**"Desirable Models of Behaviour": Learning to Teach as a
Rite of Passage.
An Historical Study of Initial Teacher Education in New Zealand.**

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Abstract

This thesis critically examines the historical construction of initial teacher education at the turn of the 20th century. It focuses particularly on the extent of state involvement in the process of learning to teach, arguing that this process fulfils the necessary conditions of a rite of passage.

The investigation utilises a different theoretical and methodological approach which combines the post-structuralist analyses of Michel Foucault with the cultural-anthropological work of Arnold van Gennep. Together, they provide a framework which enables an archaeological examination of teacher training at the macro-level of the state and its institutions, whilst providing a complementary, genealogical analysis of student teachers at the micro-level of their everyday lives.

The investigation found that, in order to transform colonial society into an enlightened rural democracy, the state needed to transform its teachers. It did this through ensuring neophyte teachers passed through a carefully orchestrated rite of passage within a highly centralised and regulated system of training colleges. This necessitated a shift away from the devolved, differentiated pupil-teacher training system. The study traces this move, examines the state‟s rationale, and explores the implications for all three phases of the trainees‟ rite of passage: separation, transition and incorporation. It also explains how specific „ceremonial rituals‟ and „sacred knowledge‟ prescribed what new teachers should know and do in order to become productive, docile and economically useful members of society. The study also emphasises that student teachers became subjects-in-their-own-making within this regime of order.

The study then shifts its focus to the present, „re-meeting‟ history by comparing the ritual practices and specialist knowledge of past rites of passage with those of the present. It challenges teacher educators and teachers to take control of teacher education and suggests ways in which they should take advantage of its location in the university by opening up new political spaces and reasserting the importance of professionalism in action.

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PART ONE: An Archaeology of Teacher Training

Chapter 1

The Framework: Introduction and Methodology

The student is put outside of society, on a campus. Furthermore, he is excluded while being transmitted a knowledge which is traditional in nature, obsolete, "academic" and not directly tied to the needs and problems of today. This exclusion is underscored by the organisation around the student of social mechanisms which are fictitious, artificial, and quasi-theatrical (hierarchical relationships, academic exercises, the „court" of examination, evaluation). Finally, the student is given a game-like way of life; he is offered a kind of distraction, amusement, freedom, which, again, has nothing to do with real life; it is this kind of artificial, theatrical society, a society of cardboard that is being built around him; and thanks to this, young people ... are thus, as it were, neutralised by and for society, rendered safe, ineffective, socially and politically castrated. There is the first function of the university: to put students out of circulation. Its second function, however, is one of integration.[1]

1. Introduction: Learning to Teach as a Rite of Passage

Learning to teach is probably one of the most contested and controversial issues in New Zealand society today. All forms of initial teacher education (and training)[2] are the focus of debate concerning its quality, purpose, and rationale. Questions are raised about its relevance to the postmodern world of diversity, inclusion, biculturalism, multiculturalism and globalism. Every aspect of its control is monitored, contested and challenged; and its financial sustainability is constantly being scrutinised. Teacher education is thus highly political. It is continually subjected to academic, public and political critique; and its uneasy alliance with the state and the schools is continually underscored. However, all of these issues are not recent phenomena and it is my intention to expose and examine how such tensions, conflicts and consensus arose and how they changed the formation of teacher education at different points in time and within different contexts.

This investigation is basically a historical study of pre-service, primary teacher education at the turn of the 20th century, focusing primarily on the period between the 1870s and 1920s. Towards the end of the thesis, I compare my findings of the past with the present situation in teacher education, from approximately the 1990s to 2009: hence, I re-meet history. Carr[3] maintains that the present is in constant dialogue with the past and I hope to show that this is the case with teacher education. As both eras witnessed radical policy change in the structure of teacher education, I argue that they constitute its two most significant periods and they share many striking similarities. During the first teacher education period, all three technologies of New Zealand's teacher education initiatives were seeded: these were the pupil-teacher system, the training college system and the university. Whilst the first two of these dominated the early landscape, the university currently provides over 92 per cent of primary teacher graduates. I argue that all three systems had significant impacts on the induction process of student teachers and I maintain that this period of learning to teach can be viewed as a rite of passage. This incorporates two significant components: specific „ceremonial rituals" and selected „sacred knowledge". Both of these are defined and enforced by the state and operationalised through its system of training, whether located at the site of the school, the training college or the university. It is during this rite of passage, summed up so provocatively in Foucault's opening quotation, that student teachers are shaped, transformed and turned into *"desirable models of behaviour"*.[4] How and why this is accomplished is the focus of this thesis.

Initial teacher education (henceforth referred to as ITE) is now located in the university, therefore it is tempting to speculate that it has steadily progressed from the apprenticeship model of the past to a current model which views it as preparation for a learned profession. This shift has involved a *"history of displacements"* which also lends credence to the latter view.[5] The displacement notion articulates how the pupil-teacher system was displaced by the training colleges (also referred to as normal schools, teachers' colleges, and colleges of education) and how, more recently, the colleges have been displaced by the universities and private institutions.[6] However, a closer examination of key historical issues and political tensions reveals a much more equivocal and non-linear picture of teacher education.[7] The displacements were not clear-cut, the changes were not always improvements, and the critical tension that exists

between the balance of practical knowledge versus theoretical knowledge has not yet been fully resolved.

Throughout its history, the most enduring system of ITE has been the training college. It was the establishment of this institution in the 1870s that provided the most profound and radical change to ITE, occurring as it did against a liberal, political backdrop of state intervention and increased application of scientific discourses to education. Despite its long-held monopoly of ITE its origins appear to have become obscured over time. It seems that few can remember why and how it became the sole provider of ITE. In fact, it appears to have dominated teacher education for *"reasons nobody can remember."*[8] This situation prompted me to unearth the long-forgotten reasons for the establishment of the training college and discover why its hegemony has lasted for over 100 years.

This, together with my long-held interest and active participation in teacher education, provided the catalyst for determining the direction of my study. Literature on teacher education is now more prolific and written from a variety of multi-disciplinary perspectives. Through this, I encountered the post-structuralist analyses of M. Foucault and the cultural-anthropological writings of A. van Gennep. Together, they provided a potent combination which was irresistible to an historical inquiry focusing on learning to teach. They enabled me to focus on the state and its ITE institutions, whilst also examining the people most affected: the student teachers. Both helped me to clarify my contention that students" identities are shaped through the operation of institutional power which incorporates the two-fold aim of *separation* from society in order to provide *integration* back into society with a new found occupational role. Utilising the unusual architectural metaphor of a *"society of cardboard"*,[9] Foucault explains this more fully. He maintains that students are separated from their previous life in order to undergo a period of vocational induction within the false and artificial society of the university. Here they are exposed to disciplinary technologies and mechanisms which assimilate them into the norms and values of a particular profession in order to return to that society in ascribed positions. Their radical edges are smoothed and their loyalty to a particular society becomes internalised and largely unquestioned. Foucault"s description of the university mirrors exactly the induction process described by van Gennep when he explains that young people in every society go through a *"rite of passage"*[10] in

preparing for a future adult life in that society. Van Gennep, the first to name this concept, maintains that the rite of passage consists of a threefold process: separation from a previous society and kinship group; a transition period in which old ways are eradicated and new ways of being and acting are learned; and, finally, incorporation of the fully acculturated individual back into society with newly ascribed roles, status and functions. Consequently, the ideas of both Foucault and van Gennep are salient to an explanation of why the student teacher"s rite of passage took place in the enclosed environment of the college and why it was necessary to separate them from other professionals in training. The institution was critical to the acculturation process. Such a process crafted trainees into socially and morally acceptable teachers who were *"humble, industrious and instructed"*.[11] The state"s lofty rationale was not only directed at the transformation of the individual but also at the transformation of a whole nation and its children. It became imperative that ITE had to become institutionalised, highly centralised and under the direct control of the state. The title of this thesis also derives from the ideas of both theorists.

A further reason for investigating the history of teacher education in this country is an attempt to fill a theoretical and historical gap. There are few historical accounts of teacher education written from a modern viewpoint with the exception of a highly creditable series of college of education histories. The majority of these set their institutional histories against a wider political backdrop, therefore, a national picture is provided to some extent. However, there are no accounts explaining the induction process of New Zealand student teachers in terms of a rite of passage.[12] Consequently, it became an area ripe for investigation.

2. Research Questions

Although not an expert on the theories of both van Gennep and Foucault, I have drawn selectively from both of their works at various points in this investigation in order to make it theoretically more cohesive. At the heart of Foucault"s work is his critique of power relations and their effects on the political and epistemic domains of society: this also provides a point of entry to my study as we share a common desire to understand the links between past and present theory, policy and practice and, in my case, elaborate on how these influence teacher education. Foucault expresses his concern thus:

I have always been concerned with linking together as tightly as possible the historical and theoretical analysis of power relations, institutions, and knowledge, to the movements, critiques, and experiences that call them into question in reality.[13]

Guided by this insight, I initially formulated one research problem, namely: *"How has teacher education been historically constructed and to what extent has the State, through its systems and programmes, been involved in the induction of teachers?"* This problem subsequently became the basis of my investigation. From this, I developed a set of historical and theoretical questions which enabled me to address my research problem in more depth. These also allowed me to investigate the links between past and present theory, policy and practice in ITE:

1. Why is ITE conducted the way it is and how did it come to be? What role does the state play in this?
2. What do we know about the function, content and contexts of ITE in New Zealand?
3. What constitutes the ritual practices and forms of specialist knowledge of the teacher induction process?
4. How and why do these form a rite of passage which results in the ethical transformation of student teachers?
5. Who controls this rite of passage and to what extent?
6. How are contemporary rites of passage different to those of the past?
7. Is there a need for change in teacher education in the future?

In seeking to work through these questions, the central problem became one of exposing the power relationships between the policy makers and providers of teacher education, and those who are the recipients (although, I acknowledge that this is a somewhat crude distinction). Utilising Foucault‟s archaeological and genealogical methodologies appeared to be the best way of organising my investigation, hence they form the overarching structures for Parts One and Two, respectively.

3. Research Methodologies

The development of different research philosophies and methodologies is well documented[14] and it indicates that the historical research process is fraught with problems. It is not a simple and logical process and to represent it in such terms would ignore the complexities of the research undertaking. Every stage is informed by a myriad of factors that depend upon the philosophical, ontological and epistemological assumptions of the researcher. Denzin and Lincoln propose that these underlying views provide researchers with basic set of guiding beliefs for their research undertaking, these represent, *"a worldview that defines, for its holder, the nature of the „world", the individual"s place in it and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts."*[15]

Different tensions and diverse political, moral and ethical considerations are inherent in each approach. Researchers are situated in historical, social and cultural worlds which define their reality and relationships with other humans. It therefore makes sense to theorise the research enterprise with a methodological belief structure that supports our own view of the world; that provided by Foucault reinforces my view that knowledge is conditional upon the social and institutional contexts in which it is created. I also rely on certain tenets of Foucault"s poststructuralism as the basis of my underlying philosophy; hence they became part of the analytical framework for my study. In particular, these involve the notions of archaeology and genealogy (both concepts are fully defined later in the chapter). As both forms of analysis contribute to, and result from, Foucault"s over-riding philosophy, they can be seen to drive his own research. In my investigation, I therefore utilise both concepts to anchor my investigation and circumscribe my research methods. Both methodologies sit more than comfortably within a historical study such as this as they are both context-driven. The specific contexts utilised in this investigation are:

- historical: as they relate to primary ITE at two distinct points in time (the turn of the 20th century and the turn of the 21st century);
- social and political: as they analyse, critique and interpret contemporary discourses on teacher education from both of these eras; and

- localised: as they study the experiences of student teachers situated within New Zealand's ITE institutions.

Poststructuralism is frequently critiqued for its deconstructivist approach and its failure to propose anything new. However, I believe it has much to offer this study. It challenges modernist assumptions and the privileging of dominant discourses, leading us to new ways of thinking about things in order to bring about change.[16] This has obvious implications for research on teacher education.

Using poststructuralist methodologies also requires that questions of relativity, certainty and truth have to be faced by the researcher. This involves the perennial problem of dealing with research constructs such as validity and reliability in an uncertain postmodern world. Obviously this problem has repercussions for historical methodologies which involve the researcher in practical ways of coming to know the world, both past and present. Foucault endorses the view that research claims are made and conclusions drawn that are frequently incomplete, unanticipated and contradictory. This draws attention to the blurring of disciplinary boundaries, the exposure of different tensions and the emergence of conflicting political, moral and ethical considerations, inherent in the research undertaking.[17]

J. Goldstein maintains that whatever the belief system of the historian, there has to be something that guides their investigations; this assists them in upholding, "*Standards of care and scrupulosity in their handling of sources, even if they have long since given up the idea that they can straightforwardly reconstruct the past or that there is a single way of getting it right.*"[18] Such standards are important to every investigation, and although Foucault would not approve of a set of normative criteria for assessing validity, Lincoln and Guba have identified several characteristics of validity which have been utilised in postmodern research and are apposite to this historically-based inquiry. They are:

- authenticity: this involves the researcher acting in a trustworthy manner, ensuring rigor and fairness – it means that marginalisation should be minimised, a balance of views should be represented and social and historical contexts taken into consideration;

- ontological and educative authenticity: this involves the researcher in raising the level of awareness of participants and readers of the research – a capacity to engage in moral critique is evident and strong moral and ethical dimensions characterise the research undertaking;

- catalytic and tactical authenticities: this involves creating the capacity for positive change through training participants in social and political action and, although participant training is not relevant to this particular inquiry, my research conclusions should lead to a propensity for change in teacher educators and teacher education if this is warranted.[19]

As the researcher, therefore, it is my moral and ethical responsibility to ensure that these characteristics are taken account of as much as possible in my research undertaking. Furthermore, that commitment to a politics of change should be one of the goals of my study, as I. Johannesson explains, *"the conceptual tools of Foucault … and of poststructural work must provide strategies for teachers and researchers to make sense of their experience and to help find strategies for change."*[20]

4. Research Methods

As research methodologies drive research methods, discourse analysis, with its close poststructuralist associations has been selected as a major way of analysing data and interrogating claims to truth. The notion of discourse is entrenched within Foucault‟s elucidation of human nature and social practice. When referring to discourse analysis, this inquiry does not view it in the same light as socio-linguists, that is, as a highly specialised and sophisticated study of linguistic codes inherent in the grammar of spoken and written texts. It utilises a much wider definition which refers to the system of regulated and connecting statements that constitute our *"conceptual schemes"* and our *"well-bounded areas of social knowledge."*[21] M. Walshaw concludes that *"the concept of discursivity links thought, speech and action."*[22]

My reconstruction of events in ITE has come about through a scrutiny of historical and modern discourses on history of education as well as teacher education. These include a myriad of primary and secondary sources such as documents, records, reports, student teachers‟ artefacts, oral history archives, academic literature, syntheses of research

studies etc. Obviously, not all texts have been examined, interpreted, critiqued and represented and the fact that a selection has been made reveals that, as a researcher, material has passed through the filter of my own biographical experiences: this constitutes an additional reason for stating my personal philosophical beliefs when setting out methodologies used in this study.

I. Hodder makes a distinction between records and documents, concluding that records result from formal or legal transactions such as policy statements, Education Acts, Commission Reports, Inspectors" Reports, educational policies, and so forth, whereas documents are more informal in nature and include texts such as diaries, letters, poems, student newsletters, newspaper reports, magazines etc.[23] Hodder perceives the distinguishing factor as one in which "*documents involve a personal technology, and records, a full state technology of power.*"[24] Analysis of both records and documents inform all parts of my investigation; however, there is a tendency to pay increased attention to documents when analysing how the power/knowledge nexus permeates institutional practices and the practices of everyday life as experienced by student teachers. College magazines, in particular, are a source of much enlightenment. Both forms of texts require close interpretation, particularly as they are historical texts written within specific historical moments and possessing meanings that are frequently long forgotten. The reader"s interpretation of texts is altered over time and differs according to the social, historical and personal (i.e. social class origin, age, gender, ethnicity, etc) contexts in which the reader is fixed. For example, meanings extracted from texts of the 1900s, such as the Hogg Commission, will differ significantly when interpreted in 2009.

Hodder makes three points that are relevant here, the first that "*the writing down of words often allows language and meanings to be controlled more effectively, and to be linked to strategies of centralisation and codification*" [25] – this was certainly evident in many of the official reports aimed at increasing the control of the state over teacher education. His second point is that the momentum of the text over time may gather "*symbolic connotation*",[26] meaning that they may be given more emphasis now than at the time or vice versa. His third point is that the "*hermeneutical exercise*"[27] of translating historical texts into later social and political contexts is problematic for the analyst as different interpretive techniques may lead to imbalances or unfair interpretations. False and unintended conflicts and tensions may also arise and this

certainly cannot be entirely ruled out in any interpretive exercise, despite upholding the characteristics of validity mentioned above. My interpretation of the texts can only ever hope to achieve partial and incomplete truths.

Much of my study is closely informed by the critical discourses encapsulated in academic literature (the second chapter in particular) – this is not to claim that such literary works consist of *the* truth, or that the efforts of individual researchers and authors are thought of as *the* only authoritative accounts of teacher education; rather, it is an attempt to provide additional data, to support and elucidate points made, and to critique different reconstructions of events, ideas and theories. This overlay of interpretations frequently leads to varied and conflicting ideas of the same event or circumstance and this, in itself, is an interesting point of emphasis as it lends itself to thick descriptions of contexts, connections and power relations.

In studies such as mine, the silences, gaps and absences are just as worthy of note as the visible and conventional accounts of past events. The notable absence of Māori student teachers, teacher educators and educational policy makers in early accounts is striking and, hopefully, future studies will explore cultural aspects in depth as these throw light on the dynamics of power and its relationships with groups who are marginalised and „othered". An account of Māori indigenous teacher training methods preceding and succeeding the arrival of European settlers would prove particularly valuable and informative. My account, therefore, is inevitably partial.

5. The Analytical Framework

I have not utilised the ideas of Foucault and van Gennep as a „total" theory but have drawn on both as particular theorists with specific ideas that make my study more cohesive and comprehensible. I have employed Foucault"s *"toolkit"* metaphor,[28] where he encourages use of his ideas and theories as tools of analysis, illustration, or reinforcement of points being made. Although not teacher educators, these two theorists feature heavily in the study and are responsible for providing its analytic framework. They both, therefore, deserve further explanation.[29] Following a brief autobiographical account of each theorist, I go on to demonstrate the ways in which they have informed this study.

Arnold van Gennep, a Dutch anthro-cultural theorist, studied the rites surrounding group membership within various societies at the turn of the 20th century. He observed that all societies develop their own rituals, practices and values but he emphasised that certain common elements are shared by all societies, regardless of how traditional or modern they are. He maintained that,

> *The life of an individual in any society is a series of passages from one age to another and from one occupation to another. Wherever there are fine distinctions among age or occupational groups, progression from one group to the next is accompanied by special acts, like those which make up our apprenticeships in our trades…. such acts are enveloped in ceremonies.*[30]

My investigation applies his theories to the society of teachers. It looks particularly at the transition from novice trainee to full teacherhood and how this progression is accompanied by special acts, ceremonies and rituals, and particular forms of specialist knowledge handed down from experts. These are the rituals referred to by Foucault in this chapter's opening quotation.

Van Gennep began his research studies with an examination of indigenous societies. The revitalisation of such societies and the difficulties of achieving social stability in times of great change are notable features of his work. He observed and gathered data on the movement of individuals and societies over time and he believed, unlike his more well-known contemporary, Emile Durkheim, that every society was comprised of a collection of individuals. The successful negotiation of these individuals through the different stages or crises of their lives ensured the stability of that society over time and also ensured successful integration of that person into their society.[31] Each of these different stages was accompanied by specific ceremonies and rituals which assisted them to negotiate their way through life's journey. Such stages included death, birth, marriage, initiation into adulthood, entry into a new occupational status etc. The negotiated movement of individuals between different stages is referred to by Van Gennep as *"a rite of passage"*;[32] this is the title of his major work and is the area most pertinent to this study.

The rite of passage "*may be subdivided into rites of separation, transition rites and rites of incorporation*"[33] and V. Turner, a modern anthropologist and disciple of van Gennep, further elucidates this threefold process:

> *Van Gennep has shown that all rites of passage or "transition" are marked by three phases: separation, margin (or limen, signifying "threshold" in Latin), and aggregation. The first phase (of separation) comprises symbolic behaviour signifying the detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure, from a set of cultural conditions (a "state"), or from both. During the intervening "liminal" period, the characteristics of the ritual subject (the "passenger") are ambiguous; he passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state. In the third phase (reaggregation or reincorporation), the passage is consummated. The ritual subject is in a passive state once more and, by virtue of this, has rights and obligations vis-à-vis others of a clearly defined and structural type; he is expected to behave in accordance with certain customary norms and ethical standards binding on incumbents of social position in a system of such positions.[34]*

Three chapters of my study (Chapters 4, 5, and 6) in particular, set out in detail how each of these three stages relate to the induction process of student teachers in the past and in the present and how this process has become steeped in rituals such as the examination, rites of bonding and graduation ceremonies, and embodied in specific types of teacher-appropriate knowledge.

Van Gennep was a prolific researcher and academic writer. It is surprising that, as his work has received so little negative criticism, educators have not made more frequent use of his work as an analytical framework, particularly given the popularity of his term, "*rite of passage*". Amongst the few established educators that have done so successfully are V. Turner, V. Tinto, J. White, K. A. Hollihan, A. Cook-Sather[35] and several others. These are referred to throughout my study.

Foucault, a post-structuralist philosopher and social historian, is the better known of the two theorists. Foucault's concepts of archaeology and genealogy are central to my historical investigation, particularly when I investigate how *"the body as the place in*

which the most minute and local social practices are linked up with the large scale organisation of power".[36] As the study began to focus on the power relations that governed the student teacher, especially in the state-owned college institutions, I found it necessary to adopt Foucault's twin approach of identifying and analysing the domination techniques of the state and its training institutions alongside an examination of how the student teacher develops a sense of agency through consciously internalising the norms of the institution and gradually coming to „own" them. Consequently, I examine how the student teacher is constituted at two levels, the archaeological (i.e. the macro-level of the state) and the genealogical (i.e. the micro-level of student teacher). Both types of analysis help to provide a fuller picture of ITE in the period that I am investigating.

The works of both theorists are essential to my study, each complementing the other. Foucault's post-structural work on institutions of the state, the exercise of power, the use of regulatory and disciplinary mechanisms, and the subjectification of individuals is highly salient to teacher education as it throws light on why the state thought it necessary to mastermind the whole project of teacher training. Van Gennep's anthro-cultural work sits neatly alongside as it explains how all of this affects the everyday life of the student. In addition, van Gennep, focuses on the rites, rituals, knowledge and ceremonies involved in becoming a teacher. Therefore both views are relied on extensively, with Foucault's views on the political state complementing van Gennep's views on the individual and how they formed their lives within this state. Collectively, the work of both helped me to understand how the institution of the training college became necessary to the formation of New Zealand's developing nationhood, through effecting an ethical transformation of student teachers.

Taken singly, the work of each theorist only takes us so far. For example, Foucault does not probe beneath the discursive practices in order to provide more minute details on *how* the practices constitute the subject. He does not go beyond an acknowledgement that individuals (i.e. student teachers) shape their lives *"through patterns that he finds in his culture and which are proposed, suggested and imposed on him by his culture, his society and his social group."*[37] It at this point that van Gennep's work becomes valuable as he takes us directly into the world of the student teacher. He studies the self within society. At the point in their lives where student teachers are adopting new

teacher identities, they need to leave aside their old world in order to enter the new. The rite of passage provides the locus and regulatory conditions that make this possible. It explains the process of how students become assimilated into a totally different way of thinking, acting and speaking; a process which has to be successful if they are to graduate into the society of teachers. The views of both are essential to understanding and articulating this process.

It should be emphasised that there are also some marked differences between the two. Whilst Foucault attempts to uncover and *analyse* the rules underlying social practices, institutions and discourses; van Gennep attempts to identify and *describe* them; and whilst Foucault is fascinated with the positive and negative dynamics of power *structures* in particular settings, van Gennep is more concerned with examining the dynamics of power *processes* in particular settings. Despite, or because of their differences, their work when taken together helps me to illuminate the highly political nature of how student teachers actually became teachers in New Zealand.

6. Overview of Chapters

Chapters 1-3, constituting Part One of my study, explores the archaeology of ITE at a macro-level. It directly addresses the first two research questions identified earlier. These relate to how teacher education was historically constituted by a state which determined the content and contexts of teacher education. Chapter 2 provides background information that sets the scene. It does this by explaining how the rules that governed and regulated the historical discourse on teacher education became increasingly prescribed by the state.[38] It explains the historical formation of teacher education through a review of relevant literature which analyses competing „authoritative" discourses as highlighted in various debates and accounts. Here, I identify the influences of two very different disciplinary traditions: the history of education and teacher education. When discussing these, I make a case for categorising texts of historical scholars into two groups: those writing chiefly from a liberal tradition and those using a more post-modern perspective (the latter being very broadly defined). I refer to these as the „liberal" group and the „post-liberal" group. Whilst I acknowledge that this is an arbitrary distinction, it does assist the analysis in that it highlights two very different recastings of events and two discrete philosophical orientations. One,

formerly known as liberal-progressive, upholds the interpretation of historical events as the truth and views history as one long continuous progression towards perfection. A second, more divergent and critical postmodern view, interprets events as partial claims to truth and views history as a series of crises and resolutions. I utilise the latter to explain how teacher education became established as a discipline in its own right with its own „regimes of truth". In addition, I attempt to show how it was constructed and interpreted from different world views.

Through these multiple discourses, the „plays of will" that push and pull teacher education into its present shape are traced archeologically. Chapter 2, therefore, explains how the first period changed from a dispersed system to one that became highly centralised, controlled and administered through state-owned institutions.

Whilst still acknowledging the state"s influence on teacher education, Chapter 3 narrows the focus somewhat by highlighting aspects of the training systems employed by the state. It charts an archaeology of training in which various technologies of teacher training come to be accepted and subsequently dismantled in favour of others. Rather than creating an indigenous theory of teacher training, New Zealand adopted methods from countries with which it was most familiar in order to ensure social and cultural continuity. It therefore introduced systems of training that had been well established in Europe in the 1700s, became entrenched in England and Scotland in the early 1800s, and were transposed to New Zealand in the mid-1800s.

These included the pupil teacher system which became the most popular and, arguably, the most successful, mode of training teachers for the first 60 years of formal educational provision. Although regarded as an economically and educationally viable method of training teachers, as long as training was situated within the realm of the school, the exercise of the state"s power was limited. Therefore the state, along with several other social and educational factions, advocated state-owned and maintained normal schools/training colleges. These were more suited to meeting the needs of the state and eventually became the most desired training option; within this enclosed institutional space, regulation of the student teacher through a highly controlled rite of passage became a reality. This shaped the teacher who came to be seen as a future agent of change and was considered a crucial element in a country consolidating and

extending its colonial base. The construction of the student teacher became vital to the construction of a „new" society.

Part Two of this thesis consists of Chapters 4 and 5. Here, I move away from an examination of the state and its institutional systems to an examination of student teachers: this leads us into the realm of genealogical analysis. I examine the genealogy of student teachers at the micro-level, paying particular attention to their rites of passage in the pupil-teacher system and training colleges, and answering questions 3, 4 and 5. This identifies and explains the rituals, forms of knowledge, norms and practices of their training, how they contributed to student teachers" ethical transformation and how this was shaped by social and ideological discourses of the time. Chapter 4 focuses on the ontological rationale of changing the very being of trainees by forging them into teachers with an identity approved by the state. I examine the rite of passage of the pupil teacher as an apprentice and explain how, due to its diffused and localised nature, the pupil teacher system eventually failed to satisfy the state. Within training institutions, the rite of passage could be implemented in a way that ensured compliance with government imperatives. The latter being an *"ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit complex form of power, which has its target population."*[39]

The target population here is the student teacher and, although Foucault refers to state imposed calculations and tactics, he does not relate these in detail.[40] As it is this very detail that is required here, I turn to van Gennep for a way of analysing the micro techniques of power/knowledge developed by the four first training institutions. The rituals, norms, dividing and subjectification practices implemented by these institutions and imposed on trainees are consequently explained in detail in Chapter 4. The college provides the conditions in which "*the transitional period is sufficiently elaborated to constitute an independent state"*. This is where student teachers undergo a period of "*betwixt and between,"*[41] in other words, they are suspended in a marginal space between two worlds where they undergo an intense and vivid formative experience that disrupts their equilibrium and transforms each of them from lay person to teacher. During this powerfully significant period, they form strong bonds of attachment to their social group and they reconstitute themselves by absorbing the patterns and norms

surrounding them. Not only do they internalise these norms, they come to believe that they are acting as independent agents.

In order to capture parts of this experience and discover the student self inside their institutional culture, I rely heavily on students'' accounts of their experiences. These are found in their writings, particularly in the college magazines or other documents sourced from written and oral archives.

Chapter 5 takes the investigation from an examination of the ritualistic practices that transforms the trainee to a focus on the transmission of desirable knowledge. This was developed by and within the state training college and it shaped suitable pedagogy and curriculum content. I emphasise the differentiation of specific systems of knowledge and explain how they were constructed and disseminated. Foucault''s theories of the state gaining control over its population through knowledge rather than force; through regulating and defining what constitutes appropriate educational knowledge for its teachers; and through normalising, educating and socialising its teachers in ways that were compatible to its power/knowledge duality are explained in this chapter. Appropriate "knowledge" was becoming increasingly dependent upon newly emerging "science of education" regimes. The latter encouraged the organisation, normalisation and classification of student teachers themselves (through constant examination and confession) and also taught them how to divide and rank their pupils through administering tests, scales and other forms of measurement. I examine how these particular forms of knowledge became legitimised, institutionalised, divided into theoretical knowledge or practical knowledge, and subsequently transmitted to students in the Education and Methods courses and the practicum.

Part Three is entitled *Re-Framing History.* This addresses research questions five, six and seven and involves an interrogation of past practices in order that present methods can be better traced, analysed and understood. This procedure departs from Foucault''s "*History of the Present*"[42] – in fact it is a complete reversal of his view in that he analyses the present in order to understand the past. However, it is consistent with two of Foucault''s theories of writing history: first that historical events do not inevitably and inexorably lead to the present, and second that it is not possible to project meanings from today onto events of the past.[43] I reinforce G. MacNaughton''s definition of "*re-*

meeting history" as this involves an examination of history in order to provoke new ways of seeing differently in the present.[44]

In Chapter 6, I note that the past and present share some remarkable commonalities. Both periods exhibit marked intensification of bureaucratic control (despite the present location of teacher education within the university). Policy makers (as opposed to teacher educators) of both eras tend to advocate teacher training rather than teacher education; both are underpinned by an individualist, liberal or neo-liberal philosophy; both intend that the state should exert stronger control of teacher education; both past and present ITE institutions implement strategies, tactics and techniques of power that subjectify individual student teachers; and finally, and most importantly, both are characterised by widespread and swift changes occurring in material conditions, educational policies and political ideologies. I also make the point that whilst state control was overt in the first period, it is now deployed more tacitly through measures of accountability, surveillance and control of financial resources. It is perhaps also necessary to mention that, although I write of the „state", I am referring to an ensemble of mechanisms and agents that are acting in different and complex ways on different surfaces of time (see the definition of the state provided later in the chapter).

I also re-meet history by investigating how student teachers are ethically transformed into prescribed teacher identities through rituals, regulations and practices undergone in modern university institutions: these are remarkably similar to those employed over 100 years ago. When examining the epistemological underpinnings of the present ITE curriculum, I note the difference in desirable knowledge between the past and present but I also point out the similarity of content across modern university institutions. I also comment on the current dominance of educational and developmental psychology, at the expense of other educational disciplines. These expose student teachers to a system of ideas that discipline and regulate the way they think, act and view themselves.

The final chapter of the thesis considers the implications of this study, surveying its limitations and recommending research areas worthy of future investigation. I also attempt to frame a future of teacher education by suggesting possibilities for change. As student teachers" rite of passage has changed from the college to the university, their identities do not appear to have changed to any great extent, despite their induction now

being undertaken alongside other professionals-in-the-making. Professionalism is critical to a new construction of teacher identity and I suggest that teacher educators need to take more advantage of their location inside the universities to emphasise this. I explain how and why the notion of professionalism is being redefined and reconceptualised in the current era and I propose a professionalism that incorporates a more constructive, progressive politics of change. This is essential to the future health of teacher education.

7. Definition of Terms and Concepts

Throughout the thesis, I employ specific definitions of certain concepts or terms. These include „history‟, the „state‟, „archaeology‟ and „genealogy‟, and „power‟. Other concepts are defined as they arise. If readers are familiar with these, they are urged to turn directly to the conclusion.

a) History

This investigation does not define history as "*a study of uninterrupted sliding developments or gradual transitions*"[45], but as a series of ruptures and discontinuities. However, the periods under discussion are not only characterised by conflict but also incorporate a high degree of consensus (for example, the coalition of different social, political and educational factions at the onset of the 1900s which coalesced to establish the training college as the main ITE provider). Valdes argues that despite the radical disjunctions that characterise Foucault‟s works of history, threads of consensus between various agendas are also present. He contends that a degree of social harmony has to be maintained.[46] This argument is further reinforced by Maclean who views history as a series of paradigms. He maintains that these occur at different periods of time and they bring a relative stability as certain conceptual themes dominate; these are replaced by others as their „authority‟ wanes. History, therefore, incorporates a series of "*epistemological breaks*".[47]

Such a notion is highly applicable to the history of teacher education. Accordingly, I argue that there are two significant epistemological breaks in the history of teacher education: the turn of the 20th century and the turn of the 21st century. These periods constitute the focus of my study.

As Foucault is referred to extensively throughout my investigation, it is necessary to consider his position as a historian and definer of history. His historical status has not gone unchallenged and several concerns have been expressed by professional historians (including Foucault himself – he once humorously stated, *"I am not a professional historian, nobody is perfect"*).[48] They maintain that he cannot be regarded as a traditional historian due to his replacement of historical realities with a history of ideas; they complain that his works do not constitute a full and balanced interpretation of the past but are highly selective and frequently include inaccurate factual information and inadequate coverage of events. Occasional critics even go so far as to display outright opposition to the suggestion that he is a professional historian.[49]

T. Flynn provides a counter argument by acknowledging that whilst Foucault provides a selective account of events in order to reinforce a particular issue, he focuses more on the "*transformation and displacement*" of an event and on its "*strategies and truth games*".[50] Quoting Foucault, Flynn contends that this approach is only considered anti-historical by those *"who confuse history with the old schemas of evolution, living continuity, organic development, the progress of consciousness or the project of existence."*[51] Other historians maintain that he has much to offer, particularly in the realms of social history and the employment of historical methodologies; also that he possesses the ability to ground historical critiques and use them as a basis for gleaning further understanding of present practices.[52] Yet others claim that he stands outside of the discipline of history, *"apart from the generally unquestioned conceptual and methodological assumptions that define its boundaries"*[53] and is therefore antidisciplinary. Flynn refers to Foucault as "*a historian of a sort*" who writes "*histories of a sort*"[54] and that he is, first and foremost, a postmodern philosopher of history. A. Megill argues that Foucault first began to grip the historical imagination when he began writing social histories on popular topics such as madness, sexuality and prisons and that, after gradual acceptance, he is now an "*unavoidable presence*".[55] Both MacNaughton and W. Frijhoff contend that historians are eclectic in their ways of analysing evidence, interpreting primary and secondary sources, and constructing historical narratives. They further maintain that traditional historical accounts are rooted in positivism as they present history as a set of empirically-based and undisputed chronological facts, whilst Foucault‟s accounts, *"pointed to connection between non-*

chronological events, highlighted disputed facts, presented multiple perspectives on events and pointed to discursive struggles that shaped the past and the present".[56]

Foucault‚s own perception of his historical standing remains equivocal and somewhat contradictory. In earlier works he refuses to refer to his research as historical studies, stating, *"at most they are philosophical fragments in historical workshops",*[57] yet in the second volume of *"The History of Sexuality,"* he actually refers to his works as studies of history, although still dismissive of his status as a traditional historian.[58] He was also very aware of the ambivalent reaction of historians towards his work. When asked for public reaction to *The Order of Things*, he stated: *"I was struck by the following fact: professional historians recognised it as a work of history, and many others, who think of history as an old idea and no doubt feel it to be very outmoded today, cried out at the murder of history".*[59]

He perceived history as a multiplicity of diverse histories, not as a single *"set of facts and events that capture what is in our past"*: these represent diverse individuals and groups of individuals.[60] His view of history is concerned with portraying multiple realities.

Endorsements of his work as a historian are now prolific and I am one of many who welcome his contribution as providing provocative, perplexing and fascinating insights into history. He provides an innovative and stimulating ability to perceive the complexities of a historical situation and theorise it in terms of how situated systems of the power/knowledge dyad can construct subjects and their worlds. Valdes makes the important point that historians reconstitute past events and that this reconstitution can occur several times by several different historians at several different points in time. Consequently there can never be a neutral, apolitical description of past actions,[61] a view I have taken in this study.

b) The State
Although I refer constantly to the „state‟ throughout this thesis, I realise that it is not a simple concept. It is not a homogeneous, visible and disconnected social unit but is constituted of multiple layers of different individuals, groups and factions, all with competing, overlapping or similar local, regional and national political agendas. By the

1980s, New Zealand researchers such as R. Nash, D. McKenzie and R. Shuker directly confronted long-held, liberal assumptions of the supremacy and beneficence of the state and its underlying philosophy of social equity. Radical revisionist definitions, for example, point to its highly intricate and socially-reproductive function, as I. Gough's quotation indicates:

> *The (capitalist) state takes the form of a set of institutions, consisting of the repressive apparatus (police, prison, army etc.), the judiciary, the legislature, the executive and administrative branches, together with local organs of government and increasingly a range of ad hoc semi-public bodies.*[62]

Whilst such accounts define the state as the prime agency of dominant social class, gender and racial interests, other theorists, including postmodernists and poststructuralists, view the state as a social institution that constructs technologies of power in the interests of self-preservation. They maintain that it is a complex aggregation of institutional apparatus embodying its own contradictions, discourses, conflicts and practices. Dale's well-used definition, for example, portrays it as,

> *A set of publicly financed institutions, neither separately nor collectively necessarily in harmony, confronted by certain basic problems deriving from its relationship with capitalism, with one branch, the government, having responsibility for ensuring the continuing prominence of those problems on its agenda.*[63]

Dale further argues that, in addition to the elected government, it includes different bureaucratic and ideological agencies which can either conflict or agree with various projects or ideas from particular ministers. Foucauldians see the state as largely independent of class, gender and race interests and they propose a complex description of what state intervention in education is intended to effect. Such differing interpretations of the state serve to illustrate the impossibility of attempting to capture such a complex institution within a simple definition. However, Dale's definition is perhaps the most elegant and the most relevant to the forthcoming chapters of this thesis.[64]

c) Archaeology and Genealogy

As Part One of this study is deliberately styled an archaeology of ITE whilst Part Two refers to a genealogy of student teachers, both of these Foucauldian terms need further clarification. The distinction between them also needs teasing out a little further. The concept of archaeology does not incorporate the view that history is a succession of gradual progressions and improvements. Instead it is characterised by a series of radical discontinuities arising from conflicting (and sometimes converging) ideologies and pedagogies. It constitutes:

> *a play on words to designate something that would be the description of the archive and not at all the discovery of a beginning or the bringing to light the bones of the past. By the archives, I mean first the mass of things spoken in a culture, presented, valorised, re-used, repeated and transformed. In brief, this whole verbal mass that has been fashioned by men, invested in their technique and in their institutions and woven into their existence and their history…. The „archive" appears then as a kind of great practice of discourse, a practice which has its rules, its conditions, its functioning and its effects.*[65]

Foucault does not use archaeology in the sense of an „arche" or origin,[66] but in the sense of *"digging into history."*[67] He examines „archives" as time-bound, factual and descriptive accounts of rules and codes that govern discursive practices at different points in time. This explanation is outlined in one of his early works *Archaeology of Knowledge*[68] which provides his own *"discourse on method"*:[69] it offers an example of his archaeological approach to history.

Consequently, the „archive" outlined here includes the macro-level policies and practices, described in official records and documents, that facilitate the transformation of an individual into a fully assimilated teacher. It provides evidence of the complex machinery of legislation, rules, codes and regulations imposed upon trainees during their rite of passage. How trainees respond to these regulations and disciplinary techniques becomes a matter of genealogy.

The concept of genealogy builds on the concept of archaeology and, in an earlier statement, Foucault describes it *"as descriptions of beginnings and sequences"*;[70] he later elaborates it thus:

> *It is a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledge, discourses, domains of objects etc. without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout history"*.[71]

Genealogy is, therefore, a critical history which seeks to analyse the development of the relationship between power, knowledge and social relations. It is not a history constituting of chronologically-sequenced „acts and facts", nor one singling out the contribution of sole „charismatic" individuals. Rather, it examines how society and individuals (in this case, student teachers) are transformed through the knowledge and cultural practices that are brought to bear on them at, and between, particular points in time. Johannesson contends that Foucault"s studies were mainly historical and genealogical *"where he traced the „genes" of current ideas and practices in order to find out how they came to be what they are."*[72]

Within this notion of genealogy, the subject is not only socially constructed but is also able to reflect upon and challenge the very discursive relations from which he or she is constituted. Although van Gennep allows that individuals may challenge the laws of the world „outside" of their enclosed society, he maintains that ultimately, individuals have to be fully amenable to the norms of their new society before they are allowed to graduate into it. Foucault, however, particularly in his later writings, contends that as individuals are always in a state of becoming, then they may occasionally develop tactics of resistance to certain aspects of their institutional lives. This introduces a more productive facet of power and is visible in the way student teachers are able to teach. For example, by the end of their rite of passage they are knowledgeable in the ways of pedagogy and the curriculum, and they view children as vehicles for ushering in a new era of democracy. It is the genealogist"s task to analyse the effects of a specific discourse within a specific historical context thereby attempting to discover the potential for emancipation as well as domination.[73]

The most characteristic of Foucault"s genealogical works, *Discipline and Punish*,[74] spells out this process. This publication, in particular, forms a particular point of reference for the chapters in my thesis which focus on how institutions and institutional practices affect trainees – I therefore draw heavily on this particular work as a source of inspiration.

Each of the two methodological approaches contains a slightly different way of thinking about and understanding the world and each legitimates different modes of inquiry and scales of analysis. Gutting maintains that whilst archaeology is used to explicate macro level accounts which examine underlying conceptual structures; genealogy is concerned more with the micro level and provides a closer focus on individuals.[75] As these two levels are the two foci of my study, with early chapters detailing the macro level of state control of teacher education and its resulting systems, and Chapters 4 and 5 dealing at the micro level with transformative effects of institutionalisation on individuals, I have therefore rationalised each in terms of an archaeology and a genealogy. This development from one to the other is, hopefully, clearly evident in my study.

d) Power

As this thesis tells the story of a state that, over time, grows increasingly powerful in relation to teacher education, it is also necessary to briefly explain the concept of power referred to here. According to T. S. Popkewitz and M. Brennan,[76] there are two distinct and complementary notions of power; one used by sociological and critical theorists and another by Foucault. The first definition locates it within particular agents or actors. This may result in some social and political groups exerting power over others, consequently, some groups are privileged whilst others are marginalised. This illustrates a top-down operationalisation of power and refers to the notion of power as a deployment of control by the state through the colleges. It is this definition that is referred to predominantly by critical theorists and revisionist writers.

The second concept of power, one featuring particularly in Foucault"s later work, involves an alternative depiction of the state. This notion proposes that there is no one state model acting in a consistent manner at all times. It is portrayed as fluid, dynamic and non-historical and is an effect rather than a cause. It is therefore neutral and cannot possess power.[77]

Popkewitz and Brennan explain that these notions are complementary rather than contradictory:

The former considers larger historical structures through which daily life is constructed; the latter focuses on the concrete practices through which power circulates and is productive in daily life.[78]

As both definitions are clearly visible in the social networks and agents of the state, and in the practices and rituals deployed in the state-owned training colleges and universities, both definitions have been utilised in this thesis. The state distributes power through its complex network of institutionalised regulations and student teachers inevitably comply with them. At the same time, power circulates throughout the lived realities of their lives, relationships and practices and students take an active part in its perpetuation.

8. Conclusion

To conclude this Introduction, this study hopes to show that the state, in wishing transform its new colonial society into a well-educated, well-ordered and industrious nation at the turn of the 20th century, attempted to realise its ambitions through a well-developed education system. It did this by exerting control over its population, hence utilising the first notion of power explained above. It therefore needed to ensure a trained teaching workforce that would be amenable to its aims and would be productive in achieving them. The cornerstone of this was its teaching training system. Within this system, teacher trainees underwent a rite of passage in a training institution which facilitated acculturation. This was done by imposing a set of state-regulated norms, practices and pedagogical knowledge which guaranteed an appropriate ethical transformation to an approved teacher identity: thus ensuring that graduates would become *"desirable models of behaviour"*.[79] Forthcoming chapters explain how this was done and they unravel implications for the present and future of ITE.

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[2] I refer to teacher „training" as that being provided in the first period under discussion (the turn of the 20th century) and teacher „education" as that offered in the current period. This is how teacher preparation is described by contemporaries of those periods. Although „training" which is defined as the acquisition of skills, methods and management of teaching, is attributed to teacher preparation in the early years, and „education", is defined as the process of acquiring a wider and more in-depth critical knowledge, is thought to be a characteristic of current teacher preparation, this is not necessarily the case.

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Please note that when I employ double quotation marks and italics, I am quoting from the literature or other research sources which are acknowledged in the endnotes. When using single quotation marks and regular font, I am drawing attention to a notable feature or phrase which has no attributable source. Italics used alone indicate a point of emphasis.

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[12] As far as I know the only other researcher to use the complementary contribution of Foucault and van Gennep is K.A. Hollihan – his article on Canadian teacher education in the Journal of Historical Sociology (2000), Vol. 13, (2), pp.172-189, provided an illuminating source of inspiration. Jane White also theorises her work on current student teachers during their school practicum utilising the concept of van Gennep"s rites of passage in White, J. (1989). Student Teaching as a Rite of Passage. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, Vol. 20, (3), pp.77-8.

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[25] Ibid, p.704.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. Brighton: Harvester Press, p.145.

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Arnold van Gennep is not so well known, except perhaps in anthropological and ethnographic circles, despite a prolific number of publications. Biographical accounts are provided in the introduction to his book, Rites of Passage, by S. Kimball and by R. Zumwalt; in a 1982 publication of the American Anthropologist, (see New Series, Vol. 84, (2), pp.299-313); in Belmont, N. (1979). *Arnold van Gennep: the Creator of French Ethnography*. (Translated D. Coltman). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Van Gennep's major publication is: Van Gennep, Arnold. (1908). *The Rites of Passage*. (Translated Vizedom, M. & Caffee G.). (1960). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

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Chapter 2

A Review of the Literature on the History of Teacher Education

It is certain that in contemporary societies the state is not simply one of the forms or specific institutions of the exercise of power. But that, in a certain way all other forms of power relations must refer to it… One could say that power relations have been progressively governmentalised, that is to say, elaborated, rationalised and centralised in the form of, or under the auspices of, state institutions.[1]

1. Introduction

In order to set the scene for forthcoming chapters, this chapter provides a review of the literature on teacher education from both periods under discussion: the turn of the 20th century and the turn of the 21st century. This provides a fuller investigation of the state‟s historical relationship with teacher education, including issues surrounding who provides ITE and for what purpose. How ITE was (and still is) shaped by the state at both the macro level of policy and the micro level of the student teachers‟ daily lives, is also vitally important to this dissertation. Such an examination reveals a history of growing intervention by the state: its powerful dictate shaping the very fabric of its national policy and practice. This had vast repercussions for student teachers as it circumscribed every aspect of their rite of passage to teacherhood. Consequently, how and why the state influenced and continues to influence ITE, lies at the very heart of the following discussion.

The wide range of literature analysed, regardless of theoretical origin, exposes a prime objective of the state which is to gain control of its expanding population through education, and, in this particular case, teacher education. It accomplishes this by bringing to bear on teacher education a vast apparatus of disciplinary technologies. This radically transformed the structure and content of ITE during both periods under discussion. The first period saw teacher education change from an apprenticeship within a highly devolved system to one in which power relations were governmentalised through a central system of training colleges. The state could not control teacher education in the individualised and localised pupil-teacher system, it therefore became

imperative that it became centralised and institutionalised. This occurred with the strengthening of the training colleges from the 1900s onwards. The second (and current) period has witnessed a disruption in the hegemony of the colleges by placing ITE within the universities. On the surface, this looks as if the state is relinquishing its autonomy and control over ITE and handing it over to the university; however, recent policy measures such as the restriction of financial allocation to universities and the increase of accountability structures, has ensured that the state"s control remains undiminished. To refocus on Foucault"s opening quotation for this chapter, both the training colleges and the universities are examples of two different state-maintained ITE institutions in which the state elaborates, rationalises and centralises its power relations.

As the literature offers numerous, often competing, accounts of how and why the state acquired and maintained control over teacher education over the last 100 years; the chapter proposes an historical framework for analysing and synthesising the multiple academic discourses on teacher education.

2. Historical Framework for Analysing the Academic Discourse on Teacher Education

The history of teacher education draws on literature emerging from two different disciplines: the history of education and teacher education. Both disciplines have their own well established discourse, codes of knowledge, regimes of truth and sets of research protocols. Whilst historical literature has a long-standing tradition of disciplinary integrity, the literature on teacher education is only recently becoming more plentiful and therefore recognised as a *"valid field of study in its own right".*[2] This is possibly due to its multidisciplinary nature and the fact that it incorporates a wide array of different research methodologies which have only managed to forge a common identity in the last three or four decades.

With regard to the literature on the history of education, with the exception of a handful of Masters" theses, there is a dearth of literature on the history of teacher education in New Zealand. This could be construed as an indictment on the universities which have been connected in various ways with teacher education since 1877, however, there are extenuating factors. These include the fact that New Zealand history did not become an

academic subject until the late 1960s/early 1970s;[3] that individual university colleges in New Zealand were unable to confer degrees until the Universities Act of 1961;[4] and that both colleges of education and university Faculties of Education have been disadvantaged by a lack of research capacity and funding allocated to the teacher education area (despite the fact that the theory and history of education became a degree subject at the University of Otago in 1904).[5] The secondary and inferior status historically granted to teacher education and associated academics could also have resulted in a lack of scholarly interest.[6]

Until the 1980s, the literature on teacher education, both nationally and internationally, was also not prolific. Both chronological and contextual factors play a significant role in this and R. Tisher and M. Wideen contend that, worldwide, few studies appeared until after the 1960s when supplying teachers to meet the needs of a post-war baby boom began to stimulate academic interest. They maintain that before this date, "*teacher education had not yet reached the stage of academic self-consciousness where research was looked at as a necessary endeavour*".[7] The sudden emergence of teacher education research after this date occurred at different times in different countries: the mid-60s in the United States, and the late 1970s/early 1980s in New Zealand and Australia. It gained momentum thereafter and a proliferation of academic research on teacher education appeared from the 1990s onwards, chiefly galvanised by the Picot and post-Picot reforms.[8]

Tisher and Wideen further inform us that the first teacher education research efforts were dominated by an empirical-inquiry orientation which included studies based on the examination of variables against dependent variables, process-product studies and other experimental types of research based primarily on quantitative methods.[9] This also occurred in New Zealand. It was not until the 1980s that a more qualitative and mixed-methods approach came into being with the adoption of a situational-interpretive inquiry orientation from the social sciences. The majority of research projects were (and still are) rarely coordinated and were often associated with small-scale, one-off research undertakings which did not reveal an in-depth, national picture of teacher education.[10] There are exceptions to this and the longitudinal study undertaken by M. Renwick and J. Vize[11] which follows the lives of student teachers as they progress through their primary pre-service education into their Beginning Teacher year, is one such example.

At present, this still remains the only major study of its kind, although similar studies of secondary ITE provision have just been completed,[12] and more critical, in-depth doctoral research studies are now making an appearance.[13]

a) A Proposed Framework for Examining the Literature

There are a number ways of analysing, interpreting and drawing conclusions from the literature on the history of teacher education. G. McCulloch[14] proposes a framework for analysing the history of **general** education. When modified, this framework also provides a useful theoretical tool for analysing the history of **teacher** education. The framework is comprised of three overarching theoretical positions: the liberal (also referred to as classical), revisionist and post-modern traditions. Each of these is associated with various historical periods: the classical from 1900 to the mid-1960s; the revisionist, from 1960 to early 1980s and still continuing; and the postmodern, from 1980s and 1990s, and currently ascendant. Whilst portrayed as three main waves of historical thought relating to education, McCulloch provides an assurance that these are by no means rigid, typecast or insular. Whilst this framework is useful for discussing the history of general education systems, particularly those in the United Kingdom, Europe and North America, it does not appear a viable framework for analysing teacher education in New Zealand. This is primarily due to the paucity of literature from these three theoretical perspectives and to the even scarcer historical literature which relates specifically to teacher education. However, there is a great deal of merit in organising the literature in such a way. Consequently, this discussion has adapted and modified McCulloch‟s framework by conflating his three categories into two and recasting them as a „liberal‟ category and a „post-liberal‟ category.

The first „liberal‟ group embraces classical historical writers who write in the liberal tradition and who tend to appear before the 1980s. The second, „post-liberal‟ group is more contemporary and is characterised by pluralism and diversity. The latter not only includes educational historians but also draws on the teacher education literature. The result of this is a wide range of historical and theoretical perspectives which encapsulate revisionists, post-revisionists, feminists, Māori indigenous writers, postmodernists and poststructuralists. A distinct conceptual and ideological shift is therefore evident between the two groups.

It is acknowledged that there are dangers inherent in adopting such a framework of categorisations. These include concerns that major issues could be oversimplified, that writers and educational historians could object to being forced into a theoretical mould not of their choosing, that assigning writers to specific categories does not accommodate their theoretical growth or development, or that such an approach does not make allowances for the cross-disciplinary methodologies that are becoming a contemporary feature of the social sciences, including historiography. Nevertheless, despite these disadvantages, such frameworks are useful for making possible more finely-tuned analyses.

With these cautions firmly in mind, a discussion of the literature from both the liberal group and the post-liberal group and their different interpretations of the state‟s relationship with teacher education now proceeds. Whilst the writings of the liberal group focus on the first period of teacher education, the writings from the contemporary, post-liberal group consider both past and present periods. This is followed by a discussion of the primary sources that have been used to reinforce various points made throughout the dissertation.

b) The Liberal Account of Teacher Education at the Turn of the 20th Century

With reference to the first group of liberal writers, New Zealand has a fairly well established tradition of orthodox, liberal historiographies in the area of general education. Teacher education is included within their wider purview. The term „liberal‟, as used in this context, refers to those writers who perceive teacher education as one long road to improvement. It is therefore distinct from and different to the term "Liberal" as a political ideology.[15] This group regards early forms of ITE as crude, primitive and appearing before the education-as-science era. Writing from their position in different chronological periods, liberal writers congratulate their contemporary education system (including teacher education) on its remarkable advances since the early days. They comment on the increasing educational sophistication of more „modern‟ forms of pedagogy. They maintain that teacher training improves with every passing era. They accept surface improvements at face value and rarely inquire into deep-seated problems, tensions and social, structural anomalies. Apart from occasional writers who point out territorial disputes between central state and regional Education Boards, they view teacher education as largely existing within a political and social

vacuum. The state is defined in simple, straightforward terms. It is perceived as a single, all-powerful, governing entity, usually associated with parliament and its emerging bureaucratic function. As such, it is depicted as a basically neutral agency dispensing (and withdrawing) goods, services and financial support for the good of society.[16] This is basically how it is viewed in relation to ITE.

Many of the historical works falling within this liberal paradigm are solid, respectable pieces of work; their writers maintaining that they record facts „as they are‟. This group of writers are also positivist in orientation and they uphold the premise that *the* truth, rather than *a* truth, is being expressed. Historians writing within this category regard primary documents as objective, pristine and free from interpretation.[17] The works of A. G. Butchers, J. Dakin and J. L. Ewing are widely considered representative of this theoretical orientation.[18] Although not writing on the topic of teacher education per se, they include specific references to the development and establishment of teacher training and education. Sources, such as these, have to be viewed as products of their time. For example, it is widely known that Butchers‟ work, written in the 1930s, was commissioned and sponsored by the Government of the day and that this influenced his perception of events. Ewing, another liberal historian, was a member of the Department of Education, later taking up a lecturing post at Victoria University. These experiences, particularly his Departmental position, have clearly influenced his theoretical approach which is chiefly centralist but tempered with a desire to consult teachers on matters of curriculum design. The Foreword to his book, *The Development of the New Zealand Curriculum: 1877-1970,* describes his study as *"sympathetically critical"*[19] and it is this term that probably encapsulates many works speaking from this liberal orientation. I. and A. Cumming‟s landmark „grand narrative‟ on the history of state education in New Zealand is also typical of this genre.[20] It is a scholarly work written in the classic, liberal manner. It spans several decades and simultaneously traces national historical and political events, highlights the work of great educators and indicates a liberal, onward progression towards the betterment of education and this includes teacher education. H. Bernard‟s and S. Curtis‟ histories of the education system in Great Britain;[21] and A. G. Austin‟s and B. K. Hyams‟ work on the Australian education system and on teacher training (respectively),[22] are indicative of overseas literature sharing similar liberal, theoretical assumptions based on the unproblematic nature of the state‟s interventionist role in education.

Surprisingly, A.H.W. Harte‟s 1972 work on the training of teachers from its origins until 1948, [23] has been the only national study of teacher education in New Zealand published so far. This also falls into the liberal category. It tracks the sources of state provision, details legislation, policy and practice, and, although Harte recommends a radical overhaul of secondary teacher training, claiming that it was practically non-existent at the time of his writing (the 1940s),[24] he charts the gradual progress and advancement of teacher education since its inception. Several institutional histories of Colleges of Education, such as The *Ardmore Experience,*[25] *Ako Pai: Wellington Teachers"College Centenary 1880-1980,*[26] and the *Abbreviated History of the Auckland College of Education,*[27] also fall into this first group. C. Morton-Johnston and H. Morton‟s study of the first 100 years of Dunedin Teachers College[28] possesses characteristics attributable to this group; however, it incorporates a more academic and classical approach than other college histories of this era. Most of these institutional histories trace the development of individual colleges, provide biographies of their Principals, describe the social and cultural life of the students, explain the hardships, struggles and celebrations of those concerned, and trace the vagaries of their particular institution such as devastation by fire, close-downs and conversion of their buildings to accommodate participants of the Empire Games. They frequently include reference to fascinating primary sources such as old examination papers and evidence of lecturers‟ planning with accompanying marginalia which details personal anecdotes and evaluative comments on various lectures. From time to time, they also include mysteries that are worth probing, for example, the unofficial history of Auckland College of Education written by an ex-College archivist and personally published by him; this appears to have been suppressed by the College Librarian and suddenly terminates in 1962. An „official‟ college history does not appear until 2006 and it is undertaken by a different author who is a professional historian.

Usually, college accounts proudly acclaim the individual achievements of the particular college depicted. For example, the author of the history of Ardmore College points out its unique status as the only fully residential college in New Zealand and as the innovator of much curriculum change. Such accounts are usually narrative in form and tell the story of each institution and how it has gradually grown and improved over the years. As historians are frequently commissioned to write the histories by members of the college community, authors are frequently hamstrung when discussing the internal

politics of the institution and, to some extent, problems are minimised or glossed over altogether. In addition, commissioning bodies usually have an editing role or censoring function. These factors have to be borne in mind when retrieving or utilising such information as sources of evidence. This means that they are seldom critical in their inquiry and they certainly attempt to paint the best possible picture of their institution and how it rallied and fought against any opposition, no matter how minor.

Less than half a dozen unpublished Masters" theses are written on the training of teachers in New Zealand and all of these emerge from the liberal tradition. These frequently incorporate a more finely textured examination of the primary sources as they examine a particular theme or institution in detail. Some provide a far more competent appraisal of teacher education than others. For example, F. Corner"s 1942 thesis on the training of teachers in New Zealand during the 19th century[29] is a far more rigorous commentary on teacher training and the policies surrounding its establishment than others written about the same time; it is relied on extensively in Harte"s later work. It is far more penetrating than Johnstone"s thesis which researches teacher training from the 1900s to 1935.[30] Not only has the latter several technical deficiencies, it contains many unsupported and generalised assumptions. M. Check"s thesis on teacher training attempts to provide an analysis of the major historical developments occurring in Otago;[31] however, his success lies mainly in providing a full and exhaustively detailed account of minutiae surrounding various policy developments. It is mainly a descriptive account rather than an analytical dissertation; despite this, his study is unusual in that it provides some of the earliest empirical research into New Zealand teacher training. Although the information he provides regarding methodological and design issues is a little superficial, it provides interesting conclusions based on the views of student teachers attending Dunedin Training College in 1948 and his conclusions are well-drawn. Taken together these dissertations may allude to the conflicts between the state and Provincial Boards; however, the state"s acquisition of control over teacher education through the colleges is usually viewed as an advantageous and progressive move.

To summarise the literature provided by liberal writers, it cites at least five reasons for early state intervention in and control of teacher training at the turn of the 20th century:

- administrative and organisational – it was easier to administer a central system of colleges than the haphazard, school-based provision for pupil teachers implemented by different Education Boards;

- educational – arguments concerning the quality of the education system were frequently articulated – this was dependent on the quality of teachers, hence teacher training was thought crucial;

- acculturative – it was generally thought that teachers needed to be socialised into the proper ways of educating the young of the country and into propagating the new curriculum reforms proposed by G. Hogben and the Seddon Government;

- economic – more teachers were needed at various times; supply and demand could only be controlled in a centralised system; also, the turn of the century saw increased exports and rising prosperity and consequently more financial resources could be directed into educating teachers; and

- professional – there was a need to strengthen the status of teachers and rid them of the trade connotations of the pupil-teacher apprenticeship. The move away from a school-based apprenticeship towards a more professional approach was also in keeping with international trends. In England, for example, P. Gardner informs us that *"centrality of training colleges in the early decades of the twentieth century spoke of important changes in perceptions of professional identity and, more broadly, of professional status."*[32] Professionalism and professionalisation were also major educational tenets of the New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI)[33] and it was thought that these could only be brought about by centralised control of training, salaries and working conditions. At this time, however, the issue of professionalism was largely overlooked by writers within this category.

Writings from liberal historians lead us to believe that all of these reasons were articulated by different agencies with different agendas. A surprising coalition of all of these factions appeared in the 1900s; these ranged from central and local government to educators, economists and the newly formed NZEI. This coalition provided a catalyst for the first concentrated efforts of the state to centralise control of teacher education. The turn of the century, therefore, was regarded by liberal writers as providing a watershed in teacher education.

A curious idiosyncrasy appears in many New Zealand studies of teacher education belonging to this first group of liberal writers. This is their often unquestioning acceptance of assumptions made in preceding accounts. The results of this generate a drab, uniform and almost incestuous account of teacher training before the 1980s which seldom challenges or contradicts conclusions drawn previously. This is a complete contrast to the literature and research from the second category of writers, the „post-liberal" group. We now turn to a discussion of their polyvalent discourse. This comes in two parts, the first explaining the post-liberal discourse in the first period under discussion and the second dealing with the discourse on current teacher education and its relationship with the state.

c) The Post-Liberal Discourse on Teacher Education

The second, contemporary group of post-liberal writers, whose work is generally published after the 1980s, defies precise and homogeneous definition due to the diversity, plural coding and multidisciplinary nature of the views expressed. Writers from the post-liberal group are diverse and critical, coming from a formidable range of revisionist, postmodernist, post-structuralist, indigenous or feminist orientations – this applies to both Left and Right Wing critiques of teacher education. They look behind the historical façade of a paternal state and attempt to penetrate determinative causes and rationales. They also look at whose interests are best served by particular actions, reforms or the lack of them and ask if the role of the state is devolutionary, as it claims, or if it is more invasive than it has been in the past.

Unlike the simple notion of the state held by liberal writers, they draw attention to the highly complex nature of the state.[34] Dale"s definition, as stated in the introductory chapter, encapsulates the post-liberal view as it reminds us that the state is an ensemble of mechanisms and agents acting in different and complex ways on different surfaces of time.[35] As the following chapters show, this has repercussions for the development of a state-owned and state-maintained teacher education system and, in turn, this affects the nature of student teachers" rites of passage. The rituals and ceremonies experienced by them and the knowledge deemed appropriate to transform teachers into servants of the state is dependent upon how highly circumscribed and tightly regulated their rite of passage becomes.

On the surface, it may appear that writers allocated to the post-liberal group are unrelated as they have different theoretical perspectives and examine different educational issues; however, there are compelling reasons for grouping them together. All (or most) of the educational historians in the post-liberal group are united in that they challenge the liberal, progressive interpretation of educational history and reinterpret events, policies and practices in a more critical light. The titles of their work provide testimony to this heightened critical approach, for example, *Reinterpreting the Educational Past,*[36] *Teacher Education in New Zealand: Curriculum, Location and Control,*[37] and *The Proficiency Examination 1930-35: A Political Controversy.*[38] Whilst reinterpreting historical events and situations, they do not necessarily belong to the revisionist tradition. They do, however, focus on a wide array of educational issues. Unfortunately, a focus on teacher education forms only a small proportion of this work.

This more critical approach to educational history appeared later in New Zealand than in many other countries and Openshaw provides two main reasons for this: the first is the small pool of educational historians in New Zealand which led to their professional isolation and mutual interdependence; and the second is the long-reaching shadow of the Fraser/Beeby egalitarian myth embodied in 1940s educational policy.[39] Both of these reasons actively discouraged critique of the status quo by writers working within the system, as did the fact that the educational community in New Zealand was always very small compared to those overseas. Writing decades earlier, L. Webb applies a similar rationale to that of Openshaw when discussing the lack of critique directed at educational policy at the end of the 19th century. He points out the widespread fear of upsetting the compromises that underpinned the fragility of the 1877 consensus at both public and political levels. It was generally thought that it could not survive rigorous critical assault.[40]

Four College of Education histories fall into the second, post-liberal category. Each provides the history of one particular institution and its idiosyncrasies set against an overall picture of the political landscape of teacher education and its related national policies. Openshaw‟s history of Palmerston North College of Education,[41] J. Fletcher‟s history of Christchurch College of Education,[42] D. Keen‟s study of the last 40 years of Dunedin College of Education,[43] and L. Shaw‟s history of the Auckland College of Education[44] are such works. These are the best of the college histories as they also

furnish a critical commentary on the nature of teacher education, its relationship with the state, the college's critical pedagogy and the social and cultural contexts in which the institution is located. They elaborate on the regulations and protocols imposed upon students teachers for the purposes of acculturation into the teaching profession. Although similar in purpose but different in theoretical orientation, each of these institutional histories varies to a great extent according to the perspective and credentials of the author, their textual content, their presumed audience, and their local and chronological context. The political orientation of the author is usually very evident and the fact that Openshaw writes from a university perspective, whilst Fletcher and Keen write from a College of Education orientation is very telling in itself. This is detected in the extent to which they critique the work of the colleges and the universities and how they perceive the relationship between them. It is also apparent in the model of teacher education they advocate. For example, Openshaw is very clear in his intention that pre-service teacher education should be undertaken by the universities. Tensions between university and college of education provisions are written about by all of these authors, and a careful treading between two different cultures, ideologies and the types of teacher education offered, is very evident. Openshaw's title *"Between Two Worlds"* exemplifies this by drawing attention to the diametrically opposed debates evidenced in Palmerston North College of Education's attempts to reconcile the abstract world of the academy with the practical world of the school. Both of these worlds make conflicting demands and both have their own definite, discrete views on how neophyte teachers should be prepared. Fletcher, more sympathetic towards college-provided teacher education, highlights some of the tensions experienced by colleges. He identifies five noticeable and overarching problems experienced by Dunedin College in its early years and he maintains that these have persisted in teacher education to the present day. These include the problems of:

> *… attracting, selecting and retraining students…. how to strike an appropriate balance between general education and specific professional content…. how to find a balance between the complex theoretical constructs that attempt to explain successful teaching and the simple „tricks of the trade‟ that can be, and too often are, put into practice with little thought…. Providing students with degree-level qualifications appropriate to members of a profession, and finding effective ways to organise students‟ experience in schools.*[45]

This latter group of college historians is very conscious of the political machinations of different stakeholders and they explain how colleges are forced to negotiate, connive and even subvert authority in order to survive. Furthermore, they contribute a concise and astute analysis of the threat to the existence of effective teacher education in the present period. Louise Shaw writes from a perspective outside of teacher education and her preference regarding who should provide teacher education is undeclared. Although her work is finely detailed and well researched, it lacks the political biting edge of Openshaw's work. The latter, in particular, goes beyond an individual college history, although his other writings take a far more radical and political stance with regard to analysis of policy and practice in teacher education. As one of several significant historical writers on teacher education in New Zealand (these include H. and G. Lee, I. Snook and N. Alcorn), his work reveals the perspective of a university academic. Together with Snook, his critique of teacher education as provided by former colleges of education is particularly hard-hitting. The Lees' work also offers a critical examination of key policies in teacher education and it points out the political and contestable nature of teacher education, its control and its location. Alcorn's work is gentler in its criticism of the colleges although she is a firm advocate of teaching becoming a graduate profession.

Within the second group there are some New Zealand writers who resist categorisation, believing that their work is essentially historical and therefore incorporates the research protocols and analytical framework pertaining to the discipline of history. Others have deliberately embraced specific categorisation, such as the self-professed historical revisionists. These maintain that education is a site of struggle from which competing interests attempt to maintain, reproduce or overturn a capitalist and patriarchal society. Historiographies by R. Shuker[46] and R. Fry,[47] are written in this manner and, adopting a radical revisionist stance, they analyse various structural barriers to educational achievement. Shuker's history of the education system is underpinned by a Marxist analysis of the state and the social and economic impacts on educational achievement and it emphasises major cross cutting factors such as social class, gender and race. It examines these elements in a thematic way; the education of teachers is secondary to his major focus on the provision of secondary education. Fry's examination of the education of girls draws attention to the structural gender inequalities inherent in the education system. Inequalities which, advertently or not, received the sanction of the

state. Several feminist and Māori educational historians, particularly those writing in the early 1980s, fall into this category. Only a small number write about teacher education, and when references do occur, they are usually incidental to the writers" main purpose.[48]

This second, more diffuse group of contemporary writers differ significantly in the manner in which they interpret historical projects. They are far more influenced by other disciplines, language codes and regimes of truth (e.g. sociology, philosophy, educational policy and indigenous research) than earlier writers. They also encompass the theoretical orientations of poststructuralists, critical theorists, post-modernists, Māori indigenous researchers and feminists. These writers also produce (although not to a great extent) literature directly relevant to teacher education. Within each of these orientations, a wide variety of perspectives is evident. Many transcend the boundaries between historical and sociological disciplines as they share the belief that history is not objective and that it is open to different interpretations depending on the theoretical approach of the writer. Postmodernists, poststructuralists and several Māori and feminist researchers, extend this argument further by maintaining that there is no ultimate reality or underlying universal truth; consequently there cannot be an eternal, global and unchanging history of education. They dismiss ideals based on universalism and objectivity as imperialist arrogance which belittle subjective experience and diminish social and historical realities and contexts. They also see the state as perpetuating privileged, Westernised knowledge through its education system; this directly affected by the content and pedagogy of teacher education.[49]

How post-liberal writers interpret events of (i) the past, and (ii) the present is now discussed.

