Developing ‘good’ post-primary teachers and teaching in a reform era: cultural dynamics in a programme level study\textsuperscript{1} of the PDE

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Introduction: Policy context and the quest for the ‘good teacher’ and ‘good teacher education’

Most discussions about the quality of schooling quickly turn to the quality of teachers, reflections and memories of individual teachers who ‘made a difference’, whether good or not so, in a person’s school biography. The quest for the ‘good teacher’ is important to parents, interleaves itself into a community’s conversations about its schools, animates children’s and adolescents’ reflections on a central feature of their lives and increasingly is the protagonist in policy debates on teacher education. Almost everyone has certain convictions about the characteristics and importance of a good teacher, borne out of schooling as a shared and typically vivid experience. But these convictions tend to foster three misleading assumptions: that quality teaching is only about individuals, that it is innate and that it is immutable. There is a strong tendency to centre on the individual teacher and ignore the school and community context. The belief that the teacher (again the emphasis is typically on the individual) is born, not made, is often stated, thereby rendering invisible the powerful developmental, cultural and institutional dynamics leading to ‘good’ teachers and teaching. Kennedy (2010) argues “…that researchers as well as laymen tend to overestimate the influence of personal traits and underestimate the influence of situations on observed behavior” (p. 591). Thus, in comparing differences across classrooms, there is a strong tendency to focus on differences in student learning as a function of the “characteristics of teachers themselves, overlooking situational

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factors” (Kennedy, 2010, p. 591). The implications of this for understanding the role of initial teacher education in fostering quality teaching are two-fold: firstly what are the relevant situational factors? And second, what are the dynamics and impact of initial teacher education on becoming a good teacher?

To illuminate these issues, this chapter draws on findings from the Learning to Teach Study (LETS), a study of initial teacher education. The study, funded by the Department of Education and Skills (DES), was undertaken in the context of the Postgraduate Diploma in Education (post-primary) (PDE) in the School of Education, University College Cork. Its findings on the key cultural dynamics that shape the learning to teach experience are particularly relevant in the context of the current move from a one to a two-year Professional Diploma in Education (DES, 2011; Teaching Council, 2011a, 2011b) as the modal programme for education of post-primary teachers in Ireland, which will necessitate a re-thinking and a restructuring of these programmes. Within an overall framework that explored how student teachers develop their skills, competences and identity as teachers, LETS focused in particular on curricular competences in mathematics, science and language teaching, and on the cross-curricular competences of reading and digital literacy and the development of inclusive teaching practices. LETS also sought to understand the dynamics of good teacher education within the context of the expanding literature on this theme over the last fifteen years (e.g. Korthagen et al., 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2006; Kennedy & Barnes, 1994; Tatto, 1999; Korthagen, Loughran & Russell, 2006).

Conceptions of competence are theory-laden and interwoven with the pedagogical, psychological and political aspects of teacher education. Among the dimensions of competence highlighted in LETS are how: (i) classic and contemporary views of competences reflect significant changes in assumptions about the development of human competence, (ii) research on competences should not be seen as separate from other aspects of teacher education and (iii) current policy discourse neglects much of the complex interwoven nature of pedagogy, psychology and politics associated with

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2 For second level teaching, the consecutive model of teacher education, comprising a subject-based degree followed by a PDE or similar, is the dominant one. The concurrent model where teaching subjects and education studies are taught side by side is more common in specialized degrees such as physical education, and at primary level where the three year B.Ed. has been the main teaching qualification for many years, although the consecutive mode is also available,
competence, for example, in its over-reliance on learning outcomes in a manner that typically eschews both the initial and ongoing opportunities for learning. We highlight in the LETS report (Conway et al., 2011a) how the current rhetorical appeal and widespread uptake of the learning outcomes concept has short-circuited the complexity of understanding, fostering and evaluating both good teaching and good teacher education.

Consequently, the LETS study adopts a socio-cultural approach to learning and to becoming competent as a teacher during initial teacher education (ITE). This emphasises the situated, relational and political dimensions of competence and the centrality and nature of assisted practice in learning to teach (Penuel & Werstch, 1995; Lave & Wenger, 1998; Claxton & Wells, 2002; Sawyer, 2006; Hall, Murphy & Soler, 2008; Korthagen, 2010). It enables us to address the teacher archetypes, supports and challenges that are part of the ‘learning to teach’ process. Drawing upon these key issues, we framed the study in terms of the opportunities to learn to teach available to student teachers, encompassing material and symbolic resources and as well as social supports.

