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ABSTRACT

This is an analysis of the findings from three comparable national studies of current change in the provision of initial teacher education. These three studies are: the Mode of Teacher Education (MOTE) survey, covering England and Wales; the Research about Teacher Education (RATE) Project, covering the United States; and the Study of Initial Teacher Education (SITE), covering Australia. Each of the studies examines comparable issues and identifies a range of common policy strategies being pursued by the respective governments. There appears to be a global move toward educational reform. Many countries are dismantling centralized educational structures and replacing them with systems having local institutional autonomy and control. These are often linked to an increased emphasis on parental choice and competition between institutions for students. These changes are leading to a market model of educational services. There is more encouragement of the growth of different types of schools, responsive to local needs and particular communities and interest groups. This trend is also linked to growing notions of cultural pluralism as schools shift from a modern to postmodern model. (Contains 39 references.) (JLS)

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Making Sense of Global Reform in Initial Teacher Education:

A Discussion Paper

Prepared by the MOTE Team on behalf of the
MOTE, SITE and RATE Research Projects

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Abstract

This draft paper reflects on the findings from three comparable national studies of current change in the provision of initial teacher education. The three studies are MOTE (covering England and Wales), RATE (cover the USA) and SITE (covering Australia). Although planned and executed independently, each of the three studies examines comparable issues and identifies a range of common policy strategies being pursued by their respective governments. In this paper the authors summarise and reflect on their findings for an understanding of global policy change in initial teacher education.

Making Sense of Global Reform in Initial Teacher Education: A Discussion Paper

We are interested in both how the international is nationalised and how the national is exported in different settings and epochs. (Hannerz and Löfgren,1994:199)

One paradoxical consequence of the process of globalisation, the awareness of the finitude and boundedness of the plane of humanity, is not to produce homogeneity but to familiarise us with greater diversity, the extensive range of local cultures' (Featherstone1993: 169)

1. Introduction

As a recent OECD paper has demonstrated (OECD 1996), many countries in the developed world are now engaged in a process of 'systemic reform' of their education service. The term 'systemic reform' is used to convey the growing awareness around the world 'that changing one element of an education system has (often unexpected) knock-on effects on the rest of the system and that it is more effective to aim at changing the system as a whole' (Townsend 1996). And in many countries, as our three studies have illustrated, that 'whole' is now taken to include the reform of initial teacher education.

The centrality of teacher education to broader educational reform is well expressed in the recent Irish White Paper on Education:

The capacity of the education system to cope with and lead change is critically dependent on developing the necessary attitudinal and professional competences of the teaching profession (Irish White Paper on Education 1995, 125)

As a consequence,in Ireland, as in many other countries, proposed changes to the education system are being closely integrated with proposed changes in both initial and in-service teacher education.

Systemic change in education, including teacher education, is therefore a global phenomenon. But the question we want to pose in this final paper is, is there an underlying commonality in the direction of those changes; are we witnessing a process of global***isation***? Do the studies undertaken in our three countries provide the sort of evidence Hannerz and Löfgren (1994) are searching for in their concern with how international processes become nationalised and *vice versa* or, is this global process, as Featherstone suggests, merely serving to familiarise us with the reality of difference and diversity?

2. MOTE, RATE and SITE - a common story?

One thing that a comparison of our three studies undoubtedly reveals is the complexity of researching in the rapidly changing policy context of initial teacher education. In Australia, the USA, as well as England and Wales, change is endemic in this field and researching it is therefore like trying to hit a moving target. Each of our studies is large scale, attempting to capture something of the national picture in our countries. Given the time involved in mounting such large scale research, each study inevitably provides no more than a snapshot of practice at a particular point in time. Moreover, in such a fast moving field that snapshot can be quickly out of date. The empirical findings in each of our three countries, therefore, have to be interpreted in the context of dynamic policy change.

