

The Evolving Field of Teacher Education:
How Understanding Challenge(r)s Might Improve the Preparation of Teachers*

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Chapter 48: The Evolving Field of Teacher Education:
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The surest, quickest way to add quality to primary and secondary education would be addition by subtraction: Close all the schools of education. (Will, 2006)

Introduction

We live in an age of lively discussions concerning the value of “traditional” teacher education, which includes teacher preparation programs, teacher certification and licensing practices, and accreditation processes for programs. Teacher education programs are “intellectually barren,” teacher educators are “arrogant” and “inept” (Hess, 2005). “There is a built-in institutional vapidness in ed schools” (Rochester, 2002). Refrains echo past criticisms leveled at the teacher education enterprise. Concerns like these were raised at least as far back as the 1930s, gaining a great deal of public exposure in the 1950s and 1960s with books like Bestor’s (1953) *Educational Wastelands*, Lynd’s (1953) *Quackery in the Public Schools*, Smith’s (1949) *And Madly Teach*,

Conant's (1964) *The Education of American Teachers*, and Koerner's (1963) *The Miseducation of American Teachers*. Koerner (1963) concluded that education school courses were "vague, insipid, time wasting adumbrations of the obvious" (p. 56). And Bestor (1953) proclaimed that there was a "preposterous overemphasis upon pedagogy that produces teachers who can talk glibly about how to teach, but who know too little about any given subject to teach it satisfactorily."

The teacher establishment does not always take such criticism well. Defenders of teacher education characterize the critics as "an alliance of thugs" or "marketeers" who seek to turn children into "sources of profit" and who are "at war with the public schools" (Hess, 2005); accusations are made about misrepresentations and misinterpretations of research and practice. Teacher educators and critics seem equally ready and likely to hurl accusations.ⁱ In so doing, important differences are obscured: critics are cast as political conservatives who do not care about social justice, for example, as assumptions about one's political values are considered coterminous with one's concerns about education and teacher quality.ⁱⁱ Teacher educators are lumped together as a unified bloc of subject matter-deficient worshippers at the altar of progressive ideals who care only about process and never about content.

And everyone seems to want a piece of the action. The Secretary of Education has weighed in with reports on teacher quality (U.S.D.E., 2002, 2003);

the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards jockeys for power in defining and certifying teacher excellence. States attempt to take over control of the content of teacher preparation (Prestine, 1991); the federal government attempts to close colleges of education and open up alternative routes into teaching, such as the certification available through the American Board for the Certification of Teaching Excellence (ABCTE) which received considerable financial support from the federal government under the Bush administration. Reports are issued and studies funded by the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, American Federation of Teachers, Department of Education, American Educational Research Association, National Council on Teacher Quality, and National Academy of Education. Conferences are sponsored by think tanks, including the American Enterprise Institute, Hoover Institute, Brookings Institution, Progressive Policy Institute, and Manhattan Institute. Columnists from the *New York Times* (Kristof, 2006) and *Newsweek* (Will, 2006) have thrown in their two cents as well. The most recent of these reports, Levine's (2006) *Educating School Teachers*, while largely reiterating previous critiques and analyses of the problems of teacher preparation, drew enough attention to remind us all that teacher education remains promising fodder for the profession, public, and press.

Our aim is to understand and map the critics and their concerns. And in this chapter, we explore two questions: Who are the critics? What are their

concerns? By examining the contemporary jurisdictional challenges to teacher preparation and certification -- that is, the different individuals, groups, and institutions that struggle for power -- we hope to gain insight into the social arrangements and transactions of power that shape, build, and redefine who controls the preparation and licensing of teachers.

Our approach, albeit more modest, is inspired by Bourdieu's (1988) canonical work on the French higher education system, *Homo Academicus*. In laying out this argument, we aim to develop a useful conceptual framework that would allow a better understanding of the teacher education field, both for challengers and defenders. In this sense, we also face a problem similar to the one Bourdieu faced as he tried to understand -- as an insider -- the ways in which different groups and individuals struggled for power and control in a field that he himself belonged to. Bourdieu's attempt to portray his academic community led to harsh criticism from many of his colleagues. It is our hope that conceptualizing the debates over teacher education as a power struggle within what Bourdieu (1985, 1988; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) has called a "social field" will allow for a more "objective" -- or, at the very least, a somewhat distanced -- evaluation of contemporary activity around teacher licensing and certification. In the midst of a heated and divisive struggle, where both challengers and defenders fight fiercely, at times presenting intentionally-biased research and evaluations, there is a clear need for an analysis that takes one step back in an attempt to provide --

perhaps -- a more “balanced” approach.ⁱⁱⁱ Here we take a first step by mapping out the challengers and their critiques. While it is equally important to consider the establishment’s responses to those critiques, we leave that analysis for later (Tamir, 2006; Wilson, in progress).

Teacher Education as a Social Field

Let us start by introducing the notion of the social field, its general structure, logic of action, and components. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), the social space is comprised of “configuration of objective relations”:

These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field. (p. 97)

In other words, a field is a space where social agents -- individuals, groups, and institutions -- interact, work, and struggle over power. These social agents possess a shared set of understandings, beliefs, values, and norms that constitute the logic and rules of the game for that field (Bourdieu, 1985).

These shared understandings of the field by social agents differ from one field to another. However, one thing that is always shared among social agents of a given field is the importance they ascribe to their field and to the importance of continuing to manufacture the products of their field. Artists, for example, share a

general belief that their work matters. There is also the self-serving aspect, that is, all members of a field are invested in and thus dependent on the field thriving. This, however, does not mean that they do not struggle fiercely among themselves. The same is true for social agents who operate in the field of teacher education. They all believe that education is important and that teacher education is essential. They differ, however, in their beliefs about the nature of effective teacher preparation. We return to the question of how much “shared” belief, values, and knowledge the field of teacher education needs later in our discussion.

The Orthodoxy

So who might be in this network of relations in the social field of teacher education? We will begin with the “teacher education establishment.”^{iv} There is the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education (AACTE), created in 1948 from the merger of six teacher educator associations, as well as the Association of Teacher Educators (ATE), which was founded in 1920, and includes members from over 700 colleges and universities, five hundred school systems, and most state departments of education. The evolution, as well as past and current history of those collectivities, is explicated by Angus (2001), Imig and Imig (this volume), and Sedlak (this volume).

But not all teacher educators align themselves with those communities, and so we need to add also the Holmes Group, a consortium of research universities concerned with the state of teacher education in the wake of the

publication of *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence and Education, 1983), which later became the Holmes Partnership in 1996, and the American Educational Research Association (AERA), especially Division K, Teaching and Teacher Education, which attracts faculty from across teacher education programs who are often interested in the practice of and research about teacher education. We might then add the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) and the Teacher Education Accreditation Council (TEAC), the two accrediting institutions within teacher education, as well as state departments of education, which make decisions about individual teacher certification and licensure, as well as program accreditation. Most state departments of education are staffed with personnel who have been trained as educators and thus are naturally aligned with the education establishment. Critics often understand the establishment as those individuals who embrace progressive education ideas (Hirsch, 1996; Null, 2006; Ravitch, 2000). However, there is considerable variability in how aligned state department personnel are with university teacher educators or with K-12 teachers and administrators. Sometimes these groups collaborate extensively and share common ideas and ideals; at other times, they are at odds, struggling amongst themselves for power. This may be increasingly the case with the growing interest of states and the federal government in regulating and controlling public education and teacher quality in particular (Prestine, 1991; Ramirez, 2004; Tamir, 2006). The fact that

state departments, as well as other groups, shift position helps remind us that Bourdieu's notions of a social field, with its orthodoxies and heterodoxies, are fluid, ever-changing.

Let us pause and consider this partial mapping of relations and groups. These institutions include many individuals who are considered members of the traditional teacher education establishment: university-based teacher educators; state department staff who license and certify teachers; accreditation organizations; leaders of the professional associations and movements, like David Imig and Sharon Robinson from AACTE, Art Wise from NCATE, Judith Lanier, Frank Murray, and Robert Yinger from the Holmes Group and later Holmes Partnership, as well as Murray's leadership of TEAC.^v There are also networks like the Urban Network to Improve Teacher Education (UNITE), as well as alternative preparation programs created by the orthodoxy, including the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund's Pathways to Teaching Careers Program.

The network fills in quickly as one also considers foundations and other groups that fund work by these organizations, other scholars and advocates who organize efforts to improve teaching and teacher education, and the like. So, for example, Linda Darling-Hammond, who has long collaborated with Art Wise, is closely associated with the professionalization movement in teaching through her work in organizations like the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (NCTAF, 1996, 2003). There is also Lee Shulman, current president of

the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (CFAT), whose ideas of teachers' professional knowledge greatly influenced the development of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, as well as the standards and assessments developed by the Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) through their Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC). Other teacher education leaders, like Marilyn Cochran Smith, Robert Floden, Pamela Grossman, and Gloria Ladson-Billings, exercise influence through holding offices in and winning awards from professional organizations like the American Education Research Association and AACTE. There is also the complication that the ideas and arguments of these actors shift over time. While portraits such as that offered here momentarily “freeze” an ever-evolving landscape, this ought not be construed as a portrait of a static field.