For the purposes of this chapter, we focus on three overarching findings at the programme level rather than the wide range of findings within the various sections of the larger LETS study. The three claims that we will focus here are:

- **Mentoring without access to observation of others and the ‘invisible learner’ phenomenon:** The prevalence in school settings of mentoring as a support structure for student teachers but without opportunities to observe experienced teachers at work in the classroom was bound up with the relative ‘invisibility’ (Long et al. 2012) of student teachers as learners.

- **Inherited ‘good teaching’ cultural scripts dominate over reform-oriented images of teaching:** A strong strand theme through the data was student teachers’ reliance on inherited cultural scripts about ‘good’ teaching in their subject areas.

- **Ready to teach but not ready to ‘do’ inclusion:** Students’ perceptions that by the end of the programme that they are ‘ready to teach’ but that they are not yet ready to 'do' inclusion; i.e. inclusion is an add-on rather than an intrinsic characteristic of their teaching.
Research Design

LETS was an empirical research project, funded by the Department of Education and Science and undertaken over three years (2007-10). It involved the participation of an experienced research team from the School of Education, UCC and the 2008-2009 cohort of PDE students. The principles of the interpretive research genre (Mertens, 2010; Borko et al., 2007) informed the project. Seventeen student teachers were interviewed on three occasions over the course of an academic year. The timing of these interviews was designed to capture opportunities to learn to teach at crucial points in the PDE programme. The study also included analysis of documents and a survey questionnaire completed in March 2009 by 133 of the 212 students of the 2008/2009 PDE cohort (a response rate of 63%). No student was interviewed by his/her own teaching practice supervisor, all were assured of anonymity, and consent was understood to be on-going, that is, they were free to withdraw at any time from the study.

Findings

Finding 1. Student teachers had limited access to the pedagogy of others despite support from mentors

Kevin: ...the first two weeks we went into the school we were more or less told that you would be sitting in the class watching your class teacher and I mean I thought that was brilliant because not only do you get to know the class from sitting at the back of the room but you just get a small bit more confident. I mean this particular day I saw what the teacher was doing and I thought, yes I can do that. It helped me just to build my confidence more than anything else. ... even though there was a drawback in terms of you were recognised as a student going back to the classroom, that kind of wore off. (Kevin, learning to teach English, Interview 1, emphases added)

Kevin’s story was exceptional in the context of LETS. Under the prevailing system, most of the students surveyed went straight into classroom teaching without a prior period of observation in their teaching practice school. Underpinning contemporary reforms in teacher education is an assumption that access to the pedagogy of accomplished teachers is a key feature of teacher education programmes. A central, mechanism for this is through student teachers’ experience on field placements where opportunities to observe and be observed, as well as to engage in professional
conversations are assumed to be a staple aspect of learning to teach. In LETS, a contradiction emerged: the vast majority of student teachers surveyed had support within their schools from mentors but this mentoring did not include, except in a small minority of notable cases, access to observing these same teachers’ pedagogical practice or to discussions on pedagogical practice. Some students in our study reported that there was little opportunity for professional dialogue in their schools:

**Fiona:** I don't think I actually learned too much about teaching in the school I am in. They would talk about students and their marks but they wouldn't talk about methodologies that they use, it wasn't the done thing. (Fiona, learning to teach Irish and History, interview 3)

Over 90% of PDE students in our survey had one or more of the three kinds of mentor we identified (an overall school coordinator of teaching practice, an individual mentor assigned by the school, or a mentor whom they sought out or with whom they formed a mentoring relationship within the school), and many of them had more than one mentor within the school. Effective mentoring could really make a difference to the student teacher:

**Caron:** When I went to the school I was assigned mentor teachers because I was taking over their classes, they were incredibly helpful and incredibly supportive and I really appreciated the work that they did for me. (Caron, learning to teach science and maths, interview 3, p. 15)

It is noteworthy however that a minority of the survey participants had no mentor at all within their teaching practice school.