Substantively, what our studies have in common is a description of an on-going struggle in each of our three countries over the nature and form of initial teacher education and behind that, a struggle over the character of professionalism appropriate for the next generation of teachers. Centrally driven reforms that have a particular perspective on training have in many instances met with resistance from those in higher education and schools. At the same time, there are also a number of instances of local and national initiatives from within the profession itself articulating a different conception of training and teacher professionalism. Political and ideological conflict over education is

being mediated through a discourse concerning the structure and content of initial teacher education

So for example, the MOTE study reported how in England and Wales, the structure and content of initial teacher education has been fundamentally transformed by central Government reforms in recent years. As a result

- students have to spend more time in schools during their training;
- schools' responsibility in training has been substantially increased;
- higher education institutions have to pay schools up to one quarter of their gross income for their contribution to the training process;
- the content of training has to a significant degree been externally defined through a series of Government prescribed competences;
- within these Government defined competences there is a growing emphasis on subject based knowledge.

In addition, since the completion of the study, the Government agency responsible for teacher education (the TTA - Teacher Training Agency) has established ever more rigorous forms of quality control, linking assessed quality with funding and threatening closure of courses found to be inadequate. It has also established a national framework of competency based training qualifications for all stages of teachers' careers.

Empirically what the MOTE studies demonstrate is how, at the level of rhetoric, course leaders, lecturers and teachers have attempted to resist the spirit of these national changes through the championing of 'collaborative' forms of partnership; through the overwhelming concern with forms of reflective practice; and through the 'incorporation' of competences into more conventional training agenda. However, the studies also show how successive waves of reform are having a significant effect on many HEIs, narrowing and weakening their contribution to the training process. As a result, in many institutions, training is developing an increasingly practical orientation with relationships between those in schools and higher education narrowed to bureaucratic rather than collaborative relationships.

Similar struggles are revealed by the RATE study in the USA. In 1990, the Holmes Group report advocated the development of closer relationships between schools and HEIs through the establishment of Professional Development schools. Such a strategy, it was suggested, would serve to transform both the quality of teacher education, making it more practical and relevant, and the wider school system.

However, findings from the most recent RATE survey (RATE VIII (1995) would imply that there has been substantial resistance to this vision. As the study shows, although lecturers are now more often in schools, they are working there in very traditional ways - supervising students, doing research. Relationships between schools and HEIs remain largely personal and ad hoc and teachers have not become involved in the process of training in anything more than conventional areas. RATE VIII therefore concludes that the system as a whole has not, as yet, experienced fundamental change:

> 'While there is considerable ferment relative to collaboration and the simultaneous reform of teacher education and P-12, the degree to which this activity focuses squarely on changing the nature of teaching and learning especially teaching and learning for prospective teachers, is suspect.' (RATE VIII p 39)

More recent policy initiatives however indicate a rather different reform agenda. Individual states have increasingly attempted to influence the curriculum of initial teacher education by defining the numbers of courses to be taken in different subjects, while at a federal level other initiatives include the recently published National Commission on Teaching and America's Future and the NCATE (National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education) framework for assuring quality in the practice of teaching.

The National Commission, for example, have argued for:

- Establishing professional standards boards in every state
- Insisting on professional accreditation for all schools of education
- Closing inadequate schools of education

- Licensing teachers based on demonstrated performance, including tests of subject matter knowledge, teaching knowledge and teaching skills
- Using national Board standards as the bench-mark for accomplished teaching

The National Commission proposals incorporate the NCATE approach to teacher education which includes an elaborate quality control framework running from student recruitment through to licence renewal and continuous professional development. Significantly, however, despite a plethora of such initiatives, most national codes of practice, including those of NCATE, remain voluntary and many institutions - including some of the most prestigious - have not signed up to them.

In Australia, as the SITE study reveals, the form and content of initial teacher education has also been deeply contested in recent years. On the one hand the profession itself (universities often acting in collaboration with representatives of teacher unions) has been involved in a range of initiatives to reform training. As a result, in many institutions:

- courses have been lengthened;
- there has been a growing emphasis on graduate entry;
- collaborative relationships between HEIs and schools have been developed both for initial training and for school development as part of the National Schools Network.

In addition, a federal initiative to introduce a behaviourist competency framework for training was successfully transformed by university and union leaders into a model that was more educationally progressive and consistent with community and social needs (Walker, 1996).

