion.

15.5.1 Meanings of Inclusive Education

As noted, the meaning and intent of inclusive education, which originated with a concern for the integration of students who have disabilities, has changed over time and has broadened substantially. Current definitions encompass the much larger and more complex question of diversity and meeting student needs; inclusion is appropriately viewed as a larger issue of social justice and as potentially transformative for education (European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education 2010; Opertti et al. 2014)—rather than simply adaptive for one aspect of student identity and need (i.e., disability).

Although there may be international agreement on inclusion as broadly related to any student who is struggling and is marginalized, it also seems essential that any inquiry into inclusive education must identify the unique, disparate local and national meanings under which the research is taking place, as suggested by Artiles et al. (2011). That is, in any given study, assumptions cannot be made about what inclusive education means because the specific *operational* meaning of inclusive education may diverge from its aspirational definition. Assuming that such operational meanings do in fact differ, how local interpretations of inclusive education are conveyed has implications not only for how research is designed, but also for how it is interpreted across teacher education study sites, both within and across countries. As inclusive education shifts and expands to assume a greater role in transforming schools for equity in terms of meeting students' needs, it will be critical for teacher

education researchers to be explicit about the meanings of inclusive education that are governing their particular inquiry at a given moment in time.

We believe that research on inclusive teacher education would be strengthened and advanced by greater transparency in articulating local meanings of inclusion and inclusive education—and that such transparency will assist in making more thoughtful and appropriate conclusions across studies. Further, such meanings should migrate toward a broader perspective on inclusive teacher education within which any particular focus on a specific social marker of identity (e.g., disability, English Learners, students who live in poverty) exists.

15.5.2   *Communities for Pre-service Learning (CPLs)*

To be effective, teacher education for inclusion is often said to depend on collaboration—which, although not solely restricted to special education, typically refers to collaboration between general and special education (Pugach et al. 2011), often operationalized in practice as co-teaching (e.g., Shin et al. 2016; Tremblay 2013). This master narrative of collaboration and co-teaching is the typical way community is referred to and characterized in relationship to teacher education for inclusion. That is, teachers work in communities to share roles and provide expertise in relationship to one another, and co-teach to provide direct support to students. As such, teacher educators are viewed as needing to prepare pre-service students for both collaboration and co-teaching.

Yet despite what may be larger aspirations with respect to addressing diversity, collaborations such as these are more often than not often rooted in the binary of 'putting' special education, or multicultural education, into the general education curriculum, reflecting historic divides among groups of educators (Pugach et al. 2014a). Likewise, practices such as co-teaching in higher education, or specific collaborations for clinical experience, also principally take place within this binary, embedded primarily in responding to disability (e.g., Kamens and Casale-Giannola 2004; Kamens 2007), and appear to occur less often in areas of diversity such as bilingual education.

Yet if teacher educators are going to embrace preparation across diversities in ways that respond to the complexity of students' identities, then what must be assumed by teacher educators across all sectors of the teacher education enterprise is that they will need to function as an active, ongoing, deliberate learning community that works together to build an inquiry-based understanding of preparing teachers for the broadest view of teacher education for inclusion. We suggest that teacher education faculty typically do not function as, nor view themselves as, communities of learners for purposes of program development, implementation, or research across diversity communities. Instead, collaboration and/or co-teaching at the pre-service level tend to be decontextualized from a local learning community dedicated to the continuous improvement of pre-service teacher education as part of a more complex view of inclusion and diversity. If research on teacher education for

inclusion is to embrace the full range of relationships across disciplines and sub-disciplines in response to students' complex, intersectional identities and needs, this can only be accomplished within a strong learning community of teacher education scholars, which we are designating *Communities for Pre-service Learning,* or *CPLs.*

We believe that research on teacher education for inclusion can be advanced significantly by developing robust, ongoing local CPLs—communities that include teacher educators across expertise areas related to the full array of students' social markers of identity, in foundational issues, in curriculum, and in instruction—as well as their PK-12 (primary and secondary education) partners. It is only within such enduring, broad-based teacher education communities, whose members' work is located within the pre-service curriculum and the assessments of prospective teachers within that curriculum, and who take up the intricate issue of students' intersecting identities, that complex ideas about what constitutes teacher education for inclusion can be broadened and studied in its full depth.