And then there are the professional journals acting as the organs for ideas about teacher education, including *Action in Teacher Education* (sponsored by ATE, the sponsor of this handbook), the *Journal of Teacher Education* (sponsored by AACTE), and the *International Journal of Teaching and Teacher Education* (TATE), as well as other journals like *Educational Researcher* and the *American Education Research Journal* (AERJ) in which many AERA members publish. And, as previously mentioned, there are the state level organizations, which also have their own journals.

While these are certainly not the only participants and organizations within this community (We apologize to any group or individual who is not named; our intent here is to evoke -- not inventory -- the character of the field), these networks of people, institutions, and professional organizations represent what Bourdieu (1984, 2005) would call the “orthodoxy” of the social field, the aggregation of individuals, groups, and institutions that hold and preserve a coherent line of ideas, interests, practices, and visions that dominate a given field.

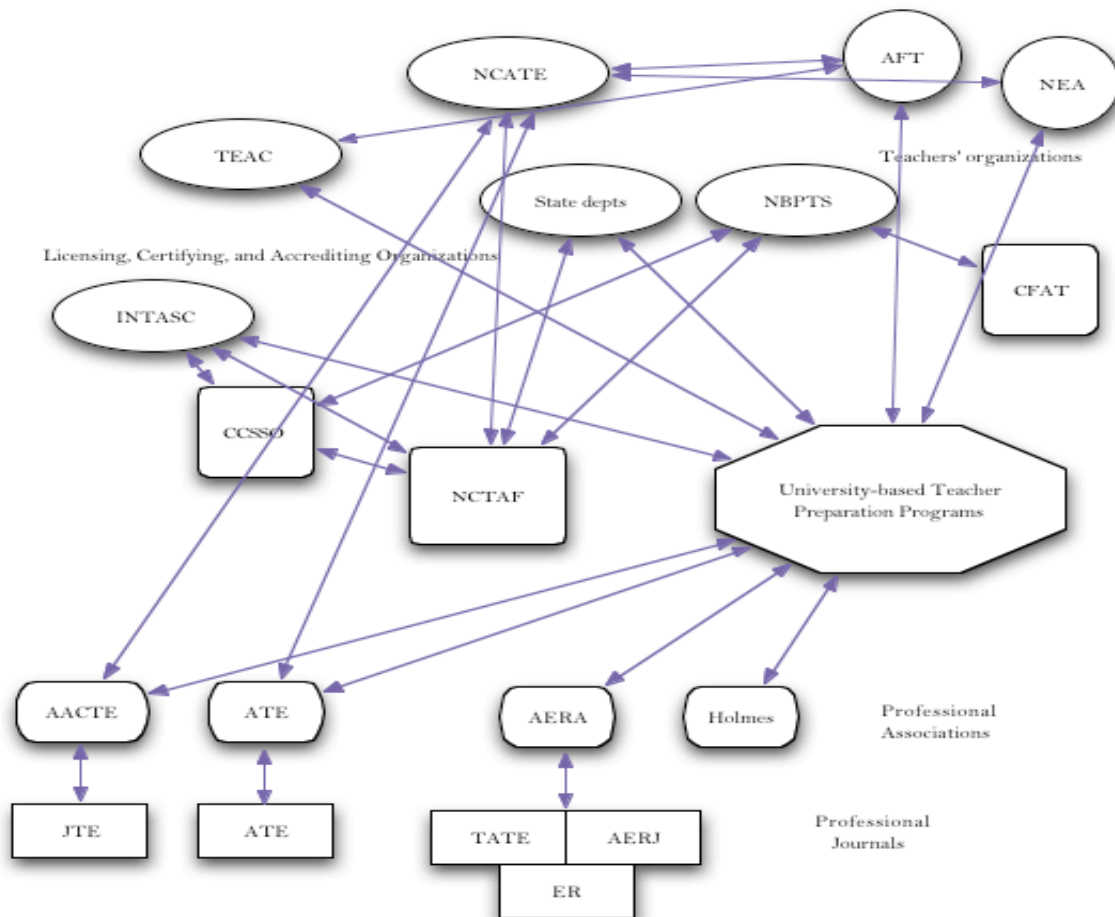


Figure 1. The Orthodoxy of Teacher Education

The Heterodoxy

While these agents might account for the bulk of the teacher education establishment, there are other actors -- what Bourdieu (2005) calls the “heterodoxy” -- who also have strong opinions about teacher quality, preparation, and certification. According to Bourdieu, these agents too have a stake in the field, but they do not necessarily possess the shared norms and assumptions -- Bourdieu’s (1986) “cultural capital” -- that are used to legitimate authority in the field. The heterodoxy, then, attempts to challenge the status quo.

Who are these “others”? First, there are the alternative routes that have been established by school districts and states. There is also the National Center for Education Information (NCEI) and the newly established National Center for Alternative Certification (NCAC), headed by Emily Feistritzer, which keeps track of the data on alternate routes and hosts annual conferences to disseminate knowledge, practices, and policies concerning alternative routes through www.teach-now.org. There are also programs designed to attract specific populations to teaching, including Wendy Kopp’s Teach for America (TFA), Troops to Teachers (TTT), and the New York City Teaching Fellows Program (NYTCF). Although these “alternative” programs are sometimes characterized as being in opposition to “traditional” teacher education, they do not comprise some monolithic community, for there is a great deal of variability among them (just as there is within “traditional” teacher education) (Cochran-Smith & Zeichner, 2006;

Humphrey & Wechsler, 2005; Johnson, Birkeland, & Peske, with Munger, 2005; Schulte & Zeichner, 2001; Wilson, Floden, & Ferrini-Mundy, 1999; Zeichner, 2005). In fact, under the auspices of many such programs, recruits eventually complete a relatively traditional path into teaching to gain certification. Thus, even though housed in alternative *settings*, so called “alternatives” can be staffed by members of the orthodoxy.

Then there is also the newly created American Board for Certification of Teaching Excellence (ABCTE) -- funded by the U.S. Department of Education (which has also funded Teach for America and Troops to Teachers) -- which offers its recruits an alternative “passport” into teaching. There are also smaller reforms like the Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP) schools that are frustrated with the traditional preparation of teachers and have expressed some interest in branching out into teacher preparation.

Then there are individuals and organizations that have released reports, held conferences, and raised questions about the quality of teacher preparation and the necessity of certification or accreditation. The Abell Foundation, the Pacific Research Institute, and the Progressive Policy Institute have issued reports (e.g., Izumi & Coburn, 2001). The Thomas B. Fordham Foundation (1999) issued a “manifesto” entitled *The Teachers We Need and How To Get More of Them*, which was signed by various critics of the teacher education establishment. The Hoover Institute has sponsored conferences; Frederick Hess (2001, 2002) from

the American Enterprise Institute (an organization considered one of the leading architects of the current Bush administration's public policies) has written reports, books, and op eds arguing that we need to "tear down the walls" of traditional teacher certification. Other critics like E. D. Hirsch (1996; 2006) and Diane Ravitch (2000) have raised questions about quality of the content of teacher preparation programs. Economists Dale Ballou and Michael Podgursky (Ballou & Podgursky, 1998, 2000a, 2000b; Podgursky, 2004) have challenged the monopolistic rationale of teacher certification and the irrelevance and intellectual shallowness of teachers' tests. Kate Walsh of the National Council on Teacher Quality (whose advisory members include Hess, Hirsch, Kopp, among others), has written critiques of the teacher education establishment, including the recent *What Education Schools Aren't Teaching about Reading and What Elementary Teachers Aren't Learning* (Walsh, Glaser, & Wilcox, 2006). Recently, mathematicians and scientists concerned about teachers' content knowledge have joined in as well. Their diagnosis, like that of the critics in the 1950s and 1960s, is that prospective teachers spend too much time in teacher education courses, thus compromising prospective teachers' chances to learn content in university disciplinary departments. A mapping of these agents might look something like this:

