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## More Than Servants of the State? The Governance of Initial Teacher Preparation in Canada in an Era of School Reform

*Drawing on Gideonse's (1993) distinction between political, institutional, and professional modes of governance, this article examines changes in the governance of initial teacher preparation in Canada over the last three decades. With data collected from a review of provincial documents and key informant interviews, the article uses Quebec, Manitoba, and British Columbia as case studies to illustrate how provincial governments, universities and their faculties of education, and the teaching profession have been able to exert their influence on the preparation of teachers. The article argues that each of these players constitutes a legitimate partner in initial teacher education, that each partner brings to the governance of initial teacher education varied core values and interests, and that diverse provincial governance arrangements reflect varied accommodations of these values and interests that have implications for how teacher professionalism and teachers' work is being constructed.*

*Puisant dans la distinction établie par Gideonse (1993) entre des modèles de gouvernance politique, institutionnelle et professionnelle, cet article examine des changements dans la gouvernance de la préparation initiale des enseignants au Canada dans les trois dernières décennies. Nous appuyant sur des données recueillies d'une analyse de documents provinciaux et d'entrevues auprès de répondants clés, nous prenons le Québec, le Manitoba et la Colombie britannique comme études de cas pour illustrer dans quelle mesure les gouvernements provinciaux, les universités et leurs facultés d'éducation, et la profession enseignante ont pu exercer leur influence sur la préparation des enseignants. Cet article maintient que chacun de ces intervenants constitue un partenaire légitime dans la formation initiale des enseignants ; que chacun apporte à la gouvernance de la formation initiale des enseignants des valeurs et des intérêts de base variés ; et que les diverses mesures de gouvernance par les provinces reflètent une variété dans l'accommodement de ces valeurs et intérêts, et que cette diversité a des retombées sur la création du travail et du professionnalisme des enseignants.*

We are living in a defining moment of educational history, when the world in which teachers do their work is changing profoundly, and the demographic composition of teaching is turning over dramatically. The vast cohort of teachers who entered the profession in the expansionist decades of the 1960s and 1970s are retiring. Teaching is becoming a young person's profession again. Whoever enters teaching and however he or she approaches the work

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will shape the profession and what it is able to do with our children for the next 30 years. (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 2)

### *Introduction*

The well-being of any education system is closely related to its capacity for renewal through the recruitment and preparation of well-qualified new teachers. Given this, and the developments noted above by Hargreaves (2003), it is hardly surprising that initial teacher preparation has recently moved from the policy backwater to the policy mainstream in Canada—as it has in many other countries (Crocker & Dibbon, 2008, Furlong, 2005; Levine, 2006; Young, Hall, & Clarke, 2007). One aspect of this renewed policy interest has been a significant challenge to the de facto control of initial teacher education that by the end of the third quarter of the 20th century had come to reside almost exclusively with universities and their faculties of education (Gregor, 1993; Sheehan, & Wilson, 1994). Over the last three decades across the country, provinces and territories have undertaken large-scale school reform initiatives generally cast within a context of responding to the challenges of globalization, technological change, and an increasingly competitive economic environment (Gidney, 1999; Levin, 2000; Portelli & Solomon, 2001). Recognizing the central role that teachers play in any educational change, most governments have seen the reform of initial teacher preparation as an essential component of their reform agendas. In some cases, this has seen provincial governments reassert their authority in initial teacher preparation directly. In other provinces, governments have acted to give the teaching profession a greater governance role in teacher preparation through the creation of colleges of teachers with the authority to certify teachers and to accredit or approve initial teacher education programs. In some provinces, governance is still largely left to the universities.

It is an analysis of the interplay between these three parties, with particular reference to developments in the provinces of Manitoba, British Columbia, and Quebec, that provides the focus of this article. Data for the provincial case studies come from an extensive review of provincial documents and from a series of key informant interviews conducted in Manitoba and BC. No formal interviews were conducted in Quebec. The conceptual framework developed in this article draws on Dale's (1997) discussion of governance and links *matters of focus*—what is involved in the governance of initial teacher preparation—with *matters of jurisdiction*—on whose authority these activities are carried out. Taking up the first of these matters, we discuss six key dimensions of the governance of initial teacher preparation. With regard to the second, we extend Gideonse's (1993) distinction between political, institutional, and professional modes of governance and explores each in terms of the core interests, structures, and images of teachers' work associated with each ideal type.

The reality of Canadian teacher education policy is that each province reflects not a single ideal type, but rather a contextually specific hybrid of these modes, and that the construction of these provincial modes of governance is in most cases still in play (Grimmett, 2007). However, it is clear that important shifts are taking place in the governance of initial teacher preparation in Canada and that these changes are likely to hold important implications for the nature of teachers' work in the early 21st century.

