

Changing context, changing landscapes: a review of teacher education in Norway and England

Introduction

Teachers matter (OECD, 2005) and the selection and preparation of ‘good’ teachers are essential functions when securing excellent teaching and learning in schools. For this to happen, teacher education (as opposed to ‘training’) within the Academy must continue to play a crucial role, not least in its functioning as a gatekeeper to the profession and the educational research that informs it. Proposals made by the European Commission in 2007 have led to the Education Council adopting, for the first time, a European agenda for improving the quality of teacher education for all countries within the European Union. There are, however, different globalised and internationalised views on how to educate teachers and the nature of what it means to be a professional teacher educator (Gewirtz et al 2009; Darling Hammond and Liberman 2012). Within the rapidly shifting landscapes of an international context in which the education and training of teachers is moving into schools, the focus in this chapter is on teacher preparation. We investigate this topic by comparing teacher education in England and Norway, and the policy that forms the basis of two very different educational systems. The aim of this chapter is to reflect on current developments in teacher education in two Northern European countries in order to provoke and stimulate further discussion and critical enquiry in relation to Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in a wider international arena.

Globalisation, Internationalisation and Higher Education

A distinction needs to be made, when discussing the preparation of teachers, between ‘globalisation’ and ‘internationalisation’. By ‘globalisation’ we refer to the complexity of processes and events that connect people and ideas around the world. This complexity, and the interconnectedness that it accompanies, exists, on an intercontinental scale, through cultural, social, political and environmental activities (Friedman & Ramonet, 1999; van Vught et al 2002). Much literature has been generated about economic forms of globalisation that explore the dynamic interrelationship said to exist between economic convergence and integration, education systems, institutions and social actors at local levels (e.g. Green et al, 1999; Held, 2004, Czerniawski, 2010b). This economic emphasis refers, in part, to the process of increasing convergence and interdependence of national economies, social welfare systems, the liberalisation of trade and markets and, in its ‘hardest’ variants, the eventual disappearance of the nation state. The economisation of teacher education is (inevitably?) becoming enmeshed within this pervasive ideology, as is the professional socialisation of teachers.

However not all writers accept these “hard” deterministic explanations or indeed the extent to which “hyper-mobile capital rampages around the globe collapsing time and space on its travels and undercutting both nation states and their welfare systems” (Clarke 2001, 19). Hirst and Thompson (1999), for example, argue that many of the generalisations associated with the term ‘globalisation’ assume that all states are hit equally by globalising forces. Challenging this generalisation, they believe that there is still evidence to show how the international economy is primarily managed, by, and in the interests of, individual states. They claim that rather than an inevitable process, economic globalisation is a consequence of political decisions made at a national level and therefore can be controlled at a national level. Supporting this ‘inter-nationalist’ perspective on globalisation, Kelly and Prokhovnik (2004) show how individual countries can favour their own interests by arguing through global and regional organisations such as the World Trade Organisation, The European Union and the Cairns Group. In all three cases these bodies have powers delegated to them by national economies when it is deemed in their interests to do so. One consequence of this is that public services require a monetary value to be put on them. Thus Higher Education, viewed historically in terms of its social, intellectual, vocational and cultural benefits can be now viewed in terms of its unit cost to individuals. This requires a new departure philosophically for the professionals involved in its delivery (Kelly 2009) including those responsible for the preparation of a future teaching workforce.