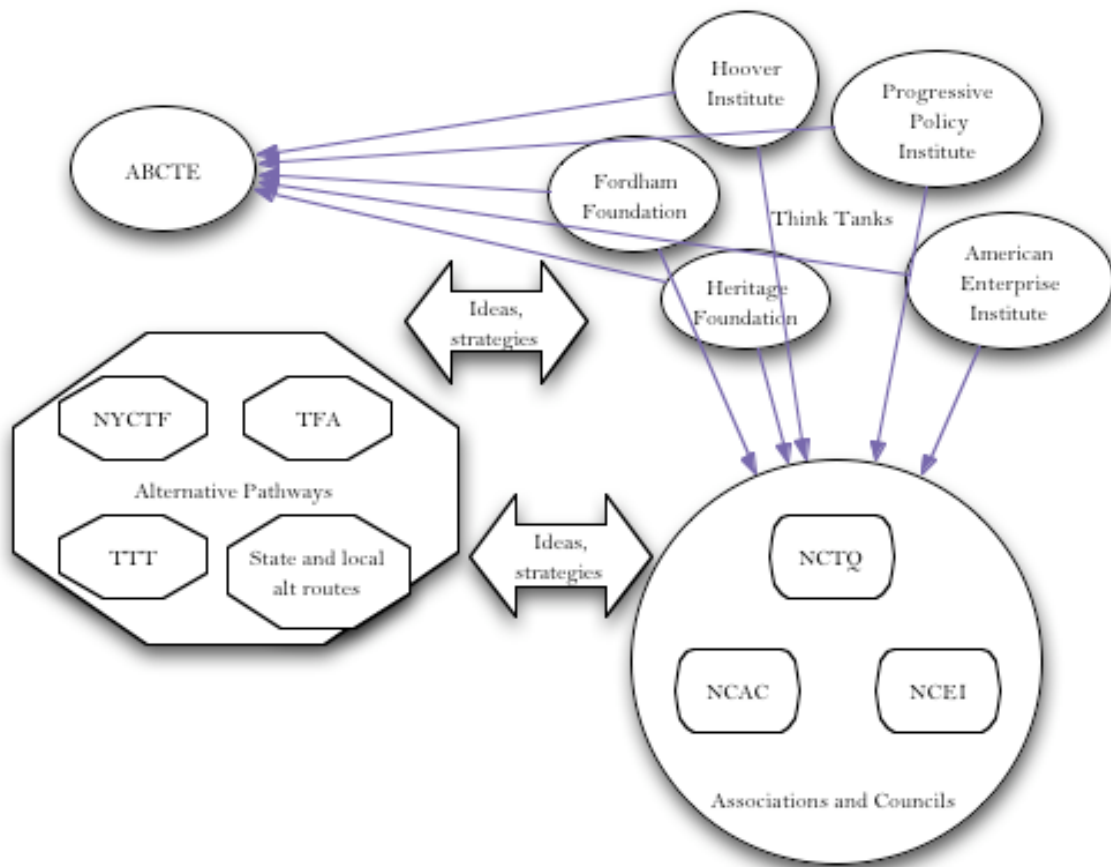


Figure 2. The Heterodoxy

Boundary Crossers

Some challengers take a stance in strong opposition to the orthodoxy; others, while critical, seem less radically so. The American Federation for Teachers, for example, embraces the idea of teachers as professionals, which the critics do not always do. But the AFT (1998) nonetheless has concerns about the quality of “traditional” teacher preparation, as laid out in their report, *Building a Profession: Strengthening Teacher Preparation and Induction*. Similarly, the

Education Commission of the States (Allen, 2003), and the National Research Council (NRC), with its new teacher preparation study (as well as its study of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards), appear to be concerned with interest groups, but not clearly part of the orthodoxy or heterodoxy. Indeed, using the terms of “orthodoxy” and “heterodoxy” might communicate a static quality that is not intended. (And, of course, there is also the fact that the same person or organization can be seen as liberal, centrist, conservative, and radical by different agents in the social field at the same time.) The boundaries between the orthodoxy and heterodoxy are permeable, and groups and their alliances shift over time, as do the ideas, assumptions, and values that guide their work. Furthermore, some individuals and groups being pigeonholed: Lee Shulman (2005), for instance, champion of the professionalization agenda has also recently declared that teacher education “does not exist.” We return to this point later in our discussion.

The Education Trust, led by Katy Haycock, serves as another example of groups that blur the lines between the establishment and its challengers, as does the National Governors Association (NGA). These organizations embrace ideas that resonate with the establishment -- like certification, teacher preparation, the NBPTS -- while simultaneously being open to alternatives offered by challengers. The NGA, for example, embraces a range of strategies associated with the orthodoxy and the heterodoxy: “high-quality and relevant professional development activities for teachers; teacher testing and certification against high

standards . . . and merit or performance pay, teacher academies, alternative routes to certification” (NGA, 2006).

This stance -- embracing ideas of both traditional teacher educators and their critics -- is also taken by foundations and other organizations that invest heavily in education reforms, supporting initiatives by groups and institutions from both sides of the aisle. The Carnegie Corporation of New York has provided generous support for TFA, while at the same time supporting an ambitious effort to reform teacher preparation, Teachers for a New Era (TNE), which is largely a collection of institutions within the establishment. The National Science Foundation (NSF) also supports the work of challengers *and* the establishment, sometimes asking oppositional groups to collaborate. The Brookings Institution, a nonpartisan think tank (although it is thought of by some as “liberal” or centrist, and by others as conservative) also takes positions that cross boundaries between the orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Arthur Levine, in his recent critique of teacher education programs intentionally took this stance, although he declared himself an insider wanting to offer a critical perspective. It may be that this category of boundary crosser also includes boundary blurrers. Together, these agents suggest a third configuration of interests groups that blurs the already-permeable boundaries between the teacher education establishment and its challengers:

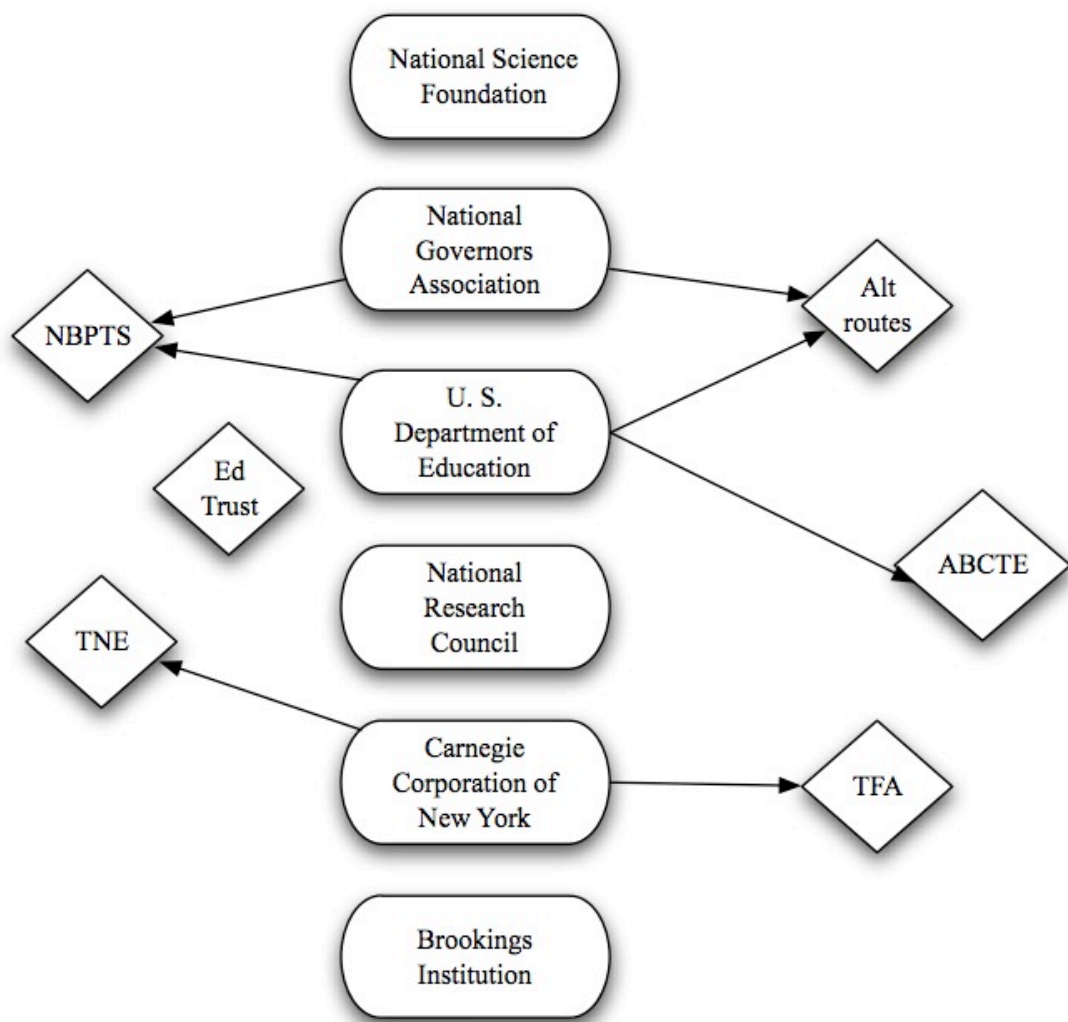


Figure 3. Boundary Crossers

In sum, the social field of teacher education is a large, shifting, crowded space with multiple communities, organizations, individuals, interest groups, and institutions. We do not offer these maps as static representations of positions, for the locations of various groups and institutions shifts over time. Nor do we want

to fall into the habit -- all too often present in the contemporary discourse -- of implying that all individuals and organizations within a group are of like mind. There is considerable disagreement within these groups; all teacher educators do not agree with one another. Nor do the challengers.