*Matters of Focus: What is Involved in the Governance of Initial Teacher Preparation?* Dale (1997) suggests that the three essential elements of educational governance relate to matters of *funding, regulation, and delivery*. Building on this distinction and relating it specifically to initial teacher preparation, this article focuses on six key governance domains: funding, admissions, curriculum, instruction, certification, and site. The significance of each is discussed briefly below.

### *Funding*

Across Canada the funding of initial teacher education programs has come primarily from a combination of government grants to universities and tuition fees paid by students, with government grants usually constituting the major source of funds. Over time this balance has varied in relation to provincial government policies toward the funding of postsecondary education in general and the supply and demand pressures for teachers exerted by the public school systems. However, Canada has seen little of the diversity of funding arrangements existing in other countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom that range from full cost-recovery and for-profit programs (Levine, 2006) to programs where all tuition costs are paid by the government as a recruitment strategy to attract people into teaching. Nor have provincial governments as yet chosen to fund anyone other than institutions of higher education to provide initial teacher education or to make extensive use of direct funding to faculties of education as a policy lever in initial teacher preparation (Young et al., 2007). Instead, Canadian faculties of education generally compete for government funding in the internal university budget processes.

### *Admissions*

The number and characteristics of students admitted to faculties of education provide an important early filter on entry into the teaching profession. In some instances, decisions on the number of students admitted into any initial teacher preparation program are driven by faculty of education and university decisions related to existing resources, demand for places, and the relative status of the faculty of education in the larger university structure. In other jurisdictions, government, with its enduring interest both in an adequate supply of teachers for its schools and in some notion of cost-effectiveness, may seek through its regulatory powers to articulate the total number of places in initial teacher education with a predicted demand for new teachers in its school systems (Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation 2003). Decisions on admission criteria reflect to some degree value-laden assumptions about what constitutes the characteristics of good teachers and predictors of success in teaching. This may lead to a wide variety of practices ranging from mandated criminal records and child-abuse register checks to an emphasis on academic achievement and grade-point average, and interviews and reference letters aimed at recognizing prior successful work with children, as well as a variety of affirmative action programs and initiatives. Sometimes these considerations are required by governments or stipulated by the profession as conditions for teacher education students being allowed into schools for their practicum placements. However, for the most part they continue to reflect each faculty of

education's own search for academically justifiable and administratively manageable criteria and processes.

### *Curriculum*

At the heart of any discussion of curriculum is the belief that there exists a knowledge base for teaching and that what teacher candidates learn in preservice programs makes a difference both to their practice as teachers and to the development of the profession. This belief—not without its critics who advocate the deregulation of teaching (Ballou & Podgursky, 2000; Hess, 2001)—is central to teaching's claim to professional status. However, the belief that systematic preservice preparation leads to more effective teachers does not necessarily mean that there is, or should be, a single, self-evident, and research-based curriculum. In this context, other governance initiatives may be seen as positioned along a continuum from a systemwide curriculum orthodoxy in initial teacher preparation enforced—either by governments or by professional colleges of teachers—by way of tightly prescribed certification standards and accreditation processes; through consensus at a less specific level of generality that allows for local interpretations and applications—such as the Canadian Deans' *Accord on Initial Teacher Education* (Association of Canadian Deans of Education, 2006); to the encouragement of institutionally specific curriculum diversity.

### *Instruction*

Closely connected to issues of curriculum content are issues related to who is best qualified to teach preservice teacher candidates. Framed as a debate between *theory* and *practice*, and between the academic training of the university professor and the professional knowledge base of skilled practitioners, this issue has seen considerable effort given in initial teacher preparation either to establishing the primacy of one knowledge base over the other or to forging partnerships between the two. Forging truly collaborative and integrated partnerships between the university culture of research and critique and the more practice-driven culture of schools continues to be an elusive challenge for Canadian teacher education programs, one that plays out quite differently in the recruitment and staffing decisions made in diverse faculties of education (Schulz & Hall, 2004).

### *Certification*

Professional certification constitutes the formal efforts of the state, directly or through designated institutions such as teachers' colleges or universities, to regulate entry into teaching and to define with varying degrees of specificity the knowledge and skills required of beginning teachers, as well as where this preparation may occur and how this knowledge and skill are to be demonstrated. As noted above, until the 1980s across Canada, certification was more or less unproblematically aligned with university-determined credentials, most usually a bachelor of education degree or postgraduate certificate. In some Canadian provinces, this pattern continues to operate, but in others there has been a substantial effort from within and outside the teaching profession to define this professional knowledge base and to structure it into a set of competences or standards of practice that can serve both to direct the content of initial teacher education programs and to evaluate their graduates (Ontario

College of Teachers, 2006; Quebec, 2003). Where the responsibility for establishing these standards resides outside individual universities and constitutes the requirements for professional certification, this development represents a significant uncoupling of the requirements of professional certification from the autonomy of university credentials and a shift in governance away from the university.