15.5.3   Understandings of Diversity

At the macroscopic level, the master narrative of diversity reflects an overarching commitment to a diversity that spans the full range of social markers of identity. Further, changing demographics, alongside a growing interest in the intersectionality of social identity markers (Cole 2009), would suggest that those who are concerned about meeting the needs of, for example, students with disabilities, are now more often situating those concerns within a larger framework of diversity and intersectionality. Despite this assumption, however, how disability is positioned in relationship to the full spectrum of diversity is not yet resolved, and is clearly more complex than a macroscopic view suggests.

Consequently, when scholars study teacher education for inclusion, it is critical that the specific local meaning of the term *diversity* is made transparent. How do local pre-service programs and program faculty, for example, reconcile the macroscopic concept of diversity with micro identity markers of social identity in which a particular teacher education researcher might be interested and have extensive expertise, for example, with students who are learning a new language, or students of a particular ethnicity, or students who have disabilities? How is one marker of identity presented within and across pre-service classes and PK-12 clinical experiences in a particular program in relationship to other classes and experiences, if at all? Does 'difference' encompass all diversities, or which diversities, and in what ways? Further, what is the relationship between making a program-wide, overarching commitment to diversity on the one hand, and the microscopic instructional skills teachers might need to deal with a specific learning need for a student on the other? In other words, how do faculty address any/all of these issues together, in context, across the pre-service curriculum? And in particular, how does a faculty contextualize the practical preparation of teachers, across areas of expertise, to work

with students who have specific instructional needs within the larger commitment to equity, and does this (or, how does this) figure into any related research effort?

How faculty within a given program makes sense of diversity together is rarely explored as a focus of scholarly inquiry (Pugach et al. 2014b). Further, the deep, longstanding, and mostly tacit divisions among, for example, multicultural education and special education and culturally diverse teaching, are not typically addressed (Irvine 2012; Villegas 2012), which masks their complexity. In the absence of such understandings, it is difficult to gauge how the issue of the relationship of one specific diversity area to a broad conception of diversity can be interpreted across studies.

Research on teacher education for inclusion must be strengthened at this critical juncture in how inclusion is defined—in the context of rich, deliberative, ongoing discussions to develop common understandings about diversity and 'difference'. Such deliberations need to take place across the full complement of teacher education faculty, which we advocate taking place within the context of a CPL—especially at the local program level, but also at national and international levels. The goal is to foster a more organic view of diversity that embraces, but is not limited to, any specific social marker of identity, and that acknowledges the contextual layers that are operating.

15.5.4   *Conceptions of Practice*

The ways that teacher education programs are structured and designed (e.g., length and number of courses/experiences, level offered) differ across local, national, and international contexts and, as a result, influence how research is conceptualized and conducted. Even with these differences, however, the master narrative that typically operates among teacher educators is that programs need to occur in a sequenced, coordinated fashion by an area faculty that guides students throughout their courses and fieldwork. In many settings, however, what counts as a teacher education program is undergoing significant change and the demands for tighter, coherent programs may be unrealistic. For example, the proliferation of online teacher education programs, and shorter pre-service programs in general in multiple countries, is changing conceptions both of how programs are structured and how faculty work. In addition to these major shifts in conceptions of the practice of teacher education, program faculty in one locale may place a strong emphasis on one component of a program (e.g., clinical experiences taking place in a PK-12 partnership school) while faculty in another locale may focus on another component (e.g., content knowledge). Such differences in conceptions of practice – either in the structure or the focus – create major dilemmas for aspiring to a coherent approach to the study of teacher education for inclusion.