(i)Post-Liberal Accounts of the First Period of Teacher Education

Post-liberal writers researching ITE practices of 100 years ago, interpret events in different ways. Critical Theorists and Revisionist historians writing about teacher education at the turn of the 20th Century, concern themselves primarily with education and its role in perpetuating social class structures that are repressive to certain social groups. They view power as flowing downwards from the state to its population in order to bring about order and compliance. Teacher education is an integral part of this regime. Scholars from this theoretical orientation inform us that both schools and

teacher training were founded on an industrial, factory model (in fact, students themselves referred to the training college as a "*pedagogue factory*"[50]) and it is safe to conclude that the rudiments of the apprenticeship approach were easily integrated into the colonial mentality. The introduction of training colleges were seen as instrumental in socialising prospective teachers into acting, thinking and behaving in ways conducive to and desired by the state. Likewise, the organisation of schools encouraged a particular set of disciplinary relations designed to inculcate desirable social and moral attributes.[51]

In a critical analysis of Parliamentary Debates from the period, Harker reinforces the notion of a controlling state in his conclusion that elementary school education was rudimentary and aimed at securing basic literacy; ensuring social control and the reduction of crime; producing a reasonably informed electorate; enhancing economic productivity; and fulfilling individual human rights.[52] Pupil teachers were drawn from the elementary schools in order to perpetuate a highly divisive system. In England,[53] it was a deliberate policy that teachers and pupil teachers should only be recruited from similar, lower working class backgrounds to the pupils. D. Coppock's research,[54] also undertaken in England, disputes this by maintaining that, at the end of the 19th century, the social class origins of pupil-teachers were mainly upper working class and lower middle class. He argues that semi-skilled and unskilled occupational groupings were barely represented in the ranks of pupil-teachers. Kay Matthew's research of Pakeha women's experiences of their primary schooling in the Hawke's Bay at the turn of the century would tend to substantiate Coppock's conclusions.[55] She discovered that families at the extreme edge of poverty could not afford to keep their daughters at school. They were withdrawn from school at early age in order to contribute to the economy of the family, despite an earnest desire from several to undertake further education in order to expand their occupational choices.[56]

There appears little information on the social class backgrounds of early pupil-teachers in colonial New Zealand, but assumptions are made by writers such as Elizabeth that pupil-teachers were derived from upper working class and lower middle class socio-economic groups.[57] Jones et al. also conclude that this is the case. They point out that families with limited means could only obtain a secondary education for their children through one of three avenues: the local district high school, passing a scholarship to a

privately endowed secondary school, or through a pupil teachership. As pupil-teachers were paid during their period of training, it became „*an attractive proposition*".[58] The pupil-teacher system, therefore, became a common route for working class and lower middle class pupils to enter a variety of careers and it became "*the key to social mobility.*"[59] This meant "*that they could continue their studies while training for an occupation which improved their social standing and enhanced their marriage prospects.*"[60] It certainly provided a more advanced education and made accessible positions of responsibility within teaching.[61] B. Hughes provides evidence that girls from middle class backgrounds also appeared frequently in the colleges and universities. She explains that New Zealand, as a materialist colonial society, did not object quite as vociferously as those overseas towards the education of girls, particularly those from the middle classes. This enabled them to proceed to the teaching profession via the training colleges and the universities.[62]

To some extent, accounts explaining social mobility effects have a tendency to be reductionist in their rationales.[63] The lack of sophisticated analysis inherent in such views altered with the advent of radical revisionists, influenced to a great extent by American radical revisionists M. Katz,[64] D. Tyack,[65] S. Bowles and H. Gintis[66] and other social historians. These put a more complex construction on state involvement into education as they began to use social and economic analyses to reveal that education was ineffective for large proportions of the population. This new theoretical perspective challenged existing liberal interpretations of history and provided an assault on the bastions of education systems like New Zealand, ostensibly based on egalitarianism. The capitalist economy bore the brunt of the blame for educational failure. Over-simplistic functionalist views were overturned as it was revealed that the school system was a site of struggle and contestation. Education was criticised as fulfilling the mandates of the state by producing labour to meet the demands of capital and by propagating existing social class, gender and cultural hierarchies, and inequalities.[67] Revisionists also viewed educational norms and practices in terms of repressive social structures and the training college curriculum was analysed in terms of its social and political content in order to discover how it was differentiated. Protocols for selection, grading, examinations, certification and the creation of a set of desired outcomes/competencies were viewed in terms of reproduction theory and regarded as ways of ensuring a capitalist society. The credentialing and selection functions of high-

stake exams like University Entrance and Scholarship Examinations organised by the University of New Zealand were viewed as hugely significant in that they dominated the secondary school system until 1914.[68] Such examinations remained strong and, as they were irrevocably tied to social mobility, any attempts at removal were resisted by lower socio-economic groups.[69] They also determined access to training colleges and concurrent study with the university.

Both liberal and post-liberal accounts relate that while teachers were training, they were being exploited by the Boards. Whilst liberal writers see only pragmatic reasons for this, revisionist historians in particular, attribute more political motivations maintaining that both the Boards and the Department were integral components of a capitalist state government.[70] Not only did pupil-teachers provide cheap labour in the classrooms at minimal cost, they were also viewed as human capital.[71] Coppock informs us that in England, the status and salary of certificated teachers were intentionally retained at a minimal level by the state so that they did not become over-ambitious.[72] Whilst this was probably the case in New Zealand, the context differed in that it was a colonial, frontier society. Education was seen as a way of gaining the necessary credentials that would enable occupational mobility. Paradoxically, education was championed by the working class themselves as they distanced themselves from England and saw themselves as crucial in the formation of a more egalitarian social order based within a rural democracy.

Post-structuralist scholars, unlike the critical theorists and revisionists just discussed, focus mainly on the construction of different forms of knowledge underlying new state regulated technologies of power. They view the state as a regulatory agency with new techniques of panoptic surveillance, and they challenge the creation of a new social (and educational) order which emphasises globalisation at the expense of the nation-state. Whilst a few writers, such as M. Walshaw,[73] J. O'Neill,[74] M. Olssen[75] and J. Marshall[76] take up elements of this theme in relation to teacher education, many analyse social and educational policies that have direct influence on the provision of teacher education policies: both historical and contemporary.[77]

Whilst the number of post-structural and Foucauldian analyses of early school and teacher education policies and practices is growing, particularly overseas,[78] there appear

to be few post-structural analyses of teacher education in New Zealand. The English and Canadian studies of C. Hall and E. Millard;[79] K. A. Hollihan;[80] and J. White,[81] throw a great deal of light on this position. They offer a rationale based on Foucault's theory of disciplinary power wherein colleges are viewed as regimes of order. Various functions of institutions are examined, including: disciplinary technologies based on comparing performance with a pre-determined set of competencies or norms; exercising various forms of discipline and control; maintaining order through timetables, regulations and compulsory attendance; employing specific modes of pedagogy; reliance on examinations, grading and record keeping to determine professional competence; placing the student teacher under strict observation through various forms of surveillance; and making distinct use of space and architecture. Although much of their scrutiny is theoretical rather than empirical, they conclude that the regimes of order found in the early colleges were a means of constructing a particular order of subjection and subjectification.[82] Chapters 4 and 5 expand on this in some detail and provide empirical evidence that this was also the case in New Zealand's early teacher training.

Such studies discuss Foucault's contention that there are three major ways of operationalising power: through hierarchical observation (surveillance), through normalising judgements and through the examination system. Looking to the first of these, K. Hoskin[83] informs us that Foucault's well-used metaphor of the panopticon explains that through constant surveillance and observation, those in control are able to make judgements and evaluations about those observed. In 19th century teacher training, this was evidenced in the continual monitoring and close observation of student teachers by college and school staff and Inspectors. This systematic surveillance brings together *"the exercise of power and the constitution of knowledge."*[84]

The second way of operationalising power is through normalising judgements. Liberal writers interpret grading and record keeping processes as organisational devices which assist in the smooth running of bureaucratic machinery; however, poststructuralists interpret them as a way of normalising judgements. They see such judgements resulting in both teacher knowledge and pupil knowledge. Armed with knowledge of pupils, teachers are able to rank and order them on a normative scale; also fortified with such knowledge, pupils position themselves into hierarchies. Such practices were widely

apparent in the early training colleges and they remain present in current ITE institutions. Hierarchies and norms are constructed to enable individuals to be sorted within an ordered mass. In order to achieve a semblance of order, learning and behaviour has to be carefully regulated, ritualised and systematised so that a norm may be constructed. It is no coincidence that teaching practice schools were (and some still are) referred to as normal schools. These are schools for normal children with normal behaviour and learning patterns – teachers, likewise, have to be normal and in the early days were trained at normal schools (the name given to early training colleges). Harte‟s definition of normal school is taken from M. Cruikshank who refers to it as a norm or model for desired patterns of teaching.[85] Foucault‟s definition of normal is also apposite to this discussion as it draws attention to those deviating from the norm, referring to them as perverse or abnormal. In the normal schools and early colleges, trainees falling outside of the norm would have been excluded.

The third of Foucault‟s ways of exercising power is through the ubiquitous examination. This was, historically, largely oral in content, in contrast to later changes in format and technology which brought about written examinations with assigned numeral grades. The examination lies at the heart of Foucault‟s notion of normalisation. He regards it as an important educational ritual and exercise in power, and one that has played a formidable role in separating individuals for a variety of purposes in most educational systems. It played and still plays, a central role in teacher education.

Feminist writers belonging to the post-liberal group, such as Fry,[86] J. Ritchie,[87] H. Watson,[88] and M. Tennant[89] also interpret early teacher education in different ways. They draw attention to the medical justification of a domestic ideology in the early years of the 20th century. They challenge the ideologues who professed such views, particularly those who advocated a sexually differentiated curriculum underpinned with the unshakeable belief that the woman‟s sphere was in the home. These writers also point out that such views dovetail neatly with prevailing early 20th century platitudes that if women did take up pre-marital occupations, teaching was suitable as it capitalised on their maternal instincts.

Writing on Māori education, J. Simon‟s writing is one of many which questions the colonial supremacy of mainstream education. Her work on the native schools,[90] together

with that of K. Matthews and K. Jenkins,[91] highlights arguments pertaining to the validity of Māori knowledge and Māori-preferred pedagogy, challenges the colonial ideology of dominant interest groups, and examines the construction of identity through the education system‟s policy of assimilation. Simon‟s research refers briefly to teachers training for positions in village schools but this does not feature as part of her central thesis. Her work is one of many from The Research Unit for Māori Education at the University of Auckland which has embarked on historical research into the Native School System.[92] The major focus of this, so far, has not focussed directly on teacher education.

Most post-liberal writers, regardless of their theoretical orientation, consistently criticise education in this early period for its centralised and unwieldy bureaucracy and for the uniform dullness and inferiority of the courses provided in the schools and training colleges. They regard the hegemony of the training college as inevitable; one that lasted throughout most of the 20th century. The main reason for this was the state domestication of teachers. Colleges provided a vehicle for both educational and economic control as they allowed the state to engineer curriculum content and sort out prospective teachers who could be easily assimilated into the norms and values it considered appropriate.

(ii) Post-Liberal Accounts of the Second Period of Teacher Education

In addition to the writing of educational historians such as Openshaw,[93] the Lees,[94] McKenzie,[95] Alcorn[96] and Snook,[97] other contemporary, post-liberal research on recent historical aspects of teacher education include those written by sociologists, philosophers and educational psychologists. These include authors such as S. Middleton,[98] D. Battersby,[99] C. McGee,[100] A-M. O‟Neill,[101] R. Bates,[102] Harker,[103] Simon,[104] J. Codd,[105] A. Scott and J. Freeman-Moir[106] and J. Clark.[107] The last 15 years has also seen the emergence of a cadre of researchers developing teacher education as a discipline in its own right. These writers take a variety of perspectives, not necessarily historical.

These writers inform us that leading up to the present changes in the late 1980s, educational discontent was widespread. The Liberal political ideology underpinning educational policy at this time was not only coming under direct attack from Left Wing

radicals, but also from the emergence of a New Right political faction. Both factions challenged the historical supremacy of the state and, in so doing, attacked the entire education system (including teacher education). They condemned the interventionist state, educational expansion and equitable educational provision. The devastating effect of both critiques left education in a state of turmoil and this was further intensified by international economic instability. The radical critiques of this period, together with conflict theories from overseas were making themselves heard. These contested the nature and purpose of education maintaining that schooling *"reproduced rather than reduced social inequality"*.[108] Writers of the „new‟ sociology of education focused on the dominance of particular forms of knowledge, how it was distributed and how this explained social inequality. Teachers were viewed as agents in the reproduction of society. Sociological theories of the 1980s, including Gramsci‟s theory of hegemony[109] and P. Bourdieu‟s cultural reproduction theory,[110] reflected this debate and drew attention to the deep-seated contradictions between the Liberal educational discourse of the 1940s-1970s, and the reality of state schooling which relied on social and cultural reproduction and the perpetuation of its economic base for its survival. They also viewed schools (and, by implication, training colleges) as political instruments of the state and contended that they were responsible for the continuation of powerful hegemonic groups. Marxist, and particularly neo-Marxist analyses of the state, expounded the necessity for advanced and sophisticated political economic theories to fully explain the complexity of the state‟s functions, policies and processes in advanced capitalist societies.[111]

Set against the heightened international awareness of oppressive social structures, accounts of racial discrimination began to occur and the education of Māori was slammed. Both R. Walker and Simon contend that the sentiments of Fraser‟s statement *"went largely unfulfilled for Māori people"*.[112] From the 1970s onwards, these arguments were strongly reinforced by writers such as J. Barrington and T. Beaglehole,[113] Harker,[114] J. Metge,[115] P. Ramsay[116] and Walker.[117] Urbanisation, particularly with regard to Māori, had increased problems of overcrowding and unemployment. The Hunn Report of the 1960s had pointed out the unsatisfactory educational provision for Māori students and the consequences of this, but little redress had been actioned.[118] The cultural deficit model was still prevalent, assimilation policies

were continuing, and the new policy of integration "*masked the realities of differential access, participation and outcomes for Māori in education.*"[119]

Exasperated that their voices were going unheard in successive reports on education and teacher education, Māori educators actively resisted the monocultural knowledge transmitted in the schools and introduced Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori initiatives modelled on the concept of "ako". When established, these provided the precedents for full immersion Te Reo Māori teacher education courses. Radical Māori feminists such as N. Te Awekotuku,[120] K. Irwin,[121] and L. Tuhiwai Smith,[122] as well as Feminist historians such as Middleton and May,[123] began to examine individual women teacher's responses to education and to explain how their experiences are not just shaped by gender but also by social class, religious affiliation, colonisation and pervading social and cultural ideologies of women's place in society. These were transmitted to teachers through the training colleges (by now referred to as colleges of education). This influenced how the training process became a tightly regulated rite of passage for the predominant body of female student teachers and how it fashioned their teacher identity in particular ways.

The curriculum itself became a site of struggle and polarised views between conservative and progressive educational groups became further entrenched. Other problems were emerging and if the demographic profile of teacher training entrants was compared to the school population, this is not surprising as it was not nationally representative.[124] In reporting on the composition of the student teacher population in the 1980's, Ramsay maintains that,

> *Most of the students in training are female (80.7%).....In addition, 83.1% are Pakeha (white New Zealanders) as opposed to 10.1% Māori. The latter group is, therefore, significantly underrepresented, with approximately 14% of the population as a whole identified as Māori.*[125]

He cites further evidence of two New Zealand studies which concluded that, in 1982, 70 per cent of student teachers came from higher socio-economic groups and, in 1983, in excess of 90 per cent.[126] The average student teacher profile was therefore

overwhelmingly young, Pakeha, middle class and female. This observation is further reinforced by Keen and by Openshaw.[127]

Given this female-dominated demographic, it is hardly surprising that feminist writings are plentiful on the topic of women and teaching as throughout its history, women have dominated the profession. Feminist writers, such as Sue Middleton, were way ahead of their time in challenging policy from the 1980 era and they were not only interpreting the lives of women in education through a Marxist critique, they were also employing Foucauldian analyses.[128]

Although sharing a common concern about equitable provision for females and drawing attention to the fact that education plays a major role in the maintenance of class and gender power relations, the theoretical analyses and political orientations of feminist, post-liberal historians differ greatly. Some write about the prohibitive effects of the rules and regulations of schooling as incorporated in the „hidden curriculum";[129] others, such as Matthews, point out that a gender analysis was largely absent throughout the liberal discourse, although increasing attention was being paid to social class analysis.[130]

Revisionist feminists see schooling as a differentiated curriculum preparing males and female for two immutable and separate spheres, the public and the private, respectively. The definite premise underlying their work is "*that the experiences and activities of women as a group are largely distinct from, and subordinate to the experiences and activities of men.*"[131] Post-structural writers emphasise women‟s resistance, contestation, initiative and enterprise and they examine the category of gender within its wider social, political, ideological and economic constructs.[132] Several prefer to discover the reality of women‟s lives through talking to the women teachers themselves or through painstakingly detailed research which draws out the richly textured nature of their life histories.[133]

The post-liberal group appear unanimous in their view that all the symptoms of an education system in crisis were evident and this led to the 1984-elected Labour Government taking immediate action.

The appearance of the Curriculum Review, Scott Report, Picot Report, Hawke Report and *Tomorrow"s Schools* in the space of five years was the result of this overwhelming critique. It became apparent that egalitarianism was an unsustainable myth. McCulloch astutely discloses how the deliberate search for a replacement „myth" was undertaken by the Prime Minister, D. Lange, with „equity" or „equality of outcomes" superseding egalitarianism. He further explains how Lange deliberately styled himself on Fraser by combining both roles of Minister of Education and Prime Minister. The tone and terminology of many public educational documents, such as *The Curriculum Review*, revealed the Government"s Liberal-Progressive perspective.[134] Its first appearance as the *Core Curriculum Review* received unprecedented response from all sectors of the community. After extensive consultation and debate, it was released in its final form in 1987. Condemned by New Right politicians, including Treasury, and applauded by the political left, it was left to languish and its proposals never incorporated into policy.

The 1985 Parliamentary Select Committee on Education and Science set up an inquiry into the policy, expenditure and administration of education. The resulting Scott Report (1986), reported on the quality of teaching and in accordance with the tenor of many previous reports, condemned the academic standard of teacher education. Alcorn criticises the Scott Report as the first to be conducted chiefly by Committee members who were not educational professionals, this she maintains, *"marked a major shift in attitudes and assumptions"*.[135] Market-oriented terminology was applied to teacher education for the first time with the appearance of concepts such as „accountability" and „quality control". Alcorn also argues that that many of its sentiments echoed those of the earlier Hill Committee Report but with a more narrowly conceived skills-based ideology. The report also attempted to address the consistent research findings that socio-economic status, gender and ethnicity were major determining factors in academic failure.

In order to tackle the problems of inequality and underachievement highlighted by the Scott Report, the subsequent Picot Report recommended several measures, chief amongst them was the need for teacher education to be made accountable through stringent assessment and research measures. The Report had profound effects on teacher education which comes as no surprise given its statement that it *"could find no compelling reasons for continuing the present arrangements for the training of*

teachers". It further envisaged that colleges could become schools of education within the universities, whilst at the same time, maintaining their autonomy.[136] These sentiments were immediately contradicted by the *Report on Postcompulsory Education and Training in New Zealand* (the Hawke Report) which appeared a few months later and which recommended independent status for colleges of education. It proposed that colleges should be free to choose whether to retain their stand-alone status or to amalgamate with universities or polytechnics.[137] This freedom was, as always, curtailed through a negotiated charter with a newly created Ministry of Education. Professor G. R. Hawke, the author of the report, was dubious of the merits of an amalgamation between the colleges and the universities. He personally maintained that an *"academic environment is not entirely suitable for teacher training and for some other current activities of the colleges."*[138] Instead, he favoured a closer relationship between colleges and polytechnics, thus reviving the notion of teaching as a trade, an idea never entirely lost from the annals of teacher education history. He was aware of the colleges" aversion to a merger with the Polytechnics and attributed this to snobbery on their part.[139] Staff from various institutions appeared to go to ludicrous lengths to mark the boundaries of their own educational territories.[140]

The educational reforms encapsulated in the Picot and Hawke Reports were an attempt to appease both left and right wing political views. Both endorsed a future of competitively provided teacher education whilst simultaneously, and paradoxically, recalling the earlier egalitarian values espoused by Fraser, Beeby and G. Currie. A year later the Education Act of 1989, referred to as „*Tomorrow"s Shools*," was introduced.

After carefully analysing new archival material, Openshaw successfully challenges the prevailing view that this period should be regarded as the beginning of a new era, but that it should seen as the "*end product of a period of turmoil*" which commenced in the 1970s.[141] He argues that the Education Act of 1989 was not a sudden, unanticipated and completely novel piece of legislation but was, rather, the culmination of forces of change emanating from a climate of consciousness that began well before *Tomorrow"s Schools*. This piece of educational legislation drew together concepts and ideas centred on bureaucratic accountability and it employed a lexicon of business and entrepreneurial terminology which had appeared in a host of preceding reports, such as the Scott Report, the Royal Commission on Social Policy, the Cartwright Report on Health and

many others. *Tomorrow"sSchools* did not appear from nowhere nor did it catapult into the public arena in one particular moment of time. He argues that power should not be invested in one actor (David Lange) or in one report (*Tomorrow"sSchools*) but that it is situated within and emerges from a complex network of overlapping and interfering discourses.[142]

This study supports Openshaw"s contention that the 1970s and 1980s be regarded as an end rather than a beginning. The enforced legislation that resulted from this crisis brought with it the most radical restructuring of teacher education since the turn of the 20th century. Part Three provides a fuller picture of how this is still playing itself out; Openshaw and Ball explicate it further in their account of teacher education in New Zealand.[143]

Despite different theoretical views from within the post-liberal group: one of which applauds the devolutionary policies of the state with regard to teacher education (although still maintaining that the measures were unsuccessful as they did not go far enough), and others which declare that the state"s intervention has never been so regulatory, the majority of evidence from the academic discourse leads to the conclusion that state"s role is invasive. The inference drawn from this is that universities are not to be trusted in developing sound teacher education courses, and that an appeal to „common-sense" ideology with an emphasis on application, management and control at the expense of innovation, critical reflection, deep-seated subject knowledge, is a not-too-distant political agenda of the present state.

3. Primary Sources

An analysis of primary sources provides direct evidence of the discourse on teacher education. Primary sources are not neutral and objectively written records of fact. Like other sources they reflect the views of their writer; the agent commissioning the work; the targeted audience; the social, legal and cultural contexts; and the historical situation within which they are being written. There are a succession of various reports and commissions on teacher education and training, together with their concomitant critiques. As just stated, these reflect the theoretical, political, religious and philosophical ideologies of their time – this is particularly true of commissions of

inquiry which canvas submissions from interested parties and constituents. The majority of these are difficult to theoretically categorise because they are not considered to be interpretations or reinterpretations of events; however, they do provide a fair representation of contemporary opinion, despite a manipulation of witnesses by some Commissioners. Most reports on teacher training and education appear to be based on a pragmatic and economic rationale, as opposed to chiefly focussing on underlying educational principles. The 1951 Campbell Report provides an example of this. The Report proposes a wide range of recommendations yet simultaneously states that these will not be implemented due to constraints of finance and low teacher supply.[144]

Most of the major reports on teacher education have been examined for this project and these are dealt with in more detail, either later in this chapter or in other chapters of this thesis (for example, the Hogg Commission of 1901). These are acknowledged in the endnote references for this chapter.[145] In addition to official regulations which are usually gazetted, other key documents and reports consulted for this investigation include a selection of Education Reports found in the Votes and Proceedings from the Otago Provincial Council (1868-1876); Annual Reports from The Government Gazette of the Province of Canterbury (1863-1875); Acts and Proceedings of Wellington Provincial Council (1866-1867); Education and Education Amendment Acts; Hansard; the New Zealand Gazette, and Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (most copies from 1877-1930).

Other records consulted include an assortment of white and green papers; regulations regarding the training, employment, examination and classification of pupil-teachers, teachers and training college students; and regulations relating to training colleges. Diaries, chronicles, student magazines, newspaper reports and extracts, letters, oral histories, and other ephemera have also been consulted and analysed. Interpretations of these primary sources (by this author and by other authors/researchers/historians) are explained and critiqued within the context of relevant chapters. Primary sources on teacher education also incorporate oral history archives and oral history publications. As the focus of this study relates to a period of history long-gone, primary or archival sources are used extensively. Many teachers, two women teachers in particular, kindly provided advice and supplementary information through recalling, with much enjoyment, their own teaching histories; these were more in the nature of semi-

structured conversations and were undertaken informally.[146] The process involving both conversations followed Massey University"s ethics protocol. Their narratives provide an insight into various aspects of their lives as teachers. The oral history archives at the Alexander Turnbull Library also provide teachers" accounts of their working lives. Such narratives "*generate plausible accounts of the world*" at historical points in time and the opening up of such conversations result in the sharing and exploration of new understandings on teacher education in the past and in the present.[147]

4. Conclusion

When all three sources, i.e. liberal writers before the 1980s, post-liberal writers working after this date, and the collection of available primary evidence, are examined together, they provide a detailed and finely textured representation of the New Zealand discourse on teacher education and its location within wider educational, social and political contexts. They illustrate different theoretical interpretations of teacher education and address the questions posed in Chapter 1 regarding state control of teacher education, its nature, functions and contexts.

Literature from different and conflicting discourses on the history of teacher education reviewed in this chapter has illustrated the state"s growing control of teacher education from its early involvement at the turn of the 20th century to its powerful hold in the current era. Despite the state"s claim to devolution in the 1989 Education Act, it exerts more control in the first decade of the second millennium than at any other time. It continues to do this through activating tactics of power which regulate distribution of financial resources, methods of accountability, and practices of surveillance. For the past twenty years, it has been trying to impose on teacher education providers, a centralised, standards-based curriculum. To date, the universities providing teacher education have actively resisted this intention, although all teacher education courses are subject to external scrutiny from state agencies.

This chapter has demonstrated that many post-liberal accounts maintain that educational provision is frequently counterproductive, alienates its recipients, and is not adapted to its material circumstances. They contend that particular groups have been prevented from benefiting educationally by structural inequalities inherent in state-sponsored

policies and practices of teacher education institutions, and that these institutions play a key role in the maintenance of power. They see disconcerting parallels between state reforms enacted towards the end of the 1800s and those enacted at the end of the 1900s. Although the reforms of the earlier period were introduced by a fledgling state whilst later reforms were initiated by a strong state, both resulted in a high level of centralisation which bolstered the power of the state.

Despite continued state claims that the education system is only as good as its teachers and that it is essential to the (re)construction of a democratic society, it is clearly not given much priority. One has to ask why this is the case and whose interests are best served in maintaining its low status. Why did it take forty years before ITE was lengthened to three years, almost seventy years before an education degree was made possible, and over 100 years before the universities took a serious interest in conferring degrees in teaching; particularly in light of the backlog of reports urging that teaching become a graduate profession? Whilst the answers to these questions lie in the subsequent investigation, it is obvious that the interventionist role of the state has increased over time. The omni-present state is highly visible in every facet of teacher preparation and this position is reinforced in the following chapters.

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Chapter 3
An Archaeology of Early Teacher Training

Take for example, an educational institution: the disposal of its space, the meticulous regulations which govern its internal life, the different activities which are organised there, the diverse persons who live there or meet one another there, each with his own function, his well defined character – all these things constitute a block of capacity-communication-power. The activity which ensures apprenticeship and the acquisition of aptitudes or types of behaviour is developed there by means of a whole ensemble of regulated communications (lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations, coded signs of obedience, differentiation marks of the „value"of each person and of the levels of knowledge) and by means of a whole series of power processes (enclosure, surveillance, reward and punishment, the pyramidal hierarchy).[1]

1. Introduction

This quotation elucidates Foucault's thoughts on the functioning of power in educational institutions and precisely describes the power processes and power relations considered necessary to the acquisition of desirable teacher behaviours. This was brought about through a carefully designed rite of passage in a specialist, state-controlled teacher training institution which exhibits all of the features described above.

The preceding chapter concluded that the state's interventionist policies with regard to teacher education grew stronger as the 20th century proceeded. This chapter takes this conclusion further by focusing on why the state wished to gain control of teacher training and how it accomplished this. It investigates the premise that it achieved control, not through the exercise of force, but through ensuring that teacher trainees passed through a highly centralised rite of passage. This necessitated a move away from the highly devolved, ad hoc pupil-teacher system to a centralised and tightly regulated system of training colleges. Such an investigation requires that an archaeology of teacher training be proposed and explored. This explains why New Zealand selected the pupil-teacher system from a wide range of training technologies and how the training

college displaced this system in order to achieve a monopoly of training which lasted until the1990s. Such an archaeology does not reveal a history of gradual progressions towards the ideal training system, but is characterised by a series of radical discontinuities arising from conflicting or converging ideologies and pedagogies.

Accordingly, the chapter is divided into three main sections. The first investigates the archaeology of teacher training in Europe, England and America. This is important background information as it sketches out the different precedents from which New Zealand selected its own system. These options included the monitorial system; training seminaries, normal schools and training colleges; the pupil-teacher system; and university-provided training. Both the pupil-teacher system and normal schools were selected as they were thought to be the most ideologically viable and economically expedient options. They were also viewed as complementary by early educators, particularly those in Otago and Canterbury. The monitorial system, exclusive university provision and Māori-based wananga were never seriously contemplated.

The second section details the reasons for the translocation of both the pupil-teacher system and normal schools/training colleges into the New Zealand context. As the pupil-teacher system became the centrepiece of teacher training during the period under examination, it is analysed in more depth in this section.

The third section considers the ideological and political rationale underpinning both the pupil-teacher system and the training college. It discusses the state‟s rationale for controlling teacher education and how it achieved this through two means: commissioning a raft of legislation, and institutionalising training through the colleges. This occurred in the early years of the 20th century. As the college became the most dominant form of ITE in the archaeology of teacher education, this is focused upon in this discussion. We now turn to a discussion of the early beginnings of teacher education.

2. Early Beginnings in the Archaeology of Teacher Training

New Zealand relied heavily on ideological precedents set by Europe, England and Scotland in its selection of teacher training methods. Chronologically, Europe had a

well-defined system of training long before Great Britain. In fact, during the 1800s, little attention was paid to teacher training and this is constantly animadverted upon:

The remarkable thing in the modern history of education is that it took so long for the various countries to realise the importance of teacher training – to realise, in fact, that schools cannot be better than their teachers. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century in England the attempts to establish a general system of elementary education were continually hampered by the hopeless inadequacy of their teachers.[2]

When England finally paid attention to teacher training in the mid-1840s, a series of different theories were proposed. These enveloped contradictory ideologies and images of what constituted an effective teacher identity and developed distinctive discursive formations which articulated different methods of training. Each theory aimed at the production of differently constituted objects and included both secular and denominational forms of technologies, many of which were institutionalised. Most were based on the underlying premise that securing obedience to authority by producing teachers who were models of desirable behaviour was more important than the cultivation of the intellect.[3] Social and moral control of the children of the poor was viewed as critical in a world beset by the problems of mass urban immigration caused by the Industrial Revolution. This precipitated the advent of a strategy of mass schooling, and, inevitably, a strategy of mass teacher training which aimed at regularising, normalising and making more manageable the expanding and allegedly degenerate faction of the population.

The first of the „en masse" theories organised teacher instruction in association with the Monitorial School; this was replaced by the pupil-teacher system which brought with it its own technology of discipline, micro-penalties and organisation. The training college eventually dislodged the pupil-teacher system as the dominant and most persistent mode of training. The University Day Training Colleges introduced in 1890 also furnished an alternative and more systematic approach to the preparation of neophyte teachers,[4] although it only attracted low numbers of enrolments compared to the two systems of pupil-teachers and training colleges. All four of these technologies (i.e. the monitorial system, the pupil-teacher system, the normal schools/training colleges, and the

university) prescribed their own forms of appropriate knowledge and pedagogy and were transmitted through increasingly elaborate rites of passage which led the novice teacher to full qualification. In an archaeology of early teacher training, these four technologies were major constituents: each will now be explored in more detail.

a) The Monitorial System

The Monitorial School was established as an antithesis to the informality and irregularity that characterised its antecedents, namely the Dame Schools, Common Day Schools, Sunday Schools and Charity Schools.[5] The Monitorial School provided extensive disciplinary and pedagogical machinery based on a method of surveillance and a hierarchy of normed classifications which rendered individuals as part of an ordered mass. They were established as the solution to the major social problem of child unemployment and Morris maintains that it was child unemployment and not child employment that was the source of the social problems for early 19th century Britain.[6]

The monitorial system was separately designed by two different architects, Dr Andrew Bell (1797) and Joseph Lancaster (1798) in association with the National Society, and the British and Foreign School Society, respectively. Children between 9 and 13 years acted as monitors and were responsible for instructing younger pupils in the hastily erected denominational schools. It became common practice for the school master to instruct the monitors, and the monitors to subsequently instruct the pupils. Foucault likened Lancaster's monitorial schools and other similar institutions, to the synchronisation of a complex system of clockwork mechanisms which were,

> *... built up cog by cog: first the oldest pupils were entrusted with tasks involving simple supervision, then of checking work, then of teaching; in the end, all the time of all the pupils was occupied either with teaching or with being taught. The school became a machine for learning, in which each pupil, each level and each moment, if correctly combined, were permanently utilised in the general process of teaching.*[7]

He refers to this as a potent combination of forces which were organised efficiently in order to optimise the final result.

A three to six month training scheme for monitors was put in place, although it was Bell's proud boast that he needed only 24 hours to train a teacher.[8] The increased numbers of monitors that were required to keep pace with the rapid explosion of the school population necessitated mass training for both the monitors and their instructors (the latter were usually headteachers). This was undertaken with associated training colleges. The British and Foreign Society, in particular, attracted students from all over the world to its training college in monitorial method. It trained both men and women and produced various teacher manuals on different school subjects which were frequently used as texts. It was this particular institution that was regarded as the English antecedent to the later teacher training colleges. The instruction provided by headteachers to their monitors is also reputed to be the first formal attempt at providing teacher training in England.[9]

However, the regimented structure, emphasis on control, and strict compliance to regulation were heavily criticised. More enlightened educators regarded the system as highly unsatisfactory as it provided a narrow, literacy-based curriculum imparted within a highly prescribed monitorial pedagogy.[10] Its inculcation of a strict moral code ensured conformity, obedience and adherence to the continued maintenance of a hierarchical social structure. As an institutional form, it provided a prototype of order, systematisation and regimentation that was characterised by the control of time, people, curriculum and space. Similar to the French Ecoles Mutuelles, the Monitorial Schools were preoccupied with the organisation of time and, according to Foucault, the disciplinary and detailed timetable ensured that every moment of an individual's life was maximised, intensified and made more efficient, *The more time is broken down, the more its subdivisions multiply, the better one disarticulates it by deploying its internal elements under a gaze that supervises them, the more one can accelerate an operation.*[11] The school became a machine which intensified its use of time and,

> *Its organisation made it possible to obviate the linear, successive character of the master's teaching; it regulated the counterpoint of operations performed, at the same moment, by different groups of pupils under the direction of monitors and assistants, so that each passing moment was filled with many different, but ordered activities; and, on the other hand, the rhythm imposed by signals,*

whistles, orders imposed on everyone temporal norms that were intended both to accelerate the process of learning and to teach speed as a virtue.[12]

Such schools, therefore, exhibited rigid timetables, registers of attendance, dedicated spaces for instruction, commonly prescribed curricula, and strictly defined rituals of learning. Detailed school records provided teachers with knowledge about their pupils and also became ways of ensuring teacher accountability. In executing these features, they exhibited the Utilitarian lack of regard for the role of the teacher, reducing it to one of technical bureaucrat.[13] Facilitating pupils‟ comprehension was not amongst its objectives. Learning was mechanistic and not understood either by the monitors or their pupils. Wragg exemplifies this with a typical extract from the pupils‟ reading material: "*If thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee; then thou shalt relieve him; yea though he be a stranger or a sojourner, take thou no usury of him or increase*".[14] The material proved convoluted and perplexing to both pupils and monitors alike. Strict organisation and uniformity became its hallmarks.[15] The monitorial system was also responsible for providing an educational blueprint for standardisation and it resulted in a far-reaching preoccupation with „method‟ rather than content in both schooling and teacher training.

The monitorial system never eventuated in America, although J. Herbst found evidence to suggest that such a system of training pupils and teachers was proposed by the Editor of the Common School Journal in 1850.[16] Although it was never implemented in New Zealand, per se, several of its disciplinary techniques were inherited, such as regulating the use of time and tightly orchestrating the movements of pupils and teachers. These aimed at subjection and ensured the formation of the individual as an object. Many such tactics have become instantiated into teacher educational provision in the Westernised world for over two centuries. Because the image of the teacher was limited, a limited training was all that was required. As a rite of passage to becoming a successful teacher it was unsatisfactory; however, as a theory based on a specific strategy of training, it became an essential component of the teacher training discourse.

b) Seminaries, Normal Schools and Colleges
Residential teacher training seminaries, normal schools and training colleges were preferred methods of training on the European Continent from the 1790s onwards. All

three institutions, although referred to differently, were similar in intent and function and performed the identical objective of training teachers to meet the needs of the state. Elements filtered from them into subsequent college developments in Scotland, England, America and other countries around the world. New Zealand can also trace the evolution of its training colleges through this direct and clearly distinct archaeology. This commenced with the Continental institutions and was succeeded by institutions such as D. Stow‟s Normal Seminary in Glasgow, the Free Church Training College of Edinburgh and J. Kay-Shuttleworth‟s Training College in Battersea. These developments led to the culmination of the establishment of New Zealand‟s first two Training Colleges: the first in Otago with its Scottish immersion in Stowian ideals, and the second in Christchurch highly influenced by Kay-Shuttleworth. The latter occurred as a direct result of C. C. Howard, arriving as an ex-lecturer from Kay-Shuttleworth‟s Battersea College to take up the position of foundation Principal at Christchurch Normal School. It is therefore not surprising that teacher training in New Zealand assimilated many elements derived from the early Continental seminaries.

The rise of social institutions such as the training colleges at this point in time was becoming a common phenomenon in Westernised countries. This removed the training of teachers from the apprenticeship world of disciplinary power to one in which a combination of disciplinary power and regulatory power by the state was exercised – this potent, dual combination of powers was referred to as bio-power by Foucault. Both forms of power are inter-related and are associated with the parallel development of social institutions with the new social „sciences of Man‟. Disciplinary power relates to individual bodies and refers to the operation of power upon them through ritual practices such as hierarchical observation and examination. It leads individuals to normative self-understandings through practices that render them docile and useful at the same time. Disciplinary power „subjects‟ individuals in both senses of the word: it subordinates them whilst, at the same time, making them subjects:

> *This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches himself to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others have to recognise in him.*[17]

Regulatory power is that exercised by the State through its formation of policies and interventions and it focuses on the „species body" which is constituted of various populations. In this case, the species body is comprised of teachers and teachers-to-be and, in order that both powers can be wielded, a special institution had to be created: this became the training college. The bio-power employed in the institutional college has been evident in almost every subsequent teachers' training college (in Westernised countries) since then and its characteristics are summed up in the following description of the first recorded seminary for primary teachers which was set up in Pomerania as early as 1785:

> *The seminaries produce a strong esprit de corps among teachers, which tends powerfully to interest them in their profession, to attach them to it, to elevate it in their eyes, and to stimulate them to improve constantly upon the attainments with which they have commenced its exercise. By their aid a standard of examination in the theory and practice of instruction is furnished, which may fairly be expected of candidates who have chosen a different way to obtain access to the profession.*[18]

Such a system won world-wide acclaim.[19] All the essential components of a successful rite of passage are articulated in these training institutions; for example, the creation of a distinct and specialist „teacher" culture, separating teaching aspirants from their former lives, instructing them in isolation from novitiates of other professional bodies, attempting to induce an esprit de corps, and implementing practices which led to the development of a new teacher identity; one that had been carefully thought out and imposed by the educational authorities of the time. A growing dominance of disciplinary technologies such as the examination, the development of a corporate spirit, and the wholesale absorption of the norms of the community were becoming apparent. Throughout the archaeology of teacher training, the training college has been the most efficient at providing the conditions necessary to fulfilling the assimilative and transformative functions required by the state.

Other American educators were also impressed by Prussia's determination to employ only trained and qualified teachers who conformed to the ideals of the state. H. Dwight, for example, after travelling through the North of Germany in 1825, maintained that

America should embrace the seminary system, the consequence of which would result in teaching "*soon becoming a distinct profession.*"[20] Germany was clearly at the forefront with regard to the provision of teacher training within specialist institutions, most of which were heavily influenced by Pestalozzi"s philosophy. By 1850, it had 156 normal seminaries and 206 associated preparatory schools.[21]

In the United Kingdom, the „new" training colleges or normal schools modelled themselves on this German pattern. In theory, the adoption of the college and rejection of the monitorial methods employed by the British and Foreign Schools Society, was an attempt to encompass a more professional and academically-oriented approach. In reality, however, although their pedagogy differed from the Monitorial colleges, they hedged their practices with many of the disciplinary techniques inherited from their predecessor and, in fact, intensified their deployment of regulatory powers and control. The newly established colleges provided by the Home and Colonial Society and those introduced in Glasgow and Battersea in the 1830s are examples of such institutions. As the two latter were particularly influential on the setting up of New Zealand"s training colleges, they will be explained in a little more detail.

As stated previously, it is not surprising that it was Stow"s College in Glasgow and its similar institution, the Free Church Training College of Edinburgh, that provided significant models for the early Otago settlers, themselves originating from Scotland. Dissatisfied with the British Foreign School Society"s efforts at training instructors from the monitorial system, Stow introduced his revolutionary "Simultaneous System" of instruction at his Glasgow Normal Seminary whereby pupils were taught together as a collective, as well as individually (the latter was a characteristic of the monitorial system). This made possible the ranking of pupils where they could be assigned positions that corresponded to their function as individuals as well as to their value as members in the educational collective. Stow designed a new educational space and new ways of testing and assessing pupils to facilitate the ranking process. Foucault refers to these various judgements techniques as "*an ensemble of compulsory alignments*" in which "*each pupil, according to his age, his performance, his behaviour, occupies sometimes one rank, sometimes another*".[22] It was this assigning of pupils to individual locations within the classroom that "*made possible the supervision of each individual and the simultaneous work of all.*"[23]

These techniques were new and largely attributable to Stow; however, other supposedly innovative disciplinary methods implemented by him in order to organise time and space, were slightly-reshaped relics of the monitorial system. They were also employed in other social institutions. Adopted by colleges such as that in Edinburgh, they ensured that the institutions became not only "*learning machines*" but also machines "*for supervising, hierarchising, rewarding*".[24] The inevitable result of categorising and organising pupils and student teachers led to an educational obsession with defining the norm and nowhere is this more evident than in the training of teachers. The early colleges were referred to as „nomal" schools as they provided a „type" or „norm" to which individuals could aspire. They were schools in which the training rendered trainees normalised so that they became average, standardised and homogenous. Rich explains the common use of the word "Normal" within the teacher training context, it

> *… is significant of an „idol" of the training college – the idea that there exists some norm or type in teaching, and the nearer the teacher comes to that norm the better will his teaching be. It is this conception that explains the popularity of the model school, which was looked upon as the concrete embodiment of the norm so far as the school as an institution was concerned, whilst the teaching of the master of method was to be regarded as the norm in the technique of classroom teaching.*[25]

Foucault argues this point more forcibly when he asserts that "*the Normal is established as a principle of coercion in teaching with the introduction of a standardised education and the establishment of the ecoles normales (teachers" training colleges)*". He maintains that normality indicates (through a wide range of degrees), "*membership of a homogenous social body*" in which the individual is, paradoxically, classified, hierarchised and ranked:

> *In a sense, the power of normalisation imposes homogeneity; but it individualises by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialities and to render the differences useful by fitting them one to another. It is easy to understand how the power of the norm functions within a system of formal equality, since within a homogeneity that is the rule, the norm introduces, as a*

useful imperative and as a result of measurement, all the shading of individual differences.[26]

His remarks on the normalised procedures and rituals of the colleges show remarkable perspicacity; the apparent contradiction of their use in achieving a cohesive and homogenous society by separating out those of difference through ranking, selecting and testing, is very apparent in Chapters 4 and 5 which highlight these as dominant ritual practices in the normal schools and colleges.

Stow"s ideas on normal training for teachers soon attracted a wide following. His system consisted of a combined period of apprenticeship with a further period of formal training at a normal school (training college) and this resulted in proclamations by historians such as Rich, that *"the most significant element in the victory of the simultaneous „over the monitorial" method was the realisation that the culture and skill of the teacher were of supreme importance in a national system of education."*[27] The addition of a college component to the apprenticeship, illustrates that he was probably amongst the first to realise that an apprenticeship alone was not sufficient to fully acculturate the trainee into the culture and knowledge of the teaching body and that van Gennep"s three-tier rite of passage was essential. This rite of passage *"theoretically includes preliminal rites (rites of separation), liminal rites (rites of transition), and postliminal rites (rites of incorporation)."*[28] Stow evidences a remarkable manifestation of all three of these phases in his view that trainees needed a period of separation from their previous environment in order to be made fully amenable towards their new environment. Transition to the new society should involve immersion in the rituals, ceremonies and practices of the new institution in order that its knowledge and values are fully incorporated – this constitutes the period of training. During this period, Stow"s concept of the *"sympathy of numbers"*[29] is called into play. Stow defines this as the effect (for good or evil) of a community, crowd, or closely knit group upon an individual"s behaviour. He explains that within the new community the individual: *"instantly finds himself in a new region and free from his old temptations – he catches the moral atmosphere of the place – and by the influence of sympathy, gradually and imperceptibly to himself, imitates their example".*[30] The practices and ceremonies experienced during this period of acculturation helps teachers to acquire a new consciousness and set of behaviours which result from absorbing the values and mores

of their new society of teachers. This results in profound loyalty to the college and to the educational system in which they are situated. This transitional process was critical to the cultivation of loyalty and obedience to the state and was instrumental to a society wishing to improve its social and moral fabric.

Stow‟s attempt to move away from standardisation, religious indoctrination and the mechanical application of a rigid, methods-driven monitorial system, led to the growing belief that not only was the raising of standards essential, a new type of teacher, with a hugely expanded role, was necessary.[31] This role was rooted in Stow‟s belief that the trained teacher was first and foremost, a moral reformer who, alone, could "*counteract the fact that pupils are taught in the school and trained in the streets*".[32] This amplified the moral and educational role of the teacher and a new teacher identity was inaugurated: one that realised the value of teacher training as,

> *… primarily concerned with ethical techniques; considerations of curriculum content occupied a secondary role. The new strategy made the teacher into an irresistible ethical image whose magnetic attraction would transform the progeny of the labouring classes into ethical subjects responsive to a bio-power.*[33]

A specifically designed architecture was fashioned to enhance this new role. The advent of the architectural forms of the playground or "uncovered classroom", gallery and classroom are attributed to Stow and these physical symbols of the teacher‟s new role were quickly absorbed into Kay-Shuttleworth‟s vision. R. Selleck maintains that the incorporation of these three innovative architectural features (the classroom, the playground and the gallery), as articulated by Kay-Shuttleworth in his Reports on Education, "*were the outward and visible signs of the new vision of education which Kay saw in Glasgow in 1837*".[34] Space and school furniture were prominent features of the new technology. Kay-Shuttleworth meticulously crafted, designed and measured classroom accessories to reflect the new pedagogy: these are explained in further detail in Chapter 5. This inevitably influenced the training of teachers as they had to be prepared to implement a new, expanded role, both morally and intellectually.

Kay-Shuttleworth was also heavily influenced by the residential colleges on the Continent, especially by his visit in 1839 to the two Swiss teacher training colleges of

E. de Fellenberg and J. J. Vehrli. Kay-Shuttleworth used these as a pattern for the design of his own Normal School (later converted into a College) at Battersea in 1840. The Swiss training centres consisted of a school, agricultural school and normal school, and courses consisted of academic instruction, professional training and manual training on the same site.[35] Kay-Shuttleworth was anxious to provide teachers for the growing numbers of children who had migrated to the manufacturing towns. This led him to propose a national, state-provided training college (or normal school), model school and day school together on one campus. He defined two different regimes: one for teacher trainees and one for pupils. The normal school provided general and religious instruction for teacher trainees in a residential institution: the model school section furnished for pupils "*an example after which other schools may be created*" and was also organised so that the teaching candidate could "*practise his art and thus acquire the habits*" of the theory taught in the normal school.[36]

Like Stow, Kay-Shuttleworth envisaged a new type of teacher who would prevent a social crisis and halt an impending social revolution. The complexities of this new role necessitated new technologies within a highly controlled setting and this demanded an ethical transformation of the teacher.[37] To the image of teacher as moral reformer proposed by Stow, Kay-Shuttleworth added an ethic of service (shown towards those in a higher social class) and paternalism (shown towards those from a lower social class). As the majority of trainees were working class in origin, Kay-Shuttleworth designed a totally segregated community which cut all ties to their past. This resembled a large family within which he could exemplify to the trainees how to live, act and think. His emphasis on transferring the norms of paternalism to the trainees was clearly apparent with frequent references to teachers as „fathers" of the peasant classes,

> *How easy it would be for him to form an overweaning estimate of his knowledge and ability. He will find himself suddenly raised by a brief course of training to the position of a teacher and example. The discipline of the Training School should prepare him to be modestly respectable… He has to be prepared for a humble and subordinate position, and though master of his school, to his scholars he is able to be a parent, and to his superiors an intelligent servant and minister.[38]*

The metaphor of the college community as a family with the Principal as father was to be a persistent one and it resurfaced generations later in the early colleges of New Zealand. There appeared an uneasy tension between educating teachers sufficiently to do a satisfactory job of instructing (and controlling) the masses on one hand, and ensuring they did not receive an education superior to their middle-class counterparts on the other. The dangers of elevating teachers above their social station were frequently articulated by the general public. In order to counteract this criticism, Kay-Shuttleworth consistently emphasised the values of humility and service and consistently iterated the perennial catchcry that teachers *"should go forth into the world humble, industrious and instructed"*.[39] These, incidentally, were to be identical characteristics to those articulated in the mission statement of New Zealand‟s first training college, almost 100 years later.

The period of training at an institution was perceived as a time of transition during which trainees would be transformed into individuals who acquired sound work habits and who accepted their role as servants in the teaching service. Teachers themselves wished to be considered in terms of „civil servants‟. The term „teaching service‟, rather than „teaching profession‟, was frequently referred to and was evidenced in New Zealand as late as the 1950s. The common root of the word „servus‟ (Latin for „slave‟) used here reveals a narrative that guarantees the reproduction of an intact ruling elite, who, through their superior position in the social hierarchy, exercise authority over more subordinate, servant-teachers.

Kay-Shuttleworth‟s reference to the „discipline‟ of a training college in the above quotation is interesting here in that it coincides with the views of Foucault who also considered such training institutions as disciplinary regimes. The word „discipline‟ itself, as used by Foucault, has the dual meaning of (i) academic subject knowledge and, (ii) the exercising of macro and micro physics of power through the imposition of penalties to enforce control. It is therefore particularly pertinent to this context.[40] Battersea College was certainly a place of disciplined regularity, timetables and routines for both the boys and the masters: the following extract details their exacting daily routine:

The students rose at half-past five and did household work until quarter to seven, when they were marched to the five-acre garden. After an hour's work among its rubbish, withered grass and weeds, they marched to the toolhouse, left their implements, washed and assembled for prayer in a specially prepared hall at eight o'clock. A passage of scripture was read, a psalm chanted or a hymn sung, and prayers were said, often from a collection prepared by the Bishop of London. They breakfasted at half-past eight and studied from nine until twelve when they returned to the garden for an hour. Dinner was from one till two and, after another hour in the garden, the boys worked in their classes until five. Yet another hour in the garden followed. They had supper at six o'clock, and returned to class, working by dim candle-light from seven till nine when evening prayers were read. Then they went to bed.[41]

This description is practically identical to that of prison life described by Foucault in which he states that various disciplinary instruments were used to redefine individuals: these include,

Forms of coercion, schemata of constraint, applied and repeated. Exercises, not signs: timetables, compulsory movement, regular activities, solitary meditations, work in common, silence, application, respect, good habits. And ultimately what one is trying to restore in these techniques of correction is ... the obedient subject, the individual subjected to habits, rules, orders, an authority that is exercised continually around him and upon him, and which he must allow to function automatically in him.[42]

Foucault's conclusion that the "*prison, though an administrative apparatus* [was] *at the same time, a machine for altering minds*,"[43] was equally applicable to Kay-Shuttleworth's training college and, as will be shown in the next chapter, to later training colleges in New Zealand. Such regimes necessitated a close relationship between trainees and those in authority over them: both were closely immersed in and intimately connected to the power being exercised: one the executor, the other the recipient. This is probably the chief reason why Kay-Shuttleworth ensured that the masters experienced the same daily realities as the trainees in their care. Continued

surveillance and an absolute removal from their original environment were critical components of a successful transition. Selleck explains:

Being in residence, Kay's students and their teachers were removed from the distracting and mercenary lures of the outside world. The prayers, the sermons, the labour, the excursions, the meticulous timetable, the meals in common, the determination to ensure that the „example of the master shall insensibly inform the habits of the scholar", the controlled leisure, the ubiquitous principal – everything was shaped towards the formation of character. The Training School was a total institution, though its model was not the asylum or gaol, whose inmates are hidden away or punished. It had a clear moral and social purpose, the defence of a social order Kay perceived to be under threat.[44]

Learning from individuals such as Stow and Kay-Shuttleworth that a regulated rite of passage within an enclosed college institution was necessary to a docile teaching body, state intervention into teacher training gathered momentum. This resulted in several other colleges springing up, not only in England but also in America.

The establishment of normal schools occurred in America about the same time as those in Britain. For example, in Massachusetts, J. Herbst informs us that four normal schools were set up between 1839 and 1854. In both countries, the advent of grants and other financial support to aid in the building of such institutions became available. The need to socialise teachers and instil in them an ethic of benign paternalism, tempered with loyal obedience to the state, was also apparent in the formative stages of American teacher training. Indeed, the expressed aim of early Massachusetts" educators was identical: *"schoolmasters should be pious, and discreet and unshakeably loyal to the state"*.[45] Like England, Massachusetts was wrestling with the increased influence of industrialisation and desperately needed a supply of trained teachers for their common and rural schools in the mould of the Prussian ideal. The normalisation of trainees through their establishment of normal schools was an essential element of teacher acculturation and, likewise, meant that the trainee population had to be controlled, examined and observed in order to achieve this aim.

To briefly summarise this section: during this era, the theory of a new training programme was initiated in both England and America. It was based on a new technology of ethical self-transformation and encoded a new vision of the teacher which combined the old role of moral missionary with that of father-instructor who was obedient and loyal to the state. It created a new educational space and testing apparatus that could not only rank trainees, but could also describe their worth in terms of economic and social usefulness. Trainees had to become domesticated and acculturised so that they could imbibe and articulate the same views as those in authority. This theory was seductive to a state wishing to control and prescribe what teachers know and do. In order to enact this theory, teachers had to become subjects in their own making. This necessitated a period of segregation where they were objectified and rendered „nomal‟ through a variety of practices and exposure to desirable values and knowledge: this process would lead to kinship with and loyalty to the teacher community. This new technology could only be achieved through a rite of passage which took place in a training institution. This rationale was not fully acknowledged in New Zealand until the early years of the 20th century.

c) The Pupil-Teacher System

The pupil-teacher system compromised the whole strategy of reform proposed by the state via the training colleges, therefore its influence had to be reduced. On its own, the pupil-teacher system could never hope to fulfil the ambition of assimilating trainee teachers: the system was too scattered, individualised and disjointed. It could not provide the highly controlled curriculum and regimented setting of the college essential to such a project. The permanent recodification of the mind was undoubtedly one of Kay-Shuttleworth‟s reasons for advocating full control of pupil-teachers within a college setting. Such a transformation would prove difficult without continued surveillance and monitoring.

Rich maintains that the pupil-teacher system in England arose from three major influences: existing practices in Holland, earlier initiatives in London, and a logical extension of the ubiquitous monitorial system which was rapidly becoming unpopular.[46] Added to these must be Stow‟s Simultaneous System. However, whilst these influences are acknowledged, it was much more than this. It was the result of *"a new technique for taking charge of the time of individual existences; for regulating the relations of time,*

bodies and forces; for assuring an accumulation of duration; and for turning to ever-increasing profit or use the movement of passing time." [47] This was an era when every second of an individual"s life (and this applied especially to those in subordinate positions) had to be controlled and turned to profit. Pupil teachers were such individuals – they worked as they trained, thereby demonstrating that they were useful as well as being recipients of local, contextualised knowledge. Disciplinary time was imposed upon pedagogical practice. The apprentice teacher was given a specialised and individualised form of on-the-job training in which she was both pupil and teacher. Daily, weekly and yearly training was transmitted, received and examined: this led to the issuing of qualifications within a set period of time. All of these elements were present in the vision of Kay-Shuttleworth who introduced the pupil-teacher system of training teachers into England.

In his autobiographical account, Kay-Shuttleworth claims credit for inventing the concept of a pupil-teacher system, a claim that has been disputed by educational historians ever since. [48] They claim that prior to his „invention", he visited and was exposed to the strong tradition of the pupil-teacher system on the Continent. Holland, in particular, had set up a pupil-teacher system in 1800 which consisted of an apprenticeship system for teacher trainees around 14 years of age. Unlike the pupil who became a monitor, the apprenticed pupil-teacher acted as assistants during the school day and received instruction in the evening. Once normal colleges were set up, apprentices received additional instruction in school subjects and moral precepts at these institutions. They also undertook supervised teaching practice at nearby schools and students usually qualified to teach at the age of around 22 years of age. However, Kay-Shuttleworth disputes that this system was the inspiration for his scheme. He maintains that when he had been the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, before becoming Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education in 1839, he organised workhouse schools for "pauper children" and the idea of his pupil-teacher system was seeded at that time. [49] His pupil-teachers were *"apprenticed for a term of five years"* and had to undergo a half-yearly examination in several curriculum areas and in approved methods of instruction. They were also expected to demonstrate classroom organisational skills and the ability to discipline a class of children. He *"procured teachers from Mr Wood"s Edinburgh Sessional School, and from Mr Stow"s schools in Glasgow, now the Free Church Training College"* and provided *"schoolmasters with*

improved knowledge of method, a better organised and disciplined school, new desks, books and apparatus were placed in each school to engage the children in humble learning, religion and industry".[50]

Like Stow before him, Kay-Shuttleworth followed a pattern of acculturation set down by van Gennep. He insisted on making a complete break from the outside world in order to completely recodify the pupil-teacher"s identity and initiate him/her into a new and more acceptable way of life. This could not be done by an apprenticeship alone – he therefore appended a period of college training and, after establishing his Training School at Battersea College, his pupil-teachers spent three years in residence at the college and worked as pupil-teachers at the local village school. The new world of the college community ensured strict compliance with a set of conditions that regulated what the pupil-teachers did, how they acted, behaved and thought. His college, like subsequent training colleges, were omni-disciplinary; they assumed responsibility for all aspects of an individual"s life and this included both physical and mental training; everyday behaviour, dress and conduct; measuring potential aptitude for teaching; enforcing correct moral attitudes and dispositions; and transmitting appropriate knowledge and skills. All vestiges of the pupil-teacher"s previous existence were removed in order to rescue them *"from their own class of ignorance and vice".[51]* All of these factors were critical to the ethical and moral transformation of the pupil-teacher.

Kay-Shuttleworth enshrined the pupil-teacher system into English educational policy in 1846 through the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education.[52] On successful completion of their training, pupil-teachers could become eligible for a Queen"s Scholarship. This provided reimbursement for two years of specialised teacher training at one of the new training colleges. The result of this was, theoretically at least, a lengthy and expensive seven-year training period. It was this lengthy and fairly vigorous 5 + 2 model (five years of indenture plus two years at a training institution) that was favoured by the Otago settlers when they looked for a suitable training model in Otago 20 years later.

Constant criticism has been levelled at Kay-Shuttleworth for developing a wieldy, examination-dominated and overly bureaucratic system. Despite this, it generally received praise and admiration from the public and from Her Majesty"s Inspectors. The

growth of the English pupil-teacher system was remarkable, rising from 3,580 to 15,224 between 1849 and 1859.[53] It was at the height of its popularity when New Zealand became interested in the system as a way of educating its own teachers.

d) University Provided Teacher Training

As teaching in the 1800s and 1900s was rarely considered a profession, the university never played a serious part in the archaeology of early teacher training, apart from an abortive, over-academic attempt by France in 1794.

A subsequent and more productive attempt at university-provided teacher training was made in the United States in 1857 and, as this created a precedent for a model that is presently one of the most advocated in present teacher education literature, it is worthy of further discussion. Also worth mentioning is the fact that whilst institutional histories of American university-provided ITE appear prolific, histories of normal schools and colleges are scant and little-researched.[54] Similar to the earlier Continental institutions, the first State Normal University was created in Illinois, America. Initially, this was regarded, to all intents and purposes, as a people''s college bringing education to the working classes, rather than as an elite institution providing an advanced education. Right from the start, despite the praiseworthy rhetoric of the founders, the three-year teacher education course was relegated to one of low status, ‚applied'' knowledge. Alongside its training for common school teachers, it also provided vocational courses which trained candidates to meet the needs of its agricultural and industrial workforce. Nevertheless, the founders were, "*determined to preserve the unity of the teaching profession and to elevate teacher training until it would include the best and the latest of new pedagogical insight and wisdom.*"[55] Possessing a model school and high school department, it provided training for teachers at elementary, intermediate and secondary level and "*offered opportunities for demonstration, practice and experimentation.*"[56]

The American Normal School Association, almost 20 years later, proposed that every university should incorporate a faculty of education and that every college or high school should have a professor of education. They proposed "*an all-inclusive system of scientific pedagogy…. topped in each State by one central State Normal University*".[57] This aimed at furnishing instruction for teacher educators who would eventually "*hold the chairs of pedagogy in universities, colleges and state normal schools, as also in the*

training schools, high schools and academies".[58] Whilst all of these proposals did not come to fruition, the Association's ideal of university-dominated teacher training did become successful with two visible effects. The first related to the dissemination of differentiated knowledge for teacher trainees. Once universities became involved in teacher preparation, pedagogically-focussed research and academic, scholarly work in teacher education became their exclusive province. Normal schools and colleges were largely excluded and retained a practical focus. Not only did this make it difficult for normal schools to attract secondary trainees, it also created a hierarchical structure with training for elementary teachers at the bottom, training for secondary teachers in the middle, and training for administrators, educational leaders, policy makers and teacher training lecturers at the apex. By the advent of the 20th century, the universities had firmly cemented their position at the top, thus reinforcing their high status. The second, inter-related outcome of the proposals, resulted in most secondary teachers receiving their university training at the Normal Universities. As secondary teachers were male, this aggravated the already noticeable gender division with male secondary teachers undergoing university training and female elementary teachers receiving training at a normal school. Only university-educated teachers were admitted into the ranks of the profession, hence women teachers (and rural teachers) were not regarded as professionals. It quickly became the prerogative of the male teachers to supervise and direct the work of the women teachers.[59]

Probably the most influential university institution in the archaeology of Westernised training during the first half of the 20th century was the Teachers' College at Columbia University; however, this gained its reputation from the more high status knowledge pursued through its in-service and post-graduate courses for experienced teachers. Early in its history, it left undergraduate courses to smaller, state universities and colleges.[60] W. Johnson informs us that most universities of the time aspired to this model.[61] In May, 1925, Wisconsin became the first place in the world to offer a Bachelor of Education degree through a four year course at a training college, recently converted from a normal school for this particular purpose.[62]

This move by America was the start of university control of teacher education in the Western world. University teacher training was never seriously contemplated in England at this time. Rich informs us that both Oxford and Cambridge, the two

established universities of the period, felt no obligation to participate in teacher training as they were not interested in providing a general education to the wider population. The two new universities of Durham and London were attempting to stake out their own educational ground and were therefore otherwise pre-occupied. University-provided teacher training was possible in Scottish universities as they were providing a more advanced education and had the facilities and expertise to implement it; however, it never actualised.[63] Although Harte states that the English universities were involved in teacher training before New Zealand decided upon its own route, this is not the case.[64] The involvement of the universities into teacher training only occurred in England a decade after New Zealand had inaugurated its pupil-teacher scheme with its concurrent university/training college study. The precedent for concurrent study was set in Scotland with the passing of its Education Act in 1872.[65] This policy was adopted, first by Otago and then by New Zealand as a whole, and it began a practice which lasted until the 1920s. It was later revived in the 1960s.

3. The Introduction of the Pupil-Teacher System into New Zealand

A major characteristic of New Zealand in the 19th century was a dependence on England for its population base, capital, technology and trading links.[66] Education was no exception and this section explores and examines why the English pupil-teacher system was implanted into the New Zealand context and later rejected as an unsuitable training technology as it did not meet the interventionist vision of an increasingly powerful state.

The section is comprised of four parts – the first outlines how New Zealand adapted the English technology of the pupil-teacher system to meet its own needs. The second section explains the devolved nature of the pupil-teacher system and how it came to be differentially distributed in the period leading up to the turn of the 20th century. The third section explores how the pupil-teacher system became the mainstay of teacher training until it fell out of political favour with a state whose imperative lay with enacting a multiplicity of techniques and regulatory mechanisms to ensure complete control of training. Contemporary arguments for and against the pupil-teacher system are also explained. The final section points out how the state manipulated the discourse in order to expose, and exaggerate, the faults inherent in a system of training over which it could exert little control.

a) The Principle of Continuity

In the latter half of the 19th Century qualified immigrant teachers, pupil-teachers and uncertificated teachers provided the three major sources of teacher supply in New Zealand, with a major reliance on the first. When the cost and supply of importing teachers could not keep up with the insistent demand, many Provinces decided to become self-sufficient and train their own teachers. Looking to England and Scotland for inspiration, the pupil-teacher system was selected as a viable, manageable and expedient solution to the growing crisis of teacher shortage. Once implemented, the pupil-teacher system endured in New Zealand‟s training archaeology for over 60 years. It reached its zenith at the end of the 19th century (1880-1890) when pupil-teachers accounted for over one-third of the national teaching force.[67] It was finally abolished in the late 1920s. The importation of overseas teacher training methods, rather than the development of an indigenous theory more suited to the needs of an antipodean colony, well illustrated the dominance of *"the principle of cultural continuity"*. This term was coined by A. E. Campbell when he concluded that the influence of England, *"played a greater part in forming the education system of New Zealand than did the geographical principle of adaptation to a new environment"*.[68] It was certainly this principle that underscored the adoption of the pupil-teacher system as a training technology.

The pupil-teacher model employed in New Zealand was selected on various criteria; primarily it was regarded as a quick and effective means of supplying teachers for a burgeoning education system. It was also suited to the ideologically pragmatic tenor of the time: in order to teach the majority of new, immigrant working class and lower middle class children, it was thought desirable that the social origins of the teacher should be similar. The progress of societies and the genesis of individuals demanded new techniques of power and new ways of administering time and making it useful. Young pupils could be shaped into docile bodies while extracting maximum profitability from them as contributors to the teaching workforce. Apprenticeships such as pupil-teacherships were built on such techniques. This was one of the reasons why teaching was conceived as a trade, rather than a profession and this view dictated an industrial, „workshop‟ mode of training.

Paradoxically, one of New Zealand"s major motivations for the introduction of a general system of elementary education was the foundation of a new, rural-based (rather than industrial) economy and the formation of a more democratic and egalitarian society.[69] Surprisingly, this superimposing of an industrial model of training upon a homogeneous and predominantly rural colony appears to have been very successful. It seems that the pupil-teacher system appeared to adapt effectively to the widely contrasting educational rationales of England and New Zealand. Whilst the aspirations of the European and British aristocracy were aimed at cementing their rigid, hierarchical social structure through a new compulsory education system, New Zealand"s educational rationale was based on the predication that social mobility could be achieved through education. The latter applied not only to the nation"s children but also to its teacher trainees. The pupil-teacher system played an instrumental role in this.

The rudiments of the apprenticeship model were easily integrated into the colonial mentality. The highly respected tradition of the apprenticeship for the working classes had a long and creditable history and was regarded as an honourable initiation into a worthwhile occupation. The apprentice teacher would work under a master teacher for a period of four to six years as in the English model; this would include instruction and guided experience and would conclude with a qualifying examination. This provided pupil-teachers with a credentialing qualification which would enable them to become teachers in their own right. This model incorporated features such as the selection of teacher candidates on merit, an apprenticeship for a minimum period of three years, the receipt of a fuller, liberal education and a focus on method and practical aspects of teaching. In explaining such models, Foucault states,

> *We find here the characteristics of guild apprenticeship: the relation of dependence on the master that is both individual and total; the statutory duration of the training, which is concluded by a qualifying examination, but which is not broken down into a precise programme; an overall exchange between a master who must give his knowledge and the apprentice who must offer his services, his assistance and often some payment.*[70]

It was the imprecise and individualised nature of such a system that led early New Zealand educators in Otago and Canterbury to propose an additional period of college

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training to the apprenticeship scheme. Here, pupil-teachers would receive a specific programme of instruction on the theoretical principles of education. This meant that a long, five or six year period of training leading to formal certification was envisaged.

Foucault maintains that this was the period when a new technique for "*regulating the relations of time, bodies and forces was occurring.*"[71] Such control could be harnessed for maximum capital profit and answered the questions "*How can one capitalise the time of individuals, accumulate it in each of them in their bodies, in their forces or in their abilities, in a way that is susceptible of use and control?*"[72] With regard to teacher training, the appending of a normal school training provided the requisite machinery for fully capitalising time and efficient use of individuals. It included: the breaking up of the period of training into specific segments of time – each with a precise start and end; providing separate and progressive instruction for novices and veterans; not allowing an individual to pass to the next stage of instruction until the preceding one had been completed; organising the steps of instruction into a structured and sequential plan from the most simple to the most complex; attaching a duration of time to each step; and concluding each with an examination which ensured that the individual had reached the required level. This amplification and systematisation of the instructional process was almost impossible to control in an apprenticeship model and, although the original intent of several early educators was to supplement training with the technology of the training college, most Provinces were unable or unwilling to bear the additional costs incurred. They believed this to be the responsibility of the state, thus the pupil-teacher scheme was restricted in many Provinces to the practical, on-the-job part of the training minus the college component. Consequently, a full induction to teaching was not provided.

The initial development of the pupil-teacher system depended heavily on the geographical, social and political context in which it was situated and, prior to the Education Act of 1877, different regions provided education in different ways. As the following discussion illustrates, this led to a high degree of fragmentation.

b) Differential Provision

With the establishment of the Provincial Government in 1852 which resulted in each Province providing its own independently functioning education system with its own

Education Ordnances, came the control, regulation, organisation and funding of its teacher training provisions. These varied from region to region and included measures such as the importing or „poaching" of trained teachers from other Provinces or from overseas; prescribing detailed „standards" and regulations for teachers and pupil-teachers; examining, classifying and certificating teachers and pupil-teachers; half-yearly inspections; making provision for evening and weekend classes; establishing pupil-teacher, probationer or teacher assistant systems; and providing training at normal schools or training colleges.[73] These policy moves came in an era where minute details were frequently given priority over the bigger educational picture and they reveal practices enmeshed in a minutiae of details on educational training and pedagogy:

> *The meticulousness of the regulations, the fussiness of the inspections, the supervision of the smallest fragment of life and of the body, will soon provide, in the context of the school, the barracks, the hospital or the workshop, a laicized content, an economic or technical rationality for this mystical calculus of the infinitesimal and the infinite.*[74]

This also included the teacher training system. The content and purpose of training brought with it "*a whole corpus of methods and knowledge, descriptions and plans.*"[75] Although each Province formulated unique methods and details of training for their teachers, most advocated a political anatomy of detail which featured disciplinary techniques in the art of „correct" training. Characteristics of this included inspecting, classifying, sorting and measuring trainees through hierarchical observations, the use of grades and normalising judgements and the examination. Inherent in the training process was surveillance: this was defined and regulated by every Province.

Not all Provinces could afford to implement the lengthy 4-6 year pupil-teacher training scheme (apprenticeship followed by college) operating in England. However, two Provinces possessed both the material and ideological conditions necessary for this: Otago and Canterbury.[76] These Provinces, despite experiencing difficulties which precipitated the Tancred Report, were ripe for educational development with their increased wealth, burgeoning population and expanding school programmes. They were the first regions in New Zealand to implement a pupil-teacher system in 1865 and 1871, respectively, by developing the necessary educational infrastructure and economic

sustainability.[77] Within eight years of their arrival, Otago settlers had established ten schools, set up a Provincial Council which resulted in the Otago Education Scheme and paid the fares of professional teachers from England and Scotland to staff their schools. The first four female pupil-teachers arrived from England in 1864 to take up appointments in Otago and they were the first to mark the introduction of the pupil-teacher scheme into New Zealand.[78]

Initially, Otago had little difficulty in attracting teachers, as it was able to pay them well and establish attractive working conditions. With the gold rush, the advent of the Pastoral Age and the expansion of the population, came the realisation that teacher supply was not keeping pace with demand. This became the catalyst for introducing their own pupil-teacher scheme.