#### *Site*

With the closing of government-run normal schools and colleges of education, initial teacher education in Canada has come to be located exclusively in institutions of higher education, usually universities, although always involving significant periods spent in schools where teacher candidates are required to demonstrate their emerging teaching competences. Although faculties of education have developed a variety of off-campus, community-based, and distance learning delivery modes for their programs, Canada has not to date followed other jurisdictions such as the UK and many US states down the road of “competitive certification” in developing and encouraging other service providers (Rotherham & Mead, 2004; Sorensen, Young, & Mandzuk, 2005). What has become an issue in provinces such as BC and Ontario is the accreditation of international universities setting up satellite initial teacher preparation programs in their jurisdictions as well as cross-border accreditation.

#### *Matters of Jurisdiction: By Whose Authority are the Activities of Governance Carried Out?*

Whereas other organizations (such as religious institutions) continue to exert some influence, jurisdictional authority over initial teacher education preparation in Canada is primarily shared between governments (mainly provincial), postsecondary institutions (mainly public universities and their faculties of education), and the teaching profession (teacher associations and colleges of teachers), a partnership referred to somewhat pejoratively by Hess (2003) as a “government-professional cartel” (cited in Murphy, 2005, p. 168). The degree to which any of these players comes to dominate the partnership Gideonse (1993) suggests that it is possible to talk about political, institutional, or professional modes of governance: each, we suggest, with its own distinct core interests, structures, and images of teachers’ work.

#### *Political Modes of Governance*

A political mode of governance involves elected government bodies dominating the governance of initial teacher education. Implicit in this mode are not only a legal jurisdiction and authority, but equally important, a willingness and interest on behalf of public officials to exercise this authority directly rather than to delegate it.

*Core interests: a public policy agenda.* Public education in Canada has long been seen as a key instrument of public policy and a well-educated citizenry central to the nation’s social and economic development (Henley & Young, 2001). As a consequence, the state is the major funder, regulator, and provider of educational services, with public expenditure on education in 2001 accounting for 5.2% of the country’s gross domestic product and 12.7% of total public expenditures (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2004).

Since the 1970s and 1980s, several factors have served to intensify government interest in public education, and in Canada as well as many jurisdictions internationally to encourage governments to adopt a more interventionist approach to initial teacher preparation. Brown, Halsey, Lauder, and Wells (1997) note that although the oil crisis of the early 1970s, globalization, and the rise of neo-conservative political ideologies changed the optimistic political consensus that had previously existed in Western industrialized countries, it did not challenge the belief in the importance of education. Across Canada, provincial governments have embarked on extensive school reform initiatives explicitly to prepare students for this perceived new global economic reality. Central to these efforts to change school practice has been the expectation that new teachers will be prepared to understand and accept the government reforms and have the necessary skills to implement them. Along with this economic agenda, and not unconnected to it, has been a second policy agenda for schools in most provinces related to social cohesion, citizenship, and multicultural education. Taking on unique dimensions in each province, this agenda—perhaps most influential in the area of Aboriginal education/teacher education—has seen targeted government funding for the establishment of new teacher education programs, the revision of teacher education curricula, and the creation of new admission criteria for teacher candidates (Sorensen et al., 2005).