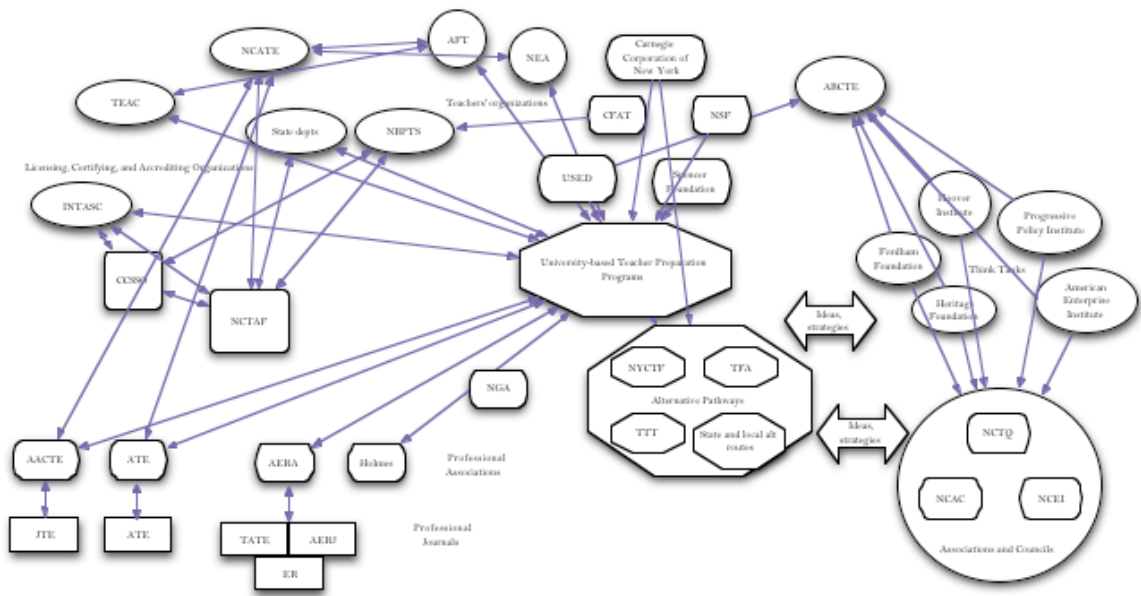


Figure 4. The Social Field of Teacher Education

Understanding, then, that we offer this mapping as a heuristic, not as a static entity, we now turn to the content of the challengers' critiques. We organize our comments around four major themes that run throughout challenges to the teacher education system.^{vi}

The Challenges

Bourdieu (1988, 2005) argues that challengers question and redefine the value of the “products” currently “manufactured” in a field. In our case, the

challengers' critique is relatively straightforward: the current teacher education system does not "produce" high quality teachers. However, in diagnosing the root cause of the problem, four overlapping themes can be identified. Aspects of these themes have been discussed by other analysts of these debates as well, including Cochran-Smith (2006), Cochran-Smith & Fries (2001), Grossman (2004), Labaree (2004), and Zeichner (2003). Our analysis complements those.

"The Cleansing Winds of Competition": Regulation and Bureaucracy as the Problem

One criticism of the teacher education establishment draws on the larger discourse of "choice." Here critics note that, like everything else in the educational establishment, teacher education is conservative, mired in tradition, inflexible and, worse, not working. For example, Finn (2003) argues that the public education system needs to "open more gates, welcome people from many different directions to enter them, minimize the hoops and hurdles and regulatory hassles, look for talent rather than paper credentials" (p. 5). To his dismay, this is not what educators do: "The education field has developed a conventional wisdom . . . [which] boils down to: more of the same. We're told to improve the [schools] by adding more formal training and certification requirements to those already in place" (p. 5).

Zeichner (2003) and Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001) call this general line of criticism the "deregulation" reform (the advocates call it a "common sense"

reform (Hess, 2004)). Several subthemes run throughout this “market” or anti-/de-regulatory argument. First, there is the matter of unnecessary costs. The traditional system of teacher education is expensive. Prospective teachers “pay tuition, sacrifice the opportunity to work in order to attend courses, practice teach for eight to 12 weeks without compensation, and endure the red tape of obtaining additional certification if one wants to work in a state other than the one in which they trained” (Hess, 2001, p. 15). Requiring prospective teachers “to jump through . . . time-consuming but little regarded hoops,” he argues, discourages the “entrepreneurial and energetic” (p. 15).

Second is the presumed inherent positive potential of alternatives. Those who argue for an open market of teacher preparation and certification believe wholeheartedly that traditional teacher education keeps people out, especially “smart” people, career changers, and people of color. Finn (2001) claims that “this training and certification cycle is so burdensome and full of ‘Mickey Mouse’ courses and requirements that it discourages able would-be teachers from making their way into the public schools” (p. 129). If we tear down the walls, making the boundaries to the profession more permeable, we will attract better -- and different -- people to teaching:

[S]ince good teachers can be found in many places, prepared in many ways, and channeled into schools via many pathways, states should scrap nearly all the hoops and hurdles that discourage good candidates from

entering the classroom. Deregulating teaching in this way will not only expand the pool but also raise its quality. (p. 144) . . . The popularity of such programs as Teach for America, which places liberal arts graduates without formal education coursework in public school classrooms in poor rural communities and inner cities, indicates that the prospect of teaching without first being obliged to spend years in pedagogical study appeals to some of our brightest college graduates. (p. 145)

The argument here is that alternatives are inherently good, and the very existence of alternatives will attract a population “turned off” by “traditional” approaches to teacher education.

A third reason offered by the challengers for the market argument concerns a perceived lack of internal or external accountability within the social field. Critics have long noted that teacher education has been resistant to any criticism:

One of the most shocking facts about the field of education is the almost complete absence of rigorous criticism from within. Among scientists and scholars, criticism of one another’s findings is regarded as a normal and necessary part of the process of advancing knowledge. But full and frank criticism of new educational proposals rarely comes from other professional educationists. (Bestor, 1953)

Ten years later, Conant (1964) made a similar observation, noting that “the [education] establishment is overly defensive; it views any proposal for change as a threat . . . In short, there is too much resentment of outside criticism and too little effort for vigorous internal criticism” (p. 40).

And today’s challengers are equally concerned. As Hess (2005) notes in his meditations of the unnecessarily hostile (from every direction) discussions of teacher education, “In responding to such malicious onslaughts, the teacher preparation community does itself no favors by presuming that sharp critiques are necessarily malicious or illegitimate” (p. 197). Even when critiques are not malicious, some members of the teacher education establishment are quick to accuse challengers of less-than-noble intentions. Opening up the field to market forces would, presumably, change these tendencies. Criticism would be encouraged (not discouraged), and teacher educators would be pushed to “improve their product.”

The stridency of this deregulation and open market argument varies. Some proponents like Hess (2001, 2005) have been careful to note -- unlike George Will -- that opening up the market is not synonymous with closing *all* schools of education. Indeed, several challengers claim that there exist high quality teacher education programs. These “good” programs will, no doubt, withstand the challenges presented by a market competition. Institutions that do not offer high quality preparation will, on the other hand, fold.

In sum, the market/anti-bureaucracy argument lines up powerful ideas like de-regulation, efficiency and effectiveness, free choice, accountability, and high quality (ideas that became the coin of the political and educational realm in the 1980s), and associates these ideas in a convincing, logical -- for some, almost unquestionable -- way to argue for the necessity of a free market approach to improve teacher education. We note also that this criticism of teacher education is tightly aligned with a similar line of argument offered by critics of the educational system more generally (e.g., Ballou & Podgursky, 1998, 2000a, b; Finn, 2001; Hess, 2002; Hess, Rotherham, & Walsh, 2004). These challenges (to the larger education establishment) argue that the solution to the inherent failures of public education is privatization (through the introduction of market-based mechanisms). When an open market exists, critics argue, the rigid, constraining, suffocating divisions of bureaucracy dissolve, social structures and self-serving groups with excessive power tend to diminish, and -- as a direct result -- the system's productivity and efficiency flourish since the system's "fat" gets trimmed and money is spent in more sensible ways. Of course, these critiques are not reserved for discussions of education alone, since the market argument is part of the long, historical U. S. struggle over the distribution of wealth and power in a society that also proclaims a commitment to equity and equality.

Our goal here is to understand the heterodoxy's complaints, and so we will not explore in detail the orthodoxy's response, nor do we describe these

challenges so as to then critique them here. That we save for future analyses; one can also see Cochran Smith (2006), Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001), and Zeichner (2003). We do briefly note, however, that in response to the market critique, the teacher education establishment often points out that public education is committed to equality; the market is not, as can be seen in the growing chasm between rich and poor in the U.S. While markets might stimulate competition, and competition might stimulate healthy innovation and change, the teacher education establishment argues that competition also stimulates sorting and selection, and might -- in so doing -- thwart access to knowledge and, therefore, equal opportunity, the hallmark aspiration of the U.S. public education system.