The concept of internationalisation is, ultimately, antithetical to many of the ideas associated with ‘hard’ economic globalisation in that it refers to the increasing levels of co-operation between states or to activities across state borders, within a world order in which nation states continue to play a central role (Scott, 1998; Friedman & Ramonet, 1999). Internationalisation identifies:

... any systemic, sustained effort aimed at making higher education (more) responsive to the requirements and challenges related to the globalisation of societies, economy and labour markets (Kalvermark & van der Wende, 1997 cited in Van Vught et al. 2002)

Van Vught et al (2002) argue that while globalisation is an external macro-socio-economic process which cannot be influenced at the institutional level, internationalisation is a policy-based internal response to globalisation, shaped and influenced at the instructional level (van der Wende, 1999). Drawing on Scott (1998), this means that while not all university Schools of Education are (yet) international, they are nevertheless subject to the forces of globalisation “partly as objects, victims even, of these processes, but partly as subjects, or key agents, of globalisation” (Scott, 1998: 122). But the interplay between the global and the local, between globalisation and internationalisation is complex, contested and culturally situated. The field of Teacher Education provides one arena to examine this interplay. At the supranational level, the European Union’s recent Bologna Reform to Higher Education is already influencing, rather than determining, the shape of things to come for teacher education. At the sub-national level,

...various actors may create pressure to change teacher education, based on ideas adopted from abroad; these actors include local experts in teacher education who are involved in particular international networks, local authorities and expert institutions with specific ideas for practices in schools (Sieber and Mantel, 2012: 7).

It is our contention that teacher education, and the scholarly capital that accompanies it, while not yet ‘victim’ to ideologies associated with globalisation, requires substantial inter-national attention if it is not to avoid its commodification and its eventual intellectual cannibalisation.

A European context for teacher education

Many countries in the ‘developed world’ are engaging in what has been described as a systemic reform of their education systems (Furlong et al. 2000), due in part to the competitive economic pressures of globalisation **and** in part to the many sources of expertise located within the World Bank, UNESCO, the OECD, UNICEF and the UNDP (Steiner-Khamsi 2009; Czerniawski 2010a; Sieber and Mantel, 2012). Significant changes affecting European societies over the last 20 years include the impact of the information society, greater levels of internationalisation and changes in scientific and technological fields (Persson 2005). Driven by a desire to improve world rankings in educational league tables, changes have included attempts at enhancing the quality of education in schools, securing greater value for money, making education systems more responsive to the requirements of industry and commerce, and raising the levels of pupil achievement (Livingston and Robertson 2001). In response to changes in their education systems many countries are developing more systematised approaches to the education, training and professional development of their teachers. Proposals made by the European Commission in 2007 have led, for example, to the Education Council adopting a European agenda for improving the quality of teaching and teacher education. Included within this agenda is a particular focus on professional development with the requirement that teachers undertake regular reviews of their individual development needs; that education systems provide professional development quality assurance systems; and that there is an improvement in the supply and variety of professional development ‘including formal, informal and non-formal learning including exchanges and placements’ (European Commission 2010a, 2). However, it should be noted that systematised approaches often bring with them unforeseen and perhaps unintended consequences (Czerniawski, 2012). In England, for example, there have been substantial moves across all professions, including teacher education, towards greater accountability, with an emphasis on outcomes and national standards of performance (Livingston and Robertson 2001) and, in many schools, the socialisation of the teaching profession into ‘cultures of compliance’ (Kelly 2009, 38).

Despite these homogenising tendencies, Jones and O’Brien (2011) note that the ‘education systems of the individual nations have arguably remained stubbornly independent’ (645). A European agenda for improving the quality of teacher education is, for a variety of reasons, problematic when considering the variety of ways in which teachers in different European countries are trained, educated and inducted into the profession. Even within national borders, differences in the constellations, configurations of influence and patterns of professional relationships ensure that the experience of being a teacher educator differs considerably for different individuals even within broadly similar contexts and settings. Similarly, making generalisations about the student-teacher experience can be problematic, despite the international trend in the adoption and implementation of professional standard frameworks. Universities differ in their teacher education programmes; university departments may vary in their interpretations of the knowledge, skills, practices, ethics, values and attributes that different frameworks prioritise. Teacher educators have their own styles, preferences and images of the ‘ideal’ teacher that will inform the ways in which they facilitate the professional development of their own student teachers. Furthermore, globalised discourses relating to the competencies and knowledge bases of teacher educators are problematic when reflecting on the special position of teacher education in comparison to other tertiary education institutions. Sieber and Mantel (2012) argue that, traditionally, the teaching profession has been locally entrenched and the education

of teachers is strongly oriented toward the local labour market. Tensions exist therefore between the harmonisation of policies that might attempt to determine teacher education in different nation states, and the extent to which such policies are appropriate and beneficial for pupils, teachers and teacher educators.