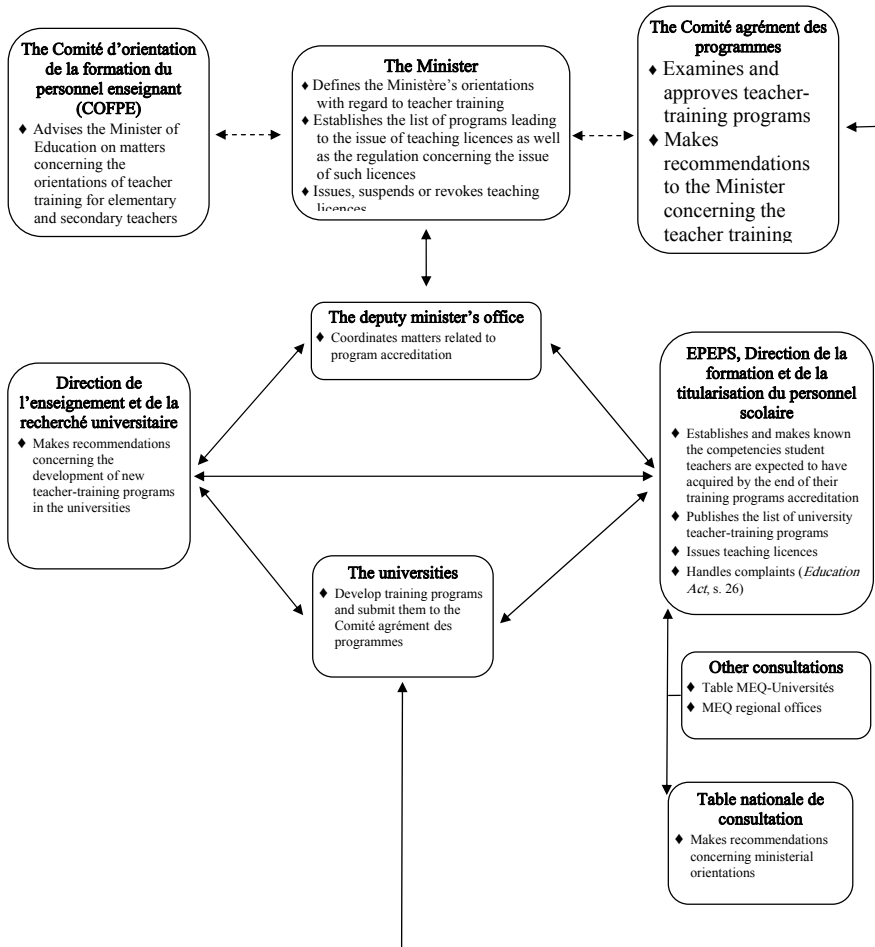
A third, emerging public policy issue that has potentially significant implications for preservice teacher preparation is the matter of labor mobility in Canada and the *Agreement on Internal Trade (AIT)* signed by the provinces and territories and the Government of Canada in 1994. This had the goal of making “it easier for people, investments and services to move across Canada” (Teacher Certification Registrars of Canada, 2006, p. 1). The labor mobility chapter of the agreement implemented in 2009 requires that the provinces and territories recognize at face value each other’s teaching certificates. Of interest here is that the driving force for these developments is not individual provincial ministers of education, but rather the Forum of Labour Market Ministers (FLMM), and that the federal government is a significant player in these education matters (Henley & Young, in press).

*Structures.* With education designated a provincial jurisdiction in the Canadian Constitution, and notwithstanding the above discussion of *AIT*, it is the provincial legislatures that hold the legal and constitutional authority over initial teacher education. Similar to legal provisions in other provinces, in Manitoba the *Educational Administration Act* assigns to the Minister of Education the responsibility for prescribing “minimum standards of academic and professional education acceptable for the certification of teachers in the province” (Section 4.1). In Manitoba the Act further significantly states, “programs taken in teacher education institutions in the province for the purposes of teacher education shall be subject to the approval of the minister” (Section 3.2). Although this sort of legislation locates authority ultimately with the provincial legislature, this authority has often been delegated to universities and to a lesser extent to the teaching profession. However, in the last two decades, provincial governments have been considerably more interested in exercising this authority directly. The province of Quebec offers a good example of this.

Since the early 1990s, initial teacher training in Quebec has undergone substantial changes as a central element of a broader educational reform agenda. Directed by an educational policy statement released by the Minister of Education at the end of 1996 (Québec, 1997a) and a ministerial action plan released in 1997 (Québec, 1997b), the government of Quebec has embarked on a wide-ranging program of school reform focused on seven major lines of action: providing services for young children; teaching the essential subjects; giving more autonomy to schools; supporting Montreal schools; intensifying the reform of vocational and technical education; consolidating and rationalizing postsecondary education; and providing better access to continuing education. These reforms were seen to require significant changes in initial teacher preparation. That these changes were not going to be left to the discretion of individual institutions was stated explicitly by the government in the introduction to its working paper *Teacher Training—Orientations, Professional Competencies* (2001) where it noted bluntly, “There is a need to bring teacher training programs into line with the changes affecting the system as a whole, in order to adapt them to the new realities that will define the world of education in coming years” (p. ix).

The policy framework for achieving this consisted of the newly developed orientations and professional competences laid out in that working document (Quebec, 2001) coupled with existing program accreditation and professional certification mechanisms (Québec, 2003, see Figure 1). Two government bodies in particular were central to these changes. First, in the Ministry of Education the *Direction de la formation et de la titularisation du personnel scolaire* (DFTPS) had the mandate to define the general orientations, professional competences, and exit profiles for initial teacher training programs, as well as issue teachers’ licences to their graduates; and second, the Minister appointed the *Comité d’agrément des programmes de formation à l’enseignement* (CAPFE) that was given the mandate to accredit those teacher training programs in the province that met the DFTPS requirements.