Providing short program descriptions in research reports may not reflect the nuances of a program's structure or focus in sufficient detail and, as such, do not allow readers to accurately interpret research findings, much less make comparisons

across programs. At a minimum, and in light of restrictions journals may levy on article length, such descriptions should include basic information about the program's structure and design. Our view is that research on inclusive teacher education could be strengthened by including sufficiently detailed program descriptions, which can enable greater cross-program understanding and interpretation.

15.6   Implications of Using the Proposed Model for Research on Teacher Education for Inclusion

The implications of developing models for research on teacher education might best be captured by answering two key questions: What does such a model require of the community of researchers who study teacher education for inclusion? What would research look like when using the proposed model? And across these two questions, how would such research demonstrate the complexity of the endeavor and support new and evolving conceptions of research on teacher education for inclusion?

15.6.1   What Do Models Require of the Community of Researchers Who Study Teacher Education for Inclusion?

Drawing on this model, what is it we might ask of the teacher education research community in terms of conceptualizing and situating research on teacher education for inclusion? Such models can serve to push the boundaries of current, relatively narrow research and support researchers in several ways. First, the model exposes the complexity of the research enterprise regarding teacher education for inclusion and can function as a filter at the stage of research design, providing guidance for scholars to consider the ways their research interests reflect—or could reflect—the complexity the model represents. This may mean, for example, that instead of conducting pre-post survey studies that ask teachers about their attitudes toward teaching targeted groups, and documenting simple decontextualized scores, researchers instead might turn to examinations of teachers' broader conceptions of diversity and how these conceptions play out in classroom practice with regard to various specific student needs – an approach with potential to influence outcomes for students who are struggling, and which aims toward an understanding of students' identities as intersectional.

Second, a model such as this can assist scholars in placing their own research within a larger framework, as well as to draw on the model to make decisions regarding what research is needed to best advance a broader definition of teacher education for inclusion. As scholars consider the model, previously unexplored opportunities for research on teacher education for inclusion may more easily rise

to the surface. For example, researchers who may have focused their research on one component of a teacher education program (e.g., examining differences in pre-service teacher attitudes toward diverse students before and after taking a multicultural course, or pairing general and special education pre-service teachers in student teaching) may call on this model (e.g., *Conceptualizing and Structuring*) to design research that reflects multiple and interlocking components of a program.

Third, this model has the potential to function simultaneously as a *structure* for research design and as a *scaffold* to reframe and push forward new discourse. By having a model that lays out, for example, influences such as *discourse communities*, scholars may see connections they have never considered before and start reframing their own research. For example, with robust CPLs in place, teacher educators with interests in access to the curriculum on the part of English learners and those with interests in students with disabilities might join in a common research effort around academic language.

Finally, this model has implications for the methodologies that are drawn on to study teacher education for inclusion. Given the complexity of the enterprise, it seems reasonable to assume that more expanded use of either mixed methodology, or qualitative methodology, could provide the rich kinds of data to document what a broader definition of inclusive practice might mean. Yet in some countries, flagship special education publications have a record of being unwelcoming to qualitative research (Trainor and Leko 2014; Pugach et al. 2014c). Therefore, moving inquiry about inclusive teacher education forward will require progress on multiple fronts to engender a supportive environment for its dissemination.

15.6.2 What Would Research on Teacher Education Look Like Using This Model?

In this section, we draw on the model proposed here to offer one example of a study that we believe can illustrate some of the expanded thinking needed in the design and conduct of research on teacher education for inclusion. Drawing on our own expertise in the relationship between special and general education, we anchor this example in our own field to illustrate how teacher education researchers might use this model to expand concepts of what might be studied.

Suppose a researcher with expertise in special education wants to design a study to be conducted during the first year of implementation of a new extended, one-year field experience taking place in a school that works in partnership with the researcher's university teacher preparation program. The purpose of this new experience is to support novice teachers' practice of content and instruction, taught in previous courses, in ways that support inclusive education, and to better anchor the teacher education program in the local school context. For her study, the researcher proposes to examine how pre-service teachers operationalize their understanding of inclusive teacher education in their instruction through, for example, the language

they use in lesson planning and the interactions they have with colleagues and families.