England

It is almost meaningless to use the phrase ‘education system’ to describe the schooling that exists in England. Rather what exists is a patchwork quilt of schooling systems arranged differently by age, gender and increasingly, ethnicity with such arrangements very often taking place within close proximity of other competing schools. This point is significant when considering the international trend in the movement of teacher training into schools (Murray et al 2013b).

Schooling

Formal education in England is compulsory for all children aged between 5 and 17 and the age limit will be raised to 18 in 2015. Most schools in England are either categorised by the term ‘primary’ covering the age range from six to eleven, ‘secondary’ from eleven to either sixteen or eighteen or ‘tertiary’ to account for students generally over the age eighteen. In England 95 per cent of secondary schools are comprehensive (cater for a wide variety of ability ranges) although it is worth noting that comprehensive schools vary enormously depending on their geographical location, type of leadership, size of school and in many cases the funding mechanisms used to support them. It is also worth considering the extent to which they can be truly ‘comprehensive’ when other forms of schooling co-exist; however this point will not be debated in this article. Schools in England also vary in the ways in which they are funded and England is currently experiencing a mass academisation of state schools whereby the majority of secondary schools are being turned into ‘Academies’ (Murray et al 2013a). These state-funded schools are funded, in part, by central government with many specializing in specific subject domains. As self-governing institutions most are constituted as registered charities with many receiving additional support from personal or corporate sponsors. At the time of writing they are not obliged to follow the current National Curriculum or employ qualified teachers. In 2012 the English coalition government turned its attention to the academisation of primary schools. Other forms of ‘selective schooling’ exist including ‘Grammar Schools’ for so-called ‘academic’ children, specialist schools teaching subjects of the national curriculum pre-16 with a specific specialist subject focus. All state schools (including those supported by religious bodies) were, up and till the election, in 2010, required to follow the national curriculum. In addition to Academies, Community Schools, Foundation Schools and Voluntary Aided Schools, after the election of the Coalition Government in 2010 so-called ‘Free Schools’ have been added to the quilt. These schools can be set up by parents, teachers, charities and businesses and are not controlled by any local authority but are ultimately accountable to the Secretary of State for Education.

Private schools (these charge fees and cater for around 7 per cent of the school age population) are not obliged to follow the national curriculum (Czerniawski 2010b). ‘Post-16’ education is provided in schools, sixth-form colleges, tertiary colleges and further education colleges. Both general education courses and vocational education courses are provided, but the precise course offer varies between institutions. Further education colleges are the main provider of vocational training although the current system of vocational education in England is under review. We therefore characterise the English system of schooling as one containing a marketised philosophy that embraces competitive, individual and standards-based systems of education. These systems are situated and positioned within a particularly powerful and pervasive neo-liberal climate of performativity and subject to regular inspections by the Government’s education inspectorate ‘Ofsted’ (The Office for Standards in Education, Children’s Services and Skills). It is within these systems of schools that student teachers find themselves spending the majority of their time when training to become teachers.

Teacher Education and Teacher Educators

Teacher educators based in higher education have long been acknowledged as a broad and heterogeneous occupational group (Ducharme 1993; Murray et al 2011). This is certainly true of teacher educators in England. There are some commonalities in entry requirements and qualifications in that higher education-based teacher educators, working on pre-service (or initial teacher education) courses, are nearly always qualified teachers with substantial experience of school teaching. Teacher educators usually enter higher education without doctorates or sustained experience of conducting personal research (although they may well have undertaken small-scale practitioner research and scholarship as part of their professional development in schools). Following common contractual processes for the appointment of academic faculty in England, the majority of teacher educators would be required to undertake a short ‘probation’ time and would then be appointed to permanent posts. The North American tenure system is not in use in England. Some universities have recently moved to the recruitment of

'teaching only' posts in which individuals have no contractual obligation to undertake research, but the majority of teacher education posts still require faculty to engage in research and scholarship.

