Europeanisation in Teacher Education

Comparative case studies of teacher education policies and practices in Austria, Greece and Hungary

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Abstract

In the past twenty years, teachers and teacher education have received growing attention in Europe with national governments seeking to reform their teacher education systems. Teachers matter (OECD, 2005), and teachers are the most important in-school factor influencing the quality of student learning (Barber & Mourshed, 2007). Since the launch of the Lisbon Strategy, in the year 2000, the European Union (EU) has launched various policy initiatives about teachers and teacher education, with the objective of a knowledge society in mind, so that an accelerating process of Europeanisation of national policies regarding teacher education has been witnessed.

The purpose of this study, conducted within the framework of the European Doctorate in Teacher Education, is to analyse the process of Europeanisation in teacher education from an international and comparative perspective by exploring how and to what extent teacher education policies and practices in three EU countries, namely Austria, Greece and Hungary, have been influenced by European developments. Drawing on Europeanisation literature and Hall's (1993) understanding of policy learning, a stages matrix has been created for analysing policy change in the context of Europeanisation. To apply this to teacher education, the study combined knowledge from ecological system theory and the theory of policy enactment conceptualising teacher education as a complex policy ecosystem that spans across multiple levels, including the European, the national and the institutional level. Analysis across these levels focused on the following policy areas: the continuum of teacher education, the development of teacher competence frameworks, and the support to teacher educators.

The research design adopted a comparative case study approach that enables comparison across scales, systems and time. Data were collected through document review and semi-structured interviews with European policy experts, national policy experts, as well as teacher educators and teachers. Process tracing and qualitative content analysis were employed as methods to analyse the data. The analysis demonstrates first how teacher education is defined at the European level, before exploring the development of national teacher education policies and their resonance with European developments. Examples of higher education institutions in each country are also investigated in order to illustrate how policies are enacted in practice.

Findings argue about the emergence of a European teacher education landscape that is constituted by both vertical and horizontal processes of Europeanisation. Over the years, the EU cooperation on teacher education has led to concrete suggestions and initiatives for policy learning. In this context, domestic actors in the three case studies appear to have utilised European resources to influence change in their respective teacher education systems. Austria and Hungary introduced new policy instruments and changed the settings of policy regarding the continuum of teacher education and teacher competences, while policy change in Greece was limited to the settings of policy. The findings also suggest that policy enactment is not a linear top-down process, since a complex set of translations taking place at the institutional level can lead to heterogeneity in practice.

Teacher education is being Europeanised, although at different speeds and in different directions in each country. Rather than a straightforward impact of Europe on the domestic level, Europeanisation takes place when domestic actors utilise European resources to influence change. This change, however, is still determined by the socio-political and economic contexts, historical traits and actors' preferences at both national and institutional levels. Thus, the impact of Europeanisation in teacher education is not uniform across countries but differential.

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List of Acronyms

ASEP .... Supreme Council for Civil Personnel Selection
ASPETE .... School of Pedagogical and Technological Education
AT .... Austria
ATEE .... Association for Teacher Education in Europe
AUTH .... Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
BERA .... British Educational Research Association
BIFIE .... Federal Institute for Educational Research, Innovation and Development of the Austrian School System
BMBWF .... Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research
CEDEFOP .... European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training
CEE .... Central and Eastern European
CPD .... Continuing Professional Development
DeSeCo .... Definition and Selection of Competencies
DG EAC .... Directorate General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture
DG EMPL .... Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion
DME .... Teacher Training College for Secondary Education
ECTS .... European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System
EDiTE .... European Doctorate in Teacher Education
EFEE .... European Federation of Education Employers
EFOP .... Human Resources Development Operational Programme
EHEA .... European Higher Education Area
EL .... Greece
ELTE .... Eötvös Loránd University
ENTEP .... European Network on Teacher Education Policies
EPE .... European Policy Expert
EPIK .... Developing Professionalism in International Context
EQF .... European Qualifications Framework
ESF .... European Social Fund
ESG .... Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in European Higher Education Area
ET2010 .... Education and Training 2010
ETEA .... European Teacher Education Area
ETUCE .... European Trade Union Committee for Education
EU .... European Union
GÖD-AHS .... Trade Union of Public Servants – Academic Secondary Schools
HEFOP .... Human Resources Development Operational Programme
HEI .... Higher Education Institution
HU .... Hungary
HUNSEM .... Hungarian-Netherlands School of Educational Management
ICT .... Information and Communication Technology
IEP .... Institute of Education Policy
ILS .... Department of Teacher Education and School Research
ISCED .... International Standard Classification of Education
ITE .... Initial Teacher Education

KLIK .... Klebelsberg Institution Maintenance Centre
NCC .... National Core Curriculum
NMS .... New Middle School
NPE .... National Policy Expert
NQF .... National Qualifications Framework
NSRF .... National Strategic Reference Framework
OECD .... Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEPEK .... Organisation for the In-service Training of Teachers
OFI .... Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development
OLME .... Greek Federation of Secondary State School Teachers
OMC .... Open Method of Coordination
OPEIVT .... Operational Programme for Education and Vocational Training
PDSZ .... The Democratic Trade Union of Teachers
PEK .... Regional In-service Training Centres
PH .... University College of Teacher Education
PIRLS .... Progress in International Reading Literacy Study
PISA .... Programme for International Student Assessment
PLA .... Peer Learning Activity
PPDE .... Certificate for Pedagogical and Teaching Competence
PPK .... Faculty of Education and Psychology
QSR .... Quality Assurance Council for Teacher Education
SABER .... Systems Approach for Better Education Results
SELETE .... Technical and Vocational Teacher Training Institute
SELME .... Secondary Education In-service Training Institute
STEOP .... Introductory and Orientation Period
TALIS .... Teaching and Learning International Survey
TÁMOP .... Social Renewal Operational Programme
TE .... Teacher Educator
TEI .... Technological Educational Institute
TEPE .... Teacher Education Policy in Europe
TE-PP .... Teacher Educator – Pedagogy and Psychology
TE-SD .... Teacher Educator – Subject Discipline
TE-SM .... Teacher Educator – Subject Methodology
TIMSS .... Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
TNTEE .... Thematic Network on Teacher Education in Europe
TOR .... Training and Outcome Requirements
UIBK .... University of Innsbruck
UNESCO .... United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VET .... Vocational Education and Training
YPEPTH .... Ministry of Education, Research and Religious Affairs
ZLS .... Centre for Learning Schools

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Starting point for this dissertation was my postgraduate studies in international and comparative education and my work experience in international organisations related to education. Already from my Master studies, I was interested in understanding the influence of international organisations on education, a central theme of what is called policy transfer in comparative education (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). Having had the chance to undertake traineeships in some of those organisations and conduct research in international policy settings helped me to see how various international actors engage with policy pursuing their own interests and influence change in national education systems. In the era of globalisation, people and ideas travel in a fast pace across borders and I could experience this myself having changed location in Europe several times for my studies and work.

At the outset, I have to also acknowledge that this dissertation is conducted within the framework of the European Doctorate in Teacher Education (EDiTE). Being recruited in the EDiTE project as an early stage researcher has provided me with certain conditions for materialising my doctoral dissertation. Specifically, the overarching theme of the EDiTE project, i.e. "transformative teacher learning for better student learning in an emerging European context," has been crucial in shaping the topic of this dissertation. As a trained teacher myself, I envisaged combining my interest on policy transfer with the theme of EDiTE and focused my research scope on Europeanisation in teacher education, as will be explained in the following sections of this introductory chapter.

1.1. Background

In an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world, education systems both within Europe and in the global knowledge society are confronted with new challenges, such as social justice, equity, sustainable development, migration and technological advancements. The world is changing at a rapid pace as a result of globalisation and this global and economic competitive climate has significant implications for national education systems (Green, 2006). Since the 1990s, education systems have been undergoing extensive reforms striving for constant change and improvement in the quest for modernisation. Similar education reforms are being applied around the world in countries that are highly diverse in cultural and economic terms, giving rise to what some researchers define as "global education policies" (Verger, Novelli & Kosar-Altinyelken, 2012, p. 3), shaped by the interplay between transnational and national policy level processes.

A pivotal role in this globalised context is played by supranational organisations, such as the European Union (EU) and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which influence national policies through international comparisons of education systems' performance and policy advice. As interrelated governing actors, these supranational organisations classify and construct meaning, and diffuse new norms and principles (Grek, 2010). The findings of international assessments focusing on student achievement, such as the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), have had a significant influence within the context of education policy developments worldwide. By correlating student achievement to the quality of teachers and teaching, these international assessments brought teachers to the forefront of the global education policy agenda (Darling-Hammond, 2017; Tatto, 2007; Weidman, Jacob & Casebeer, 2014) and many countries have striven to

reform their teacher education systems in order to improve student performance (Trippestad, Swennen & Werler, 2017).

This resurgence of interest in teachers and teacher education, which could be argued is long overdue (Tatto, 2007), becomes clear when we look at the growing number of policy initiatives and research produced nationally and internationally. Although there are various reasons behind this development, three of them may here be emphasised: (a) evidence shows that the quality and effectiveness of education depends on the quality of the teacher labour force (Barber & Mourshed, 2007; Hattie, 2009; OECD, 2005); (b) education systems face demographic changes related to teacher shortages and the composition of the learning population (European Commission, 2013a); and (c) there is increasing knowledge about human learning and the nature of professional knowledge (Illeris, 2009). In Europe, the need to improve teacher education is also supported by policy initiatives undertaken by the EU under the objectives of a knowledge society (Domović & Čuk, 2014) and human capital development (Moutsios, 2007a). Specifically, the shift towards a knowledge-based economy in the late 1990s resulted in a complex outcome-oriented governance of education in Europe, which emphasised lifelong learning as a goal for the individual and as a synonym for Europeanisation in the 21st century (Grek & Lawn, 2009).

Since the launch of the EU's Lisbon Strategy in 2000, an accelerating process of Europeanisation of national policies related to teachers and teacher education has been witnessed (EDiTE, 2014), so that researchers are increasingly talking about a "European teacher education policy community" (Hudson & Zgaga, 2008) and a "European Teacher Education Area" (Gassner, Kerger & Schratz, 2010). Although teacher education systems in Europe are firmly rooted in national histories and conditions (Kotthoff & Denk, 2007), influenced by political culture (Louis & van Velzen, 2012), long-standing traditions and resistance to theoretical and research-based arguments (Buchberger et al., 2000), there are a number of common trends leading to convergence across countries.

For example, Vidović and Domović (2013) indicate some convergences among European countries related to the selection and retention of teachers, the area of initial teacher education, the formulation of teacher profiles and competences, and the induction and professional development of teachers. Moreover, Schratz (2014) argues for the "European Teacher", discerning the "Europeanness" in teachers' work and identifying the following European dimensions: identity, knowledge, multiculturalism, language competence, professionalism, citizenship, and quality measures. Stéger (2014a) also contends that the working groups established by the European Commission on teacher policy have developed some fundamental concepts that Member States have sometimes implemented, including the definition and use of teacher competences, the creation of a continuum of teacher professional development, and support for teacher educators.

Although the effort towards Europeanising teacher education becomes increasingly evident, the slow translation of general policy formulations into national and local practices is identified in various studies (Tatto, 2011; Louis & van Velzen, 2012; Vidović & Domović, 2013; Weidman, Jacob & Casebeer, 2014). A crucial reason for this development lies in the fact that transnational policy actors rarely address the national educational contexts, the history, the ethos and the unique characteristics of national systems. Despite the initiatives and policies provided by supranational organisations and national governments, local adaptation sustains meaningful differences at local and national levels, and results in little fundamental change in schools and classrooms (Devos et al., 2012). Tatto (2011) highlights the importance of national contexts for understanding the function of teacher education systems around the world, arguing that it is necessary to understand context and culture for "collaborative construction of policy knowledge" (p. 510), instead of simply borrowing policies. Similarly, Caena (2014a) indicates

the innovative potential of "glocal developments" on European teacher education which can tackle global challenges with a process of mediation that goes beyond the global-local dichotomy.

The emergence of a Europeanisation process in education currently is "a distinctive spatial, political, and scientific process" (Grek & Lawn, 2009, p. 52), which influences our way of thinking about teachers and teacher education. This dissertation aims to explore the process of Europeanisation in the field of teacher education by analysing how and to what extent domestic teacher education policies and practices have been influenced by European policy developments. The dissertation's main objective is to understand the influence of Europeanisation in teacher education systems and, by doing so, reflect on the mechanisms and processes through which a European teacher education landscape is being constituted. To this end, three EU countries are employed as case studies of teacher education policy and practice, namely Austria, Greece and Hungary. The concept of teacher education is examined more broadly encompassing the whole continuum of teacher learning, i.e. initial teacher education (ITE), induction, and continuing professional development (CPD).

1.2. Research questions

Studying Europeanisation in teacher education implies the need of researching the specific phenomenon at different levels of policy and practice. As Weidman, Jacob and Casebeer (2014, p. 140) argue, "teacher education is carried out through a very complex system of structures and activities that are very much a function of the local, national, and global contexts in which they occur". In this way, teacher education is conceptualised as a complex policy ecosystem containing all relevant levels: the European, the national, and the local or institutional levels. Various policy actors are increasingly trying to exert an influence on teacher education with researchers observing a reduction of formal teacher autonomy by a shift of control and power from local to a more global level (Tatto, 2007), while teacher education institutions worldwide seem to struggle with government efforts to monitor and control teachers' preparation (Trippestad, Swennen & Werler, 2017; Zgaga, 2013).

In this study, the concept of Europeanisation provides adequate theoretical lenses to explore how countries transform their teacher education systems in an emerging European context. By using the term "European", this study refers to policies and practices developed within the framework of the EU, as well as to policies and initiatives related to the European continent as a whole. For example, the Lisbon Strategy in 2000 was developed within the institutions of the EU, while the Bologna Process in 1999 was initiated by European countries aiming to create a common European Higher Education Area. Therefore, Europeanisation is understood more broadly as a transformative and dynamic process unfolding over time and providing asymmetrical effects through complex mechanisms of interaction (Featherstone & Kazamias, 2001).

Researching Europeanisation *in* a specific field, such as teacher education, instead of researching the more common Europeanisation *of* a phenomenon points to a conception of Europeanisation as a fluid process that has multiple directions existing within a system, rather than on top of the system. As will be explained in the theoretical chapter, moving away from top-down perceptions of Europeanisation is crucial to study how policy actors at different levels employ European resources to influence change in their own institutional frameworks. Considering the different levels at which teacher education policies and practices are constituted, three research questions have been formulated to guide this study:

1. How is teacher education defined and consolidated in the making of EU policy processes and what changes does this imply for European teacher education policy and practice?
2. To what extent and how does contemporary teacher education policy and practice in the respective countries, developed since the year 2000, resonate with European developments?
3. How do actors involved in teacher education enact these policies within the context of their institution?

The first question relates more broadly to the European or macro-level and draws on Radaelli's (2004, p. 4) definition of Europeanisation as a multiple processes of construction, diffusion and institutionalisation of formal and informal rules which are first consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic policies. It is important to note that Europeanisation is understood as a process loaded with content, and in this sense, the specific objective is trying to explore both the procedural and the content-related aspect with regard to Europeanisation in teacher education. On the one hand, it is envisaged to map the landscape of European teacher education by identifying those key agents, mechanisms and process of Europeanisation that shape and diffuse policies related to teacher education across countries and borders. On the other hand, the conceptual dimension of Europeanisation is explored by tracing the development of European cooperation in teacher policy and teacher education, which subsequently helps to define the European thinking around some key policy themes related to teacher education. As an outcome of the first question some conceptual frameworks developed with regard to the process and content of Europeanisation in teacher education are employed to analyse the data answering the second and third questions.

The second question is addressing the national or meso-level and looks at the development of teacher education policies and practices by exploring the three case studies of Austria, Greece and Hungary. All three countries are relevant country cases belonging to the same sphere of educational influence under the EU and share both commonalities and differences that make their comparison meaningful, as will be detailed in the methodological chapter. Each country case is reported separately in order to maintain integrity and to facilitate a contrast-oriented comparison between them. Adopting the method of process tracing (George & Bennett, 2005), the development of each country's teacher education system is examined, focusing on policies and practices after the year 2000, when the Lisbon Strategy was launched. By analysing in a bottom-up way how teacher education reforms in each country took place, it can be gauged if and to what extent actors employed European resources to influence change in their systems. In this sense, the term resonance is borrowed from sociology (Miller, 2015) as a way to explain the preference of policy actors for utilising European resources for policy change.

The third question stays at the national context but goes deeper to examine the institutional or micro-level through the perspective of actors directly involved in teacher education, namely teacher educators and teachers. By employing sub-cases of one higher education institution in each country, policy enactment (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012) is examined in order to understand how policy initiatives are translated into action. According to Ball, Maguire and Braun (2012), policy texts cannot simply be implemented, but have to "be put into practice in relation to history and to context, with the resources available" (p. 3). The gap between education policy and practice appears often in the literature (see Devos et al., 2012) and constitutes an essential aspect of research on policy transfer (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012).

To account for the contextual approach envisaged in this study, three themes of teacher education policy and practice receive particular attention across scales and countries. They

include the continuum of teacher education, the development of teacher competence frameworks and the role of teacher educators. According to Stéger (2014a, p. 338), these are "fundamental teacher policy concepts" that were "developed, shared, accepted and sometimes implemented" by EU Member States. The selection of those themes acting as key analytic categories for the present study came also as a strong aspect of the European teacher education context analysis that will be presented in Chapter 4 answering the first research question. The three themes function as a roadmap for the analysis of the resonance between policies and practices in each country and the European developments helping to answer the second and third research questions. The methodological choices will be detailed in Chapter 3.

Examining connections and contradictions, as identified by the questions above, between macro-, meso-, and micro-levels in teacher education will help to better understand the dynamics of policy flows in the space of European teacher education. Mapping out this complex system will contribute to research in the study of Europeanisation and European integration, as well as to research on teacher education developing further the discussion of what constitutes the "Europeanness" of teacher education and what it means to be a "European teacher" (Schratz, 2014). The study will also bring concrete knowledge about each country's teacher education system and will help national policy-makers to better understand the field which they try to shape. The following section will argue in detail about the significance of the research topic and its relevance to research and practice.

1.3. Relevance

Several studies have examined Europeanisation in areas of social sciences, including policy studies, law, economics, political sciences, communication studies, as well as education. The focus of these studies is predominantly related to the impact of European integration on domestic policies (Radaelli, 2004). In education, for example, there are several studies examining the impact of Europeanisation on vocational education and training institutions (Ante, 2016; Trampusch, 2009). Many studies also look at the Europeanisation of higher education, analysing the impact of the Bologna process (Witte, 2006), the spreading of market mechanisms (Dakowska, 2015; Zmas, 2014), or the permeability between vocational and higher education (Bernhard, 2017). Landri (2018) also researches the digital governance of education within the framework of Europeanisation of education, exploring how digital technologies contribute to the creation and regulation of the European education arena. In one way or another, all these studies conceptualise Europeanisation as a cause for institutional change.

Despite the growing significance of teacher education as an academic field that influences student learning (Barber & Mourshed, 2007; Hattie, 2009; OECD, 2005), there are currently hardly any studies exploring Europeanisation in this field. Most studies focus on the European dimension of teacher education (Caena, 2014a; Sayer, 2006; Valenčič Zuljan & Vogrinc, 2011; Zgaga, 2008) exploring mainly European values in ITE curricula, the internationalisation of teacher education and mobility. There have also been efforts of some European policy and research networks to study teacher education policy in Europe as a whole examining how certain policies are recontextualised in different countries (see Buchberger et al., 2000; Hudson & Zgaga, 2008; Hudson, 2017; Gassner, Kerger & Schratz, 2010). However, a comprehensive study of the Europeanisation process in teacher education is missing and this is one research gap that the present study aims to narrow down. The lack of relevant studies could perhaps be explained by the argument that the Europeanisation of teacher education seems to be a "much more complex and complicated process than Europeanisation and internationalisation in higher education in general" (Zgaga, 2008, p. 18).

Although European teacher education has been largely universitised since the launch of the Bologna process in 1999, teacher education systems still try to "sail" in "the heavy seas of higher education" balancing between "academic" and "professional" higher education (Zgaga, 2013, p. 347). The upgrade of teacher education as an independent study programme in higher education happened in the last thirty years following the massification of higher education and despite resistance from universities, but it should not be understood as an irreversible process, since integration within the higher education logic is still an ongoing issue (ibid.). Another challenge in studying the Europeanisation in teacher education might be the fact that teacher education is increasingly perceived as a continuum of teachers' professional development by both research (Darling-Hammond et al., 2017; Roberts-Hull, Jensen & Cooper, 2015; Tatto, 2008) and policy (European Commission, 2012, 2015). Especially in Europe, this idea is in line with the lifelong learning agenda of the EU's education and training programmes and thus, researching European teacher education would largely imply the need to consider developments in both higher and school education, assuming that ITE belongs to higher education, while induction and CPD relate to school and teacher policies. In this sense, one novelty of the present study is the attempt to research a largely unexplored topic considering the whole spectrum of teachers' professional development, namely ITE, induction and CPD, contributing to higher education and teacher policy research.

A growing number of studies also emphasises the need for more research on teacher education in the context of international policy flows arguing that discussions on teaching are no longer solely local or national ones (Nordin & Sundberg, 2014; Paine, Blömeke & Aydarova, 2016; Tatto, 2007). According to Paine, Blömeke and Aydarova (2016, p. 717): "How teaching is defined, studied, and managed today is influenced by contexts beyond a local community or a national policy system; teaching today is informed by the discourses and actions of transnational, international, and global actors." Researchers' perceptions and interpretations of teaching are influenced by the heightened connections of globalisation which is seen as a "much more multifaceted dynamic, one that is contingent, ambiguous, contradictory, and paradoxical" (Stromquist & Mankman, 2014, p. 1). Globalisation and Europeanisation operate in, on and through actors at many levels and this suggests that actors related to teacher education currently represent a larger array and more interconnection among levels than in previous periods of history (Paine, Blömeke & Aydarova, 2016). Considering this context, the present study contributes to teacher education research from an international perspective exploring the complexity related to multiple actors operating at different levels.

However, the question of whether Europeanisation should lead to more homogenised policies is strongly debated and research tells us that the effects of Europeanisation are rather diverse across countries. For example, Witte (2006) contends that the Europeanisation agenda promoted via the Bologna process apparently had different outcomes for the different countries because the Bologna reforms were used by various actors as a way to pursue their interests and bring about change in higher education that was not directly related to the introduction of two-cycle degree structures. Moreover, Caena (2014a) argues that the convergence of education systems, often linked to global influences over national contexts, may lead to contradictory developments, either compliance to uniformity or resistance in the interest of local autonomy. Besides, the EU itself, already with the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, has also excluded the use of the term harmonisation when referring to education policies, arguing instead for the subsidiarity of Member States in defining their own national priorities and deciding on their implementation. For these reasons, the present study puts the focus of the case studies on national-level policy formulation and analyses each country independently in order to trace how policy changes occurred on the ground and whether during this change process led by national policy actors any European resources were utilised. The study provides rich data for

each country case and in this way the research topic could also be seen as an analysis of teacher education systems from the perspective of European developments.