With the proposed model in mind, the researcher might begin by calling on existing or new collaborators amongst both faculty colleagues with complementary expertise, and colleagues at the school site, to engage in a discussion of how best to design such a study. Working as a CPL, the group might first address the issue of how each understands the meanings of inclusive practice in both university and school settings. Having this discussion might ensure that meanings are made clear early on for the contexts under study and can then be more easily reported on in the research. Further, as a CPL, the researchers might begin to raise questions that they had not previously contemplated and that might benefit both the school's need to improve outcomes for all students who struggle and the preparation program's need to better understand whether the teachers they produce are engaging in inclusive practices that might better support students' learning. For example, the group might formulate questions that afford them the opportunity to address the discourse around understandings of diversity and disability and how both the school students and preservice teachers are to be considered and described in the study. By examining their own conceptions of diversity and disability, the CPL might develop a research question, for example, to focus specifically on the novice teachers' conceptions of diversity and disability by asking how novice teachers describe the families of the struggling students they are working with in their field experience.

In addition to the model's influence on considerations of context and discourse communities in the design of the research, the model should help the lead researcher's understanding of how the structure of the teacher education program (i.e., extending a field experience to a year) connects to, rather than is isolated from, the essential content and instruction of the program, as well as the alignment of this content and instruction with what the practices are in the school site where the research will be conducted. With this in mind, the researcher (and the CPL in which she is engaged) might consider more deeply the teacher preparation curriculum as a whole and key instructional practices in order to determine what occurred in earlier program components (e.g., courses and initial clinical experiences) that prepared novice teachers to successfully instruct students who struggle. For example, while a question about the extent to which students demonstrate learning the content the novice teachers are instructing is important, an equally critical question might focus on how the teachers engage students' funds of knowledge during instruction (Gonzalez et al. 2005) and the type of community that exists in the classroom engendered by the novice.

When a CPL engages in a research process that tackles the complexity of the research head on, the researchers are more likely to raise questions that help them dig deeper into understanding the extent to which novice teachers' practices exemplify an expanded view of inclusive education. Such a focus on complexity means that the researchers will need to call on a mix of methods—both quantitative and qualitative—for gathering and analyzing data. For example, the question about how teachers engage students' funds of knowledge may mean that the researcher would need to employ text analysis to examine novice teachers' lesson plans and other

assignments and discourse analysis to consider how they talk about their struggling students' needs and strengths. Such analysis may yield far richer information about what contributes to both student and pre-service teacher learning and, specifically to the research question asked, how pre-service teachers operationalize their understanding of inclusive teacher education.

15.7   Conclusion: Complexity as the Key to the Next Generation of Research

Our goal in this chapter is to propose one dynamic, generative model that we believe can be responsive to changing, broadening conceptions of inclusive education and the research needed to understand what it means to prepare teachers for their practice under the umbrella of such a definition. This constitutes the challenge for the next generation of research on teacher education for inclusion.

Such models have the potential to bridge the persistent divisions among teacher educators who work across diversity communities, a divide that continues to trouble how this work moves forward (Pugach et al. 2012). We recognize that professional rhetoric and contemporary practice seem to be moving in the right direction, both in the push for a greater extent of collaborative work and in the innovative program development that is taking place aimed at preparing teachers to be effective with all learners. With this start in place, it seems timely to call on new models that not only have the potential to press this work ahead, but to do so in a manner that draws consistent attention to the complexity of research on teacher education for inclusion. Our hope is that in designing and conducting this next generation of research, teacher education scholars can build on the new aspirations for inclusive education—and help to give those aspirations depth and shape through inquiry that reflects the full panorama of what it means to prepare teachers for inclusive practice.