At the same time, however, individual states and the Federal Government have sponsored a number of other initiatives reflecting a rather different agenda. Some states have utilised their control of teacher registration to influence the curriculum of courses, insisting on increased time being devoted to preparation in science and mathematics thereby squeezing the time available for more

theoretically based studies. Moreover, as the SITE team indicate in their paper, the Federal Government has recently begun to raise questions about the length and cost of academically based courses. Such a line of argument raises the possibility of re-visiting an earlier unsuccessful attempt by the Federal Government to transfer resources from HEIs to schools in the support of a more practical approach to training.

The current and future shape of teacher education and of the professional formation of teachers is therefore deeply contested in each of our three countries. But how do we interpret such a common pheomenon? Is there a common agenda behind government led reform initiatives; are the struggles in our three countries about the same thing? One interpretation would be to argue that there was indeed a common agenda in that such reforms are the result of globalising forces such as post-Fordism or post-modernism.

3. Globalisation and educational reform: post-Fordist and post-modernist interpretations

In interpreting international systemic educational reform, a number of commentators have put forward a globalisation thesis by arguing that international change is the product of post-Fordist or post-modernist forces. For example, one common strand in many countries' attempts at systemic reform has been the concern to dismantle centralised educational bureaucracies and create in their place devolved systems of schooling entailing significant degrees of institutional autonomy and a variety of forms of school-based management and administration. In many cases, these changes have been linked to an increased emphasis on parental choice and on competition between institutions, thereby creating 'quasi-markets' in educational services (Le Grand and Bartlett 1993).

Even though these directions in education policy have not penetrated all countries (Green 1994), and they have been mediated differently by the traditions of different nation states and different political parties, the similarity between the broad trends in many parts of the world has led some commentators to suggest that education policy may be witnessing something

more significant than the passing political fashion that has come -in Britain and beyond - to be termed 'Thatcherism'. Rather, it is argued that these shifts in the ways in which education is organised reflect broader changes in the nature of advanced industrial societies, changes that can be characterised as post-Fordism or post-modernity.

Post-Fordist analyses suggest that the reforms can be understood in terms of the transportation of changing modes of regulation from the sphere of production into other arenas, such as schooling and welfare services. They point to a correspondence between the establishment of differentiated markets in welfare and a shift in the economy away from Fordism towards a post-Fordist mode of accumulation which 'places a lower value on mass individual and collective consumption and creates pressures for a more differentiated production and distribution of health, education, transport and housing' (Jessop et al 1987). Ball (1990), for example, has claimed to see in new forms of schooling a move away from the 'Fordist' school towards a 'post-Fordist' one - the educational equivalent of flexible specialisation driven by the imperatives of differentiated consumption replacing the old assembly-line world of mass production. These 'post-Fordist schools' are designed 'not only to produce the post-Fordist, multi-skilled, innovative worker but to behave in post-Fordist ways themselves; moving away from mass production and mass markets to niche markets and "flexible specialisation" ... a post-Fordist mind-set is thus having implications in schools for management styles, curriculum, pedagogy and assessment' (Kenway 1993).

However, Kenway herself regards the rapid rise of the market form in education as something much more significant than post-Fordism; she therefore terms it a 'post-modern' phenomenon, accentuating the nexus between the 'global' and the 'local' (Kenway, 1993). In her own pessimistic version of post-modernity, 'transnational corporations and their myriad subsidiaries...shape and reshape our individual and collective identities as we plug in...to their cultural and economic communications networks' (Kenway 1993). Her picture is one in which notions of 'difference', far from being eradicated by the 'globalisation of culture', are assembled, displayed, celebrated, commodified and exploited (Robins, 1991). Such trends can be detected in the current emphasis on both tradition and diversity in education policy.