Another contribution is related more broadly to comparative education research, because the present study conducts comparative case studies of countries which belong to the periphery rather than the core of the EU. Most studies on the Europeanisation of education undertake case studies of core EU countries, including Germany and France, or in addition to these two, some studies include also the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Italy (see Ante, 2016; Bernhard, 2017; Landri, 2018; Witte, 2006). Therefore, researching teacher education in countries of the EU periphery, such as Austria, Greece and Hungary could bring new comparative knowledge about the influence of Europeanisation on the periphery countries in general, as well as on the individual countries in particular. Moreover, the study undertakes an innovative research design by employing a comparative case study approach (Barlett & Varvus, 2017a). This relatively new methodological approach can prove particularly relevant for the study of Europeanisation, because it allows for a vertical comparison across scales, namely macro-, meso-, and micro-levels, as well as for horizontal and transversal comparisons, meaning tracing European influences across countries and over time. Thus, the present study brings in a different logic to the traditional contrast-oriented comparison and in this way, it can provide new methodological insights to comparative education research.

The findings of this research study have also intrinsic significance for policy and implementation research. Research attempts to understand policy implementation in a quantitative way by isolating specific variables have not been characterised by success (Signé, 2017) and researchers are grappling with capturing the complexities of the policy process at multi-level rather than linear policy making settings (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012; Datnow & Park, 2009). To this end, the present study moves away from traditional efforts to examine policy implementation from the technical-rational perspective, whereby a causal arrow of change travels in one linear direction from active designers to passive implementers (Datnow & Park, 2009). Instead, a sense-making and co-construction perspective is adopted, meaning that policy and practice are understood as mutually dependent processes and their relationship may vary along several dimensions (ibid.). This approach pays particular attention to the importance of context and intertwines well with the concept of policy enactment (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012) presenting social actors as complex meaning-makers who do not merely react to external stimuli but engage in interpretation and enact policy (Datnow & Park, 2009). From this perspective, the present study contributes to theoretical approaches for policy analysis which are different from the top-down approaches of traditional implementation analysis.

Finally, the study essentially contributes to the overarching goal of EDiTE in exploring transformative teacher learning for better student learning in an emerging European context (EDiTE Website, 2018). Researching Europeanisation in teacher education intrinsically implies the analysis of a transformative process with regard to teacher learning in Europe. Teacher learning is generally understood as a concept that sees teachers as lifelong learners including both formal learning through ITE, induction and CPD, as well as informal learning such as professional collaborations and networking (Révai & Guerriero, 2017). As such, teacher preparation and professional development are key in developing effective teachers who in turn contribute to better student achievement (Barber & Mourshed, 2007; Darling-Hammond, 2017; OECD, 2005). In this respect, the present study seeks to provide a robust empirical basis for researchers and policymakers who strive to improve student learning through improving teacher education in Europe.

1.4. Structure

The dissertation is split into nine chapters. Chapter 1 provided a rationale for the study and introduced the research questions and significance of the research. Chapter 2 presents the study's theoretical framework conceptualising Europeanisation and providing analytical tools for tracing policy change, drawing from political sciences and comparative education. This chapter also explains how Europeanisation can be studied in the policy ecosystem of teacher education. In Chapter 3, the methodology of the research is described, inducing the epistemological foundations, the comparative case study design, the data analysis methods, ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

The next four chapters of the study are devoted to the empirical analysis part. Chapter 4 addresses the first research question providing an analysis of teacher education policy and practice at the European level as an overall context for the national case studies that follow. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 attend to the national cases, namely Austria, Greece and Hungary, answering the second and third research questions. For each country, some contextual information is provided at first, followed by process tracing with regard to developments in teacher education policy and practice since the year 2000, and afterwards, the resonance between teacher education systems and European developments is examined.

In chapter 8, I reflect upon the findings from the European context and the case studies employing the conceptual tools presented in the theoretical framework chapter. In accordance with the comparative case study design, this chapter compares findings in a horizontal, vertical and transversal manner. Finally, in chapter 9 I set out the conclusions and explore the implications of the study, as well as future research that could arise from this study. The appendices include background material for the empirical part of the study.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

This chapter aims to provide the theoretical underpinnings of studying the phenomenon of Europeanisation in the field of teacher education across countries. The first part conceptualises Europeanisation more broadly in the study of education drawing on literature of European integration theories. Combining knowledge from different disciplines makes the case for Europeanisation as a useful analytical concept in exploring institutional changes in the different teacher education systems and unravelling potential influences of the EU taking place. This part of the chapter originates from screening the field of Europeanisation research for useful conceptual tools and bringing them together for the analysis of institutional change in a particular area of education, namely teacher education.

The second part of the chapter draws on literature of teacher education research and conceptualises teacher education as a policy ecosystem. External and internal pressures to this ecosystem, which might be related to Europeanisation, can sparkle policy learning and policy change. This part of the chapter defines teacher education and its institutional characteristics, arguing about the need to study teacher education at different system levels. In addition, the terms policy and policy enactment are clarified, presenting this way how teacher education policy and practice are interconnected.

2.1. Conceptualising Europeanisation

This first part of the theoretical framework chapter envisages to define the concept of Europeanisation and gauge its relevance for the analysis of education policies and practices in general. The literature synthesised here is outside the classical scope of educational research and includes mainly references to European integration theories, combining knowledge from political science, policy studies and comparative education in an interdisciplinary way. This is because Europeanisation is a concept that emerged from European integration thinking and studying Europeanisation in teacher education requires, first and foremost, a holistic and broad understanding of institutional processes between the EU and domestic levels. Moreover, the focus of this part is more broadly related to education, rather than specifically to teacher education, which is the focus of the second part of this chapter. Before moving on to defining the particularities of studying teacher education policy and practice, it is considered essential to understand how the EU and its Member States interact in the field of education, which encompasses teacher education in EU policy thinking.

This part of the chapter is structured deductively, starting more generally with what is commonly defined as Europeanisation in European integration studies and what is the definition adopted for this thesis. It then continues to explain the main approaches in analysing the dynamics of Europeanisation, namely top-down, bottom-up and circular approaches. Afterwards, the focus of this chapter narrows down to how Europeanisation is manifested in the field of education, and consequently teacher education, an area that is outside the legal competences of the EU and is therefore predominately influenced by mechanisms of policy learning. The chapter closes with presenting a conceptual framework for analysing policy changes in the context of Europeanisation in different countries.

2.1.1. A useful explanatory concept or an "attention-directing device"?

Many theories have emerged to explain the process and outcome of integration in Europe, attempting to clarify how and why the EU came about and what the EU might be like in the future. At the end of World War II, the political climate in Europe favoured unity, which was seen as the way to restrain extreme forms of nationalism, thus preventing future wars and sustaining peace in the continent. The question of how to avoid wars between nation states was central to the first theories of European integration, including federalism, functionalism and transactionalism. With the founding of the European Coal and Steel Community, in 1951, and the subsequent establishment of the European Economic Community, in 1957, new theories emerged, such as neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism, placing the new supranational entity at the centre of attention. In such theoretical discourses, the term Europeanisation was not explicitly referred to, since outside the political sciences the term would describe the export of cultural norms and patterns (Featherstone, 2003). In addition, the term implied something broader than membership of the EU, because "the creation and the development of the EU are in themselves responses to Europeanisation" (Wallace, 2000, p. 371). Europeanisation is also often contrasted to processes of internationalisation and globalisation in the context of modern globalised economy (Wach, 2016).

Europeanisation emerged as a term in European integration studies and developed into a body of scholarly research on the effect of the EU on its Member States since the late 1990s (Ladrech, 2010). During that time, a significant turn in the study of European integration led to the development of a comparative politics approach to the study of the EU itself and helped to uncover a linkage between changes in domestic political structures and policies and the decision-making process and policy output of the EU (ibid.). The difficulties in ratifying the Maastricht Treaty, due to the Danish and French referendums, in 1992, revealed that the process of European integration was not inevitable and that domestic public opinion matters. Those political events showcased resistance to the direction of the integration process and signalled the beginning of an end to what Ladrech (2010, p. 9) describes as the "permissive consensus," meaning the way national political leaders and EU elites were dealing with the integration process without attending to the public impact of their integration packages.

As a result, European integration gradually turned away from the grand theories of neofunctionalism (Haas, 1958) and liberal intergovernmentalism (Moravcsik, 1993), that explained the processes of European integration itself, and turned towards institutionalism to study the influence of European integration on the political systems and policy processes of Member States, a yet unexplored topic that became the focus of what was increasingly defined as Europeanisation. According to Bulmer and Lequesne (2005) what is generally termed as Europeanisation is "exploring the impact of integration upon the member states" (p. 10). Although Europeanisation and European integration "continuously interact with each other" (K. Howell, 2002, p. 20), and sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the terms, there is a considerable distinction regarding the aim of each term. European integration deals with political and policy development at the supranational level, while Europeanisation focuses on the consequences of this process for the Member States and politics within them (Bulmer & Lequesne, 2005, p. 12). Thus, Europeanisation bridges the gap between the integration theories and institutionalists in European studies (Caporaso, 2007) by analysing the effects of interaction between the EU and Member States on processes of institutional change (Maggi, 2016).

However, if Europeanisation emerged as a term to explain domestic institutional changes, and if globalisation also relates to an economic process of integration with influence on domestic institutions, then why using Europeanisation instead of, or parallel to,

globalisation? Ladrech (2010) answers this by arguing that the building of a supranational organisation without historical precedent, such as the EU, "in which national sovereignty is pooled and unique features such as a single currency have been implemented" (p. 5), has consequences in the way domestic politics operate. Thus, EU institutions and processes influence national politics and policy so that Europeanisation as a concept "potentially offers a more accurate sense of, and explanation for, aspects of domestic change than globalization" (ibid., p. 6). Moreover, Graziano (2003) argued that Europeanisation can act as an "antidote" to globalisation, in the sense that the former promotes different policy goals that aim to counter the "negative integration" (p. 174) pursued by globalisation, but also it demonstrates institutional effects that globalisation cannot determine.

One of the first definitions of Europeanisation that proved to be a basis for subsequent studies came with Ladrech, (1994), who defined the term as "an incremental process reorienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC [European Community] political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making" (p. 69). This definition emphasised the role of domestic factors in shaping the impact of Europeanisation in each member state and argued against the fact that Europeanisation effects would lead to homogenisation in Member States (Ladrech, 2010). In a systematic literature review, Featherstone (2003) concluded that Europeanisation appears in the literature in four distinct ways: (a) as a historical process; (b) as a matter of cultural diffusion; (c) as a process of institutional adaptation; and (d) as the adaptation of policy and policy processes (pp. 5-6). While the first two broader categories are closely related to the idea of Europe, the last two categories are more specifically linked to the policies of the EU.

The various ways in which Europeanisation appears in the literature led to wonder if Europeanisation is "as disappointing a term as it is fashionable" (Olsen, 2002, p. 921). In his seminal work *The Many Faces of Europeanisation*, Johan Olsen (2002) questioned the usefulness of Europeanisation as an explanatory concept for understanding European transformation processes, arguing that the term may be nothing more than an "attention-directing device" and a "starting point for further exploration" (p. 943). Other researchers also argue that the highly contested notion of Europeanisation cannot be considered an elaborated theory (Bulmer & Lequesne, 2005; Knodt & Corcaci, 2012). Europeanisation has rarely been used as a stand-alone conceptual framework and studies employing the concept of Europeanisation often include the term within longer-established meta-theoretical frames, such as new institutionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism, multilevel governance and policy networks (Featherstone, 2003). Moreover, the term has been somewhat diverted towards referring to the EU itself rather than to Europe or the European civilisation, leading some authors to define it as "EU-isation" (Wallace, 2000), a term that would be better if not "for this being a dreadful word" (Bulmer & Lequesne, 2005, p. 11). According to Wallace (2000), the EU itself is a feature of Europeanisation, which as a process has a longer history and broader geographical coverage than that of the EU.

Despite the range of usage, the complex ontology and the problems with research design, Featherstone (2003) argued that "it is precisely the breadth of application and the demanding explanatory framework needed that attests to the value and importance of the term" (p. 19). Similarly, Olsen (2002) noted that "the empirical complexity and conceptual confusion should lead not to despair, but to renewed efforts to model the dynamics of European change" (p. 923). The different meanings given to the term Europeanisation can actually be seen as "an indicator of vibrant debate" (Radaelli, 2003, p. 28), whereas the actual risk refers to concept misinformation, conceptual stretching and "degreeism" (ibid.). To avoid those risks, the best strategy, according to Radaelli (2003), is "to unpack the concept and to distinguish between Europeanisation and other terms (thus, showing what Europeanisation is not)" (p. 32).

Similarly, Howell (2002) argued that in order to avoid conceptual stretching, it is necessary to draw boundaries around Europeanisation by distinguishing between Europeanisation as a process and Europeanisation as a content. The process refers to uploading and downloading mechanisms that will be examined in the next section of this chapter, while content includes various ideas, such as institutional norms, informal rules, discourse and identities (ibid., p. 11).

In attempting to unpack the concept, Radaelli (2003) contended that Europeanisation is not convergence, should not be confused with harmonisation, and is not political integration. Although Europeanisation can lead to convergence, it can also produce divergence or convergence limited to a group of countries (ibid.). Several studies acknowledge that the impact of Europeanisation on Member States is not uniform but differential (Ante, 2016; Börzel, 2005; Bulmer & Radaelli, 2005; Héritier, 2001; Ladrech, 2010). Unlike harmonisation, which reduces regulatory diversity, the outcome of Europeanisation can be regulatory diversity, intense competition, even distortions of competition (Radaelli, 2003). With regard to political integration, Europeanisation would not exist without European integration and in this sense it belongs to a post-ontological stage of research that deals with what happens once EU institutions are in place and produce their effects (ibid.). Although Europeanisation and EU policy formation should be kept separate at the conceptual level, in reality they are interconnected because EU policy "originates from processes of conflict, bargaining, imitation, diffusion, and interaction between national (and often subnational) and EU level actors" (ibid. 34). In this sense, we could say that "the European Union is best understood as an arena rather than an actor" (Goetz, as cited in Radaelli, 2003, p. 34).

Among the various definitions of Europeanisation which have been employed over the years, this study adopts the definition proposed by Radaelli (2003), one of the most influential definitions in the literature, which is appropriate to this study's holistic and relatively broad approach in viewing Europeanisation. Specifically, Radaelli (2004) refers to Europeanisation as:

> *processes of (a) construction, (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, "ways of doing things", and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures and public policies* (p. 3)

Drawing from social-constructivist and rational-institutionalism methodological approaches, Radaelli broadens the research focus on Europeanisation, "leaving it up to the individual researcher to pursue their agenda" (Ladrech, 2010, p. 15). The definition highlights three particular features of Europeanisation. Firstly, that Europeanisation can derive from different forms of policy process, namely policy formulation (construction); putting policy into practice (institutionalisation); and in a less structured manner (diffusion) where the EU has a limited role to play (Bulmer & Radaelli, 2005, p. 341). Secondly, that Europeanisation is not only about formal policy rules but also about other less discernible aspects such as beliefs and values (ibid.). And thirdly, that the concept of Europeanisation deals with the impact of European policy within Member States, meaning that the process entails two concrete steps, first adoption at EU level, and then incorporation at the domestic level, implying that the former is only one part of the story and negotiation within Member States is crucial (ibid.).

The definition serves the purposes of this study because it refers more broadly to "EU policy process", including modes of governance which are not targeted towards law making, such as the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) (Radaelli, 2003). Moreover, the definition

understands Europeanisation as an interactive process and not as one-directional reaction to Europe, moving beyond a narrow, linear, top-down notion of impact of the EU on Member States (Radaelli, 2004). It rather suggests "creative usages of Europe" and that "domestic actors can use Europe in many discretionary ways" (ibid., p. 4). Without specific pressures from Brussels, actors can draw from Europe as a resource, or use it for their own political purposes, processes that cannot be captured by a narrow notion of impact. "Europeanisation deals with how domestic change is processed, and the patterns of adaptation can be more complex than simple reactions to Brussels." (ibid., p. 4) Finally, the idea of Europeanisation as diffusion of policies and institutions across time and space gains more attention in contemporary literature (Börzel & Risse, 2012; Heinze, 2013), emphasising the indirect mechanisms, such as competition, lesson drawing, or mimicry (Börzel & Risse, 2012, pp. 9-10), which actors within or outside the EU employ to solve a problem or to overcome a crisis back home.

2.1.2. Top-down, bottom-up and circular approaches to Europeanisation

As to the question of *what* is changing through Europeanisation, the answer most commonly given in the literature refers to changes in the domestic systems of governance (Olsen, 2002), as highlighted in the section above. In the question of *how* Europeanisation unfolds and shows itself, researchers have mainly adopted two different perspectives which they employ to analyse the dynamics in the relationship between the EU and its Member States, namely a "top-down" and a "bottom-up" perspective, while recently a new "circular" perspective has also appeared. Understanding these different perspectives and their institutional legacy is crucial, because each of them implies a different way to study and analyse institutional change (Radaelli, 2004). All perspectives understand Europeanisation as a process of institutionalisation, combining historical, sociological and rational choice institutionalisms (Maggi, 2016).

Top-down approach

The top-down institutionalist perspective seems to be the most common interpretation of Europeanisation (O'Mahony, 2007), arguing that the EU is generating change to the domestic level of Member States, particularly change in the dimensions of domestic policy, polity and politics (Börzel & Risse, 2003; Ladrech, 2010; Maggi, 2016). Policy refers to the nature and content of domestic political strategy, politics refers to the issues, actors and actions of the domestic political process, and polity is the constitutional and institutional architecture of a system (O'Mahony, 2007, p. 267). In this context, EU policies appear as an independent variable which influences the above mentioned dimensions as dependent variables (Börzel & Risse, 2000), and thus, tracking down the consequences for domestic actors, policies and politics is considered to be the appropriate top-down research design (Radaelli, 2004). This school of thought argues for an "EU pressure" within the process of European integration and keeps the attention on the EU level, studying first how structures of governance are built at the European level, and as a subsequent analytical step tracing the effect on the domestic level (Maggi, 2016). This is how early research on Europeanisation was conducted in the 1990s (Börzel & Risse, 2000) and in the study of the EU accession process with the 2004 EU enlargement (Maggi, 2016).

Drawing from rational choice and sociological institutionalism, top-down designs set two conditions for expecting domestic change in response to Europeanisation (Börzel & Risse, 2003). The first is that there has to be a "misfit" or incompatibility between European and domestic policies, processes, and institutions (ibid., p. 58). This "goodness of fit" (ibid.) between the European and domestic level creates an adaptation pressure generated by

Europeanisation on the Member States. “The lower the compatibility between European and domestic processes, policies, and institutions, the higher is the adaptation pressure Europe exerts on the member states.” (Börzel, 2005, p. 50) Thus, countries will feel the necessity to change only if there are differences between the European and domestic level. However, the degree of misfit is a necessary but insufficient condition for expecting change, because a second condition, namely actors and institutions, needs to induce change by responding to the adaptational pressures (Börzel & Risse, 2003). Misfit can be of two natures: “policy misfit” between European rules and regulations and domestic policies, or “institutional misfit”, where Europe challenges domestic rules and procedures and the collective understandings attached to them (Börzel, 2005, p. 50).

Since the top-down perspective adopts a cause and effect thinking, the causal mechanisms through which changes take place appear as central aspect in the literature (Börzel & Risse, 2003; Börzel, 2005; Bulmer & Radaelli, 2005). Although the causal mechanisms are not clearly specified and depend on the topic under examination, they are generally linked to three types of governance perceived in the EU (O’Mahony, 2007). Those types of governance are:

- Governance by negotiation *in which national policy models or rules enter into EU-level negotiations through the mechanism of “uploading”, with the outcome being a synthesis, although often one or more states may be more influential in the formation of EU policy.*
- Governance by hierarchy *in which the supranational institutions have a significant amount of power delegated to them, such as the Commission, the Council and the European Court of Justice. Following the stage of negotiation, the Council has agreed European legislation which needs to be implemented in the member states with a set of “command and control” mechanisms, varying according to a positive or negative integration. In a positive integration scenario, the agreed policy template is “downloaded” to the member states and the Commission is monitoring the process, while in a negative scenario, there is a “horizontal” process of policy adjustment from one member state to another.*
- Governance by facilitated coordination *in which the national governments are the key actors and the policy process is not subject to European law, thus the whole range of policies covered by the OMC. Agreements in this area take the form of political declarations or “soft law”, meaning that the rules of conduct are not legally enforceable, but have a legal scope in that they guide the conduct of institutions, the member states and other policy participants. The lack of supranational powers explains the horizontal mechanism through which Europeanisation takes place in the specific policy areas.* (Bulmer & Radaelli, 2005, pp. 342-346)

The degree of Europeanisation measured in terms of the scope of domestic change can take place, according to top-down studies, in the form of: absorption, accommodation, or transformation (Börzel & Risse, 2003). Europeanisation can result in Member States absorbing European requirements into their domestic institutions and policies without substantial modifications of existing structure, and thus the degree of change is low. Alternatively, Member States might accommodate European pressure by adapting existing processes, policies and institutions, but without changing core features and the underlying collective understandings attached to them, and thus the degree of change is modest. Finally, the highest degree of institutional change which is rarely found is transformation of domestic rules by new, substantially different ones (ibid., pp. 69-70).

Bottom-up approach

The top-down approach is often criticised for considering Europeanisation as an independent variable, because it tends to overestimate the EU impact and promotes instrumentalist approaches to the study of causal mechanisms (Maggi, 2016). Researchers also question how one knows if change is correlated or caused by Europeanisation and not by other variables, such as globalisation and domestic politics, which sometimes matter more than Europeanisation (O'Mahony, 2007; Radaelli, 2004). The argument of top-down Europeanisation becomes blurry when considering that political leaders often disguise globalisation or domestic politics under a discourse of Europeanisation to legitimise choices at home either by blame-shifting strategies or by using the appeal of Europe (Radaelli, 2004). Moreover, a consensus has been established that also Member States can influence European processes in a bottom-up way by uploading their policy arrangements to the European level (Börzel, 2005). In contrast to the top-down approach, a bottom-up research design argues that the EU can be one of many reasons for institutional change and therefore, it "starts and finishes at the level of domestic actors" (Radaelli, 2004, p. 4). Instead of starting from European policies as independent variable and tracking down the changes, bottom-up designs identify a process of changes at the domestic level and extract the different reasons leading up to change (ibid.).

An emphasis on effects, as stipulated in top-down logic, implies the assumption that there are indeed EU-induced effects and creates an artificial separation between policy and implementation, which might lead the researcher to serious fallacies when the only aim is to identify the domestic effects of independent variables defined at the EU level (Radaelli, 2003). On the contrary, a bottom-up perspective would aim to trace sequences of events in domestic policy and look at those individual and institutional choices "that are the hub of the problem to which policy is addressed" (Elmore, as cited in Radaelli, 2003, p. 51). In the context of such domestic choices, a researcher can better understand if and when European processes play a role in the logic of domestic policy making or even change this logic (Radaelli, 2003). Drawing from sociological institutionalism, Radaelli (2003, 2004) suggests that the EU factors are only one of many potential causes of institutional change and concludes that instead of separating the political domains of policy, politics, and polity, research should focus on "the dynamic relations between policy change and macro-institutional structures" (Radaelli, 2004, p. 7).