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Chapter 16
Teacher Education for the Changing Demographics of Schooling: Pathways for Future Research

Lani Florian and Nataša Pantić

16.1 Introduction

In this chapter we reflect on the contributions made by our contributing authors and the stakeholders who participated in a UK Economic and Social Research Council seminar series, *Teacher education and the changing demographics of schooling*, designed to consider these questions in support of developing an agenda for future research in the field. Drawing on research in various areas of diversity, as well as teacher education more generally, the seminar series positioned a broad concept of diversity within the larger frame of research and policy on teacher education. Six seminars addressed issues of inclusive pedagogical practice and teacher agency across a series of topics. They considered how teacher education could be strengthened by reframing the issue of diversity as one of multiple overlapping identities relevant to each and every student in school rather than as unitary markers of identity (e.g. bilingual or disabled) for some. Discussions and key questions were summarised in a set of briefing papers produced after each seminar (http://www.ed.ac.uk/education/rke/centres-groups/rten/esrc-te-seminars). In the sections below we synthesise the issues raised across the seminars in order to outline some pathways for future research.

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16.2   Key Issues for Teacher Education Research

The Idea That Classroom Teachers Are Somehow Not Qualified to Teach Certain Groups of Students Needs to Be Challenged   The assumption that different types of courses and qualifications are needed to prepare teachers to teach different types of students perpetuates the problem of teachers feeling inadequately prepared for the increasing diversity of student groups in school because it limits who teachers consider themselves qualified to teach (Young 2008), and is unhelpful in a world where differences between students are reflected by variation in the multiple identities that account for a person's individuality. A challenge for future research will be to design research that takes account of human diversity. While the need to take account of differences between people is not disputed, it is important that differences are treated as aspects of leaners as people rather than defining specific attributes of groups.

Researching Teacher Agency   A recurrent theme in the seminars was that of teacher agency for change towards greater inclusion and social justice. It has been suggested that teachers can be prepared to act as agents of change in addressing issues of inequality (e.g. Ballard 2012; Donaldson 2010; see also Chap. 10). Based on evidence that teachers are the most significant in-school factor influencing student achievement (Hanushek and Woessman 2011; Hattie 2009; OECD 2005) it is widely assumed that they can make a considerable difference in students' learning by the ways in which they work. Teachers themselves often see justice and fairness as important parts of being a good teacher (Arthur et al. 2015; Olsen 2008). However, teachers are complex agents whose practices are highly contextualised and intertwined with those of others (Vongalis-Macrow 2007). Consequently, it has been difficult to analyse *why* and *how* teachers matter, despite the evidence that teachers and schools can and do make a difference for addressing exclusion and underachievement (Flecha and Soler 2013; Hayes et al. 2006; Darling-Hammond 2006, 2013). Little is known about how teachers can be supported to build supportive classroom environments characterised by high levels of 'agency' and 'communion' in teacher-student relationships (see Chap. 6). There is also a gap in understanding of teachers' practices as agents of change beyond the classroom (see Chaps. 5 and 7) despite research that establishes that teachers taking collective responsibility for students' learning is associated with narrowing the achievement gap (Darling-Hammond 2014). Thus, understanding the conditions in which teachers are more likely to develop collective agency and collaborative practices focused on improving the learning and school experiences of all students is a worthwhile path for future research.

It is important to acknowledge that many teacher education programmes already aim to educate teachers as reflexive agents committed to social justice. However, further research is needed to help establish and evaluate efforts to do this. In particular, there is a need for evidence about graduates' capacities to:

- understand themselves as moral agents;
- understand the contested nature of social justice;

- build professionally appropriate relationships; and
- develop capacity to work collaboratively with others to address risks of exclusion or underachievement and other forms of marginalisation of vulnerable students.

Studies of teachers' beliefs and practices as change agents in support of a social justice agenda aimed at reducing inequality could involve analyses of relationships among school staff, and with parents and specialists over time to test the hypothesis that teacher agency develops across the career in conditions of high levels of mutual trust and influence. Such studies could use (adapted) established tools such as framework for evidencing inclusive practice (Florian and Spratt 2013), collective efficacy (Goddard et al. 2000) and relational agency (Pantić 2015; Pantić and Florian 2015) for mixed-method analysis of teachers' development across career stages to inform relevant teacher preparation.