The newly formed National College for Teaching and Leadership, part of the government's Department for Education (DfE) is responsible for initial teacher training (ITT) in England. The institutions offering teacher education programmes in England range from long-established, research-intensive universities, riding high in international research league tables, to newly established teaching-intensive universities, with the latter often distinguished as 'new' universities. Pre-1992 or 'old' universities in the UK higher education sector were established by charter prior to 1992 and tend to be more research-intensive. 'New' universities were established by statute in or after 1992. Many were previously polytechnics or diversified liberal arts colleges, with traditions of concentrating on professional and vocational courses. The category 'new university' includes a broad spectrum of institutions, including some of the newest universities in the UK that gained university status only after 2000. The schools of education within these differing types of university vary greatly in the ways in which they instantiate the discourses and practices of the field of teacher education, and the teacher educators who work within these departments face varying imperatives for engagement in teaching, research and management activities. Previous research on this occupational group (Maguire 2000; Murray 2002, 2007) has indicated that teacher educators often have heavy workloads, teach long hours in both the university and partnership schools, and undertake high levels of student nurture and care. Other research has documented the process of professional learning and 'becoming' involved in the dominant model of 'expert teachers' becoming teacher educators in the Academy and as a result undertaking a reconstruction process of pedagogy and identity in the process (Murray and Male, 2005; Boyd and Harris, 2010) - a process we refer to herein as 'boundary crossing'.

A further commonality in teacher education work across all universities is provided by the statutory requirement for all higher education-based pre-service programmes to be taught in partnership between universities and schools (Murray et al 2011). Most post-graduate courses to become a teacher last one academic year although the Bachelor in Education Degree still exists in some universities in England for primary teacher education. In the last decade, performativity and audit cultures have changed the nature of academic work in universities in England across all disciplines. But in the field of teacher education these changes have been exacerbated by numerous policy initiatives implemented in the school sector, by shifting government requirements for pre-service courses (Training and Development Agency 2007) and by stringent inspection regimes. Teacher education in England has been defined as existing in a 'national framework of accountability' (Furlong et al. 2000, 15) and a 'culture of compliance' (Menter, Brisard, and Smith 2006, 50). The cumulative results of these multiple changes have resulted in teacher educators struggling to provide pre-service courses that are 'demanding, relevant, and practical' (Furlong et al. 2000, 144) as well as research-informed. At the same time, many teacher educators have faced explicit or tacit pressures to meet academic imperatives, including the production of publications for national research audits.

England is currently undergoing a seismic and radical shift in its arrangements for the ways in which student teachers are being prepared for their future careers. Indeed the very term 'student' is problematic within a context where there has been, over the last decade, a substantial increase in the numbers of salaried, non-qualified teachers trained 'on-the-job'. In 2013 the coalition government introduced 'Schools Direct' as part of its re-organisation of Initial Teacher Education (ITE). Schools Direct is the latest school-led teacher training pathway in which schools recruit and select their own trainees (and in so-doing become the new 'gatekeepers'). The assumption being that these 'employees' (Schools Direct exists in salaried and non-salaried pathways) will take up permanent positions with the school once they have completed their training. Both Schools Direct and School-Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) represent a significant threat to Higher Education institutions (HEIs) not just in terms of the decreasing student numbers (and therefore income) but also the extent to which educational research remains viable within the academy.