Furthermore, the bottom-up approach offered new conceptual instruments to understand the degree and mechanisms of change. With regard to the former, two more sceptical responses to European norms were included, namely inertia and retrenchment. Inertia refers to a lack of change when a country considers that EU policies, institutions, and processes are too dissimilar to domestic practice (Radaelli, 2000). Thus, Member States resist the adaptations necessary to meet European requirements, which leads to non-compliance (Börzel, 2005). Retrenchment is the paradoxical effect of increasing the misfit between European and domestic processes (ibid.). It implies a de-Europeanisation of domestic policies, institutions, and processes, meaning that national policy becomes less European than it was (Radaelli, 2000). This differentiated understanding of impact, as stipulated by the bottom-up design, highlights the strength of the specific approach to Europeanisation research, namely that the process of institutional change, although heavily exposed to EU norms and rules, does not automatically lead to Europeanisation (Maggi, 2016).

Therefore, the notion of impact cannot be limited to vertical pressures, but also to "more subtle impacts of socialization processes, ideational convergence, learning, and interpretations of policy paradigms and ideas" (Radaelli & Pasquier, 2008, p. 38). The mechanisms of socialisation and learning, stemming from sociological institutionalism, will be further explored in the next section of this chapter, particularly with regard to the OMC and the

relevance to (teacher) education. However, it should also be noted here that bottom-up approaches introduced the understanding of Europeanisation as discourse, in addition to the understandings examined above of Europeanisation as governance (negotiation, hierarchy, facilitated coordination) and Europeanisation as institutionalisation (goodness of fit). "Policymakers and stakeholders construct Europe through language and discourse" (Radaelli, 2004, p. 8), while Europeanisation appears to be "the vehicle through which discourses on globalisation are institutionalised in domestic politics" (Hay & Rosamond, as cited in Radaelli, 2004, p. 8). By conceiving discourse as a set of ideas and an interactive process, researchers would analyse the relations between policymakers at the stage of policy formulation, and consequently how policies are communicated to the public (Radaelli, 2004).

So far, the top-down and bottom-up approaches to Europeanisation have been examined. Figure 1 illustrates the different approaches to Europeanisation, according to Radaelli (2004), which point to different ways of studying the particular phenomenon.

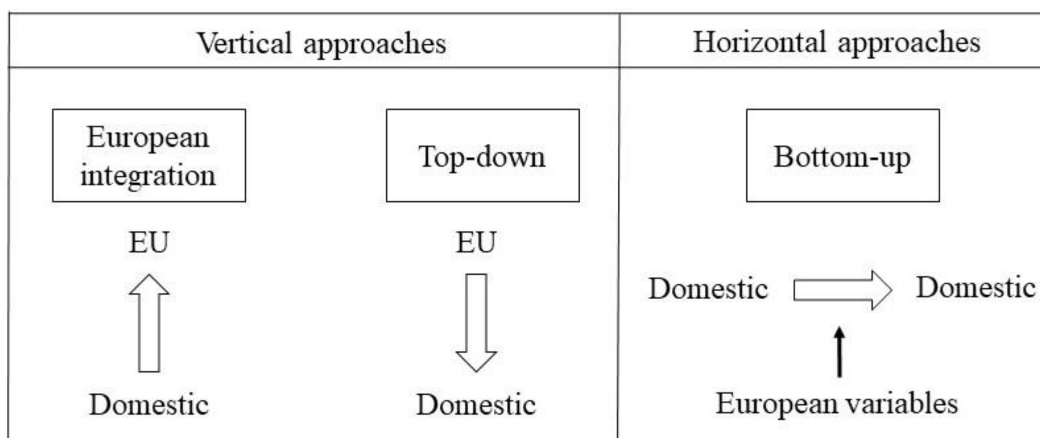

Figure 1. Three approaches to study Europeanisation: European integration, top-down Europeanisation, and bottom-up Europeanisation (*Source:* Radaelli, 2004, own adaptation)

The first two arrows indicate vertical mechanisms of interaction, while the third signifies horizontal mechanisms. The third arrow in the figure, representing the bottom-up approach, is particularly useful to understand the research design on the specific study. It starts from a system of interaction at the domestic level and indicates that a bottom-up approach should examine if, when and how the EU provides a change in any of the main components of the system of interaction, i.e. actors, problems, resources, style, and discourses at the domestic level. Although this approach can also be seen as another mechanism of impact, the main argument is that this notion of impact, which in this study is termed more broadly influence, "goes beyond the 'reaction' to Europe and includes creative usages" (ibid., p. 5).

Circular approach

An interactive perspective that considers both downloading and uploading processes, combining the top-down and the bottom-up approaches, is currently arising as "the third wave in the research on European integration and Europeanisation" (Wach, 2016, p. 23). This so-called "circular approach" attempts to create a holistic concept, both a description and explication, assuming a mutual link between downloading and uploading processes (ibid.). Although several authors identify this circular approach as similar to the bottom-up approach (Börzel, 2005; Radaelli, 2004; Howell, 2002), it seems fit to refer to this here as separate,

because in areas of soft policy, where horizontal mechanisms of interaction prevail, the strict boundaries between cause and effect, dependent and independent variables, become blurred.

According to Radaelli (2004), to understand Europeanisation we should remove the confusion of uploading and downloading, because Europeanisation is both "pressure" and "usage" (p. 11). Similarly, Howell (2005) argued in favour of a third approach to uploading and downloading, namely the crossloading approach, implying that the effectiveness of uploading determines the effectiveness of change in response to downloading. This relationship between the EU and its Member States has also been conceptualised in the literature as a "two-level game" in which national governments are functioning as the core intermediators between domestic and European politics (Börzel, 2005, p. 62). Such an approach indicates that Europeanisation does not presuppose EU policy, but that it takes place when "the EU becomes a cognitive and normative frame, and provides orientation to the logics of meaning and action" (ibid., p. 11). Within this context, the EU is only one of the actors promoting Europeanisation (Bulmer & Radaelli, 2005), while other actors, such as the OECD or the Council of Europe, are also deeply involved in the transfer of European models (e.g. in education).

Adopting the understanding of a circular approach, with emphasis on a bottom-up research design, this study conceptualises European policy process as a reciprocal relationship between political negotiations at the domestic and the European level (Börzel, 2005). Both EU and Member States are co-dependent and involved in networks of links, both horizontal and vertical ones, by which top-down and bottom-up approaches create an entirety (Featherstone & Kazamias, 2001). In the words of Howel (2002, p. 19): "Europeanisation indicates a continual interaction or dialectic between the uniformity of the EU and the diversity of the individual member states." Domestic actors draw on EU resources and modify power relations, meaning that instead of a causal chain going down from the EU to the domestic level, it is more appropriate to consider that there are multiple ways through which the EU pressure is refracted, amplified, or construed (Radaelli & Pasquier, 2008). Besides, there are various actors and institutions within Member States that do not act in a coordinated way and may respond very differently to European pressures.

2.1.3. Europeanisation in education: New modes of governance

The question which this section tries to answer is if policy areas of soft EU policy, such as school education and higher education, and consequently teacher education, can have any influence on national policymaking, and if yes, how to analyse this influence. To clarify the terms, indirect or "soft" EU policy or law refers to "measures which are binding on the member states in varying degrees, but which are not compliance-driven in the form of directives, regulations or decisions" (Gaenzle, 2008, p. 4). In contrast to direct or "hard" EU policy, which results in legislation that Member States are obliged to implement (Ladrech 2010), soft policy depends on the Member States to make proposals and implement them, while the Commission may have a monitoring role regarding the actual output (ibid.). In soft EU policy, the Commission is replaced by key players from the Member States, meaning that the Council acts as a venue, and the Commission's role is closer to a facilitator and promoter of ideas or networks (ibid.). Thus, soft policy is usually manifested as recommendations, opinions, reports, action plans, Commission Communications, Education Council Conclusions, or joint communications of the Commission and the European Council.

Without the need to create new legislation, modes of governance related to soft law can produce convergence towards the EU goals and ultimately Europeanisation, as indicated by the following quote:

> *The EU, however, is also experimenting with modes of governance that are not based on law and hierarchy. The rationale for these new modes of governance is the following. In policies where the Treaty base for EU competence is thin or nonexistent (e.g., higher education and the fight against poverty) or where diverging interests of the member states make agreement on proposed EU legislation impossible (e.g., some labor market reforms), modes of governance based on Council guidelines, peer pressure, benchmarking sensitive to the institutional context, iterative processes of monitoring and indicators can lead the member states to an efficient co-ordination of reforms and thus produce Europeanization.* (Radaelli, 2008, p. 239)

These "new" modes of governance, which emerged after the Lisbon Council in 2000 and represent a growing strand of literature on Europeanisation (see Büchs, 2007; Radaelli, 2008; Zeitlin, 2005), different to the traditional top-down approaches, are supposed to bring about Europeanisation through "learning" (Radaelli, 2008, p. 240). The argument is that if learning is actually produced via new governance, this can result in Europeanisation in terms of convergence towards the growth and jobs objectives of the Lisbon agenda (ibid.). According to Radaelli (2008, p. 240), learning-based Europeanisation is manifested as a creative combination of "learning by socialization", "learning by monitoring", and "learning by arguing and persuasion". Socialisation refers to processes that make policymakers more aware of their interdependence and can lead towards greater commitment to EU goals. Monitoring enables EU institutions to ensure that progress is made by the Member States, although it can be that monitoring can also hinder learning. Finally, arguing and persuasion leads to the refinement of guidelines, timetables and goals. All three types of learning are preconditions for changes of policy preferences and can foster a re-orientation of policy paradigms (ibid.).

At this point, it is useful to narrow down our focus to exemplify how learning-based Europeanisation appears in the field of education, a subfield of which is teacher education, and move on to explain and theorise policy learning in the specific field, by combining knowledge from comparative education and political science. Finally, the relationship between policy learning and policy change is presented, leading to a conceptual framework for mapping policy change in the context of Europeanisation.

Learning-based Europeanisation in education

Within the EU, this learning-based mode of governance is best exemplified by the OMC, a form of intergovernmental policymaking that was originally created in the 1990s as part of employment policy and was later on defined as an instrument of the Lisbon strategy in 2000 ("Glossary of summaries – EUR-Lex", n.d.). The aim of the OMC is to spread best practices and lead to convergence towards the main EU goals (European Council, 2000). Under the OMC, the countries are evaluated by one another, in the form of peer pressure, with the role of the Commission being limited to surveillance ("Glossary of summaries – EUR-Lex", n.d.). The OMC works in stages: first the Council of Ministers agrees on policy goals; then the Member States translate guidelines into national and regional policies; afterwards benchmarks and indicators to measure best practice are agreed upon; and finally results are monitored and evaluated (Eurofound, 2010).

Although the OMC takes place in areas which fall under the competence of Member States, such as employment, social protection, education, youth, and vocational training, it is often seen as a way for the Commission to "put its foot in the door" of a national policy area (ibid.). Due to the fact that the OMC varies according to the different policy fields and

according to the time period it is analysed, it can be argued that there is not one OMC, but a number of OMCs (Lange & Alexiadou, 2007). Various studies have described the role of the OMC in education (Alexiadou, 2007; Dale, 2009b; Gornitzka, 2005; Gornitzka, 2006; Lange & Alexiadou, 2007), and therefore only a brief review of those debates will be attempted here, in order to highlight how this particular instrument of Europeanisation led to the development of education, and consequently teacher policy and teacher education, as a distinct field of European policy.

During the Lisbon European Council, in 2000, education became a key policy field in which the OMC was applied. Among its core characteristics, Alexiadou (2007) refers to the education OMC: (a) as a form of soft law and hence a "light touch" regulatory tool; (b) as a "reflexive" tool of governance, drawing on peer review and policy learning; (c) as involving a range of "actors" in its process of policy learning and exchange, including networks of experts in various fields within education; and (d) as operating on the basis of benchmarks and indicators to stimulate exchange and discussion among Member States about reasons for differences in performance (pp. 104-105). In 2006, the Commission organised a framework for policy learning by setting up eight "clusters", after initial attempts to stimulate policy learning through working groups was not deemed entirely successful (Lange & Alexiadou, 2010). Clusters have been replaced by "thematic working groups" since 2009. The role of such working groups is to organise Peer Learning Activities (PLAs), with Member States participating voluntarily in those PLAs that are of interest to them, sending usually two people representing the national team: civil servants from a ministry and/or a policymaking representative (Alexiadou, 2014, p. 128). PLAs facilitate mutual learning and exchange of good practice between countries, while the outcomes of PLAs can form the basis for Commission Draft Recommendations, or Communications (ibid.).

However, the legal competence of the EU on education has traditionally been weak, resulting in limited attention being paid by studies on European integration and their impact for domestic policies (Alexiadou, 2007). This is because education policy in the EU is governed by the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality, meaning that the EU can only intervene in a complementary way:

> *The Union shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity.*
> ("The Lisbon Treaty – Article 165", 2006)

Through the term "quality", the EU has discovered "an entrance to the education sector" (Alexiadou, 2007, p. 106), allowing the Commission to intervene in areas that were generally considered to be of national concern. Since 2000, the wider integration process through the OMC has intensified and formalised resulting in the emergence of a European model of education with distinct features (Alexiadou, 2014). Similarly, Dale (2009a) argues that a "European Education Space" and a "European Education Policy" developed within particular historical, economic, political and educational contexts, which allowed education to find its "place" in European policy (p. 40). The basic argument behind the idea of a distinct "European education", or, as it will later on be termed in this study, "European thinking and action in teacher education", is that it must be somehow different from Member States' national education. Different in what it does, but also in how it does it. As Dale (2009a) puts it:

> *They [these spaces and policies] rest on the claim that the European Education Space can be seen as an opportunity structure framed* formally *by Treaty responsibilities,* substantively *by the Lisbon Agenda and the European Social Model, and historically by the "pre-Lisbon" education activities of the European Commission. European Education* Policy*, by contrast, is framed by not just the Open Method of Coordination, and the relevant Directorates General – Education, pre-eminently, but also Employment, Social Inclusion and Research – but by existing Member State policies and preferences – and, in addition [...] existing conceptions of the nature and capacity of "education" which, [...], have an existence that is relatively independent of, and pervade, in different ways, all Member State education policies.* (p. 32)

However, the Lisbon agenda "does not acknowledge education as a 'teleological' policy area, an area in itself", but rather as "part of social policy, labour market policy and overall economic policy" (Gornitzka, 2005, p. 17). Similarly, Halász (2003) argues that the European interest on education originates from pressures of the wider social policy area, particularly the employment area. Since the middle of the nineties, various actors not belonging to the education sector succeeded in extending the scope of employment policies to cover aspects belonging to the education sector and uploading these to the community level (ibid.). Thus, a number of social and employment policy-related interventions involve educational inputs and an increasing number of education policies are dealt within the framework of employment, leading some researchers to question how far European education can be considered a distinct sector in its own right (Dale, 2009a).

Against this background, the education OMC seems to contribute more to the goal of "sustainable economic growth" and less to the social cohesion goals of the Lisbon agenda, while it follows a traditional set of managerial values with strong business orientation informing education indicators (Alexiadou, 2007). Besides, the OMC developed initially as part of economic policy coordination, given impetus through the European Employment Strategy, rather than as an independent policy field (Gornitzka, 2005). From a critical point of view, some studies question whether education OMC represents a "new" mode of governance, since it seems to reflect ideas and mechanisms of education governance that draw on new public management and "old content" of a performance management agenda based on indicators, benchmarks and comparisons of best practice (Alexiadou 2007; Lange & Alexiadou, 2007). Nevertheless, without the OMC, European education would not exist in the form that it does. According to Gornitzka (2006), the European level in areas like education is essentially brought into being by the activities promoted by the OMC. Although it goes without saying that education policy in the EU is influenced by certain ideologies, since policy mechanisms used to effect policy learning are never neutral (Dale, 2009b; Lange & Alexiadou, 2010; Radaelli, 2004), examining this more thoroughly goes beyond the focus of this study.

In addition to the OMC, other policy instruments contribute to governance based on policy learning. Aiming to promote development and modernisation, the EU employs sophisticated institutional mechanisms that consist of the following key elements: (1) structural and cohesion policy; (2) cross-sectoral instruments; (3) educational programmes; (4) policy coordination; and (5) knowledge and information management (Halász, 2013). Since policy coordination refers to the OMC, as described above, the other instruments will be briefly described, referring to the work of Halász (2013). As probably the most important instrument, structural and cohesion policy includes two major funds, namely the European Social Fund and the European Regional Development Fund. Both support the modernisation of national

education systems and stipulate that only educational development programmes supporting growth, employability and social cohesion can receive community support. Cross-sectoral instruments lead to the transfer of policies from one sector to another and help the Commission to launch policy initiatives in the sector where Member States are most receptive for them. Educational programmes refer to the different initiatives related to student and teacher mobility, pedagogical innovations, inter-institutional cooperation, networking or policy development projects, previously belonging to the so-called Lifelong Learning Programme, which currently belong to the Erasmus+. Finally, knowledge and information management point to the role of the Commission as knowledge broker, investing much in gathering, analysing and spreading information related to policy experimentation in different national education systems.

So far, the ways through which learning-based Europeanisation is manifested in education policy have been briefly described, pointing to specific mechanisms which diffuse and institutionalise policies across the European Education Space. To better understand the interactive process of learning-based Europeanisation, the following section will focus on theorising policy learning. Europeanisation is hereby conceived in the context of policy learning, because this is the predominant way that influences occur and can thus be studied in the field of (teacher) education, considering the subsidiarity principle (Alexiadou, 2014; Lange & Alexiadou, 2010).

Theorising policy learning in the context of Europeanisation

To begin with, it should be clarified that the concept of policy learning does not adhere to one particular theoretical framework, but that, as a fluid and open concept, it can be attached to different theoretical approaches (Alexiadou, 2014). This is why, drawing on both comparative education and political sciences can be useful in theorising policy learning for the purposes of analysing Europeanisation in soft EU policy. Besides, in attempts to study complex policy processes that span between the global and the local, "single theoretical framings are often insufficient, and theoretical eclecticism potentially offers more comprehensive insights into dynamic policy processes than single theories alone" (Vidovich, 2013, p. 21).

At the outset, it should also be mentioned that literature on policy studies, comparative education, and political sciences often features the terms "transfer", or "policy borrowing and lending", to neutralise any positive connotations associated with "policy learning" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012, p. 7). However, employing the term policy learning is considered appropriate here, because it better describes the internal EU processes in areas of soft policy. It also points towards "a more reflective and developmental approach, drawing from past mistakes, understanding one's particularities of institutional arrangements, histories, economies and local contexts" (Alexiadou, 2014, p. 131). As Alexiadou (2014) puts it in her study of policy learning through the OMC:

> *The process of learning has meant that the Commission and member states have agreed to common goals and to a common direction of reforms that aim to reshape European education systems, even if they did not necessarily agree on the particulars content of these reforms, or the means to achieve them.* (p. 134)

In political science, literature on policy learning has been disaggregated by Moyson, Scholten, and Weible (2017) into three approaches operating at micro-, meso-, and macro-levels. According to their categorisation, micro-level approaches deal with learning that occurs within and among individuals within social settings, and is also termed social learning. Meso-level

approaches focus on organisational learning, while macro-level approaches study how learning occurs at the system level. Often defined in different ways, policy learning has generally been conceptualised as "instrumental learning", referring to lessons about the viability of policy instruments or implementation designs, or as "social learning", referring to lessons about the social construction of policy problems, the scope of policy, or policy goals (May, 1992, p. 332). Policy learning is also different from "political learning", that is lessons about policy processes and prospects, when policy advocates become more knowledgeable in advancing problems and ideas (ibid.).

Instrumentalist definitions deal with the impact and effectiveness of policy learning, focusing on the policy instruments as the basis of policy and implementation designs (May, 1992). Policy instruments can be chosen for different institutional or political reasons not necessarily related to improved understanding of the instruments (ibid.). This implies that instrumental learning does not need to be goal-oriented, while policy redesign or adaptation can occur without understanding the instruments. In the field of education, instrumental definitions of policy learning can help to analyse the indirect effects of globalisation mechanisms (Dale, 1999), the acceptance of benchmarks and comparative rankings as "neutral" reform tools (Lawn, 2011), and the decontextualisation of the Bologna process for the patterning of higher education courses of study throughout Europe (Schriewer, 2009).

On the other hand, a focus on the social processes involved in policy learning can shed light on "the ways in which networks are developed, actors share good practice, and deliberations are facilitated" (Alexiadou, 2014, p. 131). Instead of concentrating on impact, social definitions of policy learning deal with the process of social construction, the objects of which are: beliefs about cause and effect, preferences concerning desired policy outcomes, perceptions of policy targets, and beliefs about the policy ideas that undergird policies (May, 1992, p. 337). This mode of learning implies that the dominant beliefs of policy elites have either been altered or reaffirmed due to policy experience (ibid.). From a social policy learning perspective, Radaelli (2008) examined the potential of the OMC for learning in three directions: (a) "learning at the top", that is EU-level learning within communities of policymakers engaged in EU policy processes; (b) "learning from the top", referring to hierarchical learning from the EU level down to the domestic and local level; and (c) "bottom-up learning", or learning from below (i.e. social actors, regions, local governments) to the top (p. 248).

Similarly, Lange and Alexiadou (2010) used a social definition of policy learning to study the differential power relations within the education OMC. Specifically, they identified four styles of policy learning which explain the internal mechanisms of the OMC, seen by the authors as distinctly not neutral devices: (a) mutual learning, which is voluntary, mainly generated by PLAs and supports the qualitative knowledge about education practices; (b) competitive policy learning, based on benchmarks, indicators and comparative ranking lists, which promote learning through an "objective" process of comparing performance among the Member States, striving for some degree of harmonisation; (c) imperialistic policy learning, directed at enhancing national interests and implying that learning is a priori defined by some Member States that seek to influence education policies in the EU; and (d) surface policy learning, that is an attempt to minimise influence on national education policies by other EU Member States or the Commission (Lange & Alexiadou, 2010, pp. 452-456).

The relation between policy learning and policy change: Stages matrix

In both comparative education and political science the study of policy learning is correlated to policy change, as will be detailed in this section. In political science, Heclo (1974) was the first who argued for policy learning as a possible source of policy change, defining policy

learning as "a relatively enduring change in behaviour that results from experience" (p. 306). Since then a great amount of theoretical work from political scientist have been developing the concept (see Hall, 1993; May, 1992; Moyson et al., 2017; Radaelli, 2008). In the words of Dolowitz and Marsh (2000, p. 21), "when we are analyzing policy change we always need to ask the question: Is policy transfer involved?" Such contestation suggests that an increasing amount of policy development, and particularly policy change in contemporary polities, is to a certain extent affected by policy transfer, which is induced by global economic pressures, the rapid growth in communications of all types, and the emergence of supranational organisations, such as the EU (ibid.).

In comparative education, the growing interest on policy borrowing and lending is similarly associated with debates on how global governance affects national education systems and whether the observed international convergence of education systems was the result of cross-national lesson-drawing, or other forms of policy transfer (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). Specifically, Cowen (2009) urges us to rethink mobilities and transfer by approaching the question of "shapeshifting", that is "the metamorphoses of the institutions and social processes, which are mobile" (p. 323). Cowen's (2009, p. 315) widely cited phrase "as it moves, it morphs" points towards the direction of continuing change, when policy transfer occurs, followed by the stages of "translation" and "transformation". To better understand the changes brought about by globalisation or Europeanisation in education, analysis of policy transfer should move beyond theoretical and methodological -isms, i.e. "methodological nationalism", "methodological statism", and "methodological educationism", used to suggest an approach to nation, system, and education that takes them as unproblematic and assumes a constant and shared meaning (Dale & Robertson, 2009). Besides, it has rarely ever been the case that "the state did it all" in education, that educational activities are limited to the national scale, and that education has been "a single straightforward, unproblematic conception" (ibid., p. 1114).