In other accounts the rhetoric of 'new times' seems to offer more positive images of choice and diversity, reflecting the needs of communities and interest groups brought into prominence as a result of complex contemporary patterns of political, economic and cultural differentiation, which intersect the traditional class divisions upon which common systems of mass education were predicated. From this perspective, it is possible to contrast post-modernity to the oppressive uniformity of much modernist thinking - as 'a form of liberation, in which the fragmentation and plurality of cultures and social groups allow a hundred flowers to bloom' (Thompson 1992). Some feminists, for example, have seen attractions in the shift towards the pluralist models of society and culture associated with post-modernism and post-modernity (Flax 1987). The real possibilities for community-based welfare, rather than bureaucratically controlled welfare, are also viewed positively by some minority ethnic groups and many of the advocates of quasi-market systems of public education regard them as particularly beneficial for the urban poor (Moe 1994; Pollard 1995).

Part of the appeal of the recent education reforms that have affected so many countries thus lies in their declared intention to encourage the growth of different types of school, responsive to needs of particular communities and interest groups. They also link to concepts of multiple identities and radical pluralism and can thus seem more attractive than uni-dimensional notions of comprehensive schooling and, indeed, uni-dimensional notions of citisenship. Some aspects of the rhetoric of the new policies thus seem to connect to the aspirations of groups who have found little to identify with in the 'grand narratives' associated with class-based politics. In this sense, the reforms might be viewed as a rejection of all totalising narratives and their replacement by 'a set of cultural projects united [only] by a self-proclaimed commitment to heterogeneity, fragmentation and difference' (Boyne and Rattansi 1990). In other words, support for schools run on a variety of principles reflects a broader shift from the assumptions of modernity to those of postmodernity.

4. The marketised society and the 'evaluative state'

We would suggest that there are a number of fundamental flaws with these 'post-ist' forms of analysis which lead to an exaggeration of any underlying social changes. As our studies show, the discourse and the contexts of political struggles in and around education, as well as arrangements for the administration of education, have indeed been significantly altered by recent reforms. However, what they clearly demonstrate is an enhanced emphasis on the role of the nation state rather than its marginalisation in the global-local nexus. In England, for example, the Government may have opened up initial training to the market through the development of school based training, but at the same time, it has massively increased its central powers through quality control and funding mechanisms as well as the new National Curriculum for teacher education. As a result, it has actually strengthened its capacity to foster particular interests while appearing to stand outside the frame. Both the RATE and the SITE studies show similar attempts by state and federal authorities to increase rather than reduce their influence. Any explanation of international change must therefore recognise the central role of the individual state and its agencies rather than appeal directly to some supra national process.

A more plausible explanation for what we have documented might therefore be that the changes in initial teacher education we have seen are part of the broader Thatcherite project which Gamble characterises as an attempt to create a free economy and a strong state (Gamble 1988). Or, put another way, a marketised civil society in which institutions are 'steered at a distance' by the 'evaluative state' and its quangos (Neave 1988). Certainly such an account is persuasive in the English context.

So, for example, Le Grand (1996) suggests that in England, during the so-called 'golden age of teacher control' from 1944 to the mid-1970s, parents of children in state schools were expected to trust the professionals and accept that teachers knew what was best for their children. This usually involved accepting a degree of uniformity in the system. He goes on to argue that the assumptions underlying what he calls the 'democratic socialist welfare state' have now been questioned and the belief that professionals are concerned only with the welfare of their clients has increasingly been challenged, with public

choice theorists arguing that the behaviour of public servants and professionals could be better understood if they were assumed to be largely self-interested (Glennerster, 1995; Lowe, 1993).

From this point of view, the teachers of the 'swollen state' of post-war social democracy are thus regarded as ill-adapted to be either agents of the narrowed state or entrepreneurial service providers in a marketised civil society. In the light of this there would need to be something of a move away from the notion that the teaching profession should have a professional mandate to act on behalf of the state in the best interests of its citizens to a view that teachers (and indeed other professions) need to be subjected to the rigours of the market and/or greater control and surveillance on the part of the re-formed state. What Dale characterises as a shift from licensed to regulated autonomy.

How might this impact upon teacher education? One of the arguments used by proponents of reform in England to explain their relative lack of impact on achievement and equity to date, apart from the fact that they have not gone far enough, is that they have been stymied by an unreconstructed teaching force. Attempts to reconstruct teacher professionalism and make the teaching force more responsive to the demands of the state and the market are therefore particularly evident in the attempts to reform teacher education. The preferred strategy of the neo-liberal marketeers is deregulation of the profession to allow schools to go into the market and recruit graduates (or even non-graduates) without irrelevant or even damaging professional training and prepare them on an apprenticeship basis in school. The introduction of new routes into teaching and the strategy of locating more and more elements of training in schools have been partly (though not wholly) influenced by such views.