Teacher Education for Diversity Despite the many efforts that have been made to address issues of diversity and difference in teacher education, fundamental questions about how teacher education can support new teachers to respond to the challenges of diversity remain unanswered. One of the biggest gaps in evidence about how successful different teacher education programmes are in preparing students for dealing with increasing diversity of school populations is the impact on student teachers practices (see Cochran-Smith et al. 2015 for review).

Approaches to teacher education that take the concerns of teachers seriously as a central programme feature (e.g., Oyler 2006) can enable teacher education to be reframed from a technical-rational, to a holistic model, of the human endeavour of teaching and learning (e.g. Korthagen et al. 2001). For example, Deppeler (see Chap. 11) draws on a programme of research conducted with teachers in schools over 15 years that focused on using evidence as a means of stimulating practitioner experimentation and collaboration as the fundamental strategy for development. Implicit in the inquiry is the mandate to expose and explicate potentially conflicting constructions of students through the voices of families, students, teachers, professionals and other members of the community. Outcomes illustrate the potential of this approach for collaborative knowledge production and improvement in teaching and learning. Examples from this work highlight the challenges of facilitating genuine critique, and navigating boundaries that divide professionals to build collaboration in teacher education research.

Additional chapters in this book also describe approaches to rethinking the teacher education curriculum, guided by a broad vision for preparing teachers who are responsive to increasingly diverse student populations in different parts of the world. Villegas and Citolli (see Chap. 10) argue for a coherent approach to rethinking the teacher education curriculum guided by a broad vision for preparing all teachers, not just specialists, to respond to human differences. Although their work was originally developed to address student diversity issues primarily related to race, ethnicity, social class and language, their contribution to this volume demonstrates the broader applicability of their framework to the preparation of teachers who are also responsive to students with disabilities and additional needs. Beaton

and Spratt (see Chap. 12) provide an example from a Master's Programme which embeds the concept of inclusive pedagogy (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011) into teacher education courses. Although they use a different conceptual framework to that of Villegas and Citolli, it is conceptually similar. They use the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach in Action (IPAA) framework (Florian 2015) to illustrate how course participants enacted the theoretical concepts to develop curricula that were more responsive to the communities they served.

Ohito and Oyler (see Chap. 13) take these ideas further arguing that preparing teachers for enacting pedagogies that do not sort, level and label some students as superior and successful, and other students as inferior and deviant, requires teacher education pedagogies that interrogate cultural hegemony and analyse how inclusive pedagogies are inherently counter-hegemonic. They further argue that it is only through attention to the affective and therefore embodied aspects of these interrogations that we can most effectively support future teachers in the uptake of inclusive pedagogies, which are requisite to the construction of just and equitable classrooms and schools. This is supported by Graham (see Chap. 14) who argues that the theme of the body is implicit in *how* teachers respond to difference in the classroom but remains an under theorised and under researched aspect of inclusive pedagogy despite a growing contemporary interest in examinations of the embodiment of knowledge.

Several chapters describe research on diversity issues with student teachers. They make an important contribution to understanding how teacher education can respond to the concerns of student teachers through collaborative and reflective activities and content that builds professional knowledge through engagement with these concerns. Collectively they also show the need for intersectional studies of how student teachers, students and teachers learn together in contexts of diversity. Such research is central to professional learning that will enable teacher education to be reframed by asking:

- How can teachers be prepared to address inequities embedded in education contexts by engaging in counter-hegemonic practices both within and beyond their classrooms?
- How can teachers be prepared to acknowledge and respect differences while ensuring inclusion of everybody?
- How can teachers be prepared to work with others across professional boundaries in ways that do not stigmatise students who face difficulties in learning? What are the challenges for teacher educators?
- How can questions around teachers responding to diversity within a larger framework become foundational part of teacher education?