To study the relationship between policy learning and policy change, Moyson, Scholten and Weible (2017) constructed a conceptual framework that tries to answer the following organising questions: Who learns? What do they learn? How do they learn? What is the effect of this learning? (pp. 166-167). Regarding the "who" question, the answer points to the actors of learning and their attributes, while the types of knowledge, information, and experiences learnt by policy actors answers the question of "what". As to "how", the answer comes as the ways actors actually use those sources of knowledge, information, and experience. Eventually, the "effect" implies the types of policy change that result from policy learning. However, in their study of the literature, Moyson, Scholten and Weible (2017, p. 165) acknowledge that "current research is ambiguous on the degree and scope of policy change that results from policy learning". This is because, on one hand, policy learning is one of many factors contributing to policy change, and, on the other hand, because policy learning itself is challenging, since knowledge acquisition on complex policy problems is difficult, while policy actors' preferences are not always rational (ibid.).

At this point, reference should be made to the seminal work of P. A. Hall (1993), one of the first to frame policy change as social learning, which he defined "as a deliberate attempt to adjust the goals or techniques of policy in response to past experience and new information" (p. 278). According to this definition, learning is manifested when policy changes as the result of such a process, whereby individuals assimilate new information and apply it to their subsequent actions (ibid.). Hall distinguishes between first-, second-, and third-order changes, depending on the learning occurred:

- First-order change *in policy is the most common type of policy learning, occurring when instrument settings are changed in the light of experience and new knowledge, while*

the overall goals and instruments of policy remain the same. This process of change can display features of incrementalism, satisficing, and routinized decision making that is normally associated with the policy process;

- Second-order change *occurs when the instruments of policy, as well as their settings, are altered in response to past experience even though the overall goals of policy remain the same. This type of change and the development of new policy instruments may move in the direction of strategic action; and*
- Third-order change*, which rarely takes place, occurs when wholesale changes take place, whereby the instrument settings, the instruments themselves, and the hierarchy of goals behind policy are altered. Third-order change may result from policy failure and is associated with periodic discontinuities in policy* (Hall, 1993, pp. 278-280)

Drawing on the scientific paradigms of Thomas Kuhn, Hall (1993, p. 279) associates third-order change with a "paradigm shift", in contrast to first- and second-order change that are seen as cases of "normal policymaking", namely of a policy process that does not challenge the overall terms of a given policy paradigm. First- and second-order changes in policy do not automatically lead to third-order changes, since normal policy-making can develop for some time without necessarily triggering a paradigm shift (ibid.). Contrary to a mere instrumentalist understanding of policy learning, Hall's idea of policy change recognises that policy learning can extend to policy goals, in addition to policy instruments (Dale, 1999). Thus, "normal policymaking" would imply learning about instruments, while learning about policy goals occurs only in special circumstances associated with a "paradigm shift". In his work of identifying the effects of globalisation on national education systems, Dale (1999) argues that globalisation has managed to induce this kind of paradigm shift in national policymaking assumptions. To a different extent, this has later on been argued also in terms of Europeanisation (Dale, 2009a, b).

Studies on policy learning and change often employ the categorisation of Hall to understand policy change. According to Steiner-Khamsi (2012), comparative education research on policy borrowing and lending largely focuses on the notions of second-order and third-order policy change. Moreover, Hall's interpretive framework has previously been applied in studies of the Europeanisation of vocational education and training (VET) to identify how EU instruments may lead to change of national VET institutions (see Ante, 2016). This study will also draw on the work of Hall to understand how teacher education systems in different countries reflect European developments.

Specifically, Table 1 offers a policy matrix for analysing policy change in areas of soft EU policy where policy learning is the main vehicle of Europeanisation. Since it is empirically difficult to trace the causal link between learning and policy change (Radaelli, 2008), the matrix offers an interpretive rather than normative tool to understand developments in policy areas which might considerably differ from one country to another. Considering the fact that Europeanisation has different effects in different countries, and does not necessarily lead to harmonisation or convergence, we can distinguish between different stages of change in which policies can be grouped, following the categorisation proposed by Hall (1993). To connect this to Europeanisation literature, each stage of change is attached to the different degrees of Europeanisation, presented in the previous section of this chapter. "Changes in the direction of the common EU goals are a manifestation of Europeanization." (Radaelli, 2008, p. 251)

Table 1. The stages of policy change in the context of Europeanisation

Stages / Countries	Stage 1 1st order change	Stage 2 2nd order change	Stage 3 3rd order change
Country A	Policy area X	Policy area Y	Policy area Z
Country B	Policy area Y	Policy area Z	Policy area X
…	…	…	…
Degree of change	Inertia, retrenchment, absorption	Accommodation	Transformation

It is within this framework of policy learning that this study conceptualises Europeanisation and considers that soft areas of EU policy can actually influence and be influenced by national policymaking, as illustrated in Figure 2 below. Coming back to the definition of Europeanisation by Radaelli (2004), as described previously in the first section of this chapter, the specific study understands education policymaking as a highly political and interactive process, in which Member States co-construct policies with the Commission, which then get crystallised as "European" (Alexiadou, 2007, 2014). Thus, it is not always possible to discern the origin of particular European education policies, meaning that they can be coming from within the Commission, or they may also be originating from the initiatives of particular Member States who want to pursue their own agenda (Alexiadou, 2014). This suggests a process of "mutual adaptation" and "co-evolution" between the European and domestic levels, implying that policy learning is part of the diffusion of policies, as well as of the mediation and institutionalisation of policies within the national education systems (ibid.).

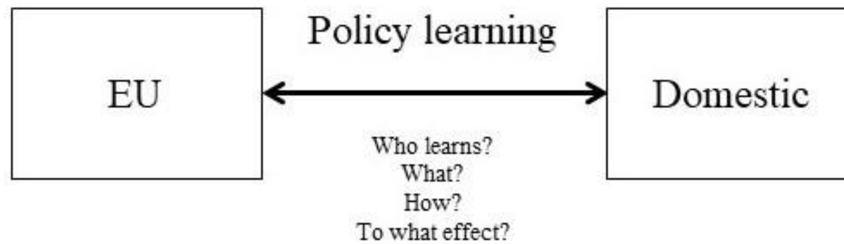

Figure 2. Policy learning in areas of soft EU policy

Although the policy learning process might result in policy objectives being institutionalised at national policy level, everyday educational practices can differ significantly from the intended policy objectives (Alexiadou, 2014; Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012). This points to the challenge of enacting policies in practice and highlights the central role of actors at different levels of the Europeanisation process in dealing with policies. The following section conceptualises teacher education as a policy ecosystem, drawing on literature of teacher education research. This way the main processes and actors that can bring in Europeanisation at different levels of this particular policy ecosystem are explained.

2.2. The policy ecosystem perspective of teacher education

At the outset, a critical distinction should be made between two concepts, teacher education, on the one hand, and teacher training on the other. Teacher education is wider than teacher training because it includes not only a teacher's vocational training but also general education that contributes to his/her growth as a person regardless of his/her future profession (Rowntree, as cited in O'Neill, 1986, p. 258). In other words, education points to a more holistic learning process where what is learned is worthwhile to the learner and the learner can express his/her own individuality through what is learned, whereas training is the systematic development of what is necessary for a person to learn in order to be able to adequately perform in a job often requiring a standardised performance (ibid, pp. 258-259). Hence, it is generally argued that the phrase "teacher education" should have replaced "teacher training", because of the widespread shift of teacher training in colleges to university-level teacher education across many countries (Livingston & Flores, 2017; O'Neill, 1986).

Despite the "universitisation" of teacher education during the last thirty years (Zgaga, 2013), the expressions teacher education and teacher training continue to be used interchangeably. This tendency could perhaps be explained by the fact that many scholarly sources did not clearly differentiate between the two concepts, and when distinctions were made they were often conflicting, confusing or contradictory (O'Neill, 1986). To this controversy, Zeichner (2014) adds the perspective that there are currently two different visions of the role of teachers and teacher preparation. On the one hand, there is the vision of those who propose building a professional teaching force and a system of teacher education preparing teachers for professional roles and teaching careers. On the other hand, there are those who believe that it is too costly to maintain a professional teaching force and have advocated instead preparing teachers as technicians to implement the instructions with which they are provided with ultimate aim to improve students' standardised test scores. The present study generally adopts the term teacher education, but refers also to teacher training when European or national level policy documents employ the specific term.

Teacher education is understood in this study as a continuum of teacher professional development, including initial teacher education (ITE), induction and continuing professional development (CPD). Policy and research are increasingly recognising that teaching is a lifelong learning profession, emphasising that the role of ITE is crucial, but preparation is not complete when prospective teachers graduate from university (Darling-Hammond et al., 2017; European Commission, 2015; Roberts-Hull, Jensen & Cooper, 2015; Tatto, 2008). The range of professional expectations of teachers has expanded and teachers are constantly required to renew their competences to keep up with the needs of 21st century students. In countries with advanced systems of teacher professional development, teachers are considered as career-long professionals who receive early career support in the form of induction after graduating from ITE, followed by ongoing learning and career opportunities that enable teachers to continue to grow, learn and be motivated about their work (Darling-Hammond et al., 2017).

Furthermore, teacher education is a field with strong institutional character because it is subject to state control over budget, regulations and provision (Caena, 2014a), while teacher education institutions increasingly struggle with government ambitions to monitor and control teachers' preparation (Trippestad, Swennen & Werler, 2017; Zgaga, 2013). According to Cochran-Smith (2013), teacher education in nearly every country is highly politicised and increasingly influenced by globalisation based on the ideas of neoliberalism. This argument reflects the fact that social institutions in democratic societies are sites of political disagreement and that policies related to teacher education are not developed in a straightforward process of selecting what is "best" policy and practice. Teacher education is a highly contested terrain,

involving the negotiation of conflicting values and assumptions about the purposes of schooling, the responsibilities of teachers, and the role of education in improving a nation's ability to compete in the global economy (ibid.). Snoek and Zogla (2009) make similar assumptions in the European context about the political nature of teacher education at both national and European levels.

> *Politicians and ministries try to influence teacher education more than any other area in higher education, as the quality of teachers is a key issue in the economic development of a country, in safeguarding a socially coherent society and in conserving the cultural heritage of a country. This holds for not only the national level, but also the European level.* (Snoek & Zogla, 2009, p. 25)

It thus becomes clear that the formulation of policies related to teacher education cannot be neutral, but rather subject to the deliberate action of policy actors who consciously promote their favoured positions (Cochran-Smith, 2005), resulting in the institutionalisation of formal and informal rules. At this point, it should be clarified that the term "institution" is used in this study in two ways: one way is to refer to organisations such as higher education institutions, and the other way is to denote the "rules" turn to shape the actors' behaviour in the new institutionalist sense (Maggi, 2016). In contrast to an institutional analysis that tends to view institutions as objective structures existing independent of human action, the new institutionalism perceives "man-made rules and procedures as the basic building blocks of institutions" (Meyer & Rowan, 2006, p. 6). This means that before institutions can gain authority as objective social structures, they must first be given meaning by cognitive acts of individuals (ibid.). Therefore, it is essential for the present study to locate the origin of institutions, in the sense of rules related to teacher education, in taken for granted classifications, legal documents, and tools that humans use to make sense of the world around them.

It is particularly this institutional nature of teacher education and its dependence on government control that makes teacher education more vulnerable to global influences, despite resistance coming from the local level (Caena, 2017; Tatto, 2007). According to Trippestad, Swennen and Werler (2017), teacher education evolved as an institution in three different waves of teacher education reforms starting from the 1960s until today. The first two waves were nationally oriented and dealt with building teacher professionalism, while the present third wave is global and relates to standardisation. In the context of this third wave, teacher education is increasingly influenced by the results of international student assessments, comparisons of educational expenditures, and what Sahlberg (2016, p. 128) calls the Global Education Reform Movement, characterised by the aspects of competition, choice prescribed curricula, standardised testing and privatisation. The third reform wave poses several challenges to teacher education, including the "primacy of policy" in terms of the politicisation of teacher education, a development accompanied by a new focus on the usefulness of teacher education, as well as by struggles related to the shift of teacher education into higher education and the struggle about how teacher education reforms can prepare the "good teacher" (Trippestad, Swennen and Werler, 2017, p. 9).

According to Caena (2017), these global processes in teacher education can also be seen as "evolutionary opportunities rather than threats to be resisted" (p. 185) which can result to "glocal" developments mediating external and internal pressures (Caena, 2014a, 2017). Adopting an ecological perspective, Caena (2017) describes the complexity of teacher education as an "activity system" whose aims and outcomes are shaped by its settings, rules,

roles and actors. Teacher education ecosystems are in a status of ongoing change and constant interaction with other systems, such as other education policy areas, responding to external pressures, including for example the global drive towards effectiveness or the need to align with national policy measures for economic and social development. Policy ecosystems are embedded in larger ecosystems and include smaller ecosystems in a nested structure. In this sense, teacher education is an open ecosystem including organisations that are embedded in wider systems interacting with them (ibid.). Comparative analyses of teacher policies and teacher education tend to focus on national systems and often overlook this nested environment. For example, national systems might be embraced by broader systems, including European or global governance systems, and they might as well contain smaller systems, such as higher education institutions or schools.

This systemic perspective of teacher education as a policy ecosystem is particularly useful for the present study, because it embraces complexity and allows for multi-level analysis across scales and countries. Drawing on the work of Bronfenbrenner, Caena (2017) argues for the open ecosystem of teacher education in the following way:

> *An ecological model of teacher education conveys an idea of balance for individual and collective advantages, with global processes of mediation and adaptation; it can help understand the layers of teacher education systems in which cultural, social and organisational influences are constantly interacting.* (p. 188)

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological system theory understands the relationship between human and environments as a layered system. With a holistic view, Bronfenbrenner argued that humans develop in relation to multilevel environments, including for example family, school and community and defined these environments differently as for example microsystems, mesosystems, or macrosystems. Similar to Caena, Hwang (2014) also employed this ecological conception to teacher education arguing that teacher educators are situated in different ecological contexts, including the global context, the national context, and the institutional context. Figure 3 illustrates the different layers of teacher education ecosystems, adding also the European context as essential for the present study dealing with the phenomenon of Europeanisation. Although the figure makes a vertical representation of layers, the horizontal dimension should also be acknowledged because policies at different levels of the teacher education ecosystem are interacting with policies of other education ecosystems at the same levels.

The global context includes global trends in education, such as the pressure towards standardisation explained above as a predominant feature of the third wave in teacher education reforms (Trippestad, Swennen & Werler, 2017). The European context covers some of the European trends in teacher education related to activities of the EU and the Member States. The national context encompasses the national teacher education systems, which in this study include Austria, Greece and Hungary, while the institutional environment includes the workplaces of teacher educators which can be higher education institutions, schools or CPD providers. Although the global context is certainly important for understanding the broader developments in teacher education, the present study focuses its empirical investigation on the European, national and institutional levels within which Europeanisation unfolds.

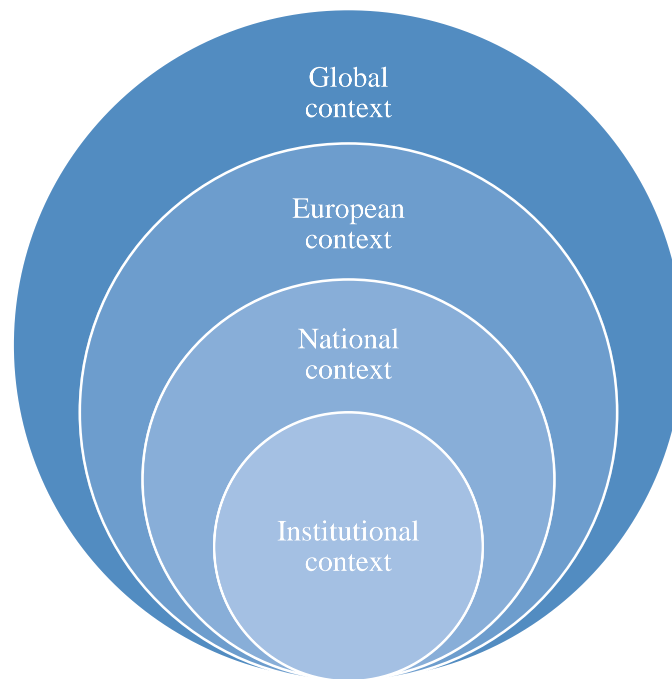

Figure 3. The layers of teacher education ecosystems

Teacher education ecosystems are characterised by ongoing tensions spanning from primary contradictions within each system element to secondary contradictions between system elements (Caena, 2017). Primary contradictions could for example include the tension related to teachers' professional profile between competences and the knowledge focus, while secondary contradictions could be tensions between the national rules and community practices (ibid.). These tensions can become opportunities for policy learning and improvement in systems constantly striving for balance (Engeström, as cited in Caena, 2017, p. 189). It is particularly these tensions that can lead to what Caena (2014a, 2017) calls "glocal" evolutions in teacher education, whereby global influences provide opportunities for local innovations.

In this system perspective of teacher education, there are "boundary objects" and "boundary spanners" mediating collaboration and learning across the teacher education levels (Caena, 2017). Boundary objects refer to shared concepts that are potentially perceived differently by different system levels for common policies and practices, but sustain a stable content core enabling conceptual integrity and understanding across contexts. For example, the concept of teacher competences or the concept of the teacher education continuum can be such boundary objects displaying cultural variations within and across teacher education systems. To facilitate the learning across levels, boundary spanners are acting as key agents of change playing multiple roles in different settings and organisations. As such, policymakers, teacher educators or education leaders can cross cultural boundaries between institutions, helping different levels of the system to communicate.

Considering though the high ambiguity and high conflict nature of policies related to teachers and teaching (Day, 2017), it is necessary for this study to explore not only the content, but also the process of designing and enacting teacher education policies across scales and countries. To this end, the conceptualisation of teacher education as a policy ecosystem can be well connected to the theory of policy enactment (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012). Policies become interpreted and translated within and across system levels in a complex process of enactment. Moving away top-down and bottom-up notions of implementation, policy enactment brings policy and practice closer to each other:

> *In contrast, we see policy enactment as a dynamic and non-linear aspect of the whole complex that makes up the policy process, of which policy in school is just one part. Policies "begin" at different points and they have different trajectories and life spans, some are mandated, others strongly recommended or suggested (Wallace 1991). Some policies are formulated "above" and others are produced in schools or by local authorities, or just simply become "fashionable" approaches in practice with no clear beginning.* (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012, pp. 6-7)

Adopting the perspective of policy enactment, policy is seen as both an object and a process which involves negotiation and contestation between different groups and is not limited to the official policymaking of governments. The present study understands policy as texts and "things", such as legislation and national or institutional initiatives, as well as processes complexly configured and contextually mediated by policy actors who pursue their own interests (ibid.). Several actors involved in teacher education are operating within and across system levels including policymakers, teacher educators, teachers, mentors, school heads, school inspectors, and education authorities. In this sense, some of these actors might also undertake the role of boundary spanners in the policy ecosystem.

All these actors and materials existing in teacher education ecosystems are operating in networks. In terms of the actor network theory, "a network is an assemblage or gathering of materials brought together and linked through processes of translation, that together perform a particular enactment" (Fenwick & Edwards, 2012, p. xiii). Translation occurs when human and nonhuman entities come together and connect, changing one another to form links. As such, translation is neither linear nor deterministic because what entities do when they come together in a network is probable but unpredictable, involving negotiation, persuasion, power, and resistance (ibid.).

Overall, teacher education is perceived in this study as a complex multi-level policy ecosystem with clearly discernible institutional characteristics. External and internal pressures to this ecosystem, which might be related to Europeanisation, can sparkle policy learning and policy change. Within this ecosystem, there are various actors and other non-material entities, including policies and artefacts, which relate to each other forming networks. Some of these actors or entities can function as boundary spanners or boundary objects respectively and expand the limits of the ecosystem's different layers. In this context, policy and practice are perceived as dynamic and non-linear processes which can be produced and enacted at different levels of the ecosystem.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter explains the study's methodological background. It begins with a discussion about the study's ontological and epistemological groundings. It then discusses the study's qualitative research strategy and the case study research design, explaining the case outline, the comparative case study approach and the case selection. Afterwards, there is a detailed account of the specific data collection methods employed, including a document review and semi-structured expert interviews, followed by a description of the data collection phases and timeline. The methods of data analysis are then presented, including process tracing and qualitative content analysis. Trustworthiness criteria and ethical considerations are also essential sections of this chapter. Finally, the limitations of the study are considered before turning to the empirical part.

3.1. Ontology and epistemology

Specifying the philosophical foundations of a research study in terms of ontological and epistemological stances has actual consequences for research. When thinking about social ontology, it is essential for the researcher to answer the question of whether social entities should be considered objective entities within a reality external to social actors and thus independent from our knowledge, or whether social entities should be considered social constructions developed by the perceptions and actions of social actors (Bryman, 2012). This study's philosophical foundations are rooted in a social constructivist paradigm, asserting that social processes and their meanings are continually being shaped and reshaped by social actors. Through relativist lenses, this study does not assume that Europeanisation is an inevitable or universal process, but rather a highly diverse and contradictory process, constantly constructed and negotiated by social actors. Especially the study of Europeanisation in an area of soft EU policy, such as teacher education, which is also a particularly fragmented academic field, implies that the active role of individuals is crucial for the local interpretation of the process.

Following a constructivist ontology implies also that the researchers' own accounts of the social world are constructions (ibid.). As a researcher, I have to acknowledge that I present a specific version of social reality, rather than one that can be regarded as definitive. Specifically, I do not necessarily expect a causal relationship between European and domestic policy processes, but I am curious about the causes of institutional change in the teacher education systems of different European countries, and believe that if Europeanisation has had an effect on teacher education, this can only be researched qualitatively. I also acknowledge that Europeanisation is a highly political process, induced with ideological perceptions, but my research focus is predominantly directed towards understanding and describing the development of the process in the specific field of teacher education, rather than deeply explaining the ideological underpinnings of the process.