These policies also have some appeal to neo-conservative critics who have detected a collectivist (and even crypto-Marxist) ideological bias among teacher educators in higher education in England. However, neo-conservatives are still concerned with 'enemies within' the teaching profession as a whole as well as within teacher education. And such views, combined with vocationalist concerns about international competitiveness (Hickox 1995), have meant that even the English Government has not actually pursued a policy of total deregulation or a wholesale devolution of teacher training to the schools.

Instead, it has shown a concern to shape the content of teachers' professional knowledge, initially through the introduction of a common list of competences to be required of beginning teachers, regardless of the nature of the route by which they have achieved them, and more recently by the proposals for a national curriculum for primary teacher education. This has, of course, given rise to the suspicion that the Government wants to 'deprofessionalise' teaching by ensuring that, wherever they are trained, teachers focus on the development of craft skills rather than professional understanding. Thus, Jones and Moore (1993) argue that this emphasis on competences will serve to undermine the dominant discourse of liberal humanism within the teaching profession and replace it with one of technical rationality. Adams and Tulasiewicz (1995) complain that teachers are being turned into technicians rather than 'reflective professionals'. Such commentators feel that basing training in particular schools will limit the development of broader perspectives on education, and that specifying a limited range of competences will encourage restricted rather than extended notions of professionality (Hoyle 1974). More charitable observers argue that the Government is trying to reform teacher education in order to 'reprofessionalise' teaching more in line with the needs of the twenty-first century. But either way these developments represent a struggle over what is to count as teacher professionalism for the future.

Just as in education reform more generally, there seems to have been a dual strategy in England involving devolution of some responsibilities to schools at the same time as prescribing more things from the centre. Schools and teachers may be 'empowered' to develop their own ways of training teachers and compete with one another in the process but only within a very narrow frame. To this extent, the last five years in England may have seen the erosion of university domination of initial teacher education, not so much to devolve real responsibility to schools, as David Hargreaves might suppose, but to impose an alternative and more restricted state mandated one. The role of the Teacher Training Agency and OFSTED, (Office for Standards in Education - the inspection arm of the Department for Education and Employment) is particularly significant here (Mahony and Hextall 1996). Other potential stakeholders who might foster an alternative collective definition of teacher professionalism, whether HEIs, LEAs, teacher unions or a GTC, have been marginalised in the process. This combined use of state control and deregulation to get rid of so-

called vested interests is again consistent with the project of creating a strong state and a 'free' economy (Gamble 1988).

5. Globalising the 'evaluative' state?

From the evidence provided by the MOTE study, the 'evaluative state' thesis would seem to be persuasive in understanding the English context. Moreover, similar strategies would appear to be being introduced in other countries and states, for example in New Zealand, and Victoria in Australia. But is the thesis generalisable? Is there a universal tendency towards a marketised civil society, managed at a distance through an evaluative state? Our evidence would suggest that if there is such a process taking place then it is certainly not a straightforward one.

To some extent the complexities of globalisation are highlighted by recognising the limitations of what has in fact been achieved even in the United Kingdom. The changes in initial teacher education documented in the MOTE study have in reality only affected England. School-based forms of training were introduced into Scotland in 1994 (Elder and Kwiatkowski 1996) only to be rejected by the combined forces of the teacher unions and the Universities after one year. In Wales (Daugherty 1996) the same initiative has been introduced but the different funding arrangements for higher education and the residue of old 'corporatist' allegiances between members of different state agencies has resulted in HEIs retaining a somewhat stronger role in the process than in England. In Northern Ireland, it seems, the proposal to introduce school-based training never even began in that it was ruled out of court from the beginning by the combined forces of the Catholic and Protestant bishops! Such complexities, even within one country, yet again undermine any straightforward notion of global change and reassert the realities of political struggle within a constitutional framework.