Canterbury, likewise, had brought out considerable numbers of teachers with the first settlers but was also finding it difficult to source well qualified teachers.[79] In the same year as Otago, a Canterbury Education Ordnance made similar provision for each school district committee, with the permission of their Board, to,

> *...authorise the master of any school under the management of such Committee to engage and employ one or more apprentice pupil-teachers and to make and from time to time to alter rules and regulations for the examination, training and employment of such pupil-teachers*".[80]

The ubiquitous examination was given an extraordinarily privileged place in the selection of pupil teachers and lay at the core of the training systems. In discussing the institution of the school at this time, Foucault contends that it *"became a sort of apparatus of uninterrupted examinations that duplicated along its austere length the operation of teaching"*; he adds, *"the examination did not simply mark the end of an apprenticeship, it was one of its permanent factors; it was woven into it through a constantly repeated ritual of power."*[81] This was exactly the case with the pupil-teacher who was receiving her training at the site of the school. Canterbury reiterated Otago"s request for the initiation of a pupil-teacher scheme and *"the establishment of a Normal Training School for the whole Colony"*.[82] Interestingly, both Provinces requested that a Normal School be provided by the state, this was to reverse a future demand for Board

control and maintenance. Either way, they viewed the normalising influence of the college as an indispensable requirement for pupil-teachers upon completion of their apprenticeship in order that they could receive *"instruction in school management"* and *"acquire a knowledge of the best methods of communicating to their pupils instruction in the ordinary branches taught in school."*[83] The first of four normal schools was opened in Dunedin in February, 1876. This was swiftly followed by Christchurch (1877), Wellington (1880), and Auckland (1881),[84] although the two latter were forced to close down until 1906.

The pragmatic ideals of economic efficiency coincided with educational ideals of professional competence as reasons for the introduction of pupil-teaching into the archaeology of New Zealand's training system. J. P. Restell, Inspector of Schools, exemplified the embodiment of both concepts when he carefully outlined the cost to the Province of both the system and the remuneration paid to the teacher which was based on payment-by-results (as indicated by the half-yearly examination results of the pupil-teacher). He further suggested that for every school of over forty pupils there should be at least one pupil-teacher apprenticed to the schoolmaster – this should rise to three pupil-teachers for a class of over 100 pupils. The pupil-teacher pay scales ascended from £20 in the first year to £50 in the fifth (£16 to £40 for females). He adds *"Candidates for pupil-teachership are selected from the youth of either sex at the age when most scholars leave school, about their thirteenth year. Their term of service in England lasts for four or five years, their services being secured for the full term by articles of apprenticeship."* At the same time, he takes their training and examination seriously by recommending that only teachers with a "*higher class of certificate*" should be "*entrusted with the charge of pupil-teachers*".[85] Certificates and awards to successful pupil-teachers were obtained through successful examination and assessment of their practice. This ensured a transmission of knowledge and pedagogical practice that was considered satisfactory: it was also an exercise in disciplinary power as it constituted the individual as both a subject and an object of power. Restell maintained that the duties of the pupil-teacher (including training) should consist of teaching for five hours every day and also assisting the master with tasks "*conducive to discipline, neatness and order. The pupil-teacher is not a half-time assistant, learning for half the day and teaching for the other half. He will have ample time for lessons from the teacher and for private study out of school hours.*"[86]

A great deal may be detected from Restell's statement about the educational aspirations of both the Canterbury and Otago settlers. Their ideas on teacher training closely resembled Kay-Shuttleworth's pupil-teacher model of five years apprenticeship plus two years of formal, college training. A long period of compulsory training under the tutelage of a highly qualified master-teacher was envisaged. It is interesting to note that the more theoretical training proposed made reference to a museum or school of science as sites of further training – this could have been precipitated by the recent emphasis on the new „science" of education. With surprising prescience, Restell issued the warning that pupil-teachers" training would be incomplete without an advanced college training. J. Hislop, Otago's Inspector of Schools, reinforced the importance of such normal school training when he reported,

> *However well the pupil-teachers may be taught during the course of their apprenticeship it is highly desirable that they should be required to devote some time to a systematic course of study at a training institution before setting out on their own account as masters and mistresses of schools.*[87]

Provincialist demands for a national training institution never eventuated and Otago took matters into its own hands by instituting its own normal school in 1876.

In contrast, the North Island Provinces were still struggling with education and *"were conspicuously lacking in funds, and policy."*[88] When speaking in Parliament, Premier William Fox stated that although one half of the colony's schools and training of teachers was in excellent condition and should not be interfered with, education in most parts of the North Island was neglected. He quoted the example of Auckland,

> *When Auckland, at a time of great depression, was reduced to the necessity of discharging its schoolmasters, who had been engaged during the period of previous prosperity, it was not that less interest was taken in the subject of education but it was because there was no money. That has not been the case with the South".*[89]

In Provinces such as Auckland and Wellington, it became frequent practice to omit the college part of the training, hence leaving the apprenticeship component theoretically unsupported. The inevitable upshot of this was that pupil-teachers received only one

part of the two-part training scheme envisaged by early educational policy makers; this was to become problematic in the future.

In order to impose some form of advanced instruction and normalisation in the absence of a normal school, provision was made for collective instruction of groups of pupil-teachers in the evenings or on Saturday mornings: these became a regular feature in some regions. The provision of a thin layer of theoretical „icing" on the apprenticeship cake also precipitated the advent of pupil-teacher centres. These became centres for the transmission of knowledge in a controlled setting and they attempted to impose some form of homogenisation and uniformity on the teachers and pupil-teachers who attended. The centre in Wellington provided such a venue:

> *The system of massing the pupil-teachers, within the city, and appointing instructors who may be considered to have specialised qualifications to impart an accurate knowledge of the subject assigned to them, each instructor being responsible for the work done in his particular branch of study has proved satisfactory.*[90]

These were similar to the pupil-teacher centres that had evolved in England for the very same reasons. Indeed, in a paper delivered on the pupil-teacher system, H. A. Milnes, later to become Principal of Auckland's Training College, advocated such a centre in Auckland. He advised pupil-teachers to attend the centre for five half days a week in order to receive instruction in the subjects for the Teachers" „D" and „C" Certificates. The remainder of the time would be spent learning to teach in the *"twenty best schools"* of Auckland under the supervision of a competent Headmaster.[91] Although a centre possessing the formal status of those in Britain never eventuated, the pupil-teacher centres of instruction in New Zealand nevertheless provided supplementary instruction to that provided by head-teachers. The pupil-teacher centres in England had experimented,

> *… with new forms of instructing pupil-teachers collectively rather than individually, providing facilities for all the pupil-teachers in a town or region to receive their academic and professional instruction outside of their practice schools. At first collective instruction for pupil teachers took place in central*

classes which were mainly operated in the early mornings, evenings and at weekends. Eventually by the late 1880s and early 1890s many of these small scale classes had evolved into fully fledged permanent and highly organised pupil-teacher centres, with their own designated staff. Evening and weekend instruction was, in many cases phased out and replaced with a half-time day system, whereby pupil teachers spent equal amounts of time at school, engaged in practical teaching activities, and in the centres where they received academic and some professional instruction.[92]

W. Robinson maintains that these centres not only raised the professional status of teachers which resulted in higher academic standards, they also reduced the workload of the teacher-instructors. Pupil-teacher centres, as such, were not officially legislated into New Zealand‟s ITE policy. Most Provinces attempted to solve the lack of pupil-teachers‟ advanced training by tightening the regulations governing the amount of instruction they received. For example, J. Hislop, Secretary of The Otago Education Board and Inspector of Schools, stipulated the amount and time of instruction and strongly advised attendance at music and art classes held in Dunedin.[93]

By the turn of the 20th century, the provinces of Otago and Canterbury, in particular, were rapidly growing their systems of public education and were implementing a robust pupil-teacher system. Other areas were not making the same progress.

c) Contemporary Arguments Relating to the Pupil-Teacher System
In most educational debates, there are protagonists and antagonists. This was the case with the pupil-teacher system and two conflicting reports indicate this polarity. They were made in the same year by different Inspectors of Schools. The first from R. Foulis, (Wanganui) states:

Judicious choice and careful supervision have done much to raise our pupil-teacher staff to its present important place in our school economy. Natural fitness and efficiency, in practically dealing with classes, are qualifications possessed by most of our pupil-teachers. They have a turn for teaching and like it.[94]

Whilst the second from R. J. O‟Sullivan (Auckland) declares:

The pupil-teacher system is not suited to the requirements of the day and it should only be adopted when classes for instruction of young teachers cannot be formed.[95]

These two quotations highlight two contradictory discourses with very different political visions of what constituted a teacher and how he/she should be trained. Whilst the first view dominated the teacher education discourse prior to the 1900s, the second eventually over-rode it. The first position maintained that the pupil-teacher system prepared apprentices well for teaching. In this model, the pupil-teacher was only partially assimilated into a particular, context-bound world and the pupil-teacher remained in the world of the secular or "profane".[96] A rite of passage was present in this apprenticeship model; however its assimilation effects were weaker than that articulated in the second position. The second view centred on the necessity of a collective and fully assimilative model of training at a training college. It iterated the view that the pupil-teacher system was not meeting the country"s educational needs and that only the training college could ensure the acquisition of a desired teacher identity. This controlled rite of passage would allow trainees to graduate successfully into the „sacred" society of teachers.[97]

In attempting to answer the question regarding why the state abandoned the apprenticeship model in favour of the college model, it is argued here that a training system based on disparity and individualisation (the result of different policy and practice at both the micro-level of the school site and the macro-level of Provincial provision), could never realistically achieve a teaching body that was cohesive, homogenous and trained to deliver a national curriculum based on the new „Science" of Education. Transmission of appropriate knowledge to schools could only be effected through a teaching service which complied with the state"s directives. Training could only serve this purpose if it met the three following requirements:

i)   it carefully pre-selected candidates who showed the necessary entry requirements of malleability, humility and aptitude;

ii)   it trained, monitored and examined them in content, methods and pedagogy that conformed to the state"s prescription;

iii)   it aimed at an ethical transformation of students: this necessitated a rite of passage in a highly controlled setting which prepared them for a new social and moral role in society.

Both van Gennep and Foucault agree that such training necessitates a whole new regime of power, order and the imposition of disciplinary techniques best administered in a separate, enclosed institutional setting. Such enclosure is the "*protected place of disciplinary monotony*."[98] Colleges are cited by Foucault as examples in which the monastic model is gradually superimposed and where "*boarding appeared as the most perfect, if not the most frequent, educational regime*."[99] Within such institutions, he maintains, all potential workers are assembled under the same roof to protect them from disturbance or distraction and the supervisor maintains close scrutiny of all their doings.[100] The training colleges, particularly in the early decades of the 20th century, aspired to such a model and although not managing to obtain residential status, despite frequent pleas from the college principals, eventually acquired residential hostels for students in the late 1920s. The pupil-teacher system could not meet these new challenges and it was therefore in the state"s interests to discredit and denigrate it whilst extolling the virtues of the college. That this necessitated a complete reversal of views did not appear to be an issue. Not only did the state desire college training as a principal way of training its neophyte teachers, teachers themselves wished to embrace what they perceived to be a more „professional" and thorough level of preparation in the colleges; they therefore disassociated themselves from the trade connotations of the apprenticeship model. As a consequence, their views endorsed those of the state. It is hardly surprising that the pupil-teacher system faltered and was finally displaced by the centralised colleges. Whether this was warranted is the subject of subsequent discussion. Arguments supporting and opposing the system will now be examined more closely.

(i) Arguments Justifying the Pupil-Teacher System

The historical arguments supporting the pupil-teacher system ranged from economic expediency and social efficiency to rationales based on social justice, humanitarian ideals and education as an intrinsic benison. The pupil-teacher system was regarded by many as a quick and cost-effective means of supplying qualified teachers for the rapidly increasing number of new schools.[101] Whilst teachers were training, they were also providing labour in the classrooms at minimal cost.[102] Not all the advantages articulated were based on parsimony and expediency; for example, pursuing the ideals of a highly qualified teaching profession which would gradually lead to an educated society, and providing an enlightened democracy in which social and occupational mobility was possible, were also iterated, especially in the Southern Provinces of Otago and Canterbury. As predominantly Christian communities, early educators also concurred with Kay-Shuttleworth"s emphasis on social and moral reform through ensuring the good character, decency and respectability of future teachers. Keen endorses this when he maintains that early Otago settlers embodied *"the twin ideals of Scottish 19th Century culture which were at once pragmatic and idealistic."*[103]

Both ideals are highly visible in the early discourse on the early pupil-teacher system: while many stressed the provision of an educated teacher workforce, others emphasised the acquisition of a cheap and docile labour force. In fact, teachers were frequently perceived in terms of human capital and a *",resource" that had to be mined efficiently like iron or coal."*[104] Tancred draws attention to the highly unethical practice of *"poaching"* teachers. *"It was hardly fair to go to England for trained teachers. Every trained teacher in England represented a very large sum laid out on his education and training, and it was hardly fair for this colony to take away those teachers who represented a real money value."*[105]

Teachers and pupil-teachers were also viewed as instrumental in providing a skilled and socialised workforce critical to the emergence of an agricultural and industrial nation which was growing increasingly reliant on capitalist and state expansion. The provision of a full apprenticeship (which included a post-primary education), together with college training and the opportunity for concurrent university study, was intended to be a major building block in the achievement of a literate and well-informed society. As early as 1873, many pupil-teachers took advantage of this:

A considerable number of pupil-teachers took the Matriculation Examination of the New Zealand University, in addition to the examination provided by the Board's regulation. The Board is pleased to find that all of these passed the Matriculation Examination and they regard the fact as valuable, independent evidence of the sound education which the pupil-teachers as a body are receiving.[106]

Student teachers also benefitted personally from this advanced education. The partnership between the classroom, the colleges and the university may have been uneasy and problematic but it nevertheless consisted of a joint effort to train teachers; this lasted until the colleges gradually acquired hegemonic control from the late 1920s onwards.

During this period, a simple, linear and evolutionary view of social mobility was assumed and the pupil-teacher system was an officially sanctioned avenue to other occupations, such as clerical and commercial careers. This was actively encouraged for upper working class and lower middle class students: females in particular took advantage of opportunities offered by this. Such a route was evidenced in the content and examination of the training course which was literary and broad-based. Education became a credentialed commodity that was in high demand as growing number of professions *"required more advanced educational qualifications for entry"*.[107]

For many aspiring teachers, until the training colleges arrived, the pupil-teacher system was the only way to acquire any form of teacher training. The colleges were too expensive and too difficult to access geographically. When four training colleges were operating in 1881, the future of the colleges looked to be secure; however, only two were to remain operational for many years and both were in the South Island. Harte maintains that four colleges were financially unsustainable for such a small country as they were expected to pay staff salaries and students" maintenance allowances out of a total Department annual grant of £8000. An editorial in the 1882 edition of the Schoolmaster declared that three out of the four colleges were superfluous and believed them to be *"a useless incubus on our education system"*.[108] The article compared New Zealand"s expenditure on training colleges with that of England and found it almost double that of England"s. The article claimed that 42 colleges in England serviced a

population of 27,000,000 and the cost of training one student was £48 a head in 1880, this included tuition, boarding and other costs. The comparative cost in New Zealand (in 1881) involved four colleges which serviced a population of half of a million at a cost of $79 a head for tuition alone. For reasons of cost-effectiveness, therefore, many argued for the continuation and strengthening of the pupil-teacher system. Furthermore, colleges were not to be fully relied upon as they were forced to close down by the Government in times of financial hardship. The pupil-teacher system therefore provided accessibility, stability and continuity for the majority of pupil-teachers in the Colony.

Advocates of the pupil-teacher system were numerous. Several eminent educators graduated from the system and, viewed within its time, the quality of education was high.[109] This was largely due to the expanding pool of available, mainly female, pupil-teachers. Education Boards were quick to capitalise on the vast oversupply of women seeking teaching positions and new teacher-categories were invented in order to exploit the plentiful source of female labour. Arnold argues that the high standard of New Zealand education in the early decades of the 20th century can be attributed to the valuable input of its pool of highly qualified women teachers.[110]

The major attribute of the two-tiered pupil-teacher system of apprenticeship plus college was that, despite its limitations, it became the cornerstone of the national education system in New Zealand: one that compared very favourably with educational systems overseas according to the Tate Report in 1904.[111]

(ii) Arguments Contesting the Pupil-Teacher System

Arguments opposing the pupil-teacher system were plentiful, particularly in the latter years of its existence and, as stated earlier, underlying most of the arguments lay the state‟s determination to bring teacher training under central control. Many early critiques did not question the existence of the pupil-teacher system per se and aimed only at minor tinkering with the existing system. It was only in the first decade of the new century that the objections gathered momentum and the notion of removing the apprenticeship component of the training system crystallised. Most criticisms were directed at the low professional status and inadequate standard of training received by some pupil-teachers – both of these stemmed from the absence of an additional theoretical college training. Prior to the 1900s, the latter was regarded by the

Government and Boards of Education as expendable, an „optional extra", and not particularly relevant to teachers-in-training. When G. Fisher, the Minister of Education, reduced educational expenditure during the first Depression, he closed the colleges down (with the full approval of the Government) retorting that, *the information given in the training college is purely of a literary character, and is not calculated to enable the teachers to carry out the duties which afterwards delve upon them.*"[112] Remarkably this view was overturned at the turn of the century with a volte-face by the state which resulted in the dominance of the college at the expense of the field-based component.

The devolved nature of the on-the-job training also provoked increased criticism. It was accused of not keeping up with epistemological demands as new educational and psychological disciplines were growing rapidly and increasing in complexity. These were being viewed as necessary accoutrements to teachers in training. The promulgation of a new national syllabus which necessitated a common curriculum for teacher trainees was also difficult to mastermind in such a highly dispersed model. Boards of Education as well as the Department were beginning to realise the necessity of transmitting appropriate teacher knowledge in a specialist college setting, as illustrated in this statement from the Chairman of the Wellington Board, "*In this district the real term of apprenticeship is not considered to have expired until the pupil-teacher has completed two years of what might be termed „special training" in the Training College.*"[113]

The emphasis on centralised and highly disciplined training at a college or normal school was gaining momentum. However, there was still a high proportion of teachers taking control of classes without college training which was expensive for trainees and not compulsory. Also, contrary to official rhetoric, teaching was not popularly regarded as a profession. Teachers themselves were actively campaigning to professionalise teaching and raise its social and political status and, as a result, they became unionised in 1883.[114]

A further argument against the pupil-teacher system highlighted the unsatisfactory working conditions which led to overwork and exploitation of pupil-teachers. This accompanied a growing concern for their welfare, particularly when expected to assume responsibility for large numbers of children, many of whom were only slightly older than themselves. The Principal of Auckland College (who may well have had a vested

interest in ensuring consolidation of the training colleges), writes of these concerns in 1886:

> *Many pupil-teachers are placed in charge of and actually try to teach very large classes, and are held responsible for the work of the same. Now, while a pupil-teacher of the third year ought to be able to conduct an average class or section of a class fairly, it is positive cruelty to place one of the first or second year in sole charge of a standard when the class is large. Many are frequently discouraged by the amount of work put upon them by their head-teachers, and it originates in them a dislike of teaching.*[115]

The widespread portrayal of the child-teacher single-handedly managing classes of up to 80 pupils became fairly commonplace and, encouraged by the State's decree that pupil-teacher training should be replaced with college training, it remained largely unquestioned. The next section challenges some of the critiques of the pupil-teacher system.

d) Challenging the Accepted Discourse

Despite past and present critiques claiming that the pupil-teacher system was unsuccessful and proved an inadequate means of training teachers, it became pivotal in the establishment of New Zealand's national education system. Although there was some foundation to the criticisms directed at the pupil-teacher system, these were frequently over-inflated by a State who wished to gain control of teachers and their training and could not do so in the devolved system of the pupil-teacher apprenticeship. Much of the discourse against the pupil-teacher system has been reiterated so frequently that it has become an ‚assumed truth" and has become an accepted part of teaching folklore; it is therefore imperative that the veracity of claims made against the system is examined in more depth.

A major argument against the pupil-teacher system was that it could not provide teachers of sufficient quality. Whilst this was true of some areas, it was not the general case. There is plenty of evidence to show that, particularly in Otago and Canterbury, the pupil-teacher system was well run, well organised, and of a very high educational standard for the period under scrutiny. Educators in these areas believed that the quality

of the pupil-teacher system was entirely dependent upon both the duration and the quality of the instruction provided, *the efficiency of the pupil-teacher system depended upon the quality of the masters who undertook the training of the apprentices. As the quality of the teachers declined, so did that of the pupil-teachers.*"[116] Therefore, if the instruction was sound, pupil-teachers were considered to be more effective. Otago, in particular, upheld the ideal of a „quality" training and was able to attract and retain fully-trained teachers. Consequently, it had a nucleus of expertise upon which to draw when training new pupil-teachers and, in this way, it perpetuated its high standards. The scheme was exceptionally successful in the South Island and led to comments such as this, found in the Otago Inspector"s report of 1873, *"I have much confidence in the ability, the fitness and the high character of the great body of the teachers in this Province.*"[117] Not all areas, therefore, were providing a low standard of pupil-teachers.

Regions such as Otago and Canterbury also encouraged its pupil-teachers to receive the second-half of their training at a normal school or training college and in some instances this included university study. However, in Provinces such as Auckland and Wellington, this did not always occur and this resulted in unpredictability and inconsistency in the quality of training. Several reasons were evidenced for the omission of a college training component in some areas: the costly financial outlay of a two-tier training system when the apprenticeship component alone was cheaper and simultaneously provided a source of inexpensive labour; the early pre-"science of education" era"s perception that a theoretical and literary education was irrelevant; the close-down of the two North Island colleges in the Depression; and the fact that some areas experienced a later start in developing their educational infrastructure. In addition to these factors, the expensive college component of training was not attracting students in the years leading up to the 20th century. It was costly, at both the national and personal level, particularly if added to a three-year apprenticeship. Students received inadequate maintenance grants (none at all in the case of Canterbury) to cover university tuition and travel expenses.[118] It was inevitably accessible only to those who could afford it. This resulted in many pupil-teachers not attending college. Furthermore, the college component was not compulsory; in order to gain certification, pupil-teachers could present themselves for the Department"s certificate exams and, if successful, gain similar qualifications to their counterparts leaving the colleges. The only advantage

gained by college students was that they were able to take the university course. The pupil-teachers were also not bonded so they had no real incentive to attend College.[119]

Prior to Hogben‟s realisation that a college training was necessary, the Government was half-hearted in its attempt to provide this. For example, in the latter years of the 1800s, quality of training was frequently sacrificed for quantity at the national level. At times, there was frequently such an acute demand for teachers that the Board removed trainees from college during their training and placed them as teachers in schools. At Christchurch Training College in 1877, for example, the whole second year cohort was "*dispersed in order to staff the schools*" thus illustrating "*that the Board, faced with continual teacher shortages, continued to pull partly-trained teachers into service, on the understandable theory that some training was better than none.*"[120] Neither the students nor College Principals approved of this tactic: the students because a full training led to the completion of a Second Class Certificate, hence becoming a route to university; the Principals because they had to completely re-organise the College course and timetable. Fulfilling educational ideals was superseded by meeting demands for teacher supply. The situation whereby trainees received little or no college training therefore led to criticisms of low standards.

Accusations of overwork and exploitation were other criticisms not substantiated by evidence from all Provinces. Again, claims justly relating to some areas were unjustly targeted at the system in its totality. For example, the accepted myth that pupil-teachers were consistently put in charge of overlarge classes could not have occurred as regularly as we are led to believe. Evidence shows that most pupil-teachers helped to teach junior classes and, in some cases, were responsible for classes of younger children, particularly in the smaller schools. At the time, approximately one sixth of the Colony‟s schools had rolls of fewer than 15 pupils.[121] Also, throughout the country, the pupil to teacher ratio (excluding pupil-teachers) was 31:9 in 1882; 31:5 in 1883 and 31:4 in 1884.[122] Furthermore, the number of pupil-teachers in a school, on average, did not exceed the number of adult teachers; for example, in 1900, the number of pupil-teachers was reported as being "*two apprentices to five adult teachers, but this varies within each educational district*". In stating that, "*An undue number of pupil-teachers must obviously be regarded as a source of weakness*", the Minister of Education‟s report continues to inform us that all North Island districts had proportionately more pupil-

teachers per adult teacher. However, this appears to be contradicted by actual data which showed that the weakest areas were Hawke's Bay with a ratio of 1 pupil teacher to 1.35 adult teachers; Wellington with 1:1.4 and Wanganui with 1:1.56. The strongest areas were Otago with 1 pupil-teacher to 5 adult teachers; Southland with 1:3.6 and North Canterbury with 1:3.5.[123]

Despite contradictory evidence from the Department's statistics, the problems of pupil-teachers were frequently exaggerated in order to support the state's case for disbanding the pupil-teacher system and centralising control of training through the training colleges.

That such criticisms of the pupil-teacher system were voiced is undeniable; however, in the early years of the new century, all sectors of the educational were criticised. This was not restricted only to the pupil-teacher system but was also directed at the perceived low level of university courses. In 1878, a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of M. O'Rorke was set up in order to investigate and report upon "*The Operations of the University of New Zealand and Its Relation to the Secondary Schools of the Colony.*"[124] The Commission concluded that the University was a "*glorified night class*" due to the majority of students having full-time jobs as teachers or clerks and consequently attending university classes at night.[125] Also the teaching of the University courses was done by affiliated institutions which were mainly high schools; consequently, the standard of Matriculation, the University's entrance examination came under critical scrutiny.[126] The O'Rorke recommendations aimed at elevating standards of tertiary education were not implemented. The Reichel-Tate Committee, commissioned almost fifty years later, and charged with the same inquiry brief, reported conclusively that if the O'Rorke Commission's proposals had been put into effect, the subsequent standard of university study would have been far superior. Set against the background of most educational institutions coming under such scrutiny at this time, it is hardly surprising that the pupil-teacher system was included.

Overall, the pupil-teacher system was a victim in an archaeology of training which saw the state demanding increased control and authority. In its pursuit of a collectivised and disciplined form of training which required a more formal rite of passage and a more specialised location in which to do it, many critiques of the pupil-teacher system were

manufactured and overstated. This section has briefly examined some of the arguments supporting and opposing the pupil-teacher system and has found evidence to support some, but not all, of the accusations directed against it. Misinformation regarding the extent of the problems experienced by the pupil-teacher system was evident and this underpinned the movement to eradicate the apprenticeship component system whilst retaining the college component. It must also be remembered that the pupil-teacher system should be judged within its social and historical context. Many modern commentators, equipped with the benefit of current social and political hindsight, unquestionably accept the political spin generated by an earlier state, and they condemn the pupil-teacher scheme as exploitative, inadequate and unsuccessful. Despite this, on the whole, it provided a supply of well-trained, well informed teachers who provided a firm cornerstone of education at the turn of the 20th century.

In order to facilitate the hegemony of the colleges, both the classroom and the university as sites of training, became marginalised. Teacher training was progressively taken over by the training colleges at the direction of the state and the following section explains how this was accomplished.

4. State Control Through Legislation and Institutional Technologies

a) Control Through Legislation and Policy

Much has already been stated regarding the desire of the state to control training by introducing new disciplinary mechanisms which employed new rituals of power. The 1900s was a period of intense state intervention, when "*the penetration of regulations into even the smallest details of everyday life through the mediation of the complete hierarchy that assured the capillary functioning of power*", resulted in the establishment of major social institutions, such as prisons, asylums, hospitals and schools.[127] New disciplines borrowed features from well established institutions such as monasteries and factories and they incorporated old, established methods for the regulation of bodies and activities. The training college was one such institution. The disciplinary aims of training at this time were to produce a docile workforce equipped with the requisite knowledge and dispositions to transform an entire nation. This was difficult to enact in the highly devolved structure of the pupil-teacher system. The awareness that the training had to be ordered, regulated and centrally controlled gradually emerged at the

start of the 1900s and was accompanied by a *"technico-political"* method of operationalisation by the state.[128] This was characterised by *"a whole set of regulations and by empirical and calculated methods".*[129]

During the archaeology of training in early New Zealand, there appeared two distinct phases of legislative activity. The first phase preceded the 1877 Education Act, lasted until the turn of the century, and was characterised by very little legislation. It also coincided with a strong pupil-teacher system. The second phase commenced early in the 20th century and coincided with the emergence of the college as a new and forceful contender for teacher training. This phase was hallmarked by a proliferation of regulations, classifications, and details relating to the examination, training, employment, grading, salaries and working conditions of teachers and pupil-teachers. To illustrate, there were three major Education Acts and associated Amendments, four Royal Commissions (under the chairmanship of Hogg, O‛Rorke, Cohen, and Reichel and Tate, respectively), and at least 13 sets of gazetted regulations. Only three of the latter appeared before 1903, the remainder transpiring between this date and 1925. These were a consequence of Hogben‛s moves to centralise control of teacher training and wrest control from the Provincial Boards. The flurry of regulations and policies occasioned by state centralisation occurred against an economic backdrop of increased prosperity following the 1880‛s economic depression and a political backdrop of interventionist educational policies initiated by a new Liberal government.

These two contrasting phases of legislative calm and frenzy are now examined a little more closely. In the first phase, major legislation regarding teacher training found expression in the 1877 Education Act. Its overt aim was to supply a *"steady stream of educated professionally trained teachers for the national system."*[130] Ostensibly, it was to result in state control of teacher training, examinations and classification of pupil-teachers, the issuing of certificates of competency, and the establishment and management of the normal schools and training colleges. However, in reality, these procedures were delegated to the Boards who became responsible for the *"maintenance and education of pupil-teachers".*[131] The subsequent Regulations for the Employment, Education and Examination of Pupil-Teachers gazetted in 1878, endorsed decentralisation and allowed Boards to conduct all aspects of the pupil-teacher system, subject to the (theoretical) approval of the Minister of Education.

The Act, therefore, changed very little with regard to the pupil-teacher system during this first period and there appeared little urgency to change the status quo. The teacher training system was still decentralised, administered by teachers themselves on the school site, and unsystematic with respect to both educational content and structure. Provision remained subject to the directives of each Provincial Board.

The second period of legislative action brought with it a flood of regulations which attempted to wrench power from the Boards and bring teacher training under the control of the state. This was spear-headed by Hogben, the Inspector-General. It signalled his deep concern with education, with the nation"s teachers who were implementing the system, and with their training and preparation. It was shortly after this date that teacher training became centralised.

Hogben was the first to make a determined effort to achieve national cohesion in teacher training. Regulations, classification and examination of teachers were gazetted by him in 1903.[132] This entailed consolidating the position of the training college. Within this single institution, the full effect of the "*block of capacity-communication-power*"[133] was realised. This meant that he could implement his new educational vision, "*The New Movement in Education*"[134] through a teaching body well trained in transmitting his new curriculum and associated pedagogy. As the curriculum was subjected to rigorous annual examination, the state ensured (not always in accordance with Hogben"s wishes) that both the knowledge of the pupils and the *"professional skill of the teacher"* were tested.[135] Proof of transmission could only be done thoroughly and efficiently within a centrally controlled system.

Of the four Royal Commissions undertaken during this period, the first to make serious inroads into the training of teachers was the Hogg Commission in the first year of the new century. This provided a political watershed in teacher training policy, and as a contemporary form of discursive formation, it revealed a detailed description of the pupil-teacher system and, indeed, the whole teaching service. The 1901 Commission, was charged with the brief of providing a national infrastructure for the administration and organisation of the teaching service, including training provisions. This was to consider the principle of providing equal pay for equal work by removing discrepancies in salary that resulted from thirteen different Education Boards with 13 different sets of

regulations.[136] It aimed at overturning overseas" trends which were resulting in the gradual erosion of teachers" salaries: a reduction that was frequently blamed for a corresponding decline in male applicants. It was anticipated that the professional status of teachers would be further enhanced with such a move. Cumming and Cumming inform us that in signalling Government intention that some form of formal, professional preparation was necessary, the practising departments of the normal schools became referred to as training colleges.[137]

The Commission examined over 150 witnesses and elicited comments from Hogben (responsible for drafting the new salary regulations), Board members, School Committee members, union members, inspectors and teachers. In an attempt to raise the professional status and qualifications of teachers, the Commissioners recommended a uniform system of salaries throughout the Colony and proposed that the pupil-teacher system be gradually phased out. They also, controversially, recommended that a new category of Assistant Teacher be created. Three categories of teachers were now officially recorded: Head-teachers, Assistant Teachers and Pupil-Teachers.

When examining the witness statements provided in over 600 pages of evidence a major preoccupation dominating the social discourse of the time was the lack of men teachers and the ‚alarmingly" high numbers of women. The popular perception was that, suddenly, teaching was becoming feminised and this was viewed in highly problematic and negative terms. Sensationalist claims were made that teaching would soon become completely denuded of men teachers and that an "*Adamless Eden*" would ensue.[138] Hogben explains the grave anxieties about this in his testimony to the Commission:

> *The phenomenon* (of feminisation) *itself is by no means peculiar to New Zealand or the United Kingdom; it is not peculiar to English-speaking people, but it is a general movement all the world over that the proportion of female teachers is tending to increase. I would quote the remark made by the Hon. E. Lyttleton, President of the Headmasters" Association in January last. He said it was the privilege of a president to prophesy, and it was a question of time, not only in the primary schools, but even in boys" secondary schools, when mistresses would to some extent take the place of masters.*[139] (my parenthesis)

Such perceptions induced a gender panic. They reinforced popular claims that the teaching workforce had suddenly become feminised after 1895 when (with the exception of the post-War years) the numbers of women teachers appeared to sharply increase.[140] However, these claims are not strictly accurate. Teaching was not abruptly being overrun with women; it had always employed a high number of women.

The pupil-teacher sector of the workforce had always been female-dominated and this commenced with the arrival of New Zealand's first four female pupil-teachers appointed to Otago schools in 1864.[141] This remained the case until the abolition of the pupil teacher system in 1926. The ex-pupil teacher and a group of trainees miscellaneously referred to as cadets, monitors or probationers also made an appearance at this time, these categories were also dominated by females. Ex-pupil teachers were fully qualified teachers waiting for a position to become available. They were retained on the school staff at a minimum rate of pay. Probationers, cadets and monitors, although allocated different duties, conditions and remuneration, were usually unpaid candidates waiting for a pupil teacher vacancy. Like pupil teachers, the number of probationers was overwhelmingly female and, again like pupil teachers, there seemed to be no decline in the numbers volunteering to take up these preliminary teaching positions.

The training college system, likewise, had a majority of female trainees throughout its history. E. M. Watkins, the Principal of the Normal School at Christchurch provided the number of new entrants to the College for the 20 years preceding the Commission and an extrapolation of his figures is tabulated here:

Number of New Students Entering Christchurch Normal School/Training College

Year	Males	Females	Total
1880	4	9	13
1881	7	11	18
1885	14	15	29
1886	11	30	41
1890	11	24	35
1891	11	27	38
1895	15	27	42
1896	10	26	36
1900	15	18	33

(Extrapolated from AJHR. (1901). [The Hogg Commission]. E-14, p.141.)

Watkins‟ point was that the number of male candidates presenting themselves for teaching had always remained in the minority and this number, although fluctuating from year to year, had shown no sudden drop as was popularly thought the case.

Official figures of the time painted a misleading picture in that they frequently did not include the large number of females who were actively teaching in the system. They focused on pupil-teachers and adult teachers and omitted categories of teachers such as probationers, relief teachers, ex-pupil teachers, wives of schoolmasters, and the whole cadre of unpaid young female candidates (identified above) who were working in schools while waiting to become pupil teachers. Sewing mistresses, who in reality taught everything in the school curriculum, were tacked on to the department‟s statistics as a separate column. The contributions of most of these groups were voluntary and were literally not counted in the formal Department of Education‟s teacher statistics. It is only by discovering evidence, such as that found in the "Other Teachers" category provided in the Salaries information of the Department‟s Annual Reports, that a more accurate picture is formed.

As a result of the Hogg Commission‟s recommendations, the implementation of the 1905 Select Committee‟s recommendations for both training colleges and pupil-teachers, were issued conjointly. Stronger centralist measures were being gradually

introduced.[142] Hogben reinforced the notion of four colleges in each of the four university towns controlled by the central Department. Under the new regulations, he admitted two classes of students: Division A and Division B. The former were mainly pupil-teachers with successful teaching experience who had passed Matriculation. The probationer was also introduced in the 1908 Regulations under this category.[143]

Snook informs us that Hogben's initial intentions, supported by the 1905 Select Committee, were to redefine relationships between colleges and universities in order to bring about a more harmonious relationship.[144] However, a close analysis of the Committee's proposals reveals an additional motivation, *"to avoid the expense of duplicating instruction in subjects which are taught at the University colleges."[145]* The educational rationale that this would also *"secure for teachers a greater breadth of view"* appeared secondary.[146]

At the time, all teacher trainees undertook two compulsory university subjects: Education and English, with the College Principals exercising discretionary powers about which students could pursue additional university study. [147] The only concurrent scheme that met with total success, was that carried out between Dunedin College of Education and Otago University and this was to last until the end of the 20th century.[148] Auckland Training College restricted university study to selected, academically-able students. Wellington allowed a high proportion of their students to complete university study but the Principal cautioned about the dangers of overwork and academic strain and recommended that students first gain their degree and subsequently take a one-year training course at College. Christchurch embraced university study so enthusiastically that all their students were simultaneously completing a full year's university work and a full year's college course. Canterbury University further compounded this problem of students' work overload by providing morning-only lectures; thus preventing them from spending a whole day at college or on teaching practice.[149] In the latter instance, Hogben intervened and restricted the number of university courses taken by the students. The discrepancies evident in the collaboration between colleges and universities served to illustrate how the precise nature of their relationship was proving politically difficult to untangle. On the one hand, some colleges successfully pursued links with university colleges; on the other, some complained about the excessive

student workloads and the limitations that concurrent study placed upon the practicum and on the college timetables.[150]

Dissatisfaction was expressed with the collaboration between the training college and university and it concluded that any system involving both university study and professional training risked a situation whereby students *"acquired neither adequate scholarship nor adequate professional training"*.[151] This view endured for several decades and is neatly summarised by Minogue, who concluded as late as 1971 that a more integrated course for prospective students should be provided:

> *...the teachers"college students concurrently studying at university, will continue to attempt to serve two masters, suffering the inevitable academic schizophrenia that results from alternating between meeting the uncoordinated demands of the college as well as those of the university.[152]*

Amongst the wide range of measures introduced into teacher training policy during the first decade of the new century were: the provision of a free system of teacher training; the granting of a system of University Bursaries to successful ex-pupil-teachers who wished to attend training college; the provision of allowances to those living away from home; the certification of students successfully graduating from training college; the introduction of accreditation by the College Principals in lieu of a college entrance examination; the increase of teachers" salaries; the promotion of closer coordination between the four training colleges and the four university colleges; the provision of an equal salary scale for male and female pupil-teachers – which lasted until 1925; the prescribing of numbers of teachers and pupil-teachers allocated to each school and many other policies designed to strengthen the colleges and weaken the pupil-teacher system.[153]

Further bolstering of the state-owned colleges arrived with the 1915 regulations; these strengthened the academic staff of the colleges, including the creation of new college posts such as Vice Principals and Tutor Librarians. The Principals of the Colleges continued in their capacity of lecturing in Education at the universities and several selected students still attended university for general courses.[154] The Department made a closer association with the university possible with the framing of the Class „C‟

certificate. This enabled the admittance of graduate students to a one-year training course.[155]

The Education Department continued to expand and consolidate its control with the Education Amendment Act of 1920. Implementation of the 1920 Regulations further cemented this centralised movement and ensured the domination of the training college in the archaeology of training.[156] Staffing and resource allocation to colleges was increased and they became more autonomous, within constraints imposed by the Department. They were now empowered to provide both general and professional courses without recourse to the universities; they also had the exclusive right to certificate teachers.[157] Existing legislation was strengthened and national staffing and salary scales were introduced for teachers.

The second of the four Commissions which most affected teacher training was the 1925 Reichel-Tate Commission. The interpretation of clause b) below, taken from the Commission, led to the development of a probationer year as the practical qualification for entry to College.[158] The recommendation stipulated *"that regulations for the Training Colleges be revised so as to provide -*

    a)   *A higher standard of entrance qualification embracing a full secondary school course.*

    b)   *One year's course of professional training.*

    c)   *Provision for an extension of the course to two, three or even four years in the case of specially selected students.*

    d)   *Students selected under c) above to be allowed to take up university or other courses and to give full time study to such courses."*[159]

The Report condemned the standard of entry for trainees, a complaint heard in every review of teacher education since then. Many student teachers had received little secondary education and this led to the colleges having to make up the deficit. In order to rectify this, the Reichel-Tate Report stipulated that a full secondary education should be completed before training and that pupil-teacher experience was not sufficient for college admission. It also recommended that trainees spend two additional years at training college before taking up teaching. However, as Lee and Lee point out, it seems that the Commissioners were much more interested "*in commenting on the perceived*

deficiencies of secondary teacher training" and most of the Report"s recommendations were aimed at overcoming these.[160]

The Report was also critical of the relationship of the four Education professors situated in the universities and complained about the ongoing ambiguity of their roles, particularly in relation to teaching practice. The Report concluded:

> *It is unfortunate that the Chairs of Education were established and professors appointed without a clear definition of the relationship which should exist between the professor and the local training college. So far as we could judge, any connections he may have made with the college, or any facilities which he may have secured for entrance to the practice schools, are dependent upon the good will of the college authorities, and at any time he may be deprived of them.*[161]

The report prompted the abolition of pupil-teacher system in 1926 and replaced it with a single year of teaching practice in school before attending training college[162] (this was later discontinued due to the Depression).

The training college was now transformed into a more autonomous institution and this made it a more attractive and beguiling proposition to aspiring teachers. Within the college institutions, the body of teaching novitiates could be "*manipulated, shaped, trained*" through various rituals of power. Foucault maintains that such training results in a teaching body that "*obeys, responds, becomes skilful and increases its forces.*"[163] He further contends that institutions based on these technologies develop a whole range of regulations aimed at two distinct, but overlapping, purposes: submission, where the body is trained to obey and become useful to society; and functioning, where the individual is trained to become intelligible and informed. There is no doubt that Hogben was motivated by similar two-fold intentions. Although initiating this new, centralised system of teacher training, Hogben was not alone in his lofty, educational aspirations. A coalition comprising of himself, the Education Department, politicians, teacher educators and teachers themselves had a similar rationale for the new reforms. Overcoming the power conflicts that had formerly divided them, their common goal

was the emergence of a new institutional technology charged with the dual objectives of training teachers and transforming forthcoming generations.

b) Control Through Institutional Technologies

The centralist aspirations of the state regarding teacher training became cemented into the institutional technology of the training college. Ambitions for such a college had been expressed as early as 1870 by Henry Tancred in a statement to the House of Parliament. He urged the need for trained teachers if national progress was to be made in education and, he argued, it was the General Government's responsibility to provide this in order to enable a supply of properly qualified teachers: "*We want training schools, we want practising schools, we want model schools; because, in order to have good schools, we want trained teachers.*"[164]

It was to be some time before this occurred; however, this description, patterned on the colleges of England and Scotland, determined the shape of future training colleges at both Otago and Christchurch – all three elements of training: the college, the practising school and the model school were established on the same site and operated in collaboration with each other.

The college gradually became much more than an essential appendage to the pupil-teacher system. Although it took 50 years, the training college as a new strategy of power became dominant, unassailable and the exclusive provider of teacher training for the state.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated that, in an archaeology of teacher training in New Zealand, it was in the interests of the state to reduce the political and educational influence of an apprenticeship mode of training as this would result in a dilution in the efficacy of the rite of passage. An ethical transformation of trainees could only transpire within the disciplinary space of the college; this enclosed environment provided a location for the meticulous regulation of their lives, actions and thoughts.

The training colleges became powerful in their influence; they probably exerted more overt pressure on teacher education than any other institution in New Zealand"s educational history. Through the state, they equipped themselves with unassailable features that made them unique and that no other institution imitated at the time. Through exercising tactics of power and discipline they controlled teacher training through the transmission of specialist pedagogical and subject knowledge; the promotion of a corporate life and social cohesion; the provision of training as a separate endeavour from other institutions; the utilisation of a selected number of associated schools in which student teachers could undertake practica; and many other significant and exclusive devices. All of these became essential to the trainee"s successful rite of passage. The imposition of a battery of surveillance and accountability mechanisms ensured that the capture of the hearts and minds of the country"s future teachers was more-or-less guaranteed. To refer back to the opening quotation, it was within the training college that, *"the acquisition of aptitudes or types of behaviour is developed".*[165]

Such controlling of the individual"s body and of the teaching body, made possible the successful enactment of the new primary school syllabus; the provision of a common, tightly prescribed training course aimed at transmitting desired content and pedagogy; the raising of the professional standing of teachers by providing specialist training; the inculcation of increasingly complex doctrines based on the „science" of education; and, last but not least; an attempt to recruit more men into teaching through the promise of lavish grants and allowances and the orchestration of a gender panic. It must also be acknowledged at this point that some trainees and teacher educators bound into this system contested it – there is no implication here that it was accepted unquestioningly by everyone.

The two following chapters now detail the daily ritual practices and specialist knowledge which constituted student teachers" rite of passage to full teacherhood. The focus therefore shifts from archaeology to a genealogy as we transfer attention from state policy to an exploration of the realities of the everyday college life of the student teacher at the turn of the 20th century.

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PART TWO: Genealogy of the Student Teacher

Chapter 4
Ritual Practices in the Rite of Passage

The way in which the subject constitutes himself in an active fashion, by the practices of self, these practices are nevertheless not something that the individual invents by himself. They are patterns that he finds in his culture and which are proposed, suggested and imposed on him by his culture, his society and his social group.[1]

1. Introduction

Both Foucault and van Gennep iterate the necessity of a period of transition in a specialist and dedicated institution during which a change in identity is made possible. Foucault describes this transition as *"a space between two worlds*."[2] Van Gennep, similarly, sees it as the *"intermediate stage"* between two worlds: the world of the profane or secular, and the world of the sacred or religious.[3] If an individual is to move from the low status world of the profane to the higher status world of the professions which is endowed with special attributes and higher rewards, then the process of change is usually engineered in a liminal or in-between space. According to van Gennep, such transformational schemes are inherent in every society, not only indigenous and rural societies but also modern, urban and secular societies. As S. T. Kimball maintains, *"there is no evidence that a secularised urban world has lessened the need for ritualised expression of an individual's transition from one status to another*."[4] All share basically similar patterns in their rites, ceremonies and practices.

Whilst the pupil-teacher apprenticeship system was rooted in the world of the profane, the training college was the entrance to the sacred world and by association, it became sacred in itself. An apprenticeship was regarded by van Gennep as a rite of passage with a clearly identified set of rites and *"accompanied by special acts*".[5] These rites resembled each other across societies and were defined by the same purpose – entrance to a specific occupation. They consisted of *"ceremonies whose essential purpose is to*

enable the individual to pass from one defined position to another which is equally well defined".[6] The college experience consisted of rituals surrounding candidature, instruction, examination and certification – the latter usually accompanied by some sort of ceremony and public notification of success. In the college, novices studied esoteric literature, learned the required formulae and appropriate gestures, and became subject to various taboos. Trainee teachers themselves actively participated in their transformation by absorbing and consciously accepting the norms, patterns and knowledge schemes of the college institution. This enabled them to graduate into the society of teachers. It is this transformative process that takes us into realm of genealogical analysis. Part Two, therefore, examines the genealogy of the student teacher. Whilst this chapter examines the ritual practices which formed the core of the trainees" rite of passage, Chapter 5 analyses the sacred knowledge transmitted to them.

The major purpose of this chapter is to examine the state"s ontological rationale for teacher training: that of changing the very being of trainees by forging them into the "ideal" teacher. This was based on an ethic of service and, underpinning this, were the desirable behaviours of modesty, hard work and obedience; a competent level of literacy was also required, as summarised in the mission statement of the very first normal school in Dunedin which declared that its trainees would become, "*humble, industrious and instructed*".[7] The previous chapter explained how mass schooling and its corollary, mass teacher training, were necessary in order for the state to assume control of society through education rather than force. This necessitated a transformation of society, which, in turn, required a transformation of education and its teachers. Hogben, summarised this intention when he declared to the Hogg Commission:

> *The greatness of a country is founded on the right upbringing of its children, and the schools, whose first care it is, depend for their power for good upon the character, skill, and intelligence of the teachers. We urge, therefore, that hardly any sacrifice is too great for the colony to make on behalf of the sound training of its young teachers.*[8]

By institutionalising teacher training, a disciplined body of conforming and useful individuals was achieved. This was accomplished through implementing both

disciplinary and regulatory constructs of power (referred to as bio-power by Foucault) in a setting of enclosure and exclusivity. In such an environment trainees were exposed to an ensemble of rituals, regulations; formal and informal codes of communications, relationships and behaviours; and a system of micro-penalties and rewards. This entire process was conducted through a closely scrutinised and supervised rite of passage wherein trainees became both subjects and subjected. The concept of „ritual" used in this discussion is primarily an anthropological concept. J. Goody describes it as "*a category of standardised behaviour (custom).*"[9]

As explained previously, the rite of passage marks out a ceremonial sequence from novitiate to full qualification which incorporates three phases: *"rites of separation, threshold rites, and rites of aggregation".[10]* When applied to the genealogy of the teacher trainee, the three phases of separation, transition and incorporation were sequential and critical to the training of new teachers at the turn of the last century.

The pupil-teacher"s rite of passage is discussed first; this will be followed by a more extensive discussion of the rite of passage experienced by the training college student.

2. The Rite of Passage of the Pupil Teacher

a) The Separation Phase

Van Gennep asserts that novitiates enter their new occupational group through ceremonies of passage which separate them from their previous environment. However, as most pupil-teachers were not physically separated from their kinship or family group (they frequently lived at home whilst training to be a teacher), the separation they experienced was more of a social and occupational type.

The separation phase usually began with various ritual practices surrounding the selection of likely candidates and, in the case of early pupil-teachers, selection criteria varied according to the requirements mandated by regional Education Boards. Such Boards had been given the responsibility of selecting pupil-teachers through regulations gazetted in 1878.[11] Formal regulations required that in order to be considered for selection, pupils had to have successfully passed the Fifth Standard examination and be at least 13 years of age. In some areas, pupils studying for the Sixth Standard

examination were appointed as cadets or probationers and acted as unpaid teachers for three hours of their school day whilst they waited for a pupil-teacher vacancy to arise.[12] Successful attainment of a probationary position usually secured a pupil-teacher apprenticeship. It was also a frequent occurrence for head-teachers to single out pupils who were outstanding in their academic, moral and social capacities and recommend them to the Inspectors. The Inspectors, bound by formal selection regulations, also tacked on their own unique entry requirements. The latter gradually assumed the status of „accepted" pre-requisites and became an important part of the process of securing entry into an apprenticeship. In fact, the Inspectors" unofficial entry determinants probably became as powerful and significant as more official requirements. In Dunedin, for example, once pupil teachers had satisfactorily passed the Pupil Teachers" Entrance Examination (following successful completion of the Sixth Standard), the Inspector would determine further suitability by observing the candidate teach and manage a class of younger children in order to assess their potential. Other requirements also had to be met and Check"s study provides a snapshot of the process of selecting pupil teachers at this time:

> *The Inspector would visit the schools and interview the candidate in the Headmaster's office. The candidate was then asked to sing, his own selection of course, and without the benefit of an accompaniment. This was a very difficult task especially for those who were not by any means vocalists. This procedure has puzzled me as it is very difficult to imagine what the correlation between ability to sing and suitability to teach might be. The next test was undertaken blindfolded and the Inspector held a watch at varying distances from the ear of the candidate, and asked if the tick of the watch could be heard. Why this could not have been left in the more competent hands of the medical examiner, I do not know. Of course the academic attainments and abilities of the candidates were ascertained from the headmaster. If the candidate passed the ordeal of an interview with the Inspector then a medical examination was necessary, and if passed fit, then the pupil teacher course was commenced.[13]*

Such unusual practices went largely unchallenged as they were indicative of the assumed power invested in various authority figures of the time. They also illustrated that powerful individuals and institutions controlled access of prospective pupil-teachers

to the whole discourse of teacher education – frequently through non-legitimised selection methods based on the whims and eccentricities of individual Inspectors. These often absurd selection procedures were an integral part of entry into the institutional culture and they are illustrative of Foucault"s notion of dividing practices, by which the subject is objectified and ranked. This was an inevitable result of the early century"s obsession with separating, sorting, grading and norming students through a complex array of testing procedures.

b) The Transition Phase

Once pupil-teachers were selected according to various orthodox and unorthodox procedures and criteria, they were provided with intensive instruction in curriculum subjects specified by the Inspector and taught by their head-teacher. This occurred before and after school hours and formed the basis of the second, transitional phase of their rite of passage to becoming a fully qualified teacher. They were frequently gathered together as a social collective to receive instruction from expert instructors at summer and winter schools and by lecturers, specialists or Inspectors at Saturday morning classes. Pupil-teacher centres were established but, as explained in the preceding chapter, these never achieved the official status and capacity of their English counterparts. The evening lecture system provided by the University Colleges also furnished instruction for those wishing to pass the annual examinations, with rural teachers and pupil-teachers being able to present themselves for examinations as exempted students.[14] During this transitional phase the ritual tools of their future occupation became very important and, in the case of pupil-teachers, tools of the trade, including the ubiquitous teachers" manuals on School Method, were provided in the classroom. From these, they learned how to speak, act and behave like teachers.

Instruction of pupil-teachers followed an individual, singular and idiosyncratic pattern as each head teacher inducted the pupil teacher in different ways. It was also haphazard and, especially in the latter decades of the 1900s, pupil teachers were frequently not exposed to the „sacred" genealogical knowledge of theory in a formal institutional setting. Instead, they were expected to absorb the knowledge essential to the role of the teacher by trial-and-error or other heuristic methods as part of their technical, on-the-job training. The inadequacies of receiving only a school-based training were revealed in the high failure rates of pupil-teachers taking the Class „E" Certificates after four years

as a pupil-teacher. For example, in 1883, 255 candidates presented themselves for examination: out of these only 10 received a full pass and 147 received partial passes.[15]

The role and functions of pupil-teachers were frequently not fully explained to them during their transitional phase. When Inspector Hammond of South Canterbury discovered that pupil-teachers were regarded by the other school staff as *"a happy means of disposing of the drudgery of teaching the lower classes"* and when a first year pupil-teacher explained that his role consisted of *"filling ink wells, fetching slates and books, and telling who speaks"*, the Inspector radically overhauled the whole pupil-teacher system in the area.[16]

Surveillance played a major role in the transitional phase of pupil-teachers. A dominating feature was the Inspector's visit; this resulted in a grading of the pupil-teacher which was critical in securing a teaching position. Visits were usually unannounced and pupil-teachers had to conduct "criticism" lessons in front of the Inspector. The criticism lessons were conducted in different ways and all induced a feeling of dread in the pupil-teachers; there were occasional exceptions as the following reminiscence illustrates:

> *Once a year all the pupil-teachers and all the head teachers of the district and inspectors met in a big room in the Central School, New Plymouth. And the poor young teachers had to bring in a class and teach before those assembled people… I went down the wharf and got a cockroach and did a lesson on a cockroach. Probably I was a bit of a show-off – I didn't mind.[17]*

The Inspector carried out the disciplinary function of ensuring pupil-teachers had inculcated the correct habits and were transmitting the desired knowledge through an approved pedagogical method. Although most Inspectors fulfilled this role satisfactorily, plentiful examples exist of Inspectors who confused and frightened both the children and pupil-teachers to such an extent, that a realistic appraisal of their abilities must have been very difficult. Myrtle Callaghan, a pupil-teacher in Taranaki referred to one Inspector as a

...bully. He came into my room, „Where are your top group of children?" Well, he starts on them – only little Standard 1 children – he gets them absolutely bamboozled, they couldn"tdo anything, he was growling at them, pulling them up ... snarling away. He was a bad-tempered old devil, too fond of the whiskey.[18]

Despite such incidents, Inspectors were vested with the authority of deciding who conformed to the processes, values, norms and processes inherent in the contemporary notion of the „good teacher". As Inspectors" assessments were largely dependent on their own idiosyncratic notions of what constituted a good teacher, these varied from region to region. Overall, however, the ideal was viewed mainly in pragmatic terms and Ewing"s description indicates desirable practical attributes that most educators of the time thought should be possessed by the successful teacher,

The successful teacher governed through personal influence, using corporal punishment as a last resort. His pupils were quiet and attentive, fond of school work, punctual, and regular attenders. Well-drilled as a group, they marched in and out of school in good order, and changes in lessons were made quietly and certainly without confusion. Written work was neat and accurate. There was no „copying". What the pupils had been taught they knew thoroughly, and revision tests held no terrors. The good teacher was an expert at the oral lesson through, said the manuals, the intellectual faculties of the children being exercised and developed. If exposition were necessary, he prepared notes with his guide in which the heads of the lesson were set down and supplemented by the matter and the method.[19]

The ideal teacher, therefore, was concerned with regulation, order and good management. Conforming to a pattern of school work dictated by the standard pass examination was a necessity. A Presbyterian minister contributing to the Journal of Education in 1903, criticised the mechanistic uniformity of teachers of the time, believing that they were teaching with the underlying assumption of children being *"little rows of empty buckets, of equal size, and that they are capable of being filled with an equal amount of „ologies"".*[20]

As explained in the previous chapter, although the case was frequently over-stated and many pupil-teachers enjoyed and benefited from their experiences, in a few areas some pupil-teachers were subjected to difficult and stressful situations such as managing classes of up to 60 children. Comments such as this from A. E. Campbell reveal the duress to which some were subjected:

> *No picture of education at this period is even approximately correct unless it is kept in mind that much of the regular work of the primary schools was carried out by adolescent boys and girls struggling to impose their will on bored and unruly children little younger, sometimes even older, than themselves.*[21]

Whilst pupil-teachers from Otago, Canterbury and more affluent areas rarely experienced such anxieties because of improved working conditions and better training, in other areas they could be subjected to a great deal of pressure. This, together with the ordeal of Inspection visits and examinations, led to high levels of stress in many pupil-teachers. Van Gennep maintained that subjecting apprentices to such disquiet was an essential part of the transitional process.

c) The Incorporation Phase

Once pupil-teachers had passed their Teachers‟ Certificates (and most sat the examination for a Class „E‟ certificate in the early part of this period) and demonstrated that they had internalised the norms and values of their new professional group, they entered the third stage of incorporation into the society of fully qualified teachers. Thus the three stages involved in their rite of passage were complete and they were regarded as teachers in their own right.

3. The Rite of Passage of the Normal School/Training College Student

As the pupil-teacher scheme (without the additional training college or normal school course) was diffuse, difficult to control and proving increasingly unsatisfactory, an insistent demand from educators, policy makers and teachers, resulted in strengthening and popularising the notion of the training college. The colleges were viewed as one of the major avenues for gaining full control of the education system, including the teacher education curriculum, and they were instrumental in the domestication of future

teachers. They were regimes of order which enforced a set of disciplinary technologies such as comparing trainees" performance with a fixed set of norms; exercising discipline and control; maintaining order through timetables, regulations, and compulsory attendance; relying on examinations, grading and record keeping to determine professional competence; placing the student teacher under strict observation and other forms of surveillance; and making distinctive use of specially designated space and architecture.[22] All of these rituals and practices were implemented as a means of constructing a particular order of subjection and subjectification. The college"s creation of individuals who were docile and amenable to living in a collegial and harmonious manner, and who, willingly by the end of their course, repressed their singularity for the sake of the college community, bear witness to the enactment of the two processes of subjectification and subjection.

It therefore became imperative that the training colleges were centralised and that the state performed a more interventionist and controlling function. As detailed in the previous chapter, this commenced with Hogben"s initiatives in the early 20th century and continued with a series of successive policies and reports until the hegemony of the training college was achieved in the 1920s. The colleges also provided the enclosure necessary for controlling the rite of passage experienced by trainees. Successful passage through all three phases of this rite ensured a teacher who adhered to institutional norms and values, who possessed state-sanctioned forms of knowledge, and who acted, behaved and thought according to the professional ideals of the state. This ontologically-driven process resulted in the formation of a new teacher identity. If students did not conform to the imposed norms and values, they were considered unfit to teach by the educational authorities and either remedial action or student termination was undertaken by the College or Board authorities. Openshaw points out that the norms circumscribing the training course of teachers were, in reality, ways of sorting students and sifting out undesirable candidates. The training colleges carried out such functions until well into the 1960s in their attempt to produce a homogeneous and conformist group. Openshaw argues that regulations regarding student termination also ensured compliance. Over time, these became more sophisticated in defining normality and deviance. There were three categories under which a studentship could be terminated:

(a) academic, including consistent failure to meet deadlines with assigned work;

(b) personal, defined as the „exhibition of personality traits incompatible with teaching", including „extravagant" behaviour, an inability to make the adjustments necessary in hostels and in boarding establishments, „disturbing deviations such as homosexuality, alcoholism, and sexual promiscuity";

(c) disciplinary, including failure to respond to guidance in matters of general conduct and social indiscretions.[23]

At various times, students, and, on rare occasions, College Principals, challenged and contested this institutionalised power – this was done in a variety of ways and will be considered later in the discussion. Each of the three phases of separation, transition and incorporation experienced by the „normalites" or „collites" (as they frequently referred to themselves) will now be examined.

a) The Separation Phase

Several factors were essential to the successful implementation of the separation phase. These ranged from the provision of a sequestered environment to the imposition of experiences which caused a disruption to the equilibrium of the trainee. These are now explained in more detail.

(i) The Provision of a Dedicated Environment:

According to van Gennep, separation, the first phase of the rite of passage involves disconnecting ties with the existing community. As previously explained, this is necessary in order that novices can receive specialist training in a new and enclosed environment. As the training colleges and normal schools were located in the four main regional centres, the majority of students wishing to train as teachers had to travel away from home. This meant that not only were they separated from their physical and social groups of family and friends, they were also located in separate institutions dedicated exclusively to transmitting the appropriate professional norms. The college experience was only thought to be fully satisfactory if it was a total experience: this meant not only controlling aspects of the trainees" lives on campus, but also their off-campus, private

lives. England favoured the attachment of residential hostels to their training colleges which served this very purpose; however, early New Zealand colleges had to be content with the provision of approved lodgings for their trainees. This was a source of long-standing dissatisfaction from the Principals of the Colleges, as illustrated by the following statement from W. S. Fitzgerald, the first Principal of Dunedin Training College. When reporting to the Royal Commission, he claimed that either a hostel or suitable boarding accommodation was necessary for the trainees in order to provide "*proper supervision of health and conduct, which would give parents confidence in sending their sons or daughters to Dunedin.*"[24] Forty years later, a successive College principal was still anxious about the "*vulgar or inconsiderate landladies ...the only remedy is a College Hostel*".[25]

Having the right sort of person in charge of supervising the trainees" off-campus lives was supremely important to the moulding of desirable character traits. The solution of a residential hostel would ensure total control and surveillance of all aspects of life and would be instrumental in curtailing the social life of the students. E. Pinder, a Principal of Dunedin Training College, endorsed this sentiment and expressed his concerns that, "*Many of them* [the trainees] *are inclined under the circumstances to attend amusements and social functions to such a degree as to interfere seriously with their health and training.*"[26] (my parenthesis)

Education Boards were also requesting that serious consideration be given to the provision of attached hostels and successive Education Ministers took up the cause. Following several repeated requests from College Principals, such as that sent by T. S. Foster to the Chairman of the Canterbury Education Board and received in 1914, J. Caughley, wrote to the Minister of Education stating that there was an urgent need for college hostels in each of the four main centres: "*and it is hoped*", he stated, "*that under the provision of the loan for the Educational Purposes Act, provision will immediately be made in this direction.*"[27] His letter expressed that preference be given to training college students rather than university students as they numbered 60-80 women and they were forced to study away from home. He stated "*instead of giving assistance to the Canterbury College Board of Governors for the establishment of a hostel in which eventually probably four-fifths of the inmates would be training college students under the Education Department, we should rather take steps to establish a hostel in*

connexion with the Training College to which, if desired, University College women students could be admitted."[28]

Of note here is the fact that if hostels were erected in conjunction with training colleges, they would come under the aegis of the state via the Education Boards; whereas if they were attached to the University, control would lie with its more autonomous Board of Governors. Needless to say, control remained with the state. Also of interest is the intention that rigorous surveillance of student teachers was not to be extended to females from other professions. Giving priority to future teachers meant that trainees would be exposed to the norms, values and moral controls demanded by the Boards and the state – important requisites for the ethical transformation of teachers. Shortly following the writing of the above letter, a residential hostel was opened in association with Christchurch Training College; whilst this was controlled by the Canterbury Education Board, it also housed the smaller female university population. The hostel was named Helen Connon Hall after the wife of Professor Macmillan Brown, the first woman to receive an Honours degree from a British university.[29] Other colleges followed suit with residential hostels and approved lodgings becoming the established pattern.

(ii) The Provision of State-Controlled Institutions:

Training colleges were considered pivotal in providing an appropriate cultural and educational milieu for future teachers. Teacher training enterprises outside of these state-approved college institutions did not survive for any length of time as they could not be so easily controlled: these included those set up around the country (in Napier and Auckland, for example) and also the few privately-owned institutions. Most educational authorities were in agreement that teacher trainees should be trained together but not all of them agreed that trainees should move away from their regional area for this. One or two Education Boards complained about the difficulties of pupil-teachers going outside of their area to attend college as they rarely returned. In Westland, for example, Inspector J. Smith petitioned for training provisions to be made for pupil-teachers within their area as there was no guarantee of retaining them after their college training, particularly as other more advanced regions were able to offer better training, higher salaries and improved teaching conditions. Their attempt to retain pupil-teachers involved attaching a separate class to their district high school: this was

to serve the twofold purpose of providing a secondary education to local children and a normal school for the training of pupil-teachers.[30] Needless to say the project failed. It was impossible to provide the exclusive and isolated culture necessary to re-forming teacher identities and it therefore did not receive financial encouragement from the state.

(iii) Separation from the University:

In 1906, the two colleges that had been closed in the Depression, were re-opened and all four training institutions were once again operating in the main regional centres. All four were state-owned, state-maintained and came under the local control of their Education Boards. Their curriculum was subject to the approval of the Minister of Education. They were all now officially referred to as training colleges, rather than normal schools or training departments, and student teachers started to refer themselves as „collites" rather than „normalites". Attendance at these, at least in the early years, was optional and the prescribed course consisted of a few months to two years, depending on the student teachers" particular circumstances. Training became compulsory in 1910 and various recommendations were made about its duration (i.e. whether it should consist of one year or two years following the two year pupil-teacher period).[31] Achieving total insularity from other training institutions and other professionals in training, an essential component of the first phase of separation, could never be fully achieved whilst the students were also attending university for several compulsory classes. The relationship between the university and training college and who should control teacher education has been much disputed. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the work of Openshaw, the Lees, Snook and Alcorn[32] reveals that, despite many recommendations urging the university to take control of teacher education, this was never achieved during this period. In fact the opposite occurred and the tenuous links were severed completely.

During this early period, concurrent university and college study was mandatory practice. This proved successful for some trainees and was encouraged by some College Principals. Other Principals, however, enumerated the difficulties of accommodating two entirely different cultures alongside each other: the academic curriculum from the university and the professional curriculum from the college. They maintained that this resulted in divided loyalties from the trainees as they were torn between the two

worlds.[33] Other problems were also identified and these included timetable clashes, student workloads, and organising teaching practice around the university calendar year. The abilities of teacher trainees undertaking the university course (despite the long history of university success – especially in Otago) was also questioned by many. C. C. Howard who held the principalship of two of the early training colleges at different times, was chief among those iterating the necessity for a specialised course for teachers within a dedicated environment and with a specially constructed culture. Referring to the problems of students studying subjects at the university, he stated:

> *Our primary business, I conceive, is to give a special training for a special profession to students in various stages of literary attainment. Some may be far enough advanced to profitably pursue a course of university study. Let them do so, if there is the opportunity; but let them not neglect, at the same time to bestow a fair proportion of attention on the immediate work of the training college.*[34]

The third Principal of Dunedin Training College, Pinder, also wished to restrict trainees to the specialist training of the college and in so doing, implied that college students were academically inferior to university students. He declared that the type of students attracted to teacher training would not necessarily benefit from university study because, "*Ability and ambition were the unknown factors, especially the latter. The result was… that some students found the course they took too heavy for their health, and others seemed to wish to take the class but avoid the work.*[35]

The subtext of many of Pinder‟s articulations was that university students were too academically bright to succumb to the acculturation of the college setting. Also that teacher trainees who opted for the university course for career reasons, were frequently not able to cope with the intellectual demands of university study and needed more academic cushioning and moral guidance. This notion has persisted throughout the history of teacher education.

The Department of Education also began to accept the view that trainees should be separated from other professions and, in support of the Training College Principals who were staking a claim to their territorial training ground (and it must be remembered that several Principals **did** support concurrent study), the Prime Minister endorsed the

training provided by the colleges at the expense of that provided by the universities. At the opening of the new Christchurch Training College buildings in 1927, the Prime Minister made his preference very clear by publicly stating that the Training Colleges had encouraged students in university work and had provided courses which were,

> *... a little below those provided in the University Colleges… The literary aims of the Colleges are to be commended, but there is a danger that the needs of schools, both primary and secondary, may be overlooked. It is most important that the students should not merely have a knowledge of the subjects of instruction, but should thoroughly understand how these subjects be taught. There is an inclination at the present time to minimise the importance of giving students a good knowledge of the methods of teaching. The Training College must not overlook that it is a Training College, and not a junior University, and that"s its main function is to train young people to teach.*[36]

This statement reinforced events occurring at the time. The complete severance of ties with the University ceded total control of teacher training to the state-owned colleges. The consequence of this was that student teachers were inducted within a sequestered college environment totally isolated from the influence of other professionals-in-training. More trainees than ever before were being exposed to this separatist, exclusive and restricted form of training as the new powers granted to the colleges were accompanied by a huge influx of student teachers. In 1878, the number of trainees was 107;[37] this increased from 904 in 1921,[38] and to 1,151 in 1922.[39]

(iv) The Ordeal of Separation:

Separation from other academic institutions had now been achieved. This meant that the majority of students were uprooted from their former lives in order to be assimilated into a new culture and society. The translocation to a normal school or training college setting was experienced by many students as painful and traumatic and many suffered from homesickness and profound dislocation. The initial feelings of despair and dread on first encountering their new institution were so prevalent that in every edition of the early Dunedin Training College magazines, a separate feature was devoted to the trainees" first impressions of the College. Many, as intimated in the following example, expressed their fears in poetry:

When first I stood at the open door
And gazed at the place within
When echoes rang in resounding peals
And the light came straggling in.

When naught of laughter or life was heard
Where all seemed gloomy and dead
I thought of my future sojourn there
With a feeling akin to dread.

When hosts of others in chatting groups
Came smiling into the room:
They seemed to name me as „stranger"there
To deepen my dread and gloom.

I wondered sadly if e"er I"d had
My place in the joyful throng
If ever my gladsome heart would give
To my joyous lips a song.[40]

As indicated here, separation was often experienced as a vivid and alienating experience. However, as van Gennep explains, trainees had to experience this breaking down of their old identity in order to become receptive to the forthcoming „binding together" ceremonies. The latter came in the form of institutional supports and use of technologies such as welcoming functions and orientation activities which not only assisted students to cope with their separation, but also played a major part in their „investiture" into a new community.

There was a particular concern for the health of female students. When the Principals of all four of the colleges became members of the University faculty, they worked alongside medical practitioners and university lecturers such as Doctors King, Fergusson and Batchelor, well known antagonists of advanced education for young women. They encountered numerous claims that female pupil-teachers and trainees

should not receive any form of advanced education as it was deleterious to their health and would damage their propensity for motherhood. The controversy has been well documented so it will be not pursued here; however, it is summed up in the following quote from Dr. L. Fergusson addressing the Intercolonial Medical Congress of Australasia in 1899:

> *Colonial parents have a very laudable desire to educate their girls that they may be able to support themselves... but the slow process of evolution which has, during countless ages made girls as they are has done so not to make them teachers of backblock schools but the mothers of generations to come. Injudicious education may render them unfit to fill the part nature has destined them for.*[41]

This led to an acute concern for women trainees as it was believed that their physical and mental health could be jeopardised by the strain and anxiety that accompanied academic study. The Principal of Dunedin Training College in 1916, for example, requested a medical examination at this particularly vulnerable stage of separation for those female students who had recently terminated their apprenticeship, left home and entered the new college environment:

> *Too many of them come here fresh from the worries of the teaching of large classes and also from the worry of the January examinations, and in anything but a fit state to undertake a college course without regular and compulsory medical supervision... The fact that so many students are away from home care intensifies the need.*[42]

The paradox involved in having to provide advanced levels of education for females whilst simultaneously enunciating the danger to their health, were solved to a certain extent by the provision of college hostels where women students could be monitored, observed and protected at all times. Eventually, the alleged strain of concurrent university study was eradicated altogether when university study was abandoned in the 1920s.