Moreover, I think that science is neither value-free, nor apolitical, and being part of an EU-funded doctoral programme is certainly creating positive feelings towards the institution of the EU. This is also partly complemented by my previous work experience in European organisations, such as Education International and Cedefop, which fostered my interest for studying the influence of international organisations, and made me more critical about the impact of these organisations on national policies and local practices. Furthermore, it is my opinion that a separation between normative and empirical questions is difficult to make, a view shared also by other researchers studying Europeanisation (Maggi, 2016). Although a

reality may exist outside of our knowledge, there are social phenomena difficult to observe directly, and thus theories and concepts can constitute a way of understanding the world. "The world is not just there to be discovered by empirical research; rather, knowledge is filtered through the theory the researcher adopts." (Porta & Keating, 2008, p. 24)

With regard to epistemology, a researcher needs to specify "the principles and rules by which you decide whether and how social phenomena can be known, and how knowledge can be demonstrated" (Mason, 2002, p. 16). Epistemologically, the constructivist paradigm stipulates an interpretative theoretical perspective, meaning that the researcher aims to understand social action, in the sense of the German *Verstehen*, rather than to explain in the causal sense (Bryman, 2012, pp. 28-30). As an alternative to positivism, interpretivism requires from the social scientist "to grasp the subjective meaning of social action" (ibid., p. 30). This implies that knowledge is a social construction rather than a truth awaiting to be discovered. Instead of relying on universal laws external to social actors, researchers should aim at discovering the meanings that motivate the actions of social actors (Porta & Keating, 2008). "It is therefore impossible to understand historical events or social phenomena without looking at the perceptions individuals have of the world outside." (ibid., pp. 24-25)

Although there are no universal truths, a soft form of normative relativism is necessary to help this study understand Europeanisation, which is not a directly observable social phenomenon. Thus, theory and conceptual frameworks, as described in the theoretical framework chapter, which might seem normative to a certain extent, can offer a useful tool to understand the different interpretations of a complex phenomenon, such as Europeanisation, in a particular policy area, such as teacher education. In the words of Hackings (as cited in Porta & Keating, 2008, p. 24), "social constructionists tend to maintain that classifications are not determined by how the world is but are convenient ways to represent it". Abductive reasoning better describes the relationship between theory and research in this study, since the theoretical account is grounded in the worldview of the research participants (Bryman, 2012). The study of Europeanisation of a specific area is inherently abductive, adhering to the logic of the "best possible explanation", because there might always be other reasons, such as globalisation or the influence of particular actors, which explain domestic change. The following sections describe in detail the methodological implications of this study's constructivist ontology and interpretative epistemology.

3.2. Research strategy and research design

The general aim of this study, namely to understand the potential influence of Europeanisation in teacher education policy and practice of different countries, points towards a qualitative research strategy. When it comes to research strategy, Bryman (2012, p. 35) argues for "a general orientation to the conduct of social research", distinguishing between quantitative and qualitative research. Qualitative research can be construed as a research strategy that emphasises words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data (ibid.), and thus addresses appropriately the ontological and epistemological considerations described above. This study's theses intend to understand European policy processes in teacher education and to illustrate the extent to which teacher education systems in Europe resonate with European policy developments. Qualitative research methods provide in-depth and detailed description sufficient for these objectives to be realised. This is because, as Mason (2002, p. 24) puts it: "qualitative research is characteristically exploratory, fluid and flexible, data-driven and context-sensitive."

Specifically, a qualitative orientation tries to emphasise the importance of the contextual understanding of social behaviour (Bryman, 2012), which is particularly relevant to

this study's exploratory and descriptive character that pays careful attention to contextual specificities at macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of the policy process. In addition to providing a detailed account of the setting being investigated, qualitative studies tend to view social life in terms of processes (ibid.). In this respect, a main concern of this study is to show how Europeanisation unfolds over time by investigating the processes leading up to or following on from events, such as changes in teacher education systems.

Moreover, qualitative research serves the purposes of this study because it allows flexibility and a more open structured approach to the collection of data (ibid.). Qualitative research tries not to delimit areas of enquiry too much and to ask more general instead of highly specific research questions, so that the researcher can gradually formulate a narrower emphasis, in a process driven by data (ibid.). It was essential for this study, which investigates a phenomenon transnationally, to be able to employ research instruments that are open enough and easily adaptable to different national contexts. Further, it was useful to be able to have a rather broad scope of study in the beginning, which was narrowed down during the process of familiarising myself with the phenomenon and the teacher education systems of the different countries.

Although decisions about strategy and design in qualitative research are ongoing and grounded in practice, researchers should produce a research design at the start of the process (Mason, 2002). A research design provides a framework for collecting and analysing the data. Bryman (2012) differentiates between five different types of research design: experimental design; cross-sectional or survey design; longitudinal design; case study design; and comparative design (p. 50). This study adopts a comparative case study design, as it seeks to understand in-depth and cross-nationally the influence of Europeanisation in teacher education policies at different contextual levels, and the implications for a broader population, namely teacher educators. The specific research design fits the ontology and epistemology of this study, which combines the case study approaches of Merriam (1998), Yin (2009), as well as Barlett and Vavrus (2017a). In this way, a broader understanding of the case as both a bounded system and a process is envisaged.

Generally, case studies are the preferred research design, when: (a) "how" or "why" questions are being posed; (b) the investigator has little control over events; and (c) the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context (Yin, 2009, p. 2). This study focuses on "how" questions about a contemporary set of events, over which the researcher has little or no control. Moreover, coming back to the significance of context, Yin (2009) emphasises the relevance of case study research in understanding contextual conditions of a particular phenomenon. "When the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (ibid, p. 18), then case study is an appropriate research design. As stipulated above, the contextually bound character of this study implies that the phenomenon of Europeanisation in teacher education cannot be considered without the context, be it European, national, or local. Understanding teacher education policy and practice and the potential influence of Europe means understanding the context of European policies in teacher education, the teacher education systems of the different countries, and the local context within which a particular teacher education institution is operating. To offer greater internal validity, the following sub-sections aim to describe in detail the case outline, the comparative case study design, and the case selection process.

3.2.1. Case outline

This section describes the case, the type of the case study and its particular features. At the outset, it should be clarified what is defined as case in this study, since different researchers

determine a case in different ways (Baxter & Jack, 2008; George & Bennett, 2005; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2009). For Yin (2009), the case is essentially the "unit of analysis" (p. 30) and relates to the way a researcher has defined the initial research questions. As Merriam (1998) puts it, case is "a thing, a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries" (p. 27), including a person, a programme, a group, a specific policy and so on. Considering the aim of this study to explore Europeanisation in teacher education, and the respective research questions, the main unit of analysis is the country and particularly the country's teacher education system.

As explained in the theoretical framework chapter in section 2.2, teacher education is conceptualised from the lenses of a policy ecosystem with multiple layers in which various policies and practices related to the continuum of teacher professional development can be developed and enacted. The idea of the case as a system appears in both Merriam (1998) and Stake (2006) who recognise that certain features are within the system, while other features are outside and help to define the context of the case. However, the case study approach adopted in the present research is not limited to the logic of pre-determined units of analysis, recognising that social relations are complex and that national policies increasingly draw on knowledge produced globally. Therefore, the need to consider a processual logic that seeks to trace across scales, sites and time periods is essential to understanding the case (Barlett & Vavrus, 2017a). Teacher education as a policy ecosystem has spatial and temporal characteristics which are relative and socially constructed. This means that teacher education policies and practices are transformed as they move across scales and sites, and as they develop over time. Their boundaries are blurred and constructed by social actors, including me as researcher envisaging to bind the case.

Binding the case means to consider what a case will not be (Baxter & Jack, 2008), defining spatial, temporal and other characteristics which make the case feasible to study (Yin, 2009). With regard to space, this study focuses on examining teacher education policies and practices in Europe, and particularly in the EU. For this reason, three EU member states have been selected as the national units of analysis, thus constituting the three case studies around which this study is developed. Specifically, Austria, Greece and Hungary provide the national background against which teacher education policies and practices and the potential influence of Europe can be traced. To further illustrate how teacher education policies and practices are enacted at the local level, the research design includes sub-cases of higher education institutions (HEIs), one in each country. Sub-cases include the University of Innsbruck (UIBK) in Austria, the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (AUTH) in Greece, and the Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) in Hungary. A more detailed explanation regarding the selection of the specific countries and HEIs will be provided later on in this chapter.

With regard to the temporal aspect, the study focuses on teacher education policies and practices developed in the period between 2000 and 2017. Starting from the year when the Lisbon Strategy was launched, the study explores relevant policy initiatives, including for example reforms, developed during those seventeen years, a period considered sufficient to examine the impact of policy changes on the ground (Sabatier, 2005). In further narrowing down the case, it is useful to define the aspects or analytic categories of exploring teacher education policy and practice during this period of time. As mentioned in the introduction chapter, teacher education policy and practice is explored according to the following dimensions, which have been identified as fundamental EU teacher policy concepts (Stéger, 2014): (a) the creation of a teacher education continuum, meaning an overarching unity between initial teacher education, induction and continuing professional development; (b) the definition and use of teacher competences; and (c) the role of teacher educators. These analytic

categories will be further explained in the following chapter related to the European context of teacher education.

Last but not least, when thinking about binding the case of teacher education systems in the respective countries, mention should also be made of the level of education that the present study focuses on. Although teacher education encompasses the initial preparation and professional development of both primary and secondary school teachers, the research focus of the present study is limited to the education of general secondary school teachers. The term general secondary school teachers here means both lower and upper secondary school teachers (ISCED 2 & 3), teaching in general and not vocational schools. The specific level of education is chosen in order to make the case feasible to study and because contemporary teacher education reforms in the respective countries targeted the preparation of general secondary school teachers, as will be explained in the section of case selection.

Figure 4 below illustrates the binding of the case according to the different contextual levels of the teacher education policy ecosystem. Each level of analysis represents a research question of the present study. The European context of teacher education is firstly analysed, before moving to the case study analysis of teacher education systems in the respective countries, focusing particularly on policies and practices developed between 2000 and 2017. Each country case analysis includes the example of policy enactment at one higher education institution which constitutes an embedded unit of analysis. Analysis at these different levels also corresponds to the circular understanding of Europeanisation as mutual adaptation and co-evolution process between levels. Moving away from strictly causal and linear models of implementation, the case is investigated within relevant contexts or nested environments, as described in the theoretical framework chapter.

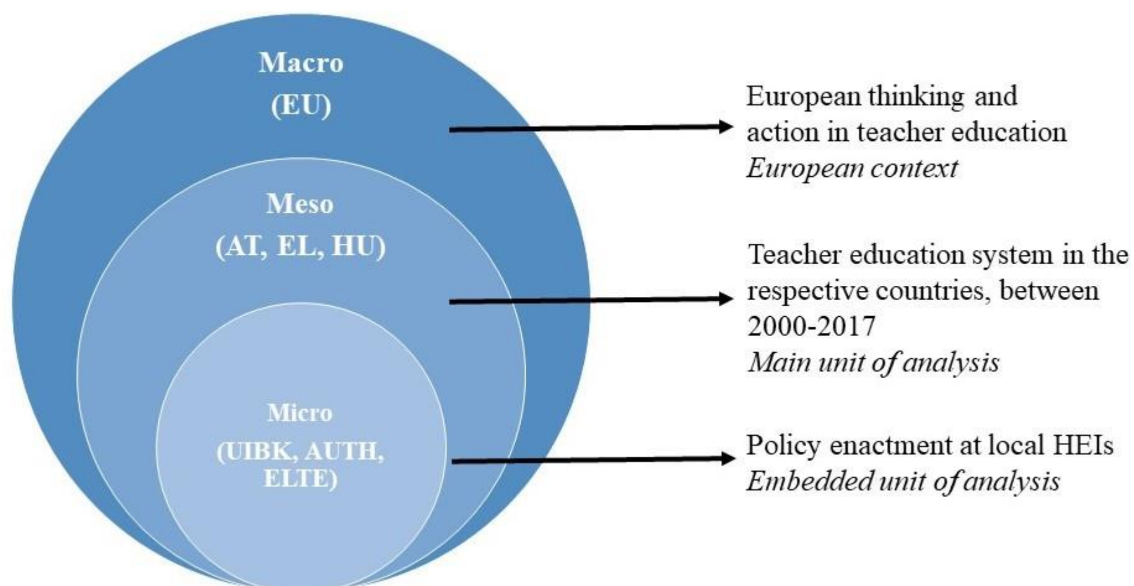

Figure 4. Analysis levels of the teacher education policy ecosystem used in this study

Considering the type of the case study, this is better defined by a combination of what Merriam (1998) identifies as “descriptive” and “heuristic” case studies. Descriptive means that “the end product of a case study is a rich, ‘thick’ description of the phenomenon under study” (ibid. p. 29). Merriam (1998) understands thick description as “complete, literal description of the incident or entity being investigated” (pp. 29-30). Description is qualitative, that is it does not report findings in numerical data, and descriptive case studies take place over a period of time,

including as many variables as possible and illustrating their interconnection. In education, a descriptive case study "is one that presents a detailed account of the phenomenon under study" (ibid., p. 38). As such, descriptive case studies can also be called "atheoretical", in that "they are neither guided by established or hypothesized generalisations nor motivated by a desire to formulate general hypotheses" (Lijphart, 1971, p. 691). However, they are useful in trying to inform about aspects of education were little research has been conducted (Merriam, 1998).

Moreover, the specific case study can also be identified as heuristic, in that it tries to "illuminate the reader's understanding of the phenomenon under study" (ibid., p. 29), by extending the reader's experience. Derived from Greek, heuristic means "to discover" and in this sense it can be defined as a method that comes from experience and supports the process of discovery or problem solving (Barlett & Vavrus, 2017b). Specifically, this study envisages to bring new knowledge about a well-researched phenomenon, such as Europeanisation, in a field that the specific concept has not previously been applied to in an elaborated way, such as teacher education. In this sense, the study can contribute to research in the broader field of Europeanisation and the specific field of teacher education, developing further the discussion of what constitutes the "Europeanness" of teacher education (Schratz, 2014). From the perspective of Yin (2009), this heuristic nature of the case study can also be termed "exploratory" in that it tries to explore a phenomenon which serves as a point of interest to the researcher, opening up the door for further investigation in the future.

3.2.2. Comparative case study approach

Comparative case studies have proven to be an effective tool for researching the impact of policy and practice in different fields of social research, including education (Barlett & Vavrus, 2017a). In addition, comparative case studies are highly effective alternatives to traditional case study research, due to their ability to synthesise information across time and space (ibid.). Although Merriam (1998) and Yin (2009) avoid the term "comparative", referring instead to "multiple case studies", i.e. researchers conducting a study using more than one case, the term "comparative case study" is increasingly used in political sciences and comparative education research (see Witte, 2006; Barlett & Vavrus, 2017a, b). George and Bennett (2005) also argue that case study methods "include both within-case analysis of single cases and comparisons of a small number of cases" (p. 18). The specific argument is indicative of the growing consensus that a combination of within-case analysis and cross-case comparisons within a study offers a convincing way of drawing inferences from case studies (ibid.).

In this study, the different country contexts postulate different case studies. The development of teacher education systems in Austria, Greece and Hungary has followed different paths, considering the national histories, cultural and socio-economic conditions of each country, and thus the unit of analysis cannot be considered the same for all three case countries. Moreover, the case studies are "embedded" (Yin, 2009, p. 59), in that one HEI is included as illustrative example of how teacher education policy is enacted at each of the respective countries. As a result, each case is examined distinctly in order to achieve "a kind of descriptive holism" (Skocpol & Somers, 1980, p. 192), presenting the big picture, as well as emphasising details.

Following the approach of Barlett and Vavrus (2017a), the comparative case study design attends simultaneously to macro-, meso-, and micro-dimensions of case study research and engages two logics of comparison: first, the common compare and contrast logic; and second, a "tracing across" sites or scales (Barlett & Vavrus, 2017b, p. 6). Such a processual and iterative rethinking of case studies is appropriate for the study of Europeanisation in teacher education, because it seeks to understand how processes unfold, "often influenced by actors

and events over time in different locations and at different scale" (ibid., p. 7). This multi-sited and multi-scalar approach implies the need for vertical, horizontal, and transversal comparison, defined by Barlett and Vavrus (2017b) as follows:

> *We encourage comparison across three axes: a horizontal look that not only contrasts one case with another, but also traces social actors, documents, or other influences across these cases; a vertical comparison of influences at different levels, from the international to the national to regional and local scales; and a transversal comparison over time [...] The horizontal and the vertical should be considered historically, but often are not; hence the need for the third axis. Further, we acknowledge that this stance may require a different logic of comparison.* (p. 14)

Instead of merely comparing predetermined units of analysis, the present study envisages a more dynamic comparison by tracing the development of teacher education policies and practices across scales, sites and time. Therefore, the discussion chapter attempts comparison of the case study findings in three axes. Firstly, the vertical axis looks across the macro-, meso-, and micro-scales comparing how policies and practices were transferred and enacted between European, national and institutional levels, so as to understand how actions at different scales mutually influence one another. Afterwards, the horizontal axis contrasts the different case studies and traces the influences of Europeanisation across the teacher education systems of the three countries, namely Austria, Greece and Hungary. Finally, the transversal comparison across time is incorporated in the logic of the horizontal and vertical comparisons, and aims to trace historically the process of Europeanisation in teacher education. Figure 5 below portrays the levels of comparison envisaged in this study, including the analytic categories that narrow down the scope of what is investigated in the case studies.

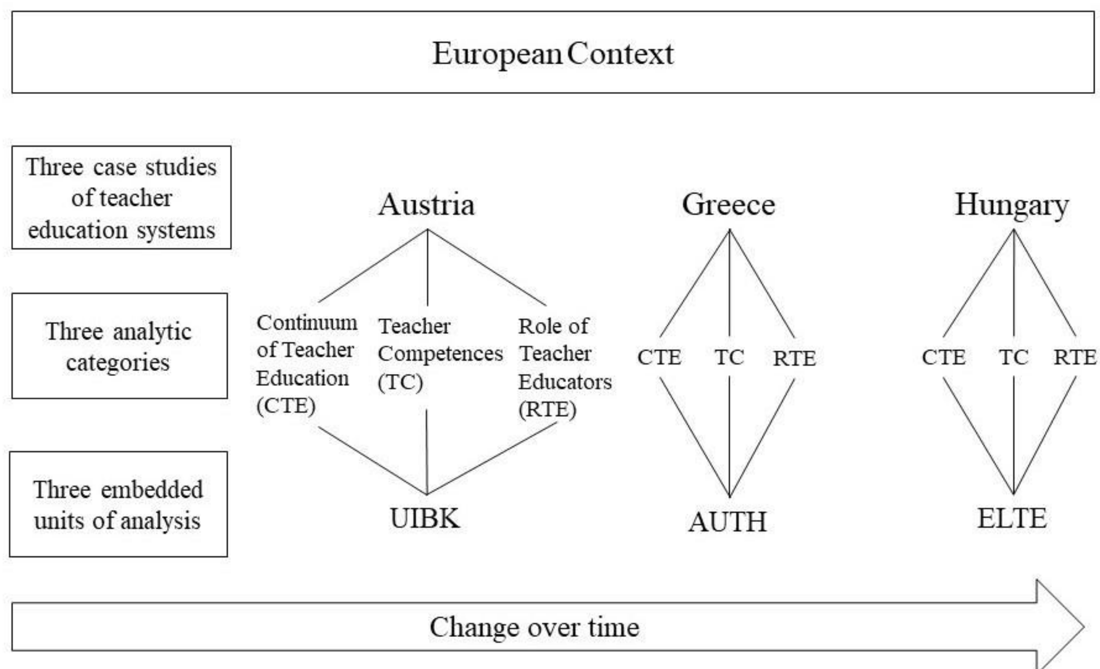

Figure 5. Levels of comparison for this study

As Steiner-Khamsi (2012, p. 3) points out: “Methodologically, any cross-national investigation of reforms is, by default, comparative.” However, it is important to mention that comparison hereby is not limited to the logic of compare and contrast, but rather focuses on the processual dimension of how teacher education systems in different countries respond to European developments over time. Thus, there is no intention to compare the countries or their teacher education systems per se, because these reflect different institutional cultures and traditions. The comparative focus is rather on the recontextualisation of policies and practices, and in this sense any attempts at horizontal comparison refer to the process of policy change taking place in the different countries, instead of how teacher education policies and practices converge or diverge between countries.

Adopting a comparative case study approach helps to move away from “methodological nationalism” (Dale, 1999) and towards the argument of Dale and Robertson (2009) who note that in an era of globalisation it is important to look beyond the nation-state in comparative education research. Similarly, Steiner-Khamsi (2010) warned education policy scholars about methodological nationalism, implying “the trap of first establishing national boundaries, only to demonstrate afterward that these boundaries have indeed been transcended” (p. 327), and argued instead that policy reforms “do not have a home base, a territory, or a nationality and therefore do not ‘belong’ to a particular educational system” (p. 327). The present study recognises at the outset that the role of the nation state has been contested in an era of globalisation, but it is still relevant as a unit of analysis especially for education policymaking (Louis & van Velzen, 2012).

3.2.3. Case selection

After outlining the case and describing the comparative case study approach, this section explains how the cases and sub-cases were selected. To do so, both similarities and differences that make comparison meaningful are considered. According to Manzon (2007, p. 88), it is essential “to identify the extent and the reasons for commonalities and differences between the units of comparison, examining the causes at work and the relationships between those causes”. Access and feasibility also shape case selection (Stake, 2006). To analyse comparative cases, Stake (2006) proposed looking for “correspondence”, which reveals “some of the ‘interactivity’ of the case – that is, some ways in which the activity of the case interacts with its contexts” (p. 28).

At the outset, it should be mentioned that, as part of EDiTE, this research project considered the cases of teacher education systems in Austria and in Hungary, as well as the subcases of UIBK and ELTE as relevant on the grounds of access and feasibility. Being an early stage researcher with EDiTE, I was contracted to work for three years at UIBK and was also required to undertake a secondment period of one academic semester in a partner university of the EDiTE network, which I chose to be ELTE. Having the resources available to conduct research in both of these countries and institutions was an important reason for focusing my research on the specific cases. In addition, my own language competences played an important role in selecting to study Austria and Greece, because I can speak German and Greek. The case of Greece was also partially selected for reasons of access and feasibility, since I conducted my undergraduate studies in primary school teacher education at AUTH and already had contacts with several key policy and teacher education experts working at the university.

Nevertheless, using the notions of positive and negative case selection (Flick, 2009), my case selection was not merely random, but was also information-oriented. Information about the cases was collected according to the three case selection criteria proposed by Stake

(2006, p. 26), which are (a) is the case relevant to the topic of study?, (b) do the cases provide diversity across contexts? and (c) do the cases provide good opportunities to learn about complexity and contexts?

With regard to relevance, all three countries in this study are members of the EU and are thus receptive to influences of Europeanisation in the field of teacher policy and teacher education. Greece joined the EU in 1981, few years after a period of dictatorship, and aiming to sustain its newly established democracy with the support of Europe's democratic and financial institutions (Ioakimidis, 2000). Austria joined in 1995, as one of the rich industrial states that would contribute significantly to the EU budget and benefit from the European Economic Area and the enlargement of the EU towards the east (Szabo & Reber, 2008). Hungary joined with the 2004 enlargement that focused on the accession of post-socialist countries, after actively pursuing integration in the EU, including a constitutional amendment allowing accession (Batory, 2010). From the perspective of core vs. periphery, the three countries also share in common that they represent peripheral states, rather than core EU countries, which means that their ability to influence political decisions at EU level is weaker compared to Germany, France, the UK and Italy. This is particularly relevant for Greece and Hungary, as countries lying to the South and East of the EU respectively, which are financially dependent on the core. Given their relative economic weakness, the impact of the EU seems to be more prominent and distinctive in peripheral states than for those of the EU core (Featherstone, 1998).