The two general orientations informing this new model outlined in the working paper *Teacher Training—Orientations, Professional Competencies* (Québec, 2001) were defined as professional training and a cultural approach to teaching and expanded to develop 12 professional competences grouped into four categories: *Foundations*: to act as a professional inheritor, critic, and interpreter of knowledge or culture when teaching children; and to communicate clearly in the language of instruction. *The Teaching Act*: to develop teaching/learning situations; to guide teaching/learning situations; to evaluate teaching/learning activities; and to manage classes properly. *The Social and Educational Context*: to adapt teaching techniques to specific student needs; to integrate information and communications technologies into teaching/learning activities; and to work as a teaching team. *Professional Identity*: to engage in professional development, and to demonstrate ethical behavior. Each of these professional competences is accompanied by indicators of mastery, 35 in all, and together they provide the basis for a new set of *exit profiles* aligned to the needs of the new school curriculum that frame the accreditation requirements with which any Quebec university granting a Bachelor of Education degree must comply. Currently six bachelor of education degrees are awarded through the



"Source: Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec"(2003). Attracting, developing, and retaining effective teachers in Quebec.

Figure 1. Responsibilities of the Minister of Education: Initial training and certification.

teacher training programs offered by Quebec universities (Quebec, 2001), namely, preschool and elementary education; general secondary education; arts education; physical education and health; second-language instruction, French-as-a-second-language and English-as-a-second-language; and special education.

The CAPFE, created in 1992 and formally recognized in the 1997 *Education Act*, is the body responsible for accrediting initial teacher training programs and is a nine-person committee appointed by the Minister consisting of a chair, who is alternately an education sector professional and a university education sector person; three elementary- or secondary-level teachers; a teaching sector professional; three university-level teachers; and a representative of the university education sector with school experience. In addition, the Minister may appoint a representative from the Ministère de l'Éducation and a representative from the managerial staff of the school boards. A teacher training



program is accredited only if CAPFE is satisfied that it complies with the orientations and professional competences set out by the Ministry of Education.

*The image of teacher's work—a servant of the state.* Whether government discourse on teacher training is couched in the language of professionalism and professionalization or not, close to the heart of a political mode of governance is the notion that teachers are state agents—paid by governments to carry out the government agenda for public education.

#### *Institutional Modes of Governance*

Institutional modes of governance imply that governance is centered in the units responsible for the delivery of initial teacher education programs, which in Canada means faculties of education, and the established structures of decision-making and accountability of the university. This university location has created for faculties of education significant tensions as they seek to conform to the academic expectations of the university while remaining informed by the practical realities of life in schools. It is a tension that makes them vulnerable to being simultaneously criticized as being *an ivory tower* by the profession and *Mickey Mouse* by other units in the university (Cole, 1999; Young, 2004).

*Core interests—critical inquiry.* In justifying a university location for initial teacher education, a useful distinction can be made between what Furlong (1996) identifies as those functions that universities currently serve and those that are in principle tasks that only universities can perform. Focusing on the latter, Furlong argues that the jurisdictional claim of the university stands on a particular characterization of the university and a particular notion of the nature of teachers' work and teacher professionalization. The role of the university, he argues, is historically founded on two axioms: an epistemological axiom, that there is a realm of objective knowledge to which students are to be introduced; and a sociological axiom, that this knowledge is "most effectively maintained and disseminated in institutions which are relatively autonomous from narrow social interests (such as those of the state) and in which members of the academic community can enjoy comparative freedom" (p. 152). Elaborating on this, Bridges (1996) suggests that the university-based faculty of education has three essential components: (a) it is a center of expertise or relevant knowledge underpinned by a theoretical perspective; (b) it is a center of research and scholarship where systematic enquiry provides the basis for improved professional practice; and (c) it is a center for the maintenance of a critical tradition.

*Structures.* Canadian universities are largely autonomous, nonprofit corporations created by provincial acts or charters (Jones, Shanahan, & Goyan, 2001). Although each institution will have some unique features, the dominant model of Canadian university governance remains a bicameral one consisting of a corporate board of governors and an academic university senate. At the faculty level in the university, it is the faculty council consisting of a majority of faculty members, but usually also with student and other party representation, that plays the key role in academic decision-making subject to the authority of the university senate.

This tradition of university autonomy is well illustrated in the development of a new Bachelor of Education program during the 1990s in the University of Manitoba. During the late 1980s, the Faculty of Education, like all other faculties in the university, was required to conduct a series of internal and external program reviews. An outcome of these reviews was to reinforce a view in the Faculty that it was time to consider major program revisions. An initial response initiated by the Dean was to commission a senior faculty member to write a synthesis of, and commentary on, the reviews for presentation to Faculty Council. His report endorsed the need for a comprehensive revision of initial teacher education, and clearly suggesting where responsibility for the program lay, continued, "It is the Faculty's problem, our problem.... Only we can tackle it, with the help of our colleagues in schools and elsewhere in the university. But the task is primarily ours" (Osborne, 1989, p. 4).