By comparison with the general availability of mentoring, however, opportunities to observe in the classroom were rare. Only two in five (40%) were enabled either to observe experienced teachers or be observed by these same teachers during teaching practice, and almost half of these had observed on fewer than four occasions. Four out of five (82%) of those who did not have an opportunity to observe another teacher stated that they would have valued the opportunity had it been available. The interviews helped to shed some light on the minority who would not have welcomed the opportunity to observe: some saw it as automatically labelling them as student teachers and thereby having the capacity to undermine the highly sought-after sense of independent authority and discipline deemed necessary to function as a teacher in schools.
Maeve (who at 23 was one of the younger participants in the study, and whose teaching practice school was located in the small town where she herself went to school) was initially glad that her school did not insist on student teachers observing before beginning to teach a class on their own, but later changed her mind:

**Maeve:** Because I felt that if you were sitting at the back of the classroom of another teacher, they (the students) know straight away that you are a student teacher and you are leaving yourself open. But now I feel that it is good to observe because you do forget your own school days... (Maeve, teaching Irish and English in a Gaelscoil, interview 1)

The LETS study characterises the student teachers’ appetite for isolation in terms of their ‘invisibility’ as learners, and finds that students are less successful at negotiating curriculum or assessment issues in those schools when no one in the school takes responsibility for their learning as novice teachers (Long et al, 2012; Hall et al. 2012).

**Siobhán:** The teachers in my school in general are very helpful, but there's no specific person and at the start I wouldn't have felt comfortable maybe asking for help because like that you were afraid you would be seen as weak and things like that. Maybe you don't want to draw the extra attention on yourself... and again you are not that confident within the school structure at that stage and you don't know where you fit in (Siobhan, teaching French, interview 1)

In summary, for students in LETS, opportunities for deep professional engagement about pedagogy during school placement were significantly constrained, in spite of the widespread availability of mentoring of some kind (Conway et al, 2011a). These findings are entirely consistent with the recent OECD Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) study (Gilleece et al, 2009) which found that professional collaboration in second-level schools is typically focused at the level of exchange and coordination rather than deeper levels of collaboration centred around activities such as team teaching, observation and co-planning.

**Gradual and supported assumption of responsibility**

A fundamental assumption guiding this study is that learning to teach is best undertaken in a context in which student teachers experience gradual and supported
entry into full classroom responsibility. This assumption is based on research on learning as assisted performance (Vygotsky, 1978, Tharp & Gallimore, 1988) and on more recent teacher education studies (Moore-Johnson, 2004; Mewborn & Stinson, 2007). These suggest that the ‘sink or swim’ model of learning to teach ultimately undermines teaching; it provides far fewer opportunities to develop a wide repertoire of skills, and the pressure to survive consigns student and beginning teachers to an over-reliance on their ‘apprenticeship of observation’ (Lortie, 1975). In this regard, how can we characterise the experiences of these PDE students?

In order to address this question, and to expand on the concept of support in schools for learning to teach in the context of different subject specialities, we drew on both survey and interview data. A five-item Support in School scale (Cronbach Alpha = 0.70) was constructed; this was a subset of the questions in the survey. The five items used were

(i) Got lot of help planning lessons from school staff
(ii) Had chances to talk daily about lesson progress with teachers
(iii) Felt supported by staff in school
(iv) Had access to resources in school, textbooks etc.
(v) Felt supported in my main subject.

The last item reflects the fact that student teachers in general have two teaching subjects, one of which is their major subject for purposes of the PDE. There were significant differences in support for students in different subjects (see Table 1). Overall, the mean scores suggest that a low to moderate degree of support was available to student teachers in both their main and second subjects. There was a statistically significant difference (Tukey posthoc, p=0.05) between the degree of support in schools for student teachers of Maths (mean=14.2, sd 2.8) compared to teachers of French (mean=8.5, sd 3.9). We are unable to suggest a reason why this might be so; no other two-way comparison of mean scores on the ‘Support in School’ scale, between Maths, Science, French, or Other Languages, were significant.