Narrowing down the relevance of the three countries to the study of teacher education systems, Austria, Greece and Hungary are all members of the European Higher Education Area and have actively initiated teacher education reforms since the year 2000. Specifically, Austria amended the higher education law in 2005 to upgrade the role of teacher training colleges, and launched the reform "Teacher Education New" in 2009 to promote a competence based teacher education programme that aims to improve the professionalisation and attractiveness of the teaching profession (BMBWF, 2018a). Greece has struggled to reform teacher education, mainly in terms of introducing a pedagogical component in the initial preparation of secondary school teachers, by establishing the "Certificate for Pedagogical and Teaching Competence" first with Law 2525 in 1997, which was never actually implemented, and was thus reintroduced with Law 3848 in 2010. Hungary reformed teacher education in 2006, introducing the Bologna system in higher education, which was later on revoked with the 2012 amendment of the higher education law, and also established a new career model for teachers with Government Decree 326/2013. These reforms represent the institutional platforms shaping teacher education in the respective countries and thus receive particular attention in the analysis of the case studies.

The three countries are also suitable examples when it comes to Stake's (2006) second criterion, namely diversity across contexts. Each country represents a different European paradigm in terms of cultural and administrative traditions, and is part of different regional groups within the EU. Adopting the clustering of administrative traditions in Europe suggested by Gunter et al. (2016, pp. 15-16), it could be argued that Austria is a representative example of "social-democratic" traditions with a strong state-welfare orientation and a strong sense of centrality and continuity of the state. Greece is closer to the "Napoleonic" state tradition in which the state is viewed as the central integrating force within society and a clear separation between the public and the private spheres is assumed. Hungary represents the group of post-communist countries which share a common heritage of the communist period, although the mode of transition to capitalist democracy varies significantly among them, with Hungary being a representative case of a "paced transition" (ibid., p. 16).

Geographically, it could be argued that Austria is representative of Central-West Europe, Greece of South-East Europe, and Hungary of Central-East Europe. Considering the

regional level, Austria belongs to the Alpine and German-speaking group of countries, Greece is part of the EU Mediterranean group, and Hungary participates in the Visegrád Four group. Such clustering can be a meaningful analytical strategy to understand the specificities in each country's national traditions which are seen as "living systems of thought and practice" (Ongaro, as cited in Guter et al., 2016, p. 16). In this sense, clustering does not imply "some kind of unchanging bedrock" (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011, p. 48), but rather hints towards some common traits concerning public administration.

Diversity across contexts is also relevant when considering the different political cultures of the three countries which largely influence education (Louis & van Velzen, 2012). All three countries have experienced different political transitions, but we could generally argue that specific political traditions have left deep traces in the education systems. For example, liberal and socialist traditions are deeply rooted in Austria with governments established as the result of grand coalitions between the socialist (SPÖ) and conservative parties (ÖVP). After the fall of the dictatorship in 1974, Greece also had a long history of governments that were either liberal or socialist, but the economic crisis in 2008 resulted in a highly contested political scenery with alterations in power between socialist, conservative and radical leftist political parties. Liberal and socialist traditions were also evident in Hungary after the fall of communism in 1989, while since 2010 right-wing populist and neoconservative traditions have been strongly promoted under the political party FIDESZ.

The third criterion suggested by Stake (2006), regarding opportunities to study complexity and context, is evident across the three countries. This is because the study of Europeanisation in a fragmented academic field such as teacher education (Hudson & Zgaga, 2017) is inherently complex and involves a multitude of actors and institutions which are particular to each country. Considering, for example, the consecutive-concurrent divide of initial teacher education (ITE), Hungary offers the opportunity to study how the country moved from a consecutive to a concurrent model from the moment of implementing the Bologna structure, until the moment this was revoked. Austria provides an example of a concurrent model also after implementing Bologna for secondary school teachers with the "Teacher Education New" reform, while Greece is an interesting case not least because teacher education for secondary school teachers has not yet fully found its distinct place within the HEIs of the country.

Similarly, the sub-cases of HEIs in the three countries adhere to Stake's measures of relevance, diversity and opportunities to study complexity and context. UIBK, AUTH and ELTE have relevant teacher education faculties or departments responsible for the pedagogical and professional training of prospective teachers. AUTH and ELTE are the largest teacher education providers in their respective countries, while UIBK leads the Western Cluster implementing the "Teacher Education New" reform in the western region of Austria, and receives a substantial number of students from the province of South Tyrol in Italy.

In terms of diversity and opportunities to study complexity and context, teacher education takes place in different institutional settings in each country. At UIBK teacher education takes place within the Faculty of Teacher Education, responsible for organising the professional, pedagogical and subject methodology training of student teachers. At AUTH, teacher education for secondary school teachers has no distinct institutional structure, but rather takes place within the subject faculties which award prospective teachers a pedagogical certificate. At ELTE, the Faculty of Education and Psychology is mainly responsible for the pedagogical and professional training of student teachers, while the overall responsibility for organising teacher education belongs to a teacher education centre of the university which is governed by staff adhering to the subject faculties.

3.3. Data collection methods

After presenting the case study design, this section describes the data collection methods employed for this study. At the outset, it is useful to make a distinction between data sources on the one hand, and methods for generating data from those sources on the other (Mason, 2002, p. 51). Although the distinction becomes ultimately blurred, data sources are those phenomena from or through which data can be generated, while data collection methods are the techniques and strategies which a researcher employs to do this (ibid.). Data sources can include both primary sources, that is original sources of information not yet filtered through analysis or interpretation, such as interview data or policy documents, and secondary sources, which is not an original source and can include academic articles examining data collected by other researchers (Bryman, 2012). More than a merely practical technique for gaining data, data collection methods in qualitative research imply "a data generation process involving activities that are intellectual, analytical and interpretive" (Mason, 2002, p. 52).

In accordance with the research questions of this study, data sources included texts, such as policy documents and relevant research studies, and people, such as policy experts, teacher educators and teachers. In this sense, both primary and secondary data sources were employed. To generate data outside of these sources, document review and semi-structured interviews were conducted. Table 2 presents the data sources and data collection methods for each research question of this study.

Table 2. Sources and methods for each research question of this study

Research question	Sources	Data collection methods
1. How is teacher education defined and consolidated in the making of EU policy processes and what changes does this imply for European teacher education policy and practice?	EU policy documents related to teacher and teacher education policy (Primary)	Document review
	European policy experts (Primary)	Semi-structured interviews
	Relevant literature (Secondary)	Document review
2. To what extent and how does contemporary teacher education policy and practice in the respective countries, developed since the year 2000, resonate with European developments?	National policy documents related to teacher and teacher education policy, particularly since 2000 (Primary)	Document review
	National policy experts (Primary)	Semi-structured interviews
	Relevant literature (Secondary)	Document review
3. How do actors involved in teacher education enact those policies within the context of their institution?	Institutional policy documents, such as ITE curricula (Primary)	Document review
	Teacher educators, including pedagogy, subject methodology, and subject discipline experts (Primary)	Semi-structured interviews

The following sections present in more detail the different sources of data, including the data collection methods. The phases of data collection for this study are detailed afterwards.

3.3.1. Documents as sources of data

Although the term “documents” covers a wide variety of different kinds of source, this study refers to documents as materials that:

- *can be read;*
- *have not been produced specifically for the purpose of social research;*
- *are preserved so that they become available for analysis; and*
- *are relevant to the concerns of the social researcher* (Bryman, 2012, p. 543)

Specifically, this study focuses on a combination of what Bryman (2012, p. 543) terms “official documents deriving from the state” (such as Acts of Parliament and official reports), “official documents deriving from private sources” (such as documents produced by organisations), and “virtual documents” (such as websites). All these documents relate to policy and can be subdivided in official EU policy documents, official governmental documents of the respective countries, and official institutional documents of the respective HEIs. Some can be found in print or virtual format, while often information may be accessible only via websites. Because of the official and public policy character of those documents, it is accepted that those fulfil the four criteria suggested by Scott (as cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 544) for assessing the quality of documents, namely authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning. Of course, this point suggests caution in attempting to treat such documents as depictions of reality, but it is precisely their official character that makes these documents interesting in their own right (Bryman, 2012).

To further concretise the nature of this study’s documents, mention should be made of what each group of documents includes. As detailed in the theoretical framework chapter, EU documents in areas of soft policy, such as teacher policy and teacher education, include European Commission Communications, Education Council Conclusions, or joint communications of the Commission, the European Council and/or the European Parliament. In addition, this group of documents can include working documents of the European Commission or peer learning activity reports and policy handbooks, which have a more consultative character and aim towards sharing best practices. To inform policy, the Commission has also contracted external experts to conduct literature reviews on teacher competences and ITE. All those policy documents form a common conceptual foundation that has been termed as “European thinking” in teacher policy and teacher education (Stéger, 2014b, p. 10). Although, there is a variety of thinking in individual member states and European institutions, the term “European thinking” is employed for this study’s analytical purposes. For the present study, all EU documents referring to teacher education, particularly between 2000 and 2017, have been included as sources of data, as will be analysed later in Chapter 4.

With regard to governmental documents of the respective countries, these include Higher Education Acts and Government Decrees or Laws on teacher policy, in order to address the nature of teacher education policy, which spans between higher education and education policy. In accordance with the case study design, document analysis focused on government documents produced since the year 2000, although on several occasions references to older documents have also been included. For example, in the case of Greece document analysis includes the Government Decree of 1997, introducing the “Certificate for Pedagogical and Teaching Competence”, which formed the basis for the law that followed up in 2010. Finally,

HEI policy documents include the teacher education curriculum of the respective institution, as well as any other official information provided in the institution's website. The ITE curriculum is a useful source of information to explore the potential influence of Bologna, the learning outcomes approach, teacher competences, as well as the balance between pedagogy, subject methodology and subject discipline.

In addition to the above mentioned documents, which are considered primary sources of data, secondary sources are essentially included to help present a more holistic view of a complex phenomenon such as Europeanisation in teacher education. Such secondary sources include academic articles and relevant scientific studies, as well as previous analyses of policy documents in both EU and country levels. All of the above primary and secondary sources of data have been collected via desk research, which involved document review.

At this point, reference should be made to language limitations in terms of understanding some of the aforementioned documents. As an author, I have native ability to command the Greek language, a proficient ability to understand German, but very limited ability to understand Hungarian. To tackle this issue, I used the professional help of colleagues at ELTE university, and conducted additional interviews, in order to translate and understand the relevant passages in Hungarian policy documents. I also personally undertook the task of translating direct quotes from German, Greek and Hungarian into English, while a proofreader who was competent in German and English helped to ensure language coherence regarding each chapter of this thesis.

3.3.2. Semi-structured expert interviews

For Yin (2009, p. 106), "one of the most important sources of case study information is the interview". In a case study, the interviews are usually guided rather than structured conversations, while the aim is to guide one's own line of inquiry, and to ask questions in an unbiased manner that serves the needs of the line of inquiry (ibid.). As a methodological tool, interviews can reveal factors which influenced political and societal actors during a decision-making process (Maggi, 2016). For this study, semi-structured expert interviews were employed. The semi-structured format in qualitative interviewing puts in the foreground the interviewee's point of view and allows for flexibility in terms of designing and implementing the interview (Bryman, 2012). The interviewer is open and responds to the direction in which interviewees take the interviews, adjusting the emphases during the course of the interview as a result of significant issues raised by the participants (ibid.). Semi-structured interviews are also appropriate when studying phenomena in different contexts (Witte, 2006).

For this study a specific type of semi-structured interviews was applied, namely expert interviews (Flick, 2009). In contrast to biographical interviews, expert interviews imply that "the interviewees are of less interest as a (whole) person than their capacities as experts for a certain field of activity" (ibid., p. 165). In this sense, experts are included in this study not as single cases but as key agents representing a group (i.e. policy makers and teacher educators). Experts thus are defined as those persons "who are particularly competent as authorities on a certain matter of facts" (Beeke, as cited in Flick, 2009, p. 165). Bogner and Menz (as cited in Flick, 2009) also provide a clear and appropriate for this study definition of experts and expert knowledge:

> *Experts have technical process oriented and interpretive knowledge referring to their specific professional sphere of activity. Thus, expert knowledge does not only consist of systematized and reflexively accessible specialist knowledge, but it has the character of practical knowledge in big*

parts. Different and even disparate precepts for activities and individual rules of decision, collective orientations and social interpretive patterns are part of it. The experts' knowledge and orientations for practices, relevancies etc. have also – and this is decisive – a chance to become hegemonic in a specific organizational or functional context. This means, experts have the opportunity to assert their orientations at least partly. By becoming practically relevant, the experts' knowledge structures the practical conditions of other actors in their professional field in a substantial way. (p. 166)

This broad definition of expert knowledge, that includes both specialist and practical knowledge, is particularly important as it allows this study to consider experts those people who have sophisticated academic knowledge on policy issues related to teacher education, as well as those who practically design and implement policy. Interviewees were selected according to a generic purposive-sampling approach, defined as a way to strategically sample participants who are relevant to the posed research objectives (Bryman, 2012). Hence, it is often the decision of the researcher to define and select experts and judge their importance according to his/her research interest. Specifically, experts in this study included both policy makers and teacher educators.

Policy makers are broadly disaggregated between European policy experts and national policy experts. In total, thirteen interviews were conducted with European policy experts, who worked as officials or were active members of the following institutions: European Commission (DG EAC, DG EMPL), Eurydice, the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Education and Training (Cedefop), European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE), Teacher Education Policy in Europe (TEPE), and European Network on Teacher Education Policies (ENTEP). The specific institutions represent relevant European organisations and networks that shape and diffuse policies related to teachers and teacher education in Europe. Thus, in order to analyse teacher education policy at the European level, it was considered essential to include research participants of the aforementioned organisations and networks, who could provide specialised and practical knowledge related to the process of developing EU policies, as well as the content of those policies in teacher education.

National policy experts included representatives of official government bodies, or academics who had a consultancy function to these government bodies. In order to consider a research participant as national policy expert, it was important that he/she participated in the development and/or the implementation of teacher education policies since the year 2000. Thus, research participants included actors who were still active in teacher and teacher education policy of the respective countries during the time the interviews were conducted, as well as actors who had retired from their official duties, but who had significantly contributed to the development of relevant policies. Generally, representatives of all the main policy stakeholders participating in the development of relevant policies in the respective countries were included as research participants.

In Austria, ten national policy experts were interviewed, including persons from the Ministry of Education (BMBWF), the Quality Assurance Council for teacher training (QSR), the Federal Institute for Educational Research, Innovation and Development of the Austrian School System (BIFIE), the Centre for Learning Schools (ZLS), the teacher union for academic secondary school teachers (GÖD-AHS), and three HEIs. In Greece, research participants included twelve national policy experts from the Ministry of Education (YPEPTH), the Institute of Education Policy (IEP), the Greek Federation of Secondary State School Teachers (OLME), and two HEIs. In Hungary, interviews were conducted with eight national

policy experts, including persons from the Education Authority, the Hungarian Institute for Educational Research and Development (OFI), the Hungarian-Netherlands School of Educational Management (HUNSEM), the Democratic Trade Union of Teachers (PDSZ), and two HEIs. Semi-structured interviews at the national policy level aimed to collect information regarding the development and implementation of teacher education policies and practices at the respective countries, the potential influence of European policy instruments, and the way participants perceived policy enactment at the HEI level, as well as future directions of policy.

With regard to teacher educators, interviews aimed to reveal the different perspectives of professionals who are engaged in teaching teachers, but who do not necessarily consider themselves part of the specific occupational group. Taking into account the fragmented identity of teacher educators (Livingston, 2014), it was considered appropriate that research participants should include professionals with expertise in different aspects of teacher education, such as professionals who specialise in pedagogy and/or psychology, in subject methodology, and in subject discipline, as well as teachers who work as in-school mentors. Clustering these occupational groups as teacher educators is justified by the fact that EU policy documents (European Commission 2010, 2013b) and contemporary scholarly research (Livingston, 2014; Murray, 2016) define teacher educators as all those professionals who participate in the professional development of teachers, and who may be working either in HEIs, in schools, or in professional development organisations.

In total, ten teacher educators were interviewed in the Western Cluster of Austria, eleven at AUTH, and ten at ELTE university. The ten interviews in the Western Cluster of Austria were disaggregated into seven interviews at UIBK and three interviews at the University Colleges of Teacher Education (PHs). At AUTH, eleven interviews were conducted mainly with teacher educators at the Faculty of Philosophy, and particularly those departments preparing teachers of Greek philology. At ELTE, ten interviews with teacher educators took place, complemented by two group interviews with secondary school teachers. The decision to carry out extra group interviews in Hungary aimed to counterbalance my limitations in speaking the Hungarian language, and thus to increase validity and reliability for the case study in Hungary. Overall, interviews with teacher educators were designed to provide information about the enactment of teacher education policies in the respective HEIs, and to gauge how different occupational groups understand their role as teacher educators.

For a more detailed overview of the research participants, Table 3 below indicates the number of interviewees and their institutional affiliation for each country and for the European context. For ethical reasons, anonymity of the participants is ensured and each interview is coded with an acronym indicative of the expertise of the specific person. Thus, European policy experts receive the acronym EPE, national policy experts the acronym NPE, and teacher educators the acronym TE, which is further concretised in terms of teacher educators' professional specialisation, namely pedagogy-psychology (TE-PP), subject methodology (TE-SM), subject discipline (TE-SD), or teachers (Teacher). Teacher educators working at the PHs receive the acronym TE-PH. When presenting the interview data in the analysis chapters, the country code and a number is allocated next to each acronym to differentiate between the interview partners (e.g. AT_NPE-01).

Table 3. Number of interviewees and institutional affiliation

	EU	Austria	Greece	Hungary
Policy experts	13 EPE	10 NPE	12 NPE	8 NPE
Representatives from	European Commission, Eurydice, Cedefop, ETUCE, TEPE, ENTEP	BMBWF, QSR, BIFIE, ZLS, GÖD (AHS), HEIs	YPEPTH, IEP, OLME, HEIs	Education Authority, OFI, HUNSEM, PDSZ, HEIs
Teacher educators	N/A	10 TE	11 TE	10 TE
Institutional affiliation and type of interviewees	N/A	UIBK: 4 TE-PP, 1 TE-SM, 1 TE-SD, 1 Teacher, and 3 TE-PH	AUTH: 6 TE-PP, 1 TE-SM, 1 TE-SD, 3 Teachers	ELTE: 6 TE-PP, 2 TE-SM, 2 TE-SD, and two group interviews with teachers (4-5)
Total	13	20	23	18

Note. EPE: European Policy Expert , NPE: National Policy Expert, TE: Teacher Educator, N/A: Not Applicable

In total, 74 interviews were conducted with both policy experts and teacher educators. Policy experts are representatives of various policy organisations related to teacher policy and teacher education with different views and interests. With regard to teacher educators, it should be mentioned that the majority of interviewees included pedagogy and psychology experts, because they are particularly knowledgeable about teacher and teacher education policies at their institutions. In addition, they were most easily accessible because in both Austria and Hungary I was based as a researcher at a teacher education faculty.

An important advantage of expert interviews is that both process knowledge and context knowledge can be reconstructed through the specific method (Meuser & Nagel, 2002). The former implies that the aim is to have information about a specific process, for example how has a specific reform been implemented in a country. From such a process knowledge, context knowledge can then be distinguished, for example which are the relevant actors or the motives behind implementing a reform. However, Meuser and Nagel (2002) warn us about a series of problems and sources of failing in expert interviews. One significant limitation derives from the experts' function in their field, which often leads to a certain time pressure if interviews are planned (Flick, 2009). In this sense, the main issue is whether the interviewer manages to restrict and determine the interview to the expertise of interest (Meuser & Nagel, 2002).

To address such limitations, an interview guide was employed and was mailed to the interviewees a few days before the interview took place. Although this might have reduced the opportunity to receive spontaneous and authentic answers, it was considered appropriate with regard to the overall aim of the interviews, which was to collect information about the process and context of developing and implementing teacher education policies in different contexts. The adoption of an interview guide also ensures "that the interview does not get lost in topics that are of no relevance and permits the expert to extemporize his or her issue and view on matters" (ibid., p. 77). A different interview guide was employed for European and national

policy experts, as well as for teacher educators, considering their different expertise. The interview guides employed for each group can be found in Appendix A, B and C.

The interview process was designed according to the different interview stages proposed by Legard, Keegan and Ward (2003, pp. 145-146). Upon my arrival at the participant's doorstep, a short introduction took place between myself and the research participant. Afterwards, I introduced my research topic and the broader framework of the EDiTE project, offering a handout of the project to the interviewee. Permission to record the interview and my intention to mail back the interview transcript was at this stage communicated to the participant, and once permission was granted, the actual interview started. At the beginning, one opening question aimed to gain some background information on the institutional affiliation and the years of service of the participant. During the interview, I tried to guide the participant through the key themes of my interview guide, keeping myself open to the themes which emerged from the interview and the participant. Each theme was explored in depth with follow-up questions and probes. Shortly before the end of the interview, I signalled to the interviewee that were approaching the end of the interview and closed with an ending question in case the interviewee wanted to add something or to recommend any relevant documents/initiatives that the study should consider. After the interview, I thanked the interviewee for his/her participation and reassured him/her about my intention to mail back the interview transcript.

In accordance with the semi-structured expert format of the interview, questions included both content mapping and content mining questions to achieve both "breadth" of coverage across key themes, and "depth" of coverage within each theme (ibid., p. 148). Content mapping questions were designed to identify the issues that were relevant to the research participant and aimed to provide the process knowledge of developing and implementing teacher education policies, as described above. Content mining questions were then utilised to explore in depth the issues raised by the participant and aimed to grasp the context knowledge. Both types of questions included probes, meaning "responsive, follow-up questions designed to elicit more information, description, explanation and so on" (ibid., p. 148). The interview questions were formulated after taking into account the research questions and the respective group of experts meant to be interviewed. Existing literature on Europeanisation, as described in the theoretical framework, and the analytical categories for studying teacher education (i.e. continuum, teacher competences, teacher educators) guided the formulation of the interview questions. Moreover, it was considered important that questions should not be too specific, so that they could be adjusted to the different contexts and allow for new issues to emerge from the interviewees. Leading questions were also avoided.

To ensure that the interview questions were comprehensible and relevant to the interviewees (Bryman, 2012), two pilot interviews, incorporated in the final sample, were conducted at UIBK in Austria, one with a national policy expert and one with a teacher educator. After this pilot phase, the interview guide was refined and finalised. Although the interview guide remained the same for national policy experts and teacher educators across countries, the semi-structured format allowed for contextual sensitivity and interviewees were given the opportunity to raise issues particularly relevant to their national or institutional context.

Interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes on average, with some extending up to 60 minutes, depending on the issues raised by interviewees. Most interviews were conducted in person at the local institution of the interviewees, while seven interviews were conducted via the virtual communication tool Skype. All interviews with European policy experts were conducted in English. In Austria and Greece, most interviews were conducted in the interviewees' native language, that is German and Greek, allowing participants to express

themselves in the way most comfortable to them. In Hungary, however, due to the limitation of the researcher to communicate in Hungarian, most interviews took place in English. This did not prove to be a problem since the majority of national policy experts and teacher educators had a proficient competence of the English language. In a few instances when interviews had to be conducted in Hungarian, a native speaker was accompanying me and helped with translation into English, which occurred simultaneously during the interview process.