(v) Selection into the New Environment:

In order to protect the exclusivity of the training college environment and highlight the singularity of the new student society to which they were entering, admission of the most suitable teacher candidates assumed growing importance: although this process was still subject to fiscal and economic pressure. For example, in times of plentiful teacher supply, when there was a wide pool of teacher applicants from which to draw, processes were adhered to more stringently; the reverse was also apparent in times of shortage. As the number of candidates grew, the Education Board authorities began to control the selection procedures into the closed college communities more carefully. Both formal and informal selection procedures became more exacting. In Dunedin, three different groups supplied the early candidates for the training college: pupil teachers on completion of their apprenticeship; untrained assistants (and after the 1882 Normal School Regulations, those who had also been in charge of a school for over a year and had been recommended by Inspectors); and students under 35 years who had successfully passed the Training College examinations. In addition, students also had to provide evidence that they were physically fit and morally robust; a medical certificate was supplied for the former and character testimonials from esteemed citizens were necessary for the latter. As there were proportionately lower numbers of men teachers, Check informs us that the entry criteria was not as strictly observed with respect to male applicants – he did not specify what this difference was other than to state that females were also required to pass a singing test.[43] He also informs us that a special „bridging" class at the College was formed from those who had successfully passed the sixth standard and wished to sit the College Entrance Examination. Before they could take advantage of this, however, the prospective candidates had to provide written assurance that they would go into teaching upon completion of their training.

Once selected into the college, the rites of separation as explained by van Gennep, involve a change in the status of the initiate in order to acquire a new identity. He maintains that in order for separation to occur, the individual has to make changes to their existing personality, attire, hair codes, and name; these are an integral expression of an individual''s identity and therefore need to be radically altered.[44]

These were evidenced in the strict rules surrounding appropriate attire, both on and off the college campus. Trainees were expected to wear different „uniforms" for different occasions and events: the photographs on the following pages show the accepted mode

of dress for different social, sporting and social occasions. Every aspect of the student"s physical appearance was controlled and modified in order to bring about uniformity and conformity. Regular inspections were conducted, particularly of women students and, prior to entry, students were provided with a list of the clothing necessary, including formal evening wear.[45] Undergraduate gowns were worn to lectures. Hats were required in various formal situations, for example, when going into schools, on field trips and community visits. Female students were also expected to meet the regulation dress length and, when venturing off-campus, gloves were expected. Either dark dresses with a discreet ruffle at the neck or white blouses and dark skirts were in evidence in most of the early photographs of this time. Women wore their long hair scraped back off their faces and pinned up at the back. Men wore white shirts (with specific types of collar) and ties. During and after the war, military uniforms were also highly acceptable forms of attire as they evidenced the outstanding noble and patriotic values of the wearer. From available evidence, it appears that the majority of men students possessed military uniforms as part of their military training and drill.[46] Most colleges had formed their own Cadet Officers" Training Corps and military life played a significant part in their life, especially during the First World War. This was promoted keenly, especially at Auckland College of Education when an ex-Principal was killed on active service.

College caps, blazers and scarves in the College colours were proudly worn and trainees debated endlessly in the college magazines about which colour or shade these should take. In the 1870s most male students were depicted with various degrees of facial hair and by the 1920s most appeared clean-shaven. Rules surrounding hair length (and facial hair for males) for formal occasions, including teaching practice, were conservative and strictly enforced and it seems that the dictates of fashion were deliberately followed in the colleges decades after they were fashionable in wider society. A complex system of micro-penalties ensured that any sign of individuality was removed.

Communication protocols were also strictly enforced and designed to facilitate power relationships. Staff always addressed students by their title and surname and this was reciprocated when students addressed staff. With regard to male trainees, staff frequently addressed them with their surname alone, thus denoting their inferior status. Formality also determined how pupils addressed trainees when they were on practicum.

Figure 4.1 Staff and Students of Auckland Training College, 1914.
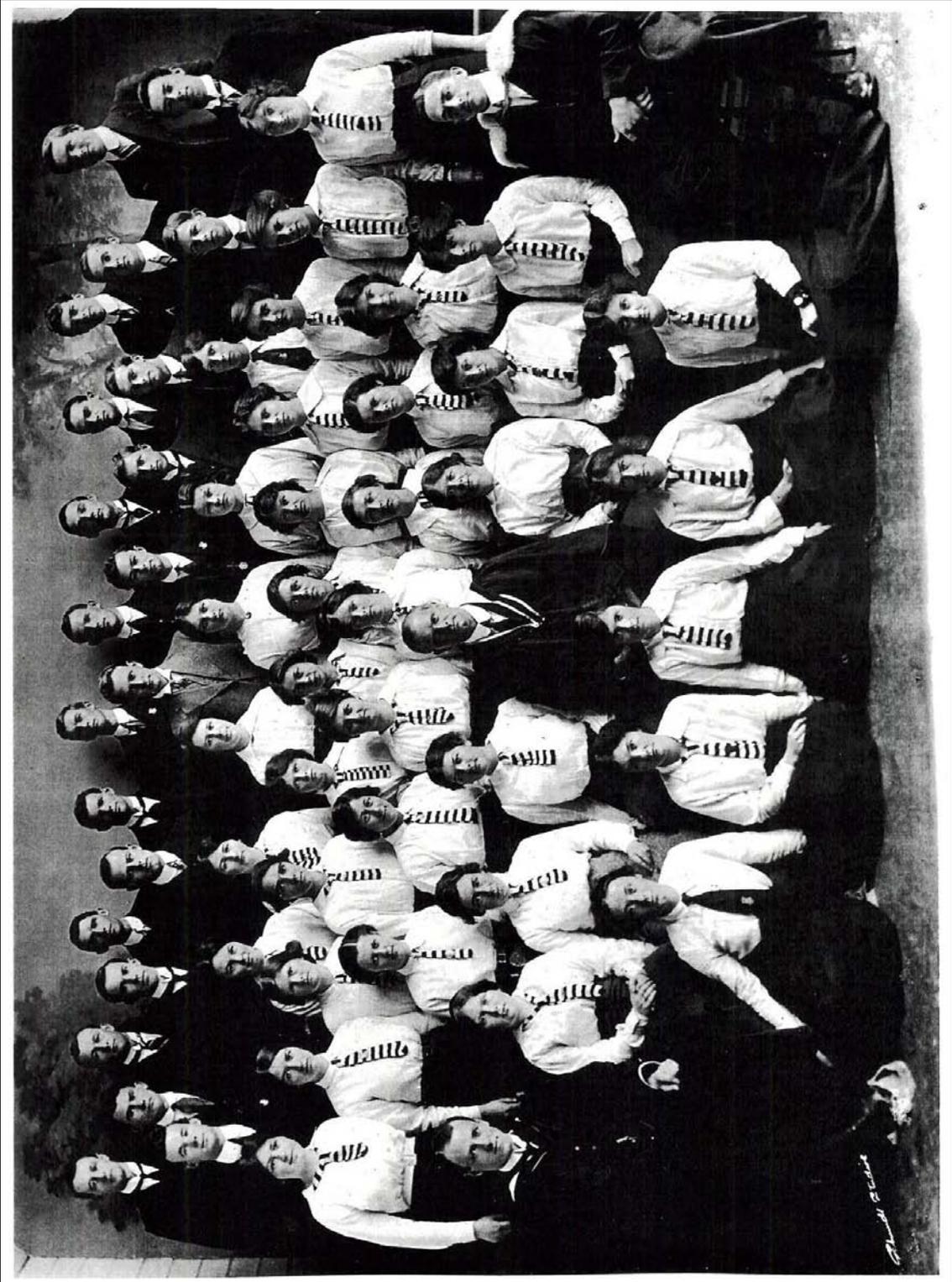
Sylvia Ashton Warner Library (Epsom), University of Auckland

Figures 4.2 & 4.3 Men Staff and Students, Auckland Training College, 1912.

(In uniform and formal dress)

Figure 4.4 The Women‟s Basketball Team, Auckland Training College, 1914.

An essential part of this phase was learning when and when not to speak. Silence was a Foucauldian form of disciplinary control and it was particularly directed at the women trainees. Illustrations of young women being compelled to remain silent occurred in both university and college classrooms and at specific times in the women"s hostel. When the 1917 Dunedin Training College magazine reported on the opening of St Margaret"s Residential College and stated that the new hostel was full to capacity with its intake of 55 girls, it also added a section detailing various light-hearted incidents. This included the following comment, *"The silence hours are so strictly enforced that even the gargling of throats is not permissible."[47]* Although reported in jest, women students had to stay silent during study hours and bedtimes. This appeared as the antithesis to the idle chatter and gossip that was supposedly a characteristic of all women. Enforced silence was meant to train females in the masculine manner of rational and logical thought and in thinking before they spoke; this required silent, deep and introspective thought. This training prepared them for their role in the workforce – it was only on very rare and special occasions that individual women teachers addressed public gatherings. One of the reasons for the creation of Women Teachers" Associations was the creation of a place in which they could speak freely and honestly, and debate educational and political issues that concerned children and themselves in a non-threatening environment.

Total control of trainees was exercised by the College authorities and they demanded absolute compliance with College rules. Although it appeared as if students were exercising autonomy by making decisions about themselves and their world, in reality they were restricted to making shallow decisions about trifling issues such as variations in scarf colour. Changes to physical appearance might appear superficial but they signified a major breakdown of existing identity in order to reconstruct a new identity more in keeping with their forthcoming status.

Compliance with these regulatory demands signalled a ready consciousness to accept a deep-rooted change in their personality in order to meet the social and affiliation obligations of their new social group.

b) The Transition Phase

(i) Crossing the Threshold:

Once trainees crossed the threshold into a marginal state which introduced them to the mores of their new society, the transitional phase was entered. This was probably the most important phase of their rite of passage. Turner, further elaborating van Gennep"s transition stage, explains it as the *"passage through a threshold or limen, into a ritual world removed from everyday notions of time and space; a mimetic enactment ...in the course of which enactment of the structures of everyday life are both elaborated and challenged.*"[48]

The training college effectively uprooted trainees from their previous environment into an entirely new regime governed by an infrastructure of rules and routines, timetables and highly prescribed curriculum knowledge: these dictated every aspect of their lives. The move into this transitional phase was often accompanied with a ceremony that took them, sometimes literally, across the threshold and into a separate, defined space dedicated specifically to their training. The student magazines are liberally scattered with references to crossing the portal or threshold and entering the hallowed halls and walls of the institution. The following is just one example:

> *On a bright and sunny morning in February a youthful band of budding teachers might have been seen standing before the forbidding portals of the Training College. As they gazed up with wondrous awe, they thought of the terrors there might be within – for they too had heard far afield, of the might and strength of the „powers-that-be" within the College walls. This then, is the aim, the goal, of the pupil-teacher"s ambition. Now no longer pupil-teachers – no, they are a grade higher – they are students! But it is fear and trembling that they betake themselves across its silent threshold.*[49]

Crossing the threshold was a significant indicator of the power of the institution in both its physical and metaphorical sense. The photograph in Figure 4.5 shows the main entrance or „portal" of Christchurch Training College and its very appearance in the College magazine denotes the symbolic significance it was given as the gateway to appropriate knowledge.[50] Van Gennep mentions the importance of the portal or

doorway in both modern and ancient societies as it is a territorial marker offering entrance to the „sacred" territory. Only members of the society are welcome to cross it and strangers are prohibited unless formally welcomed. Usually members have to undergo some form of selection ritual before they are allowed to enter the walls of the institution which define its territorial boundaries. *"The door is the boundary between the foreign and the domestic worlds…. therefore to cross the threshold is to unite oneself with a new world."[51]* This was certainly evident in the early training colleges.

When institutions such as training colleges are considered of importance to society, various ceremonies are attached to their opening. These include particular celebratory rituals such as speeches about the purposes and intentions of the institution, prayers, anthems, feasting and a gathering together of a public assembly; all of these usually accompany such „milestones". In particular, a great deal of symbolic significance is attached to the laying of the foundation stone – this is usually undertaken by an eminent person as it marks out the institution"s „sacred" territory.[52] The opening of all the training colleges involved similar rituals and ceremonies, and details were recorded for future generations in special „archives". At the laying of Christchurch College"s foundation stone in 1883, for example, such rituals were observed and C. Bowen summed up the purpose of the college and its necessity as, *"an institution in the Province to train young teachers and to impart the technical side of the art of teaching to educated persons of both sexes who might be willing to adopt the profession of teaching."[53]* This not only laid the physical foundations, it also marked out the foundations of intent.

Figure 4.5 The Main Entrance or „Portal" of Christchurch Training College

THROUGH THESE PORTALS . . .
Walter Clark

The Recorder. (1950) p.39.

(ii) Assimilation:

Once inside the sacred territory of the institution, particular spaces were set aside to cement communal activity. One such space was the students' Common Room, here described in a student's overflowing praise of this particular amenity:

We are a merry crowd – very happy as a rule, and always 'common'. In the Common Room, we do just as we like. In the classroom we are studious and attentive but here we are simply ourselves… we talk, we laugh, we sing, we yell and we tell stories.[54]

By setting aside physical spaces such as Common Rooms, the authorities were openly facilitating and making possible the bonding of students which was so necessary to assimilation into a specific community. An essential function of the training college in this transitional phase was the assimilation of teacher trainees into the desired mores and values of the teaching profession. Assimilation is defined by R. Park and E. Burgess as a process *"of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life".*[55] Through this assimilation process, a community of purpose is achieved and this community was forged for teacher trainees in the training colleges. Here common experiences shared by all the trainees formed a mutual history.

Ironically, although loss of individuality and homogeneity were encouraged in order to induce greater uniformity and conformity, the trainees were frequently regarded as collections of anonymous individuals. They were gathered together for the purposes of instruction, assessment, examination and the judging of their performance. Each body was numbered and critically scrutinised for its usefulness and it was *"observed, characterised, assessed, computed".*[56] The Wellington Training College Register for 1880[57] provides examples of such practices; all students were issued with a number on entry and these became ways of recognising individuals; for example, Isabel D. Morgan, No.95, had recorded beside her name, *"Sister of No.66"*. A whole period of training was summed up in one short sentence and this could either enhance or hinder the trainee's chances of future employment. One such example is Theodore Percy Arnold, obviously struggling in the shadow of his famous grandfather, who had an entry

placed alongside his name which stated *"B.A. from Oxford Uni. (Unattached) – Grandson of Arnold of Rugby"*. In the section headed „Special Notes", a laconic and summative judgement of his two-year training was presented thus: *"Not a good teacher. Had very little controlling power and a nervous, hesitating utterance which made him ineffective – of very decided literary ability, however."*[58]

It was generally accepted that younger trainees could be more easily assimilated into the desired norms as they were more amenable (and susceptible) to having their character re-formed and moulded according to the ideal. Hogben summarised this view when he stated that, *"Entrants to training colleges must not be too old, otherwise they might have passed the plastic stage at which they could acquire habits, which, in the absence of a strong natural bent towards them, have to be made automatic by practice.*[59]

(iii) Disorientation:

As stated previously, van Gennep maintains that distress and anxiety usually accompany the transitional stage. This occurs as the individual strives to accomplish the radical reorganisation of their „self" which is implicit in the production of their new identity. Many of the transitional rituals are designed to heighten this confusion; disorientation is an intended result. The disequilibrium experienced by the neophyte is a necessary precursor to the adoption of the values and norms of the „new" society. Turner explains the process:

> *Their behaviour is normally passive or humble; they must obey their instructors implicitly, and accept arbitrary punishment without complaint. It is as though they are being reduced or ground down to a uniform condition to be fashioned anew and endowed with additional powers to enable them to cope with their new station in life. Among themselves, neophytes tend to develop an intense comradeship and egalitarianism.*[60]

There is no doubt that the majority of trainees were distraught at separation from their existing society (as mentioned earlier). However, if students were left in this condition, the difficult transformation process could lead to negativity, hence posing a threat to the social stability of the community. Consequently, authority figures put into place safeguards or concessions shortly after the trauma had been experienced in order to

reduce the disruptive effects. This was recognised by all the colleges who, in addition to formal enrolment procedures, provided an induction function, usually in the form of a welcoming ceremony, in order to minimise the disorientation experienced by many new trainees. In the early stages of transition, trainees were usually highly dependent on those in authority for this support; gradually, however, as they became more certain of their „new" selves, they assumed more independence. In the early years of the colleges, the teaching staff assumed full control for the welcoming function, but once the Students" Associations were formed, the Student Executive Committee and final year students frequently took over the responsibility for organising these affairs (always in liaison with staff). For example, in Dunedin in 1909, a Students" Association was formed and the Executive Committee which consisted of an elected President, Secretary and six student representatives, assumed responsibility for the pastoral care of the newly enrolled students.[61] High on their list of priorities was a function designed to welcome new trainees into their new community, thus reducing the impact of separation from family and friends. One new entrant describes the events:

> *Already the new Executive is taking matters in hand. The Seniors are to welcome the Juniors in the form of a picnic – and later by a social, but in the meantime the best wishes of the Principal go with us all down to the Harbour to the Māori „Kaik". On the voyage down all are happy and joyous, that is, except the Junior „boys" – O! They are so shy! In fact they are nearly at the landing place before they dare move a few steps for an introduction. Even that is not needed. A wily executive has formed the plan of labelling us one and all so that all one needs is to look at the slip of paper pinned to another's coat and shake hands!*[62]

After lunch, the trainees viewed the lighthouse and played communal games. Such activities not only provided necessary support and stability to the new trainees, but also reinforced the hierarchical power and control of those in authority and those shortly to be in authority. In addition, it highlighted their inclusion into a new, professionally exclusive population. In describing this process with reference to Canadian normal school students in the early 1900s, K. A. Hollihan emphasises the function of separation: *"Normalites were identified, marked off from the community at large with tangible indications of their singularity as a population. They served to (re)inforce*

difference in the normalite's mind, one recognised with individuals similarly defined. It was an initial foray into identity construction."[63]

(iv) Disciplinary Tactics:

During the transition stage, trainees begin to believe that the experiences and ordeals imposed upon them are legitimate, necessary and advantageous to the construction of their teacher identity. There were at least five major regulatory and disciplinary tactics, both negative and positive, utilised by the training colleges to domesticate and control new trainees. These included (a) implementing regulations which circumscribed behaviour, (b) testing of appropriate knowledge through examinations, and (c) practical teaching, including the „crit" lesson; all of which aimed at conformity and were based on surveillance and accountability. Other tactics included those aiming at assimilation into the corporate body through the formation of a jointly experienced college history, such as (d) the development of college patriotism, and (e) the acculturation of trainees into a middle class culture. The two latter also emphasised unity, collegiality and the formation of desirable characteristics, behaviours and habits. As all were essential processes in the transitional phase; they are now discussed.

Regulations Governing Behaviour:

During the transitional phase, those in authority usually spoke with a unitary voice and insisted on College rules and regulations being obeyed. Trainees were instructed on their social and moral obligations at every opportunity. Compliance was expected and trainees were given few opportunities to object. Two major forms of regulations were prescribed. These comprised of the formal legal requirements imposed by the state through the Education Department, the local Education Boards and the training colleges and related to issues such as entrance and exit regulations, examination protocols, conditions of work and pay: all relating to governing the formal life of student teachers. The second set of regulations were those rules, traditions and ritualised practices imposed by the college as an institution (or by the local Board) and they related primarily to the conduct and behaviour of the student teacher, not only on campus but also off-campus, for the duration of their training. It is the second set of regulations that form the focus of this section.

Serious breaches of the college rules warranted the application of severe sanctions. Usually, however, breaches of the college rules were frequently minor in nature and resulted in penalties and forms of punishment that were not severe (although this was not necessarily the case). Such transgressions consisted of missing compulsory lectures and assemblies, performing pranks, and engaging in capping stunts. This student ditty from 1912 reveals the typical penalties exacted by the Principal for a student breach of college rules:

A head of a pedagogue factory
Makes students beware how they act, or he
Docks off their pay
Or in some severe way
Deals with his student's refractory.[64]

College was often regarded as a secondary school and trainees regarded as young pupils who had to be brought into line. The trainees themselves accepted this and acted as „naughty" boys and girls. Indeed, very often, the trainees referred to themselves as „boys" and „girls"; however, according to the Dunedin College Student Register, the age of the majority of trainees was 16-20 years.[65] To all intents and purposes they should have been regarded as adults. Different methods of correction to ensure obedience to the regulations were utilised: W. Brock, an ex-student of Christchurch, humorously recalls how the drill master used physical means to speed up their learning: *"The gymnasium was well equipped and the touch of Mr. F. J. Walker's cane on the soft parts of the body caused many a smart, if not beautiful movement".*[66] Although the cane was not used as a punishment, it was a fairly strenuous way of enforcing correct behaviour, and certainly would not have been exercised had the students been regarded as adults (unless in a military academy). It is also doubtful if it was used on women, although there is no evidence to corroborate this. Numerous incidents are recalled in the student magazines where trainees were reprimanded and publicly humiliated or chastised. An ex-student from Christchurch recollects how C. T. Ascham (the Principal) controlled students' behaviour through his personal charisma and castigating wit:

The outstanding figure of those days was Ascham, whose lectures on School
Method and on Physiography were delivered with a zest and sparkle that captured

the interest of even the most dilatory. He was then at the zenith of his power as a brilliant lecturer, and was without equal as an exponent of the teaching art. One could scarcely help looking upon him as the whole institution. He was tough. To hear him deliver public admonition to the delinquent was a revelation, and though few escaped his searching and scientific discussion of their shortcomings, all enjoyed his lectures and appreciated his efforts in the castigation of others. I have very clear recollections of being held up to public scorn on several occasions, but this had its compensations in the keen enjoyment of the discomfiture of others.[67]

What is of interest here is the acceptance by the college authorities of certain minor forms of misbehaviour, with the actual labelling of individuals who did not act according to the norm as „delinquents". This prompted unity amongst trainees as all were publicly chastised and they knew that others would be treated in similar manner. They acted like children because they were treated like children and they expected to be publicly called to account. Because they were so tightly controlled, it was expected that infringements would occur and, as long as these were only minor transgressions, they tended to be overlooked. Perceiving the trainees as children was another attempt to objectify them.

Most training colleges observed routines, frequently compulsory, which regulated students" behaviour. Absence from lectures, which were all compulsory, was occasionally ignored, particularly if they were perceived by students (and presumably by senior staff) as not relevant or not providing „useful" knowledge; also if lecturers were viewed as possessing low status in the institutional hierarchy. The expectation that some lectures would be avoided or „bunked" was a frequently recurring theme, as this ex-student reminisces:

Certain lectures were considered legitimate to bunk. One, in particular was science, taken in an old corrugated-iron shed in the quad by a fine but somewhat aged man, nick-named "Weary". It was recognised that one or two should hold the fort until the end of the period, when „Weary" would look up, be surprised, and mutter about „those who waste the Board's time".[68]

However, non-attendance at class and weekly assemblies was not always treated so leniently. Assemblies and compulsory sporting and cultural days were at the heart of acculturation into college life. For example, weekly assemblies at Dunedin Training College became the norm and these get-togethers of the entire college community were turned into obligatory weekly College Days by the Principal, E. Partridge, in 1909.[69] This was also evidenced in other colleges. During the compulsory one-hour assembly of the student body, students were addressed by college or normal school staff and, occasionally, members of the university staff and visiting speakers. These were regarded as providing a uniting cultural opportunity for the students and were seen as essential bonding rituals.

Various techniques were used to ensure compulsion, such as calling the register and using a system of record cards which indicated the number of student absences over the year.[70] Reporting absences to the Auckland Education Board was done by H. Milnes on a weekly basis and irregular attendance was *"severely dealt with by the Board"*.[71] When absences were noted, repercussions usually followed. Attendance at assemblies was seen to be mandatory not only for student teachers, but also for staff and the Principals of the Training Colleges who were supposed to be setting an example. In a remarkable and surprising incident, Canterbury Education Board dismissed C. C. Howard from his position as first Principal of Christchurch Normal School mainly due to his refusal to attend the Normal School"s weekly assemblies. Additional matters of disagreement between Howard and the Board also arose and Howard dared to air these in public. The matter of his non-compliance with the Board"s directive was first raised in the Minutes of the Canterbury Education Board meeting on 6th February, 1879 when there was a demand from the Board that both teaching staff and the Principal should attend the practising school assembly at 9am.[72] This was followed by the Minutes of the 20th February meeting which stated that, *"A letter was received from the Principal of the Normal School relative to his non-attendance at the opening of the practising school. The Board adhered to its former resolution and required the attendance of the Principal at 9am"*.[73]

Members of a meeting held on the 6th March decided to hold a Special Meeting four days later to consider the case and a restatement of their edict was issued. As his compliance was not immediately forthcoming, the minutes from 10th March stated: *"It*

was resolved that the Board requires an immediate answer from the Principal whether he intends to comply with the instruction of the Board that he will attend the opening of the school at 9am".[74] By the 20th March, a letter from the Principal was tabled relating to his attendance and the Board resolved to *"submit the whole correspondence to the Board"s solicitors for advice whether Mr Howard"s letters constituted a virtual breach of his agreement".*[75] After going into committee to consider the question of the Principalship, a final statement in the minutes of 3rd July declared: *The Board having come to the conclusion that the Normal School is not in a satisfactory condition, resolves to determine the engagement of the present Principal in accordance with the terms of his agreement.*[76] The final reference to the matter was raised at the 11th July meeting when the minutes record that a letter was received from Howard requesting that the Board review their decision about his termination, and, if possible, rescind it. Unrelenting, the Board resolved that having received *"Mr. Howard"s letter of the 7th inst. under consideration there is no reason to depart from the resolution passed at the last meeting."*[77]

The drastic repercussion of not modelling the cultural mores necessary to the assimilation of student teachers, and publicly challenging the Board"s authority, resulted in dismissal.

On rare occasions, the colleges also actively contested decisions made by the Education Department. This occurred with the Department"s decision to close down the colleges during the Great Depression of 1887. At Christchurch Training College, the College authorities not only openly disagreed with the decision, they also condoned the radical protests of the trainees. The event is recalled in a later school magazine:

> *The students did not take kindly to this drastic cut* (of the colleges" operational grants by the Education Department), *and being lively folk, made their disapproval known. They hung "Rooms to Let" in the windows and publicly hanged an effigy of the Minister of Education (the Honourable George Fisher) with the silent but grinning approval of the Principal. The effigy was later carried in procession to the Avon and ceremoniously cast in, the boys from Normal pelting it with rocks as it sailed away.*[78] (my parenthesis)

Despite the protest, the Education Department‟s decision was not revoked, the college was closed and the control of the state remained intact.

Pranks and practical jokes were usually treated with good humour and student magazines are full of examples where the college men decided to engage in practical jokes. C. T. Aschman, Principal of Christchurch College, himself a student teacher in 1887, was involved in one such student incident:

> *Students then were full of fun and pranks. Mr Aschman took part in the demonstration of the closing of the College and also had a hand in a certain incident wherein half a dozen hens were carefully herded up the spiral staircase at Normal School and into the Principal‟s study. The door was carefully closed on the agitated birds, and the arrival of the Principal awaited with some eagerness. When he opened the door and the frightened birds flew to meet him, „the yells could be heard out in Cranmer Square!‟*[79]

Van Gennep maintains that during the novitiate‟s transitional stage, some of the economic and legal requirements that operate „outside‟ of this exclusive society are frequently modified or breached altogether by the initiates. He maintains that they are located in a sort of limbo and, as such, the normal rules of society are suspended for the duration of this transitional phase of induction. In earlier societies this was because the novitiates were regarded as holy and sacred and therefore society, as a profane entity, could have no hold over them. The occurrence of this phenomenon in most secular societies is, as described by van Gennep, still widespread and is evident in „anti-social‟ activities such as high-jinks, capping pranks, getting drunk, minor law-breaking offences and other transgressions. A picture on the next page portrays a trainee in the early hours of the morning following a college social event. An accompanying editor‟s note states that *the budding graduate became known to the police* during the incident.[80] There was a reasonably high toleration of students‟ antics in public, especially after periods of stress, such as examinations, or during celebration ceremonies, such as graduation. Interestingly, females did not usually appear in the role of digressors, except at the class level where they were frequently depicted as academically incompetent.

Figure 4.6 After the Social
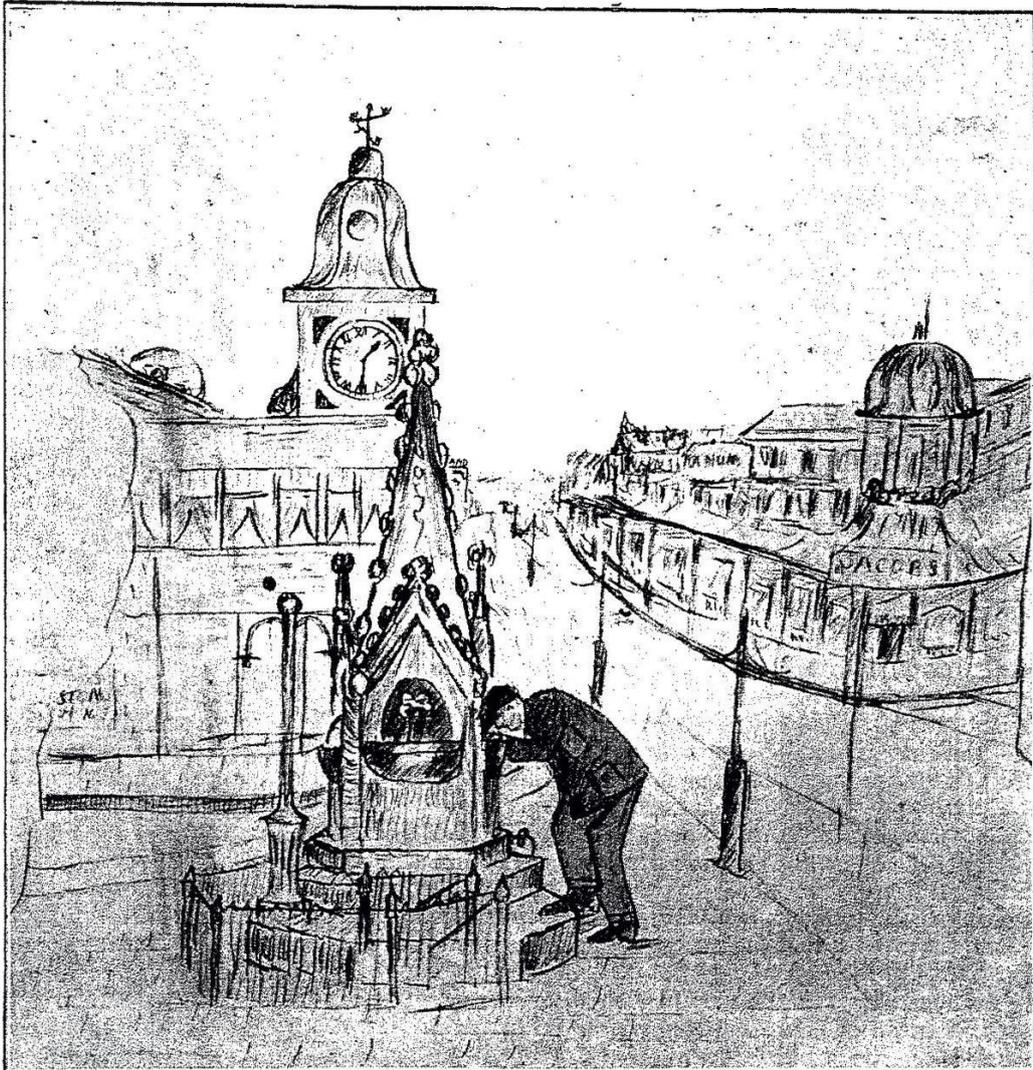
"THE EARLY BIRD IS CAUGHT BY THE ————."

2. Yes, someone met him at the fountain,
    Someone clad in navy blue;
    "Surely your escape requires accountin',"
    But reply came in words plain and true.

3. "Down at the social I've been dancing,
    Now I'm slowly straying home,
    No more round the fountain I'll come prancing,
    No more in my flannels I'll roam."

[Editor's Note.—The theme was no doubt suggested to the author by certain events which occurred in the early hours of the morning following the second social of the year, when our budding graduate became known to the police].

The Dunedin Training College Magazine. (1918), p.35.

Capping pranks during graduation were considered controlled ways of deviating from the accepted norms of behaviour and there are many examples of these throughout the student magazines. Capping day, a day set aside every year after the examinations, was an occasion where both the Senior and Junior students could „break the rules" by acting irresponsibly and without inhibition. From the evidence provided it appears that in the early days, only male students were directly involved, with females providing an appreciative audience, but this may or may not have been the case. Usually, a capping procession commenced the day"s events with trainees parading through the city streets dressed in ridiculous costumes and humorous attire. They were *"invariably berouged of features, variegated of attire, beaming and loud-tongued, and riotous. Without exception they had heaved the demon Swot into the nethermost pit of oblivion."* The observer continues with a description of the havoc caused by the students and concludes*, "No literary genius, living or dead, could ever convey in writing, an adequate impression of the horror of it all."*[81]

Occasionally these got a little out of hand and in one such incident, the males pursued the females into their hostel accommodation. The 1926 Christchurch Student Chronicles from Helen Connon Hall recount how the „girls" had been watching the capping procession when a *"gaudily clad troupe of varsity students sped pell-mell"* towards their *"quiet little common hall."*[82] When the troupe burst into the room, there was chaos with wild shrieks issuing from the girls who scrambled under the tables. More male students broke into the hall by scaling the fire escapes, climbing onto the roof and entering through the windows. They then pursued the girls, who *"first one, then another, were clasped in a vice like embrace and subjected to the ordeal of being kissed by a half-drenched, black-coated, white-whiskered parson, or by a less sombrely clad pirate whose face, unfortunately, was liberally smeared with coffee essence."*[83]

Unfortunately, the consequences of this stunt were not recorded; however, the fact that it was recorded at all must have meant that it was accepted by the staff of the College. It appears that all the strident efforts to protect female students (both training college and university) from male attention by placing them in a hostel with an ever-vigilant matron were suspended on this special occasion.

Ceremonial displays were a public acknowledgement of the singularity, sacredness and uniqueness of this particular population; they could be viewed as rituals of separation from society at large. They were also rituals which emphasised the "betwixt and between" nature of the transitional phase. During this phase, rejection of society"s rules were often condoned and tolerated and novitiates were frequently regarded as untouchable and not subject to the usual penalties incurred by breaking civic law. This was not always the case, and other breaches, particularly if they were conceived as undermining the fiat of educational authorities carried severe penalties, even if the transgressor was a powerful figure in the education of teachers.

The Ritual of the Examination:

According to Hall and Millard, one of Foucault"s three ways for exercising institutional power is through the examination.[84] The ritual of the examination ensures that the student is *"compiled and constructed both in the passive processes of objectification, and in an active, self-forming subjectification, the latter involving processes of self-understanding mediated by an external authority figure."*[85] It provided a remarkable example of an obscuring of individuality and a commodification of knowledge. The examination bracketed the entire transitional experience of the trainee and, as the quotation indicates, its main purpose was the objectification of the trainee through classifying and dividing. The latter was strikingly evident in the New Zealand examination system where exams were set and marked in England. This annexation of a whole country provided a remarkable example not only of the objectification of students, but also of a country that was still forming itself under the academic mantle of a more established and powerful nation. The knowledge provided and tested was, for the most part, highly relevant to a country half a world away with little concession being made to the New Zealand context. The cultural superiority of English epistemology and pedagogy was condoned and even encouraged by the majority of policy makers and educators of the day. Student teachers in New Zealand were forced to actively comply with the syllabus, regulations and protocols involved in the examination system, as their future occupations depended on the results. Students themselves, therefore, actively participated in the reconstruction of their own teacher identity in a way dictated by external British authority figures.

The interconnection between knowledge and examinations (the testing of knowledge) has a long history, particularly in the universities and monasteries. Foucault perceives the modern examination as a micro-technology which supplies the institute of learning with a summation of the learning of an individual. The individual now becomes a „case", within a population which, in turn, becomes a „case" as it becomes identifiable, knowable and, consequently, able to be organised more efficiently: "… *the features, the measurements, the gaps, the „marks" that make them all, taken together, a population of case, with norms and quantifiable deviations from the norm*".[86]

Establishing norms was an essential disciplinary function of the normal school and this was transferred to the training college. Examinations were a means of determining the norm and, as they were used to sift out students worthy of training, they justified the stress and anxiety provoked by them. Other „high stakes" assessment rituals were similarly regarded. The knowledge-power construct used so persistently in Foucault"s work is tied inextricably to the examination, "*the superimposition of the power relations assumes in the examination all its visible brilliance*".[87]

Foucault argued that the examination as a disciplinary technique arose with the emergence of the monasteries. Here, the disciplinary organisation of time, space and learners became essential to the inculcation of knowledge. Within the enclosed confines of a dedicated space, control and surveillance could be exercised. In the monastic system, knowledge of curriculum and practice was assessed using a numerical system of grading individuals and then aggregating these to discover the distribution based on normal behaviour and deviations from the norm. In such a regulated environment, novice priests could be separated into those who had potential and those who had not. The passing of examinations was instrumental in determining who could be assimilated into the ways of the priesthood. D. Jones emphasises the close parallel between monasteries and training colleges in 19th century England, stating that teacher trainees,

> … *underwent a quasi-monastic discipline. They were subject, in fact, to a confessional technology adumbrated by the normative principle of examination to prepare them for a secular practice. The regime of the training college paid meticulous attention to the surveillance, correction, and confession of the aspirant teachers.*[88]

The 20th century training colleges of New Zealand closely adhered to the monastic model described by J. Collins in her study of the Catholic religious orders in New Zealand.[89] The colleges were based on a similar organisational pattern of time (with the curriculum crowded into a rigid timetable), space (with dedicated locations designed for specific purposes within the confines of a marked territorial perimeter) and learners (who comprised only trainee teachers). Interestingly, this institutional patterning and the processes surrounding the ritual of the examination as a disciplinary exercise, are highly compatible with features of van Gennep"s transitional phase wherein novitiates have to overcome tests of endurance in order to demonstrate their potential for valour, commitment and conformity to the norms of their new society.

Principles of differentiation underscored the college experience and whilst this is explained in more detail in the following chapter, it is briefly referred to here. The first steps in the objective quantification of human abilities were taken by F. Galton. His disciples, A. Binet, C. Burt and many others, established a new „measurement" tradition which cemented the construct of the norm into educational thinking. Grading, sorting and labelling became common educational practice; the chief means of assessing the acquisition of appropriate knowledge was through the examination and "*the most notorious numerical offshoot of the examination mark, the intelligence quotient.*"[90] Professor J. Hight from Canterbury University College, who lectured the college trainees in English, applauded the strict methods for selection of candidates used by American Universities, who supplemented examination results with IQ tests in order to sort out those receptive to more advanced forms of training. He quotes the American educational authorities: "*With this start towards the detection of intellectual ability, one can select a group of students who are worth educating. If a boy has brains but a weak character, there is a much better prospect of helping to correct these defects than if the reverse is the case*".[91]

The theme of exercising control of the student population through the rituals of measurement and the examination runs throughout the history of teacher education. The overemphasis of grading through examinations was generally unquestioned by most authority figures in New Zealand and it is only since the 1980s that the domination of the examination has been challenged.[92] In the colleges, examinations of both theory and practice were frequently regarded as tests of endurance that, if passed satisfactorily,

would serve trainees well once they were out in the real world of teaching. Examinations (along with the „crit lesson") dominated not only the curriculum but the entirety of trainees" lives and frequent mention of the demands made on the students is provided in college magazines. One of many examples is quoted here from the 1911 Recorder:

Soliloquy

To swat, or not to swat, that is the question;

Whether ,tis better gaily to endure

Unfavourable reports and be suspended,

Or plunge headlong into all this sea of knowledge,

And painfully imbibe some? To swat, to sit

For each exam, by toil and midnight oil.

To gain a C or B, or e"en degree

(Tho"one endures th"approbation and derision

That swat is heir to) – ,tis a consummation

Devoutly to be wish"d. To swat, to sit

For each exam. Perchance to fail; aye that"s the rub,

For from the mystic minds of our examiners

Who knows what fearsome questions will involve

To utterly confound us? There"s the respect

That makes despair the student"s portion….[93]

This piece of student satire based on a Shakespearian soliloquy, not only indicates the vital necessity of passing examinations, it also indicates the power and idiosyncrasies of the examiners and the unexpected nature of the examination questions. It appears that questions were constructed to baffle and confuse the trainees, rather than assess or enlighten them. The student"s soliloquy later goes on to state that students would never *"grind and study hard"* if there was no certificate to be received at the end of the course. It is therefore *"ambition"*[94] which forces them to comply with the enforced curriculum and embedded rituals of training and examinations. The rigid format and the meaningless content of many examination questions were frequently made the butt of student humour (and derision) as this student example of a typical Education examination paper illustrates.

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University of New Zealand

Education for B.A. and B.Sc. 1922

EDUCATION

Examiner:- Professor Froebart Roussalozzi

*(Candidates must answer at least **FIVE** questions of which all are compulsory)*

1.(a) Explain the policy of the Education Department in reducing salaries. (if this question is too hard, don't do it, but take the following alternatives.)

   (b) Give examples of other great men who lived on £2 a week.

2.What do you know of the following:- (i) Education; (ii) Pineapple sundaes; (iii) Anything?

3. "The student lives mostly a dog's life." Comment briefly, giving illustrations, if possible, from your own experience.[95]

</div>

As a filtering device, the examination was a powerful disciplinary technique. If students failed examinations, the total rite of passage would be abruptly terminated. In his History of Christchurch College, Fletcher highlights the number of examinations that trainees had to undertake. He explains that until 1911, students at Christchurch could expect to take university „terms‟; the training college‟s internal examinations; the Department‟s external Teacher Certificate examinations; and the University‟s final examinations.[96] Hollihan discovered a similar situation in the early Normal Schools of Canada and he maintains that students were bewildered, not only by the content of the

examination, but also by their proliferation. Through these, "*the institutional authorities sought to engender bewilderment, for a confused state of mind promoted submission*".[97] As explained previously, distress led to disequilibrium and an erosion of the individual's old identity, this was essential prior to the reconstruction of an alternative self identity. Furthermore, if trainees wished to graduate, not only had they to submit to the complexities of the examination system, they were also instructed in the science of testing and eventually expected to collude with the authorities in the measurement and sorting of their own pupils. In order to do this, they had to convince themselves that such practices were necessary and beneficial, hence evidencing a wholesale internalisation of the institution's norms and values. It seems that the disciplinary technology of the examination was applied to both the teachers and the taught. As teachers themselves, trainees would have to become actively involved in the dissemination and propagation of specific institutional practices and rituals.

Practical Teaching:

In addition to the use of examinations as a major exercise in power in the transitional phase, Hall and Millard also contend that hierarchical observation or surveillance is also critical to the control of subjects.[98] Foucault's well-used metaphor of the panopticon explains that through constant surveillance, monitoring and observation, those in power are able to make judgements and evaluations about those they observe.[99] In this early period, this involved the observation of trainees' teaching by Inspectors, the College Principal, the teaching staff of both the college and associated normal school, and their peer group. This panopticon method of surveillance brings together *"the exercise of power and the constitution of knowledge"*[100] and is clearly evidenced in the public criticism lesson (or "crit" lesson). Knowledge of the trainee and his or her teaching capabilities (together with their propensities for enduring intense pressure) was gained through subjecting the trainee to this assessment practice. Although similar to the criticism lesson endured by pupil-teachers, it was far more intense in its effects. The „crit" lesson became a centrepiece of college pedagogy for over 70 years. As mentioned in a previous chapter, both the practice of the „crit" lesson and its associated, purpose-built architecture, were modelled on Stow's Normal Seminary in Scotland in the 1870s.

The public criticism lesson was an event assuming cataclysmic proportions in the lives of early student teachers; it was dreaded by student teachers over successive decades

(and was evidenced in New Zealand as late as the 1940‟s). In 1898, D. R. White the second Principal of Dunedin Training College explained it thus: *"every student has to teach frequently before his fellow students, and to undergo the ordeal of oral and written criticism."*[101] The subsequent public criticism was so stringent and so traumatic that women students in the English colleges were excused from taking such a lesson and they participated only in the capacity of audience.[102] Female students in New Zealand were given no such allowance, although some were unable to cope with the experience as the following extract from a student magazine informs us:

> *The heart of each student missed a beat when his name went up for what may well be compared with a gladiatorial contest. This took the form of a "criticism lesson". ...Needless to say the strain produced some queer and often distressing experiences. One lady student, who had to give an observation lesson on the wheat seed, had made an enormous model in coloured plasticine. She held it up before the class, made several abortive attempts to speak, burst into tears, rushed from the room and collapsed in the common room.*[103]

The „crit‟ lesson carried with it a fearsome reputation and it was mentioned repeatedly by students in the recollections of their college days. This formal and excruciating procedure was a critical part of the institution‟s rite of passage. It involved students absorbing and enacting imposed rituals in front of senior members of their new society. As a technology of discipline imposed universally on all training college students, it gained increasing currency, separated trainees from other professions, provided a shared (although dreaded) objective, subjected trainees to public humiliation and became a bonding mechanism which forged allegiances to their new social group and the institution. This rupturing of the students‟ mental and emotional stability is a feature *"accompanying the radical reorganisation implicit in identity production"*.[104] Through this exercise of ritual authority*: "control, legitimacy, continuity, production and revitalisation are meant to be ensured"*.[105] Similar to the examination, overcoming such an excruciating ordeal is part of the rebuilding of a new teacher identity. The following photograph illustrates a nature „crit lesson‟. The Principal, staff members and trainees are seated on the left of the trainee.

Figure 4.7 The „Crit Lesson", Early 1900s
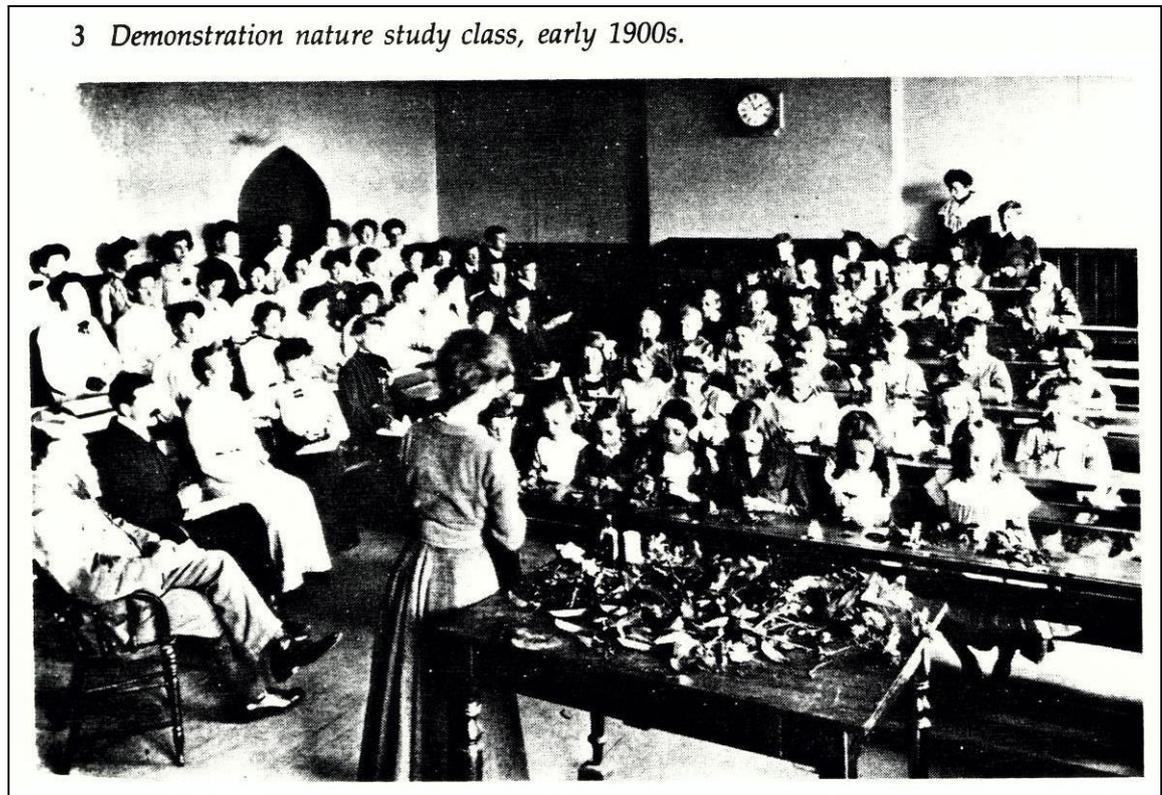
3 Demonstration nature study class, early 1900s.

Fry, R. (1985). *Its Different for Daughters. A History of the Curriculum for Girls in New Zealand Schools, 1900-1975*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, p.19.

Students" accounts of their college experiences inevitably mention the „crit lesson" as illustrated by this parody of Longfellow"s poem „The Village Blacksmith" appearing in the Christchurch Normal School"s student magazine in 1906,

THE CRITICISM LESSON

Before the class but out of place,
The forlorn Student stands,
With terror in his pallid face
And very trembling hands,
In falt"ring voice he pleads his case,
But thinks of other lands!

In pride of place, on his left hand
The Principal doth sit;
Beside him rests another man
Who hath a caustic wit;
Whilst on the left the Student band
No errors do omit.

His manner students criticise,
His voice they label „bad"
He must not try to mesmerise,
Nor must he look too sad:
But neither must he show surprise,
Nor must he seem too glad.

At last his lonely task is done
He seeks his seat again;
Once more he can enjoy his fun,
No more he feels the staring;
No longer pleasure will he shun,
He has not worked in vain.

The Principal at last doth speak,
And the other judge no less;
With care the proper words they seek
Their verdicts to express.
On features that are strong and weak
They specially lay stress.

At length outside allowed to troop,
We all salute the martyr;
No longer now his spirits droop
One hears loud peals of laughter
Perhaps his strength he will recoup,
Down at the Via Latte ![106]

The effort and energy expended by the trainees in the „crit" lesson was frequently not returned by the quality and quantity of the written feedback they received from the authority figure sitting in judgement (i.e. the College Principal). This was usually lacking in substance and trivial in nature. After interviewing the Principal, Mr. Aschman, who recalled his days as student in 1887, the writer states:

> *Then as now, „crit" lessons were the bane of a student's life, and Mr Aschman remembers his first „crit" lesson, taken on the „rivers of Asia", when the principal's remarks on his lesson plan read something as follows: „Note to Mr Aschman: Quite a good lesson. However, in future, you will stand squarely before your class, heels together, toes at an angle of 45 degrees, and point with the index of the right hand." Mr Aschman had been teaching vigorously, moving round the room, and using a large pointer on the map of Asia.*[107]

Insistence on conforming to such rigid, superficial and technical critique could hardly be expected to lead to inspiring and original pedagogical practice.

The architecture of the college complemented the various disciplinary techniques that were used with specific places designed to perform specific functions. The „crit" lesson was such a significant ritual in the life of the college that a specific physical space was set aside for its purpose. Ex-college student, S. Penney describes the „*old grey stone building*" where, upstairs, "*there were two lecture-rooms and a large room for „Criticism Lessons", the tiered rows on one side filled with students who watched the quivering mortal take a lesson under the critical eye of the Headmaster and principal, with classes so used to the limelight, they knew few inhibitions*."[108] Other colleges also had a purpose-built auditorium for their „crit" lessons and these also sported galleries of tiered seating which enabled the audience to observe and judge the trainee's performance when teaching a class of children. The public nature of the event ensured that trainees would remember it as an epiphanic and significant event in their rite of passage. Practice teaching was viewed as a public ritual and therefore subject to public criticism.

The *"main focus"* of the colleges was the *"training of students in the art of teaching"*;[109] and this engaged the trainees in practical teaching experiences; in addition

to the public criticism or demonstration lessons, these usually took the form of whole days or blocks of practicum of a week or more. They were undertaken in normal or associated schools and trainees were subject to rigorous surveillance. The observing and judgemental gaze was omni-present and a constant feature of their lives as the student-drawn picture shows (see Figure 4.8). The all-seeing eye could only be exercised by selected, authorised individuals. Through this constant vigilance, an assurance that a desirable transmission of knowledge and pedagogical practice was provided: it was also an exercise in disciplinary power as it constituted the individual trainee as both a subject and an object of power. Robust observation of trainees was constantly emphasised by the Department and in a memo from N. Lambourne (acting on behalf of the Director of Education) to the Education Boards of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin, the Secretaries of the Boards were instructed to address the College Principals on the importance of ensuring that the trainees *"need to be supervised closely"* by lecturers.[110]

Figure 4.8 The „All-Seeing Eye" (Panopticon Surveillance)
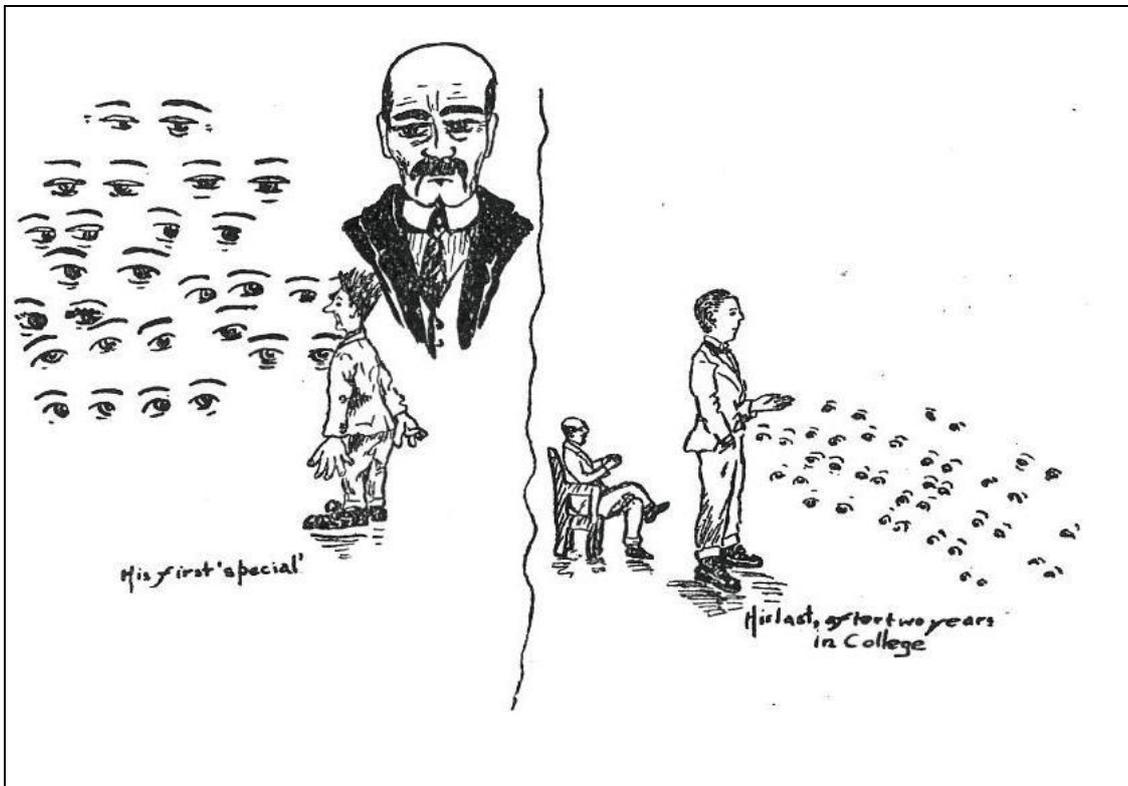
Conformity was a characteristic critical to the trainee"s new identity This meant that many students had to radically change their views, ideals and previously-held beliefs in order to internalise „appropriate" professional values and norms. Whilst for some students this may have necessitated a slight change in their worldview of the teacher, for others it required a more drastic adjustment. All colleges succumbed to the view that the principle of uniformity was essential and this had a pragmatic as well as ideological justification, with the former frequently over-riding the latter. For example, on one hand, D. R. White, the Principal of Dunedin at the turn of the century, urged students to show elements of individuality in their lesson planning and "*some evidence of originality and research in methods of teaching*";[111] whilst, on the other, he insisted that uniformity of teaching methods should be adopted by Associate Teachers and student teachers. The following quote illustrates this contradiction:

> *I endeavour to bring under the notice of students the many opportunities they have in their lessons of employing sound educative principles and of applying them to lessons they take in hand. I have put before them the best outlines of lessons that I am acquainted with, and I have illustrated them as fully as time would permit, I have asked them to carry them out according to my methods.*[112]

Johnston and Morton"s College history reinforces this observation. They acknowledge that, although White stated that he valued originality, variety and individuality, he actually confined this within strict guidelines.[113] Check fills in the detail of how the practical work was organised and, once again, it is difficult to discern how students could demonstrate originality or flair through such uniform, regimented and tightly prescribed practices:

1. *The Principal gave fifty illustrative and explanatory lessons, pointing out what he considered to be the most satisfactory way of teaching various subjects.*
2. *Students observed lessons taken by different classroom teachers on the same subject that Mr. White had been discussing.*
3. *Students were then divided into small groups… for practice in teaching standard classes under direction and supervision…. Each student saw nearly all his fellow students engaged in practical teaching. „This"*

> *maintained White ,provides a mutual system of training of very great value if there is, as there should be, a good spirit of emulation among the students".*
>
> 4. *A model class was set up and a student placed in charge for a week or longer.*
>
> 5. *The students visited various outside schools every fifth week. There the Headmaster supervised a lesson on a topic selected by the principal, and made a report on such teaching points as manner, order, attention, methods, as well as offering general criticism and commendation..*[114]

Students, therefore, were encouraged to emulate successful fellow trainees as well as the Principal and Associate Teachers.

Lecturers also had to model demonstration lessons at the training college or in the normal school with a class of pupils *"in the presence of students."* Through such exemplary practice the lecturer *"puts into practice the methods he has discussed and advocated. Unless this is done, theory and practice become divorced and the students have to depend on teachers outside of the college for their knowledge of class teaching and management".*[115] Suggestions and guidelines were provided to lecturers and annual Inspection Reports reinforced these points. Lecturers were then expected to model these demonstration lessons before Inspectors and they were judged on the extent to which they had met the recommendations. This surveillance of the teachers who taught the teachers ensured that they engaged in pedagogical effectiveness and consistency. The competence of every lecturer came under scrutiny, as exemplified by a statement made in a 1924 Inspection Report by T. B. Strong, in his capacity as Chief Inspector of Primary Schools:

> *Nature Study as taught by Dr. Clinch is the most disappointing of all the subjects taught in the College. The scheme presented is wholly inadequate and does not indicate that the lecturer knows how to present his subject in a way that will be useful to his students.*[116]

The performance of lecturers across different Colleges was also compared. A 1929 Memo from Strong (in his new capacity as Director of Education) states that he would

like to draw the Department"s attention to the differences in *"the marked efficiency"* between Wellington and Auckland Training Colleges. He states of Wellington staff:

> *I am aware that several members of the staff are deplorably weak. It is, however, somewhat extraordinary to find that the staff appear to be quite satisfied with their own work and think really the only weakness is not in their College but in the schools outside.... Steps should be taken to strengthen their work.[117]*

The judgements were written into the Inspection Reports and are a permanent record of how powerful individuals can use surveillance as a means of accountability and as a way of changing practice to meet their own political agenda and that of the state.

As previously emphasised, conformity and consistency in the transmission of pedagogical norms was vital to the mission of transforming trainees. Selection of Associate Teachers was, therefore, very important in ensuring that trainees received identical training in classrooms to that provided in the college and its associated normal school. When the numbers of students increased to such an extent that schools outside the normal schools had to be recruited for practica, careful decisions regarding the suitability of Associate Teachers became a priority. In Dunedin, the system of associated schools set up by the College Principal between 1886-1902 to supplement the work of the normal school, was largely unsuccessful due to the modelling of unsatisfactory practices by low-calibre Associate Teachers.[118] Over time, however, the pool of Associate Teachers grew larger as student teacher numbers increased and Inspectors and head-teachers recommended those they thought suitable.[119]

Assessment of students" teaching performance was accorded great significance; however, it aimed at appraising the minutiae of teaching rather than major educational or pedagogical issues. Foucault emphasises the preoccupation of the period with the breakdown of tasks into schedules of organised time. Like the factory, the school became a regimented machine which maximised its use of time: every moment had to be productively accounted for. *"The more time is broken down, the more its subdivisions multiply, the better one disarticulates it by deploying its internal elements under a gaze that supervises them, the more one can accelerate an operation."[120]*

Timetables assumed vital importance and most courses, and their concomitant examinations, devoted considerable time to the construction of effective school timetables. This led to teacher trainees forming the correct habits and they had to be meticulously prepared for their forthcoming organisational role. The very nature of the teacher‟s task was computed down to the last second as this quotation from Inspector Petrie‟s Report shows:

> *In a school with five Standards and a single teacher, I have computed that at the very least 85 separate lessons must be taught every week. In most schools of this kind (country schools) the number is 90, or over, but with proper care it may be reduced to 85. Now there are five hours a day available for school work. Roll-calling, class movements, and other unavoidable interruptions, will occupy half-an-hour of this time. There will thus be left twenty two and a half hours in the week for 85 lessons, that must be taught separately, or an average time per lesson of somewhat less than 16 minutes.*[121]

Individual trainee‟s aspirations and the pursuit of pupils‟ interests were largely eliminated in such a time-dominated regime. Intermittent challenges to the overwhelming uniformity of schooling occasioned sporadic philosophical backlashes to such regimentation. The advocating of „modern‟ methods, such as the Dalton Plan was one such challenge, and although trainees were made aware of these alternatives through a variety of publications and reports, such as that published by J. W. McIlraith,[122] these non-mainstream systems did not flourish for any length of time.

In summarising this section, it is evident that the rituals, norms and values which shaped the neophyte‟s experience had to conform to the appropriate body of cultural knowledge desired by the state and educational authorities; it was vital that this demonstrated uniformity of approach. Enforced codes of practice were implemented by all of those connected with the practical training of the trainees and, through a process of surveillance and accountability, they were judged on their performance. This was reported to the Department of Education who took steps to deal with the institutions and individual staff members if compliance was not forthcoming. A variety of teaching practices was provided to the student in training which aimed at humbling and disorienting the trainee. This process of dismantling their old identity laid the

groundwork for the internalisation of a new set of values as they began the task of reconstructing a new teacher identity.

The Development of College Patriotism:

The development and assiduous nurturing of a spirit of affiliation to the training institution, formed a major part of the trainees" transition phase. Knowledge of a common interest, especially when it involved teaching-practice, sports, cultural activities and the sharing of a common occupational destiny served to bind them together. The sharing of common signs, symbols and objects played a major role in achieving cohesion between individuals who had come to college as a collection of individuals with different interests, backgrounds and talents. The educational authorities orchestrated a development of unity, loyalty and college patriotism through such things as college mottoes, songs, badges, anthems, magazines, and the establishment of various sporting and cultural clubs.

College staff encouraged the development of student unions and associations, and either out of a spirit of generosity or a desire for social manipulation, attended trainees" meetings and assisted in the organisation of student activities. All the training colleges had their own mottoes. For example, Dunedin Training College"s motto was "Maxima debetur puris reverential",[123] whilst that of Christchurch was "E Pueris Lux" ("From Children, enlightenment") which was changed in 1927 to "Disce ut doceas" ("Learn so that you may teach"). These were frequently held up to students as aphorisms which had to be revered and honoured; they were usually mentioned at important college ceremonies, and, in the case of Auckland, its motto was carved into the archway over the main door to the institution. The Student Association Executives showed how they had internalised the spirit of the college by repeatedly stating in college magazines that all college graduates should pay attention to its motto. In order to preserve the notion of exclusivity and elitism, the mottoes were all in Latin – this could also perhaps be seen as an emulation of the universities. Van Gennep maintains that in several societies during the transitional phase, "*a special language is employed which in some cases includes an entire vocabulary unknown or unusual in the society as a whole*".[124] In this case, the use of Latin mottoes by the training colleges is the use of a language code of special and classical significance; it was not an everyday language (except perhaps for liturgical ceremonies). Also at that time, Latin was given special significance as it was a

compulsory subject for selection into the universities and was considered to be the language of erudition and wisdom.

College songs also attempted to bring a sense of homogeneity. Those printed in the early student magazines were hearty and fulsome; touchingly innocent and idealistic. The chorus of the Dunedin Training College in 1911 sums up its institutional values and norms superbly:

A Dunedin Training College Song

We're Students-in-training, way-faring;
Our colours the brown and the gold-
The brown for the soil we're preparing:
The gold for the harvests untold.
We're Teachers-in-training, Dunedin;
This our work for each crowding year –
To make of the schoolroom an Eden,
To fashion a nature's career.[125]

Although the college song had changed by 1918, the sentiments were similar. The college magazine was an excellent medium for facilitating college patriotism and inspiring loyalty to the corporate body of „normalites" or „collites". College life was usually depicted as a combination of jolly fun and hard swot. The Dunedin Training College magazine, later replaced with Te Rama; The Recorder from Christchurch; and the Manuka from Auckland[126]; all became *"a necessary adjunct to the history and life of the College"*.[127] All recorded stories of escapades, pranks and adventurous field trips. Anecdotes, jokes and satirical pieces appeared alongside serious articles, classical poems and limericks. They were liberally sprinkled with articles on the social issues of the day, like the Great War, (with national patriotism reflecting their own college patriotism) and the Waterfront Strike (where students not only sided with Government against the strikers, they undertook the strikers" jobs for the duration of the strike).[128] Educational concerns cropped up occasionally such as an article in 1911, entitled *"Cinderella of the Arts"*, which complained about the low status accorded to the compulsory university Education course,[129] and articles on the benefits of curriculum

subjects such as Manual Training and Physical Education.[130] The most prolific issues on more personal topics were those referring to student poverty and the low rate of student allowances, and those indicating the effects upon them of inadequate college buildings. A major portion of magazine articles was devoted to social and sporting activities. Bonhomie and college-spirit pervaded every page – as an exercise in indoctrination, they were very effective.

On the surface, it appears that students were given the freedom to express their own ideas; after all, it was a magazine written by them and intended for them. However, this was not the case. In the early years of the colleges, the magazines were censored and edited by staff members. Students were not allowed to express any form of criticism of the college, its curriculum, its practices or its lecturers. Fletcher draws attention to a student critique of the curriculum of Christchurch Training College in its 1922 Recorder. The article stated that many students believed that the college was failing to provide a comprehensive course of subject knowledge and that it lacked depth and theoretical underpinning. The Principal of the time demanded that the whole page containing the article be removed from the magazine before it was distributed. After cutting out the offending page in every single copy, Fletcher informs us that the Editor, H. W. Beaumont, subsequently did a profitable trade selling off all the censored pages.[131]

Trainee teachers at all the colleges had a well developed social life by the first decade of the 20th century and this is illustrated in the student cartoon on the following page. C. E. Beeby recollects that at Christchurch Training College, *the spirit of the place was good. The Students" Association arranged a round of lively social activities, and the easy mingling of the sexes was something I had never before experienced.*[132] Trainees attended annual picnics, socials and dances; formed musical quartets, choirs and orchestras; organised debating teams and created several men"s and women"s sporting teams including football, hockey, basketball, tennis, boxing, tramping, cricket and swimming. The games played were recorded in full detail; players" profiles and blow-by-blow accounts of their finest sporting moments were also included.

Figure 4.9 A Variety of Social Activities

COLLEGE ACTIVITIES

Totis Viribus

Struggles of a beginner

LOOK AT ME NOW!

GOT YER! WANG IN BOY!

VERA KUMEROUS HA-HA!

HA-HA PLAY THE WINNER

OW! BLANK

West Coast Fu

Wanganui Wins

ONE-TWO-THREE-FO-A-FAVE-SEEX

Revelling in the light fantastic toe!

The whole college supported each others" endeavours and loyalty to the College and to its members appeared to be unquestioned by the majority whilst they were members of the community. When later recollecting their lives at college, however, many felt able to

criticise their time there. Beeby and G. Somerset, for example, heavily criticised the standard of their curriculum and the ability of lecturers.

As iterated fairly frequently throughout this chapter, trainee teachers were controlled through the ritual practices and knowledge to which they were exposed. If practices were highly valued by those in authority and not by the trainees themselves, a utilitarian value was added to the practice to make it more legitimate in the eyes of the trainee. This „added value" usually occurred through making it compulsory or through adding a final examination. Both of these came to be attached to the performance of sport. To illustrate this, by the second decade of the 20th century, sport was regarded as so important that at most colleges, at least one afternoon of every week was set aside for compulsory sport. Furthermore, sporting ability often became part of the final assessment criteria. As Check informs us when writing of Dunedin,

> *After the institution of the grading system, it became necessary to give certain grading marks to students when they left the College, and in later years the way in which they had devoted themselves to their sport and club activities played no small part in the assessing of their grading marks and this had a permanent effect upon their whole career. Thus students played with all their might and put much enthusiasm into their club activities as these things count and their attitude to extracurricular activity is carefully noted by the members of staff who will later be responsible for grading them.*[133]

Sporting success not only affected their final college grade, it was also considered to be significant for students in winning teaching positions. Sporting activities also encouraged competition with other colleges and university institutions. College championships abounded and cups, trophies, tournament shields and other rewards were awarded when colleges won. These symbols appeared to be necessary accoutrements to the instilling of institutional values and encouraging the work ethic. Medals, badges, blazers and caps and were used to stimulate motivation and industry. These are akin to the "*sacra*" or „sacred" objects pertaining to the new society referred to by van Gennep.[134] Values such as team-work, team-effort and collegiality (a word particularly relevant to the context of this discussion on colleges) were reinforced. If students were not directly involved in the particular sport, then they cheered on and supported their

own college team. Solidarity was the result and the characteristics developed through sport were believed to be part of the internalisation of values necessary for all teachers. As Check further explains,

The various [sporting] *activities have served their purpose in developing in the students a well rounded character and helping to fit them to take their place in the life and activities of the communities in which they would later be associated as teachers.*[135] (my parenthesis)

Well developed sporting ability was viewed by many as a major characteristic of the good teacher, as summarised by this statement from Milne, The Principal of Auckland College,

I can account for one hundred and four students out of one hundred and eight as playing some game or other, the other four are weakly and in my opinion though they have passed the medical examination should have been rejected. A student unable to take part in a game is not in my opinion suited to school teaching.[136]

It seemed that if students could not set a good example by participating in sports then they were not fit to be a teacher.

In the early days, most of the colleges did not have an Assembly Hall and this was of grave concern to successive Principals, not only because the trainees had no indoor space in which to play indoor sports, but also because it was thought to negatively interfere with the *"cultivation of the true college spirit".*[137] Sports such as rugby also provided a healthy outlet for male energies and the following picture provides a humorous pictorial representation of a rugby match.[138]

Figure 4.10 A Typical Rugby Match

"Rugby" as seen by a spectator
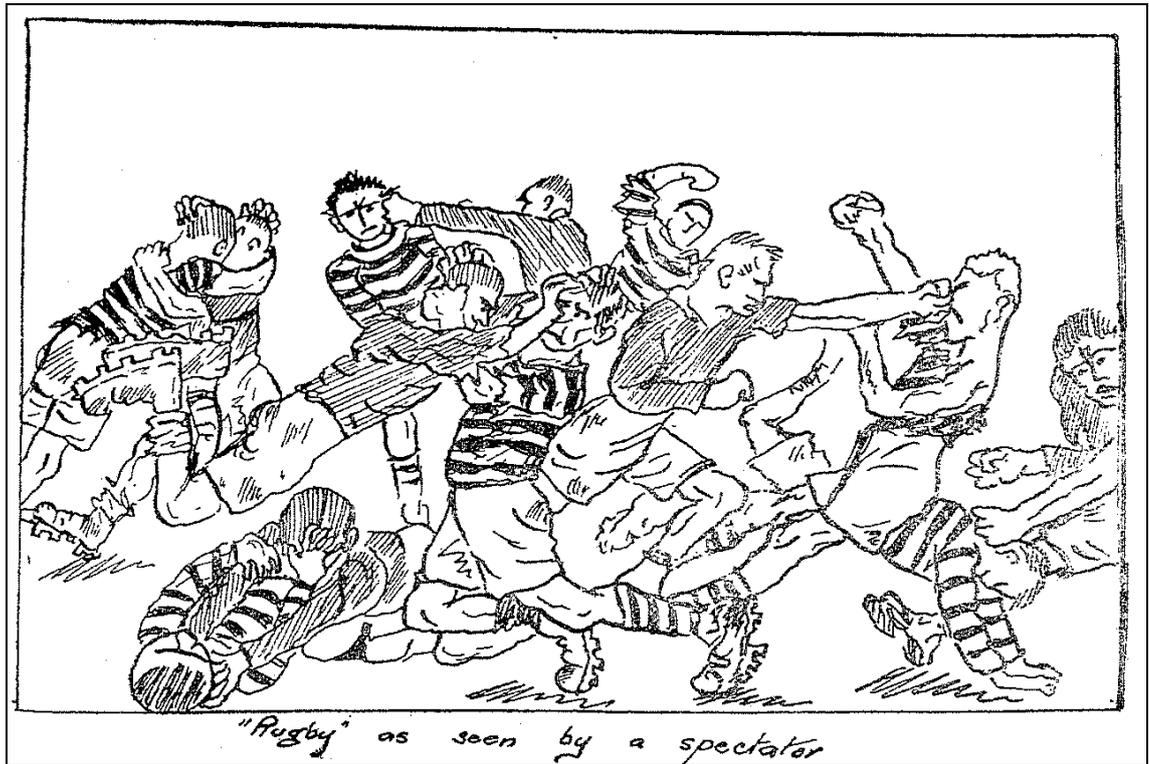
The Manuka. (1913), p.16.