Acting on this report, in 1990 the Dean established an internal Taskforce on Initial Teacher Education (TITEP) consisting of the Dean and four senior faculty members that was given the mandate to "develop the goals, content and methods of delivering initial teacher education program(s) in the Faculty of Education, and, to develop all necessary admission and program regulations to ensure the good operation of the program(s)" (University of Manitoba, 1993, p. xi). Over the next three years, this taskforce conducted an extensive review of the academic literature on teacher education, published an initial *Statement of Issues*, held a series of public consultation meetings, published an *Interim Report*, and held further consultation meetings before submitting its *Final Report* to Faculty Council in 1993.

The recommendations contained in the *Final Report* were approved by Faculty Council and eventually came to shape the program currently in place in the university. Currently, the Faculty of Education is in the process of a new review, which is again an internally driven process, although in 2010 it is more constrained than was the case in the early 1990s by a more elaborate set of provincial certification requirements. Most important to note here in the context of this article is that: (a) this whole process was driven internally in the Faculty; (b) that when the Deputy Minister of Education and the President of the Manitoba Teachers' Society made presentations to the taskforce, they did so in the same fashion as any other presenter; and (c) that substantial changes in the program could be entertained without government or professional endorsement, because at the time, provincial certification requirements set by the government were largely confined to the requirement that candidates held a bachelor of education degree from a recognized Manitoba university: the governance of university programs was university business, and the appropriate decision-making bodies were the Faculty Council and the University Senate.

*The image of teachers' work: the public intellectual.* The location of preservice teacher education programs in the university serves to promote an academic and critical image of teachers as public intellectuals, where critical knowledge production is a defining feature of the teaching profession. Informed by such notions as reflective practice (Grimmett & Erickson, 1988), inquiry (Phelan, 2005), and the pursuit of social justice (Solomon & Levine-Rasky, 2003), the image here is as Cochran-Smith and Fries (2005) describe, "knowledgeable

professional teachers who ... [are] ... learners, leaders, and school reformers" (p. 83).

*Professional Modes of Governance*

The movement of initial teacher preparation into universities and to degree-based certification requirements served to increase significantly the professional status of teaching in the second half of the 20th century, giving rise to pressure from teacher organizations that they be afforded one of the hallmarks of a true profession: control over entry into the profession and a governance role in relation to initial preparation. This has to date found most concrete expression in the creation of colleges of teachers in BC in 1987 and in Ontario in 1997.

*Core interests: professional self-regulation.* Hoyle and John (1995) offer *knowledge* and *responsibility* as the two most widely accepted criteria associated with professional status. Professions lay claim to a specialized body of knowledge not generally available to lay people. This knowledge is obtained through a long period of initial training, usually in a university, sustained throughout one's career and applied intelligently in practice. It is the application of academic knowledge in practical life that gives rise to the second criteria: responsibility, which plays out at both the level of individual autonomy and at the level of occupational self-regulation, the latter being the focus of interest for this article.

At the heart of the claim for professional self-regulation is the notion that professions warrant "a mandate to act on behalf of the state in the best interests of its citizens" (Furlong, Barton, Miles, Whiting, & Whitty, 2000, p. 161). From this perspective the public interest is served by the profession, which protects the public from incompetent and unethical teacher behavior by establishing high entry standards and participating in, or accrediting the provision of, preservice preparation.

*Structures.* The classic model for professional self-government represents a delegation by government of administrative authority to an organization the majority of whose governing body is elected by the profession. Canada has two such bodies related to teaching: the BC College of Teachers (BCCT) and the Ontario College of Teachers. The first of its kind in North America at the time, the BCCT was established by the *Teaching Profession Act* (1987) and given control of teacher certification, discipline, and the approval of all teacher education programs in the province (Ungerleider, 2003). The legislation provided for a Governing Council of the College consisting of 20 people, 15 of whom were required to be teachers elected by teachers in 15 zones across the province. Of the remaining five members, two were appointed by Cabinet, two by the Minister of Education, and one was to be appointed by the Minister of Education on the recommendation of the Deans of the Faculties of Education in the province.

The creation of this new professional body substantially altered the existing pattern of governance in initial teacher preparation in BC, and the last two decades have seen the College involved in several struggles with BC universities and the BC government in the process of establishing a new set of working relationships. The first of these conflicts was initiated in the mid-1990s when Trinity Western University (TWU), a small private university affiliated with

the Evangelical Free Church of Canada, applied to the BCCT for full certification for the Bachelor of Education program it had previously operated in association with Simon Fraser University. In 1996, following a review of the program, approval was denied by the Council of the BCCT. The basis for this decision was the TWU regulation that required all its students to sign a Community Standards document committing them to “refrain from practices that are biblically condemned ... [including] ... sexual sins including premarital sex, adultery, homosexual behaviour and the viewing of pornography” (Ursel, 2002, p. 392). In the College’s view the labeling of homosexual behavior as sinful discriminated on the basis of sexual behavior, and as such it was not in the public interest to approve the program.