The Research-Base Argument

A second challenge leveled at the teacher education establishment concerns the “evidence” that there is a value-added of “traditional” teacher education preparation. Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001) describe these as arguments over the “evidentiary warrant”:

Each side endeavors to construct its own warrant but also to undermine the warrant of the other by pointing out in explicit detail where methodological errors have been made, where the data reported are incorrect and incomplete, and/or where faulty logic or reasoning have led to inaccuracies and errors about the nature or size of effects. (p. 6)

The evidence that is used to make arguments about the quality of traditional teacher preparation varies, including test scores of students intending to enroll in teacher education programs and/or licensure examination scores for graduating potential teachers. For example, in the 1980s, policymakers in New Jersey compared the licensure examination scores of alternate routes individuals and those of their traditionally prepared counterparts, showing how the latter lagged behind the former. These data were then used as an evidence to support the alternate route program (Tamir, 2006). As this debate intensified, both the orthodoxy and heterodoxy pushed for the development of better databases in order to find the best, perhaps ultimate, proof of their perspective. Science, in this case, gradually ceased to be seen as a tool to improve an objective understanding of the social reality -- like some would like to believe it should -- and was exploited instead as the final arbiter for decisions concerning social policy.

More recent national debates about research evidence concern the value-added of teacher education and certification (e.g., Ballou & Podgursky, 2000b; Darling-Hammond, 2000a; Goldhaber & Brewer, 2000, 2001, and Darling-Hammond, Berry, & Thoreson (2001); and Abell Foundation (2001a, b) and Darling-Hammond (2002), as well as Darling-Hammond & Youngs (2002)). Other organizations jumped into the discussion: the U.S. Department of Education commissioned a synthesis of five questions concerning research on teacher preparation (Wilson, Floden, & Ferrini-Mundy, 2001). The Education

Commission of the States followed up with their own report (Allen, 2003). More reports have followed, including the most recent AERA report (Cochran-Smith & Zeichner, 2005), and the National Academy of Education report edited by Darling-Hammond and Bransford (2005). A recent report from the National Council on Teacher Quality (Walsh, Glaser, & Wilcox, 2006) -- which examines whether teacher education programs have integrated the findings of the National Reading Panel (2000) into their reading courses -- offers yet another example.

Challengers' questions about the research base for teacher preparation include: What does the research say about the qualities of an effective/accomplished teacher? Do such teachers need to have subject matter knowledge? Do they need pedagogical knowledge or other forms of professional knowledge? Do teacher education programs teach new teachers what "scientifically-based" research tells us about the teaching of reading or mathematics? Is there evidence that teachers who are certified through traditional paths are better or worse than teachers who are certified through alternative paths into teaching? Are there any observable effects of teacher education programs -- holistically or in terms of program components like field experience and student teaching?^{vii}

Researchers interested in these questions often employ statistical databases that attempt to align teachers according to the type of certification they hold with their students' achievements on standardized tests, while trying to control for

personal/group characteristics like socioeconomic status (SES) and race, as well as teacher characteristics like grade point averages, subject matter knowledge or major, type of university, teaching experience, and having a graduate degree in education (e.g., Darling-Hammond, 2000b; Felter, 1999; Goldhaber & Brewer, 2000; Monk, 1994). Overall, the aim of these studies has usually been to compare the teaching effectiveness (as measured by students' test scores) of teachers who enter teaching through alternative pathways and teachers prepared in traditional programs.

Darling-Hammond and Bransford (2006) take a slightly different approach. They include research results of the sort describe above, but they also ask the question: What knowledge of significant domains exists – research on learning or research on teaching, for instance? One can make a logical argument that teacher education programs ought to include such knowledge because of the nature of the work, not because a researcher found that teacher education programs that introduced such ideas produced more effective teachers (see Cochran-Smith (2006) for an elaboration of this perspective).

Even with these more generous attempts to stipulate the knowledge base of teacher education, it is fair to ask: What research-based conclusions can be drawn about the value of teacher preparation? Evidence is uneven, spotty, stronger in some domains than others. One can make a case for deep knowledge of how people learn (e.g., Bransford, Brown, & Cocking, 1999). One can make a

weaker case for an established knowledge base concerning how to teach reading (NRP, 2000) or mathematics (NRC, 2001). But in general, research offers few definitive conclusions about the effects of teacher preparation or certification, field experience, subject matter and pedagogy classes, program accreditation and the like (see Allen, 2003; Cochran-Smith & Zeichner, 2005; Wilson & Floden, 2002; Wilson, Floden, & Ferrini-Mundy, 2001). Challengers use the lack of definitive research on the value-added of teacher education, and the uneven quality of teacher education research to support the market argument: open the gates of teacher education and certification until we have sufficient research to justify market closure. Optimistic about the effects of the open market, they also argue that competition will speed progress in the development of better evidence.

Complicating the critiques are questions about the quality of teacher education research as well. Challengers argue that teacher educators do not, in general, conduct high quality research, use appropriate research designs, or critically appraise the research they use to support their claims. "Research that seems to support teacher certification is selectively cited, while research that does not is overlooked," the Abell Foundation (2001a) writes:

Analyses are padded with imprecise measures in order to conceal the lack of evidence in support of certification . . . Researchers focus on variables that are poor measures of the qualities they are interested in, sometimes

ignoring variables that are better measures. . . .Research that has not been subjected to peer review is treated without skepticism.

These criticisms too are part of a broader conversation about the value-added of education research. Both inside and outside of the education establishment, questions have been raised about what constitutes high quality education research more generally (e.g., Erickson, & Gutierrez, 2002; NRC, 2002; Raudenbush, 2005; Whitehurst, 2002).

As we noted earlier, one challenge to portraying the social field of teacher education is that it is a moving target. With regard to research on teacher education, this is especially true. For example, while the research base on teacher education is considered weak by many, there are currently several important projects underway that promise to shed light on the value-added of various approaches to teacher preparation. These include the Pathways into Teaching Project (Boyd, Grossman, Lankford, Loeb, Michelli, & Wyckoff, 2006) and the Ohio Teacher Quality Partnership (Lasley, Siedentop, & Yinger, 2006), both of which are designed to compare the outcomes of different teacher preparation programs.

These discussions of warrants and “scientific” evidence very much resonate with other, larger national conversations. The uneasy commingling of science and politics can be seen in many aspects of American life. We are reminded of recent debates concerning the place of creationism in the public

school science curriculum as well as arguments about the pros and cons of stem cell research. This is an old debate, for science has always been shaped by politics, religion, and power; and so it is not surprising that in the political battle for control over the teacher education field, themes of whose science, what science, and how science should be used are very much part of the discussion.

Again, we will not explore the orthodoxy's response in any depth. We note, however, that teacher educators respond by critiquing the heterodoxy's (sometimes) narrow view of science, most notably the claim that experimental design is a "gold standard." They also argue that teaching is moral and ethical work, and inherently complex, and cannot therefore be adjudicated by empirical evidence alone. For some in the teacher education establishment, the "laser-like" focus on "what does the research say" can be seen as an effort to impose a totalitarian technocracy on education.

The Professionalism Argument

A third challenge concerns the "professionalism" agenda.^{viii} Challenges aimed at professionalism are multiple. First, there are critics who claim that teaching is not a profession, but more like labor or civil service, especially given its unions (e.g., Mitchell & Kerchner, 1983). Other challengers suggest that teaching *could* be a profession, save for its failure to meet certain standards for professionalism. For example, Chubb (2001) argued that the education

profession, like any other profession should have been built on the principles of autonomy and accountability. Alas, none exist:

A professional system has two hallmarks, autonomy and accountability. Professionals are given tasks when the requirements of doing them well dictate the exercise of ample discretion. The freedom to exercise discretion -- autonomy -- is then checked by the system with provisions for accountability. These provisions generally focus on the results of the tasks, not on how the tasks themselves are carried out. A professional model of education would recognize that teachers and schools need to decide how best to educate each student. The system would not monitor or particularly care how each school provided education; the system would care about and monitor what students learn. (p. 37)

So the challenge here is not that teaching ought not be considered a profession, but that it remains more a pseudo- or quasi-profession. A similar challenge concerns the lack of agreement concerning professional knowledge. Again, critics point out that a hallmark of professions is a shared, specialized knowledge base. Challengers note that teaching does not have the agreed-upon body of professional knowledge and skill that the professions of medicine and law have:

The problem is that no comparable body of knowledge and skills exists in teaching. Debate rages over the merits of various pedagogical strategies,

and even teacher educators and certification proponents have a hard time defining a clear set of concrete skills that makes for a good teacher. (Hess, 2002)

While not critics, both Cusick (1992) and Labaree (2004) make similar points about the “soft” technical core of teaching. Within this critique, challengers are impatient with the teacher education establishment’s inability or unwillingness to describe teacher knowledge and skill in concrete terms. Vague language is used to describe good teaching: Good teachers “reflect” and “listen,” they take “global perspectives,” they “model.” This “educationese” frustrates critics who want to know what these terms mean, and how they can be measured. They want a better articulation of the “technology” of good teaching, as perhaps best illustrated by the report of the National Reading Panel (National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, 2000). Furthermore, challengers ask for evidence that the knowledge and behavior valued by the establishment is positively correlated with student learning (Hess, 2001). If the orthodoxy cannot or will not explicitly and clearly lay out measurable standards for what teachers need to know, the challengers suggest, “we ought not keep people out. . . . This is not to say that we think incompetence is acceptable in such a profession -- only that we recognize licensing as ineffective and potentially pernicious way to control quality” (p. 11).