Through these social, sporting and cultural activities, trainees were introduced to common discursive formations which upheld and transmitted the institution"s traditions, rituals and knowledge. In this rarefied world of enclosure, relationships and social interactions between trainees were developed and amplified; through these was forged an intimacy and union of sympathy that would not have occurred in the „outside" world. The sharing of confidences, ordeals, successes and problems helped them to develop strong, enduring links with each other. A well-defined and unique „College spirit" emerged which inspired cohesion and led to the making of life-long friends according to many ex-students" recollections. Gwen Somerset testifies to this, when referring to her days at Christchurch Training College, she says,

> *The friendliness of Teachers"College was a new experience. The easy exchange*
> *of ideas, the general acceptance of any person"s whimsies, obsessions, strengths*
> *or oddities, gave us freedom to express our own crazy ideas and not worry when*
> *they were rejected .... We made life long friends in the exchange of ideas and the*
> *sharing of companionship".*[139]

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This social communion served to underscore the singular and unique nature of this body of individuals and it led to the ready identification of a particular population considered „sacred‟. They were willingly united in their pursuit of a transition which led them away from the world of the profane and towards a new society of teachers.

Acculturation into a Middle Class Culture:

The transitional phase was considered critical in terms of imbibing a correct social and professional ethos: all part of the literary, refined and cultural persona that was ontologically manufactured within each trainee. As outside social contacts were very closely controlled, segregation with like-minded individuals played a major part in ensuring the establishment of desired social status and values. As stated in an earlier chapter, upward social mobility was one way of legitimising the social, moral and disciplinary practices of the training college. Teaching conferred a certain social status on the students and the many practices and cultural experiences that were engineered for students reinforced an expectation that, on completion, most trainees would enter a higher social class. The following student cartoon humorously depicts the change in social class, dress and attitude that results from their transition through college.[140]

Figure 4.11 The Teacher‟s Social Transformation

The Manuka. (1914), p.32.

The college histories and students" magazines are full of occasions when staff invited students into their own home for entertainment and this provided a cultural model of middle class refinement. At Christchurch Training College, C. T. Aschman, the Principal, and his wife held regular Saturday evening socials. This event became so popular that it had to move into a larger Normal School classroom and was eventually organised by the College"s social committee. Whilst students were strengthening their bonds of friendship, they were also being exposed to culturally and socially desirable values through the performance of plays, classical music, skits and party games in the home of an authority figure that exposed them to „ideal" middle-class family values. The college environment also simulated that of a middle class home. The photographs on the following pages show the new college buildings at Auckland College of Education in 1909. Note the women students" common room. There is a remarkable attempt to make it appear like a middle class family sitting room. Attending middle-class functions such as graduation balls where formal, evening-dress attire was worn, and the cultivation of an interest in fine arts, literature and politics were critical to imbuing the trainees with a zest for middle-class life.

Figure 4.12 The Women"s Common Room at Auckland Training College, 1906

AUCKLAND TRAINING COLLEGE - WELLESLEY STREET
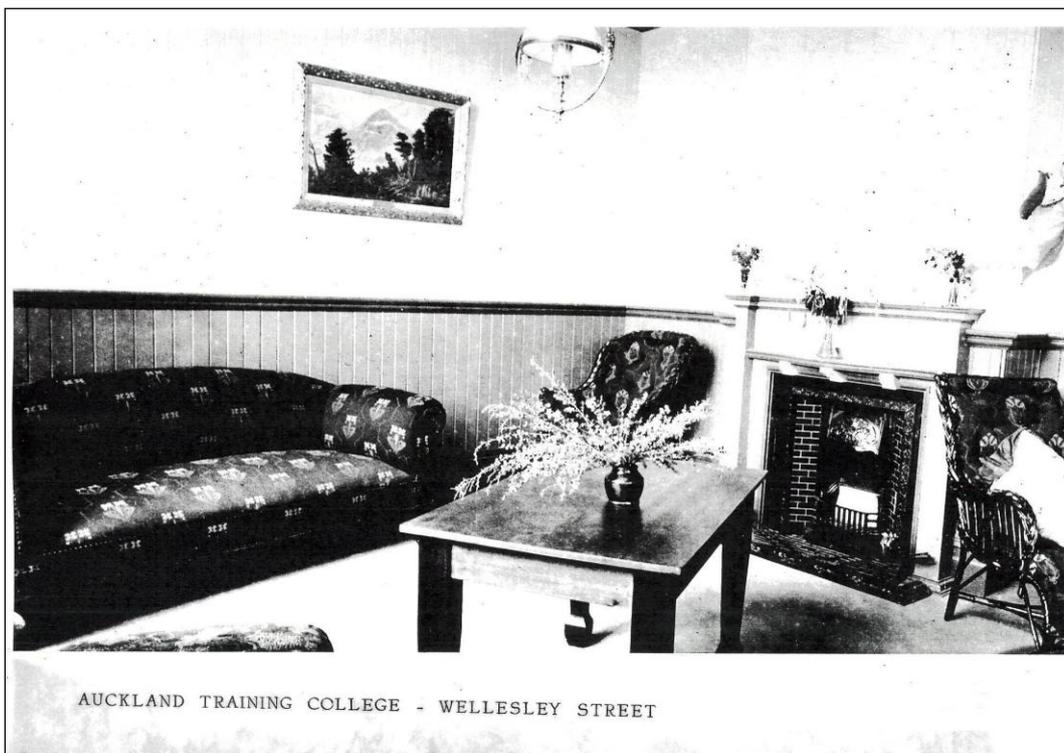
Sylvia Ashton Warner Library

Figures 4.13 & 4.14 The Museum and the Library

Auckland Training College, 1909

AUCKLAND TRAINING COLLEGE—MUSEUM.
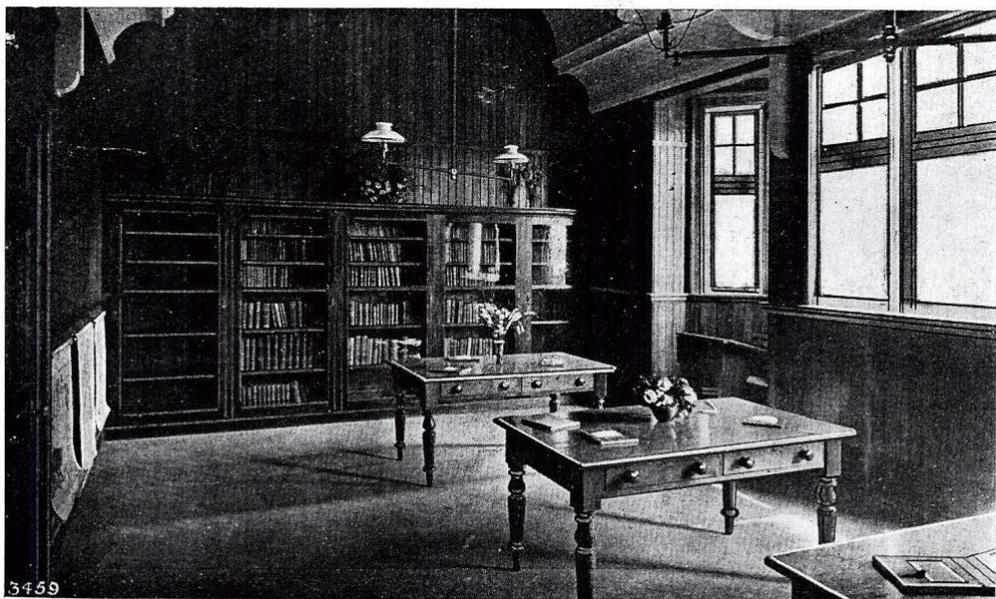
AUCKLAND TRAINING COLLEGE—LIBRARY.

AJHR. (1909). E-2

Figure 4.15 The Lecture Room, ATC, 1909

AUCKLAND TRAINING COLLEGE—LECTURE-ROOM, SHOWING McCABE HANGER.
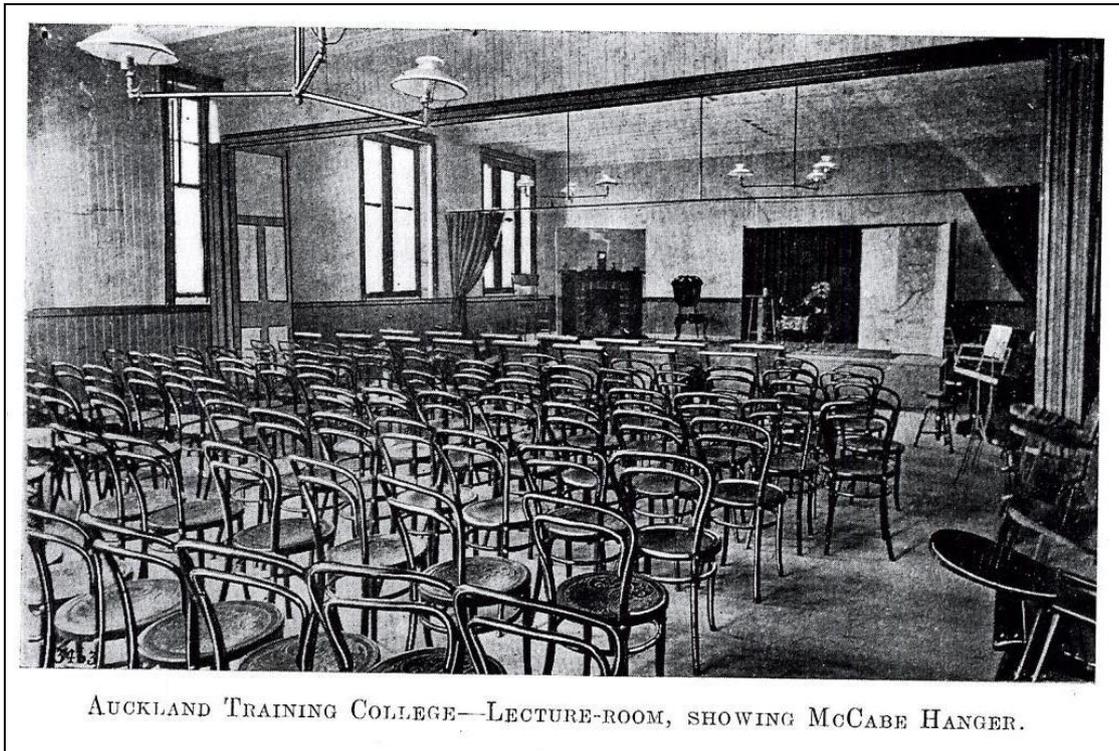
Students were encouraged in literary pursuits such as reading and writing poetry, visiting the theatre, taking part in debating societies, orchestras and musical recitals. The Programme for the 1924 Graduation Carnival of the Auckland Training College (see the following page) indicates the type of activities organised for students:

Graduation Carnival Programme

28 June, 1924

Programme:

Overture	The College Orchestra

God Save the King

College Days

Gaudeamus

Gems from the Classics	The Students
"Cheque Reforms"	"Rocklands"
	(Women's Hostel)

Extravaganza

Supper

Speeches

The Minuet	The Students
A Country Dance	The Students

Dancing and Charades

It was expected that students take part wholeheartedly in such civilised activities and entertainments. Feasting and fun were an integral part of the ceremonies and this ensured that students entered into a state of desire for such cultural refinements. Social intercourse was encouraged, for example, Professor White from Dunedin professed his pleasure at the new college building which was, *"so fitted up that the students, their*

friends, and the staff may meet in social intercourse of an evening ... very significant factors in student life and training."[141]

Staff attended all socials and chaperones were in constant attendance to protect the virtue of the young women. Contact with boarding proprietors of a certain social standing was also thought necessary to young impressionable students who were mainly females; however, as this could not always be achieved, hostels were built to accommodate them. Intermarriage between the students was a common occurrence and engagements were frequently announced or referred to in the magazines. An ex-student in the 1936 Recorder reminisces that *"The institution was (in 1915) then, as now, a highly efficient matrimonial agency"* in which students met partners of similar social standing with similar occupational aspirations.[142] Another student"s article declared, *",Marriages are made in heaven", runs the old adage; but surely we can justly say that that they are also ,made in our Training College"with the epidemic of engagements this year.*[143] Many eminent New Zealanders met their future partners at training college, amongst them at this time were ex-Canterbury students Beeby who married B. Newnham, and G. Somerset Alley who married C. Somerset. This was certainly condoned, even encouraged by the staff, as long as it was respectably and honourably executed.

All of this had one aim in common, the production of a cultured, highly refined, well-mannered teacher who would live according to middle class mores. Active participation in the corporate life of the institution was essential to the manufacture of a docile and useful individual who willingly repressed their own social class values for the sake of institutional, middle-class harmony. Obviously, not all trainees had to adopt a completely new social class identity, for them it was a reinforcement of teaching as a middle-class occupation.

c) The Incorporation Phase:

Once an appropriate teacher identity had been established and the values and the norms of the institution had been internalised, the trainees passed from the transitional phase to that of incorporation (or the postliminal phase). Assimilation was deemed successful when student teachers fitted the institutional mould. Deep feelings of affection were expressed for the community and this was even extended to the building which

symbolised their place of induction. A sense of loss and grieving for leaving the place and the people is evident in many of the magazines. This student illustrates the third phase of incorporation,

> *And now the time has come for the Seniors to leave their Alma Mater. One cannot realise until the end is near how firm a hold the old place has taken on one's affections; this barren, bleak almost gaol-like building – how could we ever grow to like it? Yet the fact remains that it has become of late very dear to us – dear through the bond of camaraderie that exists among us, through the unanimity of our hopes, and through the myriad pleasant associations which it recalls. We see now what a fine thing it is to have been through a training college, what a new world it has opened up to us, how it has rubbed off our corners, modified our prejudices, broadened our vision. We come into it like a mountain torrent into a lake, tumbling down madly with the impetus of a dangerous „little knowledge", muddied and turbulent with half-formed educational ideals; but in this lake, we drop the encumbering sediment of dogmatic self-assurance and inefficient methods, and flow out the other side in a placid stream, clear through our nobler aspirations, wide in our broad-mindedness, steady in our resolution. When our own stream joins the great river of education, may we lend it a more pellucid depth through our influence."[144]*

The metaphor of a river used by this student provides an apt description of the transformative effects leading up to the third phase. The trainees come into the college timid, humble and ignorant and leave with all their prejudices and prior assumptions obliterated, i.e. all the corners have been „rubbed off" and a whole new educational vista has been created in its stead. In short, acculturation into a new and „improved" world view has occurred, the student has willingly been involved in this complete transformation of their identity: the process of transition has been successful.

Once students illustrate in a consistent manner that they have internalised the appropriate institutional values and norms, they begin to be treated more like „real" teachers and given increasingly more responsibility. The Students" Association in all of the Colleges provided a corpus of elite students who could take over some of the responsibilities usually undertaken by staff members. Although never quite attaining the

status of the staff, they were frequently consulted in order to show their enhanced seniority, authority and status. Check spells out the increasingly authoritative role of the Students" Association at Dunedin College,

> *A good deal of the work which had been formerly been the responsibility of staff members was handed over to the executive. Today the College President is quite an important person and is able to speak for the students with direct access to the Principal.*[145]

This selected group of students, elected by the student body, had attained the necessary credentials to make them appear almost on an equal footing with the teaching staff. During this phase, trainees demonstrate confidence and self-assurance. Feelings of superiority are often experienced. In her autobiography, Somerset makes mention of this sense of intellectual superiority, "*Some of us, in fact, considered ourselves arrogantly as superior beings. Some were reading G. B. Shaw, Ibsen, Galsworthy and the great new educator A. S. Neill, while they of the older generation were pontificating about Rousseau and Montaignes.*[146]

The self-importance that the trainees experience in this last stage has been developing in conjunction with a growing identification with their new role. They regard themselves as members of an elite cadre and this assists in cutting the ties with their old group and prepares them for their new positions; ones with increased social status. Their new-found knowledge and total acceptance of the institution"s standards leads to an increase in feelings of competence, ability and self esteem and these are a complete reversal of the emotions they experienced when they first arrived. Alienation turns to inclusion and, as illustrated in the following song, the student has cultivated a deep affection for the institution and the people within it. The song was written for the graduating students at the 1906 Closing Ceremony of the Dunedin Normal School – an abbreviated version is supplied here.

Goodbye

We are merry Normal Students,
Met to say goodbye
To the school and all who come here:
Holidays draw nigh.
Goodbye, then, to old School Method
Goodbye „Physsy" too;
And Psychoses, and Neuroses.
To you all adieu!

When we first came to the Normal,
Oh so long ago,
Came we all in fear, in trembling.
Why, we did not know.
Callow youths and tender maidens,
Such a timid show.
Now our jolly time is ended
And all are loath to go.

If town or country claim us,
And whereso ̈er they name us,
This shall be our rule –
Friends here are friends for all days,
And will remember always
The old Normal School.[147]

For this trainee and the many who wrote in similar vein, the college has completed its task successfully.

The completion of the rite of passage was always accompanied by ritual farewell ceremonies and the granting of certificates, diplomas and other sacra and symbols. Academic honours and scholarships were bestowed on those who worked particularly hard and the efficacy of these was enhanced through their scarcity value so that it was usually only the winner that was honoured. The institution facilitated compliance by

publicly celebrating the results. This ensured that trainees not only cooperated because of the public acclamation that followed their success but also because they had reconstructed a new self-identity and were eligible to become full members of their new society. As Hollihan explains, *"Awards were not merely an incentive to act in the fashion desired by the authorities within the institution. The process was internalised; they were transformed from training means to training ends… As their use within the institutions was intensified, they came to represent an important facet of the constructed identity."*[148]

The graduation ceremony was the summation of the three phases and, in academia, the public procession of graduands through the streets, dressed in full academic regalia, was viewed as a declaration to the outside world that new members had now been incorporated into their new world.

The following page provides a much abbreviated magazine story of a hypothetical trainee named Belinda. This encapsulates the whole of the three phases involved in the acquisition of a new teacher identity.

Belinda's Story

Belinda's ambition was that she should one day become a student of the dark, stark, cold old Institution called Dunedin Training College... Now it so happened that Belinda was one day summoned to a Council-of-Three who were going to decide whether she should enter this worthy, though cold, old institution called Dunedin Training College, or remain in her innocence in the Place whose name begins with 'X'. So, Belinda, after taking her courage in both hands... and putting on her Sunday hat, and cleaning her teeth, went in to meet the Council-of-Three. They were all sitting in a row frowning at her across a table... One of them whose eye seemed to say "I organised it" leaned on the table and said to Belinda: "Howdydo. Please sit down. Watchername?" (They always speak like that...) Before Belinda had time to answer, he went on: "Do you suffer from Night Starvation, B.O., or Hydatids?"

Now Belinda had never heard of any of these things because her Mother had never told her, and they didn't have a radio..., so she just said nothing and tried to look as if she hadn't heard. Then said one of the Council-of-Three, "Why did you want to come to Dunedin Training College?"

Now you must know that this was a Riddle, and no one had ever answered it before ... so she made up a fine, new answer. She said "Because I want to be a School Teacher." This was a nasty shock for the Council-of-Three, for such a thing had never been heard of before. So they quickly wrote her name on the list and told her very politely that they thought it was getting late, and she really ought to go.

And that was why in a very short while, Belinda found herself in the Institution called Dunedin Training College. As I have already told you the building was old, cold, gloomy and not-too-roomy, and besides that it was aerated throughout with a Gentle Breeze, which means that it was very draughty. Belinda soon discovered that the gentle breeze could rise to Gale Force in places too, and that when it did so, it was very unpleasant for the inmates. The first thing that Belinda had to learn when she got there was the Dunedin Training College chorus.

The next thing Belinda learnt was that she must do what she was told, and that she must always be on time.

Well, Belinda did all these things, and even finished her handwork in time and passed in her Nature Study project, so that, at the end of two years she was swept out by the force of the Breeze into the big world. Before she knew what was happening Belinda found herself teaching in the name whose place begins with "X"...oh yes, the same Place which Belinda had left 2 years before. [149]

4. Conclusion

This chapter opened with a thought provoking quotation from Foucault. In it he seeks to discover how the individual is self-constituted through patterns imposed by his or her culture and social group.

This directly address the key discourse of this chapter which has attempted to provide a genealogy of the trainee teacher. It has sought to explain how, as teachers were thought indispensable to the construction of a new nation with its own identity, a change in the identity of teachers themselves was required. The transformation of a nation through the transformation of its teachers necessitated state intervention. This was accomplished through a three-phase rite of passage in the sequestered environment of the training college. Accompanying each phase were various ceremonies and ritual practices that ensured a novice‟s full acceptance into his or her new society upon graduation. The most important of these phases was the transitional phase. Here, the trainee was „objectified‟ through the implementation of several disciplinary techniques based on surveillance, accountability and conformity to the institution‟s demands. Their old identity was dismantled and this resulted in initial feelings of alienation, exclusion and dislocation. In order to seek a state of equilibrium and inclusion, trainees conformed and came to unquestioningly accept the requirements, norms and values of the institution. During this process a new identity was reconstructed and trainees formed strong bonds with others experiencing identical ordeals and successes. Eventually, the trainee not only accepted the norms of the institution but welcomed them, and, in order to display a semblance of self-control and self-determination, willingly acted on them. Through such a process of internalisation, transformation and self-transformation, they were no longer objectified but became „subjects of the State‟ ready to be integrated into their new society: that of teachers.

The following chapter extends the discussion on the genealogy of the trainee teacher by shifting the focus from ritual practices to one which explains how trainees were controlled and „shaped‟ by the state‟s epistemological imperatives during their rite of passage.

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Chapter 5

Sacred Knowledge in the Rite of Passage

Discursive practices are the ways of producing discourse – practices are embedded in the technical processes of production, in institutions of governance, in perceived patterns for general behaviour, in the form of transmission and diffusion of discourse and finally in the pedagogical forms of which both impose and maintain these practices.[1]

1. Introduction

This chapter is the second focussing on the genealogy of the teacher trainee. The previous chapter argued that during their rite of passage, trainees were transformed through an ensemble of ritualised practices and ceremonies dedicated to changing their identity to one of a teacher. This chapter examines how the content, pedagogy and theoretical underpinning of their training reinforced the transformative process and ensured that trainees became models of desirable behaviour. In van Gennep"s words, it investigates the *"sacred knowledge"*[2] encapsulated in the trainees" courses and texts, thus exposing what the state counted as worthwhile knowledge. Without this specialist corpus of knowledge, trainees could never hope to be successfully incorporated into the society of teachers.

Prior to the 1900s, the pupil-system without a supplementary training college course was concerned mainly with the transmission of technical, on-the-job skills. Around the turn of the 20th century, a radical transformation took place in the type of knowledge thought appropriate for trainees. Although apprenticeship knowledge was still to be found in the methods courses, it was supplemented by a rich history of classical knowledge based on the histories and philosophies of eminent educators. However, in the early years of the new century „scientific" types of knowledge and techniques began to make an appearance and these took the form of new educational disciplines. These were underwritten with different assumptions about the type of teacher most desired by the state and they shaped the trainees" curriculum and the contexts in which it was transmitted. It became necessary to instigate centrally controlled, highly specialised

state colleges; through which a whole new technology of power could be directed at ensuring that trainees became repositories and potential transmitters of appropriate schemes of knowledge. These developments brought about a change in the epistemological underpinnings of teacher education.

It is the intention of this chapter to interrogate the courses, pedagogies and texts that constituted the academic discourse of teacher education at this time. These form the early curriculum of the training college and university as presented to trainees in their Education and Methods courses. They highlight the types of knowledge required by the state and condoned by teacher educators: This was occasionally differentiated for women who formed the majority of the trainee population. Such depth of knowledge, especially that gained through the Education course, had the potential to provide a discerning and critical scrutiny of education, however, this does not appear to have been the case. Content was frequently transmitted through mechanical, technicist ways and driven by examinations. This is revealed in the following discussion which commences with an investigation of the early courses of teacher trainees.

2. Desirable Schemes of Knowledge

a) Courses for Pupil-Teachers and Normal School/Training College Students

An examination of the discursive traditions inherent in the courses, texts, journals and publically expressed views of those involved in teacher training, reveals different epistemological underpinnings regarding what trainee teachers should know and should become. It also draws attention to the explosion in the schemes of knowledge thought appropriate for new teachers; this is in keeping with Foucault‟s reference to the expanding functions of the disciplines at this point in time. These were directed at ensuring novitiates received the knowledge and skills which would enable them to perform more productively in society. This was the catalyst for the establishment of training institutions which assumed a major educative role in society in the early years of the 1900s.

In the 1890s, only two colleges were operational: Dunedin and Christchurch and, although there were minor variations between the college courses, they were basically very similar. At Dunedin College, student teachers (three quarters of whom were ex

pupil-teachers)[3] undertook a largely tripartite course consisting of an applied methods and curriculum-based course, a philosophically-based history of education course and a practicum. The methods course was linked to the practicum and consisted of simply observing teachers in the normal school (or practising department), putting into practice the skills observed and receiving subsequent feedback and criticism on this performance. There was generally thought to be one desirable method (as detailed in their methods course): this was adhered to without deviation or originality. This part of the course was, therefore, highly mechanistic. Students proceeded through a tightly graded series of linear steps in their practica as illustrated in this report of the Minister of Education when holding up Dunedin Normal School''s practicum as an example of illuminating practice:

1. *Teaching small drafts from large classes in the Second and Third Standards. Draft is added to draft as the power of controlling numbers is developed, and the students are gradually prepared for the next course.*

2. *Teaching classes in the Second, Third and Fourth Standards containing from fifty to sixty pupils.*

3. *Conducting, with the assistance of a pupil-teacher, a school of about forty pupils, divided into three classes, in the Second, Third and Fourth Standards.*

4. *Conducting, without assistance, a class of about forty pupils, divided into three classes, in the Second, Third and Fourth Standards.*

5. *Conducting, without assistance, a school of about forty pupils divided into four classes, in the First, Second, Third and Fourth Standards.*

6. *Conducting, without assistance, a school of about fifty pupils, divided into five classes, two preparing for the First Standard, and one in each of the lowest Standards. Students who complete this course of practice before the end of their second year of training, are placed in an infant room, containing from sixty to seventy pupils, and occasionally giving lessons to classes in the Fifth and Sixth Standards.* [4]

Indicative of the industrial imperative of mass production prevalent at the time, an emphasis on management, control, discipline and organisation was inevitable and this underpinned the ethos of teaching large classes with complex combinations of age and

ability levels in the same room. It is hardly surprising that the emphasis in the methods course was aimed at instructing teachers in the passive transmission of information, repetitive drill and rote learning.

The Education course at Dunedin Training College included: the principles, aims and history of education; the principles of psychology applied to the art and science of teaching (and there was much contemporary debate about this distinction); the study of timetables; and how to keep registers.[5] The prominence given to the two latter functions reflect the regimes of order exercised by the state through such disciplinary technologies. It is interesting to see a reference to the new discipline of psychology also appearing here. Students were also able to take Mental Science at the University: this consisted of two sections: Logic and Psychology.

Lectures and demonstration lessons were in evidence (and had been since the inception of the college in 1876); the theory and practice of school management with an emphasis on organisation and discipline were prominent features.[6] School curriculum courses incorporated: reading lessons and methods, spelling, language, science (a recent addition), physical drill and gymnastics, singing, music, arithmetic, sewing, knitting and needlework. Female students of the college had been teaching this exclusively in the practising school since the 1880s. Physical drill and gymnastics were given such priority in the Social-Darwinist world of the time, that the Principal of Dunedin‟s Normal School could refuse to furnish a Training College Certificate to those students who could not successfully teach them.[7] H. A. Milnes of Auckland Training College was also particularly vocal in expressing his view regarding the necessity of sports, maintaining that the playing of school games was good character training as it taught *"sportsmanlike"* behaviour. He also made college games compulsory and believed that they should be *"varied, spontaneous and dependent upon the season".[8]*

Physiology and hygiene were also thought essential curriculum requirements by the end of the century. In the *New Zealand Journal of Education*, 1912, Milnes referred to Truby King who, he believed, followed in J. Locke‟s footsteps by recognising the importance of the simple life with *"fresh air, loose clothing and cold baths".[9]* When the new training college in Auckland was built, a cold-water swimming pool was erected in the basement and students were encouraged to swim at least once a week with Milnes as

their swimming instructor (see Figure 5.1).[10] Milnes maintained that both trainees and children should attain the *"indestructible ideal of the Greeks, a healthy mind in a healthy body"*.[11] He placed a great deal of emphasis on the physical surroundings of both trainees and pupils, maintaining that many school and college buildings were deleterious to health, hence illustrative of an *"unscientific system"*.[12] It is interesting to note his labelling of anything detrimental to children's health as *"unscientific"*.

Figure 5.1 The Swimming Baths, ATC, 1909

AUCKLAND TRAINING COLLEGE—SWIMMING-BATH.
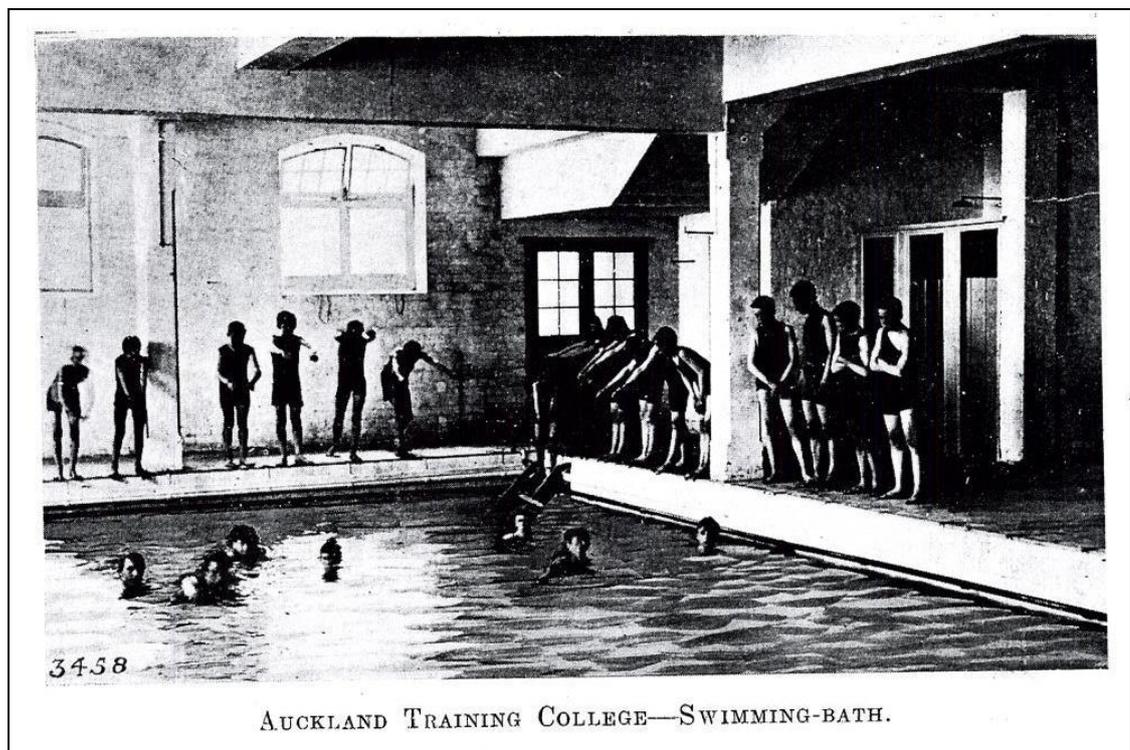
AJHR. (1909). E-2.

Also thought damaging to health was alcohol abuse. In order to overcome this, Auckland Training College had *Instruction in Temperance* lectures – the number and quality of these lectures were frequently criticised at the annual College inspection by the Associate Director of Education. In 1924, he admonished the staff for only providing information to the first year students *"incidentally in lessons on foods"*, whilst the second years had one hour allocated *"to the effects of alcohol on the body"*.[13] Not only were physical and mental health of the utmost importance, moral health was also emphasised; developing the capacity to exercise restraint and self-control were all part of the ethical transformation of trainees at this time.

State control of the curriculum was very much in evidence; for example, if a subject was added to the school curriculum, then it was immediately added to the training college course.[14] The 1886 Training College Rules stipulated which subjects had to be taught in training colleges and this precipitated the introduction of history, geography and nature study at Dunedin.[15] By 1895, in applying their knowledge of the theories of Froebel and Pestalozzi, students were also learning about the kindergarten and infant years and this included courses in infant pedagogy, plasticine modelling, paper folding and cutting. Blackboard work was also given prominence as few resources were available at this time. Reproducing pictures in chalk on a blackboard became quite an art: the photograph on the following page shows a trainee alongside her recently drawn reproduction.

Figure 5.2 Creating a Visual Aid on the Blackboard

Sketch on the
Black Board.

Specimens of
drawings by
students to
illustrate lessons.

ATC 1907
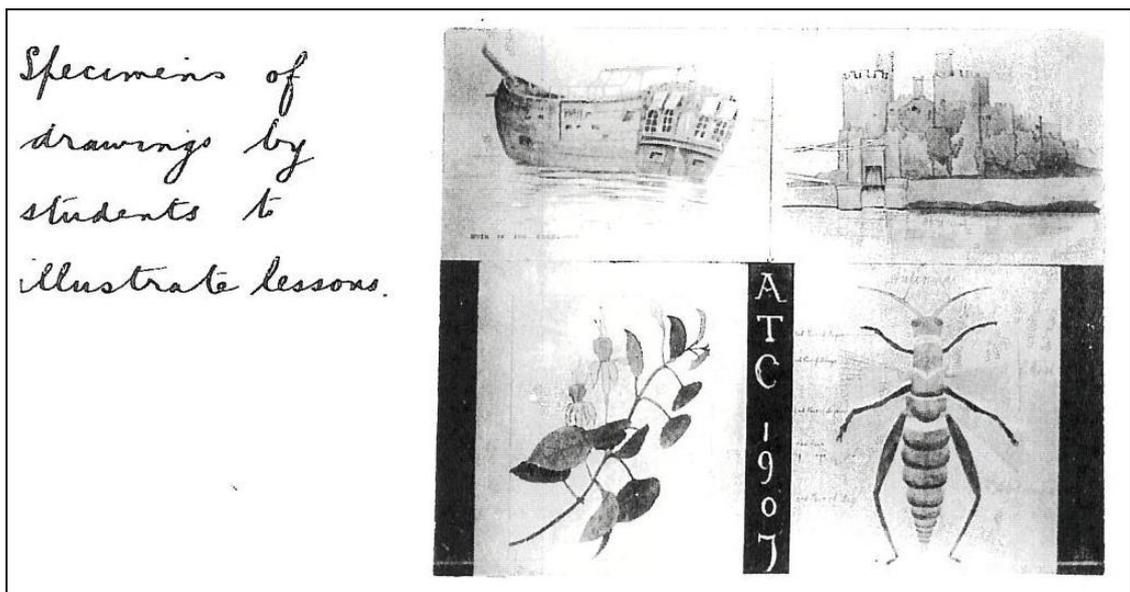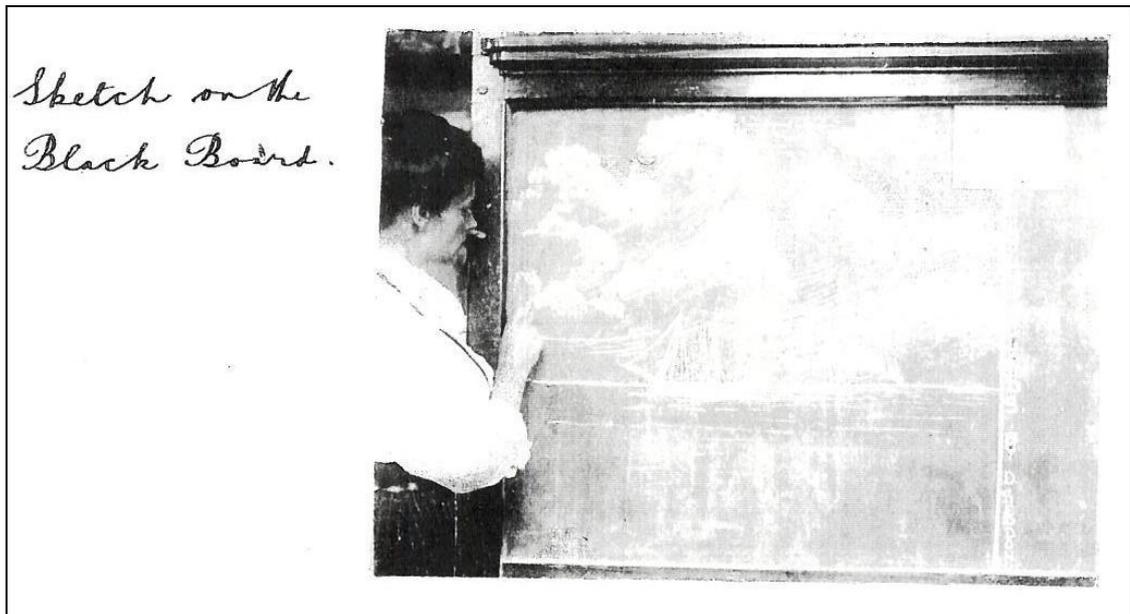
Sylvia Ashton Warner Library, Auckland

To this already overcrowded curriculum, as illustrated in the Timetable of Auckland Training College (1910) below, practical laboratory work which included mechanics, physics, chemistry and physiology was also added.

Figure 5.3 Timetable for Auckland Training College, 1910

AUCKLAND TRAINING COLLEGE.

TIMETABLE FOR FIRST YEAR STUDENTS, 1910

	9.10 a.m	10-11 a.m.	11-11.30 a.m.	11.30-12.30 a.m.	1.45-2.45 p.m	2.45-3.45 p.m	University Classes
Monday	Physiology A.J.C.	Methods of Teaching (P.)	Interval	Model Lesson Co-ordinated with previous lecture (P.)	Kindergarten Work (Miss Statham)	Physical Culture	Latin - 7-8
Tuesday	Physiology A.J.C.	Methods of Teaching (Arithmetic and Geography) (H.G.C.)	Interval	Model Lesson Co-ordinated with previous lecture (H.G.C.)	Sewing (Miss Purdie) or Shooting (A.J.C.)	Physical Culture	Education - 5-6 / English - 6-7 / Botany - 7-8
Wednesday	Music (Mr. S. Green)	Elem. Science Sect. A (A.J.C.) or Writing (Mr. S. Walker)	Interval	Elem Science Sect. A. (A.J.C.)	Visits of Observation.	Physical Culture	Mathematics 5-6 / English - 7-8
Thursday	Reading (P.)	Methods of Teaching (P.)	Military Drill Mr. R. Paterson	Model Lesson Co-ordinated with previous lecture (P.)	Drawing Mr. Wallace Mr. Cockburn		Latin - - 6-7
Friday	Elem. Sci. Sect. B. (A.J.C.)	Elem. Science Sect. B. (A.J.C.)	11-12.30 Botany at University (Sect. A.)		2-3.30 Botany at University (Sect. B.)		Geology - 5-6 / Mathematics 6-7 / Education 7-9
			Music (Mr. S. Green)		Music (Mr. S. Green)	Physical Culture	
Saturday	English	10.30-12.30 Cookery - - Miss Lawson Woodwork - Mr. Trendall					

When not in lectures, all students to be in Private Study Rooms. This Time Table is in force every other week—the alternate weeks are spent in the Normal School. The visits of observation are to places of teaching interest, e.g., Ostrich Farm, Paper Mills, Biscuit Factory, Gas Works, etc. They are directly under the Principal's supervision.

Physical Culture includes swimming and games.

Teachers { Women.—Miss K. Noble. Men.—The Principal.

A.J.C.=A. J. Cottrell, m.a., m.sc. Science Tutor.
H.G.C.=H. G. Cousins, m.a. Head Master Normal School.
P.=Principal, H. A. E. Milnes, b.sc. (Lond.)

Sylvia Ashton Warner Library, Auckland

By 1900, at Dunedin, instruction in school curriculum subjects comprised approximately half of the allocated course with the remaining half devoted to illustrative and model lessons, lectures on the principles of teaching, methods of teaching, school organisation and registration, planning and arrangement of timetables, criticism lessons (which took place every Friday afternoon at the normal school) and lessons in the associated schools – the latter were a network of schools in which students undertook a week's teaching practice every fifth week.[16]

At Christchurch Training Department (not renamed Christchurch Training College until 1905 when the Practising Department became the Normal School) students were receiving a similar course. C. C. Howard, as Principal, perhaps inadvertently revealing his vested interest, repudiated the pupil-teacher system claiming that it was narrow, limiting and led to a reproduction of the methods observed in a single school context.[17]

As an ex-Battersea Training College, Howard was familiar with English colleges, however, he stridently claimed that Christchurch was far superior to the English colleges. This was due to the fact that Christchurch stressed both theoretical and practical components of effective teaching and not just the literary attainments necessary for passing examinations. He iterated the necessity for a cultured student who could take up the study of the scientific principles of teaching and who could adapt different instructional methods to suit their own temperament.[18]

Howard's lectures show a depth and breadth of coverage and they were popularly acclaimed and well attended by both college students and teachers. His lecture notes for both teachers and normal school students reveal that between 1877 and 1905 (and his two successors followed largely similar content); students could expect to encounter three courses. The first, entitled: *General Subject – The Fundamental Principles of Education, With Hints On Their Application to School Work,* consisted of 20 lectures. This was divided into three sections, Mental Training, Moral Training and Physical Training. After an introductory lecture on education as an art and science (where the virtues of both were extolled), the first section on mental training comprised a series of nine lectures focussing on topics such as the principles of education; the study of mental philosophy; infant and common schools; methods of Pestalozzi, Stow and Froebel; faculty training; kindergarten gifts; object lessons; questioning; didactic instruction and home lessons; the second section on Moral Training consisted of eight lectures and these included information on the moral character and behaviour of teachers themselves as well as their pupils – both in school and in the playground. Discipline, including corporal discipline, rewards and punishment, were covered as were appropriate forms of school literature, and an identification of children's most common faults; the third section on Physical Training consisted of two lectures and focussed on the connections between the mind and the body; health; drill; and gymnastics. There was frequent reference to the work of „eminent" educators. Socrates was mentioned when discussing questioning and it is interesting to note that the ideas of faculty psychology were still being presented even though they were coming increasingly under fire in the States at about this time. It is also possible that his lectures on rewards and punishments either foreshadowed or reflected Thorndike's contemporaneous work on the Law of Effect in the States.

Students at Christchurch College could enrol for as many or as few courses as they wished, so this first series of lectures may have been the only "theoretical" course they received before they started teaching. If they decided to continue their studies, they could receive Parts 2 and 3 of the lecture series. Part 2, entitled *General Subject – Methods of Teaching and Organisation,* consisted entirely of school management, organisation, timetables and registers, two lectures on Reading, three lectures on Arithmetic, and one lecture on each of the following curriculum areas: Spelling, Writing, Geography, History, Grammar, Compositions and Paraphrasing, Object Lessons, Domestic Economy and Laws of Health, the Kindergarten System and Music. This part of the lecture series consisted largely of methods of instructing various curriculum areas and it addressed the constraints of managing and teaching large classes of children with widely varying ages, abilities and needs. It also reflected a preoccupation with plans, schemes, timetables and regimentation: all part of the factory production line mentality where individuals were not allowed to waste one moment of time. Maximum industry was expected from every individual, adult or child.

Part 3 entitled *General Subject – Great Teachers and Systems of Education* consisted of 22 lectures and these covered the history and philosophy of English educators with topics based, somewhat perplexingly, on a classification of eras defined according to the British monarchy. With the exception of an introductory lecture on the Ancient Schools (presumably Plato, Aristotle, Socrates etc), these dated back to Alfred the Great, who was referred to as King and Schoolmaster. The list included a lecture on each of the following: Schools and Educators of the 13th and 14th century; Education Under the Tudors; William Wykeham; Roger Ascham; John Milton; John Locke; Henry Pestalozzi (and as he deviated from the list by not being English, an additional clause was added here *"and his English Friends"*); Samuel Wilderspin; Andrew Bell and the Monitorial System; Joseph Lancaster; Matthew Arnold; David Stow; Froebel and the Kindergarten System (another deviant but with a firm following in England); Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth and Herbert Spencer. Comparative systems were also covered and these included National Education in Germany; Scandinavian Schools; Horace Mann and the American Schools; two lectures on Schools of Fiction and Lessons to be Learned From Them (illustrated by readings); and the final lecture on Some Unsuccessful Schoolmasters: Goldsmith, Johnson and others.[19]

Specialist kindergarten and infant courses were also offered as part of the training college curriculum. These resulted from a cross-fertilisation of ideas between countries such as Britain, America, Australia and New Zealand. Teaching staff from the training colleges went abroad, sometimes at their own expense, to study kindergarten philosophies and teaching methods. Numerous illustrations of this exist: one such example was Miss Copeland from Auckland College of Education who attended Teachers‟ College at Columbia in America to study Infant and Kindergarten Methods.[20] The introduction of new psychological studies of learning and development ignited a growing international interest in the education of young children. Specialist Kindergarten and Infant teachers were appointed to colleges. Kindergarten Departments were attached to normal schools and specific courses for kindergarten student teachers who undertook part of their teaching practice in the Free Kindergarten Schools, were set up.[21] Such initiatives followed from the international dialogue existing at that time. Widely read journals such as the *New Zealand Schoolmaster* were also conduits for disseminating education from overseas. Frequently included were articles by prominent overseas educators or reports from New Zealand educators who had travelled abroad to study various aspects of overseas‟ education systems.

The new child study movement in America began making a serious impact on teacher training, particularly from the 1920s. Every student at training college had to undertake a child study – this was thought to provide invaluable knowledge to prospective teachers as it provided a "case". The individual child within the school population was observed, measured, made knowable and, consequently, was able to be organised and instructed more efficiently, thus illustrating: "... *the features, the measurements, the gaps, the ‚marks‟ that make them all, taken together, a population of case, with norms and quantifiable deviations from the norm*".[22] An example of a student‟s Observation Notes, undertaken during her teaching practice at Christchurch Normal School in 1927, not only fills a complete exercise book, but adds a detailed Child Study amongst her notes. The Index at the front of the notebook includes the following headings: Timetable; The Class; Plan of Classroom; Class Room; Schemes of Work – set out under the following curriculum headings: English: Reading, Writing, Oral Expression, Literature, Singing & Speech Training, Number Work, Poetry, Games and Physical Exercises, Handwork; Observation Lessons; Classroom Furnishings; General Observations; and Child Study. The latter takes pride of place at the back of the exercise

book.[23] The child who is the subject of the study is divided into three different domains: **physical**, where she is described as thin, of average height, warmly dressed and coming from a good home; **mental**, where she is described as bright, good at number, reading and writing, wearing a serious expression, keen but not enthusiastic about work, and an *"only child"*; and **moral**, where her character is depicted as straightforward, honest, truthful and *"spoilt at home"*. She is reported to be a likeable child who has two or three playmates but who is different from other children because she lives mainly in the company of older people.

This particular example of a „child study" is a descriptive, assumption-laden and subjective account of the child – there is no evidence of critical analysis or reference to theoretical literature. During this period, there is no addition of test results or formal measurement, as included in child studies of a decade later. However, it is this type of study that is regarded as essential. H. A. Milnes, Principal of Auckland College, a strong advocate of child study, frequently and publicly discussed the necessity of studying the all-round development of the child.[24] A sentiment not restricted to Milnes, but reiterated by other College Principals, hence their emphasis on child study and the teaching of related content in the College curricula.

(i) Texts:

Student teachers probably found it difficult to discern the relevance of some of the texts utilised in the early colleges; however, at the time, they formed the core of state-sanctioned teacher knowledge. As previously acknowledged, early New Zealand student teachers were tied firmly to England and its social, political and educational history. In England, training college students were mandated by the state to study primarily English systems of education This was a requirement introduced into the 1852 Syllabus for Students in Training Colleges issued by the Committee of Council on Education.[25] These, therefore, would have been studied by several of the first Principals of New Zealand training colleges who were either ex-students or ex-instructors from English training colleges (Battersea College and Borough Road Training College, in particular). Therefore, with a ready-made text such as that by J. Gill, entitled *Systems of Education: A History and Criticism of the Principles, Methods, Organisation and Moral Discipline Advocated by Eminent Educationists*, published in 1876 and based on his series of lectures to the English Colleges, the course material was simply transferred to the

geographical contexts of New Zealand and Australia. In the Preface to his book, Gill acknowledges the request of the Bishop of Tasmania (former Principal of Battersea Training College) to transfer the lectures to a more permanent format, hence the publication and transportation of his very popular text to Australia as well as to New Zealand. This is one of the reasons why English educational history was promulgated in New Zealand, despite the fact that New Zealand had no statutory requirement to teach English education systems to trainees at Dunedin and Christchurch. English knowledge was considered superior, hence its wholesale transference to a new colony (an example of the principle of cultural continuity, referred to in Chapter 3).

In addition to Gill's publication, other English texts used by student teachers in New Zealand's training colleges around the turn of the century were: R. H. Quick's *Essays on Educational Reformers* in 1890 (first published in 1868) - Quick addressed the same philosophers and educators as Gill, with the addition of several others; E. Thring's *Theory and Practice of Teaching* (Thring was an influential English schoolmaster and his book, a sermon-like homily, is full of scriptural allegories and homely anecdotes); E. Thorndike's two texts: *Principles of Teaching* and *Educational Psychology;* G. Stanley Hall's texts on Human Development; and J. Adams' *Herbartian Psychology*.[26] In 1886 J. Sully, the Scottish educator, published his book for teachers which emphasised the role of faculty psychology and formal discipline. His book *Psychology for Teachers* was recommended reading for the Teachers' „C" Certificate Examination in New Zealand in the first decade of the 1900s.[27] T. Cox and R. Macdonald's *Suggestive Handbook of Practical School Method* (1897),[28] a mandatory requirement for Dunedin students also made reference to Sully. Sully's views were widely representative of those advocated by a well known group of Scottish philosophers who maintained that the human mind was comprised of several faculties – e.g. memory, judgement, attention. These separate and independent faculties could be strengthened by mental exercise and then transferred to other areas of the mind.[29] This formed a large part of New Zealand's methods course. The best form of mental exercise was considered to be Greek, Latin and mathematics and this is one of the reasons that for many decades they were mandatory requirements for entry to university. Amongst the plethora of Methods Manuals, two others were emphasised. These were F. J. Gladman's *School Method* and Inspector Petrie's *Suggestions for the Guidance of Teachers* published in 1896.

When the training colleges of Wellington and Auckland were re-opened in 1906, students were studying W. James' *Text Book of Psychology* and *Talks to Teachers*, J. Welton's *Logical Bases of Education*, R. H. Quick's *Educational Reformers* and G. Compayre's *History of Pedagogy*. They examined topics such as consciousness, sensations, ideas, feelings, discipline, temperament and adolescence.[30]

In the 1920s, P. Nunn's *Education: its Data and First Principles* and P. Sandiford's *Educational Psychology*[31] were used extensively as texts and they confirmed educational psychology as a disciplinary study in its own right. Nunn, a Doctor of Science and Professor of Education at the London Institute of Education (which he ambitiously hoped would rival Teachers' College, Columbia University) was an ardent follower of integrating scientific principles into education. He published works on teaching Mathematics and Science and presented numerous treatise on Aristotle, Plato and Einstein (he also wrote favourably about Enid Blyton in the Introduction to a book entitled the Teacher's Treasury, Volume 2).[32] Although his text on *Education: its Data and First Principles* referred to teaching as an art and promoted the growing international view that education was "*to make the world safe for democracy*", he frequently articulated education as a scientific discourse.[33] In reading and working with his text, New Zealand students would have been made aware, not only of the ubiquitous Theory of Recapitulation, but also of E. Thorndike's experiments, S. Freud's methods of psychoanalysis, K. Jung's work on the unconscious, repression, dreams, delinquency and the necessity of routines and rituals in the development and learning of children. Nunn chastises modern teachers for their dislike of repetition (e.g. tables, dates etc.) and argues for the importance of drill. However, he also enthuses about the value of play as a way of working off excess energy, as a method of moral training, and as a means of preparing children for the serious business of life. Through play, the

> *... child gradually enters into possession of his own body and raises his command over it to the highest possible power. Again, he finds and exercises in play his intellectual gifts and powers, and often discovers the interests that are to fill the central place in his adult life.[34]*

He discusses the importance of self-discipline and patriotism as developed through the Scout movement, the Cadet Corps and the experiments then being conducted with pupil

self-government in schools. The latter was referred to in one experiment as a microcosm of the Commonwealth, hence its name „the Little Commonwealth‟; this was taken up and developed by A. S. Neill at his new school, Summerhill, in England. It was also manifested, to a lesser extent, in New Zealand with educators such as L. J. Wild when he became the foundational Principal of Feilding Agricultural High School in the early 1920s. Wild introduced a form of self-government wherein pupils set up a council which helped to formulate, administer and police school rules and regulations.[35] Nunn was part of the sea-change in the corpus of suitable knowledge at that time. He appeared to have little difficulty in reconciling the principles of Humanism with the new scientific, and somewhat Behavioural approach of current educational psychology. The latter was rapidly expanding its horizons by penetrating the educational discourse of trainees.

By the 1930s and 1940s, training college libraries were expanding their collections, particularly with respect to Psychology textbooks which were listed separately, and in addition to, texts on Education. In an analysis of present stock in 1944, Dunedin Training College provided the following breakdown showing the number of books they held:

English	*1,275*
Education	*762*
History	*713*
Children‟s Books	*692*
Science	*539*
Teachers‟ Library	*521*
Arts & Crafts	*500*
Music	*500*
Psychology	*252*
Geography	*218*
Physical Education	*120*
Religion	*99*
TOTAL STOCK	*6,151*[36]

Books on Education and Psychology together numbered 1,014 and came second only to English (included in the latter were Methods books on the teaching of Reading and Writing). Interestingly, although Sociology was briefly mentioned, Psychology was singled out for specific reference by an unknown lecturer (usually the Principal of the College, although the document is unsigned) who wrote in the stock-taking document,

> *Like Biology and Sociology, Psychology is a <u>new</u> science. A great deal of valuable matter is being published in both Great Britain and the United States of America of which a representative selection should be available to our students. It need hardly be stressed that, as Psychology is the basic science underlying educational practice, our College library stock in this subject should be both up-to-date and comprehensive. At present it is neither.*[37]

The writer then went on to state that 28 per cent of the Education holdings were published since 1935, 26 per cent published between 1925-1934, and 46 per cent before 1925; and with regard to Education, 40 per cent were published since 1930, 40 per cent between 1920-1930 and 20 per cent before 1920. In the 1940s, students were still depending on texts that had been written during the previous century.

Books ordered by Dunedin Training College in 1937 included a plethora of Methods or „teaching of" books and an acknowledgement of secondary education (an area previously neglected). Of the Education texts ambitiously ordered (and not necessarily received), most were Psychology texts which focussed either on aspects of measurement or of dealing with the „pathological" child who fell outside of the normed pattern. They consisted of:

> *The Selection of Children for Secondary Education (5/-)*
> *Education of the Slow Learning Child-P.M. Bachelard (7/6d)*
> *Guide to Mental Testing – Cattell (7/10 ½ d)*
> *Mental Development of the Child – C. Buhler (8/6d)*
> *Technical Teaching (3/6d)*
> *Education and the Social Order – B. Russell (7/6d)*
> *Remembering – Bartlett*
> *Control of the Mind – Thouless*

How the Mind Works – Cyril Burt (7/6d)

Psychology of Misconduct – B. Hollander (7/6d)

The Child and His Pencil (10/6d)[38]

Not all of these books were signed off by Fraser, the Prime Minister, as the Director of Education asked the college to restrict their order to £80 which was the limit of the College‟s grant.

On the recommended list of books for all Training Colleges in the same year (1937), Education texts (in addition to those listed above) began to show a wider, more social knowledge base. Amongst them were:

The Education Errors in School: Their Causes and Treatment – John Adams

Man‟s Adaptation of Nature

Principles and Methods of Moral Training with Specific Reference to School Discipline

Aims of Education – Whitehead

Science of Life – Wells

Infant and Nursery Schools (H.M. Stationery Office)

Thought and Language – P.B. Bollard

Education of the Whole Man – L.P. Jacks

The Professional Training of Teachers for Secondary Schools

The Reliability of Examinations: An Enquiry – C.W. Valentine

The Marks of Examiners – Sir P. Harthog [39]

As stated earlier, although examinations were coming under more critical scrutiny; they still retained their privileged status in selecting those who were to succeed and those who were to fail in their journey towards the teaching profession. As detected from the book titles, examinations were now firmly embedded as essential rituals in the training process. Training colleges had become observational laboratories and examinations a way of minutely scrutinising the thoughts of trainees in order to ensure that correct schemes of knowledge had been assimilated.

b) The University and Teacher Training

Early training colleges had differing perspectives on university study (as had policy makers) and this depended largely on their epistemological views on what should constitute the content of teacher training. At the start of formal teacher training, university study was recognised and rewarded by educational policy makers through its somewhat over-complicated system of examinations and certification. There were five classes of Teachers" Certificates from A to E. Harte spells out the levels of knowledge and qualifications required for the passing of each class – this was organised and administered by the Education Department. As evidenced here, university study was recognised and legitimated by appearing at the highest levels:

> *Class E. An examination in the following subjects:- Reading, Writing, Spelling, English Grammar, English Composition, Arithmetic, Geography, English History.*
>
> *Class D. An examination in four compulsory subjects (English, Grammar and Composition, Arithmetic, Geography and History), and any two out of the following options: Greek, Latin, Algebra, Euclid, Elementary Chemistry, Elementary Physics, Elementary Natural Science, and one modern language (French, German or Italian).*
>
> *Class C. Candidates for this certificate were required to have passed the examination for the compulsory subjects or for the optional subjects for the degree of bachelor of Arts of the University, and in the event of not having passed the full D examination, to have passed in the compulsory subjects .*
>
> *Class B was granted top holders of the B.A. Degree and*
>
> *Class A to those who had gained Master of Arts with first or second class honours.* [40]

In addition to this, a stanine system cut across the five levels described above and these were indicated numerically – these indicated length of service and an assessment of teaching performance as judged annually by the Inspectors. The scale was confusing, bewildering and as an institutional ritual, its complexity was designed to engender teacher submission and reduce any questioning of authority.

As stated in Chapter 3, the colleges had established relationships with the universities with different degrees of success. W. Malcolm, the second Principal of Christchurch,

coming to New Zealand with a classical training from Edinburgh University, was a firm advocate of concurrent college and university study. He is attributed by Corner as being the first Principal of a Training College who *"made explicit a new concept in New Zealand education"* which was the *"insistence that the normal school and the university were essential elements in teacher-training.*[41] However, as the concurrent model had been operating in Dunedin for over a decade, Corner"s claim seems a little unusual. Perhaps it was the first articulation of the rationale which saw the interconnection of the two distinctive cultures of the university and the college, or perhaps he was just referring to the Canterbury region. Whatever the case, the university was now providing the academic, literary and cultural component necessary to a well educated teacher, and the social and professional aspects of a teacher"s education was provided in the highly controlled setting of the College. Malcolm explains:

> *As a general rule there are habits of training, literary tastes, and depths of culture acquired at a University, and there are details of school management and discipline and a certain esprit de corps acquired at a normal school, which cannot be acquired with a few weeks cram, or by a few years" experience in promiscuous teaching. I have long held the opinion that no normal school should be planted unless in a university town, and as far as possible, the students should receive their education within the walls of the University, and their acquaintance with the theory and practice of education within the walls of a normal school.[42]*

Whether this view was enlightened and aimed at providing the best of both worlds or whether it was merely a position of compromise, is a debateable point: nevertheless, it was the model that was to be resurrected over 80 years later with the advent of a degree in Education – not for all students but for those who were academically able.

At this time, the state also showed its approval of concurrent university study by making English and Education a mandatory university component of teacher training in 1905. In fact, the government paid students" university fees to make this possible. The notion of a concurrent college and university course in which both professional and academic education formed the basis of the student teacher"s course, fell into discredit in the 1920s following the Reichel-Tate Commission. It is highly probable that the state withdrew its support for concurrent study in the 1920s because contact with the culture

of the university and other neophyte professionals were undermining the assimilative process of the rite of passage. This diluted the loyalty and college spirit demanded of them in the training college environment and interfered with their transformation to teachers.

In the early 1900s, the University‟s Education course consisted of the history and philosophy of education. It also included instruction in both teaching methods and special subjects of professional practice. Like the College course, it was not divided into foundational disciplines until a couple of decades later. It was usually taken by the Principal of the Training College, who also doubled as the ex-officio Lecturer in Education at the University. D. R. White, the Principal of Dunedin Training College was the first to take up the title of Professor of Education in New Zealand in 1904.[43] As the College Principal also took the University‟s Education course, the same course content was transmitted by the same lecturer: the only change was the venue and composition of the class (the university class also included practising teachers attempting to gain a degree subject in Education). The year 1904 had also seen the introduction of the theory and history of education as a university subject.

The University of New Zealand‟s prescription for its two 1906 Education papers were, as Fletcher notes, very similar to the content of Howard‟s lectures prescribed over 30 years ago, with a few additional up-dates. The first paper entitled *The Principles of Education* prescribed,

> *Education as the guidance of growth, mental and moral development the nervous system and the senses, the faculty notion of training the memory, imagination and judgement, attention and will, interest, character, habit, temperament, child study, physical education and school hygiene.*[44]

This paper was an unusual mixture of the earlier, and by now fairly discredited, faculty psychology approach and the new area of child study which acknowledged the developmental psychology movement in America.

The second paper was also very similar to that of Howard‟s but it had been modernised and included a slightly more classical emphasis. Entitled *The History of Education*, it

focused on Greek and Roman Education (making special mention of Plato and Aristotle); Medieval (sic) Education, including the Rise of the Universities and Peter Abelard; The Renascence (sic); the Teaching of Languages including the Jesuits and the Jansenists; The Revolt from Classicism including Rabelais, Comenius, Milton and Locke; 18th and 19th Centuries Educators including Bell and Lancaster; and the Rise of Scientific Psychology including Herbart, Bain and Spencer.

Taught by the Training College Principal, E. Watkins, it provided both an international perspective on education (not being as locked into the English monarchy as the training college course discussed previously) and it also showed an awareness of contemporary educational thinking. With the addition of ancient educational traditions, it closely followed the prescribed text, the second edition of Quick"s *Essays on Educational Reformers*.[45]

The University, in contrast to the training colleges, began to emphasise the academic content of courses and paid scant attention to teaching methods. Not everyone agreed with the suitability of the University"s Education course for student teachers – this position is summed in the statement of Pinder, the Principal of Dunedin Teacher Training College:

> *Education, as a University Class up to degree standard, does not, I think, produce the best results. The principles of education, and the generalisations of which the working out is embodied in the History of Education, are the outcome of, among others, the sciences of Psychology, Ethics and Philosophy. All of these are found to be too abstract for the young student under 20 years of age as the Training College student usually is. The teachers of these subjects agree in the opinion that the young student cannot grasp wide and abstract generalisations well, and this is my experience of „Education".*[46]

This was endorsed by various comments found in the colleges" Inspection Reports, such as that made by E. Marsden, Assistant Director of Education, following his visit to Auckland Training College in 1925: *"Psychology is a difficult subject to handle with young students and only the simplest and most direct form of exposition is likely to prove profitable to them."*[47]

Despite this, the inclusion of Scientific Psychology was beginning to change the ITE curriculum as the new century progressed.

3. The Theoretical Underpinning of the Trainees" Courses

In the first three decades of the 20th century, an expansion and relocation of knowledge was occurring. New schemes of knowledge were being seeded and this influenced the content of teacher education courses whether undertaken at college or university. Knowledge provided in the Education courses became more discipline-based. Foucault"s concept of discipline embraces two definitions, both of which are pertinent here: the first is that form of regulation and control which includes a proliferation of procedures, techniques and instruments which constitute a whole technology of disciplinary power implemented in state institutions. These ensure that individuals become both amenable and productive to society in ways intended by the state. As argued elsewhere, this is directly applicable to trainee teachers. The second definition relates to being educated and „disciplined" in a specialist branch of knowledge. For trainees at this time, this meant that they received knowledge of educational disciplines, principles and pedagogies (epistemic knowledge), and technical aspects of management, control, administration and measurement (phronesic knowledge). Both were viewed as necessary to the dutiful functioning of individuals as teachers and both constituted the dual curriculum of their specialist knowledge. The two different types of knowledge were evident in their Education and Methods courses. Both types of courses are now explained through analysing the theoretical and philosophical discourse underscoring their courses and texts.

a) The Education Courses

The history of knowledge pertaining to teacher training validates certain concepts, theories and ideas that have emerged from deep within European, classical regimes of truth. These traditions of relevant knowledge assumed the importance of sacred knowledge in the rite of passage of early trainees. As the texts of Quick and Gill were relied on extensively in the college and university courses, their views are frequently consulted in the following discussion.

The content of both Howard's lectures to Christchurch's trainees in 1877 and Watkins' lectures to trainees undertaking the University's Education course in 1906, focused on European philosophies and theories. These were done in chronological order commencing with the Greeks and concluding with a lecture on "Modern Tendencies". Quick's rationale for this chronological sequencing is relevant here. After stating the importance of studying the great thinkers on education, as they bestow, *"vital truths which time cannot destroy",* he maintains that,

> *We see that each adds to the treasure which he finds already accumulated, and thus by degrees we are arriving in education, as in most departments of human endeavour, at a science. In this science lies our hope for the future. Teachers must endeavour to obtain more and more knowledge of the laws to which their art has to conform itself.*[48]

This incremental and evolutionary view of education as a gradual progression to its scientific pinnacle, was a becoming a popular, contemporary view. As this knowledge was condoned by policy makers, it imparted historical legitimacy on specific educational theories; in this way, trainees were exposed to highly selected regimes of truth. These are now further explored.

(i) The History of Eminent Philosophers:

The inclusion of the Ancient Greeks and Roman educators in Education courses throughout the duration of the first teacher educational period, illustrate their key (and continuing) importance. The views of Plato, Aristotle and Quintilian on: the role of the teacher; the relationship between teacher and learner; appropriate teaching methods; what is taught, how and in what order; the importance of physical training in the development of the mind; the influence of affect in learning; and many other educational theories, were not only relevant to student teachers in the early 1900s but are also studied in contemporary teacher education.[49] Socrates also advocated a form of learning which emphasised the elicitation of knowledge through a carefully structured set of questions – a method of dialogic questioning central to current pedagogy.

The Greek's concept of knowledge also influenced contemporary pedagogy. Aristotle and Plato maintained that as knowledge was universal, it was an absolute and was,

therefore, separate from the knower as it corresponded to an external reality. This meant that knowledge was viewed as stable and fixed. Many educators believed, therefore, that theories and philosophies were fixed bodies of knowledge that could be transmitted and modelled to student teachers who were regarded as passive recipients. Despite some philosophers challenging this view, it was extended to training college pedagogies: active engagement with the material was not encouraged, nor was critical examination and discussion. Lecturers dictating notes to students formed a *"common lecturing technique"* [50] as did copying pages of notes from the blackboard. This is illustrated in the notebook of Miss Atkins, a trainee at Auckland Training College in 1929.[51] Her lecture notes are a result of copying lecturers" notes: headings are carefully underlined, definitions and concepts are meticulously set out and her grammar is impeccable. There are spaces for missing lectures and there is no sign of active involvement with or critical evaluation of the material.

Comprehension was not expected, despite advice from the educators being studied. Pages and pages of notes were expected to be memorised and tested in the examination. In some cases, the lecturers themselves did not understand the material.[52]

The inclusion of Alfred the Great and William Wykeham in Howard"s 1877 College lectures is more than a little mystifying. Needless to say, they did not appear in the 1905 University education course. Whilst the scholars of the „Renascence" are included, Gill maintains that a major educational error at this time was the *"idolatry"* of books (the printing press had just been invented); however, the books they published were in Greek and Latin. This led to a very narrow definition of the role of the teacher within the newly introduced grammar schools; that of an instructor in languages and the classics. The teacher"s chief pedagogical tools were *"grammar and the cane."*[53] This notion persisted for centuries and was very difficult to shake off.

The disciplining of children featured highly in the trainees" course, which is not surprising given the nature and content of schooling at the time. R. Ascham (b.1515) was included in both College and university lectures as he was considered to be the *"father of school method."*[54] In his two-part book *"Scholemaster"*, he sets forth his ideas on discipline and punishment. Gill summarises Ascham"s views on this: *"Love is a better spur than fear, gentleness is better than bullying, soft words are better than*

stinging ones."[55] In his „method" section, Ascham maintains like many educators preceding and succeeding him, that learning should lead to understanding, and that learning through the senses and experience is preferable to book learning.

The inclusion of the universities and the Jesuits in the trainees" curriculum is to be expected since both universities and the Church were responsible for most of the formal teacher education undertaken in Britain and Europe before the 19th century. As E. Wragg informs us, the Jesuits had undertaken a systematic analysis of teacher training which was probably the most well documented in the history of teacher education.[56] The Jesuits *"seized on education as stepping stones to power and influence."*[57] With their emphasis on matching pupils to teaching purposes, team competition, the use of praise, constant review of material taught, and the production of their books which comprised *Ratio Studiorum* (1586), teaching and pedagogical methods were identified and explained with attention paid to minute detail. As a system of teaching, the Jesuits" methods worked successfully for over three centuries.[58] Whilst signalling the achievement of such a system, Quick thought little of their individual teaching methods as they were based mainly on the use of learning through repetition. The Jesuits favoured the central educational tenet of the time which was that the mind was an empty vessel to be filled by the teacher. It was the arrival of thinkers such as Rabelais that dispelled this notion – he led the opposition to book-learning and he emphasised observation as a main tool of learning. Rabelais" ideas made a clear-cut distinction between training and teaching (taken up by later educators such as Stow), and he was frequently referred to as the *"father of teaching by intuition."*[59] Teaching through the senses and capitalising on the child"s own intelligence was a major feature of his theories: these are still evidenced today. Montaigne reinforced these ideas and the 1500s were notable for their emphasis on moral and physical training, in addition to the training of the mind. *"Education of the whole man"* was the motto of the time, echoing the Greek ideal and sewing seeds for the current holistic views of learning that are so prevalent today. Later training college Principals, such as Milnes, constantly referred to this ideal.

The excessive diet of books in the classical literary traditions of the „Renascence" was rejected by educators such as J. A. Comenius. It is easy to see why his ideas were included in the course for New Zealand students. After organising the public education

systems of several European countries, Comenius was invited to do the same in England in 1638. Quick maintains that he was one of the most significant educational innovators in the history of education. He was recognised as the first to treat *"education in a scientific spirit, and who bequeathed the rudiments of a science to later ages"*,[60] and for this reason he may have been selected for study in New Zealand. Maintaining that the new learner is the best teacher, he employed more advanced pupils to instruct those with less knowledge (thus foreshadowing the monitorial system, and much later, peer tutoring). He also published several books, with pictorial illustrations, which set out ways of teaching languages through the exercise of perception, intuitive faculties and the use of graphic description – these became immediately popular and influenced later educators such as Pestalozzi and Stow. His book entitled *The School of Infancy*, published in the 1650s and translated into English in 1858, is the first to suggest kindergarten training which was picked up and elaborated by Froebel. He argued against the „tabula rasa" theory that had dominated for so long and, sounding like a current socio-constructivist theorist, he maintained that young children up to the age of six should be encouraged to play and talk with other young children in order to develop their powers of thought and expression.[61] He also maintained that learning was first acquired through the senses and he introduced (among other things) illustrated books and resources as aids to learning. He emphasised that gaining the understanding of the learner, was more important than memorising facts.[62] With the growing emphasis on the scientific nature of education, on infant education and on child study at this time, his theories were apposite to the trainees" own studies in the early 1900s.