All interviews were recorded using a professional recording device, after permission was granted by the interviewees. None of the interviewees declined the recording, since they were all previously informed via e-mail as to how the interview would take place. Recording was preferred instead of keeping notes, because it is generally considered a good practice in social science research if the researcher is not distracted by having to concentrate on getting down notes during the interview process (Bryman, 2012). Each interview was transcribed, in order to carefully examine what interviewees said and to be able to organise the large amount of factual information provided by the participants. Considering the time-consuming nature of transcribing interviews (ibid.), most interviews were transcribed by professional transcription services offered at UIBK, while I undertook the transcription of interviews which were held in Greek, as a native Greek speaker. Interviews were transcribed verbatim, meaning that everything on the audio file was written down exactly the way it was delivered during the interview (Mayring, 2014, p. 45). Moreover, interviews were transcribed into their written interview language, i.e. English, German and Greek, and were not translated, since I have a proficient command of the English, German and Greek languages. Once a transcription was ready, it was mailed back to the interviewee for approval. Out of sixty interview transcripts, twelve were returned back to me with interviewees' corrections, which were incorporated in the final text before analysis takes place.

3.3.3. Phases of data collection

Data for this study were collected in four main phases, following the EDiTE dissertation project timetable, as illustrated in Figure 6 below. Considering the three-year timeframe of the EDiTE project, which is comprised of six academic terms, three summer terms (ST) and three winter terms (WS), Figure 6 presents the duration of this study's literature review, data collection, data analysis, and dissertation write-up.

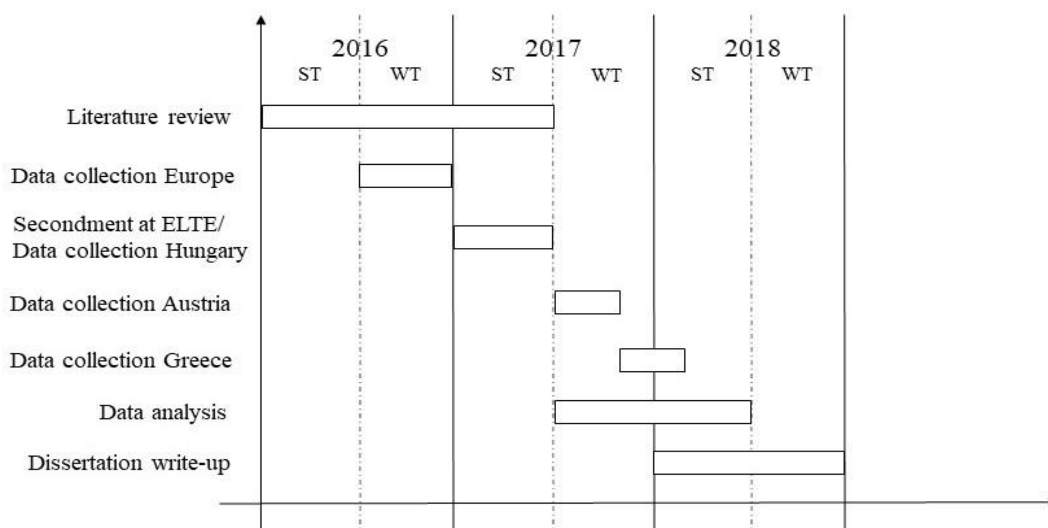

Figure 6. Phases of data collection for this study

Since my recruitment at EDiTE, in March 2016, I started reviewing the literature and familiarised myself with European and national policy documents related to teacher education. In the 2016 winter term, and in parallel with developing my theoretical framework, I initiated a first round of expert interviews with European policy experts conducted via Skype or in person during a one week study visit in Brussels. Based on the insights from these interviews and the literature review, I drafted the interview guide for national policy experts and teacher educators. During my secondment at ELTE university, in the 2017 spring term, I started my data collection in Hungary by interviewing national policy experts and once my understanding about teacher education policies was consolidated, I conducted interviews with teacher educators at ELTE. A similar data collection procedure occurred in the case of Austria during September and November 2017, and in the case of Greece during December 2017 and January 2018. In the course of the data analysis and writing process, from winter 2017 to winter 2018, I continued to fill emerging gaps in the data mainly in terms of document review.

3.4. Data analysis

For data analysis, the methods of "process tracing" (George & Bennett, 2005) and "qualitative content analysis" (Mayring, 2000, 2014) were employed, while the whole process of analysing documents and interviews was assisted by the software MAXQDA. The following sections explain the study's data analysis methods.

3.4.1. Process tracing

Process tracing is a research method that is used by social scientists conducting case studies to analytically access the descriptive dimension of the case study and detect causal processes which do not necessarily appear in a linear way (George & Bennett, 2005; Maggi, 2016; Vennesson, 2008). It provides a common middle ground for those interested in historical explanation and the complexities of historical events through researching individual and embedded cases (George & Bennett, 2005). In their work on case study research and theory development, George and Bennett (2005) argue that process tracing is an "invaluable method that should be included in every researcher's repertoire" (p. 224), because it contributes to social sciences in ways that statistical methods cannot do in terms of both theory testing and heuristic development of new hypotheses. As such, process tracing has been a powerful method that has partly contributed to a "historical turn" in social sciences and renewed interest in path-dependent historical processes (ibid.).

Process tracing shares some basic features of historical explanation and, therefore, the difference between extensive historical description and process tracing can be blurry (Maggi, 2016). In general, process tracing differs from historical explanation because of the emphasis on an analytical explanation based on a theoretical framework that has been already identified when designing the research (George & Bennett, 2005). In other words, process tracing envisages to contribute to theory testing and/or theory development by identifying causal mechanisms within a single case (ibid.). Although there is still little consensus on how process tracing should be carried out, Maggi (2016, p. 60) argues that process tracing employs "the complete spectrum of qualitative data, such as histories, archival documents and especially interview transcripts – which are useful for a very detailed description of the studied case". Tracing the process that led to an outcome means narrowing down the list of potential causes, but even then it is rather challenging to eliminate all potential different explanations but one, particularly when human actors are involved (George & Bennett, 2005). However, even small

and unexpected empirical evidence revealed through process tracing can illuminate new aspects of a phenomenon that could be easily overlooked by statistical analysis.

Moreover, process tracing fits the interpretivist epistemology of the present study. In an interpretivist perspective, process tracing allows the researcher to examine how different factors are interlinked and the context in which this happens (Vennesson, 2008). This means that the focus of process tracing is not only on what happened, but also on how it happened. As such, process tracing is an adequate method for empirical case study research allowing us to examine the reasons that actors give for their actions and to understand empirically their preferences and perceptions (ibid.). Process tracing can help to identify connections that appear as only plausible by treating actors' preferences and perceptions as empirical questions that require careful empirical investigation. In contrast to positivism, an interpretivist perspective of process tracing explores how certain processes came about and how specific factors interact, although it faces difficulties in weighting the relative importance of the different factors (ibid.).

In the present study, process tracing has been employed to explore the relationship between policy changes in three countries, namely Austria, Greece and Hungary, and European developments with regard to teacher education. Among the varieties of process tracing, the so-called "detailed narrative" is considered the most appropriate for the present study. Detailed narrative is defined as the simplest variety of process tracing that takes the form of a detailed story presented in the form of a chronicle with the purpose to illuminate how an event came about (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 210). This type of process tracing makes no explicit use of theory but rather provides a detailed description of a sequence of events that may reveal the possible causal processes in a case (ibid.).

In our case, this sequence of events refers to the development of teacher education systems over time and includes three steps. First, a brief historical overview from when teacher education was institutionalised in each country and until the late 1990s illustrates some national priorities and challenges before the launch of the Lisbon Agenda. The narrative continues with developments after the year 2000, focusing on some major reforms with significant influence on the whole spectrum of teacher professional development with the purpose of identifying manifestations that could imply an explicit or implicit change of policy and practice connected to Europeanisation. The third step narrows down the scope of process tracing to the study's three analytic categories (i.e. continuum, teacher competences, teacher educators), in order to filter the potential explanations of policy change. To frame this whole detailed narrative according to reliable manifestations, process tracing is combined with qualitative content analysis. George and Bennett (2005) argue that process tracing often complements other research methods and in the present study qualitative content analysis helps to cluster collected data as will be discussed in the following section.

3.4.2. Qualitative content analysis

Empirical material, including documents and interview transcripts, were analysed according to the research method of qualitative content analysis proposed by Mayring (2000, 2014). Qualitative content analysis is "an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models, without rash quantification" (Mayring, 2000, §5). The specific method scans the collected empirical material with categories guided by theory and research questions (ibid.). Some basic ideas of content analysis include the following: (a) the material should always be interpreted within its context; (b) rules of analysis are laid out in advance; (c) categories are in the centre of the analysis; and (d) criteria of reliability and validity are established (ibid, §7).

These essential components of qualitative content analysis can be processed in two ways, namely through inductive category development and deductive category applications (ibid.).

The main goal of content analysis in the present study is to assist process tracing by identifying the connections between national and European policy developments regarding teacher education. To do so, categories are developed in two phases according to both inductive and deductive approaches, considering that categories need to be carefully established and revised within the process of analysis (feedback loops) (ibid., §7). The first phase of inductive category formation has to do with empirical material regarding the European context, while the second phase of deductive category application relates to the national case studies. In both approaches, categories consist of coding units and context units. Coding units are the smallest component of material that can be assessed and can be a minimum portion of text falling within one category, while context units determine the largest text component falling within one category (Mayring, 2014, p. 51).

The analysis in Chapter 4 dealing with the European context of teacher education involved breaking down the empirical material, namely European policy documents and interview transcripts with European policy experts, into units through theory-guided and inductively developed categories. Mayring (2014) suggests that in the process of inductive category formation it is useful to keep content-analytical units very open-ended. Therefore, guided by the first research question, to explore how teacher education is consolidated in the EU policy process, categories were formulated regarding the mechanisms and content of Europeanisation at the European teacher education level. After thirty percent of the material analysed, the categories were revised and reduced to some main categories according to which data in Chapter 4 are presented.

Section 4.3.4 of Chapter 4 provides a summary of European policy thinking in teacher education, providing descriptors for each analytic category, namely the continuum of teacher education, teacher competences and the role of teacher educators. The specific analytic categories with their sub-categories and descriptors, as presented in Table 5 of Chapter 4, were deductively applied to empirical data collected for each country case study. The descriptors represent what Mayring (2000, 2014) terms "definition" for each category and help to cluster the empirical data. However, content analysis "is not a standardised instrument that always remains the same" (Mayring, 2014, p. 39), and therefore reading of the empirical material for each case study could also lead to the emergence of new categories inductively. Since each case study represents a unique teacher education system, it is natural that content analysis can lead to unique categories for each case study.

However, it was generally attempted that all three case studies in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are analysed and presented in a symmetrical way by applying deductively the same overarching analytic categories in order to allow comparisons later in the discussion chapter. Figure 7 below illustrates the rules of the qualitative content analysis which help to analyse the material step by step by devising the material into content analytical units (Mayring, 2000), according to the present study's research questions and theoretical framework.

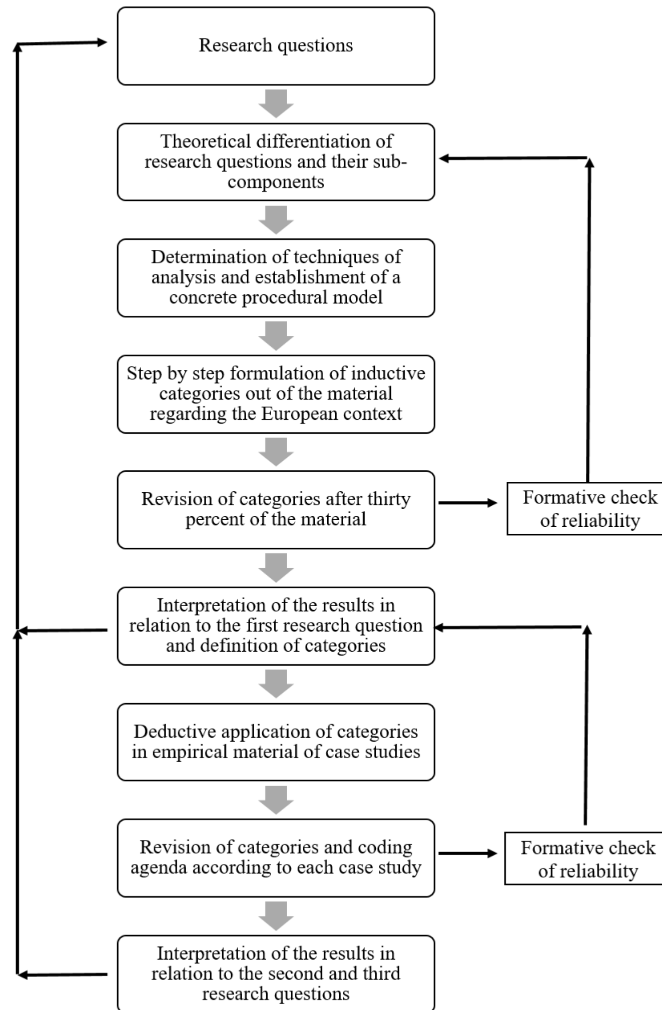

Figure 7. Procedural model of qualitative content analysis

Due to the amount of documents and interview transcripts, the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA was utilised to help with the coding process. The specific computer software allows the user to organise and analyse a diverse range of data in a flexible and quick way and is often used for qualitative content analyses. For the European context analysis and for each case study a different project was established in MAXQDA. Inductive analysis of the European context material provided categories and codes that were then applied to the case study material, and separately for each case study, so that new categories could also emerge inductively. It should be noted, however, that since the analysis was driven by the research questions and the theoretical framework, coding focused on some aspects of the data, rather than the data overall. Especially in the analysis of the case study materials, the predefined categories helped me to code and extract the relevant text segments, although I was generally open to the emergence of new categories.

Overall, I approached the process of formulating categories and clustering the interview data in a context-sensitive way that paid attention to the interpretations and meanings of participants rather than the direct use of a particular set of words. The perspectives of research participants are discussed according to their professional group (e.g. policy expert, teacher educator) and direct quotations are used throughout the empirical analysis chapters as a way of illustrating overarching categories and patterns of thoughts. Since participants could express

different viewpoints depending on their institutional affiliation, I envisaged to include an even selection of quotations from different interviewees regarding the development and enactment of specific policies. However, it could be that some participants are quoted more than others when it comes to certain issues, due to their particular expertise and responsibility over specific aspects of policymaking. The following section refers to the present study's trustworthiness criteria, establishing this way the final criterion of Mayring (2000) regarding quality standards for assessing research.

3.5. Trustworthiness criteria

Qualitative researchers have tended to employ the terms reliability and validity, which originate from quantitative research, in similar ways to quantitative researchers when developing criteria for assessing research (Bryman, 2012). However, there are researchers who raise the argument that qualitative research should specify alternative terms that move away from the presumption that there is a single absolute account of social reality as suggested by the simple application of reliability and validity standards. Instead, they propose the use of trustworthiness criteria which are closer to a constructivist ontology of research and are therefore adopted for the present study.

According to Bryman (2012, p. 390), trustworthiness is made up of four criteria, namely credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Due to the interpretivist epistemology and the understanding that there are several possible accounts of the social reality, the establishment of credibility of the findings includes both ensuring that research is carried out according to standards of good practice and submitting research findings to the members of the social world who were studied and can confirm that the researcher has correctly understood that social world (ibid.). To ensure respondent validation, I have provided an account of my findings for both the European context and the case studies to some of the research participants who beforehand had expressed an interest in reading my analysis. Some of the interviewed policy experts provided their feedback via e-mail which I later on integrated in the final version of my data analysis. There were no defensive reactions on the part of the research participants, but rather an interest in further contributing through their particular expertise.

Credibility was also ensured via triangulation of perspectives, since research participants included policy actors at all levels of the teacher education policy ecosystem, namely European policy experts, national policy experts and teacher educators, including also teachers. In addition, within each category of interviewees, multiple perspectives were envisaged by including actors of different organisations with often contradictory viewpoints, such as representatives of ministries and of teacher unions. Unlike a positivist perspective, however, this multidimensionality helps to approach an issue from several perspectives, resulting in greater complexity which might not create obvious clarity. The fact that different sources of data, such as documents and interviews, are analysed contributes further to triangulation by cross-examining findings (Mason, 2002). This approach might not produce generalisable findings, but can develop an understanding of the underlying dynamics of Europeanisation within the respective national contexts and the factors that drive it.

Transferability in qualitative research is oriented towards the contextual uniqueness and significance of what is studied rather than the breadth of findings that is envisaged in quantitative research (Bryman, 2012). Despite the number of interviews that was possible to be conducted for the present study, transferability is essentially achieved through the detailed narrative and description of the European context and the case studies which provide rich information for those interested in the possible transferability of findings to other milieu.

Moreover, dependability is proposed for qualitative research as a parallel to reliability. This means ensuring that complete records are kept of all phases of the research process in an accessible manner (ibid.). Considering some ethical aspects that will be explained in the following section, I kept records of the initial research proposal, the selection of research participants, interview transcripts and data analysis decisions. These were regularly reviewed by my supervisors to guarantee that proper procedures had been followed.

The final criterion of confirmability implies that the researcher should show to have acted according to good scientific conduct, although recognising that complete objectivity is impossible in social research (ibid.). Throughout the research process, I have tried to limit the influence of personal values and theoretical inclinations that could divert the conduct of research, considering of course the context in which I am operating as a researcher in the EDiTE project. Additional explanations in terms of research integrity and good scientific conduct are provided in the following section.

3.6. Ethical considerations

Ethical issues can arise at a variety of stages in social research (Bryman, 2012), and it is therefore necessary to think about them when designing research, collecting data and analysing them. Adopting the ethical guidelines of the British Educational Research Association (BERA), this research project operates within an ethic of respect for all persons involved as research participants:

> *Individuals should be treated fairly, sensitively, with dignity, and within an ethic of respect and freedom from prejudice regardless of age, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, nationality, cultural identity, partnership status, faith, disability, political belief or any other significant difference.* (BERA, 2011, p. 5)

This study avoided any harm to research participants and their organisations, since none of the following was envisaged: physical harm, harm to participants' development, loss of self-esteem, stress, or inducing subjects to perform reprehensible acts (Bryman, 2012, p. 135). Considering BERA's guidelines (2011), the rest of this section will detail how the specific research project deals with ethical issues, such as voluntary informed consent, openness and disclosure, right to withdraw, involvement of vulnerable groups, incentives, detriment arising from participation in research, privacy, and disclosure.

Prior to an interview taking place, research participants were informed in detail about the process in which they were to be engaged, including why their participation was necessary, how it would be used and how it would be reported (BERA, 2011). In most cases, interviewees, who were highly ranked policy officials, were first contacted and informed by my UIBK supervisor regarding the aim of my research and my interest in conducting an interview with them. In Hungary, this support was provided by my co-supervisor at ELTE university. Once initial approval was granted, research participants were contacted by me via e-mail with all details attached, including the purpose of the interview, the interview guide, the approximate duration of the interview, my intention to record the interview and to keep the interview anonymous, as well as my intention to mail back to them the transcript of the interview for final approval. The same procedure was applied for policy officials or teacher educators who were contacted by me in the first place. In this way, voluntary informed consent was ensured, since research participants in this study agreed to be interviewed voluntarily before research got underway. Similarly, consent for the recording of the interview was envisaged in two

instances: once during the initial contact via e-mail, and once when the actual interview took place.

With regard to openness and disclosure, deception or subterfuge was not necessary because participants were informed beforehand in an open manner about the actual purposes of the research. Moreover, participants were informed at the outset of the interview about their right to withdraw at any time and for any or no reason during the interview process. The research did not involve children, vulnerable young people or vulnerable adults. All research participants were adult professionals with several years of experience in their institution. Although policy experts with affiliations to political parties were to a limited extent included as research participants, it was clearly stated that the research aim of this project was to understand the development of teacher education policies and practices in Europe, and not to examine ideological underpinnings of reforms. Thus, references to political parties were generally avoided, while in the rare case that a participant referred to his/her political affiliation, this was treated as sensitive data and was pseudonymised in the interview transcript. In this sense, the interview guide also helped to indicate the factual rather than ideological nature of the information envisaged.

There were no incentives offered to participate in the research and no detriment arising from participation in research. Privacy was ensured by treating the interview data in a confidential and anonymous manner. Before the interview took place, participants were informed that data would be kept anonymous, and any references to names would be anonymised in the interview transcripts. It was also clearly stated at the outset of the interview that in case direct quotes from the interview transcript would be employed in reporting the data, reference would indicate only the expert affiliation of the interviewee, namely policy expert or teacher educator. At the conclusion of the research, my intention is to debrief participants and to provide them with online copies of the dissertation or any other publications arising from their participation.

Overall, the research complied with UIBK procedures regarding protection of personal data. All recordings and data collected through interviews were stored in password-protected folders of my UIBK desktop computer, which is connected to the central storage system of the university. Access to data was thus limited to myself. As soon as the recordings were transcribed, the recordings were destroyed and only the transcripts remained safely stored in the computer. In line with the principles of good scientific practice, all raw data which have been transcribed will be retained for a period of ten years after the end of the project in 2019. At the end of the retention period, the UIBK Faculty of Teacher Education will destroy the transcribed data in the university's central storage system and subsequent destruction on backup systems will follow according to automatised standard procedures. As mentioned before, there was no intention to collect and/or process any personal sensitive data.

Finally, as part of an EU funded Horizon 2020 research project, this study was approved by the research ethics committee of the UIBK and received a certificate of good standing. Under the framework of EDiTE, the study was also registered at the national data processing register of the Republic of Austria with registration number 0083917. Some of the study's findings have already been published in international peer-reviewed journals and exerts of the specific publications are reproduced in parts of the present thesis. When this happens, a footnote is inserted to demonstrate the parts that have been published. All publications arising from this study adhere to the open access policy of the European Commission.

3.7. Limitations

This final section of the methodology chapter refers to potential weaknesses of the present study stemming from time constraints and choices made throughout the research process. My attempt to understand a complex phenomenon such as Europeanisation in teacher education resulted in a large number of interviews at different levels of the system which provided an overview of policy developments across scales and sites. The need to understand developments in teacher education systems that I was not familiar with beforehand and the access I had to various key policy figures through the connections of my supervisors resulted in a big amount of data which was not possible to be analysed inductively to the fullest extent. This was also one of the reasons for deciding on a deductive category application for the case studies, so as to narrow down the focus on certain policies and practices that could expose Europeanisation.

Moreover, the theoretical framework and the analysis of the European context has led to some conceptual frameworks that could be characterised as normative models. Although I do recognise that there are several accounts of the social world and that many of the European policies are influenced by global discourses, I chose to limit my focus on European teacher education which is conceptualised as having some unique characteristics influenced by the existence of a particular supranational entity such as the EU. To analyse policy change within the European teacher education area further led me to adopt seemingly normative models which have however a descriptive rather than a prescriptive approach. In addition, the goal of mapping and understanding such a complex policy ecosystem resulted in a focus on description rather than critical analysis of policies and political choices. Although my initial intention was to critically evaluate the ideological underpinnings of policy discourse, considering the influence of neoliberalism and globalisation, the strict timeframe of three years funding to complete my research project and the amount of data that was pilling up prevented me digging deeper into the hidden ideologies, which I will research on a future occasion.