The interesting point about the London Government's attempt to introduce school-based training throughout the United Kingdom was that, in the light of its substantially increased powers in education, it thought it could impose such a policy. What it discovered was that the country was more federal than it had anticipated. Genuinely federal governments seldom make such mistakes. As

experience in Australia and the USA demonstrate, national strategies in teacher education, as in other fields, have to be managed through carefully orchestrated initiatives aimed at influencing opinion as well as voluntary codes - NCATE and the National Schools Network being cases in point.

But it is not only constitutional factors that influence the power of governments to have their way. As the findings from the SITE study demonstrate, the unions, at state and territory levels, (depending on the political complexion of governments) and at the federal level (at least up to the last election in 1996) have been a significant force in shaping policy. In the USA, the university system remains significantly more autonomous than in either England or Australia. Moreover the fact that in Australia the Federal Government pays for higher education but that the States control teacher registration adds to the complexities. All governments have to recognise the reality that individual states and other interest groups may use what power they have available to them to pursue policies that subvert central initiatives. In the 1990s England may well be more 'governable' than other countries. Theories that explain the English context cannot therefore not be directly transferred to other contexts.

We also need to recognise that the motivations behind what on the surface may look like similar strategies for reform, may in reality, be very different. Thus in both Australia and the USA, as in England, there has been a range of initiatives designed to encourage HEIs and schools to work more closely together. However, the aspirations behind the establishment of Professional Development Schools in America or the National Schools Network in Australia were profoundly different from those in England. They were about extending rather than restricting notions of professionality and empowering the profession to take some responsibility for its own improvement.

Similar differences emerge in relation to competences. In the United Kingdom, competences were initially seen as designed to restrict forms of professionalism - though as the MOTE study has demonstrated, if that was the intention, over time it has been subverted. However, in Australia, a more pro-active professional alliance of unions and universities was able to develop a competency framework that enshrined a much broader and more progressive version of professionalism (Walker 1996). The fact that alternative versions of

partnership and competences were developed in Australia and America and, at least during the early 1990s, given official sanction, indicates that there is no inevitable process of change around the world.

Our experience would therefore lead us to be extremely cautious about moving too quickly to any 'totalising' framework for explaining the changes we have recorded. But does that mean that all global change in initial teacher education can illustrate is the diversity and complexity of local systems? We think not, for we cannot ignore the fact that strategies such as school-based training or competences came to prominence in each of our three countries at more or less the same time. We also have to recognise that in their latest round of policy initiatives, both the USA and Australia are moving closer towards the English model, attempting to narrow definitions of professionality and increase central control of the training process.

So, for example in Australia, the prospect of narrower versions of professionality has been raised recently by the new Liberal Government's questioning of the length of academic courses. At the same time, higher education in general is being subject to increased central control through the mechanisms of greater competition for government funds in combination with a move towards output measurement . In America, Larabee and Pallas (1996) argue that the most recent Holmes Group report (Holmes Group 1995) presents a very different vision of the future profession from that put forward in the 1990 report (Holmes Group 1990). Significantly the group, in which on this occasion a greater proportion of members were from outside education, was critical of the value of much of the content of teacher education programmes. It may well be that the universities' 'reform from within' strategy argued for in the last Holmes Group report has been found wanting by national policy makers. Hence the greater interest in national frameworks and renewed licensing outlined earlier.

Increasingly it seems to us that the management of teacher education in all three of our countries demonstrates the hall marks of what Hood (1991) calls 'The New Public Management' (NPM). Hood suggests that there are seven distinct elements to NPM

- 'hands-on' professional management in the public sector;

- the use of explicit standards in the measurement of performance;
- greater emphasis on control via measures of output;
- the development of smaller manageable units;
- a movement to increased sector competition
- a stress on private-sector styles of management;
- greater discipline and parsimony in the use of resources

(Hood 1991 pp4-5)

Bottery (1996) has argued that in England, similar strategies can now be discerned in the Police, Health as well as the Education Services. More significant for the current debate is the recognition that if this is the future of public service management in each of our countries then it clearly demands narrower, more technicist versions of professional education than we have traditionally pursued.