The two major philosophers, J. Milton and J. Locke were brought to the attention of New Zealand students because of their major contribution to both education and philosophy. Milton"s treatise on education strikes a modern chord as he sees the importance of education in the formation of a desirable state: he asserts that the aims of education should be to improve the knowledge and life of the nation through producing *"well informed citizens and members of the state"*.[63] Milton dismissed the ubiquitous mechanical drill and rigid routine which constituted schooling in his era and offered an alternative system of teaching for males up to 21 years which facilitated thinking and exercised the memory. It started at an early age with easy and simple instruction which was accessible through the senses and moved to the gathering of facts. He maintained that this was the only way to acquire real knowledge.[64]

Locke"s ideas would perhaps have been more familiar to New Zealand student teachers. Popularly acclaimed as *"the father of English philosophy"*,[65] his views were subject to carping criticism from educational commentators after his death; however, as J. Adams, writing in the 1890s states, *"Though they spend all their introductory chapters in showing how Locke went wrong, philosophers do not seem able to get along without him. They go farther: they even seem to like him."*[66]

Like Rabelais before him, Locke maintained that the mind receives all its ideas from the senses, thus setting the scene for modern Information Processing theory. He maintained that the major function of the educator was not to teach but was to dispose the pupil to virtue, then industry and, finally, to knowledge. Providing optimal conditions for learning was his primary motivation, again a very modern-sounding concept. He preferred private tuition to public education and Quick informs us that Locke was held in such high esteem that when Cambridge University set its first examination for future teachers in 1880, the special topics set for study were John Locke and Matthew Arnold. Locke"s two main characteristics, according to Quick, were his desire to know and speak the truth for truth"s sake, and his trust in reason as the guide to truth. His view of truth as an absolute reiterated that of Plato and Aristotle.[67]

Locke"s *"Thoughts Concerning Education"* revolutionised English and Continental education. In it he set out his ideas on home education, and he explained that the formation of character, disposition, manners, virtues and industry were more important than learning. The soundness of the body as well as the mind was also important. He upholds teaching the love of liberty, justice, love *"of dominion, sense of property and desire of possession."*[68] The positive aspects of a child"s temperament had to be nurtured and any negative tendencies had to be eradicated immediately. This obviously influenced later educators, such as Kay-Shuttleworth, who were preoccupied with the social and moral control of children. Anticipating both G. Stanley Hall"s child study movement and the branch of educational psychology focussing on individual differences, both of which did not make an appearance until 300 years later, Locke believed that in order to educate well, it is necessary to study the child. He stressed that an important element of teacher education is to observe and appreciate that every child is different in temperament, natural endowment, inherited tendencies, and in moral and

emotional characteristics: some of these are more dominant than others, the weak areas should be strengthened and that which is immoral should be corrected. Continued surveillance of the child in order to detect their true nature was important and this was only made visible in unrestricted play, when children thought they were unobserved by adults. He maintains,

> *Such knowledge is necessary, for it is found that rules for education do not always serve because of these differences, as the same method of treatment is not always followed by the same result. It is also necessary that the right means may be adopted to mortify evil qualities, strengthen good ones, and so improve the general stock.* [69]

The last comment confirms a prevailing belief that in order to achieve an ideal race and society, individuals had to be improved and shaped according to an ideal. This was most effectively executed with younger children. Childhood had to be reconstituted in particular ways. Teaching by example, and ensuring continued practice, were considered important processes in this. Laws should be few but should be implanted as soon as possible: the major one included submission to authority and this was gained through the receipt of (strictly in this order), obedience, respect and love. He disliked rewards and corporal punishment and thought they should be used sparingly, if at all; his last resort for correcting misbehaviour, perhaps not written into modern teaching manuals, was praying for the child. Moral discipline was to be taught by allowing natural consequences of their actions to occur. As children have a strong desire for esteem, he maintained that responses of approval or disapproval act as prompts or sanctions to future actions.

Sounding like a modern text on pedagogy, Locke‟s ideas on teaching are strikingly familiar. A summary of his ideas on teaching includes the view that it involves: getting and maintaining the attention of the learner; creating a love of learning; encouraging the teacher to be sweet and tender; and ensuring that the learner understands the usefulness and purpose of what he is taught. Power and advantage accrue from new learning. Advantage should be taken of the child‟s natural curiosity and this should be carefully encouraged and kept alive. Inquiries should be listened to with patience and attention and they should be answered at their level of understanding. Mistakes should be

addressed sensitively. Teachers should not bluff or evade answers but should confess their ignorance or immediate inability to reply: children will grow to respect and have confidence in such a teacher. Children like novelty, therefore a wide range of different studies should be provided. Learning should be pleasant and should be incorporated with play and recreation in its early stages. The teacher should read illustrated books which related to the children‟s interests, such as Aesop‟s Fables.[70]

Quick maintains that only three English education writers caught the attention of other nations: these were Ascham, Locke and Spencer.[71]

Spencer was closely studied by New Zealand trainees. It was Spencer who, during the 1850s, invented the phrase, „survival of the fittest‟; he quickly saw that his views paralleled those of Charles Darwin and his work on natural selection. Spencer subsequently applied his phrase to the process of evolution as he maintained that genetic inheritance ensured that some individuals survived and prospered while others did not. The poorer classes were unfit, socially and morally and were not worthy of measures to help.[72] Spencer‟s views were inherent in New Zealand‟s Education courses until well into the 1930s.

Rousseau‟s ideas were included in the University course for New Zealand student teachers but not in the Training College course. There appears no apparent reason for this. The development of Rousseau‟s New Education was a system of learning based on teaching young male children through the hand and eye not through book learning. This was not a new idea as it had been articulated by Comenius centuries before. In his book, *Emile*, Rousseau declared *"if instead of making a child stick to his books I employ him in a workshop, his hands work to the advantage of his intellect: he becomes a philosopher while he thinks he is becoming simply an artisan."*[73] Criticised by feminists for his misogynist views, Rousseau‟s „*Emile*‟ is still regarded as one of seminal works in literature as well as being considered a treatise on education. Rousseau advised teachers to see the world from the child‟s point of view – every teacher needs to become a learner for, as Rousseau concluded, teachers have to study the minds of the children, their way of looking at the world and the objects in it, their habits, dislikes, and interests and the subjects to be taught. This provided a good rationale for teacher training and became highly popular with later advocates of child-centred pedagogies.

It is highly likely that the two overriding influences on teacher education in most Westernised countries during the 1800s were J. H. Pestalozzi and J. F. Herbart. Their principles of education were evident in most formal teacher training provisions, particularly with regard to the teaching of infants. Until Pestalozzi, the most notable educators were concerned with educating small numbers of wealthy children. Pestalozzi was more concerned with teaching the children of the poor and this was based on very different tenets and required a totally new way of training teachers. Like many philosophers of education, Pestalozzi attempted to elevate the social circumstances of those suffering from poverty and moral degradation by providing them with a moral education. He opened Neuhof Industrial School for children of the poor; however, this made him reverse his views about educating such children. He concluded that humans can only attain happiness and moral certitude from within themselves and not through external interventions (such as his school) into their social contexts. Training the young child and nurturing harmony through *the hand, the head, and the heart*[74] was the key and this would eventually lift the whole social and moral calibre of society. Pestalozzi dismissed the use of books for young children; believing that engaging in reality was the main task of the young child.

Pestalozzi strongly advocated progressing from the concrete to the abstract especially when learning number, form and language. He also resurrected the notion of the "object lesson" initiated by Locke, and this was evident in most training college courses, certainly those of America, England and New Zealand until the early decades of the 20th century. This consisted of any natural object being,

> *Placed before the child and distinguished, its name is given and repeated; then the parts are noticed and named; then the form and size; the colour; the smoothness of the surface; the hardness or softness; the sound when touched, and so on are brought out from observation.*[75]

Observation, judgement, expression and attention are taught to the young child through this method using subtle guidance from the teacher. Despite Pestalozzi"s popularity, Gill is highly critical of the vagueness of his concepts, the lack of direction in applying his views, and the contradictions between his principles and practices. It is doubtful if such

rigorous critique of Pestalozzi‟s theories was encouraged by lecturers of the early Education courses, but this is speculation on the part of this researcher.

On the other hand, Quick praised Pestalozzi. He identified the main features of his philosophy as:

1. *Instruction must be based on the learner‟s own experience.*
2. *What the learner experiences and observes must be connected with language.*
3. *The time for learning is not the time for judging, not the time for criticism.*
4. *In every department instruction must begin with the simplest elements, and starting from these, must be carried on step by step according to the development of the child, that is, it must be brought into psychological sequence.*
5. *At each point the instructor shall not go forward till that part of the subject has become the proper intellectual possession of the learner.*
6. *Instruction must follow the path of development, not the path of lecturing, teaching or telling.*
7. *To the educator, the individuality of the child must be sacred.*
8. *Not the acquisition of knowledge or skill is the main object of elementary instruction but the development and strengthening of the powers of the mind.*
9. *With knowledge must come power, with information skill.*
10. *Intercourse between educator and pupil, and school discipline especially, must be based on and controlled by love.*
11. *The ground of moral-religious bringing up lies in the relation of the mother and child.*[76]

Pestalozzi focused the educational audience on infant education and the development of the child (this was to become the focus of many training college curricula at the turn of the century).

Of the two infant schools opened a few years later, one was opened through the auspices of educator and philosopher, J. Mill and his colleagues, and one was opened under the

direction of S. Wilderspin in 1820. Gill credits Wilderspin as being the true creator of the infant school system in England.[77] Wilderspin travelled widely throughout England, Scotland and Ireland, lecturing to training school students, establishing new infant schools and widely disseminating his ideas – many of which have left a legacy in education today. The infant school movement took on a whole momentum of its own and many model infant schools or classes became attached to the training colleges in New Zealand as a result. The dual aims of providing a rational system of moral training and of educating the whole child, physically, intellectually, morally and socially, became the mantra of Wilderspin and his followers and, in fact, the latter provides the theoretical underpinning of the modern Early Childhood Movement. Stow was a colleague of Wilderspin, however, his ideas on schooling and teacher training developed along different lines. Wilderspin was also responsible for his famous "Gallery System" where children between 2 and 6 years old were placed in a huge gallery and addressed by the teacher standing in a central arena. New Zealand students would have been familiar with this type of learning environment for young children. Henry Taylor, for example, introduced this method into several Auckland districts in contrast to the mechanical question-and-answer instruction then provided. It required a deep knowledge and understanding of the subject by the teacher, the use of clear, simple language and the willingness to cultivate the senses and the imagination of the child.[78]

The gallery system was also used for training purposes and began to be used widely in normal schools. Stow"s College in Scotland made use of it in this manner. Stow"s ideas (which were discussed in Chapter 3) revolutionised education and Gill states that whichever country studied Stow"s methods, they subsequently adopted them.[79] This was to be the case in New Zealand, particularly given the links between his normal seminary and the New Zealand training colleges. His emphasis on the formal provision of teacher training was the first in Britain to mark a deliberate and formal attempt to combine theoretical and practical knowledge in order to:

> *Give students, intending teaching as a profession, a knowledge of educational principles, to furnish them with the knowledge they had to impart, to set before them the best examples of teaching addressed to children in well graduated divisions, and to give them opportunities of teaching under criticism in the*

presence of skilled masters, after the models and to the same groups, as the lessons in their own presence.[80]

The professional component of Stow‟s teacher training was devoted to observing and giving model lessons in the "gallery" to children or their student-teacher peers. This also became regular practice in most normal schools in New Zealand. Pestalozzi‟s influence is apparent in this practice as it substituted "*observation, experiment and criticism for the traditional memorising and book learning.*"[81] This gradually evolved into the ‚public criticism lesson‟ where trainees taught a lesson before a critical college audience (as explained in the previous chapter). Stow argued the legitimacy of the ‚crit‟ lesson as a tool of learning and, consequently, generations of student teachers throughout the Westernised world were subjected to this ritualised ordeal during their rite of passage.

Stow believed in the necessity of the playground; he saw this as presenting opportunities for physical exercise, but, more than that, he saw it as a means of surveillance and discipline. Reiterating Locke‟s theories, Stow maintained that observing children in their natural state, outside the direct constraints of the classroom, and in social interaction with peers, was when the child‟s natural inclinations and temperament came to the fore. The master could join in with the games but should allow every child to follow his own inclinations. This gave the master an insight into what needed to be taught and after every play time, a lesson on self control and moral training was to be provided. In Stow‟s ideas, it is possible to see the beginnings of Social Cognitive theory with its emphasis on learning through observing others; for example, he discusses placing a child who has little musical ability alongside those with musical talent. The result of this interaction with, observation of, and modelling by, more experienced peers leads to the improvement of the child‟s musical skills. This is all a part of his notion of the "power of sympathy" wherein children wish to be similar to, and held in high esteem by, their peers. This, he believes, is an effective moral teaching and management tool and can work both positively and negatively in the school situation. If children fall out of favour with their group, they will exert their best efforts to regain their former status and prestige with the group by adhering to its rules, customs and opinions. Stow emphasised that it is in the interests of the master to ensure that the rules of the group coincide with that of the school; this is good preparation for

life in society where children must conform to established custom and practice. This notion of „managing" children"s behaviour through peer control has been evident in the management literature since then.

Stow was way ahead in his thinking. Inherent in his views were many later developments with which modern New Zealand students would be well acquainted. He preceded Binet"s notion of grading, labelling and organising children according to their mental capabilities and was the first to introduce graded schools: these were schools that categorised their school population into graded classes according to ability. Glasgow, and later the state of Ohio in America, inaugurated his system in their schools.[82] Stow believed in the constant intervention of the teacher in order to stimulate mental inquiry and engender a moral culture; however, Gill believed that he went too far in this principle and he did not allow children to learn without intervention – a criticism frequently directed at L. Vygotsky in modern pedagogy. Although preferring direct intervention by the teacher, Stow maintained that the teacher should not just verbally direct the children but should, instead, use analogies, experiments, models or methods of illustration in order that the pupil might be gradually guided to discovery. The distinction he makes between teaching and training is one he cherished more than any other. He maintained, like Wilderspin and Pestalozzi, that memorising should only be practised once understanding has been gained. He also advocated that when teaching any subject, an overview should first be provided (this sounding like the concept of „advance organisers" advocated by Ausubel in the 1970s).

His method of *"picturing out in words"* was an attempt to motivate creativity and imagination and it became very popular as a method of teaching.[83] In this painting through words, the teacher aimed to transfer an idea, image, picture or conception from his/her head to that of the child through using rich visual descriptions, analogies, familiar illustrations, gestures, questions and prompts. He believed that this method could be used in any subject and with children of any age. Despite Gill criticising it as absurd as it offered one cure for a variety of illnesses,[84] many New Zealand Methods courses instructed their student teachers in its implementation. Stow appeared to use it as a discipline which exercised the mental faculties rather than as a way of communicating ideas or constructing new knowledge.

Meanwhile, in America, Pestalozzi‟s theories were gradually being replaced by those of J. F. Herbart [85] who emphasised that learning would only occur if it was meaningful and if the knowledge was socially and culturally situated. He referred to this as apperception. Hall refers to Herbart as the *"father of educational psychology and scientific pedagogy"*[86] as he believed in the application of a scientific psychology to education. Freud is frequently credited as being the first to establish the notion of the unconscious and he certainly popularised the notion; however, it was Herbart who initially introduced the idea to Freud.[87]

Herbart‟s five-step pedagogical approach to teacher preparation and presentation became popular in New Zealand because its application was intelligible and teachers regarded it as practically useful. His views, which foreshadow modern Constructivist Learning Theory, focus on the relevance of connecting new knowledge to learner‟s prior knowledge and provide the antecedents of modern lesson planning. He recommended that teachers prepare the learner‟s mind by reviewing previously taught material and providing an overview of what is to be taught before presenting new material. Clarification of concepts was the next step and this was done through making comparisons and associations with other related concepts. Following this, instruction was provided which involved exploring abstract concepts (either introducing a new object or breaking down the study into component steps). The final step was the application of the new information.[88]

Winnie Macgregor‟s handwritten Psychology lecture notes from Auckland Training College in the 1920s, reveal all five of the Herbartian Steps. The notes are entitled *The Teaching Process* and are set out on the following page:[89]

The Teaching Process

Teaching is taking a living thought from one's own mind, planting it in the mind of another, so that it will grow.

(1) *Preparation*

To find point of contact

To arouse interest

(2) *Presentation*

Telling the story in visual mental pictures

(3) *Association*

Connecting lesson with other ideas

(4) *Generalisation*

The truth of the lesson, or "the aim" or general law we want the children to grasp. Don't point the moral but make truth so vivid that children must see it.

(5) *Application*

Applying the lesson to daily life.

Transmitting knowledge from the expert to the novice, Stow‟s picturing in words, and using teaching as a method of moral training are all concepts captured in this methodical and systematic planning process. The metaphor of either the child or the educational idea as a plant which either flourishes or withers, is symptomatic of much educational thinking of this time. Woolfolk maintains that Herbart‟s planning approach fits with the new pedagogical emphasis on „minds-on‟ rather than „hands-on‟.[90] Despite the careful emphasis on comprehensive and deep-level learning, it is a regimented and linear approach to planning which is highly amenable to surveillance and accountability. Herbart also emphasised the importance of motivation in learning, a major theme of both James‟ and Dewey‟s work, and Epoch Theory, an integrated curriculum approach which organised knowledge around historical periods.[91]

F. Froebel, a pupil of Pestalozzi, was considered the founder of the kindergarten movement. His major work, *The Education of Man*, published in 1826, was the product of his close observation of young children. He emphasised children‟s propensity to engage in spontaneous physical and intellectual activity and experimentation. He also discovered their susceptibility to light, form, sound and sight and maintained that children were chief performers in their own dramas, creations, and conversations. His kindergarten system was based on two principles: the first that a child‟s school life should consist of happiness, joy, delight, and meaningful occupation; and the second that the teacher, like the gardener, should nurture children in an environment designed for optimal growth and should remove any obstacles to their development. It was the reiteration of the child-as-plant metaphor that led to the title *kindergarten*; Froebel did not intend it as a literal translation meaning "*garden for children*".[92]

The apparatus Froebel was to develop influenced generations of teacher trainees and their approach to teaching in the infant and kindergartens of New Zealand. Kindergarten instruction on method and in content, became compulsory for the training of schoolmistresses and, in some colleges, males also received such training as preparation for their country school teaching posts. All of the training colleges at the turn of the century made frequent reference to Froebel and his use of „Gifts‟ in both their principles and methods courses. His gifts consisted of objects such as balls, cubes, prisms etc.; these were introduced at different periods in the child‟s life. They were accompanied by a series of activities or tasks which accompanied each stage and led to a gradual growth

in intellectual complexity with each stage preparing the child for the next. Activities included independent discovery, experimentation and subtle guidance from the teacher and led to exercises in reading, writing, drawing, singing, papercraft, clay modelling etc. An example cited by Gill refers to the teaching of reading and this would have been consistent with the technical instructions provided to students in the Methods courses,

> *Reading is to be taught on the same principles as other things. The child must do and invent. A box containing strips of cardboard of various forms and sizes is provided. It has to form letters and it has to put together words. Common elements having been placed down, such as „it'; the children are to place „b" before it, and all are to say „bit";then removing the „b" and placing „f, „fit, and so on. This spelling exercise is to be associated with writing, each child to form on the slates the letters and words it has made with cards.[93]*

Again, many of Froebel‟s ideas are in evidence today. Hilgard discusses how modern some of the ideas and theories of previous philosophers still appear, especially those of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart and Froebel.[94] They were certainly the backbone of most teacher training courses offered in Westernised countries in the first decades of the 20th century and their legacy in the history of teacher education knowledge still remain. Although the preoccupation with Herbart was short-lived and his views largely overlooked in America in the first decade of the 20th century, Professor J. J. Findlay and his English (and New Zealand) counterparts were frequent advocates of his views.[95]

Both Bell and Lancaster and their introduction of the monitorial system were a feature of the New Zealand training college curriculum and as these were fully detailed in Chapter 3, they will not be reiterated here.

(ii) The Emergence of Educational Psychology:

During the first three decades of the 1900s, educational psychology began to make an appearance as a separate educational discipline – until now it had been subsumed under philosophy or mental science. America played a vast part in this dissemination. The "American Industry"[96] of educational psychology, in particular that of child study, became big business in teacher training throughout the Westernised world. The Great Exhibition in Chicago in 1893 also did much to export American research in child

study. W. James and Stanley Hall were key players in the export of educational ideas. Many psychologists regard James as the founder of educational psychology.[97] Working in America in 1890, James consistently applied his theories to teaching and learning. He belonged to the faculty theory of psychology which maintained that memory was comprised of several faculties based on subject disciplines or domains. His book *Principles of Psychology* (1890) was, according to Hall, the most enduring text ever written[98] and it appeared as a recommended text for student teachers taking their "C" Certificate in New Zealand.[99] He was, like many educators at that time, both a psychologist and a philosopher who became very critical of the experimental work popular at the time. H. Walberg and G. Haertel, maintain that he is universally recognised as one of most influential psychologists of all time with his work being described as both functional and pragmatic.[100]

James broke away from the Associationists but he still adhered to the importance of contiguity and association in learning. He believed in the agency of humans and that they could make positive, creative and innovative contribution to society – his *Talks to Students on Some of Life's Ideals* highlight his view that individuals are capable of higher vision and are creative, productive, curious and full of awe when reunited with Nature. James had an individualist view of learners and choice, habit and purpose of the individual were key elements of his ideas.[101]

James is noted for his attempts to make educational research findings of practical relevance to teachers. His famous 1899 publication *Talks to Teachers on Psychology* – a published collection of weekly lectures to teachers, found its way around the world and New Zealand students of this period were exposed to his ideas. James was a Social Darwinist and was one of first to apply these theoretical principles to psychology. He maintained, like Darwin, that humans were animals but with higher instincts. The latter became a ubiquitous topic in psychology and covered instincts such as crying, love, curiosity, imitation, most of which he believed were developed at critical points during the lifespan. His book and lectures urged teachers to capitalise on these transitory periods when they were at their peak, in order to train the more enduring instincts into habits of behaviour.[102] Other major themes of his work were consciousness, the plasticity of the nervous system and enhancing memory. Pre-empting recent work on metacognition, he maintained that memory was enhanced when organisation of ideas

and experiences occurred and when connections were made between them.[103] Professor Hunter used James" work in his Education classes at Otago.[104]

James was a pragmatist who maintained that psychology was a science and teaching was an art and, unlike later educators, he argued that teachers should not collect scientifically rigorous observations as this would conflict with their role which was essentially ethical and concrete.[105] He also had a far-reaching influence on other famous educators and psychologists, perhaps the most notable of these being Stanley Hall and Thorndike.

The publication of Stanley Hall"s work *The Contents of Children"s Minds* (1893) is popularly credited with founding the child study movement. Stanley Hall"s work contrasted with that of James, especially when he maintained that child observations should provide a basis for studying their development and learning. He also contended that teacher trainees should be taught how and why to do this.[106] His emphasis on questionnaires as a research method which elicited information from children on a large number of topics was criticised heavily on methodological grounds by his contemporaries who were trying to make psychology a scientific study. Indeed it could be speculated that this was one of the reasons for the split between educational psychology and developmental psychology. Stanley Hall established the *American Journal of Psychology* and was the first President of American Psychological Association in 1892.[107] The new Child Study movement initiated by him is often referred to as the ‚pop" psychology movement of the time.[108] Teacher trainees in New Zealand were very aware of his views and his works were introduced into all the college courses.

Stanley Hall"s classic, two-volume work on adolescence, *Adolescence its Psychology and its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*, written in 1904, was a hugely ambitious and extensive work and was certainly circulated and studied in New Zealand. Hall was a noted Darwinian; this is evident in his book where he advocates the controversial Theory of Recapitulation, whereby children developed through three stages which corresponded to the three stages of human civilisation (i.e. preschool stage reflected that of subhuman primates; primary school that of pre-civilisation; and adolescents that of early civilisation). This argument

was also advocated by educators in New Zealand. Professor Macmillan Brown, for example, in a set of articles for the *New Zealand Schoolmaster* (also published in the *Lyttleton Times*) entitled "Modern Education" restated this theory and added, *"Childhood is a shorthand abstract of the prehistoric development of man; it is man in the making".*[109] New Zealand trainees also studied Hall's Theory of Recapitulation, as this example from the lecture notes of an Auckland trainee states:

Communities have an evolution just as man has an evolution and society of today had its primitive beginnings away back in the horde, kin group or family which fulfilled all purposes:

1) a) Family   b) Horde

2) Village Community – usually nomadic when settle from a community, e.g. Anglo Saxons

3) City Community – most highly developed in Greece

4) Nation Community – developed through feudal system

5) The League of Nations – probably in future the next development would be humanity.[110]

Hall's Social Darwinist ideals are also evident in the chapter of his book devoted to ethnic psychology where he considers the adolescence of *"primitive people"* and the effect of their contact with the *"higher races".* Included in this is a reference to Māori and the need to study and take care of *"undeveloped races".*[111]

His views contrasted greatly with those of Dewey, who was one of his university students. Hall maintained that the sexes should be educated separately and given a different type of school curriculum. Also that schooling should consist of short periods of strict drill, and that the child's basal instincts, such as fighting, aggression and bullying, should be given a constructive outlet during childhood in order to avoid suppression and the later reappearance of these traits. These were commonly held views in psychology texts of the day and perhaps foreshadowed Humanism.[112] Ultimately, maintains Berliner, the child study movement failed in America due to Stanley Hall's

idiosyncratic views on childhood and his less than rigorous methods of collecting research data; however, his movement left behind an enduring legacy in New Zealand which lasted well into the 1930s.[113]

By the third decade of the new century, psychology was firmly established. Sir J. Adams" address to the Education Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science proclaimed *"Education has captured Psychology."*[114] Probably arguing the reverse, that psychology has captured education, Walberg argues that two major psychological paradigms were responsible for the way education developed, particularly in America: these were Positivism and Pragmatism. A major preoccupation of the former, led by Thorndike, was the area of observing and predicting school achievement through analysing learners" mental abilities. This revolutionised schools and the way they tested, normed and grouped children. From the 1930s onwards, it led to the creation of new statistical techniques for organising and analysing data. Factor analysis made an appearance and this grew into multiple factor analysis. The second paradigm, that of Pragmatism as expounded and practised by Dewey, manifested itself in the progressive education movement which was based on trial, experimentation and innovative teaching methods. Both theorists made a major impact in New Zealand and their ideas were fully developed in the teacher trainee courses of this early period.

As this chapter has illustrated, educational psychology is littered with claims to fatherhood as various educators compete in their attempts to become known as the „father" of new ideas and theories. Thorndike was one such example. Whilst D. Berliner and H. Walberg claim that he is the *"father of educational psychology"*[115] and the biggest single influence in educational psychology, Woolfolk awards this honour to his predecessor, James.[116] Thorndike"s „paternity" of Behaviourism was acknowledged when he shifted the educational research movement away from the classroom to the laboratory. In surveying educational psychology texts used in America in the early 1900s, A. H. Quest also reported in 1915 that Thorndike was the most popular author of the time.[117] Certainly both of his texts, *Educational Psychology* (1876), and *The Principles of Teaching* (1906) were used at Christchurch Training College in the early years of the century.[118]

Although heavily criticised by modern educators (especially those who are anti-Behaviourist), Thorndike‟s views on learning and pedagogy influenced generations of teachers and became daily fare in training colleges in New Zealand. He encouraged student teachers to select pedagogical practices grounded in science and he took an experimental approach to teacher training.[119] Few trainee teachers, either in the past or in the present, would be unaware of his work. Despite negative criticism in modern educational writings, vestiges of his methods for teaching reading and mathematics and assessing reading, maths, writing, drawing, spelling, and English composition are still evidenced in modern pedagogy. Thorndike‟s work rate was extraordinary and he would rate with distinction in today‟s university climate of measured research outputs:

> *Besides publishing an average of one article a week, a number of psychology books, a series of primers in reading and math, and devising several tests, he raised four children who all obtained advanced degrees including one who became a prominent psychologist.* [120]

Dewey‟s work was also studied in New Zealand (and still is); however, it was studied as one of a series of educational philosophies, rather than as a sociological spur to transforming or revolutionising the society in which student teachers lived. Dewey was a major educator, psychologist, philosopher and early sociologist. He held the Chair of Philosophy, Psychology, and Pedagogy at the University of Chicago in 1894 and subsequently moved to Teachers‟ College, Columbia in 1904. Opposing current views of education as rigid, mechanistic and based on expository pedagogy, he fostered a new Progressive Education Movement which was experimentalist and naturalistic in approach as it emphasised a child-centred and actively-oriented school curriculum. He also argued that children should have a high degree of freedom to explore and experiment, be able to make their own decisions, and should learn through their natural curiosity and interests. He promoted thinking skills and reflection and, as such, he is referred to in many recent ITE programmes which encourage their student teachers to use critical reflection on their practice (see the later discussion in Chapter 6). As a Pragmatist, he believed that knowledge was not an end in itself but was a means of becoming an educated person.[121] He endorsed the "*application of psychology to real-life problems*"[122] and rejected the faculty notion of psychology so popular at the time.

Dewey appreciated the close, interconnecting relationship between schooling and society, hence the title of his book *"School and Society*" published in 1902. His stress on schooling for democracy was a counter response to fascism and communism occurring in other parts of the world.[123] Dewey was considered a political activist. He maintained that any new movement in education had to be social and political otherwise it would be a transitory phenomenon. He also argued that cultural and social changes should be reflected in the classroom and pupils should be taught how to become good citizens. He articulated the view that classrooms should be a microcosm of democracy. He was possibly one of America''s earliest sociologists in that he realised the impact of the teacher''s role in society and he urged educational psychology to take account of the fact that the teacher *"lives in a social sphere. He is a member and an organ of a social life. His aims are social aims."*[124]

Dewey had a worldwide influence on teachers and teacher training with his focus on the nature of children and their place in a democratic society. In 1915, along with his daughter, he published *Schools of Tomorrow* which provided a description of selected progressive schools and compared them to regular schools. His work was not based on empirical research but was more interpretive and many critics, particularly those aimed at „scientificising" education, were dismissive of his work at that time.[125]

(iii) The Measurement Movement:

Given the importance of the individual child at this time and the era''s predilection for observing, sorting and norming, the area of measurement was one of intense interest in America, England and New Zealand in the first decades of the 20th century. This included the development of new statistical techniques which led to the creation of various measures of intelligence, mental abilities and school achievement. New item measures and new scores were developed and there was a preoccupation with mapping individual differences and comparing pupil performance to the norm.

Whilst the origins of the measurement movement lay with Social Darwinism as espoused by social theorists like Spencer and Stanley Hall, it was Binet''s work that drew the world''s attention to measuring intelligence. This stemmed from his interest in abnormal psychology, especially relating to mental capacities. His quest to develop accurate measures of intelligence led to him to experiment with testing human abilities,

such as individual's reaction time, head measurements, speech fluency and so on; however, these were not particularly successful. In 1904, he was approached by the French Minister of Public Instruction to devise a way of measuring pupils' mental retardation as they needed to work out ways of identifying and segregating such pupils.[126] Accordingly, Binet and his student T. Simon, created a classification system which could identify pupils with normal mental abilities and those with subnormal abilities. This consisted of a series of standardised test items which pupils answered; the results of these were then classified. He was the first to categorise test items by chronological age, this subsequently led to the concept of Intelligence Quotient (IQ).

Shortly after Binet introduced his intelligence tests in France, Burt in England was teaching and researching in the area of IQ testing, especially factor analysis and the general factor of intelligence theory.[127] In 1904, Burt also interested himself in social psychology and his later work (despite later controversial revelations and debate over his methodological validity) acknowledged the presence of major environmental effects on a child's intelligence. His research on the effects of family attempted to divorce research variables, such as poor nutrition and ill health, from the child's innate factors; his research focussed particularly on those considered mentally retarded. Burt "*was one of the first to correlate sociological factors such as residential indicators of infantile mortality, overcrowding, poverty, unemployment and family size with poor school achievement*".[128] In so doing, he advocated that medical and dental services be provided on the school's premises. The occurrence of the First World War led to large scale, standardised testing of groups being developed and implemented and when these were applied wholesale to schools, they became a huge commercial enterprise. C. Spearman was also experimenting with his new intelligence tests, and after studying with Wundt in Germany, he published his classic study "*General Intelligence*".[129] These initiatives were to impact directly on New Zealand as the subsequent discussion shows.

(iv) New Zealand's Role in the Emergence of Educational Psychology:

Educational psychology gradually began to assume a dominant role in teacher training courses throughout the world. It gave the appearance of providing a scientific basis to education and, as such, it permeated methods courses, history of philosophy courses, principles of teaching and learning courses, and curriculum courses. Whilst the University of New Zealand had been established in the 1870s, the first proposal to

indicate that educational psychology was becoming desirable knowledge in teacher education did not appear until 1887, when the Wellington Education Board reluctantly closing its normal training institution due to the small numbers of teacher trainees, did so on the condition that *the funds so released be employed to found a psychological and educational chair.*[130] Their Chair of Education did not eventuate until 1920, despite their University College being established in 1897.[131] The first lecturer in Experimental Psychology was not to be appointed until 1931 when Professor H. H. Ferguson took up his position at the University of Otago.[132] However, long before this, Mental Science, was available as a University paper. This consisted of two papers, Logic and Psychology: the latter focusing on the scope and method of psychology, physiology, the nervous system, body and mind, consciousness, sensation, perception, memory, conception, language, apperception, human and animal intelligence, cognition, desire will and many other topics that were an elaboration of their training college course.[133] Victoria College appointed a lecturer in Mental Science in 1904, Auckland in 1906 and Canterbury in 1907.[134]

Professor Hunter, labelled the *"Father of scientific psychology in New Zealand"* by Beeby, was one of the few university professors to work closely with the Education professors (Professor Gould) at Victoria University.[135] He took very seriously the training of teachers in psychology. Hunter was appointed as a lecturer in Mental Science and Political Economy in 1904. He argued that the study of educational psychology in New Zealand took place entirely within the realms of the University and was driven by the four Education Professors who wished to apply psychology to the study of children.[136] This reinforces Hall"s contention that it was the American universities that were also responsible for the rapid growth of educational psychology in that country.

Along with the existing universities of Harvard and Yale, the universities of Cornell (1869), John Hopkins (1876), Stanford (1891), Chicago (1892), and the Teachers" College at Columbia played a critical part in the evolution of psychology and its application to education.[137] These were the very universities that Professor T. A. Hunter visited when he travelled to America.[138] Hunter formed a long and close association with Professor E. Bradford Titchener from Cornell University and on his return to New Zealand, he developed initiatives in partnership with his American colleagues. One of these was the establishment of the first experimental laboratory in New Zealand in

1908. His aim for the laboratory at Victoria College was to *"stimulate the University to accept psychology as a separate field for study and research".[139]* This is one early example of innovations resulting from close international collaboration between New Zealand and America (it also dispels popular notions that New Zealand continually lagged behind America).

Hunter also visited England and began conversations with prominent psychologists such as Dr. W.H.R. Rivers from Cambridge, Dr. W. McDougall from London, and Professor Wundt from Germany.

One of the early texts used by Hunter was that of A. Bain, a Scottish philosopher, who published *Education as a Science* in 1879. Bain wrote two other texts which were widely used in England and New Zealand, *The Senses and the Intellect* in 1855, and *The Emotions and the Will* in 1854. Bain appeared in the prescription of the University of New Zealand‟s History of Education course for many decades. His later text emphasised the importance of educational psychology in the training of teachers and it included topics covered in his previous publications such as individual differences, intellect, character, free will etc.[140] Other texts used by Hunter were Carpenter‟s *Mental Physiology*; Sully‟s *Human Mind*, Hoffding‟s *Outline of Psychology* and Stout‟s *Analytical Psychology*.[141] As he worked closely with Titchener, he also used his books as texts – these included, *Qualitative Experiments in Psychology* and *Quantitative Experiments in Psychology*. Professor Hunter also admitted that he used texts written by the English examination markers in order to allow his students a fair chance of passing.[142] Utilising texts authored by examination markers appeared a regular occurrence and the psychology texts of Judd, Myers, Collins and Drever were also frequently used in the Psychology papers; these authors were also examiners of the paper (a separate paper had been established in 1915). This maintained a perpetual cycle of mandated knowledge, from the author (i.e. the examination marker) to the student and back again.

Hunter maintained that the introduction of psychology in the colony had revolutionary impacts on teaching and the way teachers were prepared:

In education it has, combined with other factors, produced little short of a revolution; for whereas in earlier years the point of interest was the subject taught, now it is the child and his development. All teachers receive some training in psychology.[143]

Measurement and testing initiatives also had impacts on New Zealand teacher education. C. E. Beeby came into direct contact with Burt, Spearman and the English testing movement when he undertook his PhD in England. He was also taught by Nunn. On his return to New Zealand he opened the second experimental laboratory in the 1920s under the supervision of Professor J. Shelley, who arrived in Canterbury in 1920 *"bubbling with new ideas";*[144] he was the first to teach experimental psychology as Professor of Education at the University of Canterbury.[145] Beeby later lectured in experimental education and psychology with Shelley.[146] Heavily influenced by Burt, he was responsible for initiating developments in Vocational Guidance Services and establishing the Department‟s Psychology Service, a Remedial Reading Clinic, the Visiting Teacher System and research on juvenile delinquency. He introduced the Cumulative Record Card for every school pupil and student teachers would have been familiar with these until the 1980s. In keeping with this era‟s concern with the pathological, he was involved with introducing and administering IQ tests, diagnosis and treatment. He experimented with deviances such as stammering and alcoholism and, he claimed, New Zealand‟s physical distance from England and America made early psychologists such as himself „instant experts‟. He states, *"At this distance from the fount of new ideas, one could become an instant authority with frightening ease."*[147] Knowledge was regarded as fixed and could be transmitted by experts.

In keeping with educational psychologists throughout the world, Beeby, the Principals of the four Training Colleges and three of the four University Professors of Education, firmly believed that they could transform the educational world with the application of their research findings. They also believed that science, in particular, the science of psychology, could make a real difference to education and ITE. The initiatives springing from their convictions made it an exciting and educationally vibrant period.

Many psychological innovations at this time resulted from the state‟s need to exact the maximum time and energy from individual bodies (including children) through methods

of measurement, labelling, correction, record-keeping and total, detailed surveillance. It was important to keep track of every individual and, if they were considered abnormal, take corrective measures to strive for normality. In doing this, trainees were expected to learn how to define the „other": those individuals who did not fall within the norm and were regarded as deviant. This reliance on normative descriptions was legitimated and „naturalised" by theories of genetics and evolution which they encountered in their Education courses.

The far-reaching implications of educational psychology are now being critiqued by several modern researchers. These are commented upon in Part Three of this thesis.[148]

(vi) The Emergence of the Sociology of Education:

Whereas educational psychology gradually edged out other educational disciplines in the trainees" courses, educational sociology made a relatively late appearance and never assumed the enduring presence of educational psychology. However, its emergence bore a striking similarity to that of educational psychology.

Like educational psychology, the roots of educational sociology can also be traced to philosophy; also like psychology, it suffered from an „identity" crisis in its early years due to its dual parentage of sociology and education. The word „sociology" is credited to Auguste Comte (b.1798). In one of his works entitled *Cours de Philosophie Positive*,[149] Comte maintained that society developed and progressed as the history of mankind naturally unfolded and he thought that sociology"s major purpose was to identify and reconstruct the social forms and structures inherent in this progress. He proposed three stages in this process: the theological or fictive, the metaphysical or abstract, and the scientific or positive. It was the latter that incorporated sociology and he considered this the pinnacle of human achievement. As a disciplinary study in its own right, therefore, sociology was seen from its inception as attempting to become a scientific endeavour by defining itself as a social science, *"This implies that sociology is an attempt to build up a set of logical and consistent theories about the society in which we live"*.[150] One of the significant institutions in society is the education system. Not surprisingly, this became an area of theoretical investigation which led to the emergence of sociology of education. Like both education and psychology, it claimed status as a positive science by seeking to extrapolate the laws which governed actual and observed phenomena.

Also like education and psychology it concerned itself with a wide variety of topics: it is probably this catholic focus that led to all three being labelled „non-disciplines".[151]

The work of 19th century Social Darwinists, Galton and Spencer in England, and Dewey in America, reinforced the study of society. These all appeared in the early curriculum of New Zealand"s neophyte teachers. There appears no reference to the contributions of sociologists such as Durkheim, Marx, R. Owens, M. Bloomfield and many others. Marx, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, was concerned with socio-political theories of economics and the exploitation and alienation of labour under capitalist systems. All of these would have had much to commend them in terms of a sociological understanding of education. However, during this period, there was a growing distrust of Communist ideologies which strengthened as the world drew closer to war. Revolutionary politics and questioning of the political status quo was not encouraged, particularly for young women teachers. Obedience to authority, the development of patriotism, and service to the state and community were considered essential to the formation of teacher identity: a seeming paradox in a country which first won women the right to vote.

Durkheim"s work was a major omission in the trainees" study of education at this time. A contemporary of Dewey, Durkheim held the Chair in the Science of Education at the Sorbonne in Paris – this was to become the Chair in the Science of Education and Sociology in 1913.[152] Durkheim believed that education was a social enterprise. He maintained that each school reflected the different milieux of a given society. He also assisted in the construction of the Dictionary of Pedagogy and investigated how children were socialised through education.[153] Durkheim made a significant contribution to the emergence of the sociology of education; it is unfortunate that his sociological views were not introduced to student teachers in New Zealand until much later in the century. Such a study would, perhaps, have helped student teachers to situate themselves in the lived reality of New Zealand society and not in England, half a world away.

It seems ironic that, despite its late inclusion into the study of teachers, Sociology of Education was acknowledged as a suitable discipline in the early 1900s. Writing in the *New Zealand Schoolmaster* in 1905, Sir Robert Stout urged the University to consider

appointing professors of history and sociology.[154] Also at this time, Professor J. J. Findlay, Professor of Education at Manchester University and a major influence on two of New Zealand's educators, Professor Shelley and Beeby,[155] strongly articulated the need for a systematic and scientific approach to teacher training and this included educational sociology. He maintained that this would lead to an acquaintance with other related sciences which supplied both normative and descriptive data. He set out his scheme for New Zealand readers:

First, biology, leading to physiology and genetic psychology. The facts of life (animal and human alike) present phenomena which in turn exhibit laws of behaviour. Secondly, sociology, ethics and politics offer another a group of data which are closely related to those offered in biology, but are distinguished from these by the emphasis laid (1) upon the social aspects of human life: (2) upon the place of ideals, moral and religious, as a factor in human development; (3) upon the aspect of education as an elaborate process conducted in civic institutions, whose teachers are a profession, fulfilling duties in the body politic. After a review of these data, a definition of education may issue as a foundation for a systematic structure of thought upon every branch of education.[156]

It is possible here to detect the era's concern with discovering and extrapolating the laws of behaviour that leads a discipline to proclaim itself a science. Findlay clearly believed that once these laws were established as foundational, then educational thoughts and definitions could be built upon them. Within the area of sociology, he believed that students should study the law of adaptation and reaction to the environment. He advised studying both the political and civic institutions of society, including the family and the school. Links to Recapitulation Theory and Culture Epoch Theory, as described by Miss Atkins in her lecture notes,[157] are also clearly discerned in his scheme. He viewed the teacher as the agent of the several *"corporations"* that controlled the school. Academic study, he argued, would allow student teachers to cement their position in the community, hence broadening their outlook "*over tradition, language, science, conduct, service. This is the aim of education as gathered from observing the social aspect of human life*".[158] This would be further realised in the school curriculum and, echoing Durkheim's views, he added, would be revealed in the

"*appropriate organisation of school societies – each of its own type, with specific corporate life*".[159]

This emphasis on the school as a microcosm of society with the teacher as the agent of cultural transmission is a topic of longstanding interest to sociologists. It is surprising to see it articulated here (and also by Dewey) so early in the history of the discipline. His emphasis on student teachers developing a scientific method is perhaps not so surprising given the whole „scientific" tenor of educational discourse at the time.

During this early period of teacher education, other overseas educational innovations were occurring which were to have implications for student teachers" educational knowledge in New Zealand. R. Macmillan and M. Montessori were engaged in developing early childhood education throughout their nursery schools and casa dei bambini. Although the latter were opened in 1906, her book *The Montessori Method* was published in 1912. This introduced her ideas on didactic teaching, the development of children"s intrinsic motivation, the independent completion of tasks, the social relevance of practical education and sensory training into New Zealand. The Montessori Method became very popular around the world and attained short-lived popularity in New Zealand between 1912 and the 1920s when it was introduced, in modified form, into a selection of state primary schools, convent schools and kindergartens.[160] The Dalton Plan was also introduced and advocates such as J. W. McIlraith, Inspector of Schools, argued in a 1920s newspaper article that educational innovations such as these could help to reduce the high divorce rate and eliminate juvenile delinquency.[161] He maintained that conventional methods were not working for all children; schools were too regimented and children needed to be disciplined from within, and not without (as, he maintained, was the practice in current pedagogy). The Dalton Plan, first implemented in Dalton, America in 1920, was a form of individualised learning, based on the development of a contract between the teacher and learner and, adhering to Dewey"s philosophy, it sought to bring democracy into the classroom.[162] Such ideas were gradually introduced into the Education courses of teacher trainees and became an essential part of the specialist knowledge transmitted to them during their rite of passage. The discussion now turns to the ideas underpinning the Methods courses studied by trainees.

(b) Methods Courses and Texts

Psychology was also becoming more evident in the Methods courses during the first thirty years of the new century: *",Method" also required teachers to use intelligence, educational and achievement tests, about which there were hundreds of instructional articles in psychological and educational journals."*[163] To keep abreast of these new „scientific" developments, collective training of neophyte teachers was imperative and the colleges provided a key medium for this transmission.

As mentioned previously, the three main manuals used in New Zealand‟s training colleges at the turn of the century were: Gladman‟s *School Method*, Cox and Macdonald‟s *Suggestive Handbook of Practical School Method* (1897), and Inspector Petrie‟s *Suggestions for the Guidance of Teachers* published in 1896. The content of the Methods course in New Zealand‟s colleges closely paralleled that presented in Cox and Macdonald‟s text. As stated in the previous chapter, the ritual of the examination dominated teachers‟ knowledge and the authors clearly had examinations such as the Teachers‟ „E‟ Certificate in mind when publishing their manual. In fact, the sub-title of their book was, "*A Guide to the School Room and Examination Room*". As this book was widely read and used extensively in New Zealand for examination purposes, it will be analysed in a little more detail.

At the end of each book chapter comes a summary and a list of Government Questions. Model answers are also made available. All the content was tailored for easy examination. The authors begin with the inevitable debate over education and whether teaching is an Art or Science – they conclude that it is both. The first chapter is devoted to a study of the child, physically, intellectually and morally, and it emphasises the process of sensation, perception, representative imagination, thinking, conception, judgement and reasoning. These are all indicative of various stages of intellectual development according to Sully‟s faculty view of psychology. The view of childhood represented in the book, is over-idealised, romantic and simplistic and it abounds with sentimental phrases such as *"fanciful creation", "mythical treasures", "worshipping flowers", "bright colours which charm them"*. The authors maintain that to children everything appears *"a never-ceasing source of delight".*[164] Whilst the latter may have been the case for some children, for others it would have been a stark contrast to the

lived realities of their lives, particularly given the need for the Factories Act and its various amendments about this time.

The second chapter is very interesting as it provides a picture of the ideal teacher at the turn of the century. The authors draw an initial distinction between the teacher and the instructor, they then provide a set of questions for the trainee aimed at ascertaining their suitability for teaching, for example,

> *Do I love children? Do I sympathise with them? Do I find pleasure in doing them good? Do I do to them as I would be done by under similar conditions?*[165]

Presumably answers should be in the affirmative. Additional to characteristics such as devotion to the child and their work, trainees are expected to have "*good health, scholarship, and natural teaching ability*".[166] The teacher should also show the following attributes: kindness, courtesy, dignity, firmness, earnest sympathy, energy, encouraging manner, patient manner, and if there is any weakness in manner it should be "*hidden from the children's eye*".[167] Appropriate language, the cultivation of voice, the teacher's eye (firm, steady gaze), the teacher's ear (quick to detect and discriminate sounds), the teacher's power of resource (i.e. ,common sense'), the teacher's presence, control and discipline, personality, cheerful obedience to duty, and the teacher as educator, all merit a paragraph each. The section on teacher's knowledge is particularly apposite to our discussion as it maintains that "*knowledge is power*"; the teacher should consequently be skilled and thoroughly acquainted with his subject in order to attract the attention of the class. The teacher should always have a broad knowledge of the subject and "*know much more than he intends to teach*".[168] Lesson preparation is important and, expressing 21st century views of Co-Constructivism, the authors conclude the section with the adage, "*Learn with the pupils. Pupil and teacher must be learners together*".[169]

The conduct of the teacher, organisation of the class, management of assemblies, the physical arrangement of the classroom (the usual arrangement being "*parallel rows in three sides of a square or in a horse-shoe form*"[170] so that the children are always visible), light, ventilation (rooms flushed with fresh air every two hours), temperature, duration of lessons (15 minutes between the ages of 5-7 years, 20 minutes between 7-10

years, 25 minutes between 10-12, and half an hour between 12-18), maintaining order in the class, preparation of class work, questioning (four types: teaching, examining, suggestive and elliptical), the teacher's diary (for future learning and accountability purposes), rewards and punishments (incentives and prizes are detrimental, expressions of approval are preferable), excluding children from the class, gentle reproof and, as last resorts, public exposure in front of peers, unpleasant detention and proper physical punishment *"kindly yet firmly and deliberately administered without vindictiveness"*,[171] all make up the third chapter. Teacher autonomy or originality is clearly not expected and the teacher has the technicist (but kindly) role of implementing details provided by experts.

The whole of the next chapter is dedicated to lesson planning. The expected requirements are fully detailed, the authors stating that, "*Too much importance cannot be attached to this branch of the teacher's work; for besides being the compulsory question in the School Method Examination Paper, it is often regarded as the test of teaching ability"*.[172] After spending a whole chapter on how important it is for teachers to be devoted to children and their learning, this critical emphasis on a technical requirement such as lesson planning appears a strange criterion for judging the worth of teaching ability. However, it is wholly indicative of the need to make plans, scripts and schemes so that teacher compliance can be easily observed, monitored and measured.

The remainder of the book (Chapters 5 to 21) is given over to two chapters on infant education (Froebel's gifts feature prominently) and the object lesson, and the rest on providing rationales, templates, examples and illustrations of how to teach the various curriculum areas of reading (infants, juniors and seniors), writing, word-building and spelling, composition, arithmetic (junior and senior), grammar, geography, history, elementary science, music, hand and eye training and physical exercises. These are set out in painstaking and monotonous detail, sometimes with accompanying blackboard suggestions for the teacher. A great deal of advice is provided about the correct method for teaching each subject to children of different stages, even to the extent of prescribing for the kindergarten alphabet box, 11 strips of card from which the whole alphabet might be constructed. Although targeting the cultivation of the pupil's imagination and creativity, this was certainly not expected of teacher trainees or pupil-teachers.

The teaching manuals portray the ideal teacher as one who is semi-intelligent (sufficiently intelligent to know slightly more than the pupils but not too intelligent as to disregard the regulations), could unquestioningly reproduce standardised methods of teaching provided by experts, possessed an idealistic, over-optimistic view of children, had a sweet-natured disposition, cheerfully accepted duties handed from the school authorities, could plan a detailed timetable, was well versed in examination techniques, and had an innate ability to teach. The teacher of infants and girls was always portrayed as female whereas at the serious end of the school, i.e. the senior boys, the teachers were referred to as male. The romantic, teacher-as-mother ideal was clearly in evidence.

The core of teacher knowledge resided in the Methods course; it was popularly thought that this was where the real business of teaching was situated. By the colleges, it was considered exclusive, specialist and it separated teachers from other professionals; by the University, it was regarded as applied knowledge and therefore of inferior status. The University was content to let it lie within the training college whilst it transmitted the high status, theoretical knowledge.

It is interesting to note that whenever colleges attempted to engage in theoretical work, they were criticised for not being practically or pedagogically relevant. Most reports on the colleges, undertaken by successive Directors of Education and Inspectors, criticised lecturers if they did not specifically relate their course to practical teaching. Lecturers needed to *"deal with this subject on the basis of what teachers are required to know for teaching purposes".[173]* They maintained that trainees should be treated differently to other University students: *"However much the intensive study of a single literary period may be beneficial to university students, I think that students of the „C‟ Class standard would secure more benefit from a wider and less concentrated method of teaching."[174]*

Knowledge was prescribed, parcelled and examined to meet the demands of the educational authorities. It was also differentiated: one type of knowledge for teachers and one for other university students. The Methods courses, in particular, specified the practical operation of a pedagogical discourse which constructed particular subjectivities within the college classroom. The educational authorities, clearly wished to make education more scientific by systematising its methods and aims, and by documenting its content and social processes in minute detail.

c) The Implications of the Curriculum for Women Trainees

The ideal of the teacher as mother became instantiated into ITE courses in the first decades of the 1900s. It began to take a firm hold of the social imagination and "*much of the rhetoric surrounding women's own education in the 19th century was directed at the preparation of women to play a highly idealised and romanticised role as teachers of their own, and, more often than not, other people's children*".[175] This ideal became integral to teacher training and defined the essence of the schoolmistress. The archetypal teacher of young children and girls was female and, as just demonstrated through the courses and texts used in the colleges, her role became romanticised and glorified. Foucault also commented on this social phenomenon which viewed women as either positive or negative: either *"Mother"* or *"Hysterical Woman"*.[176] This proposed female dichotomy is particularly pertinent here as it influenced the training of women teachers.

Teachers became associated with both of these perceptions. Teachers as mothers became cemented into the social regenerative process in the aftermath of the Boer War and World War 1 and this necessitated a gender-differentiated curriculum which emphasised domesticity economy.[177] The woman played two very important and strategic roles within the classroom and within the nuclear family: reproductive and educative. The advent of the conventional, bourgeois family coincided with the domestication of the primary school. Each provided a unit wherein the population could be controlled and educated and a "*political ordering of life*"[178] could take place. Women were prepared not only for nurturing their own children but also for fulfilling the role of mother to the nation's children. The physical, mental and moral health of children were critical and hygiene and domestic „science" (note its elevated „scientific" status) were increasingly emphasised in the course for women trainees. A School of Home Science was also established in conjunction with the University Otago in 1911. All of these initiatives highlighted the growing social value placed upon this particular type of knowledge. This was reinforced by female medical specialists such as Dr. A. Bennet (who later attended several conferences of the Women Teachers" Association) and Dr. E. Seideberg, who also supported preparation for motherhood in the school curriculum and strongly argued that teachers should be trained to fulfil this important social mission.

The university responded by ensuring that their courses involved such training and the prescriptions of the two university „Education" papers, undertaken by teacher trainees in the 1920s, focussed heavily on the influence of heredity and the environment on the healthy development and functioning of the child, the family, society and the human race.[179] The child-centred pedagogies of the Romantic philosophers, especially Froebel and Pestalozzi, were also transmitted to the trainees in order to provide them with an ideal to which they could aspire. This would help them transform the dreary, poverty-stricken lives of the colony"s frontier illiterate and immoral children. That Froebel espoused the notion of the teacher as the "Mother made conscious"[180] was central to every training college syllabus as C. Steedman so perceptively points out,

> *The dissemination of Froebel"s ideas, from the early publicity of the 1850s, to his establishment in many textbooks of educational thought as a key figure in the development of child-centred education, demonstrates one way in which the feminine – particularly the delineation of teaching as a conscious and articulated version of mothering – has been established within educational thought.*[181]

Epistemological theories began to espouse the principles of the Kindergarten and Infant Methods movement. These sat comfortably with the majority of women trainees themselves. The importance of the early years on the child"s character development was much applauded by teachers, and feminist historians are convincing in their argument that teacher practice preceded state policy and not vice versa.[182]

Women teachers also used this maternal pedagogy to their own advantage. They began to carve out their own territory inside the schools. The infant department and the education of girls began to be perceived as their area of responsibility. As the numbers of senior women increased, they gradually moved up the school taking their child-centred philosophy with them. Pedagogisation of education was also transforming the schoolroom; the curriculum became less examination-dominated at the primary level with the removal of the Standards examinations. Hogben"s new curriculum and teaching methods were also being implemented. These initiatives became readily incorporated into women teachers" „developmentally-appropriate" classrooms. The housekeeping role of mothers was also put to good use when organising the classroom[183] and teachers

increasingly expressed the view that children needed more light and air in their classrooms and that experiential learning and its apparatus needed their increased organisational skills. At the 1919 WTA Conference, for example, the President of the women teachers in explaining the effects of the upheaval of the War and its "consequent destruction of human life", outlined some of the necessary urgent educational reforms – these included: "(a) A better classification of pupils, (b) roomy and well-ventilated buildings, (c) better staffing, (d) more spacious playgrounds, (e) better equipment, (f) a wider application of the principle of „learning by doing".".[184] Increasingly, the image of the new teacher who implemented a less authoritarian classroom regime became associated with women teachers and the culture of the school became more female-oriented.[185] The maternal role of the primary school teacher also allowed women, "*To elaborate this function within a system of wage labour. The development of compulsory mass education allowed a large number of women who were not actually mothers, to take the skills and attributes of that state onto the market place.*"[186]

Despite this, feminists such as V. Walkerdine and Steedman, argue that the progressive, maternal pedagogy facilitated by the nurturing welfare state was impossible to achieve; they maintain that it can only ever subject the woman teacher to a restrictive ideology that serves to entrap her:

> *Women teachers became caught, trapped inside a concept of nurturance which held them responsible for the freeing of each little individual and therefore the management of an idealist dream, an impossible fiction.*[187]

Women were thought to be better equipped by Nature to teach young children. The ideals of Progressive Education were based on the „natural", the intuitive and the emotions, all considered lower characteristics of Darwin"s hierarchy of mental functioning and all dominant in women and children. This made women and children closer to nature and closer to each other and resulted in a more intimate communion. Reason and imagination were at the higher end of Darwin"s hierarchy and thus, as males were more rational and logical, they were consequently better equipped to teach (if they taught at all) older children and young adults, and to manage women teachers.

Such views were also being confirmed through a new scientific orthodoxy which concerned itself with female intelligence and its link to the size of the cranium. Both phrenologists and the first crop of psychologists argued that the evolutionary process had resulted in women having a smaller-sized brain. This meant their intellectual capabilities were inferior. This view was evidenced consistently with regard to women trainees who were believed to be intellectually inferior in comparison to male students. The Recorder of 1911 describes a typical lecture (albeit in exaggerated manner) where the entrance to the university room by a *"bespectacled learned-looking gentlemen"* surprised *"two or three lady students unmindful of their dignity who sat on a window ledge smiling at other gowned figures"*. However, the arrival of the professor halted this behaviour and *"within a few seconds all was still."* During his dictation of the lecture notes, the professor complained about the lack of speed of several students, *"You know we have a few silly-headed girls over at the Training College who simply can"t concentrate their attention on anything!"*[188]

Although supposedly a parody, this piece highlights a constant reinforcement of the stereotypical view that women students, particularly those coming from the training college, could not compete on the same academic footing as their male counterparts. Such ideas were beginning to feed into a negative and pathological view of women, that of women as Hysterical or Nervous individuals. Foucault describes this as the opposite to that of woman as Mother.

A key example of this negative stereotype was the young trainee teacher considered highly susceptible to stress or nervous breakdown. A whole array of disciplinary technologies aimed at sheltering and protecting young women students were invented. Also at this time, Doctors Fergusson, Batchelor and King were propounding their views in Otago about the dangers of advanced for young women. Along with their University colleagues, the College Principals, they frequently articulated the need to protect young trainees and pupil teachers with regard to their safety, health and wellbeing. The Hogg Commission reinforced the impression that these young women were buckling under the strain of such intellectual demands. The notion was so widespread that it must have carried some grain of truth and certainly some College Principals and a small minority of witnesses aired their concerns in this respect, one going so far as to state that *"it was a terrible thing the way young people are filling the graves through being called on to*

burn the midnight oil, when other young people are enjoying themselves."[189] However, when examined closely, several other references in the Hogg Commission appear to rebuff such statements. For example, when asked if he knew of cases where pupil-teachers" health had broken down under the strain, one witness replied, *"I have heard of cases, but I think the outside public are of the opinion that they are more numerous than is really the case.*"[190] Despite the intention of alleviating the stresses of studying, educational authorities were reinforcing the negative concept that women teachers were nervous individuals in need of care, protection and guidance as the „intellectual strain" was too great.

These protectionary measures aptly illustrate Foucault"s notion of nineteenth century government and the way power and control were exercised. I. Burkett summarises this neatly when he explicates Foucault"s contention that power lies not in the political structures but in various forms of government *"which circulate between the everyday practices of people within the spaces of their life-world and the official categorisations and institutional activities that both draw upon them and feed back into them."*[191] As just illustrated, it was this form of reciprocal governmentality, operating at two different levels, that affected the social and sexual relations of trainees" lives.

At the micro-level, trainees became agents in their own normalisation by internalising and reproducing the many regulatory demands and protectionary restrictions implemented by the college authorities. Lecturers" wives, landladies, chaperones and wardens were an inevitable part of the panopticon surveillance and supervision of their lives: this lived experience led to a social construction of their gender identity which resulted in them also placing constraints upon themselves. At the macro-level, the official state discourse operated through the organisation, regulation and administration of expanding populations and was pitched at the control of life itself. The control of the population through the control of sex became widely evident,

> *… and „sexuality" became one of the key constructions of discourses from the nineteenth century onwards, because sex was placed in a position of biological responsibility for the health and continuation of the species, the race, and the national „stock". Furthermore, it is through sex and its reproductive function that*

life can be governed and even „selected‟. It is at this point in history that we find
the emergence of eugenics and the discourses on sex.[192]

A popular view arose that sexuality was only discussed at the level of the family and that, in general the subject of sex was taboo. Foucault‟s Repressive Hypothesis theory is salient at this juncture. He rejects this popular notion that sexual issues are only acknowledged within the conjugal family (where it is largely reserved for reproduction purposes) and that sexual references in wider society are repressed and silenced. He claims that as so many prohibitions and restrictions were placed upon sexual activity in the past with bourgeois societies making it "*legitimised, authorised and circumscribed in specific types of discourse in specific places*";[193] in actual fact, the discourse on sex was not silent at all. In fact, he contends, it was exactly the opposite. He makes his case by chronicling the history of sex and arguing that it has been discussed, analysed, detailed, confessed to, and reported upon more than any other social issue. His hypothesis is clearly evidenced here but only at the macro-level of the state and the college authorities. The behaviour of women attending early training colleges and hostels was clearly circumscribed by the multiplicity of formal and informal regulations, regimes and disciplinary protocols that governed their lives, hence illustrating the presence of a sexual discourse. However, Foucault‟s argument is not sustainable at the level of women trainees‟ lives. Here, at the micro-level, a discourse on sex *was* absent from their lives. Most women students were unaware of wider issues relating to menstruation, conception and reproduction. Menstruation was experienced but it was unrelated to sex. Life at training college did not enlighten them – as the following comment from Gwen Somerset in her autobiography indicates,

I never did discover the reason for menstrual periods until I was twenty four years old and found the books of Marie Stopes „an immense relief and source of comfort‟. I had still not discovered exactly how babies really began in a mother‟s womb nor what was the male person‟s contribution. I was frighteningly ignorant and innocent and had had no physical experience or real understanding of sexual relationships until I was married even though I enjoyed years of happy friendships with men…. I have often wondered about all those restrained, unsmiling women at Training College, tight-lipped, serious, unbending and yet all only about twenty

years old. Were they too, ignorant and frightened of sexual experiences – all with
the usual noli me tangere look?[194]

Penney"s reminiscences of Christchurch Training College during World War 1 confirm this. She says that from instinct and her study of botany, she realised that men and women were "*two species of the human race*" and that she furthered her sexual knowledge only when attending the University library where she "*eagerly devoured the large tome of Dr. Stanley Hall – that courageous forerunner on biological and educational studies*".[195]

It was stated in an earlier chapter that colleges acted as matrimonial agencies and in most issues of the college magazines, engagements were announced and male and female pairings were hinted at. However, if the published institutional literature of the time is accessed, there appears to be no evidence of sexual activity or pregnancy. This does seem a little surprising in such a female-dominated environment. Either the restrictions were highly effective or such occurrences were silenced.

This section has illustrated that, emerging from well-entrenched social and medical theoretical positions, the curriculum for women trainees was differentiated. At its core lay social reconstruction with women trainees being trained for a future role as Mother as well as Teacher: both were viewed as complementary. This was reinforced by the psychological literature, the Education courses and the official regulations of the college. Women trainees also constructed their own identities and these were constantly shifting as they negotiated the challenges and realities of their lives. They did not always capitulate to the demands made upon them by the state and in fact, they used the maternal ideology of the time to carve out territories of responsibility for themselves in the infants" and girls" departments of the large schools and as head-teachers of the small country schools.

4. Conclusion

Two ways of ethically transforming intending teachers during their rite of passage have been discussed in the two chapters that comprise Part Two. The previous chapter examined how trainees were subjected to shared institutional practices, whilst this

present chapter explained how the state inoculated trainees with desirable, historically authenticated knowledge. This was done through the college, which as a disciplinary institution, reconstituted prospective teachers as subjects of the state. During this early period, the colleges (and the university) exhibited three elements that defined them as institutional technologies in which "*the individual is carefully fabricated… according to a whole technique of forces and bodies*".[196] Two of these are directly relevant to the knowledge transmitted to early trainees. As articulated by Foucault, these are:

(i) "*the functional inversion of the disciplines*"[197]: through a gradual process, educational institutions became more concerned with adopting new disciplinary strategies, which attempted to optimise the potential of individuals. This was done through "*new and essential functions*" which saw the advent of innovative disciplinary and pedagogical techniques. In the colleges, this was embodied in specialist „teacher‟ knowledge gained from studying the Education and methods courses and associated texts;

(ii) "*the state-control of the mechanisms of discipline*"[198]: the advent of state intervention brought with it specialist institutions with their own unique functions and apparatus. These were "*co-extensive with the entire social body and not only by the extreme limits that it embraces, but by the minuteness of the details it is concerned with.*" Knowledge transmitted to trainees was highly structured, gender-differentiated, and centralised through the college. It encompassed major philosophical ideas side-by-side with instruction on superficial issues such as maintaining a register. Pedagogy was not critical and rigorous but mainly consisted of copying screeds of information which could be regurgitated in the examination. Teacher „knowledge‟ was considered unique, exclusive and specialist.

Through both of these functions, trainees were urged to adopt particular ways of being, acting and thinking.

The regimes of truth that trainees assimilated in the Education courses of the late 1800s encompassed the disciplinary traditions of Philosophy of Education and History of Education. These were well established by the turn of the 20th century and traced an evolutionary lineage from the ancient philosophers to eminent English educators. This

began to change as American, English and New Zealand educators discovered a common source of influence in Germany. German universities appear to have been the source of much educational innovation, as Adams asserts in the 1890s, *"Most of our educational theories are made in Germany"*.[199]

Some of the major theoretical influences on teacher education appeared around this time. These included Social Darwinism, eugenics and Recapitulation Theory and were evidenced in the work of trainees in the early decades of the 20th century. The Education course began to move away from history and philosophy and incorporate the expanding discipline of educational psychology and it was this discipline that gained the theoretical and practical high-ground by tying itself more firmly to science – its emphasis on learning linked it firmly to schooling and teacher training. Educational sociology, which also professed a scientific underpinning and examined society"s influences on both education and on the learner"s place within society, was barely visible in teacher education until the 1960s.

Although isolated geographically, the epistemological links between educators in New Zealand and other Westernised countries such as Britain, Germany, America and Australia strengthened immeasurably in the early decades of the new century. This was evidenced in a number of ways: from the training colleges modelled on the normal seminaries of England and Scotland, to Hogben being present at the graduation of Darwin;[200] and from the publication of Professor Findlay"s lectures in New Zealand to the export and import of notable educators between these countries. The links are too numerous to list. Early teacher education was therefore far more international in outlook than is often portrayed.

The first two decades of the 20th century can be regarded as the founding period in the development of a specific corpus of consecrated knowledge for teacher education. This was an era where well established philosophers clashed with new ways of thinking about learning and where old ideas were resurrected in new ways. It was an exciting time in education and it proved a watershed in the knowledge transmitted to intending teachers. The New Education Fellowship maintained that this was a New Era.[201] It was widely believed that teacher education would revolutionise society through new

disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical forms which *"both impose(d) and maintain(ed)"[202]* teacher training practices endorsed by the state.

This chapter concludes Part Two. In juxtaposing this with Part Three, we move to an examination of how the rite of passage of early trainees compares with that of modern student teachers.

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Education 2: The Theory of Education:

Education in relation to the development of the race, the individual and society. The general lines of evolution of the human race. The nature of heredity in reference to man. The possibility and means of race improvement. The relation of the individual to the race, to the family and to society. Heredity and environment in relation to individuality. The claims of the individual in education. The general lines of social organisation. Education as an inherent social function. The evolution of the various agencies of society, especially of the family and the school. The examination of typical deficiencies and modern historical conceptions of education with reference to the above.

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PART THREE: Re-framing History

Chapter 6
Re-Meeting the State and the Rite of Passage

How has the subject been established at different moments and in different institutional contexts as an object of knowledge that is possible, desirable, or even indispensible? How has the experience that one can have of oneself as well as the knowledge that one can form from that experience, been organised by certain schemes? How have these schemes been defined, valorised, recommended, imposed?[1]

1. Introduction

Student teachers now undergo their rite of passage in the context of the university and this chapter investigates how the shift from early training college to university has altered their rite of passage. We have investigated how the state intervened into past ITE, it is now salient to re-frame ITE by examining the extent of its relationship with current university provision, particularly in light of the autonomy of the academy. This examination will examine present practices in light of those that have gone before. This is done through establishing how the subject has been established at different moments in time and within different institutions. Consequently, this chapter has a three-fold purpose; first it explores the state‟s involvement in the complex and dense networks of power relations within ITE; it then examines the ritual practices, regulations and ceremonies embodied in current induction processes; finally, it analyses the epistemological underpinnings of the teacher education curriculum within its new university context. These three sections, therefore, respond to key ideas presented in the preceding chapters. We turn first to a consideration of state control of teacher education in the last 20 years.

2. Re-Meeting the State and Teacher Education

MacNaughton refers to the re-framing of history as *"re-meeting history"*: it involves an examination of history in order to provoke new ways of seeing differently in the present.[2] The second significant period of teacher education, which commenced with major changes introduced in the 1989 Education Act, is still playing itself out. Whilst state rhetoric urges a model based on professionalism as teaching is now a graduate profession, the realities are that teacher educators in the universities are hamstrung in their attempts to achieve this. This is due to the political and financial restrictions placed upon them by the state.[3] The state has managed to retain its powerful domination over ITE policy and practice.

The educational and economic reforms initiated by a fourth Labour Government and continued by successive governments caused drastic changes to education. Openshaw,[4] and Codd[5] inform us that preceding the Act, both the State Services Commission and the Treasury had significant involvement in the formation of educational policy. Whilst these studies embed their critiques in the New Zealand context, others do not and McCulloch cautions against similar studies which critique overseas‟ political ideologies and automatically transfer them to New Zealand.[6] Citing H. Lauder‟s work as a case in point, he concludes that Lauder‟s criticisms of neo-Liberal policies, whilst appropriate to other countries, are not necessarily applicable to this country, nor do they acknowledge the unique traditions and contestations formulated here. In effect, he maintains that New Zealand‟s history is being marginalised and undermined by critiques such as Lauder‟s. In this instance, McCulloch‟s criticism appears a little unfair as Lauder fully justifies his claims of a neo-Liberal take-over of 1980‟s educational policy by a Government working in concert with Treasury officials. However, McCullough‟s contention regarding the marginalisation of New Zealand‟s unique history has to be taken seriously. Certainly there could be dangers in espousing uncritically the conservative restoration thesis articulated by some educational commentators.

Changes mandated in the last Education Act resulted in the disbanding of the Department of Education and the abolition of the Education Boards. This was replaced by a Ministry of Education which retained its policy making power. The New Zealand

Teachers Council (NZTC) was set up as an official body with specific responsibilities for overseeing and monitoring teacher education programmes whilst the Education Review Office (ERO) assumed a surveillance and accountability role over teachers. This was a role that had been abandoned as ineffectual decades earlier and McKenzie admonishes those responsible for initiating such policies,

> *They should have known better. By endorsing an assessment structure which returns to the 19th century doctrine of external school review and all the miseducative outcomes that arise from that process, they have forced ERO, regardless of particular officers, to be an agency which must lay the greatest stress that it can upon measurable performance as evidence of attainment or compliance.*[7]

As a result of the policy changes, Colleges of Education became independently functioning „bodies-corporate" and were required to submit their individual college charters and corporate plans to the Ministry for approval. The language of business as opposed to the language of education was adopted. Colleges became vast business enterprises with management infrastructures that consisted of a chief executive officer (rather than a Principal) and College Council membership composed of wider community representation but with a strong Ministerial presence. This new structure controlled management of the college to ensure its business-like efficiency. Colleges were now legal owners of their assets and funding depended on the extent to which the Council met its obligations. They were obliged to demonstrate that they met both the administrative and educational standards approved by the state.