Much of the discussion about teacher knowledge focuses on issues of teacher content knowledge, largely because everyone -- members of both the orthodoxy and heterodoxy -- agree that teachers need to know something about the subject matters they will teach. But discussions about teachers' content knowledge (its content and character, adequacy, balance with other forms of professional knowledge) are equally fraught. This may be because some challengers implicitly or explicitly claim *or* are misunderstood to be claiming that content knowledge (and verbal ability) are really *all* that matters in teaching, either because there is no professional knowledge base or because teaching is a practical art, and one that is best learned through and in practice, not in professional schools (e.g., Whitehurst, 2002). The fact that many teachers -- especially elementary teachers (e.g., Ball, 1990; Ball, Lubienski, & Mewborn, 2001; Ma, 1999) and misassigned secondary teachers (e.g., Ingersoll, 1996) -- do not have adequate content knowledge leads some challengers to accuse teacher educators of spending too much time on education courses and not enough time enhancing the liberal and disciplinary education of future teachers. Teacher licensure tests only serve to reinforce this sense of low standards for teacher content knowledge. In one study, for example, Mitchell and Barth (1999) found that most of the tests were multiple choice, aimed at high school level knowledge. "We found no evidence of content [knowledge] at the baccalaureate level" (p. 8).

In sum, there exists a deep suspicion among critics that there is no articulated, measurable knowledge base for teaching, and that the teacher education establishment wants the entitlements due professionals, but not the obligations.

The stridency of these challenges vary, with some critics admitting that teaching might be a profession, but that it still has important work to do to meet the minimum requirements of a profession (e.g., an agreed upon professional knowledge base, internal accountability), and others claiming that teachers need verbal ability and some content knowledge, nothing more, nothing less. Even critics who argue that teaching is a profession and that teachers do need professional knowledge nonetheless challenge the orthodoxy for the mediocre content preparation of teachers, as well as the lack of rigorous licensing examinations (see Crowe (this volume) for further elucidation on these issues).

Social Justice: The "Ideology" Argument

Many education schools discourage, even disqualify, prospective teachers who lack the correct "disposition," meaning those who do not embrace today's "progressive" political catechism. Karen Siegfried had a 3.75 grade-point average at the University of Alaska Fairbanks, but after voicing conservative views, she was told by her education professors that she lacked the "professional dispositions" teachers need. She is now studying to be an aviation technician. (Will, 2006)

The final challenge involves the accusation that the educational establishment is held hostage by a suffocating ideology that -- despite its protestations to be liberal -- does not welcome alternative perspectives. Hirsch (1996) writes of an “orthodoxy masquerading as reform” and “totalitarian intellectual dominion”; Finn and Ravitch (1996) have accused the education establishment of a “pedagogical correctness” (p. 41). Let us begin by considering what challengers perceive as this ideology.

The teacher education establishment long ago embraced a progressive stance toward K-12 education (Dewey, 1902; Hirsch, 1996; Ravitch, 2000), and one subtheme of the “ideology” challenge concerns the perceived effects of progressivism on the quality of the curriculum and what students learn. Ravitch (2000) argues that the teacher education establishment’s progressivism led to “unrelenting attacks on the academic mission of the schools,” which -- she argues -- account for why so many children are “left back”: “Such [progressive] policies, packaged in rhetoric about democracy and ‘meeting the needs of the individual child,’ encouraged racial and social stratification in American schools” (p. 15).

Hirsch (1996) makes a similar argument, but avoids the language of “ideology” because he sees the educational establishment as taken over by a *set* of ideas (rather than a single “ideology”). Instead, he asserts that the education establishment exists within a “thoughtworld,” composed of three “intellectual

impulses” -- Romanticism, American exceptionalism, and professionalism -- all of which are problematic when applied to educating children:

The psychological and ethical assumptions of Romanticism have not worked out the way their originators had hoped and predicted.

Romanticism may have created some of the greatest poetry in our language, but its theories of education have been wrong theories.

American exceptionalism does have some basis in reality in that our democratic political traditions and our habits of intellectual independence are special in world history; but exceptionalism can become mere complacency that evades the challenges of learning from the experiences of other peoples. Professionalism in the noblest sense denotes both heightened pride in one’s work and a heightened sense of responsibility; but extreme professionalism becomes narrow and separatist. (p. 126).

It is important to note that both Ravitch’s and Hirsch’s condemnation of the progressive ideology is rooted in their firm belief that these ideas have worked against the “social justice” agenda that many members of the teacher education establishment hold dear. Their critique, in other words, is not of the orthodoxy’s commitment to equal, high quality education for all. Rather, it is a critique of the strategies that the educational establishment has used to achieve that equality. For critics of the establishment, progressivism is not synonymous with equitable education.

In addition to its failure to make good on its commitment to high quality education for all children, some challengers feel as if the orthodoxy is attempting to impose a Romantic, Progressive, constructivist values on everyone. Hess (2005) explains:

[M]any critics are concerned that leading voices in teacher preparation . . . have unapologetically argued that teacher education is inescapably about championing certain values. . . . Ladson-Billings, current AERA president, has said that her personal vision of good teaching is promoting an “anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-homophobic . . . Anti-oppressive social justice pedagogy,” despite her acknowledgement that such teaching will inevitably entail “unpopular and politically dangerous” curriculum and pedagogical decisions.

Why is this dangerous? Because many teachers, Hess (2001) argues, are young and impressionable, and because the teacher education establishment’s values do not reflect those of the larger society:

By entrusting schools of education with control over entry into teaching, certification lends the instructors a privileged position in sensitive social and moral discussions. This would be of little concern if education faculty mirrored the divisions with the larger society, but this is not the case. Professors of education tend to espouse a "constructivist" conception of pedagogy, curriculum, and schooling. It is received wisdom in teacher

education that aggressive multiculturalism is a good thing, that aspiring white teachers ought to be forced to confront society's ingrained racism.

Recently, challengers have focused their critiques on the increasing emphasis on “dispositions” in teacher education and program accreditation. Anecdotes abound about prospective teachers who are removed from teacher education programs because they reject the progressive ideas of constructivism, oppression, and social justice. Damon (2005) observes that NCATE’s standards “imply that a successful candidate must demonstrate the right kind of beliefs and attitudes” (p. 2) in terms of “dispositions” like caring and social justice. What is more, the NCATE standards suggest that teacher candidates must not only have such beliefs, but their actions must be guided by them. What concerns Damon is that NCATE’s use of the language of “disposition” does not reflect knowledge of the work of social scientists on dispositional traits, which emphasize behavioral tendencies, not moral values or socio/political ideologies. This is problematic:

Those who have been given the authority to assess teaching candidates have been given unbounded power over what candidates may think and do, what they may believe and value, and those who are subject to this authority (the candidates) must guard their every expression of moral belief and commitment. (Damon, 2005)

So, do the challengers want U.S. schoolteachers to ignore racism or to be sexist? Do challengers think that teachers should treat children or their parents

differently depending on their gender, race, class, or sexual orientation? Perhaps some do. But it is overly simplistic to presume that challengers are racists who want to maintain the status quo. Essentializing this critique obscures the complexity within. Our country *is* deeply divided over issues of gay marriage, welfare, religion. Teachers are, in many ways, caught in the middle, for as public employees they must respect and work across those differences. However, the discourse proclaims that teachers have to have one set of values (anti-sexist, anti-racist, etc.); the very act of marginalizing those who have different values is, paradoxically, illiberal. Or, as Finn and Ravitch (1996) once noted, “the pedagogical tent, as it turns out, is not very big at all” (p. 41). While we cannot explore this complexity in all of its depth here, we offer a few observations.

Arguments about teacher education are predicated on assumptions about what teachers should do in schools and who they are. Assumptions about teachers are predicated on assumptions about the purposes of schools. Americans do not agree on this fundamental issue. There are those who see schools as the place where we hand down to children the heritage of our glorious past and present; for others, who are (often) more skeptical of U.S. claims to greatness, schools are places where teachers work as change agents, preparing students to reinvent the world, to radically overhaul society’s inequities, and to reimagine our country. Further, we do not only disagree on our assumptions about schooling, we differ on a range of other values as well; one sees the on-going battle for whose social

values will triumph in debates about social security and health care, in stem cell research and intelligent design.

When some challengers critique the “social justice” agenda of the teacher education orthodoxy, they are reacting to what they see as a homogeneity among teacher educators and their radical social vision. Challengers experience this homogeneity as a form of “Orwellian mind control” which first captures and brainwashes the young minds of prospective teachers, and later -- through them -- threatens to control the minds of children. Those prospective teachers who dare to resist -- according to the challengers -- are aggressively condemned, stigmatized, and denied the opportunity to become teachers.