Norway

Schooling

Norway has, until relatively recently, possessed an education system of mass schooling that seemed capable of withstanding the neo-liberal reforms sweeping across many public sector systems around the globe. Norwegian commentators (e.g. Oftedal 1999; Stephens et al 2004; Czerniawski 2010a) argue however that there has been, in recent years, a value-shift to the right emphasising greater freedom and competition within Education. This has resulted in greater priority being given to the interests of business and industry when formulating educational policy. While it can hardly be described as a seismic shift, Norway has, over the last decade, experienced considerable changes to its education system that resonate with some of the performativity and audit cultures mentioned above, although admittedly not to the same extent as in England.

Compulsory education has existed in some form in Norway for over 250 years. The introduction of comprehensive/unitary education in 1977 broke with the rationale of previous educational systems in Norway in which academic subjects, knowledge and a clear acceptance of individual differences in learning capacity were foundations of the system (Tjeldvoll 2002). Compulsory primary and lower secondary schooling in Norway today lasts ten years. Children start attending comprehensive schools when they are 6 years old, and most attend their local school from years 1-10. Primary and secondary stages are often offered in two different schools, but many schools continue to offer both levels. All pupils have a right to three years in upper secondary education. Students who choose vocational programs can, after two years, choose an extra year with academic orientation and then continue studies into higher education.

Since 2005 there has, by Norwegian standards, been an overwhelming focus on international comparisons and tests, with a requirement that each municipality and county carry out competence development measures for its teachers. Norway's recent 'pedagogic crisis' as a result of its performance in the OECD international PISA tests in reading, mathematics and science has resulted in a 'panoply of initiatives to raise the competence of teachers and head teachers' (Ure 2007). In 2006, for example, Norway's new National Curriculum emphasised the integration of basic skills into all subjects with a focus on achievements and results. And while Norway's education system has continued its traditional fostering of humanistic values in its schools and a renewed emphasis on 'Bildung', social mastering and independence, in the Norwegian government's White Paper 11 (2008-9) it is the words "result" and "outcome" that are most frequently mentioned. This emphasis on measurability has been compounded by Norway's adaptation, in 2003, to a European framework and a Higher Education grading system based on the Bologna process. According to this system, learning outcomes should be categorised as knowledge, skills and general competencies that can, for the first time, be measured. Tensions exist therefore between Norway's traditionally humanistic and social democratic values (Esping-Anderson and Myles 2009; Stephens et al 2004) and a new emphasis on measurable outcomes most likely to be bolstered by Norway's recent 2013 election of a Centre-right coalition government.

Teacher education and teacher educators

One of the Norwegian government suggestions to deal with what it considers to be a relative lack of academic achievement in its schools is to improve the quality of teacher education, to increase the recruitment to the teaching profession, to offer mentoring to newly qualified teachers and to establish the development of National Research Schools. Norway has recently established new teacher education programmes. Traditionally there have been two different routes to become a teacher in Norway. University colleges have offered a four-year teacher education programme for primary and lower secondary school. The universities have offered a one-year postgraduate teacher education programme (equivalent with the English PGCE) for secondary schools and from 2004 a five-year integrated teacher education programme that leads to a master's degree in a school subject. Teachers for primary and lower secondary school used to be educated in university colleges, but recent developments have seen many colleges become universities. Primary and lower secondary student teachers study for four years although current policy may bring about a gradual implementation of a five-year master's degree.