Colleges became responsible for their own recruitment, selection and qualifications. Competition between providers of teacher education grew as their existence became reliant on the number of students they could attract. Colleges became bulk-funded with funding granted on an Equivalent Full Time Student (EFTS) basis. This meant that the Ministry funded colleges on an aggregated per capita basis. Inevitably, this forced a scramble for students from the same limited pool of recruits. Colleges were now in the business of predicting student numbers and having to make up the financial shortfall if numbers fell short.[8]

As this new climate unfolded, a raft of reports and reviews on teacher education appeared. The 1994 Report of the Ministerial Group on *Funding Growth in Tertiary Education and Training* (the Todd Report) set out a series of options for funding in tertiary institutions. They estimated that 80 per cent of current tertiary costs were provided by the government while the remaining costs were borne by the student. Whilst the cost of courses rose, the Government reduced its financial contribution to the colleges. This led to a sharp increase in student fees and tertiary education no longer became a public good but a private commodity. The umbilical tie to the Fraser/Beeby ideal of a free education for every individual was finally cut.

The Green Paper of 1997, entitled *Quality Teachers for Quality Learning – A Review of Teacher Education* tried to impose some order on the ever-changing policy scene by requesting public consultation and feedback on three key issues. These were: policy reforms for the future, integrating teacher education into broader educational policy, and the perennial issue of teacher supply.[9] The report urged, yet again, that teaching become a graduate profession, whilst paradoxically recommending that teacher education be structured according to a set of unit standards.[10] NZQA had previously authorised the creation of new, standards-based qualifications for the tertiary education sector and this included teacher education courses. This led to the creation of Qualification Standards for the Education of Teachers (QUALSET).[11] These were widely resisted for several reasons, amongst which was the political manoeuvring of NZQA and the fact that the proposed standards could become a potential teacher education curriculum.[12]

The Green Paper entrenched the idea of fully contestable funding. Cost effectiveness of teacher education was again raised as "*the public must be assured that public spending on teacher education produces and maintains a consistently high teaching profession*".[13] Rigorous debate met the green Paper"s promulgation of a set of teacher education standards. The political and ideological motivation underlying the whole notion of technical competencies for teachers was exposed and challenged. This is illustrated in a statement from the Massey University"s Education Policy Response Group,

> *We have concluded that the government green paper recognises, in theory, the*
> *central importance of professional teachers and their occupational expertise to*

successful education but, in practice, is intent on imposing a bureaucratic, ideologically motivated set of standards and regulations on schools and pre-service education providers for the narrow purposes of political control.[14]

The Response Group further identified the contradictory nature of the government"s response to perceived crises in education. Whilst the schools become scapegoats, blamed for not adequately preparing students for life in a competitive, global economy, the reforms enacted to remedy this restricted the teacher to the role of technician, thereby *"circumscribing the abilities of the teachers and school communities to develop the very excellence, creativity and committed citizenry apparently so desired by government."*[15]

The subsequent publication of the White Paper in 1998 did nothing to alleviate the uncertainty that followed the Green Paper. *Tertiary Education in New Zealand: Policy Directions for the Twenty First Century*[16] merely reiterated proposals put forward in the Green Paper. Both maintained that teacher education could only be improved through more effective administration and funding. In order to be seen as treating all groups equally, all tertiary students were to be eligible for a universal student allowance and there was to be no distinction made between private and public tertiary providers. If anything, private providers were better assisted as they did not have the financial resource capacity of the larger public institutions. Administration of the colleges was to be made simpler by reducing the number of representatives on the councils of tertiary institutions. Quality assurance was to be ensured by the appointment of members external to the institution. Research funding for universities and other degree-granting institutions was also proposed.

Not to be left out of the teacher education picture, ERO also intervened with the publication of two reports, *The Capable Teacher*, in 1998, and *Pre-Employment Training for Teachers,* a year later.[17] Both of these were rigorously criticised for their proposal to reduce teaching into a set of competencies defined in over 100 teacher behaviours.[18] ERO itself was subject to a great deal of criticism due to its emphasis on accountability and judgement at the expense of assisting the professional development of teachers.

If the sheer quantity of reports was not sufficient, yet another Inquiry into Teacher Education was instigated by the Education and Science Committee in 2001. This was inconclusive and no changes were forthcoming as a result. A resurrection of the inquiry, however, led to the final publication of a report in 2004.[19] Amongst its recommendations were: calls for nationally developed standards of entry into teacher training courses; transparent exit standards; and a unified set of standards with common approval and quality assurance mechanisms for teacher education courses. The two latter have since transpired. Many of these proposals appear remarkably similar to the tight regulations, uniform curriculum content and highly prescribed accountability measures of the early colleges; all of which were condemned by Grey in the 1870s. A further ministerial review of the tertiary education system began in 2002 with the appointment of the Tertiary Education Advisory Committee (TEAC) two years later. The Government also developed a Tertiary Educations Strategy and established a permanent Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) in 2003.

Unlike many reports and inquiries straddling the new millennium, a Working Party on Teacher Education was set up by T. Mallard, Minister of Education, in 2003. Its brief was to develop a long term strategy for pre-service teacher education and the ongoing professional development of teachers. To the credit of its chairperson, N. Alcorn, it immediately developed a set of underlying principles premised on an educational, rather than economic, rationale. Amongst the principles were: ensuring that primary teaching becomes a graduate profession; ensuring that effective teaching enhances students‟ academic *and* social achievement; ensuring the life-long learning of teachers, and ensuring that, at different stages of their careers, different types of professional development and sets of qualifications are accessible to teachers.[20] Alcorn did not fall prey to her own criticism of previous reports in that she included teacher educators rather than economists in the Working Party.

A.M. O‟Neill‟s research challenges the quality of ITE provision in today‟s market-oriented, neo-Liberal environment. In order to draw in more students and attract increased funding she points out that ITE have been forced to relax their entry procedures and this has serious implications for the quality of teachers leaving the universities.[21] Lack of funding and unsatisfactory material conditions have always been evident in ITE as early College Principals would testify. Teacher education facilities are

not made a priority, particularly when compared to the more recent and glamorous „disciplines" such as Business Studies or Aviation Studies. Buildings, equipment and libraries situated on separate university college/school of education campuses are frequently paid little attention in comparison.

Keen[22] astutely comments on the way material conditions reveal contemporary political and educational policy. He sees architecture and physical space as representing, in visible terms, the political ideology of the time. With the current political emphasis on a business, market-oriented model, the administrative staff numbers at Dunedin College of Education in the early years of the second millennium exploded in comparison to the teaching staff. This necessitated a massive expansion of administrative buildings and plant since the 1970s, resulting in the modern registry building becoming, "*an architectural projection of the corporate model*".[23] This has been retained despite amalgamating with Otago University. Universities are now perceived as commercial enterprises and they have succumbed to an imperative of managerialism and distrust,

> *This „new managerialism" was expressed through centralised decision-making, dramatic cuts in institutions budgets, the retrenchment of staff, and the creation of an entirely different campus climate in which accountability trumped autonomy, quality assurance replaced trust and surveillance displaced self-management in higher education institutions.[24]*

Whilst administration and bureaucracy have expanded, staff and courses have been reduced. Teacher education facilities in most of the amalgamated institutions are in need of refurbishment and are barely keeping abreast of technological facilities in schools. Various accountability procedures and agencies are now responsible for ensuring that teacher education complies with the directives of the state. All teacher education providers and programmes have to be approved, re-approved and regularly reviewed and monitored by the Ministry of Education through various quality assurance processes. For university courses leading to teachers" registration, the NZTC works with the Committee on University Academic Programmes (CUAP) and whilst collaboration is essential, it appears that an uneasy tension is appearing between these two bodies. As long as the NZTC is a Crown agency and vulnerable to the political vicissitudes of whichever government is in power, this will always be the case, despite the teacher

educators on the staff who are highly committed to ensuring quality of ITE programmes and provisions.

With the advent of private providers, teacher education is now provided in a proliferation of institutions that are pitted against each other in trying to attract students. Primary ITE providers alone number 14 and these comprise: 6 University Colleges or Faculties of Education; 3 Wananga, 2 Christian providers; 1 University of Technology (offering Montessori and Steiner degree programmes); 1 Māori Private Training Establishment and 1 private Graduate School of Education (see Appendix 1 for full details).[25] Student teachers from all three educational sectors can presently choose from almost 150 teacher education providers located in colleges of education, universities, polytechnics, wananga and private institutions. The expected graduation requirement for all primary student teachers (with the exception of one wananga) is now a degree with the majority undertaking a state-approved undergraduate course at a university.

Although 100 years apart, past and present ITE has some disturbingly similar characteristics and it is tempting to argue that education has come full circle. Both periods exhibit marked intensification of bureaucracy; both are underpinned with an individualist, liberal or neo-liberal philosophy; both intend (despite recent rhetoric to the contrary) that the state should exert stronger control of teacher education; and finally, and most importantly, both are characterised by widespread and swift changes occurring in material conditions, educational policies and political ideologies. Whilst state control was overt in the first period, it is now exercised covertly through government accountability, auditing, monitoring and control of resources. It is still the case that the ideology of the state is aimed at manipulating education to become an instrument of social control and efficiency in a highly competitive, global market economy. Policy discourse from both eras informs us that „excellence" is only achieved by implementing standards, quality control measures and tightly regulated programmes. The gate-keeping roles of the former Inspectorate are still visible and the imminent threat of a central curriculum for all teacher education providers is, to some extent, not a major departure from past policy.[26]

Despite literature informing us that such measures engender a *"politics of mistrust"*[27] and a discourse of *"shaming"* and *"blaming"*,[28] in those actively involved in teacher

education, they are being increasingly implemented. Dale argues that in Britain, the major difference between the two periods is that the welfare state was the cornerstone of the first period, whilst the market is the cornerstone of the present.[29] However, he further adds that the market cannot flourish without a symbiotic relationship with the state. It seems that, although the state plays a critical role in education and in teacher education, a fine balance between too much and too little state intervention is necessary if ITE is to perform its roles and functions effectively.

The discussion now examines how the modern state controls the rite of passage of current student teachers by scrutinising the ritual practices experienced by them in their transition to teacherhood.

3. Re-Meeting the Rite of Passage: Ritual Practices

The university functions of separation and integration, referred to by Foucault in the opening quotation of this thesis, are applicable both historically and currently. They are particularly relevant to this part of the chapter which charts the rituals and ceremonies of the rite of passage which is now situated in the university. Like the early colleges, university students are excluded from the rest of society and taken out of circulation in order to become *"desirable models of behaviour".*[30] Despite the gap of over 100 years, students are still subjected to professionally mandated knowledge and they still undergo specific rituals and ceremonies ready for re-absorption into society in highly specialised roles. Whilst most current rites and ceremonies remain similar to those of the past, some, such as those requiring loyalty and patriotism, are different. This difference has probably occurred more with the passing of time, rather than as a result of institutional change. Few modern tertiary institutions appear to impose institutional allegiance. The notion that one set of rituals has been entirely replaced by another, therefore, does not appear to be the case.

Chapter 4 explained how the highly disciplined environment of the early training college resulted in a „docile body"; docility being a requisite for ensuring that the body is "*subjected, used, transformed and improved*.[31] Trainees were separated from the contaminating influence of their family and friends, exposed to a new regime of order that facilitated disequilibrium, and then, after a difficult process of internalising the

norms and values of the institution, they were guaranteed a place in the society of teachers. A new set of roles, responsibilities and rewards accompanied this incorporation. In order to compare this past rite of passage with the present, an examination of each of the three phases involved will now be considered.

a) Phases of the Modern Rite of Passage: Separation

In the first decades of the 20th century, teacher trainees were separated from their kinship and social affiliations if they wished to study at one of the four training colleges located in the main urban centres – either hostel accommodation (established in the late1920s) or suitably approved boarding accommodation was provided. Allowances and grants were gradually provided to defray the costs. Present student teachers now choose to attend university hostels – this choice is available mainly to first-year and international students. Most students living away from home live in a mixed-gender flatting situation, rather than hostel accommodation: something unheard of until the late 1960s.[32] Student loans and; in specified cases, student allowances, are made available to assist with these costs. The private and social life of students is no longer under such exacting institutional control and surveillance, except perhaps when public attention is drawn either to the successes or serious misdemeanours of students as an identifiable group.

One of the chief components of successful acculturation is that of enclosure. This aims at training student teachers together as one body and turning them into a homogenous entity; thus insulating or protecting them from the contaminating effects of other students or those „outside" of their society. Certainly the 60 year college monopoly of teacher education saw students being completely immersed in a sequestered college setting with a rite of passage that was fixed and absolute. Today, whilst separation is not so evident and several binding rituals are different, the majority of student teachers are still grouped together as a specific cadre for induction into the norms of teacher knowledge.

An important element of the separation phase is the selection process as teaching candidates have to prove to the members of their „new" society that they will benefit from a rite of passage. Protecting entry to the new community is critical and has become a hallmark of most professions. The procedures that operated in the early days are very

similar to those of today. Examinations, interviews and references or testimonials from esteemed citizens who testify to the good character of prospective members, are still considered vital pre-entry qualifications. Modern entrance examinations are still highly prescribed and overseas qualifications have to be scrutinised for equivalence by government agencies. The majority of prospective student teachers are personally interviewed and although interview criteria differs slightly from the past (for example, the idiosyncratic whims of former Inspectors who allowed candidates to sing their way into admittance are no longer evidenced), students still have to impress an interview panel that they possess the requisite and potential characteristics of a teacher. Interview panels representing the respective interests of university, school and community are charged with this responsibility. Students are expected to successfully pass several criteria which focus on their potential for tertiary study, communication skills, personal characteristics, community involvement and relevant experiences. A medical certificate is no longer sighted but applicants provide a signed declaration declaring that they are fit, healthy and do not possess a criminal conviction. A police search is also conducted to assure the institution that the candidate has no past criminal record. A detailed application form is usually completed by the prospective student together with the inclusion of a written report on a school observation. Student teachers are treated slightly differently from other university students in that there is a tacit acceptance that, as they are working closely with children, their personal and moral attributes have also to be considered suitable.

The adequacy of current admission requirements has drawn recent criticism from reviews of ITE such as *Becoming a Teacher in the 21st Century*.[33] Other recent reviews have also questioned current selection procedures and public attention has been drawn to this under sensationalist newspaper headlines such as, *"New Teachers Score Poorly."*[34]

In the past, strict entry criteria surrounded entrance to the society of teachers and the gatekeeper's role was to protect existing membership and safeguard against attempts to subvert or undermine the induction process into teaching. On the whole, this is still the case.

b) The Transition Phase

 (i) Crossing the Threshold:

In most societies, the perceptible act of crossing the threshold into an institution at the start of the transition phase is symbolically marked with an actual doorway, archway or portal to the establishment. Most educational institutions, past and present, whether university or college, mark this with a foundation stone or official entrance way into the institution. As stated in Chapter 4, these symbols identify the sacred territory beyond. Most of the early colleges" induction practices involved formal welcomes of a European kind; however, since the 1980s modern colleges (regardless of amalgamation with universities), have paradoxically returned to more traditional ways of welcoming student novitiates. When colleges of education became more biculturally-aware in the 1980s, induction ceremonies adopted several traditional Māori ceremonies, amongst them the powhiri. This ensured that student teachers trod on the sacred ground of the college marae only if they could demonstrate their worthiness, and only after they had been formally welcomed into the educational institution. This was made possible with the establishment of marae on college grounds. The first college to establish a marae was Palmerston North College of Education in 1980, with the erection of Te Kupenga o te Mātauranga.[35] Other colleges followed suit, all resulting from localised Māori initiatives. These may have been prompted by research and reports such as the Hunn Report[36] which criticised colleges as monocultural institutions that did not address the needs of Māori students or acknowledge the bicultural underpinnings of the Treaty of Waitangi. Whilst the six former colleges of education are currently amalgamated with their respective universities, most still retain their campus and possess their own marae. These sit alongside the more Eurocentric university environments, most of which cling fastidiously to classical, European traditions and rituals. Whilst most universities have a School of Māori Studies, few have a marae on their campus.

The result of college-based marae is that modern teacher education students experience a traditional Mori welcome.[37] The powhiri is a highly ritualised ceremony which places great importance on crossing the threshold from a secular or neutral zone to the sacred territory (paepae) of the marae grounds proper (and college grounds beyond). Van Gennep describes such a passage,

The rite of passing between the parts of an object that has been halved, or between two branches, or under something, is one which must, in a certain number of cases, be interpreted as a direct rite of passage by means of which a person leaves one world behind him and enters a new one.[38]

The visitors (manuhuri), in this case the new student teachers, process under an archway led by a senior member of their group: this is accompanied by a karanga in which women from both the manuhuri and the residents call to each other to "*exchange information and establish intent and the purpose of the visit*".[39] The photograph on the following page shows the archway of Te Kupenga o te Matauranga at Massey University College of Education. The tangata whenua (people belonging to this particular land) perform a chant of welcome and the manuhuri are drawn onto the sacred courtyard. Speeches from both sides establish links to ancestors and acknowledge any genealogical links between both groups. Every speech is accompanied by a waiata (song). The manuhuri then hongi with the tangata whenua and this signals a sharing of spirit with the two different groups becoming united. The ceremony concludes with feasting (hakari) and this establishes a new relationship between them. This ceremonial approval ensures that the tapu surrounding the visitors is lifted. Once students are welcomed onto the marae, it becomes theirs and they become, to all intents and purposes, tangata whenua.[40] As stated previously, the archway or portal is a very important marker denoting the boundary between profane and sacred knowledge.

Once students have gained access to the sacred territory within the walls and boundaries of the institution, there are specially designated spaces serving different purposes (i.e. working, studying, eating, recreation etc.). Modern students not only have access to a students" centre (formerly known as a common room), lecture theatres, classrooms, cafes, recreation centres, medical facilities, childcare centres etc., they also have access to the schemes of teacher knowledge housed in library collections, resource centres, data banks and computer suites. It is interesting to note that access to specialist knowledge stored on modern computer data bases are also accessed through „portals".

Figure 6.1 The Archway, (Tāwhana) Te Kupenga o te Mātauranga

The ordeals of separation from their kinship group do not appear as intense for modern student teachers. Whether this is a result of improved travel, increased numbers of ITE providers, more sophisticated communication and technological links, or whether it is currently unfashionable to admit to homesickness, the impact of separation appears to be less than it was a century ago. Certainly college magazines no longer include poetry and prose expressing initial feelings of alienation and dislocation. The staff-organised welcome picnics, soirees and other such compulsory social occasions designed to allay fears and introduce students to a new environment and the niceties of middle-class life, are no longer in evidence. These have been replaced largely by formal college welcomes and student organised Orientation-Week activities which are voluntary. Orientation is now a highly organised affair undertaken by the Students" Association and many student teachers join the rest of the university student body for Orientation

week. Many of the bonding rituals so evident in the colleges before their amalgamation are now largely absent and student teachers now engage in welcoming ceremonies with other future professionals.

Entry rituals between past and present eras have also changed due to changing social and demographic factors. For example, whilst attendance at college social functions (organised by both staff and students) was compulsory in earlier times, this is now voluntary as a higher proportion of the student population are mature students with family commitments. Institutions are now larger and students come from a variety of age and cultural groups with diverse experiences and backgrounds. Although still in evidence, bonding rituals with members of the same professional group, are not quite so apparent and homogeneity is no longer a characteristic of present student cohorts. The only unchanging demographic factors appear to be gender and social class with the majority of student teachers still women mainly coming from lower middle class socio-economic backgrounds.

The demise of many former college sporting, cultural and extracurricular activities has occurred as a consequence of many full-time students balancing their university courses with personal, family and financial commitments. Fletcher sums this up when discussing student life at Christchurch College of Education immediately prior to its merger with Canterbury University in 2006,

> *The changing demographic meant that students became more diverse in terms of previous study, work, and breadth of life experience; they were also more multicultural in nature and outlook. Students tended to work harder too. There had been a time when the College was a place where many could subordinate their vocational preparation to the „work‟ of „growing up‟. But the students of the new millennium, had paid large sums to train as teachers ..., and teaching ... was not always easy to come by. Students therefore were essentially serious. There was fun, certainly, and the College continued to be a warm and caring place, but there was also a huge amount of earnest, hard toil. Student dilettantes had become an endangered species.*[41]

On the surface at least, the student population is no longer viewed as quite so docile and conformist with regard to the norms of the institution, perhaps because they now have to purchase their rite of passage:

> *In earlier times, the easiest way to express disapproval of courses was simply to stay away – the time-honoured practice of „bunking", which is mentioned so often in the Recorder. For students who pay, the key issue is value for money. From the early 1990s, the College had a population of paying clients, seriously pursuing career preparation and very ready to be critical of any lapse in standards, in the new „contestable" environment, prospective students who felt they would not get their money's worth could consider training elsewhere.[42]*

Several historical commentators note that current students are more seriously intent on gaining their qualification and, as fee-paying students, have less time and inclination to perform the socialised rituals of bonding. Tertiary students have now incurred a current national debt of \$10 million as they are forced to take out loans to pay for their tuition.[43]

(ii) Disciplinary Technologies Employed During Transition:

Various disciplinary technologies were employed by former college authorities to ensure acceptance of a new teacher identity. These are still apparent although in slightly modified form. Institutional policies, regulations and codes of behaviour govern student teacher behaviour and if students commit transgressions, then sanctions are imposed. Former disciplinary techniques involving public chastisement, fining students and, in extreme cases, expulsion have been replaced by official warnings from senior University staff or management. If major infringements occur, studentship may be terminated. As student teachers no longer receive allowances, they are no longer fined (except by their Students" Association – see the example below).

Former college students were subjected to penalties surrounding issues of time (lateness, absences), of activity (inattention, compulsory social and sporting activities), of behaviour (impoliteness, disobedience, getting drunk), of speech (formality – use of official title and manner of address, idle chatter, silence, insolence, only speaking when given permission), of the body (incorrect attitudes, gestures, body language, attendance, compliance) and sexuality (prohibitions, regulations, institutional silence). A whole

control regime of procedures and micro penalties were enacted to punish disobedience.[44] Whilst all of these penalties are still adhered to by student teachers in the school practicum context, several are not obligatory in the university context (for example, communal student assemblies, compulsory extracurricular activities, and so on). However, the "*micro-economy of perpetual penalty*"[45] is still exercised when students as an identifiable group violate the law of the land or their professional code.

Transgressions during Orientation week, mid-year festivities and graduation are expected and tolerated by society outside of the students" domain, although if these are serious and involve criminal activity, legal repercussions are usually (but not always) enforced. In 2007, student rioting, damage to property, fire-setting and other alcohol-related incidents occurred during the Undie 500, an annual car rally from Christchurch to Dunedin organised by the University of Canterbury Engineering Society. This led to mass arrests as the following newspaper extract explains,

> *The student district erupted into violence on Saturday night, with hundreds of drunken youngsters lighting fires and pelting police and fire-fighters with bottles. Fire-fighters extinguished more than 70 fires after students set alight cars, couches and mattresses on Castle, Dundas, Hyde, Grange and Leith streets. About 150 decorated cars from the Canterbury University engineering students" society, ENSOC, had driven to Dunedin for the annual Undie 500 tour. Dunedin Mayor, Peter Chin said that as far as he was concerned, the event was history.[46]*

Despite the arrests no students were convicted and this led to much public criticism. Comparisons were made with other, less privileged, social groups who frequently receive severe penalties for similar types of behaviour – thus reinforcing van Gennep"s point regarding society"s toleration of students" anti-social behaviour. The car rally ran again in 2008 with much the same consequences and despite the mayor"s protestations. In the face of media attention, following the 2007 incidents, ENSOC provided the following advice to its 2008 race entrants:

> *Just a few rules so we don't get in the crap on the day:*
> *- All airborne objects INCLUDING EGGS are banned. The police may enforce this.*

- There will be breath testing on the way. Don't drink drive!

- All passengers respect your driver! Without them it would be a bloody boring

bus trip. Make it up to them when you get down to Dunners.

- All cars MUST be road legal (WOF + Rego) ON THE DAY. You won't be

allowed in if not.

- In previous years we have been fined for littering. Littering is illegal! If ENSOC

gets fined, it comes out of YOUR fun and pockets.

Have an awesome day but stick to the rules and don't be a fool.[47]

When compared to the earlier photograph depicting the rather mild example of an inebriated teacher trainee in the college magazine of 1918[48] the differences between past and present views on what constitutes a violation of the law, appear to be vast.

As van Gennep explains the normal rules of society are suspended for this period of transition and the members undergoing a rite of passage are considered sacred and untouchable,

> *During the entire novitiate, the usual economic and legal ties are modified and sometimes broken altogether. The novices are outside society and society has no power over them…. During the novitiate, the young people can steal and pillage at will or feed and adorn themselves at the expense of the community.*[49]

Foucault discusses the carnival like atmosphere that often accompanies rule-breaking episodes from university students. He maintains that during such incidents, institutional rituals are mocked, rules are inverted, authority is scorned and the transgressors are turned into heroes.[50] Capping stunts do not always involve breaking the law, however, and the example on the following page is a typical (and clever) example of how a modern student hoax duped the New Zealand media for a short time.

This amusing article illustrates several features of life for modern students: first, that students do not always respond passively to state directives; second, that this would not have attracted so much media attention had it not appeared in the current educational environment of cost-cutting, rationalisation and financial parsimony; and third, that it indicates that universities are now regarded as business enterprises and viewed in terms

of property with real-estate value, rather than places of tertiary learning with educational value.

Albany for Sale

A capping stunt by Massey Albany students created a media flap before major news organisations realised it was just, well, a bit of student humour.

"University for sale", announced the official-looking media release from Massey on 8 May. A cash-flow crisis had forced Massey to sell its Albany campus, it stated.

Vice-chancellor James McWha was quoted: "the emergency liquidation of assets seems to be our only viable way out", although he reassured students "no courses will be affected".
Tenders for the $6 million site were directed to "Albany Real Estate".

Before the media release had even run off the fax list, TV3 phoned the Massey Albany Students Association for comment.

ASA president Emma McDonald says it took TV3 around 10 minutes to twig it was all a hoax.TV1, however, took nearly two hours to wise up. They interviewed Emma for 10 minutes on the phone, and had TV cameras on the way to Albany before the penny dropped. The Herald worked on the story for an hour and the Dominion also made inquiries before they too realised what was up – helped, no doubt, by a (genuine) official release from Professor McWha saying it was all a capping stunt.

Despite the fun, Emma McDonald says the hoax made a serious point. The fact so many people were taken in shows just how dire the situation is in tertiary education.[51]

(iii) Rituals of Examination and Surveillance:

Another form of exercising institutional power is the ritual of the examination. This is seen as providing evidence of suitability for admission, of progress during the rite of passage and, most importantly, of final judgement regarding the worth of a candidate and their acceptability for graduation. The examination ritual was very important in the early years but it gradually lost its hold in the colleges of education between the 1940s and 1980s. However, as a vital tool of micro-management in university culture, it has always been a dominant way of assessing specialist knowledge, despite the controversy that surrounds it. Examinations still appear to be a source of anxiety to students. Although modern students do not apply their literary talents to verse when expressing their examination angst as did former students, this rhyme from a modern extramural student provides an exception:

The extramural prayer

Now I lay me down to rest
A pile of books upon my chest
And if I die before I wake
That's one less test I'll have to take.[52]

Examinations and other tests of judgement appear in many forms and play a critical part in the *"art of ranking"*[53] – they are an inevitable part of the process in which students are objectified. The aim of such assessments is to sort, grade and rank students according to merit. Norms of behaviour and academic standards are prescribed and deviations from these norms are not tolerated. The examination, as explained in Chapter 4, has evolved within a highly competitive system and is a way of organising and hierarchising the student teacher population. It has become a regime of truth which *"accumulates official sanction".*[54]

> *The examination, surrounded by all its documentary techniques makes each individual a "case". His description now becomes a "means of control and a method of domination…. The examination is at the centre of the procedures that constitute the individual as effect and object of power, as effect and power of knowledge."*[55]

Its power as a filtering device for sorting desirable from undesirable individuals and for ensuring that they are worthy of entering, remaining and graduating from the academy, is as formidable today as it was in the past. Some would say that it was even more potent in this era of new accountability sanctions.

The former methods of panopticon surveillance of students‟ practice in the classroom are still in evidence, as depicted in the drawing (Figure 6.2) on the following page by a group of current 2nd Year student teachers from Massey University. In an introductory session, student teachers were asked to portray their role at that point in time. Interestingly, and in a very similar manner to the drawing executed in Figure 4.8 (drawn by a trainee in 1922) eyes feature prominently alongside a caption which reads *"Everyone watching you".* Although current students do not experience the humiliating trauma of the „crit‟ lesson, its successor lies with the assessor‟s practicum visit which also produces discomfort and anxiety for the modern student (although usually not so distressing or publicly observable). As all student teachers experience this, it still leads to a union of sympathy wherein students come together to share their experiences and express their relief that the ordeal is over – this forms a sense of solidarity which binds them together. As the current experience is not as intense as in former years, the results are, correspondingly, not quite as powerful. However, the teaching practicum still separates them from other professionals-in-training and helps them smooth out previously held values and assumptions, hence shaping their new teacher identity.

Although the penetrating gaze of the assessor is still in evidence during the student‟s practicum, observation is undertaken by a university representative visiting the student teacher on-site at a pre-arranged time. The basic pattern of the practicum visit is similar in all six education faculties, although there are slight variations between universities. The assessor observes the student for a period of time; following the observation a discussion takes place and a report assessing the students‟ performance is written. The student‟s performance is also assessed by the Associate or Mentor Teacher and, in some cases, the school‟s senior staff. During the post-visit discussion, the student is expected to undergo self-examination, disclose their thoughts on their professional progress and identify any strengths and weaknesses. Some university courses now take this further and require students to provide a written reflection, analysis or narrative of their

Figure 6.2: *"Everyone watching you"*
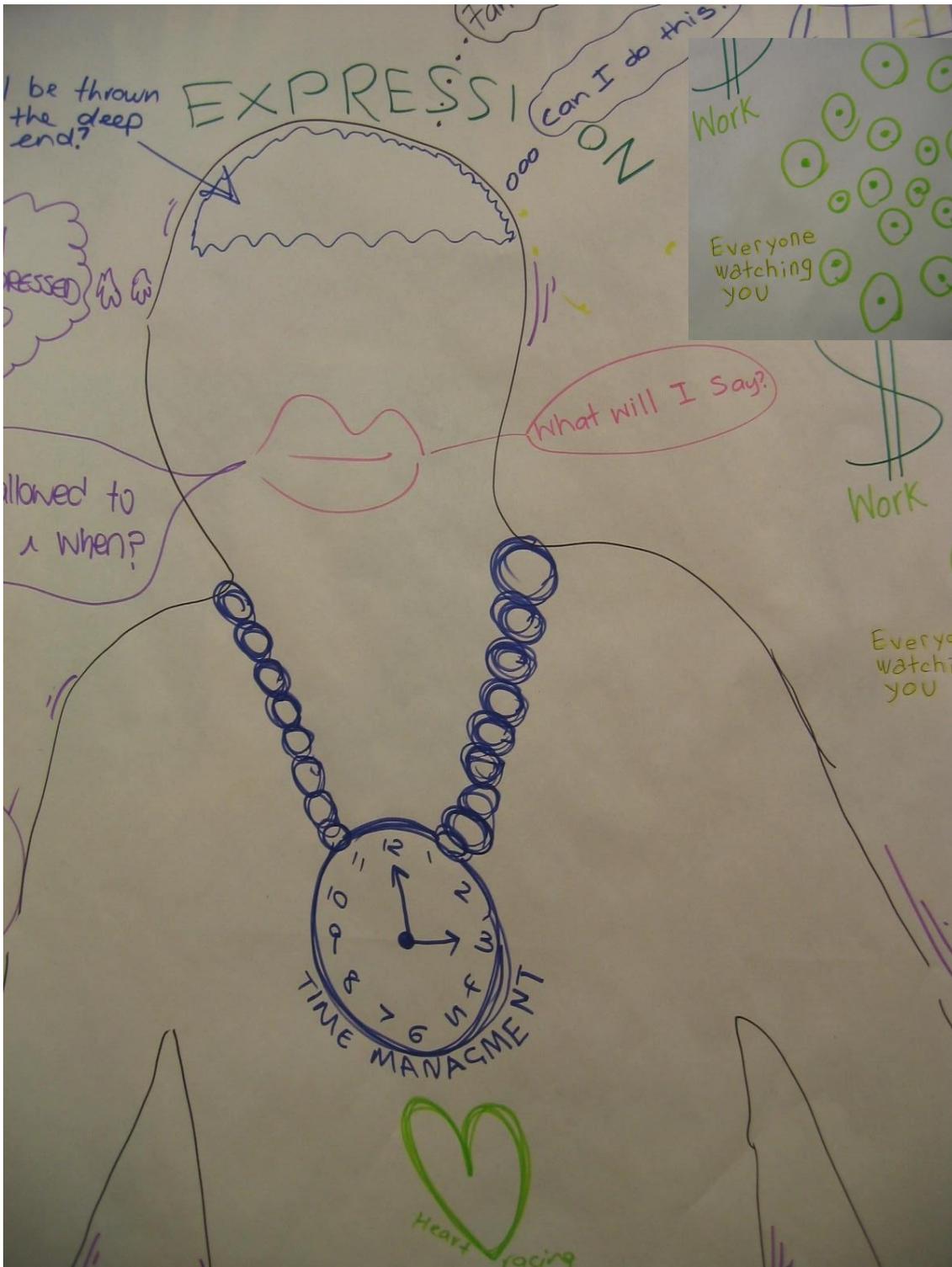
Drawing by 2nd Year students (Rachael, James, Rachel, Anna and Sam) at MUCE, February, 2009

performance. This is related to Foucault's notion of confession which is an embodiment and reinforcement of power relations; confession is defined by him as:

> *...a ritual of discourse in which the speaking subject is also the subject of the statement. It is also a ritual that unfolds within a power relationship, for one does not confess without the presence (or virtual presence) of a partner who is not simply the interlocutor but the authority who requires the confession, prescribes and appreciates it, and intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console and reconcile. A ritual in which the truth is corroborated by the obstacles and resistances it has had to surmount in order to be formulated; and finally, a ritual in which the expression alone, independently of its external consequences, produces intrinsic modifications in the person of who articulates it: it exonerates, redeems, and purifies him; it unburdens him of his wrongs, liberates him and promises him salvation.*[56]

The post-visit discussion, the final report and the student's disclosure of his/her experiences during the observation, all exemplify this notion of confession. In order to receive a grade, students are obliged to divulge to their more powerful University assessors, their mistakes, challenges, problems and strengths, show remorse for their weaknesses, and propose ways of addressing these in future performance. Their performance is either rewarded or punished by the assessors. Success is determined when student teachers meet the tightly prescribed criteria and standards of both the university and the school – if this occurs the student achieves a passing grade. In disclosing their thoughts and feelings, student teachers are also required to indicate some degree of critical reflection. Foucault sees this process as not only achieving some form of external reinforcement but also as internalising the prescribed norms and values. The subject, by this means, also engages in subjectifying him/herself.

There are various forms of confessional discourses and teacher education programmes include most of them in their judgement and assessment procedures. Foucault describes them as interrogations, formal observations, consultations, autobiographical narratives, or letters and notes. The ubiquitous Reflective Journal also falls into this category. These are student accounts of personal classroom experiences that have been recorded, transcribed, published, commented upon and graded. Requiring students to critically

reflect on and evaluate their performance is now a basic tenet of most current New Zealand teacher education programmes. Critical reflection is now regarded as a vital ingredient in teacher education – Foucault maintained that reflection could also lead individuals to see the possibilities that we all possess of "*no longer being, doing or thinking what we are, do or think*".[57] This emphasises the need for student teachers to question their fast-held assumptions and previous experiences, and reflect critically on the way in which they have been constituted as subjects. This creates a space or opening through which the conditions of the present are questioned and examined. Through this, the normalising institutional practices of both the University and school seeking to discipline them, may be challenged. There are therefore, as with many of Foucault"s theories, both positive and negative effects of confessional and reflective discourses.

(iv) Binding Rituals:

This is the area in which the most change has occurred and, as stated earlier, this is probably a response to modern institutional values which no longer encourage college spirit. The development of college affiliation, a parallel to the development of national patriotism, was very evident in the early colleges; this was encouraged through various mechanisms such as a college song; motto; magazine; flag ceremonies, taking an oath of allegiance; numerous sporting, cultural, music, debating, chess and drama clubs; and public productions and performances.

Binding rituals no longer visible are specific college or university songs with their lyrics of abiding loyalty to the institution and country. The exception to this is the graduation ceremony. At this culminating event, students sing a graduation song, *Gaudeamus Igitur*, in Latin (with accompanying English translation) thanking the staff (regarded as elders) for their involvement in ensuring a successful rite of passage.

Sacra are currently evidenced in artefacts such as university-branded clothing. These include track suits, hats, polar fleece jackets, and caps; stationery; street banners; and other mementoes which may be purchased from the university. These are more of an attempt to advertise the university rather than to induce a spirit of cohesion

Student magazines are an essential part of community bonding; however, these are now mostly university-wide magazines, rather than being specifically directed at the

community of student teachers. In former days, they were used to engender cohesion and loyalty and life was depicted as merry and enjoyable once the trauma of initial separation was over. Stories exuding camaraderie and narrating playful pranks were dutifully interspersed with philosophical articles on aspects of education and society, particularly during the War years, when, naturally, patriotism reached its peak.

Current student publications are mainly dedicated to issues surrounding student advocacy, academic support, leisure and entertainment. All Student Association magazines are instrumental in supporting students, especially if confronted with problems. They outline the process for student complaints, harassment or grievance issues and they encourage the appointment of representatives for various student groups. They also explain how to gain legal representation and arbitration for serious problems or university breaches of the student contract. An editorial from Nexus (the University of Waikato students‟ magazine) in August, 2007, debates issues surrounding the recent dismissal of a lecturer from a neighbouring university who had his employment terminated for accusing an international student of *"preying on some sort of Western guilt"* when seeking an assignment extension. After identifying various aspects surrounding the case, including university recruitment of international students, thereby locating the issue within the wider context of national educational policy, the editor states that supporters of the dismissed lecturer "… *would do well to remember that it is because of user-pays, bums-on-seats National party policies that universities are now in the unenviable position of being so completely dependent on (and arguably, at the mercy of) the fees of international students.*"[58]

In similar vein to its predecessors 100 years ago, college magazines include regular features, photos, journalistic pieces and editorials that critique issues of the day (usually concerning university students). Social, sporting and cultural events feature widely. It appears that in areas such as these, particularly when competition between other teams and clubs occur, there is a degree of loyalty to team and university. This allegiance however, is expressed by a minority of students and does not appear to be indicative of the whole student body as evidenced in earlier college publications.

Early college magazines were heavily censored and edited and criticisms of the staff, the institution or its courses, were not tolerated. Openshaw informs us that censorship of

articles considered too risqué for the student body was a continuing practice in the colleges of the 1960s and 1970s.[59] In more contemporary times, according to the editor of one university‟s student magazine, it appears that if the student newsletter is not edited by senior management, then it is not given their support. The editor informs us,

> *Massey University has been doing its bit for the free flow of information by banning the student newspaper* Chaff *from its registry foyer. The foyer showcases a number of university-related publications, but* Chaff *is deemed too risky to be among them. Ms. X, the editor says registry management have given different reasons for the ban. One is that it would only be allowed in if vetted beforehand to ensure it contained nothing derogatory or insulting about Massey … Another is that the university does not display material from "stand alone" organisations. Having counted at least seven other "stand alone" publications in the foyer, Ms X remains sceptical.[60]*

Anonymity has also increased in universities as they are now vast institutions which „service‟ a higher proportion of the New Zealand tertiary student population. Both former colleges and present-day universities identify and control their student enrolments through a system of numbering. Student identification (ID) is now required for all university related enquiries, and these ID numbers are no longer in single or double digits as formerly, but consist of at least six numbers. ID cards are now issued and these have a student photograph attached to ensure the correct identity of the student. These are used for a variety of purposes, both official and unofficial, but are compulsory for final examinations. Every student is required to display their ID card on the examination table for scrutiny by the invigilator, thereby exercising Foucault‟s "*principle of compulsory visibility*".[61] In the examination, subjects have to be highly visible and their correct identity is paramount in order to avoid misrepresentation, cheating or fraud. Ensuring the correct identity of the initiate is crucial to the sorting and grading mechanisms of the university in which the official authority has "*to define the aptitude of each individual, situate his level and his abilities.*"[62] The register or student roll, now highly computerised, sorted, managed and organised, is essential for the purpose of correct identification and norming.

A whole commercial industry, complete with a system of micro-penalties, has arisen around issues of cheating and plagiarism; software programmes which assess the authenticity of a piece of work, are also commercially available. Again these are considered essential to an institution which is in the business of organising, classifying, categorising and defining students" knowledge and ensuring that, in their anonymity, each individual is correctly identified.

Students Teachers" Associations, have been dismantled in several, but not all, of the newly-merged colleges of education and are now absorbed into wider university Students" Associations. The notion of specific teacher collegiality and communal in-house discourse has correspondingly lessened; however, this will probably not disappear as long as student teachers remain on discrete campuses remote from the main university campus.

c) The Incorporation Phase: Graduation

Graduation is a highly ritualised ceremony which officially signals that the process of acculturation has been successful. The university graduation ceremony is perhaps the most outstanding example of a highly formalised ritual; it is steeped in the pomp and ceremony of the classical European kind and it evolved from the first universities established in Europe in the 12th century. The word „university" has its origins in „universitas" which referred to a guild of masters licensed to teach. The first step or „gradus" was entry to a bachelor"s degree, once graduate status had been achieved, entry into the second step, the master"s degree, was permitted. Students wore specific attire adapted from the vestments worn by mediaeval clergy. These evolved into the formal university costume of gowns, hoods and trenchers worn by present university staff and students. Each university has its own system of colours which hierarchises its wearer, denotes their status, and proclaims membership of the particular institution.[63]

The graduation ceremony involves a reversal of the admission ceremony. University dignitaries and officials, carrying the University mace, lead a public procession of staff and graduands from the sacred territory of the institution back into the society of the world but with a much-enhanced status. Frequently, the parade is accompanied by applause from onlookers. The formal capping ceremony acknowledges to the world that these students have acquired the mandated knowledge and the ways of their new

occupation and that they are now ready to accept a new role with new responsibilities in that society. The only concession to New Zealand‟s bicultural and bilingual heritage in the graduation ritual comes in the form of the patriotic song, the National Anthem, which is sung in both English and Te Reo Māori. Although there is a formal powhiri at the beginning of many teacher education courses, most universities pay more attention to their European graduation ceremonies than to their poroporoake, except perhaps for graduating Māori student teachers.

In the early years of the 20th century, once students graduated, they were assigned directly to their new teaching position by the Department of Education; students now compete with their colleagues for positions which they seek themselves. In the 1920s, a probationary year following graduation became the norm and this has been extended to a two-year period of advice and guidance for Beginning Teachers. During this period, new graduates are registered teachers (no matter that this is only provisional). This means that they are counted as full members of the teaching profession with the requisite knowledge, rights, status, and full responsibilities of the teacher. They have become acculturated into the society of teachers and their rite of passage to teacherhood is complete.

4. Conclusion: Current Ritual Practices

The colleges dominated the landscape of teacher induction for sixty to eighty years with assimilation and transformation of novitiates as their two major goals. Watson[64] and Openshaw,[65] support this thesis by contending that the overt aim of teacher preparation in the colleges was to acculturate teachers into socially acceptable norms of behaving. Ramsay argues that this involved the reproduction of existing social and cultural structures: “*although the liberal rhetoric suggests that teacher preparation and induction has the expressed goal of enhancing teachers‟ professional autonomy, in reality what it achieves is the political domestication of teachers*.”[66] Those who challenged the status quo were either advised to leave or were socialised into more acceptable norms of thinking and behaving. Watson‟s research endorses this; she emphasises the strongly conservative and fundamentalist nature of views held by student teachers. She maintains that students have been so thoroughly conditioned through their own experiences of the hierarchical nature of the school system that they

remain politically naïve, find it difficult to challenge authority and are unlikely to strive for radical educational change:

> *Most have become teachers because they like children or adolescents or a subject, and do not wish to analyse the reality of their function, which is largely to socialise children into behaviours acceptable to society and to prepare them for their adult occupations and social roles as defined by Western capitalism.*[67]

This was clearly evidenced in the six former state colleges of education. All have since been disestablished and amalgamated with neighbouring universities, a process which commenced with the merger of Hamilton College of Education and the University of Waikato in 1991, and concluded with the amalgamation of Dunedin College and Otago University in 2007. Despite this, although student teachers are now university students, they are still expected to progress through a highly assimilist rite of passage to teacherhood. The ritualised practices of the modern rite of passage has changed very little over the past 100 years. It is not strikingly evident that student teachers have become less conforming, less domesticated and more critical and challenging of present social and political structures.

The state, through its institutions, has a vested interest in ensuring that teachers do not radically disturb the power relations existing between itself and the population(s) it manages. Major changes will only be wrought if the power/knowledge politics of the present are openly examined and contested. If this is encouraged in present university teacher education courses, then major changes could occur. The next section, therefore, examines the epistemological core of student teachers" rite of passage as it focuses on what constitutes the sacred knowledge of their induction.

5. Re-Meeting the Rite of Passage: Sacred Knowledge

> *What is an educational system, after all, if not a ritualisation of the word; if not a qualification of some fixing of roles for speakers; if not the constitution of a (diffuse) doctrinal group; if not a distribution and appropriation of discourse, with all its learning and powers?*[68]

The epistemological basis of student teachers" rite of passage at the turn of both the 20th and 21st centuries is interconnected with issues of power and privilege. It concerns the ritualisation of the word, in this case, the current teacher education curriculum, and how it is distributed and appropriated in the modern university. This section, therefore, examines the course content of the undergraduate teacher and makes a comparison with the Education courses of over 100 years ago (as discussed in Chapter 5).

As the preceding section explained, merging with the universities made very little difference to many of the rituals experienced by the modern student teacher in their rite of passage. With regard to their specialist „teacher" knowledge, the case is very different. The curriculum has altered dramatically. During the last 100 years the curriculum has been transformed due to the *"swarming of the disciplinary mechanisms"*.[69] This is evidenced in the diversification and sheer volume of information available to modern student teachers. Teacher education has now reached some sort of consensus about its own core of accepted truths and is amassing its own bank(s) of knowledge. Furthermore, its present situation within the exclusive world of the academy, the latter with its own *"functioning, ... own rules, ... own techniques, ... own knowledge, ... own norms, ... own results"* [70] should ensure that it is taken more seriously. Knowledge thought desirable for prospective teachers is now privileged and embedded in the university"s officially authorised and sanctioned regime of truths.[71] Has this academic relocation led to more radicalised and differentiated pre-service teacher education programmes, or does a degree of uniformity still result from compliance with state regulations? The answer to this lies with an examination of the undergraduate, pre-service teacher education programmes offered currently at the six state universities, which, before amalgamation, were the former colleges of education.

This section therefore focuses on: i) examining knowledge gained by students through their practicum courses and comparing them to the specialist knowledge recommended in current literature; ii) analysing knowledge gained in the Education courses and exploring the current status of the educational disciplines – the overwhelming dominance of Psychology at the expense of other educational disciplines is noted, and a reconceptualisation of psychology for modern student teachers is offered; and iii) considering knowledge gained through the Curriculum Studies and Subject Studies courses – this is undertaken very briefly as the main focus of this chapter lies with

practicum and Education papers. The paper titles and prescriptions from each of these institutions is examined as these prescribe intended content, include elements considered of critical importance, and act as a guide to student teachers. Although it is difficult to determine the exact nature and content of programmes from paper prescriptions and titles alone, they do provide a fair indication.

a) The Practicum in the Current Teacher Education Context

   (i) The Practicum in New Zealand:

All primary, pre-service teacher education programmes in New Zealand‟s six universities provide compulsory practica for their student teachers and, on scrutinising their paper prescriptions and titles, there appears to be a great deal of homogeneity in their content.

Practicum experiences provided by all universities involve one or two student teachers being attached as „apprentices‟ to one Principal-nominated Associate or Mentor Teacher for a minimum of twenty weeks of supervised teaching practice over the 3-4 year duration of their programme. Here, a tenuous relationship between three separate agents occurs: the student teacher, the Associate Teacher and the University – each partner having their own agenda.[72] Partnerships between the University and school varies with each institution, some taking their relationship more seriously than others. Student teachers, with the guidance of their Associate Teachers, are expected to meet an ensemble of predetermined skills and regulatory mechanisms set by the University in order to comply with the graduating standards of the NZTC. Most university institutions prepare student teachers to become involved in the act of government, that is, to apply to the classroom the *"techniques and procedures for directing human behaviour"*[73] that have been transmitted to them. In other words, the „truths‟ passed on *to* them during their rite of passage are expected to be implemented *by* them during their teaching experience. This is an integral part of all practica.

Canterbury University‟s practicum paper prescriptions are brief; the prescription for the first, second and third practica are identical with all three enabling students *"to apply, develop and demonstrate the theoretical and practical learning outcomes while under supervision."*[74] The notion of developmental progression over the three years is captured in the titles of the papers, rather than in the prescriptions, for example, their

first year paper is entitled *Elements of Classroom Teaching*; the second year paper, *Professional Skills and Knowledge*; and the third year paper, *Increasing Teacher Independence*. These three papers are taught as co-requisites with the Professional Studies papers and whilst there is no reference to critical reflection or research-based inquiry in either the practicum or professional studies prescriptions, these are referred to in other, contributing, papers. There is an emphasis on the learning and development of the primary school child, understanding learning processes and learning theory, and establishing links to developing pedagogy; explicit links are also made to other papers offered.

The six Professional Practice papers at Waikato"s College of Education also consist of two interlinking strands: three practicum papers and three *Professional Inquiry and Practice* papers. Prescriptions for the practicum papers are brief: all require student teachers to link theory with practice. There is no reference to critical reflection or student-based research inquiry in any of the prescriptions with the exception of the 3rd *Professional Inquiry and Practice* paper.[75] Explicit links are made to other papers in the programme. The principles and practices of learning and teaching are introduced in the first *Professional Inquiry and Practice* paper, this is followed by an investigation into how children learn. Learning theories and assessment principles are evidenced in the second *Professional Inquiry and Practice* paper and the final year"s *Professional Inquiry and Practice* paper prepares student teachers to become Beginning Teachers by providing a critical analysis of the factors impacting upon effective learning and teaching.

Massey University"s practicum and professional inquiry papers are integrated at each year level and, like Waikato, they are referred to as Professional Inquiry and Practice (PIP) papers.[76] Unlike Waikato, there are only three papers and not six. At the 100-level, Massey"s first prescription expects students to become aware of the functions and responsibilities of the teacher"s role to planning, implementing and evaluating learning experiences for groups of learners. This moves to gaining, evaluating, synthesising and integrating principles and practices of effective teaching and management which support the learning process at the 200-level. Developing informed, critically reflective teachers capable of inquiring into the social, political and cultural contexts; understanding ethical and social implications of the learning process; and acquiring

knowledge of the politics of educational change are examined at the 300-level. There is a clear educational discipline base apparent at the second and third year levels with the second year emphasising educational psychology and the third year having a socio-political emphasis.[77]

Victoria University"s course also combines professional/ education studies papers with practicum; however, their programme is different to others (with the exception of Waikato) in that it offers a 4-year conjoint degree (i.e. Teaching with one of the following: Arts, Science or Commerce). Their practica span both primary and secondary school sectors and they offer six papers, four of which include a practicum in both primary and secondary schools. After expecting student teachers to examine their prior assumptions and beliefs about teaching, subsequent papers assist student teachers to examine approaches to teaching, learning and assessment for all learners. This is linked to developing a pedagogical knowledge base in the social and political contexts of New Zealand. Working collaboratively with parents and professionals from the wider community is involved in the third paper. The final paper is based on a research-in-action model wherein student teachers develop knowledge of themselves as agents of change through reflecting on practice.

Prescriptions from the University of Otago, Massey University, Victoria University, and the University of Auckland reveal a sequential progress from a basic introduction to learning and teaching, to the production of a fully informed and ethical professional with a sound pedagogical knowledge base by the end of the final practicum. This is exemplified in the *Professional Practice Primary 1* paper at Otago University which states:

> *Development and integration of knowledge, skills and attitudes appropriate to teaching practice through substantial observation and participation in classroom settings. Associated university classes introduce students to the teacher education model of the reflective practitioner, so that critical links can be made to theoretical principles, research on effective teaching and learning, and the reality of observed and experienced classroom practice.[78]*

The University of Auckland‟s papers, in addition to claiming credit for the longest prescriptions, have an initial emphasis on emerging pedagogy, a second-year emphasis on requiring students to demonstrate effective developing pedagogical practice and a final emphasis on demonstrating effective, informed and ethical pedagogical practice (there is no mention of „critical reflection‟). All levels state that this is to be done through the integration of student teacher‟s own knowledge, skills and attitudes with research, theory and practical experience. Each prescription includes a pertinent set of questions that are addressed at each level.[79]

The three latter university programme prescriptions (i.e. Auckland, Massey and Otago) are the most explicit and they point to the increasing complexity of the teacher‟s role. The 3rd year prescription from Massey University sets teaching within a wider policy context. Of the three Universities to refer to critical reflection in their prescriptions, Otago and Victoria also incorporate **how** student teachers become more reflective; for example in year two at Otago, after acknowledging links made to education and curriculum studies papers, they state that conceptual knowledge is further developed through collaborative reflection on critical incidents and this extends to an examination of discourse emerging from their own and peers‟ practices at the third year level. This final year also encourages teacher independence and an interrogation of their self-beliefs, knowledge and understanding. The moral and ethical responsibilities of student teachers are referred to by three Universities in their prescriptions: Auckland, Victoria and Massey. Stressing teachers as agents of change appears in at least three university paper prescriptions.

None of the papers appear to include opportunities for student teachers to work within, and possibly offer some service to, the wider community, although Victoria makes specific reference to working alongside other professionals in the community. Whilst this may occur in other universities (for example in specific content or assignments), it is not indicated in paper prescriptions.

The underlying theoretical approach of many papers appears to be Constructivist and it would be interesting to see more diversity in this, for example, postmodern or post-structuralist approaches. Although these are evident in other paper offerings, they are not specifically referred to in practicum or Professional Studies prescriptions and their

presence would challenge accepted regimes of truth and would provide difference and divergence, rather than homogeneity. A certain degree of uniformity is to be expected in a climate of prescription by the state. This comes in the form of a set of regulatory norms issued by the NZTC which specify state-mandated types of teacher knowledge, skills and dispositions which fall into four categories: professional knowledge, professional practice, professional relationships and professional leadership. Within each of these categories lies a core of particular objectives. For example, the first category of professional knowledge states that a satisfactory teacher must demonstrate knowledge of: current curricula, the subjects being taught and current learning theory; the Treaty of Waitangi, te reo and tikanga Māori; the characteristics and progress of their students; appropriate teaching objectives; appropriate technology and resources; and, appropriate learning activities, programmes and assessment.[80] Whilst these are an attempt to safeguard teacher education and bridge the requirements of the classroom and university, there is a danger that they could also be viewed as a recipe for homogeneity, uniformity and conformity.

The practicum experience as described in these current institutional settings, although still loosely based on the legitimacy of an apprenticeship model, is far removed from the content of the teaching practice experience of 100 years ago and certainly seems to be addressing current literature on practica and how to engage student teachers in more meaningful learning experiences (see the discussion in the next section). Although a full experience is provided by all universities, only one university does not indicate this in their practicum paper prescriptions.

Current longitudinal research on graduates from each of these institutions and how they progress in the world of the classroom is not available but would be extremely valuable.[81] Deconstructing the content and texts also used in New Zealand‟s practicum papers would also be a worthwhile exercise – it is difficult to discern from information provided in paper titles and prescriptions if a standardised or more activist approach is being encouraged.

(ii) Comparison of New Zealand‟s Practicum Courses with Current Literature:

The practicum experience, although rooted firmly in the school‟s „regime of truth‟, is an essential part of New Zealand‟s ITE programmes. For the last three or four decades, it has been steadily accumulating a body of research aimed at investigating the efficacy of its role and function. A whole new lexicon of terminology has consequently sprung up to capture this recently expanding discourse and terms such as „teacher as researcher‟;[82] „critical reflection‟;[83] „professional development schools‟;[84] „expert-novice‟;[85] „collaborative inquiry‟;[86] „cognitive-apprenticeship model‟;[87] „action research‟;[88] and many others are all to be found in this new grammar of learning to teach. In fact, their ubiquitous presence in university programmes has led to Zeichner‟s claim that they have become „sloganised‟:

> *In the last decade, the slogans of „reflective teaching‟, „action research‟, „research-based‟, and „inquiry-oriented‟ teacher education have been embraced by both teacher educators and educational researchers throughout the world.*[89]

Most current literature on practicum tends to suggest that despite recent innovations and a proliferation of research on the practicum, the teaching experience, although providing an authentic context for the student teacher, is probably more of a social experience than a cognitive one. This is occurring despite innovative approaches to content and a ubiquitous focus on critical reflection. The school experience tends to assimilate the student teacher into the prevailing mores and norms of existing school culture and does not readily lend itself to student challenge, questioning or critique particularly as there is an unequal distribution of power in the University, school and student teacher dynamic. If this is to change, a restructuring of traditional power relationships between all three partners has to occur. However, this may be difficult as present social relations are long-established and appear firmly rooted in our pedagogical past. Furthermore, the partners who are the least powerful, i.e. the student teachers, are in a vulnerable position as they are graded at the end of each practicum. Being creative, innovative or critical of accepted custom is therefore risky as it may jeopardise their chance of success. This may lead to imitating their Associate Teacher, rather than developing and honing their own system of beliefs and philosophy. It is pleasing to note that this is recognised by at

least three teacher education programmes which state that the emergence of an evolving pedagogical philosophy is one of their aims.

Zeichner makes the critical point that if teachers are to be aware of and really understand the social and cultural contexts of the children they teach, then they should be involved in field-based research involving these communities. Such close contact and collaboration sensitises them to the wide (and increasingly diverging) groups of children whose values, cultural characteristics and social realities are very different to their own. The rite of passage in teacher education carried out in modern universities tends towards a monoculturalism that is not helpful in generating an appreciation of diversity and multiculturalism. Nor does it provide multiple perspectives on different regimes of truths. MacNaughton highlights the necessity of heeding articulations from marginalised individuals and ensuring that their meanings and understandings overlay officially sanctioned truths – she acknowledges that whilst their meanings are no more legitimate than academic regimes, they help in the creation of multiple-layered meanings that are more equitable and socially-just. She contends that teachers should search for critically informed knowledge about learners, rather than seeking the truth. Teaching experiences which focus on critically knowing, as well as critically reflecting, and in which the governance of the self is challenged through such things as self-research will result in the generation of alternative truths. She further contends that teachers should engage in the political act of challenging the asymmetrical power relations that reside in the classroom.[90]

C. Gibbs recorded students" concerns following their second practicum. He found that power relations were highly problematic at this early stage; there was a high expectation from Associate Teachers that student teachers should be managing and assuming full control of the class rather than focusing on pupils" learning.[91] J. Gore also studied the potency of power relations in classroom pedagogy. She concluded that student teachers come to accept techniques for managing and controlling children in their classroom as a priority. Using a Foucauldian perspective, Gore"s analysis is of vital importance to student teachers who need to understand their own involvement in power networks in order that they might change their practice. Gore contends that teachers maintain dominance in the pedagogical network of power relations by directing children"s behaviour through eight *"micro functioning[s] of power relations".[92]* These consist of:

surveillance, normalisation, exclusion (dividing the normal from the pathological and thereby separating them), classification, distribution, individualisation (for purposes of remedial instruction), totalisation (bringing about conformity), and regulation.[93] She argues that understanding pedagogical truths and power relations is crucial to agendas of reform, *"The micro level focus of Foucault's analytics of power, therefore, not only is useful for understanding power's operation in specific sites…, but also has clear potential in addressing change possibilities."*[94]

J. White[95] and J. Mc Nally et al.,[96] also found that student teachers were preoccupied with implementing micro-practices of power – these included modelling themselves on their Associate Teacher, paying attention to classroom minutiae, utilising time more efficiently, and implementing disciplinary technologies to assist them in maintaining their newly acquired position of authority. Such practices enable students to believe that they are partially functioning members of the teaching community. Once a degree of acceptance into the culture of the school has occurred, then they begin to examine and analyse their values, prior knowledge and previously unquestioned assumptions. McNally et al., maintain that it is only after a „baptism of fire‟ has occurred, wherein students‟ professional credibility has been tested and successfully legitimated,[97] that the next stage can begin. This only emerges after a sense of belonging has been achieved. They also conclude that students are more preoccupied with *"affective rather than cognitive"* features of their practice and that developing a sense of teacherhood within a sympathetic environment is a precondition to the undertaking of any *"systematic exploration"*.[98] White also found that critical reflection could not be forced and should not be attempted too early. She concluded that it was relatively late in their transition before students began to select between alternative courses of action, make comparisons between their own and others‟ practices and beliefs, work out a learning programme that accommodates diversity, and make independent and thoughtful decisions. Based on paper prescriptions, at least three universities are regarding this as a serious undertaking and Otago University‟s 3rd year paper appears to be exemplary in this respect.

A meta-analysis of current literature from the United Kingdom, America, Canada and Australia (most essentially Constructivist in orientation) was undertaken by Ken Zeichner.[99] This revealed two major approaches underlying research-based practica: one which took an applied, more scientifically-based orientation and the other which viewed

it as a process of critical reflection. Zeichner explains how, since the 1980s, various attempts have been made to reconceptualise the practicum in order to make learning more effective for student teachers. Such innovations also attempted to address several critiques of practicum which claimed that teacher education programmes were frequently conservative and did not always teach recent, more creative approaches to learning and teaching.[100] Also, that many universities were not "walking the talk" as they were attempting to transmit innovative pedagogical knowledge and skills to students in didactic and expositional ways. This was despite research which showed the latter not to be the case.[101] Zeichner concluded that merely tinkering with elements of practicum would not ensure that students applied theoretical concepts and principles taught during their university course. He maintained, not unexpectedly, that it was the quality of the experience that counted.

Amongst the innovative ways directed at enhancing the quality of practicum, Zeichner found:

> … *the development of thematic teacher education programmes, the articulation of an explicit practicum curriculum, the development of closer links between the practicum and specific college courses, extending the practicum to the community domain, locating the practicum in state schools (Professional Development Schools) which have a special role in teacher education, and viewing the practicum as a „cognitive apprenticeship".[102]*

According to current literature, the strongest of these appeared to be the development of strong links between the university and school. From the paper prescriptions of New Zealand programmes, only a minority appear to be making a serious attempt to do this. Zeichner maintains that the partnership between the university and school is critical to the success of students" practical teaching – this echoed earlier findings from the Holmes Group on Teaching[103] and foreshadows later work done by others. The creation of professional development schools is considered a major step forward in forging such collaborative partnerships between universities and schools within a critical inquiry framework.[104] There are international variations regarding how these occur and the Normal Schools in New Zealand is an illustration of collaboration between the university and school; however, whether the University makes optimum use of this

partnership is questionable. The Normal School (or Base School as it is referred to in some programmes) is the closest approximation of a professional development school; however, it appears to fall short of Zeichner"s notion. In such schools, the practicum becomes a site for building cooperative, research-based relationships between the three different constituents: the University, the school and the student teacher. Such joint interaction results in mutually-constructed knowledge which also benefits teacher education as a whole.

Cochran-Smith endorses the formation of professional learning communities (rather than professional development schools) which are based on what she terms a *"collaborative resonance approach."*[105] She maintains that this is one of three alternative orientations which underpin different types of practica: each explore different facets of *"power, knowledge and the language of teaching, and the ways these are instantiated in university-school relationships."*[106]

Korthagen, Loughran and Russell also identify the creation of strong links between the University, schools and student teachers as critical to the success of practice. In fact, it is the sixth of their seven fundamental principles for teacher education programmes and practices. From their analysis of effective features of programmes in Australia, Canada and the Netherlands, they contend that providing a practicum experience is not sufficient unless critical reflection is also built into the experience; this should be located within a framework of *"intercollegially supported learning".*[107] In addition to the principle of strong partnership links, they point out that learning about teaching:

- involves continuously conflicting and competing demands: this is not taught through lectures which expect student teachers to translate theory into classroom-based practice, nor is it allowing students to acquire tricks-of-the-trade from unstructured classroom practice; instead, it focuses on how to learn from experience and how to respond using professional knowledge;
- requires a view of knowledge as a subject to be created rather than as a created subject – it is a process view of knowledge created by student teachers themselves – Korthagen et al. view it as a *"process of guided reinvention";*[108]
- requires a shift in focus from the curriculum to the learner – learning is far more powerful if it is embedded in the process of learning to teach;

- is enhanced through student teacher research; students are regarded as emerging professionals who should direct their own professional development by researching their own practice – this leads to deeper insights and enables them to reframe the teaching situation;

- requires student teachers to work closely with their peers, the benefits of cross-year groups working together to teach, observe and provide feedback is informative and involves a high degree of critical reflection as well as collaboration;

- is enhanced when the learning and teaching approaches are modelled by teacher educators in their own practice; a principle difficult to practise in a University mass-lecture scenario.

They conclude that the adoption of these principles into the practicum courses should lead to a radical transformation of effective pedagogy for teacher education.[109] Although all of these are not visible in New Zealand"s teacher education programmes, it would be fair to say that some universities are accomplishing many of them. Other aims identified in the literature, and that are met with varying degrees of success in New Zealand, are that situation-bound skills and knowledge should be taught within a specific, local and relevant context,[110] that theory and practice should not be seen as divorced but should be integrated in meaningful and intelligible ways,[111] and that student teachers should be helped to appreciate the theoretical as well as the practical value of the knowledge and skills learned by them.[112]

Current literature also targets major players involved in the practicum. Such research identifies the calibre of the staff working alongside the student teacher as highly influential in determining the quality of the practicum experience. Whilst most research identifies the qualities essential to the effectiveness of the mentoring teacher, it is interesting to note that little research has been undertaken on the characteristics of participating University staff.[113] It also has to be noted that if university staff are engaged in teacher education, especially in practicum supervision, they are generally regarded as producing low status research by other colleagues within the world of academia.[114]

Much research concludes that student teachers are resistant to change with regard to their self beliefs,[115] prior knowledge and values,[116] and that the framing of these values before entry to teacher education shapes their views on learning, teaching and pupil differences and may act as an impediment to future learning during their University and practicum experiences.[117] In order to address this, modern teacher educators advocate the development of the skills of critical reflection and critical inquiry, believing that these help student teachers to uncover their prior assumptions and beliefs about teachers and teaching.

As discussed earlier, critical reflection is viewed as a first step to improving and changing students" thinking and practice and it enables them to appreciate new insights and knowledge gained. The introduction of critically reflecting on professional practice is credited to D. Schon writing in the 1980s.[118] It has been further developed by teacher educators such as K. Zeichner,[119] J. Smyth,[120] and many others. It has recently received criticism, particularly when included in official, government-based standards for determining successful graduation from teacher education institutions. It appears that on the issue of critical reflection, the state is damned if it includes it in its standards and damned if it does not.[121] There is also research countering the view that critical reflection is the panacea many perceive it to be. This draws attention to the many students who still find it difficult to change or modify their traditional preconceptions even when they have been engaged in programmes with a critically reflective focus.[122] Ovens, for example concludes that to some extent critical reflection is context-bound and is not easily transferable from situation to situation.[123] Nevertheless, although critical reflection appears to be an integral part of most New Zealand student teachers" practicum experience, this is not indicated in several paper prescriptions.

To summarise dominant themes occurring in current literature on the teaching practicum, it appears that the quality of the practicum is dependent on:

i.   developing student teachers" critical reflection and research inquiry skills to assist them in becoming critically reflective professional educators and agents of change;

ii.   providing at least one long-term practicum/internship which enables student teachers to go beyond the survival stage and focus on the learning and wellbeing of their pupils as a key priority in their emerging pedagogical philosophy;

iii.   ensuring strong partnership links and collaboration between the university, school, student teacher and other professionals;

iv.   ensuring that student teachers work within, and possibly offer some service to, the wider community;

v.   ensuring that student teachers understand and have an appreciation of the diversity of pupils" backgrounds, experiences and abilities, and that they have some first-hand experience of the social and cultural contexts in which their pupils are situated;

vi.   developing a strong ethical, moral and legal responsibility to themselves, their pupils and families/whanau, their school communities and their profession.

Many of these priorities appear to derive from overarching principles of fairness, social justice, caring, and concern for social democracy.

To summarise this section, although the difficulties of ascertaining programme content from paper titles and prescriptions was acknowledged at the outset, it is believed that they do provide a general guide to the type of knowledge valued by the university and the state. Consequently, it is (tentatively) concluded that New Zealand programmes embrace these priorities with varying degrees of success. The first, second and fifth of the above factors identified in current literature appear to be implemented by most universities; the third and sixth are implemented by some universities, and the fourth is attempted by one university. Conservatism, rather than innovation, appears to be a dominant characteristic of the New Zealand practicum.

b) Education Courses in the Current Teacher Education Context

   i) Education Courses in New Zealand:

This section considers the titles and paper prescriptions of the Education and Professional Studies courses offered in the six University teacher education pre-service programmes (as explained in the previous section, some Professional Studies papers also include the practicum experience). Education papers taught currently are very different to those at the turn of the 20th century. No present compulsory paper prescription makes any reference to philosophy or philosophers (they appear as optional subjects in a minority of programmes). Two educational philosophers, Montessori and Steiner, have become the basis of qualifications in two teacher education institutions falling outside of the scope of this study – they are therefore not dealt with here, except to state that some universities offer optional papers in these particular philosophers and their theories. History of Education, has not suffered quite the same demise as philosophy in that it is frequently incorporated into wider, more sociologically-oriented frameworks. It is not, however, accorded a paper in its own right (except as an optional paper at this undergraduate level). Sociology of Education, as an educational discipline is not mentioned; however, five of the six universities undertake a study of the social, historical, cultural, economic and political influences on education within New Zealand society – this is offered at 100-level with three programmes offering additional 200- and 300-level courses. One university offers a 200-level paper, *Social Issues in Aotearoa/New Zealand*[124] and this obviously incorporates social analyses. It also includes reference to the educational disciplines of sociology, philosophy and sociology, but only when describing the nature of assignments – not at the prescription level. One university extends their social inquiry beyond New Zealand to consider the impact of international trends: the paper entitled, *Macro Influences on Education*, states that it *"critically analyses the impact of historical, social, cultural, demographic, political and economic influences that shape education within global, national and local contexts."*[125]

Shilling claims that sociology has lost its attraction since its heyday in the 1960-1980s, and it has been gradually superseded by the more glamorous study of educational policy.[126] Certainly, three universities make specific reference to a study of policy in their prescriptions, and two other universities study political influences on education or, as one prescription phrases it, the *"politics of educational change"*.[127] Critical Theory is

mentioned as a theoretical underpinning of particular Education papers in at least two universities; one of these also incorporates Kaupapa Māori Theory as an analytical framework for studying school programmes.[128] It is useful for student teachers to see such a theoretical emphasis even at the prescription level as it pinpoints the critical emphasis and nature of the topic to be studied, reveals an earnest attempt to integrate theory and practice, and indicates that social theory is a valued and integral part of ITE.

The corpus of sacred knowledge thought desirable for novitiate teachers, both in the Education and the curriculum studies strands, includes an emphasis on pedagogy – this includes a study of planning, teaching, assessment and curriculum design. Some universities provide specific papers on these; some leave specific papers to the elective courses and some cover all of these topics in papers such as Professional Studies or Professional Inquiry and Practice. Although not mentioned specifically by name (aside from one university), educational psychology still features large in the student teachers" repertoire of knowledge and skills. Aspects of this include a focus on Learning Theories, Motivation, Cognition and Metacognition, Intelligence and Teaching Strategies. When discussing issues such as planning, many papers (following the practice of schools), appear to base the teaching of planning lessons, units, themes and integrated learning episodes either on a linear, systematic model not far removed from the early planning formats of Tyler in the 1950s,[129] or on some form of concept-mapping. The teaching of Assessment has become more sophisticated and student teachers are introduced to frames of reference, different assessment strategies and methods, and the constructs and principles of assessment. Contemporary educators such as Terry Crookes from Otago University[130] have played a major role in New Zealand educational assessment, and have led the development of projects such as the National Monitoring Project: these are a feature of every pre-service teacher education programme. Student teachers are also introduced to a wide range of assessment methods from electronic portfolios, oral presentations and performance-based assessments to the more traditional standardised testing, teacher-constructed tests and observations. Most papers link assessment to learning and teaching and student teachers are taught the importance of assessment *for* learning. This is substantially different to assessment taught in the early 1900s. If it was taught at all, it focused on assessment *of* learning and was therefore summative in nature. It usually took the form of tests and examinations and it aimed at enabling teachers to shape the curriculum in order that pupils might pass

the Standards examinations. It also had a role in sorting and classifying pupils. The twin notions of accountability and surveillance were, and still are, ingrained into the whole notion of assessment. From present university paper prescriptions, it appears that all, if not most, of the assessment papers are taught within an educational psychology framework, rather than a sociological one, although this may not be the case.