This challenge raises two philosophical issues; the first concerns cultural relativism, the second touches on the controversy between the rights of professionals to promote a normative value system through their practice that might stand in contrast to the common normative perspective of the layman. There are no easy answers to the dilemmas raised by these issues, and those who raise them cannot be dismissed as simply conservative, racist, and xenophobic (even though there are among the challengers a range of such views). This critique, if taken seriously, suggests that some groups feel like their core value system is violated and disregarded by the orthodoxy’s agenda. Ironically, as critics will point out, this oppression of difference in viewpoint goes directly against the commitment to multiculturalism and diversity that the teacher

education establishment seeks to nurture when it comes to other groups like minorities, immigrants, and other oft-times marginalized populations.

The Progressive ideas seem even more dangerous and oppressive to the critics, since they enter the discourse through the agenda of professionals who use their professional power to make their ideas and knowledge look authoritative, objective, and “true.” In the case of education -- where knowledge and truth are so seriously contested -- challengers see this as an irresponsible and undemocratic misuse of power by a liberal minority who tries to impose their ideas on the entire society.

Again, the challengers vary in their stridency. Damon (2005) explicitly notes that it is not clear whether the decision to write the NCATE standards in this way was simply sloppy scholarship or an “intentional dictatorial effort at mind and behavior control” (p. 5). Other challengers -- like the positions articulated by Will (2006) and Hess (2006) -- are quicker to draw conclusions that the teacher education establishment is intentionally enacting an “Orwellian mind control” (Damon, 2005).

These discussions have undertones of our larger national discussions about “moral values.” While at times, challengers say that they are mainly concerned with the “imbalance” of views and values that are reflected in the teacher preparation curriculum, at other times, the critiques sound more like accusations that the progressives (like the larger liberal Democratic Party) lost their moral

compass, and that schools – and teacher education establishment more specifically -- need to return to “moral” -- it is unclear whether this means “Christian” -- values. It is not surprising, then, that one theme in challenges to the orthodoxy concerns the predominant values of that community, including Progressivism, constructivism, Romanticism, social justice, equal opportunity, equality, and equity.

Re-visioning the Teacher Education Establishment

Our goal in the chapter was modest: to examine the usefulness of Bourdieu’s ideas about social fields to help us understand the current jurisdictional challenges to teacher preparation and certification, focusing on the criticisms to the establishment, not the orthodoxy’s responses to those challenges. While some might dismiss the ideas of orthodoxy and heterodoxy out of hand, for us, the Bourdieuan frame is helpful. We are persuaded that there is an orthodoxy, albeit loosely coupled and constantly shifting, and that the social field of teacher education is characterized by a dominant set of norms, values, ideas, ideologies, and assumptions that shape the ways that social agents operate. Bourdieu would call this socialized behavior of agents their “habitus.” Put simply, habitus is the set of dispositions, behaviors, beliefs, and norms that one acquires through life. These are affected by one’s sources of capital -- economic, cultural, and social -- and the position one occupies in the social field. The habitus conditions the way social agents understand the field, or as Bourdieu put it, the

habitus is the agent's "feel for the game." According to Bourdieu, then, our rationality is bound and defined by the sources of capital we possess, our habitus, and the position we occupy in the social field(s).

Based on this theory, we argue that although the teacher education establishment is relatively remote from some of the heterodoxy's agents and thus often resistant and dismissive to their ideas, the teacher education establishment would benefit from understanding with more acuity the structure of our field, the types of agents that operate in it, and the positions that these agents currently occupy. The problem with one's habitus is that one is often not aware of it; norms and values are implicit and tacitly accepted. Thus critics play an invaluable role by helping us "see" our norms and assumptions through their challenges. Indeed, we have found stepping back and examining the critiques very helpful in examining our own assumptions and world views. (We rely here on the old anthropological premise that understanding the other helps us better understand ourselves.) We conclude by first summarizing how the challengers perceive the orthodoxy and then reflecting on the major criticisms to the teacher education field.^{ix}

So what do the challengers "see" when they experience the teacher education establishment? (And remember, the teacher education establishment includes the 1300+ teacher education programs that currently exist.) They see a set of omnipresent ideas -- ideas that are, at times, experienced as oppressive and

stifling, despite their liberatory intent. Those ideas include Progressivism -- with its hallmark belief that the purpose of government is the good of the people as exemplified in the work of Jane Addams and Hull House (Bentham, 1879; Himmelfarb, 1991). More specifically, they also see progressive education ideology, with its attention to the child and experience; its “naturalistic” and Romantic ideas about learning; its hands-on, project-oriented pedagogy; and its skepticism about authority (teachers are, after all, not lecturers but guides, facilitators, and collaborators). Critics also see, at best, ignorance of, and at worst, an active resistance to ideas antithetical to or different from their own progressive notions, including empirical evidence about the “science” of learning and teaching. Challengers also see a commitment to a particular version of social justice, one that argues that all teachers should have certain values, beliefs, and dispositions, including a commitment to becoming change agents, to remedying inequalities in society, and to giving each and every child access to future economic, intellectual, professional, and personal success. They also see a rhetoric of teachers-as-professionals without the attendant obligations that accompany that status. And they see a bureaucracy -- swollen, slow, conservative.

Equally important is considering what some of the challengers fail to see and acknowledge. Many among them do not see a field where teachers leaving preparation programs are highly qualified. Many do not see teachers with

impressive -- or even sufficient -- content knowledge. Many do not see teacher educators critiquing or closing down preparation programs that are mediocre. Many do not see innovation or responsiveness. Many do not see the critique of progressivism or skepticism about particular progressive pedagogies. Many do not see some of the hallmarks of professions: internal accountability, an agreed upon knowledge base, specialized and rigorous training, challenging licensure examinations. Many do not see agreement about what the content of teacher education programs should be, nor do many see evidence that the field keeps up with the integrate research-based knowledge about effective teaching.

So what? For one, Bourdieu helps us understand that, whether we would like it or not, the borders between the orthodoxy and heterodoxy are permeable, ever shifting. According to Bourdieu (2005), the struggle for domination in the field is constant, and continues as long as the field can provide space for challengers to operate and manifest their ideas. In this process, agents who were disenfranchised in the past are the potential challengers looking for opportunity to take control over the field in the future. Indeed, the social field of teacher education looks very different than it did 20 years ago. A case in point: The 500+ alternative routes into teaching, which currently exist in 48 states and the District of Columbia. Alternative routes are now part of the establishment, as is Teach For America, Troops to Teachers, and the like. Accountability and standards that were seen by many in the establishment as inappropriate ideas that impose a

business mindset on the field are now part of the education landscape. So are more than ever before ideas of merit pay, which can be seen on the agendas of the NBPTS and the ABCTE.

As Bourdieu (2005) claimed, outsiders can change, (sometimes) dramatically, the way fields operate. Domination of certain groups depends on the value of the different sources of capital they possess -- economic, social, cultural, bureaucratic. When the value of a capital (its “rate of exchange”) deteriorates, the authority that was based on it is questioned too. This means that other agents who bring with them new ideas -- based on other sorts or combinations of capital -- are able to gain more authority. So, for instance, alternative routes became a legitimate part of the structure of power in the field of teacher education when they were able to successfully question the structure of capital that supported and justified the “old” teacher preparation system run by the orthodoxy. Instead of the cultural capital of teacher educators that praised the importance of progressive pedagogy, the serious alternate routes suggest an alternative which argues for the importance of broad liberal art education and disciplinary specific content background for teachers. And with very little research to rely on – either research that explicates the professional knowledge base of teaching/teacher education or research that demonstrates the value-added of teacher education – the orthodoxy’s capital further erodes.

So how do we -- as members of the “old” orthodoxy – respond, especially as the value of our capital shifts? Not, we contend, by dismissing all criticism out of hand as wrongheaded, anti-democratic, conservative, or oppressive. Nor is it helpful to politely accept all criticism on face value. Certainly, all critics and criticisms are not equally worthy of serious engagement, but many are. And their criticism might help us see what forms of capital we need to develop. While Bourdieu argues that economic capital will trump all other forms of capital, he also noted the power of cultural capital.

If the traditional cultural capital of the teacher education establishment has eroded, what new forms of capital might we acquire? Perhaps it is time to agree upon a knowledge base that all teachers should acquire in teacher preparation programs. A common knowledge base has not thwarted the commitments of medical or law or architecture schools to tailor their professional programs to particular foci; it should be possible for us to have a national collective commitment while also leaving room for programs to have particular strengths. The development of such a knowledge base would also require a commitment to sound educational research that produces both publicly credible and professional responsible results. If we had a collective answer to the question, “What do teachers need to know and be able to do?” and we had some evidence of the effects of that teacher knowledge on students learning and development, then it would not be as easy for our challengers to take over aspects of our work (teacher

preparation or licensure). Such cultural capital would lead to other forms of capital, including more control over the bureaucracy.