While new programmes for primary and lower secondary school were started in 2010, teacher education for upper secondary schools will implement new plans (e.g. Forskrift om rammeplan for lektorutdanning for trinn 8-13, 2013) from the autumn 2014. The emphasis in these new plans will be on subject knowledge, teaching skills and the quality of studies but unlike England there will be greater emphasis on research. In the one-year postgraduate teacher education programme at the university, Norwegian student teachers either hold a bachelor's or a master's degree beforehand. Moreover, all teachers in upper secondary school need to be educated in at least two subjects. A new programme for levels 8-13 continues the existing emphasis on subject knowledge. Pedagogy will still consist of 30 credits, and student teachers will still have to be qualified to teach in two subjects. The practicum in the new integrated model will be extended from about 60 to 100 days. Compulsory schooling from years 1-10 consists of two levels (1-7 and 5-10) and replaces the previous 1-10 Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programme (Forskrift til rammeplan for allmennlærerutdanningen, 2005). Teachers on levels 1-7 will normally be qualified to teach four subjects, of which one should consist of 60 credits (Postgraduate courses last one academic year with compulsory Norwegian and Mathematics). Teachers on level 5-10 should normally be qualified for three school subjects, each consisting of 60 credits. Student teachers have the option to specialise in one of their subjects. Both streams include pedagogy and pupil-related skills, consisting of 60 credits replacing the previous 30-credit system.

Another reason for changing teacher education was an evaluation of 1-10 teacher education in 2006 by the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT). The evaluation stated that the quality of teacher education in different institutions varied. A common challenge was, therefore, to integrate the different elements of the education system i.e. the disciplines, pedagogy, subject didactics and practice. In the evaluation tensions

existed between academic demands and the practice field. On the one hand there were demands towards being more academic in teaching, while on the other hand there were political demands related to control and steering. The report concluded that there is no meaning in putting weight on an academic approach to teaching if society asks for a standardised performance of the teaching role (NOKUT, 2006).

One of the biggest challenges and one that has the potential to shift the policy landscape in teacher education is the White paper 11's (2008-2009) emphasis upon essential competencies for teachers. These competencies included greater understanding of school subjects, understanding the school's purpose, ethical awareness, insight in educational theory and subject didactics, authority and skills to guide learning processes, and the ability to cooperate and communicate with different stakeholders. The White paper argued that teacher education should reinforce the quality of teaching practice and the relationship between the different parts of the programme. Finally, it argued that teacher education should be research-based, development-oriented and adaptable. In-so-doing it should contribute to school development and contribute to research on teaching, teachers and the school system as a whole.

Discussion

Despite the global financial crisis in 2008, an international climate still persists offering neo-liberal solutions when attempting to solve public welfare issues. In response to an international policy focus on the quality of teacher education both Norway and England have made considerable attempts to reform their teacher education systems that address some of those professional values associated with Neo-Liberalism, namely the efficiency, calculability and control of its professional teacher educators (Murray et al 2013b). Reforms to teacher education are necessary, not least in the light of the Bologna Process (2010) and its impact on European Higher Education. But we would hope that humanitarian values drive the future of teacher education rather than the narrow instrumentalist values that are seemingly embedding themselves in many education systems. While convergence, as identified above in the themes on globalisation, can clearly be seen, it can be argued that there are still marked differences between the two countries discussed in this chapter and the ways in which they prepare their teachers.

Teacher Education in England has, in the past, taken place within a highly regulated system (Furlong et al. 2000), under a variety of pathways and within a much greater diversity of types of school than those found in the Norwegian context. Mahoney and Hextall (2001) have argued that teacher education and training in England have resulted in an increasingly tight system of teacher surveillance and regulation controlled largely from the centre but also by means of internal, localised controls. Governance has however, over the last decade, increasingly come in the form of deregulation accompanied by an increase in school-based teacher education, a devaluation of pedagogy in relation to subject content knowledge and the articulation of a knowledge base for teaching in the form of competencies or standards (Zeichner 2006: 6). Spurred on by discourses of change, derision and competition the current coalition government has increased the variety of pathways offering school-based routes into teaching while simultaneously attempting to undermine the role that universities play in Initial Teacher Education with,

the consignment of teacher education to schools, as has happened in England, where a policy emphasis on deregulation has turned into an insidious mix of over-regulation alongside rhetoric about professionalization" (Grimmet P.P. 2009: 10).