This decision was appealed in the courts by Trinity Western University and ultimately ruled on by the Supreme Court of Canada in May 2001. The Supreme Court saw its decision as reconciling the religious freedoms of individuals wishing to attend TWU with equality concerns of students in BC public schools. Thus it ruled that the BCCT was within its jurisdiction to examine discriminatory practices in teacher training programs. However, it further ruled that, “the proper place to draw the line in cases like this one at bar is generally between belief and conduct” (Ursel, 2002, p. 399), and in supporting the TWU appeal found that the BCCT had not produced compelling evidence that anything in the code of conduct indicated that TWU students had, or would, treat homosexual students unfairly or disrespectfully. Although the BCCT had its decision overturned and was required to approve the TWU program, these developments clearly demonstrated the arrival of the BCCT into the arena of initial teacher education governance in BC and its intention of being an active player in this arena.

A second major conflict arose in 1999 when the BCCT reviewed a proposal from the University of British Columbia for a revised Bachelor of Education program and required that the University address a number of concerns as conditions of approval. When UBC rejected these conditions as an unacceptable intrusion into the academic affairs of the university, the BCCT Council on May 11, 2000 denied approval of the new program. The matter then moved into the courts when UBC sought a judicial review of this decision, leading to a May 2002 judgment from the BC Supreme Court that ruled that although UBC had the right and power to grant its degrees as it saw fit, the BCCT equally had the right to determine what constituted acceptable qualification to be certified to teach in the province. Recognizing the potential challenge that this impasse between the province’s largest faculty of education and its College of Teachers, the judge, Justice Southin, ruled that if the two parties could not work out their differences, then the dispute should be settled in the provincial legislature rather than the courts (Ursel, 2002).

To this end, the government introduced the *Teaching Profession Amendment Act* in May 2003, which reaffirmed the College’s authority to set standards for teacher certification, but not the authority to approve how BC teacher education programs were to be administered or taught. In order to stave off further government intervention, the Association of BC Deans of Education and the BCCT signed a *Letter of Understanding* in 2004 that set out an agreed-upon process whereby the College would establish *Standards for the Education, Com-*

	<b>Political (Governments)</b>	<b>Institutional (Universities)</b>	<b>Professional (Teachers)</b>
<b>Illustration</b>	QUEBEC	MANITOBA	BRITISH COLUMBIA
<b>Core Interests</b>	<b>Public Policy</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An adequate supply of teachers properly trained to implement government policy</li> <li>• Cost-effectiveness</li> </ul>	<b>Critical Inquiry</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The theoretical bases of teaching and learning</li> <li>• A critical understanding of the role of schools and the debates in public education</li> </ul>	<b>Self-Regulation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Control of the preparation and entry into teaching as a hallmark of the profession.</li> <li>• Competent and responsible practice.</li> </ul>
<b>Primary Structures</b>	<b>Ministry of Education Committees and Departments</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• DFTPS defines the competencies required from beginning teachers, and issues teacher licenses.</li> <li>• CAPFE inspects and accredits teacher training programs that meet DFTPS standards.</li> </ul>	<b>University Boards of Governors, Senate, and Faculty Councils</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishes course content and degree requirements</li> <li>• Allocates the university budget</li> </ul>	<b>The British Columbia College of Teachers</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishes standards for teacher certification and professional conduct.</li> <li>• Accredited education programs in British Columbia</li> </ul>
<b>Image of the Profession</b>	<b>The Teacher as Public Servant/ State Agent</b>	<b>The Teacher as Public Intellectual</b>	<b>The Teacher as Skilled Practitioner</b>

Figure 2. Political, institutional, and professional modes of governance in initial teacher preparation.

petence and Professional Conduct of Educators in British Columbia and each teacher education program provider would implement programs that met the academic requirements of their individual institutions as well as the BCCT standards.

*The image of teachers' work: the skilled and caring practitioner.* Central to a professional perspective is the view of teaching as skilled practice and the purposes of teacher training as in essence a replicative practice of socialization and induction drawing on the embedded practical expertise of teachers.

*Discussion*

Jones (2003) uses the concept of education *policy settlements* to describe relatively enduring sets of arrangements that define how competing educational expectations are reconciled and which expectations will receive policy priority at any particular time. Recognizing that such settlements are always limited and conditional, he notes, "They have inherent tensions and limits. They are

shaped by conflict as well as agreement. They do not finally prevail" (p. 9). Since the 1980s, across Canada the existing policy settlement in teacher preparation has been substantially destabilized, and in diverse provinces quite varied governance arrangements have been introduced. The primary purpose of this article is to examine a number of these changes in a framework of political, institutional, and professional modes of governance and to argue that each of these modes of governance has associated with it distinct core interests and structures for effecting those interests and that embedded in these interests are varied images of teachers' work (see Figure 2). Although the focus is not to propose a particular preferred model of governance, the analysis does provide a basis for some observations that are taking place and their implications for emerging policy settlements in Canadian initial teacher preparation.