But building up more cultural capital is not sufficient. We might also need to become much more open to internal and external critique, for democracies and vital institutions depend on dialectical tension. To the extent that there is even a kernel of truth in the image of the teacher education establishment reflected back to us by our challengers, we have some serious work to do.

But the dialogue we suggest is by no means an invitation for challengers to take over the positions of power in the field, nor is such a dialogue our idea alone (the voices of insiders and outsiders in this volume is testimony to that). Conserving the relative autonomy of the field of teacher education from the grasp of other fields (like the state bureaucracy, business corporations, and religions) is essential for the future of public education, for teacher preparation needs to be protected from control by a singular ideology (including from within). Thus, while autonomy does not necessarily mean conserving the old order, it definitely does not mean caving to the narrow interests and ideology of the economic elite whose interests are powerful and invasive. We cannot disregard the fact that some of the challengers' arguments were cultivated in conservative think tanks funded by these interests; there might be those among the challengers whose interest is solely in the demolition of the politically powerful teachers' unions (and they see teacher education as the softest spot in the system). Indeed,

Bourdieu noted the tendency of economic elites to use their economic capital to establish their interests in a seemingly legitimate acceptable order that can supposedly be profitable to everybody. But we know that the open market does not lead to a more equitable society; the gap between the rich and the poor of this country only continues to yawn.

We also know that the challenges and the challengers are not a monolithic bloc. The jurisdictional challenges to teacher education of the last 20 years is not a simple story of a battle between the narrow ideas of an economic, conservative, sometime religious elite and the democratic, progressive, liberal teacher education establishment. We believe that the reality is much more complex. Some challenges do not represent the interests of economic elites, but rather the interests of other groups that have been systematically excluded from the discourse by the orthodoxy, because their ideas are simply different. Examples for these kinds of groups are the ABCTE in the area of certification; TEAC in the area of accreditation; and Teach for America in teacher preparation. Each of these organizations has been battered by some representatives of the teacher education orthodoxy who out-of-hand have dismissed the value of such alternatives. But if we care about democracy, these organizations (and others) should be allowed to participate in the conversation about how best to prepare high quality teachers. Disregarding and alienating these groups is far more dangerous, as other challengers who *do* represent narrow undemocratic interests can argue that the

current system is authoritarian and undemocratic and thus should be replaced altogether. Indeed, all professions carry the burden of being self-serving, monopolistic, and exclusionary. They talk about their mission to serve society, while focusing on fortifying their privileges.

Neo-Weberians argue that professionals tend to monopolize their work environment and its associated benefits, thus increasing social inequality. This criticism is based on a conflict perspective that views the social reality as a place where individuals and groups struggle to gain control over various kinds of resources (Weber, 1952). Among and within professions, then, there is a constant tension between “insiders” (the professionals who want to act as gatekeepers and restrict access to prevent oversupply) and “outsiders” (those who cannot overcome the obstacles put by professionals and therefore are denied of the benefits associated with membership). Collins (1990) argues that “instead of merely responding to market dynamics... occupations attempt to control market conditions. Those which are especially successful are the ones which we have come to call the professions” (p. 25). Professions look to secure and preserve their privileges from the instability of the labor market and possible competition of other professions by surrounding their work with social rituals and turning their everyday practice into one that generates sacred symbols (Abbott, 1988; Collins, 1990). Education and credentials are among the social rituals that establish public legitimacy, which -- in turn -- enables professionals to follow practices of market

closure and exclusion of non-members (Collins, 1990; also see Tamir and Wilson, 2005).

These two contradicting approaches emphasize the ambivalent/ambiguous nature of professions, which might serve public interests, but at the same time might attempt to better its members. Pels (1995) conceptualizes it as a “Janus face”: the concept of professional autonomy “came to display an intrinsic duplicity or duality in which good and evil, functional necessity and dysfunctional domination, appeared to conspire closely” (p. 81). While there is reason to believe that, on some occasions, the public is better served by a professional entity rather of being solely exposed to the political and economic interests of state administration and business community, professionals -- at the same time -- must protect that public from the dangers of the profession’s power and monopoly.

Can research help us here? Research and science will never be objective or disinterested. They are, by definition, part of the field that they seek to study. And the politics of the field have deep effects on the subject of study, the research questions, the method and design, and presentation of the outcomes. All the while, it would be unfair to stigmatize all research as an advocacy work. There is work that is productive and illuminating in the sense that researchers aim to promote and advance the field as a whole irrespectively of its current political structure. We do believe that work like the scholarship represented in this

handbook, which is designed to help the members of our field think and act responsively and critically, in ways that might help foster a more open climate to diverse ideas (while keeping and developing a professional autonomous core that aims to serve the public good in a comprehensive and democratic way) is potentially contributive to the public. We believe that other scholarship -- of different genres and about different questions -- can also help, if done with methodological acuity and moral grace.

In the end, in our continuing efforts to build a teacher education system that prepares and nurtures well-prepared teachers, we must engage other groups in our discussion. This does not mean that we should strive for a false unity or a consensus, for these are unrealistic, paralyzing, and usually undemocratic practices. Every field needs some diversity of ideas and an active heterodoxy in order to stay vibrant, productive, and in the case of a “professional” field, a real servant of the public good. Moreover, as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) have argued, the whole notion of a social field rests on the premise of a struggle between social agents (when there is no heterodoxy, the field simply ceases to exist as a field). Nevertheless, the price to pay for more openness on the part of the current orthodoxy is not insignificant. Diversity and openness to other ideas and approaches means navigating more persistent and impassioned political dynamics and less likelihood of the old elite preserving and perpetuating its positions of power and ideas. On the other hand, the field as a whole can benefit

from a more democratic struggle that would surely act first, as a fodder and catalyst of needed change, and second as a mechanism to garner more public legitimacy for the field. This kind of evolution might better position members of the ever-evolving teacher education orthodoxy in the social space, as a professional field that might become a better servant of the public good, enjoy more legitimacy, while significantly reducing its self-serving practices, the immanent ills of any and all professions. In the end, the social field of teacher education will only thrive to the extent that we embrace these challenges, sort through them carefully, and respond to those that will help us prepare better teachers for America's children.

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ⁱ For one analysis of these arguments, see Cochran-Smith (2005) and Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001), as well as the entire issue of the *Journal of Teacher Education* devoted to the politics of teacher education (volume 56, number 3). Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001) assert that the critics are more inappropriate in their criticism; we're not as sanguine about this.

ⁱⁱ This phenomenon is common in the "culture wars," especially those concerning curriculum. For instance, political liberals who align with educationally conservative ideas (e.g., teach the "canon") are often misrepresented as political

conservatives (Wilson, 2003). This can be frustrating for critics, and lead to further alienation from the teacher education establishment.

iii We are aware of the problematic nature of the use of terms like “objective” or “balanced,” but we believe that it is both possible and helpful to attend to multiple perspectives simultaneously all the while acknowledging that no perspective is purely objective.

iv We do not use the language of “establishment” in a derogatory way as sometimes is presumed given its connotation. But we do use it to capture the perspectives of critics who experience and interpret the sometimes loosely coupled system that supports traditional teacher preparation as a unified bloc, as articulated by Conant (1964). Conant and others also used the language of “educationists.”

v In drawing these maps, we draw both on the work of Bourdieu and that of Spring (1997). We do not aim here for a comprehensive map of all agents and associations. Indeed, such a map would be very difficult to read. However, we hope here to evoke some sense of the complexities of the social field of teacher education. A further complication is that the teacher education establishment is embedded in the larger education establishment, full of even more agents and relations. Similarly, while this picture focuses on the national landscape, there are state level and local associations and actors as well (where Murray (this volume)

argues that most of the action actually takes place), and the considerable variation across states and localities is also not captured here.

^{vi} Throughout the essay, we use teacher education “establishment,” “system,” or “orthodoxy” as shorthand for the loosely coupled set of individuals and organizations portrayed in Figure 1.

^{vii} The questions that the challengers do not ask are equally important to the establishment. For instance, critics have not asked: To what extent do teacher education programs prepare teachers to teach diverse student populations and students with disabilities? This kind of question is very important to members of the teacher education establishment, and reviews of relevant research can be found in Cochran-Smith and Zeichner (2005) and Darling-Hammond and Bransford (2005).

^{viii} Zeichner (2003) argues that there are three approaches to recruiting teachers: professionalism, deregulation, and social justice. These approaches roughly parallel three themes of the critiques we describe here. However, Zeichner folds the argument that teachers need nothing more than content knowledge into the deregulation critique. We prefer a different conceptualization since not all deregulators argue that there is no professional knowledge save for content knowledge.

^{ix} We note also as Merleau-Ponty's (1945/1962) explains in *Phenomenology of Perception*, meaning is derived from understanding our own and others' *perceptions*. Perceptions can be true or false; that is of no matter, for understanding from a phenomenological point of view is dependent on understanding people's objective experiences and interpretations of the world. Here we are not arguing that the challengers' perceptions are "true," only that they are important perceptions for us to seriously consider, for our social field changes, due in no small part to these forces.