**Table 1: ‘Support in Schools’ for main and second PDE subject**

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3 In the context of teaching their main PDE subject, a one-way ANOVA, with two-way Tukey test posthoc comparisons, to assess the differences in means between support for students in different subjects was significant overall (df 9/123, F=2.64, p=0.008).
The LETS study reflects other studies (Britzman, 2007; Moore-Johnson et al, 2004; Mewborn & Stinson, 2007) in finding that isolation is a constraining factor in learning to become a competent teacher and that school level collaboration is the only sustainable option. In conclusion, the phenomenon of mentoring that typically does not include observation or associated opportunities to discuss pedagogy, is bound up with what we termed the ‘invisible learner’ phenomenon (Long et al, 2012). A significant implication of the limited opportunities to engage with the pedagogy of others in schools is the consequent foreclosure on opportunities to reconsider dominant cultural scripts about what constitutes good teaching.

**Finding 2. Inherited ‘good teaching’ cultural scripts dominate over reform-oriented images of teaching**

In the absence of opportunities to observe experienced and skilled teachers at work, Lortie’s (1975) classic concept, the ‘apprenticeship of observation’, draws our attention to the ways in which those learning to teach draw on their own experiences at school as a way of framing what it means to be a good teacher. Not surprisingly, there was consistent evidence that this was the case among all LETS participants, especially near the beginning of the year:

**Aisling:** At the beginning of the year...I was doing too much lecture style, teacher talking, students listening. I suppose in the first few weeks I went in thinking that was the way to teach.

While university supervisors and tutors might give advice on alternative ways of teaching, the lack of opportunities to observe subject teachers at work in their teaching practice school meant that some student teachers looked elsewhere for role...
models. Julie (teaching science) spoke of how she trawled YouTube for resources, especially as a means of expanding observation opportunities for herself on how to manage scientific investigations (these, we presume, were also being taught in her teaching practice school):

**Julie:** Well I copy the videos on YouTube on my own computer and then bring it into the school. There is a school in Dublin and we have videos of the entire junior cert and Leaving Cert physics experiments, which is really handy to see other boys and girls... (Julie, Interview 2)

Julie’s experience draws attention to a number of important factors in learning to teach: the need for role models, the appeal of observing others’ practice, the absence of opportunities to do so within the school and the way in which accessing others’ pedagogy, in this case via YouTube, was a means of engaging with ‘new’ and other scripts of teaching. Julie’s quest to do so highlights the natural reliance on role models that is an inescapable feature of becoming a teacher. In an era in which many subjects are undergoing significant reform and innovation, a reliance on ‘good’ teachers from the past as models may foreclose on ways of thinking about what it means to be a good teacher in the context of reform-oriented images of teaching in various curriculum areas.

Crucially, core issues to the teaching of any subject are conceptions of knowledge, assumptions about learning, teaching and assessment in the domain, and the role of curriculum resources. Inherited cultural scripts regarding what constitutes good teaching are typically challenged by reforms in these areas. For example, in their university-based mathematics methods module, student teachers are expected to acquire new ways of thinking about teaching and learning maths, that is, a vision of mathematics that is different from the traditional, exposition and practice model of practice that they themselves experienced as students of mathematics (Conway et al. 2011c). There were issues for the student teachers of mathematics in our study in trying to put this new vision of mathematical education into practice, and to develop resource-rich environments in schools.

**Emma:** Before, my idea of a good teacher of maths would have been quite traditional, like the good teachers that I had who went up to the board, they did examples, and then we did examples. So now I wouldn't have that image of a good maths teacher. I would think it is somebody who gets the kids active
so they are sitting up rather than just slouching... who looks for resources and tries to relate the material to the students. (Emma, teaching maths and French, interview 2, emphases added).

Changes in other subject areas bring similar challenges; some student teachers of languages for example found that there was now a greater emphasis on the communicative approach (McKeon, 2007) in contrast to the more didactic way in which they themselves were taught. In Kevin’s school, the procedure was for all student teachers to observe for the first two weeks before taking on classes themselves. Kevin therefore was one of the few (approximately 10%) of the PGDE student teachers who observed more than once or twice. The observations he undertook prompted considerable reflection:

Kevin: It was very interesting to see him teaching, how he managed the class and how he interacted with the class... He used group work (teaching an English literature class) and I thought that was particularly strange because I didn't have any group work with my teachers when I was in secondary school, ...I was very surprised about it. (Kevin, teaching English, Interview 1).