With current movements towards increased school-based teacher education in England, the nature of teachers' professional learning has become embroiled in political territories and the site and subject of policy rhetoric. The English Coalition Government's drive to see teachers learning from 'outstanding teachers' as part of their 'apprenticeship of observation' (Lortie, 1977) privileges credibility and legitimacy on the practices of schools. It is also accompanied by an ideological attack on the role of university academics:

You would expect such people to value learning, revere knowledge and dedicate themselves to fighting ignorance. Sadly, they seem more interested in valuing Marxism, revering jargon and fighting excellence. (Michael Gove, Secretary of State for Education. Daily Mail. 23rd March 2013)

In the English context, teaching is often explored within the policy rhetoric and discourse as a 'craft' learning (Kidd, 2013). John Hayes, the then Minister for Business and Skills in 2010, for example said that: '... the instinctive value we feel for craft must be reflected by our education system ... this is, this must be the age of the craftsman' (Hayes 2010). And equally, Michael Gove, the UK Secretary of State for Education at the time of writing, stated that: '... teaching is a craft and it is best learnt as an apprentice observing a master craftsman or woman' (Gove 2010, cited in Derrick 2011, p. 8).

It has been previously well documented that student teachers often feel that the most valued knowledge they can obtain from a teacher education programme are the 'hints and tips' of classroom practice (Czerniawski 2010b).

This knowledge is legitimised in student teachers' eyes as being 'authentic' and of value as it has direct translation for the classroom contexts they find themselves in. It is seen to have an immediacy and as such a creditability. In some senses, the current English government drive to shift the terrain and site of teacher professional learning 'into schools' based upon a craft metaphor inculcates this perceived privileging of highly mono-cultural and context-specific practices and strategies. The teacher educators in England, coming from school practice themselves and entering the academy for the first time, often feel under pressure to reproduce and replicate these demands. Claims of authenticity for new teacher educators are not rooted in scholarly activity but in being seen as 'credible' in the eyes of teachers themselves. As such, new teacher educators themselves also begin questioning both the new role they find themselves occupying, intensified by the shifting boundaries and terrain around them.

In Norway clear distinctions are made between what is referred to as 'pedagogy' and 'subject didactics' with university-based teacher educators following a traditionally academic and research-intensive route within the academy, and not occupying such roles from previous schooling and classroom practice orientations. Both in England and Norway, policy-makers seek to influence the content and process of schooling and the ways in which teachers are prepared for their role (Stephens et al., 2004). While policy-makers in England prefer the term 'teacher training', the official designation in Norway is 'teacher education'; one tradition can be called 'practical', the other 'learned' (ibid.). Literature differentiates between education that is mainly directed towards predefined skills, i.e. the training model, and education that is mainly built on the idea of "Bildung", the education model. England and Norway, both Northern European countries, may be perceived as examples of each of these strands (ibid.). However the emphasis on Bildung in Norwegian teacher education has recently been challenged by a more performance-oriented pedagogy, which sadly seems to be a global trend (Barrett, 2009; Bergem, 2009; Day, 2007; Hargreaves & Goodson, 2006; Lindquist & Nordänger, 2006).

Focusing on predefined skills and emphasising measurable standards for teaching seems to be more common in Anglo-American countries. In this context the 'good' teacher is one that masters certain skills (Stephens et al., 2004). As a consequence, practical experience is highly valued and often at the heart of teacher 'training' courses. Teacher education with a Bildung perspective which has been the tradition in the Nordic countries, including Norway (White Paper 11, 2008-2009), is based on scholarship and disciplinary knowledge. Within this context, a 'good' teacher is one that can make independent decisions based on a high level of reflection (Blömeke & Paine, 2008; Stephens et al, 2004). This second type of teacher education can be described as more theory-based than the first. In this second type, what is emphasised in the practicum might vary from training practical skills to critical discussions and moral inquiry (ibid.). We would argue that the first model might prepare student teachers for the contemporary and might in the short term be perceived as relevant with a strong practical focus. The second model however prepares student teachers for an unknown future by offering theoretical perspectives and a conceptual understanding of practice that in the short term can seem distant from practice, but in the longer term can contribute to a critical perspective on teaching (Ulvik & Smith, 2011). Sadly however, teachers in England generally are not introduced to the perspectives of teacher education from other countries (Stewart 2008). It is, however, worth noting that there is lack of European or international perspectives within Initial Teacher Education programmes across the world (Holden and Hicks 2007) and both England and Norway are no exceptions to this generalisation.