On the whole, there is little evidence that educational disciplines, apart from educational and developmental psychology, are taught as subjects in their own right. They usually appear within a multidisciplinary framework; although all four disciplines, except philosophy of education, appear in one way or another in every programme. Topics not evident in courses taught over 100 years ago and now forming the basis of modern papers include educational policy, Māori Education, biculturalism and multiculturalism. Inclusive education was studied as a way of organising, detecting and correcting deviances from the norm; this has since become more specialised. Studies of the effects of gender and social class, very popular in the 1980s, are now less fashionable.

Some universities appear from their prescriptions to have taken a vocational emphasis in their papers whilst others seem more theoretical. It is evident that Education papers offered by at least three universities view teaching as a political and ideological activity and they see teachers as agents of social change. On the whole, however, minimal variations occur in programme content across the universities and some papers appear to be resurrected versions of the former Methods courses.

(ii) The Current Status of Education and the Educational Disciplines:

The simple division of Education studies into two papers at the turn of the 20th century has now been replaced by a proliferation of Education and Professional Studies papers. As stated in Chapter 5, the firm hold of educational philosophy and history of education in the early years was gradually replaced by a more scientific, positivist and seemingly „useful" psychological tradition. The latter gained in status and academic credibility over the century. Sociology of education made a tentative appearance in the early years of the 20th century but did not flourish until the 1960s when it achieved a great deal of credibility; however, this lost its emphasis in favour of studies of educational policy and multicultural education. In the disciplinary battle for control of teacher education, there is no question that educational psychology has won. Its emergence over 100 years ago

and its continued expansion and specialisation is a remarkable phenomenon that changed the epistemological underpinnings of teacher education over the century.

The discussion now investigates the educational disciplines, paying preliminary attention to educational psychology, its critiques and its re-conceptualisation in teacher education. It then turns to a brief consideration of other educational disciplines.

c) The Dominance of Educational Psychology in Teacher Education

Most of the theories, principles and philosophies of education formerly studied by trainee teachers in the early colleges eventually came to be appropriated by educational psychology. Berliner, for example, when examining the nature of current educational psychology concludes that several modern-day topics now located in psychology, were originally studied by Plato and Aristotle and included in Philosophy courses. Amongst the examples he cites are the desirability of different types of education for different types of people; the training of the body and the mind; the formation of good character; moral training, and so on.[131]

Emphasising the importance of educational psychology to teacher education, some research studies[132] contend that it can lay claim to at least six broad areas of specialist knowledge: learning and cognition, social behaviour, human development, individual differences, research methods, and measurement and statistics. The whole methodological area of measurement which involves the collection, collation, analysis, organisation, and interpretation of quantitative data is evident in the Testing movement which was, and still is, a major preoccupation with the public and policy makers alike. This is the topic most associated with educational psychology in the minds of the public according to Pressley and Roehrig.[133]

From its early roots in Behaviourism, educational psychology has taken a decided turn towards cognitive, neurology and socio-cultural theories and its breadth and width of coverage has become impressive. It also embraces the teaching of various areas of the school curriculum; amongst them are Reading, Writing, Mathematics, Second Language Learning and Science. It incorporates pedagogy; planning for instruction; classroom and behaviour management; assessment of learning; teachers" beliefs, knowledge and expectations; motivation, self worth and attribution theory; intelligence; cognition and

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metacognition; situated social practice; memory development; new educational technologies; curriculum design; social relations and so on. Thus it not only supplies the bread-and-butter of teacher preparation courses, it also introduces student teachers to research methods. It provides socio-cultural and socio-Constructivist theoretical lenses which focus on the contextual influences on learners" achievement. Every student teacher graduating from a New Zealand teacher education programme will be familiar with J. Piaget, L. Vygotsky, A. Bandura, L. Kohlberg and H. Gardner and will be conversant with terms such as the Zone of Proximal Development, Scaffolding, Multiple Intelligences, Information Processing, Cooperative Learning, Cognitive Modelling, Teacher Expectations and so forth. Psychology is also responsible for ensuring their awareness of debates such as genetic versus environmental influences on learning, phonics versus whole language approaches to the teaching of Reading and other educational controversies. It has completely ousted other educational disciplines and made itself indispensable to ITE programmes.

Developmental psychology is an integral part of psychology"s monopoly of teacher education. It focuses on individual learners and the different domains that constitute the self, such as physical, social, affective, cognitive, language and moral dimensions. The human lifespan is usually divided into periods for study and therefore has an immediate attraction for intending teachers: the child study and child observations mentioned in Chapter 5 have always been an essential part of student teachers" rite of passage (in one guise or another). Developmental psychologists also consider how children"s developmental progress impacts upon learning and they define the normative characteristics of children at various ages and stages. This obviously leads to a distinction between „nomal" development on one hand, and „abnormal" or „subnomal" on the other. Children are referred to in binary terms, either normative or non-normative, and a whole commercial industry now surrounds the diagnosis and treatment of children perceived to have learning or behavioural difficulties. Research and theory on social relationships feature heavily and the child is usually studied as an individual within the contexts of family, peer systems, school and the wider community.

Developmental psychology courses and accompanying texts introduce a wide range of theories and theorists. Vygotsky appears alongside Piaget in almost every current educational and developmental psychology text available on the University bookshelf.

The appearance of Social Constructivism in most texts, does show, however, that individualism is not always at the epicentre of psychology and that the ontological emphasis has recently shifted from the individual to the social; however, this usually plays a minor part of the whole text. National and international trends are introduced and children and families compared. Gender roles and stereotypes, play, puberty, developmental tasks, attachment theory, intelligence, perspective-taking, the effects of television and computer games, child abuse, self esteem, aggression and prosocial behaviour, nutrition and poverty, social class and ethnicity and are all major topics of study and are undertaken with an attempt at an apolitical stance.

Taken together, both educational psychology and developmental psychology, appear to constitute well over 80 per cent of the Education courses provided in current ITE programmes.

(i) Critiques of Psychology Courses and Texts:

The remarkable expansion and domination of psychology has not been without criticism and there is a growing body of literature based primarily on post-structural and postmodern critiques of both educational and developmental psychology.[134] These denounce psychology on several grounds: its positivist theoretical orientation; its emphasis on an individualistic ontology; its focus on „normal‟ development at the expense of a corresponding pathologisation of so-called „abnormal‟ individuals; its arrogant assumption that issues and problems facing white, middle-class Americans are universal experiences; and many others.

Olssen[135] provides a damning criticism of educational psychology on many of these grounds. He criticises the way it has gradually become hegemonic in our teacher education system and has encroached on the knowledge and practices formerly undertaken by different disciplines. He contends that knowledge provided in psychology courses and texts is „technical‟ and committed to positivism,

> *Both as a technical methodology and as a cultural ethos, positivism supports an image of the psychologist as somebody who has expert and specialist knowledge. This is so in the broad commitment it gives to the possibility of objectivity and independence of the researcher, in the possibility of theory-neutral observations*

of a value-free nature and in the general commitment given to impartiality and detachment…. In short, it is pretending to be scientific when it is not. As its claims to science are no longer justifiable in terms of social theory, psychology maintains this technocratic image by reference to the standing of science within popular folklore and commonsense thought.[136]

M. Forrester reinforces this view by claiming that in psychology there is a "*… continual emphasis on the significance of certain forms of scientific practice, a focus on empirical evidence and a reluctance to engage in reflexive critical discussion*".[137]

Olssen maintains that the individualistic imperative of psychology drives its ontological and metaphysical underpinnings and leads it to propound the view that society can only be understood and improved if individuals are understood and improved.[138] This ideology of the primacy of the individual has been captured by liberal and neo-liberal political agendas and Olssen notes the paradox that individualism occurred at a time when the state was exerting its utmost authority and when centralist and interventionist policies were at their height. This has been particularly noticeable in student teachers" rite of passage at the turn of the 20th century and the turn of the 21st century.

„Individualistic" interpretations of psychology also exist uneasily in a postmodern society in which the units of the child and the mother (and increasingly, the father) are observed and documented in isolation, removed from their lived psychological contexts. Critical psychologists do, however, accede that the constructs of „children" and „childhood" are socially constructed and that children can not be studied by excluding them from their interpersonal, historical, cultural and political contexts. Studying infants as individuals is usually the first step in developmental psychology and most student teachers in New Zealand undergo a study of infancy as it is seen to be foundational to the rest of the lifespan. B. Bradley, however, although not a deconstructionist, rejects the notion that infancy provides the foundation of future human experience; he states laconically that *"Studies of infancy … are studies of scientists studying infants"*.[139]

The individualistic interpretations of social and cultural phenomena, argues E. Burman, may lead to victim-blaming (for example, the findings of the 1950s Mazengarb Report in New Zealand which blamed the working mother for society"s problems). She also

makes the point that when developmental psychologists actually study social and cultural factors; the latter are frequently portrayed as the reasons why children fail to learn or behave and the commitment, credibility and resources of those making the evaluations are rarely questioned. The multiplicity of society and its social institutions are rarely studied in any depth and a structural analysis of these is seldom forthcoming. For example, social institutions such as the patriarchal family are very much in evidence in texts and courses; the family unit usually being depicted as a normal, heterosexual arrangement of power relations. To all intents and purposes such institutions are represented as *"universal, common and unchanging without reference to cultural or historical specificity"*.[140]

Olssen claims that because of its individualistic mandate, psychology often over-reaches itself and when asked to apply itself to social and moral problems, it frequently fails to deliver as it lacks a substantive social-theory underpinning. He cites examples of the Johnson Report of 1977, which recommended that better training of teachers and the increase of school counsellors and psychologists would solve the problems of society; and the 1985 Curriculum Review which sought advice from psychologists in order to reduce social violence and aggression.[141] Both examples failed to yield solutions. Other more recent examples are bullying in schools, suicide prevention, child abuse, „underachievement" of boys, etc.

Since the early 20th century, as explained in Chapter 5, psychology made economic and political capital out of commercialising and using technologies of measurement to classify the normal individual. It was also used to regularise and reinforce social divisions within institutions such as the family, the school and the state. Burman points out the divisive nature of psychology, *"... and closely associated with its technologies and its guiding preoccupation, has been its use to classify and stratify individuals, groups and populations so as to maintain class, gender and racial oppression"*[142]. This has led to the modern classroom being regarded as a social engineering laboratory in which large groups of children are classified, labelled, ranked and organised by teachers who have been trained to do this.

Beeby maintains that individual psychology assumed the scientific mandate of grading, classifying, surveying and recording individual abilities very early in the century.[143] As

a result, children were defined as „feeble-minded" and separated in order to receive instruction suited to their mental capabilities and prevent contamination of the normal population. The development of Special Education or Inclusive Education as a separate branch of psychology has been part of educational provision for almost 60 years. From its early practice of segregation, it has now moved towards the more integrative policy of mainstreaming which ensures that pupils with special educational needs remain within their own family, local school and neighbourhood.

Deconstructivists, such as Burman and Morss, dismantle the whole notion of „development" as it is presented in undergraduate psychology courses and texts. They take issue with developmental theorists" view of human „development" as one continuous, linear progression from a simple organism to a more complex one maintaining that this concept reflects archaic notions of Recapitulation Theory. They question the whole idea of a gradual unfolding of the individual during the lifespan and they maintain that the life trajectory of the individual is characterised more by discontinuities, abruptness, peaks and troughs. Using the anti-developmentalist views of Foucauldian theory to support their arguments, post-structuralists agree with Foucault"s statement that, *"the traditional devices for constructing a comprehensive view of history and for retracing the past as a patient and continuous development must be systematically dismantled"*.[144] Their critique undermines the whole raison d"etre of developmental psychology as it takes the notion of „development" out of developmental psychology. Morss suggests that:

> *If Foucault is taken to have destroyed the notion of continuity in development, and if what we have taken as a continuous thread is to be seen instead as the juxtaposition of located discourses, then individual development will need to be conceptualised and described in very different ways.*[145]

Such an argument makes it very unlikely that psychologists, unlike sociologists, will take on board such critiques and this may be one of the reasons why deconstructivist views are largely overlooked in current teacher education courses.

The importance of post-structural critiques such as that proposed by MacNaughton cannot be overestimated as they will radically alter the way psychology is presented to

student teachers. MacNaughton also challenges developmental psychology on several counts, the most significant lying with the legitimacy given to some regimes of truths over others thus leading to the official sanctioning of some truths and the marginalising of others. In this process, homogeneity is valued and diversity is devalued. She claims that the dominant truths accepted by developmental theories privilege developmental norms based on specific, westernised, white, middle class values (e.g. norms of physical development, stages of cognitive and moral development etc). These norms subsequently become universalised and all other children are judged against them. When these children are found to be different, they are regarded as abnormal and considered in need of correction. Foucault refers to the "violence" that results when some norms are privileged and regarded as the „truth" whilst others are disregarded or marginalised.[146] MacNaughton explains:

A consensus that rests on authoritative and officially sanctioned truth always silences alternative truths, marginalises diversity and reduces it to abnormality. Like all truths, developmental truths filter and order our knowledge towards an authoritative and officially sanctioned consensus on the „normal developing child". In ...education, „developmental normality" has strategic implications for social justice and equity. „Normality" – like inequality – is the production of inclusion and exclusion. Children from the Majority World, those living in poverty and those struggling to live among war and with violence, do not readily fit the norms of developmental psychology and are not considered in them. Their ways of being, thinking, acting and feeling are marginalised by these norms.[147]

Through its pedagogy, technologies and resources, the „science" of psychology has objectively observed, documented, interviewed and tested the child to arrive at a distillation of the ideal or „nomal" child. One of the major criticisms of developmental texts is that the child constructed by these texts is not real. Burman explains, "*The normal child, the ideal type, distilled from the comparative scores of the age-graded population, is therefore a fiction or a myth. No individual or real child lies at its basis.*"[148] The regime of testing and panopticon surveillance is essential to this. The use of one-way mirrors may no longer be part of the battery of surveillance and monitoring techniques used by teachers, but this has been replaced by videos, podcasts, digital

cameras, and other ways of collecting visual data employed for the purposes of ranking and selection.

It is the implementation of such technology *"that constructs the child by virtue of its gaze."*[149] Burman maintains that the child‟s development is portrayed as a *"trajectory of development"* which is viewed as basically uniform and predictable and with *"cross-cultural perspectives seen as optional extras."*[150] When social, cultural and historical issues are introduced into courses and texts, they are dealt with superficially. She further maintains that locking the individual into ages and stages of development is too rigid and denies the presence of cultural variations in development: this displays an insensitivity to and intolerance of the patterns of development in other cultures and societies. She cites the example of life expectancy which varies greatly within and across cultures. Like MacNaughton, she claims that white, middle-class, American values, trends and patterns are used as a universal blueprint for other societies. She deplores the universalistic way that authors of psychology texts deal with topics such as obesity and suicide in a world where half of the population is starving or struggling for survival. She maintains that issues such as teenage pregnancies are also dealt with as if they are universally applicable to a world in which the majority of children are born to women under twenty. This leads Burman to ask: *"Whose development is being depicted here?"*[151] Child abuse and neglect are other issues frequently raised with most texts treating the child as the problem – this is reflected in the policy of mandatory reporting of suspected abuse to state authorities which often results in the immediate removal of the child from the home. This was common policy in New Zealand until very recently.

Psychology has not only made itself essential to teacher education, it also claims to have made a major contribution to the state‟s social welfare priorities and funding. Psychologists maintain that they are responsible for the present structure of current state interventionist policies on learning, welfare and care in Westernised societies. Whether this excessive claim is warranted is another matter; however, what is certain is that psychology has served well those societies based on capitalism, imperialism and white, middle class, North American values. These have become the norm against which all other countries are compared and they are insinuated firmly in the majority of current teacher education courses in New Zealand. Both student teachers and pupils are subjects of a state which has manipulated the enterprise of psychology according to a social,

political and even moral agenda: the aim of educating, protecting and caring for its citizens has been underscored with the need to rigorously control and monitor its population.

(ii) Reconceptualising Psychology in Teacher Education:

Psychology plays a dominant role in present teacher education and if, as Burman, Olssen and others suggest, student teachers are only exposed to traditional psychology where the above criticisms remain unexamined and unexposed, then their view of knowledge will be severely limited and limiting. They will also find it difficult to depart from positivist methodologies and accept that data gathered about their pupils is structured by their own subjective theories, models and *"through a conceptual framework of background assumptions infused with social, moral and even political values"*.[152]

In its haste to uncover universal and generalisable truths, psychology has failed to examine specific social and cultural phenomena that could provide rich and deep understandings for educators. If both educational and developmental psychology are to be useful to student teachers then they must be reconceptualised. Olssen proposes several ways that psychology could do this:

- *"it needs to recognise that social science is a purposeful human action underpinned by human interests"* and that it must operate within social, historical, cultural and policy frameworks if it is to make a real difference;
- *"it must recognise the different levels of analysis appropriate to understanding the levels of development"*: this involves ensuring that the problems of individuals will be investigated in relation to social structures;
- *"more than a superficial knowledge of social theory will be required"*: for student teachers this will involve a deep understanding of school knowledge and the impact of its content and organisation on groups within school and society;
- it needs to *"reconstitute itself"*, by becoming more multi-disciplinary and more critically aware of the *"dilemmas, paradoxes, contradictions, the hidden assumptions and presuppositions that inhere in various ways of viewing the world"*;

- it must become aware of its power and ensure that it is *"sensitive to the effects it has on people"s lives"*.[153]

These five proposals could revitalise the way psychology is taught in teacher education programmes. In this reconceptualised form, psychology would still play an important role *"because of its involvement in ongoing research in schools and classrooms, it originates original data on human behaviour* [and learning] *and indeed, may be able to support or falsify "mainstream" theories or even actually generate new understandings"*.[154]

At the very least, poststructural and deconstructionist views such as those articulated by Burman, MacNaughton and others could be examined alongside traditional texts and this would help student teachers to challenge conventional understandings and methodologies, contest officially sanctioned "truth" and, most importantly, develop an inquiring and critical understanding of children as social beings. This will only be achieved through a critical understanding of their own practice in social, cultural, historical and political contexts.

d) The Current Status of Other Disciplines of Education

In most ITE programmes in New Zealand, the educational disciplines of philosophy and history have been minimalised, appropriated by Psychology, relegated to minute sections of other papers, or taken as optional papers. Certainly, their importance as compulsory educational disciplines has been dismantled and they no longer receive the attention they merit. Four educational disciplines formed the cornerstone of teacher education programmes for many years: these were philosophy, history, psychology and sociology and they reached their educational heights at different times throughout the 20th century. With the exception of psychology, most are now largely in decline in teacher education.[155] I. Reid and F. Parker provide an astute rationale for this and, in making particular reference to sociology of education, they comment on all four disciplines:

> *In many ways this reflects the unease and mistrust that has surrounded those disciplines which attempt to inform education and in particular those whose*

major presence is within teacher education and training. The history and philosophy of education have had similar experiences, while even the psychology of education, traditionally the strongest, can be seen to have been subject to the vagaries of the history and politics of teacher education. Each has also been affected by some disdain from their parent disciplines, reflecting the relatively low status accorded education and applied academic subjects.[156]

The establishment, rise and recent demise of three of these educational disciplines have, therefore, occurred due to a complicity of factors. Although sociology of education is not as visible, it appears to have shifted its attention to a study of politics, multiculturalism and educational policy and their effects on society.

Sociology of Education did not make real inroads into teacher education in New Zealand and England until the 1960s when degrees in Education were introduced and educational disciplines became subjects with their own integrity. As late as the 1960s, Musgrave admitted that *"Because of the primitive state of sociology as a subject, however, theories are not yet available over wide areas of the field."*[157] Despite this, new educational policies in England were providing the impetus for new teacher education courses and these involved the study of four educational disciplines: psychology, history, philosophy and sociology. This was an attempt to make the study of Education more academically rigorous. In New Zealand and Australia, a 1967 survey of sixteen University Faculties of Education discovered that most provided courses which incorporated the study of education and society. In New Zealand, courses aiming at providing social foundations of education had been offered since the 1930s.[158] By the 1970s there were a small number of academics and researchers in the parent discipline of Sociology; however, of the 320 members of the Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand, only 50 professed an interest in Education.

A small amount of sociologically-oriented research was generated mainly by Education academics and this usually involved descriptive, empirically-based studies. Gradually these began to embrace more critical, sophisticated types of methodologies and they included topics such as the family and school,[159] equality,[160] the schooling of Māori,[161] health and social education,[162] the social studies curriculum,[163] women's education for the workforce,[164] and an ever-increasing range of other topics. Most of this research was

generated in response to systemic and social problems that were only just being recognised alongside the myth of equal opportunity. Accompanying this, a grammar of sociology was beginning to emerge and this consisted of specialised language, concepts and methodologies.

Writing in the 1970s, R. Goodman maintained that the gap between sociologists and educationists in both Australia and New Zealand was just starting to be bridged.[165] This appeared with attempts to really come to grips with social theory, as Shipman, also writing in the mid-1970s, asserts,

> *The influence of social class, the importance of factors in family life, the persistence of inequality, the meaningless of schooling for many children, the importance of education in social control and as a selective agency are now part of the folklore. A decade ago, they were disturbing messages within teacher education and a revelation to students.*[166]

They still remain disturbing messages and they will only be a revelation to student teachers if structural social and cultural factors and their impacts on education are critically examined. Without a sociological and historical knowledge and understanding of students, their families, their communities and their nation-states, student teachers are ill-equipped to teach. Current university teacher education courses have no compulsory undergraduate papers offered under the title "sociology of education", although "*Education in Aotearoa*" and "*Social Issues*" papers are available and frequent reference to studies of society and social institutions and structures are made in papers under other titles.

Before the amalgamation of colleges of education with nearby universities, such courses were largely subsumed within Professional Studies courses or taught at the university in the 4th year of a Bachelor of Education degree. This was the case with most of the educational disciplines. Sociology papers were frequently taught by educationists with little or no sociological training. In England, separate disciplines were likewise becoming outmoded in favour of teacher education programmes that had a perceived utility value and immediate relevance to teachers and policy makers. This trend has been reinforced with the controlling of teacher education by the educational authorities

and their preference for competency-based courses.[167] The scathing criticism of teacher education provision, particularly by conservative, Neo-Liberal factions also contributed to the axing of sociology of education courses as they were thought too radical and too theoretical for prospective teachers. This also appears to be the case in New Zealand.

Despite the lack of specific sociology of education courses in New Zealand, however, the New Zealand Teachers Council does recognise the complexity of social and cultural factors that impinge upon learning and teaching and all teacher education courses have to compulsorily align their courses with the graduating standards. Criticism of the notion of „standards" aside, the third standard of Professional Knowledge for graduating teachers is:

> *Standard Three: Graduating Teachers understand how contextual factors influence teaching and learning*
> a. *have an understanding of the complex influences that personal, social, and cultural factors may have on teachers and learners.*
> b. *have knowledge of tikanga and te reo Māori to work effectively within the bicultural contexts of Aotearoa New Zealand.*
> c. *have an understanding of education within the bicultural, multicultural, social, political, economic and historical contexts of Aotearoa New Zealand.[168]*

Sociological understandings and analyses are vitally important to prospective teachers and it is important that Māori education is studied by all student teachers. A succession of reports since the 1960s, including the most recent which involves an audit on the quality of teacher training undertaken by the Ministry of Māori Development"s Te Puni Kokeri, has drawn attention to the needs of Māori learners and their contexts. All maintain that pre-service teacher education students should be fully equipped to teach in ways that are pedagogically appropriate.[169] Current university papers such as *"Māori in Education",* provide student teachers with some of the sociological and theoretical tools necessary to their understanding. These are frequently based on indigenous ideologies and methodologies and are premised on the tino rangatiratanga principle. Current research studies employing such theoretical frameworks and making a thorough analysis of schooling and teacher and learner characteristics are now being undertaken.

Russell Bishop‟s Te Kotahitanga: Unity of Purpose project[170] is one such study: it concludes that by exercising the principle of self-determination (i.e. asking Māori themselves how to enhance education for Māori learners) and using a co-constructivist methodology, an increase in the number of Māori pupils achieving formal qualifications can result. Bishop‟s study has been criticised on several grounds, chief among them that it *"understates the impact of home, peer and individual effects"*[171]; it fails to take account of the *"intersecting influences on achievement of socio-economic difference, family values differences, and other factors"*;[172] and it is based on an ideology of *"cultural essentialism"* which *"understates the diversity of Māori students and consequently over-simplifies the task of remedying the under-achievement of some but not all Māori students"*.[173] All such criticisms aside, these studies are real attempts, resulting from Māori initiatives and using indigenous methodologies, to come to grips with understanding and acting on alternative perspectives and debates. They are ways of sanctioning and making legitimate „other‟ regimes of truth, they tactically contest conventional relations of race in educational research, and they introduce student teachers to different ways of achieving cultural understandings. However, any real depth of sociological, political and cultural knowledge may be a very difficult undertaking in a psychology-dominated teacher education programme.

e) Curriculum and Subject Studies in the Current New Zealand Context

Although both curriculum and subject studies papers are not the foci of study in this investigation, a brief reference is made here. At present, all university programmes teach all of the school curriculum areas. The major difference when comparing papers dedicated to teaching curricula is in how the „knowledge‟ is distributed, for example, Canterbury University offers every curriculum area in small papers at all three year levels, whilst Otago University provides a general introduction to the curriculum in the first two years and it is not until the third year that specific curricula appear in their prescriptions: these are then coupled with a theoretical base, i.e. Reading with Critical Learning Theory; and Science, Technology and Social Studies with Constructivism, problem solving and critical thinking. All, except for one University, have papers specifically dedicated to Te Reo and Tikanga Māori, and these have appeared to varying extents in the college curricula since the late1920s when the department of Education issued a memo to colleges stating that if *"there are Māoris in the vicinity of a Teachers‟ Training College, a few lessons from one of them would be of great use."*[174]

There are surprising omissions in some areas, for example, only one university makes specific reference to Pasifika, only one to environmental education, only one to the development of communication, personal and interpersonal skills, only one to Information and Communications Technology (ICT), and only two to teaching languages other than English and/or Teaching English as a Second Language This is not to deny the presence of these areas in their overall courses, but they are not signalled in their titles and prescriptions.

Three university programmes include subject studies, Victoria and Waikato Universities offer a conjoint 4 year degree which includes two subject specialisms; and Massey and Waikato Universities which offer one or two subject studies from a range of electives. Massey University"s subject study electives will cease when its new four-year degree programme takes effect in 2008. This means that subject studies, as a **compulsory** strand, will not be offered in any university course except through a conjoint degree programme. The subject studies strand was one of the mainstays of the former colleges and was inherited from the period when colleges acted as secondary schools and when they later introduced new 3rd year courses in specialist subjects such as science, music, art, mathematics, physical education and remedial education in 1928. These were intended for a select, minority of students who needed to receive prior permission from both the College Principal and the Director of Education before commencing the course.[175]

As most primary student teachers no longer specialise in subject studies at a personal, undergraduate level, they therefore receive little depth or theoretical grounding in subject disciplines. One of the rationales for subject studies was that teachers became well-informed and acquired a high degree of knowledge in their specialist areas (so they became artists, musicians, sportspeople, scientists, mathematicians etc.). It also provided them with at least two specialist areas to contribute to the school"s curriculum and a possibility for leadership in these areas upon graduation. Many of the subject studies courses offered by the former colleges of education before the 1990s were predicated on Shulman"s theory of three different domains of knowledge. He refers to *subject matter knowledge* which consists of key facts, concepts and principles that provide the content framework of subject disciplines and also incorporates the rules of evidence which are used to guide inquiry in the field; and *pedagogical content*

knowledge which consists of knowing how to communicate the content to pupils through appropriate pedagogies. Shulman contends that both, but particularly the latter, are essential to prospective teachers and he further maintains that of critical importance is *"strategic knowledge"*: this is how teachers use their knowledge in a classroom setting and how they combine this knowledge with judgement, intuition and empathy.[176] The removal of subject studies was chiefly a result of reducing a four year qualification to a three year degree in the 1990s. This occurred as part of the Government's fiscal cutbacks in teacher education and appears ironic given the supposed commitment to teaching as a graduate profession. Four year degree programmes are now being reconsidered and Massey University introduced this in 2008; subject studies as such, however, are still not in evidence. Other universities are also considering this move and it remains to be seen if Shulman's notions on subject knowledge will be revived.

The tendency is now to ensure breadth of curriculum rather than depth. Some of the University programmes use an integrated curriculum approach to studying curriculum areas and Massey is encompassing this way of introducing studies of curriculum areas, with the exception of literacy and numeracy, into its new degree. The integration of curriculum areas is beginning to appear in more university courses either at the basic curriculum level or at a more advanced level and integrated papers are offered as optional papers, for example at Waikato. The principles underlying curriculum integration as advocated by educators such as J. Beane, R. Fogarty and others[177] have been well researched.

It will be interesting if future university programmes proceed along this route or if they will re-subscribe to the subject studies model. It will also be interesting to see how they find innovative ways of overcoming restrictions imposed upon their courses through factors such as reduced contact time, semesterisation, staff cutbacks and the marketisation of teacher education. Regardless of this, there is a body of specialist knowledge thought appropriate to teacher education today and this is evident in the high degree of consensus regarding the programme content of New Zealand's pre-service programmes. There are far more similarities than differences, particularly in the current environment of accountability.

6. Conclusion: Current Sacred Knowledge

The project of docility which aimed at producing teachers who were desirable models of behaviour was essential to the successful rite of passage of early teacher trainees. The modern student teacher now undergoes a rite of passage as a university student. Whilst the project of teacher education in which the body is "*manipulated, shaped, trained, which obeys, responds, becomes skilful and increases its forces*"[178] is not as immediately evident as it once was, it is still highly visible in many of the ritual practices and ceremonies of their transitional period at the university. The knowledge underpinning their rite of passage has changed dramatically between the turn of the 20th century and the turn of the 21st century. However, the ITE curriculum is surprisingly very similar to that of the colleges preceding their amalgamation with the universities during the last decade. In other words, the changes have largely occurred over time and are due to chronological factors as opposed to institutional factors.

Disappointingly, the shift to the university arriving as it did with increased state accountability and enforced cost-cutting measures, did not result in depth and diversity of programmes. From the brief survey of paper titles and prescriptions of undergraduate teacher education programmes undertaken here, it appears that student teachers are prepared to teach in ways similar to those of twenty years ago (and with regard to many routines, practices and procedures, similar to those of over 100 years ago). This leads to speculation that they may not be prepared to teach in a highly complex, diverse social and cultural democracy which has the Treaty of Waitangi as one of its founding documents. Teachers need a rite of passage which ensures a specific teacher identity, yet, at the same time, difference and diversity should be encouraged within and across teacher education programmes. If pragmatic concerns are also considered, the conformist and monocultural labour force required by policy makers of the past is no longer suitable to educating diverse and pluralistic populations of the future. This will only occur by establishing mechanisms to improve the whole project of teacher education. These should aim at realigning the purposes of schools and universities; developing flexibility in the types of knowledge that are being created and disseminated; and involving schools, universities and the community in the establishment of a shared vision of teacher education in, and for, the future. This is discussed in the following chapter.

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Teacher education programmes:

a)   extend their current curricula pertaining to Māori to include more practical content that will prepare trainees for the reality of the contemporary New Zealand classroom;

b)   provide teacher trainees with opportunities to gain more practical experience in teaching Māori students;

c)   set up formal and routine processes for suggestion and feedback from primary and secondary schools on the content of teacher-trainee education programmes in regard to teaching Māori pupils;

d)   develop a prescribed set of competencies to equip graduates to teach students who are Māori;

e)   encourage teacher educators to undertake professional development focussed on improving their Māori language skills and their understanding of the Māori world view.

Unfortunately, there is a failure to mention structural inequalities and no really deep teacher understanding of Māori culture and language is proposed in the document. Its overt aim is to „train‟ rather than „educate‟ prospective teachers and this limits and narrows any programmes subscribing to their proposals.

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Chapter 7

Conclusion, Recommendations, and Framing a Future of Teacher Professionalism

Teacher education is in large measure a political process that has to be aligned with the political aspirations of the political state. It is for that reason that teacher education is the subject of such an intense focus and has assumed such great importance in the world as almost all nation-states endeavour to transform their schools and universities. Everywhere there is the quest for greater quality in education – and, therefore, teacher education is the focal point for attention and concern.[1]

1. Introduction: Findings

The present overwhelming concern with teacher education emerges from a multi-layered historical discourse which is, and always has been, political. The question I posed at the start of thesis was: *"How has initial teacher education been historically constructed and to what extent has the State, through its systems and programmes, been involved in the induction of teachers?"* This is a political question and has, therefore, necessitated a political response. This I attempted to provide through a systematic investigation of teacher education at the national, systems, programme and individual level. As the above quotation indicates, the political process of teacher education has to be aligned to some extent with the political state. However, it is the degree of alignment that has come under investigation in this thesis and I have argued that, overall, the degree of state intervention into teacher education is, and always has been, pervasive.

I attempted to analyse teacher education in an innovative way by utilising a two-fold theoretical lens. The theoretical combination of Foucault"s post-structuralist ideas and the anthro-cultural perspectives of Arnold van Gennep enabled me to provide a richer explanation of how the state increased its power over the student teacher"s rite of passage in the two periods discussed. Both theorists have a great deal in common as they point out the importance of the complex network of power relations working on and within educational institutions and the influence of these upon individuals. Both

give weight to the questions of how, where and why knowledge is generated and disseminated, and why society prefers particular types of knowledge over others in its education of neophyte professionals. Whilst Foucault examines knowledge at the abstract level, van Gennep is more concerned with how individuals are inducted into particular forms of knowledge and ritual practices at the society and community level. Their ideas therefore complement each other and provide a fuller picture of the life of the student teacher at the macro and micro levels of past and present teacher education.

In Part One, I argue that, in an archaeology of teacher education and training, there are two particularly important historical moments in the history of teacher education and they appear over 100 years apart: the turn of the 20th century and the turn of the 21st century. Both periods are characterised by radical changes in the policy discourse of ITE and these altered the nature of the induction process for prospective teachers. During the first period, three technologies of ITE were seeded: the pupil-teacher system, the training college and the university (although the latter only supplemented the college"s courses). It was at this time that the state realised that it could not fulfil its aim of transforming society without first transforming the education system. In other words, the state"s priority was the ethical transformation of teachers and it used the colleges as the medium through which future generations of society could be educated and democratised. This could not have occurred in the dispersed system of the pupil-teacher which was characterised by difference and irregularity and over which it could not impose control. Accordingly, the pupil-teacher system was intentionally discredited and replaced with a system of teacher training colleges. The institution of the college was established in order to produce a docile and compliant teaching body that would enact the state curriculum through approved pedagogy. The colleges achieved a monopoly of teacher education for almost 80 years. They have now been displaced by the universities.

Part Two moves beyond an examination of the state and its systems of training, and focuses on the formation of teacher identity through the institutions of the classroom, college and university and also through the student teachers themselves. I maintain that the training college, in particular, is a crucial unit of analysis. Here, the coded knowledge and practices activated within its enclosed walls and accessed through its privileged portal encouraged a particular type of community and a particular type of

individual. How student teachers positioned themselves within the college and how they were positioned by educational authorities were vitally important to their self-construction of a teacher identity. I contend that the identities of student teachers were situationally and deliberately produced through highly controlled rites of passage. Foucault"s argument that knowledge and practices were pivotal in normalising and socialising individuals within institutions such as the colleges and universities is decisively demonstrated with regard to teacher trainees. The transmission of consecrated knowledge by acknowledged „elders" ensured successful passage through van Gennep"s three stages of separation, transition and incorporation into teaching.

The formation of early teacher „knowledge" also coincided with positivist scientific orthodoxy, fragmentation of knowledge into multiple, specialist disciplines, Social Darwinist doctrines and a Liberal ideology. These heavily influenced the curriculum, particularly that of women who were frequently separated for instruction and recreation purposes. The specialist knowledge of the student"s rite of passage also included school practica, demonstration lessons and „crit" lessons. The latter in particular, sent powerful ripples through the students" social networks as they experienced the difficulties and embarrassment of panopticon surveillance, public criticism and forced confession; trainees formed a „union of sympathy" between themselves as a result. Such traumatic experiences induced a sharp sense of disequilibrium and were seen as vital to the re-formation of a new teacher identity. The excessive micromanagement of knowledge transmitted to trainees became hedged with highly protected and selective regulations and rituals such as the examination.

Student teachers of the past obviously responded in different ways to this process, and artefacts, documents and other archival texts such as college magazines, diaries, oral history accounts and photographs reveal some of these differences. Despite attempting not to universalise students" experiences, I found only small pockets of resistance to such impositions (except for those tolerated on ceremonial occasions) and a great deal of evidence which indicated a high level of student acquiescence with norms set by the college, thereby assuring that the state met its political ends.

Part Three, therefore, responds to the preceding chapters and I attempt to provide, in a small way, *"an ontology of the present"*.[2] I do this by juxtaposing past and present

teacher education provisions and by comparing the programmes and ritualised practices of the modern university with those of the early colleges over 100 years ago. Consequently, a re-meeting of history takes place.

A strong contention of this discussion is that the position of the state and the rites of passage of student teachers during the past century have changed little, despite the move to the academy. In comparing the two periods, I conclude that, whilst there are some minor differences between the institutional rituals and practices of early colleges and the modern university; there appear to be striking differences between the ITE curriculum of the past and present. However, I argue that these changes largely occurred with the passing of time. The past century has experienced unparalleled growth in teacher education knowledge and this has resulted in it splintering into different educational disciplines, dominated by psychology. This expansion has been far more responsible for effecting epistemological change than the recent move from a college institution to a university institution. The differences in curriculum are therefore chronologically, rather than institutionally, induced.

Just as the relocation of teacher education from the pupil-teacher system to the early college system had a three-fold rationale (educational, political and economic), the same appears to be the case for its relocation from the college to the university. Whilst this amalgamation is undoubtedly an attempt to professionalise and upgrade teaching, it is also a way of reducing duplication as two separate administrative and support infrastructures are combined. Furthermore, with recent increases in accountability procedures and control of financial resources, the state still maintains control of ITE (and I have argued that universities must actively challenge and forcefully contest this stranglehold). Whilst the move to the academy could have proved a liberating move for teacher education, such programmes are still shaped by political mandates of the state. The shift to a graduate profession cannot yet be viewed as progression. This led me to argue that modern student teachers must be encouraged to rigorously critique the pedagogies and authoritative discourses to which they are exposed, to acknowledge and appreciate the different social and cultural contexts of learners, and to see beyond the categories that pathologise certain children.

When comparing teacher education of the past to that of the present, it cannot be said that we are now implementing the best way of educating prospective teachers, despite the fact that we have learned a great deal in the process.

It is my strong contention that once teacher education became institutionalised in its early years, its norms, culture and patterns remained intact regardless of whether the institution was a college of the 1980s or a university of the 21st century. The state"s interventionist policies resulted in a washing out of differentiation, diversity and variation between teacher education programmes and this remains the case. Mechanisms of power currently employed result in institutional conformity and outweigh any influence that individual universities may have (despite their alleged autonomy). They appear similar to the point of uniformity. This appears to be a situation ripe for the introduction of teacher education curriculum standards and has profound implications for future programmes. The final section of this chapter now explores the implications of this for the future.

2. Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

My discussion regarding the limitations of this thesis falls into three categories: limitations caused through the scope of the study, my personal limitations, and limitations imposed by the nature of historical inquiry. Within this discussion of limitations, I also interweave recommendations for future research projects.

Given that examining the entire history of teacher education in New Zealand from its inception to the present day is an impossible feat, I was obliged to narrow the frame of reference for this research. I therefore chose to closely examine the turn of the 20th century from approximately the late 1870s (after the first Education Act) to the late 1920s when colleges achieved a monopoly and the pupil-teacher was dismantled; although I moved outside of these dates on numerous occasions to make various points. I also briefly examined the current era from the 1989 Education Act to the present in order to compare and contrast the past with the present. My chief emphasis, however, lay with a study of the first period. This choice, therefore, eliminated a great wealth of information that could have been derived from an examination of other eras, particularly the 1940s and 1950s.

Although my study is theoretically informed by the works of van Gennep and Foucault, I do not consider my investigation to be firmly rooted in either an anthropological or a post-structural theoretical paradigm. Consequently, I believe a further study of the history of teacher education, based on either of these (or any other single theoretical paradigm) would be provocative, challenging and offer fresh insights. A post-structural analysis, for example, would be particularly innovative and very revealing. Such a study could include a genealogy of the pupil teacher, the man or woman teacher, the rural or urban teacher etc. As teaching is, and always has been, dominated by females, a feminist analysis would also be particularly valuable. All of these would have a great deal to offer, particularly if the methods of preparing these teachers were also explored. They would also yield far more information about the everyday lives of teachers and their training than I could hope to provide here and would, therefore, reap deep and rich insights. Groups of teachers, such as relief teachers, have been utilised continually throughout history and still remain largely invisible from current historical studies. Oral histories or biographical studies of student teachers studying in the first half of the 20th century would be extremely valuable, especially as these individuals are growing older and their insights will no longer be directly accessible. My study mentioned these categories only briefly and it tentatively skirted the periphery of their lived experiences, yet all played a critical and significant role in teacher education.

Whilst I cited a variety of historical reports on teacher education and training, I only subjected two or three to an in-depth analysis. These included the Hogg Commission and the Reichel-Tate Committee"s Report. Clearly, other reports would also have benefited from further examination and inclusion, particularly those that are not so well known, such as the Parry Report. A more focused examination of one of these could provide a fascinating account of the discourse of the time.

Within any study, the personal bias and subjectivity of the researcher has to be acknowledged at the outset as a limitation. Although I discussed this and other related issues in my Introduction, it remains a real concern to most researchers, particularly those of history. There is a constant danger that when reading through past documents, personal accounts, students" reminiscences and official reports, one will only select material that confirms previously held assumptions. An attempt, therefore, was made to read the evidence first before formulating theories and challenging some of the more

pervasive and fast-held myths. The popular condemnation of the pupil-teacher system per se is a case in point – on closer reading of the evidence, I found that it was not as unsuccessful as popularly portrayed but that it got caught up in political wrangling by a state that desired to control teacher training for social and political purposes. I am also acutely aware that in trying to argue a point, I may have overstated the case by selecting evidence which supported my point of view, despite trying to reach a fair conclusion. Such dilemmas underscore the complexity of the research process. Constantly attempting to do justice to conflicting evidence reinforces the view that there are multiple accounts of the truth. I therefore reiterate my position that any interpretation of texts can only ever hope to achieve partial and incomplete truths.

Limitations are also imposed by the nature of the historical task. First-hand accounts from teachers studying at the turn of the last century are now impossible through face-to-face interview and reliance has to be placed on oral history and written accounts. Whilst these are very valuable and provide critical information, they are not as fruitful as personal interaction and dialogue. Frequently, for example, when listening to taped oral histories, the interviewer gets in the way of the narrative, either by directing questions in a manner important to him or her, or by constantly interrupting the stories. This makes formal an informal act and interferes with the natural flow of history-telling.

A major limitation of my study is the historical lack of reference to Māori, either as a history of Māori student teachers or as a history written by Māori researchers. This is an area that has been much neglected. There is little or no research on the history of teacher education written from a Māori point of view and such studies would provide alternative „regimes of truths". We are now acutely conscious that research has frequently damaged indigenous peoples all over the world.[3] Indeed the opening statement of L. Smith"s book states,

> From the vantage point of the colonised, from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term „research" is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, „research" is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world"s vocabulary.[4]

Only Māori, with a Māori worldview, are entitled to speak on behalf of Māori and interrogate the kaupapa of Māori teacher education. This has not yet been undertaken and would provide a fuller and more accurate picture of teacher education in Aotearoa.

More longitudinal research on teacher education programmes is desperately needed. Both Cameron and Baker"s synthesis of research studies in New Zealand, and Murray, Nutthall and Mitchell"s survey of the literature in Australia, found a great deal of research on ITE programmes and the practicum; however, it was mostly characterised by small-scale research of the *"single-shot"* type.[5] Substantial large-scale and longitudinal research is essential, especially that following the progress of graduates from the college and university into the classroom; this was done over 15 years ago by Renwick and Vize and is worth replicating and updating.[6]

Whilst the areas mentioned above would lead to a fuller picture of teacher education in New Zealand, the fact that so little research has been conducted on this vital, political and educational area of New Zealand society illustrates that, although it may be the focus of recent critique, it is still struggling to gain the academic recognition that it is due.

3. Framing the Future of Teacher Education: the Project of Professionalism

The future of teacher education is now assured (temporarily at least) as a graduate profession. As I have concluded from my investigation, student teachers now undergo a rite of passage at the university which is similar to that of the colleges of education immediately prior to their recent amalgamation with the universities. Indeed, as I have demonstrated, many of the practices, rituals and ceremonies remain identical to those of the colleges of 100 years ago. It seems that we are not taking advantage of student teachers present location in the academy to transform them into professional educators. Teaching should now be claiming its rightful place as a profession. It is, therefore, imperative that professionalism is redefined and used as a force for positive change in the future.

a) Defining and Redefining Professionalism

The concept of professionalism has become the focus of recent literary interrogation from postmodern and post-structural theoretical critiques. These have swept away modernist concepts of professionalism by deconstructing it at its ideological foundations. In its place, they have evolved fundamentally different conceptions. For example, one views the professional teacher as an autonomous and critically reflective practitioner *"knowledgeable about current educational practices and their theoretical underpinnings, capable of making independent judgements"*,[7] whilst the other, embodied in a „new professionalism", proclaims it is evident in the competent and entrepreneurial practitioner who is *"knowledgeable about the centrally defined content of teacher education and increasingly capable of meeting the marketised demands of the globalised economy."*[8] Many analysts claim that the latter view (i.e. that of „new professionalism") is aimed at destabilising and undermining previously-held epistemological beliefs regarding the nature of teacher knowledge. Within the contemporary climate, more radical definitions of the professional teacher also exist, such as those articulated by L. Beyer[9] and J. Sachs.[10] These call for more activist approaches to professionalism: approaches that are contextualised, localised and stimulate an ethical transformation in the individual.

The concept of professionalism per se is also in question; L. Evans argues that as a shift of power has occurred from the members of the teaching body to external, centralised agents, then de-professionalisation, rather than altered professionalism has been the result.[11] This multiple perspective makes a single and encompassing definition of professionalism tricky and it complicates the project of professionalism. Hoyle endorses this by maintaining that it is an *"amorphous concept which varies in its provenance and content".*[12] The reasons for multiple definitions of professionalism are numerous and highly complex, particularly as they are susceptible to accountability, centralisation and the highly prescriptive technologies of the regulating bodies of state. Perhaps the distinction between professionalism and professionalisation is also one that needs to be untangled, as both are often used interchangeably. K. Vossler makes the following distinction:

> *The concept of professionalism relates to being professional, that is the quality of what teachers do, their conduct, manner, demeanour and the principles and*

values that guide their behaviour. The professionalisation process relates to being a professional and is associated with how teachers are viewed by others, their status, standing and levels of reward. The public perception of teachers as members of a profession and their quest for professional recognition is allied to the professionalisation process.[13]

In other words, whereas professionalisation can be defined as external impacts on teachers" material work conditions, status and social standing,[14] professionalism is associated with more intrinsically desirable teacher characteristics and possesses an educational, moral and ethical dimension. T. Englund"s definition extends this further by maintaining a distinction between sociology and pedagogy, he states that professionalisation is *"a sociological project, relating to the authority and status of the (teaching) profession"*, whilst, professionalism *"is a pedagogical project, concerned with the internal quality of teaching as a profession."*[15] Whilst both projects are important to this discussion, I contend that the present focus of teacher education should emphasise pedagogical notions of professionalism.

Debates regarding professionalism have a long history in New Zealand and can be traced back as far as the early formalisation of schooling. Issues of professionalisation, however, tended to dominate early discussions and these included highly contentious debates over salary, conditions, and whether teachers should be regarded on the same social footing as other professions (as exemplified in evidence provided to the Hogg Commission – discussed in an earlier chapter). By the turn of the century, existing teacher associations, initially coalescing to deal with issues surrounding professionalisation, assumed a more radical and political inclination; one leading them towards issues of professionalism. The growing solidarity of teachers, pupil-teachers and teacher educators indicated a growing resolve to protect their professional interests as a body and their exclusive knowledge as teachers. One of the key traditional conditions of a professional body is the presence of a professional association with a solid period of training and a professional code of ethics. During its founding period, the New Zealand Educational Institute resolved that professionalism would be one of the original principles of its educational platform. It was also the first body to prescribe a Code of Ethics for its members (a task that has only recently been undertaken for all teachers by the NZTC). Its early definition of the concept of „professional", as

articulated in its Handbook, explicitly acknowledges the importance of the quality of education, service to the community and a commitment to both subject and pedagogical knowledge as part of teacher education:

> *Teachers to have professional training and status.*
>
> *What is the meaning the Institute attached to this declaration when embodying it in the platform? The meaning is that education is of such importance to the wellbeing of the community that the art and science of real education are of so highly technical a character, and that the value of the young lives committed to the teachers for education is so great that only those who have been adequately prepared for this work should be allowed to engage in it. Grave consequences may follow the unskilful work of unqualified practitioners in other professional fields, such as medicine, the law, engineering and others, wherefore stringent laws have been made to protect the public…. To secure a sufficient supply of candidates for a service of which the requirements are so exacting the Institute has expressed its conviction that the status of the teacher in the community must be placed on a par with those services which are generally regarded as the professions.*[16]

In many respects New Zealand‟s post-1877 teacher training system was not illustrative of what Hargreaves refers to as a "pre-professional age".[17] Elements of professionalism were already appearing. This was evidenced through the formation of collegiality and bonding in the early teacher associations, both necessary accoutrements to the agenda of professionalism, (although this did not prevent disputes and disagreements). It was also through the early involvement of the university. This raised the theoretical level of trainees, thereby fulfilling the epistemological conditions of professionalism. The New Zealand landscape of teacher education was, therefore, more complex and multifaceted than Hargreaves‟ pre-professional era. The latter suggests a straightforward industrial model of teacher education uncluttered with contemporary social and political debate.

New Zealand teachers, therefore, worked hard to fulfil the conditions necessary to becoming professional during the early years of the 20th century. Like other emerging professions, they organised themselves into teacher associations in order to protect their

interests and promote their status. Not only were these associations concerned with professionalisation they were also committed to the development of teacher knowledge pertaining to their educational expertise and to developing a monopoly of this knowledge.[18] They also attempted to make a „regulative bargain" with the state; develop and establish a jurisdiction around their activities; provide a service for the public good; and achieve „social closure", particularly through the colleges. As stated in earlier chapters, it was through the colleges that the state controlled entry to the profession in order to maintain its exclusive and selective nature. A relatively long period of training was also thought necessary and by the 1920s this generally amounted to at least two years of pupil teaching followed by two years of college training. The formation of a homogenous, professional entity, gained through the rite of passage afforded by the college, was a critical aspect of this early development of professionalism.

Many modern conceptions of professionalism, building on these earlier efforts, include a moral and ethical dimension which aim at genuine attempts to improve education. They view professionalism as a construct which is interpreted differently in different historical and social contexts but which generally involves its members in some form of commitment towards improving the quality of their work. The occurrence of a teacher culture features strongly in most definitions. Day defines teacher professionalism as teachers having a,

> *...strong technical culture (knowledge base); service ethic (commitment to serving clients" needs); professional commitment (strong individual and collective identities); and professional autonomy (control over classroom practice).*[19]

Being professional involves the possession of specific knowledge with members of the teaching profession prescribing the parameters of this knowledge together with a body of customary traditions and protocols that confer upon it its legitimacy and authenticity. This provides it with a unique identity and distinguishes it from other professions. Although its capital is contested and contestable, its internal and external authority is able to withstand challenges from outside only as long as its members reaffirm its exclusive knowledge and norms.[20]

I contend that of additional importance to such definitions is the notion of a social and relational network which provides for its members initial and ongoing education in its specialist knowledge, skills and expertise. It is this that enables student teachers to partake in highly-skilled and thoughtful practice.[21] Characteristics such as commitment, altruism, dedication, trustworthiness, integrity, autonomy, and moral and ethical sense, are frequently applied to professional practitioners.[22] These are the very characteristics that need to be incorporated into our teacher education programmes. Sockett contends that the moral foundations of teaching rely principally on four teacher-related dimensions of professionalism: dedication to the learning and professional community through collegiality; specialist theoretical and pedagogical knowledge; commitment to social and moral accountability; and professional ideals that are made visible through service to the community and society.[23] A synthesis of the four combines to inform the quality of practice. Many educators such as M. Fullan and Sockett also reinforce my argument that the acquisition of specialist knowledge through continuing professional development is a critical factor in professionalism. This has to be rigorous, systematic, critical and ongoing. Teacher autonomy, decision-making and an increased degree of teacher freedom in their classrooms and curricula, are also part of the professionalism project. Along with these theorists, I maintain that if these conditions are not met then teachers cannot claim to be fully professional.[24]

Current interventionist policy changes are posing an increased challenge to teacher autonomy. These have resulted in teachers' loss of control over curriculum content and pedagogy and have impacted negatively on their professional independence. With the intensification of contractual obligations between the school and the state, the locus of control has shifted from the individual teacher to school (or university) middle management, thus a radical redefinition of professionalism has occurred. As Brennan maintains, the teacher that is regarded as professional in this new accountability era is one,

> … *who clearly meets corporal goals set elsewhere, manages a range of students well and documents their achievements and problems for public, accountability purposes. The criteria of the successful professional in this corporate model is one who works efficiently and effectively in meeting the standardised criteria set*

for the accomplishment of both students and teachers, as well as contributing to the school"s formal accountability processes.[25]

This portrayal sums up the definition of „new professionalism". Sachs identifies this as the *"entrepreneurial"* model as it encompasses teachers who are efficient, accountable and compliant to external controls. Such teachers do not question educational authority. They are competitive, controlling and individualistic. This model equates professionalism with commercialism wherein education is commodified and marketed to consumers who make choices. It is evident in the present economic and political climate of teacher education.[26] Sachs" second, conflicting definition of the postmodern professional articulates a politically *"activist"* model and this emerges from a very different ideological interpretation. Here, the teacher is empowered rather than restricted. The underlying philosophical approach is grounded in principles of social justice and democracy, and is based on teacher collaboration and critical analysis. This is the means by which teachers contest and challenge current educational policy and practice. Through this contextualisation of action and acknowledgment of the social and cultural contexts of the learner, the teacher is more successful in bringing about the project of professionalism. Although many of these principles are iterated in several ITE programmes, they are not evident in practice, presumably due to the time and resource constraints placed upon universities. It is professionalism in action that needs to be emphasised in future teacher education programmes.

Hargreaves also defines the postmodern professional (his fourth and last age) in two radically different ways and he outlines the effects of these on the political fabric of professionalism. He argues that the professional responds to external pressures from different sources at different times and in different places; the effects of this are both positive and negative. This is manifest in how the network of power relations between state and individual is worked through with teachers. If this is done in a positive way, professionalism is not hierarchically imposed from above but, in accordance with Faucauldian thinking, it moves in a capillary-like manner from the bottom up by involving teachers and teacher educators in democratic decisions which embrace diversity and plurality. Hargreaves maintains that, "*A widespread, postmodern professionalism that is open, inclusive and democratic will come about only through a*

*conscious **social movement** of committed people – teachers and others – who work together for its realisation".*[27]

Like Sachs, he maintains that the pressure of compliance to externally imposed, narrow sets of technical competencies and measurements places severe restrictions on the development of professionalism. This causes it to revert to the pre-professional age. He maintains two primary causes for this: first, the present era of frenzied commercial and economic change characterised by intensification, globalisation, international competition, and workplace restructuring; and second, the vast policy changes wrought by digital and technological advances. Both threaten professionalism in the universities, colleges and schools and result in increased competition, rationalisation, course reduction and staff cutbacks. The micromanagement of detailed regulation, monitoring and increased surveillance by various auditing agencies, he argues, obstructs the project of professionalism.

The negative concept of „new professionalism" is in danger of capturing teacher education. This will direct it towards increased homogeneity and uniformity with a focus on narrow, technical-rational approaches. These are far removed from the model of teacher education which fosters professionalism by incorporating critical debate and inquiry and locating it within the wider context of political, social and moral imperatives. Beyer identifies several obstacles to the latter model of professionalism: the first, and he maintains the most insidious, is that aiming for "*national and institutional uniformity*":[28] this includes conforming to national selection procedures, curriculum content and graduating standards. New Zealand already implements the first and third of these. Although attempts to impose a set of curriculum standards for teacher education in the universities failed in the 1990s, they are being introduced subtly and inexorably through the shaping of course content to align with graduating standards set by agencies of the state. The second thread identified by Beyer is the blanket introduction of new digital technologies into all teacher education courses in the name of globalisation and social and economic progress. New Zealand university programmes are certainly leading a charge in this direction with the majority of its courses being „delivered" in web-based mode to national and international students, the latter decontextualising teacher education. The third thread is the compliance of schools and teacher education programmes to meet centrally-prescribed minimum standards which

prepare the pupil for the workplace. Educational policy-makers maintain that without these, the country‟s competitive edge is lost, international economic success is reduced, and credibility in a global marketplace is eroded. This view mandates not only a national, common set of standards but, in addition, a complementary set of performance standards to test the standardised knowledge and skills. These three threads (among others) form the basis of „new professionalism‟: one that is undermining the professionalism discourse.

This leads me to the inevitable conclusion that many current changes in teacher educational policy have been harmful to the project of the teacher as professional and, consequently, future ITE programmes have to be mindful of these.[29] Certainly, professional autonomy comes under threat as the demands of centralisation are answered by an increasingly technicist and standards-based approach. Economic and fiscal restraints are further limiting university staff, programmes and resources. Teachers as individuals are increasingly subject to methods of management, ranking, surveillance and monitoring. Such manipulation undermines the corporate nature of the profession and disrupts its mission of collegiality at the local as well as national level. The marked emphasis on competitive individualism has negated former views of education as a social benison directed at the public good. Teacher education is rapidly being perceived as an expensive private commodity and the social democratic principles that formerly, and arguably, underpinned education from the 1940s to 1980s are being gradually eroded.

To summarise my argument thus far, the power shifts in educational policy-making and the increased emphasis on external accountability, monitoring and surveillance are resulting in a redefinition of teacher professionalism. This has resulted in two very different reconceptualisations: one viewing the teacher as passive and compliant and the other urging teachers to become initiators and active participants in democratic power-sharing. The latter also views the professional as sensitive to cultural, political and contextual conditions and responsive to localised circumstances and needs. I argue that that this model needs to be the focus of all future teacher education programmes.

I now turn to an examination of how these different agendas may be articulated in a reframing of teacher education for the future.

b) Fulfilling the Project of Professionalism: Implications for Future Teacher Education

There are several pertinent and significant ways that future teacher education programmes are able to fulfil the project of professionalism in the postmodern era. These include ensuring that: professional development is ongoing; teaching becomes a political activity; a shared vision of teacher education is developed amongst its community; social and contextual studies are given more emphasis in ITE; variety and innovation is introduced across university offerings; teachers and teacher educators are trusted to develop and monitor their own ITE programmes; programmes are grounded in research and teachers become researchers; and last but not least that student teachers are regarded as adult learners with developing ethical and moral responsibilities. Each of these have to be given priority in a postmodern environment of constant educational change and where all knowledge claims are contested and questioned. They are very briefly addressed here.

The ever-increasing surveillance mechanisms and accountability requirements adopted currently by the state have imposed a new, complex and uncertain environment on teachers and teacher educators. Teachers" work is far more demanding and varied than it was 100 years ago. Most teachers are now expected to do more than teach: in an environment of increased managerialism and competition, they also have to assume additional leadership roles. These involve coordinating and organising a miscellany of school, child, curriculum, and community-related activities imposed by educational authorities.[30] They need ongoing support and new types of learning, through pre-service and in-service programmes, to respond to and judiciously challenge the constant reviews of teacher education that demand restructuring and realignment with state imposed standards.[31] Alongside other researchers and theorists, I maintain that, beginning at the ITE level, professional development is one of the primary routes to professionalism. Ongoing learning empowers teachers to know and be able to critique educational, social and political change. Such education would empower teachers to respond to various impositions in a more activist and militant manner, authorise them to take charge of the political agenda themselves, and enable them to confront and question power relations This would require a reshaping of the policy process and would involve them in constructing their own ways of addressing the issues.

Together with a general consensus amongst researchers and analysts, I believe that more activist ways of handling the challenges of these complexities are essential and that these require a re-definition of the professional role of the teacher. As A. Al-Hinai also concludes, "*Professionalism, in a situation of rapid change, requires that teachers redefine their roles according to social, moral and emotional contexts.*"[32] McLaughlin further states that, "*professionalism must be built around the challenges to practice*".[33] This must be built into pre-service programmes and on-going professional development programmes must been seen as a natural progression following on from these. Such a process should be built on trust: the critical importance of trusting teachers, teacher educators and their professional decisions cannot be over-stated.[34]

The work of four prominent teacher education scholars is worthy of note here: Hargreaves, Beyer, Evans and Cochran-Smith. Each of these, in their different ways, reinforce the argument I am making in this last chapter. Hargreaves, in particular reinforces my contention that student teachers should regard teaching as a political activity. He suggests radical measures to overcome current regulatory restraints and embrace aspects of the postmodern condition, such as fighting for increases in all teachers‟ salaries; mounting rigorous opposition to the culture of distrust and discourse of blaming; working with all parties engaged in education and teacher education to establish a shared vision; working cooperatively in schools and classrooms with professionals and other community colleagues; staunchly defending teachers‟ entitlement to sound professional knowledge which is underpinned with a strong theoretical base and is integrated with research and practice; ensuring that their collaborative energies are directed into the improvement of teaching, learning and caring; and creating positive changes by working collaboratively to implement an exacting, teacher constructed "*set of professional standards of practice*".[35] He declares that these initiatives should offset deliberate attempts to undermine and deprofessionalise teachers.

In accordance with the conclusions I drew in the preceding chapter, Beyer sees the solution to narrow concepts of professionalism lying with the content of teacher education programmes. Teachers are strongly prepared in the disciplines of educational and developmental psychology and that these are useful when enfolded into a "*wisdom*

of practice" but that a more comprehensive framework leading to a "*robust, multi-faceted theory of teaching*" based on values such as "*social continuity*" and democracy, should also be developed through an examination of the social foundations of education.[36] I also argue for the inclusion of social foundational studies and the fusion of critical inquiry approaches into teacher education programmes. In other words, "*professional judgement and intellectual inquiry for teacher educators at more local levels*" must be accompanied by "*sustained conceptual analysis*" and "*practical action*" into the realities of social and political contexts of teaching.[37] Such an emphasis should, I believe, come through the introduction of difference and variety in teacher education programmes. These should encompass substantively different and innovative agendas, qualitatively different purposes and be built on alternative models of teacher education. Whilst diversity occurs within the non-state tertiary sector, it is not a characteristic of state institutions in New Zealand, nor has it ever been. All programmes need to be informed by the notion of "*teaching as a field of reflective moral action*": this is the only way to reclaim professionalism:

> *Growing out of this orientation is a primary moral obligation to see the ends of education as neither settled nor extraneous to students"aspirations, and to see the complexities and responsibilities as being embedded in the on-going day-to-day project of rethinking the purposes of schooling. Teacher educators must provide opportunities for reflection on current school practice and the ends it serves, as well as support for articulating alternative practices that respect students" integrity as moral beings and their abilities as social actors.*[38]

In order to fulfil this concept of professionalism, as Evans maintains, teachers and student teachers must be equipped with a "*professionality orientation*". Her contention is based on an adaptation of Hoyle"s notion of "*extended professionality*",[39] which is underscored with theoretical and pedagogical knowledge and the ability to see the big educational picture through intellectual inquiry. Evans defines professionality as, "*An ideologically-, attitudinally-, intellectually-, and epistemologically-based stance on the part of an individual, in relation to the practice of the profession to which s/he belongs, and which influences her/his professional practice.*"[40] This "*amalgam of multiple professionalities*"[41] has to be the cornerstone of current teacher education programmes.

Teachers should be a body responsible for shaping themselves; they should not be subservient to political whims from external sources. ITE programmes should therefore empower student teachers to be able to do this. Student teachers should have access to programmes which incorporate ethical values and moral judgement, are based on professional wisdom, sustain rigorous social inquiry and stimulate intensive conceptual analysis. They should be exposed to a language of mutual dialogue where *"thick descriptions"* of classroom practices and rituals abound. This will enable them to actively engage in a *"process of „grasping" and „rendering" the multiple and complicated „webs of significance" that people themselves have created."*[42] A relationship of trust between the partners involved in teacher education has to be re-built, values have to be shared, the boundaries of power have to be negotiated and a sense of working towards a bigger picture has to be mutually established. A close and collaborative partnership between teachers, teacher educators and the state will never be achieved in a climate of judgement, constant surveillance and accountability. New political spaces should be opened up to foster such alliances. For example, the state should withdraw from the NZTC and it should allow teachers and teacher educators to design and monitor their own ITE programmes. This means, however, that universities have to accept full responsibility for encouraging, supporting and resourcing teacher education. It must no longer be regarded as low status within the academy. All partners, including schools should work together.

Along with Cochran-Smith, I believe that there are several causes for optimism in the future of teacher education,[43] the most important of which is the heightened international awareness of teacher education as an accepted regime of truth(s). There is also a growing consciousness of the need for high quality teacher preparation with programmes that are becoming more research-based. Student teachers need skills that not only belong to academic learning, but also require reference to their own social and emotional development and their ability to participate fully in a democratic society. They must be regarded as adult learners and not treated as schoolchildren, as in former years. I urge the provision of teachers who are able to achieve caring schools by promoting social justice, inclusion and equity in their classrooms. Like Vossler, I believe that these changes will require moral courage.[44]

4. Conclusion

To conclude this thesis, it seems clear that we must take full opportunity of the location of teacher education in the universities. Professionalism must lie at the heart of all future teacher education programmes. Activist models of professionalism should be vigorously embedded in future programmes. These should endorse measures such as increasing the specialist knowledge of teachers; emphasising more sustained critical inquiry and awareness of contextual issues; ensuring teachers" ethical and moral commitment to education, to learners, their families, their community and their profession; and extending the professional discourse in order to embrace issues of professionality. Whilst several current New Zealand ITE programmes are attempting to do this, they are not tackling them in any real depth. Universities, therefore, must break away from excessive state control of their teacher education programmes and exercise the autonomy they possess.

Teachers and teacher educators must open up new political spaces and engage in dialogue with policy makers. They must take an activist stance which puts the issue of professionalism at the centre of the discourse.[45] This means that they are not just consulted but that they supply the interpretative framework necessary for redefining professionalism. The NZTC must become an agency of teachers and teacher educators, and not an agency of the crown. It must have strong university representation, become self-regulating and take a prominent role in ensuring that ITE programmes are subject to rigorous peer review and open to public scrutiny. Only then will the cause of teacher education be advanced. Neo-Liberal definitions of „new professionalism" which legitimate extreme accountability and surveillance measures, could then be more rigorously challenged and over-turned. In agreeing with Foucault"s position that power does not necessarily emerge from a central point, the debate acknowledges that different forms of political action are required. Change will only be brought about through local struggles which undermine institutional power where it reveals itself. Solutions have been offered which demonstrate ways in which reconstructed notions of professionalism can be a force for positive social change as opposed to a means of social control. Political emancipation rather than political castration should be the object. The way to combat political manoeuvring and engage policy makers in real debate about what matters in teacher education is to reassert the importance of professionalism in action.[46]

This should be a vital part of every student teacher's rite of passage and essential to their graduation into the society of teachers.

To return to the title of this thesis which draws attention to Foucault's claim that teachers must become *"socially desirable models of behaviour"*,[47] I strongly argue that this is not sufficient. The cultivation of the intellect and the empowering of student teachers to become politically-active, ethical, moral, caring and socially-just individuals should be the aim. Teachers and teacher educators should be trusted to shape the framework of professionalism, ensure its high quality, and make professional development accessible to teachers, not only at the neophyte stage, but throughout their working lives. Learning to teach must not be restricted to a rite of passage which merely allows entry into the society of teachers; it must become a lifelong, political endeavour. Student teachers, therefore, must be able to understand, deconstruct and critique the power networks and regimes of truth operating in society, and develop a new and life-long consciousness that validates social justice and embraces diversity.

Through actively engaging with the past, this thesis has arrived at the conclusion that learning to teach should fulfil the project of professionalism in action. It is surely the task of teachers and teacher educators to establish and regulate the content and parameters of teacher education.

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Appendix 1: Teacher Education: Approved Primary Pre-Service Providers in New Zealand, 2008[1]

The following institutions offer primary pre-service teacher education programmes leading to Teachers‟ Provisional Registration:

University of Auckland Faculty of Education:
Bachelor of Education (Teaching) Primary Specialisation (3 yr duration),
Bachelor of Education (Teaching) Huaraki Māori Specialisation (3 yr duration),
Graduate Diploma of Teaching Primary (1 yr duration)

Masters Institute, Auckland:
Bachelor of Teaching (Primary) and Worldwide Studies (3 yr duration: Christian Provider)

Te Wananga Takiura O Nga Kura Kaupapa Māori O Aotearoa, Auckland:
Diploma of Teaching Kura Kaupapa Māori (Primary) (3 yr duration: Te Reo Māori)

Auckland University of Technology School of Education:
Bachelor of Education (Montessori Primary Teaching) (3 yr duration),
Bachelor of Education (Steiner Primary Teaching) (3 yr duration)

University of Waikato School of Education:
Bachelor of Teaching (Primary) (3 yr duration),
Bachelor of Teaching (Primary) Kakano Rua (3 yr duration: English, Bilingual, Te Reo),
Graduate Diploma of Teaching Primary (1 yr duration)

Te Wananga O Aotearoa:
Te Korowai Akonga: Bachelor of Teaching (Primary) (3 yr duration: English, Bilingual, Te Reo)

Bethlehem Tertiary Institute, Tauranga
Bachelor of Education (Teaching) Primary (3 yr duration: Christian Provider)

Te Whare Wananga O Awanuiarangi

Te Tohu Paetahi Matauranga Māori – Bachelor of Māori Education (Teaching) (3 yr duration: English, Bilingual, Te Reo),
Te Tohu Paetahi Ako (Te Iti Rearea): Bachelor of Teaching and Learning (Māori Education – The Early Years) (3 yr duration: Tino Rangatiratanga)

Anamata Private Training Establishment:

Tohu Ako Paetahi: Ma Te Reo: Bachelor of Teaching) (3 yr duration: Te Reo Māori)

Te Wananga-O-Raukawa

Poumanawa Te Rangakura – Kaiwhakaako (3 yr duration: Bilingual),
Poumanawa Matauranga Whakaakoranga (3 yr duration: Te Reo Māori)

Massey University College of Education

Bachelor of Education (Teaching) Primary/ Diploma of Education Studies (4 yr duration),
Te Aho Tatairangi: Bachelor of Education (Teaching) (3 yr duration: Te Reo Māori),
Bachelor of Education (Teaching): Early Years (3 yr duration),
Graduate Diploma of Teaching (Primary) (1 yr duration)

Victoria University of Wellington College of Education

Bachelor of Arts/ Bachelor of Teaching (4 yr duration),
Bachelor of Science/ Bachelor of Teaching (4 yr duration),
Bachelor of Commerce/ Bachelor of Teaching (4 yr duration),
Graduate Diploma of Teaching(Primary) (1 yr duration)

University of Canterbury College of Education

Bachelor of Teaching and Learning (Primary) (3 yr duration),
Graduate Diploma of Teaching and Learning (15 months duration)

New Zealand Graduate School of Education

Graduate Diploma of Teaching (Primary) (Approx1 yr -15 months duration)

Otago University College of Education

Bachelor of Teaching – Primary Education (3 yr duration),

Bachelor of Teaching Te Pokai Matauranga o te Ao Rua (3 yr duration: Bilingual),

Bachelor of Education Studies/ Graduate Diploma in Teaching – Primary (4 yr duration),

Graduate Diploma of Teaching (Primary) (1 yr duration)