These three examples show how student teachers typically seek out and interpret observation opportunities that are available to them in light of their own experience of schooling or apprenticeship of observation, the input from their methodology classes and their own current experience of teaching. Typically, teaching, especially at second level, has been ‘closed’ and not open to observation by others, except in very limited circumstances. The LETS findings in relation to the nature of the support afforded student teachers provide an important insight into a powerful cultural dynamic within the teacher education arena, namely the very limited opportunities for deep collegial engagement with pedagogy and the learning opportunities afforded when these do occur.

This is one of the fundamental dilemmas of teacher education, and for the re-imagining of the PDE: how should the next generation of teachers be educated and assessed in a reform-oriented era? How can they become flexible and adaptive learners and teachers? While advances in technology mean that it may be easier to access the practice of others in the future (with bodies such as the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment and others making examples of what is considered good practice available on-line, for example), changes in the structure of the PDE,
which allow more time for a gradual induction into the practice of teaching should also allow more time for observation, discussion and reflection. A more generative learning environment in which to learn to teach only be provided by a synergy between university and school which provides an environment for growth and development.

Finding 3. Ready to teach but not yet ready to teach for inclusion

Despite survey results indicating that 84% of the participant cohort ‘feel ready to teach’ as they neared the end of their PDE programme, many student teachers expressed genuine uncertainty and apprehension in relation to their role in facilitating more inclusive learning practices. Nevertheless, the participant students in LETS typically displayed evidence of feeling responsible for the whole range of abilities and motivations present in their classroom. This genuine care ethic matched, or was a part of, their developing competence in the classroom. Initially, the focus was on classroom control and on showing care in this context. As Maeve states, “at the start of the year you are trying to get to grips with the teaching, never mind things like inclusion and things like that as well” (Interview 2, p.5). This view of inclusion as a separate issue was not uncommon, and perhaps the timing of lectures was a factor:

Padraig: I sat in an in-service in the school in differentiation and learning with special needs and I'm having a look at that at the moment and I like the way that is going. We haven't covered it in lectures yet but it sounds quite doable and I am very, very open to it. So I have started to try and introduce differentiation into my lessons and just appeal to the different learning styles of the students and I am just starting it but I can't say that I have found it a success, obviously it is very early days (Padraig, teaching maths and science, interview 1).

As the year went on, a great sense of self-efficacy and competence meant that they could express their genuine care ethic with more conviction. They began to situate differentiation in the context of curriculum delivery:

Interviewer: What part of your teaching experience do you find the most interesting and rewarding?

Aoife: I think the girls in my class who have learning difficulties, even if they are not recognised ones, probably the most rewarding for me is of course when they get something and when they get good marks in a test or, you know, will I
be able to pick on them to explain it to the rest of the class. I do some support classes as well as regular classes so it is nice to see them coming on (Aoife, teaching science and maths, interview 1).

For another respondent, inclusion meant democratic engagement in the classroom. This, in turn, demanded a pupil-centred pedagogy where individuals’ values, opinions and needs mattered. However, such an enlightened view did not appear as a typical feature of reports of practice.

It is worth considering that the very notion of differentiation as a cornerstone of an inclusive pedagogy is something that can be unexpected by those learning to teach, or by those who have little experience of being outside the traditional teacher-learner norm in school work. Padraig’s thinking suggests that differentiation in teaching is something that is not necessarily out of reach of those learning to teach, at least in aspirational terms. Yet regardless of the specific nature of learning difficulties encountered, notions of good teaching and particular labels can become and remain compartmentalised. Differentiation, student behaviour and ‘activity-based learning’ may be divided as separate things the teacher must ‘learn to manage’, rather than wholly integrated features of a learning community.

**Discussion**

In presenting some key findings from LETS, three questions emerge that ought, we think, to be generative in re-imagining teacher education at post-primary level in Ireland:

- How can teacher education support deeper engagement with and sharing of pedagogy with others as part of the learning to teach experience in schools in tandem with enhancing the visibility of student teachers as learners?
- In what ways can teacher education engage with both inherited cultural scripts and reform-oriented images of good teaching?
- How can initial teacher education foster a broader conception of readiness to teach so that it encompasses teaching for inclusion?