It is important to note that the knowledge base about these issues remains fragmented and is sometimes contested. Consequently it is important to look across the silos that divide teacher education communities. A research agenda for teacher education and the changing demographics of schooling will need to consider various forms of diversity (including the teaching workforce itself and routes into teaching), as well as the obstacles facing Schools of Education in developing programmes that

take account of the changing contexts in which teaching takes place. Moreover, as a number of contributors pointed out, there is a need to conduct research *with* rather than *on* teachers. Research in teacher education has often developed in isolation from research on teaching practice as well as from research on higher education and its organisational context (Grossman and McDonald 2008). How can more opportunities for teachers' engagement in research and collaboration with researchers be created?

16.3 Conclusion

While recent years have seen increasing research reports on teacher education for inclusive education, the literature is fragmented. We believe that this is partly because models have yet to be developed to account for how research on both the structures and the content of teacher education contribute to understanding fully how best to prepare teachers to serve all students well. A robust conceptualisation of teacher education for inclusive education that takes account of the complex context in which teaching and teacher education are practiced internationally is needed. The dynamic model of research presented by Blanton and Pugach (see Chap. 15) provides an example. There is also a need for a coherent overarching framework that establishes a road map for development and justifies research direction. The framework developed by Cochran-Smith and Villegas (2015) as a result of their broad and comprehensive literature review of 1500 studies on teacher education published between 2000 and 2012 goes a long way in establishing that road map. Their review organised teacher education research into three overarching research program areas:

- research on teacher preparation accountability, effectiveness and policies,
- research on teacher preparation for the knowledge society, and
- research on teacher preparation for diversity and equity

Clearly our work aligns with the research on teacher preparation for diversity and equity and its associated clusters which covers research on:

- Coursework and Fieldwork
- Teacher Diversity
- Content, Structures and Pedagogies
- Teacher Educators

Further research and diverse methodologies are needed to study teacher education for the changing demographics of schooling, and for distilling the essence of inclusive practice taking into account that it will look different in different contexts. The need to synthesise and extend evidence produced in different 'silos' of research in teacher education in order to extend knowledge of diversity as one of overlapping identities, and the necessity of linking well-established research on teachers' relationships, along with emerging research in the area of teacher agency to issues

of social justice and inclusion were identified as key areas for research utilising a variety of methods and longitudinal designs.

Research is also needed to explore how teacher education graduates enact inclusive practice in the different contexts of their workplaces. For example, Florian and Spratt (2013) demonstrated how an analytical framework they developed to guide teacher education course reforms could be used as a tool to examine how teachers draw from the principles of inclusive pedagogy in different contexts. Their tool linked the practical knowledge of experienced teachers in inclusive classrooms to the theoretical ideas taught on their course and the pedagogical attributes the course was intended to foster in programme graduates to develop a methodological approach to a follow-up study of programme graduates focused on what teachers *do* in their classrooms rather than (self) reports of how the course influenced their practice.

As noted in the introduction, the ideas presented in this book were based on the premise that while demographic trends may differ within and between countries and world regions, there are common issues of diversity in schools. We therefore emphasised the need for a robust conceptualisation of teacher education for inclusive education taking into account the complexity and context in which teaching and teacher education are practiced internationally. A conceptualisation of diversity as an integral aspect of humanity has been central to our search for theoretical approaches for the preparation of teachers who understand diversity from multiple perspectives and can work in ways that enable all students to flourish as learners. Therefore, we argue for research that takes as a starting point the kinds of classroom and school practices that support inclusive learning and environments in which all students meaningfully participate in educational activity. This line of enquiry is focused on what can be learned from these teachers that might be helpful to others following Hagger and MacIntyre's (2006) ideas about learning teaching from teachers –and using this learning to inform teacher education. Such an approach could include studies of teacher agency for addressing the structural and cultural barriers to inclusion that use a variety of methods and collection of qualitative and quantitative data, including phenomenological studies of teachers' decision-making.

Existing evidence suggests that current schooling practices do not equally support the learning of all students. For example, the gap in achievement between pupils from the lower socio-economic backgrounds and others remains wide in many countries (see e.g. OECD 2009). How can teachers be prepared to address issues of inequality? Research that takes account of the structural and content-related aspects of how diversity is conceptualised, taught and researched in teacher education programmes provides some important pathways for future research.

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