First, although this article looks at the concepts of political, institutional, and professional modes of governance separately, the reality in all Canadian provinces is some sort of balance among these competing interests: a location somewhere in the triangle of government, university, and professional control rather than at any of its points (Young et al., 2007). A central argument made here is that government, universities, and the profession each bring to initial teacher preparation legitimate but distinct interests and jurisdictional claims. Recognition of these differences and the creation of systems of governance that can properly manage the tensions between them is, we believe, more important than asserting the primacy of one mode of governance over another. The developments in BC described above serve to highlight the fact that these tensions are very real—and the distinct interests critically important to protect—but they also illustrate how new arrangements such as the *Memorandum of Understanding Between the Association of British Columbia Deans of Education (ABCDE)* and the BCCT can emerge to accommodate competing interests and responsibilities. Where universities and the profession cannot work together in the co-construction of initial teacher education programs, they invite an overpoliticization of programs as can, we suggest, be seen in the contemporary UK (Furlong, 2005).

A second observation that can be drawn from this analysis is that although there has been substantial interest and change in the governance of initial teacher preparation in Canada in recent years, particularly with reference to issues of curriculum and certification in a discourse of increased teacher professionalism, these changes have all been located in the government-university-profession triangle with little attention given to supporting models of initial teacher preparation that are located outside universities and institutions of higher education. This is quite different from the situation in some other jurisdictions such as the UK or the US where it is possible to identify large-scale changes across all the domains of governance discussed here and where a policy context of *alternative routes* and *competitive certification* entertains a much broader range of non-university service providers that have become an accepted part of the educational landscape (Hess, Rotherham, & Walsh, 2004). If Canada is to resist these sorts of development, and we believe there are compelling reasons to do so, then it is essential that both universities and the teaching profession maintain public confidence in their commitment to, and effectiveness in, the collaborative preparation of the best possible teachers. If it

does not pay attention to this public trust, the government-university-profession triangle lays itself open to the criticism of putting self-interest before the public interest and to the language of being a “government-professional cartel” in need of dismantling (Hess, 2001). Developments such as the recently signed Association of Canadian Deans of Education (ACDE) *Accord on Initial Teacher Education* (2006) provide evidence of the importance of this commitment (Collins & Tierney, 2006).

Third, and related to the above point, the framework serves to illustrate the level of ambivalence associated with the university location of faculties of education (which to a degree it shares with all other professional schools) with the real potential that it will simultaneously be regarded as insufficiently grounded in practice by the profession and lacking in theoretical rigor by the rest of the university. It is difficult to defend the existence of faculties of education that have not earned the respect of the profession and its members whom they graduate; and at the same time, when faculties of education step away from their critical and theoretical responsibilities in favor of a more immediate technical and pragmatic curriculum, their place in the university is also called into question. In most faculties of education, this tension is reflected in staffing practices that draw on the services and professional expertise of seconded “master teachers” and sessional instructors from schools and the Ministry to balance the scholarly/theoretical biases of the professoriate. The relative balance of full-time as opposed to sessional instructors and of university academic as opposed to school-based professionals varies widely across the country, reflecting not only an institutional philosophy on university-profession-government partnerships, but also at times pragmatic internal university politics that have little to do with governance philosophies. When this leads to universities asserting their exclusive authority to control the content of initial teacher education programs while they staff their programs almost exclusively with seconded and sessional instructors, while full-time faculty focus their time on graduate teaching and research, again the exclusive location on initial teacher preparation programs on university campuses is called into question.

A fourth and potentially critical development with regard to a political mode of governance of initial teacher education is the labor mobility ambitions of the *Agreement on Internal Trade* as they relate to teacher certification. Effective in 2009, the expectation is that any teaching certificate issued in one province or territory will be fully recognized by all other jurisdictions. Although this development is not likely to have any large, immediate effects on initial teacher preparation, the longer-term effect could be to lead to a more harmonized, pan-Canadian approach to initial teacher preparation and serious constraints on individual provinces or their universities to pursue distinct approaches to teacher education (Henley & Young, 2009).

The governance of initial teacher preparation in Canada has gone through a series of changes since the middle of the 20th century. Today, when the profession is going through a period of significant renewal and when provincial governments have embarked on substantial school reform initiatives, it is clear that the era when university control of initial teacher preparation was largely unquestioned has come to an end. The challenge for each of Canada’s provinces is to forge a new set of collaborative relationships that can draw effectively

on the strengths of the profession and the university so as to make them more than government “steering mechanisms.” Their success in meeting this challenge will inform the nature of teachers’ work and the status of the profession in the years to come, whether teachers are to remain something more than “servants of the state” and the continued justification for the place of initial teacher preparation on the university campus.

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