Teaching can always be improved. It constantly needs to be adapted to a changing society, and teachers continuously have to learn to teach in new ways (Hargreaves, & Fullan, 2000). We certainly do not argue for a homogenisation of teacher education (Maguire 2002; Sieber and Mantel 2012) but we would argue there is much to be learnt from teacher education systems in different national locations. In situations where teachers have to face new challenges and make their own decisions, a theoretical background can make their decisions more informed, and they do not have to rely only on trial and error. In insecure situations where there is no recipe to follow, teachers have to practise what can be called the art of the moment and to do so they will need the necessary freedom to act based on their own judgement. This judgement can be greatly enhanced when understanding how teachers become teachers in different national settings and in-so-doing avoid the narrow monocultural socialisation that we, and others (Howson and Waterman 2013) fear might be the outcomes of current reforms in England. Trying to control teachers' use of discretion could reduce the quality of their actions. However good teachers have qualities that are difficult to control (McNally et al., 2008). According to Eisner (2002), "Good teaching depends upon artistry and aesthetic considerations" (p.382). He compares teaching with playing in a jazz quartet, knowing when to come in and take the lead, to bow out, to improvise. You cannot follow rules, but have to follow your feelings. You need to be informed by knowledge, but also to be informed by feelings, in real time - on the spot.

Conclusion

In exploring teacher educators as teachers of teachers we have, within the context of Europeanisation and Internationalisation, explored both the tribes and territory of teacher education in two national settings. In so doing,

this chapter has articulated the shifting landscape of professional learning for teachers within an internationalised context. The ontological insecurity experienced by many university-based teacher educators, and the growing uncertainty of the shifting (policy) terrain into which they step for the first time, raises questions for new teacher educators around notions of authenticity, legitimation and what constitutes the most appropriate site of learning to become a teacher. The increasing policy reform of internationalised Neo-Liberal agendas has led to the acknowledgement that ‘teacher education as a career [is] currently in flux’ (Davey, 2013: 1): that it is a profession on the ‘cusp’ of significant and widespread conjunctural change and those in such a career increasingly find themselves in a ‘community on the periphery’ of education (Davey, 2013: 1) - no longer at the centre, despite being at the centre of policy scrutiny and the object of radical reform. As part of an international trend in the take up of school-based teacher education, England represents a frightening glimpse into an uncertain future.

It is often claimed that teacher education should be relevant (Korthagen, Loughran, & Russell, 2006). But what does this actually mean? It is not enough, surely, to focus only on contemporary practice in schools and (mis)understand teaching as, essentially, a craft that can be trained, locally, in schools, measured and assessed through external professional standards. How can this localised instrumentalist conception of teaching complement the Europeanisation and internationalisation of Higher Education, with the marketisation of teacher education courses? We would hope that this article prompts answers to these questions.

Anxieties over authenticity strongly articulate a sense of growing uncertainty amongst new teacher educators over the security of their knowledge base. Solving these uncertainties, and developing a sense of both purpose within their new pedagogies and occupying security within these new roles enable teacher educators to accommodate, adapt to and incorporate tensions and boundary-crossing practices into their new ‘pedagogies of discomfort’ (Boler, 1999). The internationalisation of school-based teacher learning poses genuine questions around the future of university teacher education, the educational research that underpins it, and positions school contexts as sites for learning and struggle around dominant conceptualisations of professional learning models in years to come.

Acknowledgments

This article draws, in part, on Murray et al (2011). Please see reference below.

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