In addressing these three core challenges, we recognise that the scope of teacher
competence is broad, and always has been, as teachers are expected at once to be academically knowledgeable, capable of planning learning in order to share their own and others’ knowledge, to act as caring and moral persons, and to represent and act within societies as civic and cultural persons (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005). None of this makes learning to teach easy. In our discussion, we draw upon seven principles summarising Korthagan et al.’s (2006) review of research on good teacher education in the last twenty years. These principles are: (i) Learning about teaching involves continuously conflicting and competing demands, (ii) Learning about teaching requires a view of knowledge as a subject to be created rather than as a created subject, (iii) Learning about teaching requires a shift in focus from the curriculum to the learning, (iv) Learning about teaching is enhanced through (student) teacher research, (v) Learning about teaching requires an emphasis on those learning to teach working closely with their peers, (vi) Learning about teaching requires meaningful relationships between schools, universities and student teachers and (vii) Learning about teaching is enhanced when the teaching and learning approaches advocated in the program are modelled by the teacher educators in their own practice.

Thus, many of the findings in LETS are not unique to the PDE or to UCC but reflect some perennial dilemmas and emerging challenges in teacher education.

**How can TE support deeper and collegial engagement with pedagogy as part of the learning to teach experience in schools?**

The LETS study found that the development of competence during the PDE is typically characterised by a ‘sink or swim’ model of learning to teach, in schools where there is very significant professional exchange and coordination to support ITE, but very little deeper and more complex professional collaboration centred on the practice of teaching in classrooms. As such, learning to teach is, in many respects, a relatively private personal experience, with infrequent and short public moments when visited by a tutor or very infrequently (and not typically, across schools) by another teacher. We need, therefore, to develop new models of interaction and partnership between the schools who offer teaching practice placements and the
university-based teacher educators. There are a variety of ways in which this might be done; see Conway et al. (2011b) for an exploration of this topic.

**In what ways can teacher education engage with both inherited cultural scripts and reform-oriented images of good teaching?**

Within subject domains, the student teachers in our study were all grappling with images of good teaching from their own apprenticeship of observation, seeking opportunities to observe or be observed and forming new identities. While all teachers have a shared interest in understanding how to best build on and integrate students’ out of school experiences to make learning in school more powerful and meaningful, particular subject domains also demand disciplinary-specific knowledge cutting across a range of areas of teacher knowledge (Shulman, 1987; Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005). In Ireland, rolling reviews of both subject areas and junior and senior cycle at second level include a focus on effective pedagogy and ways in which pedagogy might change, meaning that what is considered good teaching within subject domains is not necessarily static (Looney & Klenowski, 2008).

In this respect, collaboration between teachers and teacher educators is again key. There is scope for greater inclusion of student teachers in the development and implementation of new pedagogies, for example by ensuring that they can participate in workshops, seminars and debates held by the relevant subject associations, and that they are given opportunities to these new pedagogies being modelled by experienced teachers.

**How can initial teacher education foster a broader conception of readiness to teach so that it encompasses teaching for inclusion?**

As part of what is called the ‘new teacher professionalism’, the demands on teachers are becoming increasingly complex. How teachers reconcile and integrate their own emerging sense of professional competence with these is not an easy task. As evidenced in this study, the societal and ideological context impacts on student teachers very significantly. As they neared the end of the PDE, our student teachers felt ready to teach, competent in teaching their subject area, and enjoyed teaching but
nevertheless did not think similarly in terms of their competence to teach for inclusion. The challenge of meeting the diverse needs of learners is not one that is unique or particular to student teachers; it extends across the whole school system, and has implications for leadership and for resources at school and system as well as classroom level. The challenge to teacher educators is to be inclusive in their own teaching and to make it an integral part of their own practice.

Conclusion
The aim of the Learning to Teach Study (LETS) was to identify the individual and contextual dynamics of how student teachers develop curricular and cross-curricular competences during initial teacher education. Based on the LETS study, we have identified directions for future research and teaching in relation to the PDE in UCC, but also we hope more broadly within policy on post-primary teacher education in Ireland as well for contemporary scholarship on initial teacher education and induction in Ireland and internationally.

We hope that the insights we have gleaned, which will inform our own work as we continue to develop the PDE, will also have a wider application.

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