Clearly, in a world of instantaneous communication and frequent interchange of politicians, academics and other professionals, ideas such as 'New Public Management' or school-based training rapidly become universalised. Nevertheless, what our three studies demonstrate is that there is nothing inevitable in how such ideas will be interpreted and put into practice in different national contexts. What on the surface look like the same ideas can be utilised for different ends by governments of different political complexion; policies, as they are put into practice in real political contexts, are inevitably transformed in distinctive ways. As a consequence we would conclude that there is nothing inevitable about the current trend towards a narrowing of professionality in each of our three countries. To the extent that it is occurring, it is doing so through a political process. In principle, it can therefore be challenged.

6. Conclusion - The search for a democratic professionalism?

In standing back and looking at the findings from our three studies we are forced to recognise that the ever increasing forms of state control in each of our three countries are indicative of a 'low trust' relationship between each society and its teachers. Media charaterisations of teachers have often encouraged

popular suspicion of teachers. Furthermore, the defence of the education service in all three countries has too often been conducted within the assumptions of the 'old' politics of education, which involved consultation between government, employers and unions and universities but excluded whole constituencies, some of whom the New Right has subsequently successfully appealed to (Apple and Oliver 1996). At the conclusion of our three studies we therefore need to ask some fundamental questions about who does have a legitimate right to be involved in defining teacher professionalism.

It is perhaps indicative of the paucity of thinking on this that some Left teacher educators in England, Australia and the USA who, twenty years ago, were criticising the elitism of the professions, should now be amongst those suggesting that teachers should adopt the modes of self-regulation traditionally associated with the conservative professions of medicine and law. Are state control, market forces or professional self-governance the only models of accountabiliy - or can we develop new models of teacher professionalism, based upon more participatory relationships with diverse communities?

In this context, some aspects of recent reforms may actually resonate with progressive impulses. In Australia, Knight *et al* (1993) argue that devolution can foster a flexibility, diversity and responsiveness which they quite rightly suggest have been largely lacking in teacher education as it has traditionally been conducted. They recognise that there has always been a tension between the profession's claim to autonomy and a requirement that it be open to the needs and concerns of other groups in a democratic society. Devolution of decision-making could, they suggest, herald the emergence of what they call 'democratic professionalism', which seeks to demystify professional work and facilitate 'the participation in decision-making by students, parents and others' within the public sphere.

But the positive consequences of this envisaged by Knight et al (1993) in Australia (at least until recently) seem less likely to be forthcoming on any significant scale in England, where 'local' definitions of professionalism exist at the periphery alongside a strong core definition of teacher professionalism based on a restricted notion of professionality, supported by technologies of control that include the specification of competences, government inspections,

and TTA funding decisions, etc. The use of such devices certainly constitutes a shift away from conventional techniques of coordination and control on the part of large-scale bureaucratic state forms. Yet these apparently post-modern 'discursive, legislative, fiscal, organisational and other resources' (Rose and Miller 1992, p189) not only impact upon organisational subjectivities and professional identities; as we have seen, they also entail some fairly direct modes of control.

Important as local initiatives are, the nature of the gains that can be made by individual schools and communities is likely to be both limited and variable. We can already see in higher education the ways in which such pressures limit what can be achieved. While the MOTE, RATE and SITE studies all show that most courses still aspire to deliver extended notions of professionality, the new accountability mechanisms and funding cuts are making it ever more difficult to do so. It is fanciful to think that individual school communities will have any greater freedom than universities without broader political support.

In that situation, any attempt to develop an alternative democratic approach to teacher education reform, even in a context of globalisation, will require the mobilisation of wider political support at the national level as well as professional and local partnerships. The urgent need is for teacher educators to stop being purely defensive or reactive and begin working with others to develop approaches that relate not only to the legitimate aspirations of the profession but also those of the wider society - and that must include (indeed prioritise?) those groups within civil society who have hitherto not been well-served either by the profession or by the state. In other words, the next re-formation of teacher professionalism needs to be one in which we consider how to harness teachers' professional expertise to a new democratic project in the state and civil society.

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