The qualitative character of the research and the case study design imply also that the findings of the present study cannot be generalised to the larger population, while the subjectivity of the researcher might be evident when interpreting the perspectives of research participants. Although I have adopted a system perspective to analyse the research topic, I have included one higher education institution in each country to illustrate the policy enactment process. Considering the autonomous and independent status of higher education institutions, it is reasonable to assume that data collected from one institution cannot be generalised to all institutions of a respective country. Therefore, the findings from higher education institutions provide insights into specific institutional contexts and cannot be generalised to the national level. The case study chapters make this distinction between the national and institutional levels by referring specifically to the example of a higher education institution when the goal is to illustrate the enactment of a particular policy.

Considering the material conditions available and the time that it was possible to invest in gathering data in the different countries, another limitation that should be mentioned is that the case studies might not be of the same richness, although all three of them are going deep into describing teacher education developments. The fact that I was based in Austria gave me an impetus to familiarise myself with the specific data for a longer time, while my semester-long period of secondment in Hungary also gave me enough time to collect data and learn about the teacher education system. However, the time I was able to conduct research in Greece was limited to four weeks, during which I had already planned in advance to conduct a certain amount of interviews. Nevertheless, as a native Greek who studied primary school education, I was to a significant extent familiar with the Greek system before moving to Austria for my doctoral studies.

Chapter 4: The European context

This chapter is the first part of the study's empirical findings. It analyses how teacher education is defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and which changes this process implies for teacher education policy and practice in Europe. To this end, the first section of this chapter analyses how key stakeholders and mechanisms of interaction, internal or external to the functioning of the EU, influence the process of Europeanisation in teacher education by means of transferring policies and practices across the landscape of European teacher education. This mapping exercise helps to define how European teacher education is governed and which are the policy instruments that shape and diffuse the European thinking in teacher education, arguing for the emergence of a European Teacher Education Area (ETEA).

The following section focuses on EU policy documents and traces how teacher education policy developed as part of EU policy cooperation in the broader area of education and training. By providing a historical overview from the beginning of EU policy cooperation, in 1957, until 2018, this section tries to grasp the way that teacher education is conceptualised in EU decisions and to identify the main trends characterising the European thinking in teacher education. The third and final section provides in-depth insights into three fundamental teacher education policy trends as these are consolidated in EU decisions, namely the continuum of teacher education, the development of teacher competence frameworks, and the role of teacher educators. A conceptual framework for tracing European influences in national teacher education policies and practices concludes the chapter.

4.1. Mapping the landscape of European teacher education: Mechanisms, processes and key agents of Europeanisation[1]

Exploring the landscape of European teacher education, we can identify a variety of mechanisms, processes and key agents, internal or external to the workings of the EU, that mutually reinforce each other towards shaping the process of Europeanisation in teacher education. For analytical purposes, these mechanisms, processes and key agents have been clustered according to their function in the following main categories: (1) policy coordination; (2) cross-sectoral instruments; (3) evidence-based management; (4) the Bologna process; (5) educational programmes; and (6) stakeholder pressure. Several of these categories correspond to what Halász (2013) defined as governance and policy instruments which diffuse EU policies within the European education space, and thus are also relevant when examining the development of teacher education policy in Europe. The following sections will describe how the specific mechanisms, processes and key agents influence European teacher education.

Policy coordination

Policy coordination in areas of "soft" law, such as education and higher education, refers to governance mechanisms employed by EU institutions to align policies of the community in accordance with commonly agreed policy goals. Such mechanisms can include policy texts, the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) and presidencies.

In teacher and teacher education policy, proposals can only be formulated as Communications of the European Commission which may be approved by the Council of

[1] Some parts of this section have been published, as follows: Symeonidis, V. (2018). Revisiting the European Teacher Education Area: The Transformation of Teacher Education Policies and Practices in Europe. *CEPS Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 13-34.

Ministers and consequently turn into Council Conclusions. Since the mid-2000s, several Communications and Council Conclusions on teacher education and the professional development of teachers have been published. A milestone document, in particular, has been the *Rethinking Education* Communication of 2012, summarising ideas from several background documents, one of which is related to *Supporting the Teaching Professions for Better Learning Outcomes* (European Commission, 2012). Although regulations or directives cannot be issued in education, Directive 2013/55/EU regulates the recognition of teacher qualifications for free movement in the single market, indicating that the soft competence of the EU in education can be extended if it overlaps with other sectors such as employment.

Since the Lisbon agenda in 2000, the launch of the OMC appears as the main policy mechanism which opened up the way for a degree of EU intervention in national education systems. The EU employs the OMC as a means of governing education developments through setting commonly agreed objectives, and through peer and informal pressures on Member States to perform (Alexiadou, 2007). As part of the ET2010 and ET2020 work programmes, various working groups have been established to enhance cooperation between the Commission and Member States. With regard to teacher education, the first working group on *Improving the education of teachers and trainers* was established in 2002 and with two consequent reports proposed the development of teacher competence frameworks. The idea was materialised with the *Common European Principles for Teacher Competences and Qualifications* (European Commission, 2005), a policy document which separated for the first time the area of teachers from the area of trainers, giving an impetus to policy cooperation in teacher education (Interview, EPE-3).

Following this, the *Teachers and Trainers Cluster* was formulated in 2005 and was later renamed the *Thematic Working Group on the Professional Development of Teachers* in 2010, *Thematic Working Group on School Policy* in 2014, and *Thematic Working Group on Schools* in 2016. Comprised by member state experts, working groups aim at setting specific thematic goals for Peer Learning Activities (PLAs), a central tool of the OMC, and create a three year time frame to increase the output orientation and efficiency of the work (Stéger, 2014a). Their results are published as guidance for policymakers, literature reviews, PLA reports, or virtual toolkits (European Commission, 2018a). The focus of those groups has mainly been on initial teacher education and continuing professional development of teachers (Interview, EPE-2), while the following policy guidelines are often identified as most influential for national policymaking: (a) *Supporting Teacher Competence Development* (2013); (b) *Supporting Teacher Educators* (2013); and (c) *Developing coherent and system-wide induction programmes for beginning teachers* (2010) (Interview, EPE-1, EPE-4).

Another mechanism of policy coordination includes the presidency of the Council of the European Union. Presidencies provide opportunities for Member States to coordinate policy in a bottom-up way. Presidency priorities can bring to the attention of EU decision makers particular challenges and good policy examples, which may result in specific Council Conclusions being accepted during the presidency period:

> *Presidency countries often come with a particular focus area within that broad agreement on multi annual cooperation such as ET2020. So the presidency would also set the agenda for their six months and that would also determine when the moment is ripe for giving something bit more prominence, for instance in Council Conclusions.* (Interview, EPE-6)

It is worth noting here the example of the Irish presidency in 2013, which the Commission was waiting for before launching the policy package on supporting teacher educators (Interview,

EPE-13), a priority topic for Ireland's education and training agenda ("Ireland's Presidency" 2013). Overall, most presidencies in the decade between 2005 and 2014 targeted the improvement in quality of teacher education (Stéger, 2014a).

Cross-sectoral instruments

Policy instruments of sectors other than education play an increasingly significant role and influence developments in teacher education. Transferring policies from one sector to another is a common practice in the EU which often launches initiatives in sectors where Member States are more receptive for them (Halász, 2013). In this respect, education is often linked to employment priorities and thus instruments applying to employment may well be influencing teacher education. Three cross-sectoral instruments can be identified as relevant: the European Qualifications Framework (EQF), financial resources and the European semester.

The EQF supports Member States in comparing national qualifications systems by defining eight common European reference levels, described in learning outcomes: knowledge, skills, and responsibility and autonomy (European Commission, 2018b). Member States are therefore invited by the Recommendation of 23 April 2008 to reference their national qualifications frameworks to the EQF levels, in this way facilitating occupational mobility and lifelong learning across Europe (European Parliament and Council of the European Union, 2008). Naturally this development influences the field of teacher education which, depending on the level of education, can be referenced between EQF level 4 and EQF level 8, equivalent to post-secondary education diploma and doctoral degree studies. For example, early childhood education in Austria takes place at post-secondary level and awards university entrance qualification (EQF 4), while university faculties of teacher education can award relevant doctorates (e.g. University of Innsbruck) (EQF 8).

Moreover, as a result of the EQF, the learning outcomes approach has had a significant impact on the different phases of teacher education by changing the way of writing curricula and qualification standards, and eventually the way of thinking about learning in both higher education and school education systems. Cedefop (2016, pp. 133-164) analysed the influence of learning outcomes in teacher education, arguing about the impact on the development of ITE curricula, on the collaboration between the different faculties and on the implementation of quality assurance at university and faculty levels. Learning outcomes aim at shifting the perspective from mere content knowledge towards skills and competences which would prepare individuals for the labour market. In the words of a European policy expert:

> *We have to consider the learner's needs, because it is not only the theoretical background teachers acquire on how to teach, but also how to cater for the different and diverse needs of the learners. So, it is the learning outcomes principle that underlines this focus, that goes away from the original teacher-centred methods to a more innovative learner-centred way of doing things. One final thing is how we can see the learner growing as a lifelong learner, but also as an employable individual, since learning outcomes help to bridge education and labour market. So it is not only the educational area that is important, but also the area of employment. And somehow learning outcomes works in between this. Because you actually mention what the learner is able to do at the end of the learning process. It is not what you learnt but what he can actually do or demonstrate.* (Interview, EPE-10)

To support the development of learning outcomes approaches, some Member States have utilised European social funds (Cedefop, 2016), the second cross-sectoral instrument examined

here. Particularly the European Social Fund (ESF) has been extensively used by Member States to support the development of ITE, CPD and competences of teachers and teacher educators (Stéger, 2014a). As an instrument of the Commission's DG Employment, ESF aims at supporting job growth and is distributed to Member States and regions to finance operational programmes which are commonly agreed between each member state and the European Commission for the seven-year programming period (European Commission, 2016a). In an open public consultation of the ESF 2007-2013, 55 per cent of respondents agreed and nine per cent disagreed that ESF support for individuals was successful in enhancing the skills of teachers (European Commission, 2016b). In addition to social and structural funds, innovation in the field of teacher education can be funded via Horizon 2020, the biggest EU research and innovation programme with a budget of approximately 80 billion euro for the period between 2014 and 2020 (European Commission, n.d.-a).

Another mechanism to bring education related priorities under the umbrella of employment is the European semester, a coordination tool for economic and employment policies, which reports and monitors the contribution of education to economic growth and jobs. Each year, the Commission publishes Country Specific Recommendations (CSRs) for each member state for budgetary, economic and social policies, which the Council adopts at the end of June or in early July, followed by policy advice that Member States receive before they finalise their draft budgets for the upcoming year. Examining the 2016 CSRs, we can see that they are also aiming at improving quality in education and training. Among various recommendations emphasising the economic and employment relevance of education, with broader influence on teachers, there are concrete recommendations for the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Latvia to improve the attractiveness of the teaching profession and the quality of teaching (European Commission, 2016c).

Evidence-based management

To achieve its policy goals in education, the Commission frequently employs the tool of knowledge and information spreading (Halász, 2013). Evidence-based policymaking in education has been a flagship of the Commission since the launch of the Open Method of Coordination in 2000, manifested in the establishment of the thematic working groups, in defining benchmarks for monitoring effective practices between Member States, and in publishing statistical analyses for the challenges and progress in education and training systems (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017, p. 5). In addition to the knowledge produced by the working groups, there are several European agents that contribute significantly to the evidence base for European and national policy development in teacher education. Specifically, EU networks and agencies, such as Eurydice and Cedefop, as well as Europe-wide associations, including the Association for Teacher Education in Europe (ATEE) and the European Educational Research Association, produce evidence and diffuse them in the European education space by means of publications, online resources and public conferences.

Since 2002, Eurydice has published various reports focusing on teachers and teacher education, including the series *The Teaching Profession in Europe* (2002-2004), the *Key Data on Teachers and School Leaders in Europe* (2013-2015) and the *Teachers' and School Heads' Salaries and Allowances in Europe* (2012-2015). Further, the *Teaching Careers in Europe* was launched in 2018 and a study on *Policies to Support, Develop and Incentivise Teacher Quality* has been commissioned and is currently being produced (Interview, EPE-13). Further, the report *Teaching Careers in Europe* was published in 2018 (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2018), followed by the publication of a study on *Boosting Teacher Quality – Pathways to Effective Policies* that gathers evidence on policy measures to enhance teacher quality (European Commission, 2018c). Most of these reports analyse teacher

education by comparing ITE programmes, induction and CPD, the supply and demand of teachers, recruitment and selection, the development of teacher competence frameworks, teacher mobility, as well as incentives and working conditions.

As a network of Member States with direct access to national ministries, Eurydice is in an optimal position to contextualise data, considering legislation and national specificities (Interview, EPE-7). However, due to its internal administrative structure, Eurydice cannot produce large-scale assessments and thus often relies on other international organisations, such as the OECD, when it comes to data collection. For example, the report *The Teaching Profession in Europe* (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2015) is based on secondary analysis of data from the 2013 OECD Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS). To this end, the Commission may also finance the participation of Member States in the TALIS survey (Interview, EPE-6).

Cedefop is another unit of the Commission which creates relevant knowledge for teachers and develops cross-sectoral tools influencing teacher education. Although focusing on European vocational and training policies, Cedefop is responsible for projects dealing with the implementation of the EQF and NQF, the learning-outcomes approach, the validation of non-formal and informal learning, as well as teachers and trainers' professional development (Cedefop, 2018). Particularly the European handbook on *Defining, Writing and Applying Learning Outcomes* (Cedefop, 2017) and the study *Application of Learning Outcomes in Europe* (Cedefop, 2016) provide concrete policy advices for shaping teacher education curricula. Since 2015, Cedefop has been transferred to the DG for Employment, another indication of the Commission's endeavour to have more direct influence on education by connecting it to employment.

Overall, the Commission shows increasing interest in producing evidence in support of policymaking. However, due to the limited capacity for conducting scientific research, the Commission is almost exclusively outsourcing the production of knowledge to external consultancies and experts, or relies on large-scale data produced by other organisations. Moreover, it is rather challenging to identify the actual impact of the evidence produced by the Commission, since national policymakers are often reluctant to refer to the Commission's studies in the field of education (Interview, EPE-4). Although all EU publications are open access, outreach to policymakers and practitioners is hard to measure (Interview, EPE-4).

External to EU functioning, ATEE operates as a non-profit European organisation since 1976 and addresses practitioners, including teachers and teacher educators. Aiming to bridge the gap between research and practice in teacher education, ATEE organises widely attended conferences, issues the European Journal of Teacher Education and sets up research and development communities around different themes (ATEE, 2015), including teacher education policy, and the professional development of teachers and of teacher educators. ATEE has contributed significantly to the European attitude towards teacher education with studies examining the profile and competences of teacher educators (see Swennen & Klink, 2009). Similarly, the European Educational Research Association, with its network 10 on teacher education research and the annual Educational Conference on Educational Research, provides relevant knowledge platforms on teaching and learning.

The Bologna Process

A major development, with high impact on the structure of higher education, including teacher education, across Europe, came with the *Sorbonne Declaration* in 1998 which led to the launch of the Bologna process one year later. The process proposed the creation of the European Higher Education Area through a common restructuring of higher education systems, based on a two-cycle structure of Bachelors and Masters degrees, in order to make them comparable and

compatible. Since 2003, a third cycle was added, consisting of the doctorate. Although this process was intergovernmental in nature and was initiated outside the EU context, it cannot be understood independently of the EU higher education policy (Pépin, 2007). However, the fact that Bologna was developed outside the EU framework is judged to be a reason for the huge support it received, meaning that it was inclusive of non-EU countries and less bureaucratic (Corbett, 2011). Eventually, the process became more dependent from the Commission, both in terms of financial support and policy advice (ibid.).

In the field of teacher education, many countries implemented Bologna reforms because of the need for professional renewal, for making teaching a more attractive career choice, and for improving the preparation of student teachers in subject methodology (Stéger, 2014b, p. 22). According to Iucu (2010, pp. 63-64), the main consequences of the Bologna process in teacher education relate to the structure of the teacher education systems, the introduction of the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS), the quality assurance process, and the application of the EQF, which has been discussed previously. In addition to the EQF, it should also be mentioned here that the *Framework for Qualifications of the European Higher Education Area* (Bologna Working Group, 2005) has further contributed to the international recognition of qualifications in teacher education (Interview, EPE-13).

With regard to the structure of teacher education, the total duration of ITE has been increased and adapted to the two-cycle model (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2015). Most countries in Europe stipulate a Bachelor degree for pre-primary and primary school teachers, while lower- and mainly upper-secondary school teachers are often expected to have a master degree (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2013). However, an analysis of ITE systems across Europe revealed that the increasing duration of ITE resulted in allocating more credits to subject matter, often at the expense of practice and professional preparation of teachers (Stéger, 2014b).

The system of ECTS aims at improving mobility, recognition and transferability in the context of both ITE and CPD of teachers, supporting continuity between initial and continuous education and facilitating recognition of training periods conducted within community programmes (Iucu, 2010). Adopted as the national credit system in most EHEA countries, the ECTS is described as "a paradigm shift from teacher-centred to student-centred higher education" (European Union, 2015, p. 14), along with the application of the learning outcomes approach.

The quality assurance process introduces the *Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in European Higher Education Area* (ESG) which "contribute to a common understanding of quality assurance for learning and teaching across borders and among all stakeholders" (*ESG*, 2015, p. 6). The ESG implements accountability mechanisms in ITE and CPD institutions, in terms of both an internal quality assurance by means of institutional policies and procedures, such as establishing fair and transparent processes for the recruitment and development of the teaching staff, as well as external quality assurance carried out by external experts and specialised agencies (ibid.).

At this point, mention should also be made of the TUNING project, launched in the year 2000 as a Socrates-Erasmus project, and aiming "to offer a concrete approach to implement the Bologna process at the level of higher education institutions and subject areas" (Tuning, 2008, p. 9). Tuning provides a methodology to design, implement and evaluate curricula for a variety of academic disciplines, including teacher education, in each of the Bologna cycles. The publication *Reference Points for the Design and Delivery of Degree Programmes in Education* (Tuning, 2009), in particular, defines education as a subject which is divided in the scientific field "education sciences" and the professional field "teacher

education" (ibid., p. 16). Thus, the publication provides cross-national evidence and guidelines for developing a common framework for teacher education in Europe.

Bologna proves to have had a considerable impact on the structure of teacher education systems (Stéger, 2014b). Deeper influence in terms of changing institutional cultures towards learner-centred approaches, however, is an ambiguous issue and requires more time. According to an interviewee "in many European countries, the Bologna reform was made in a very superficial way, [...] as a copy-paste of ready-made solutions from the centre into the local environments" (Interview, EPE-8). Without proper contextualisation, Bologna was seen in some institutions as "cutting degrees in two pieces and modernising with up-to-date literature" (Interview, EPE-8) and not always as an opportunity leading to the "masterisation of the teaching profession" (Interview, EPE-3). Further, national or institutional policy actors have often used Bologna as a means of promoting their own political or institutional agendas, resulting in a misinterpretation of the actual Bologna ideas. The following quote may serve as an example:

> *I can give you an example from one of the studies on the Bologna process we did at my university centre. So, it was a dean, that means an important academic, who argued that the Bologna declaration requires not to have more than seven exams per year. And then we asked which document he meant, maybe a national one, because in Bologna documents there is no statement about the number of exams. And the gentleman tried to convince us that we didn't read Bologna documents properly, because this sentence is made on the European level.* (Interview, EPE-8)

Educational Programmes

Educational programmes are widely recognised as the mechanism with the highest impact on the professional development of teachers (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2015; Halász, 2013; Zgaga, 2013), although the resources invested here are lower than the ones invested in development interventions through the funding programmes described above. Educational programmes constitute a direct linkage between the education priorities of the EU and local institutions within Member States. Participation is voluntary and individuals or organisations can apply directly for EU funding and support, resulting in a bottom-up Europeanisation which sidesteps trespasses national-level policy processes and translations. Since the first generation of education programmes in 1986, the aim regarding teacher education was to promote the European dimension in initial and in-service training through professional mobility and institutional cooperation (Council of the European Communities, 1988). To date, we can disaggregate between physical and virtual mobility opportunities for teachers, supported by the Commission's Erasmus+ programme.

Advertised as one of the EU's "most successful and iconic programmes" (European Commission, 2017a, p. 5), the Erasmus programme turned thirty years in 2017 and celebrated a 40 per cent financial increase compared to its predecessors, accounting for a 14.7 billion euro budget between 2014 and 2020 (European Commission, 2017b). In terms of mobility exchanges alone, the programme envisages to provide opportunities for 800.000 teachers and other staff to gain professional development abroad (ibid.). Within the programme's Key Action 1 – Learning mobility of individuals, teacher education has a very strong dimension (Interview, EPE-6).

However, the internationalisation of teacher education proves challenging compared to other areas of higher education (Zgaga, 2013), since evidence reveals the low number of teachers involved in mobility abroad. Only 27.4 per cent of EU teachers have been abroad at

least once for professional purposes, while the proportion of mobile teachers is even lower in several European education systems (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2015, p. 86). The specific results triggered the *First European Conference on Internationalization of Teacher Education* in 2017 which described as the main reasons behind the low rate of teacher mobility the fact that several countries or institutions do not fully recognise credits and grades acquired abroad or they often require time-intensive compensatory measures (Worek & Elsner, 2017).

In addition to physical mobility opportunities, the Commission, under the Erasmus+ Key Action 2 – Cooperation for innovation and the exchange of good practices, has also developed information and technology support platforms. Specifically, the platforms eTwinning, School Education Gateway and Electronic Platform for Adult Learning in Europe provide virtual opportunities for teachers and teacher educators to exchange ideas and practices across Europe (European Commission, 2017a). The high take-up of such virtual and cost-efficient opportunities is evidenced in initiatives of some Member States to recognise them officially as professional development for teachers. For example, Greece and Italy introduced measures to recognise eTwinning as relevant activity in support of teachers' career advancement (Interview, EPE-5).

Stakeholder Pressure

Among the various stakeholders influencing European teacher education policies and practices, global and European pressure groups play a highly significant role in providing consultation, in legitimising policies and in mediating between the EU and national policymaking. Specifically, European social partners, international organisations, as well as networks contribute to the educational cooperation in the area of teachers' professional development.

European social partners are representatives of employers' organisations and trade unions which are engaged in the European social dialogue, as stipulated by Article 154 and 155 of the *Treaty on the functioning of the European Union* (Eurofound, 2014). In the field of education, the Committee on European Social Dialogue is formed by the European Federation of Education Employers (EFEE) and the European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE). However, as previously discussed, when education priorities fall under employment or social policies, representatives from the industry can also play an influential role in setting the policy agenda (Interview, EPE-9). Furthermore, the sectoral social dialogue in education is supported by the Commission's DG Employment.

Naturally, the social dialogue in education covers issues related to teachers and teacher education. Some of the key areas which the Committee is currently focusing on include: (a) how social partners can help improve teachers' skills and working conditions; (b) supporting teachers, with a focus on continuous professional learning and development; and (c) how the teaching profession can be made more attractive (European Commission, n.d.-b). According to an interviewee "all policies related to teacher education are informally validated by the unions before publicly launched" (Interview, EPE-3), while another one refers to employers as "having a subtle influence in a soft, sometimes hidden way, by conversations or organising conferences, promoting the linkage to the needs of the labour market" (Interview, EPE-4). In addition to consultation and lobbying, the social partners produce policy papers and research studies, such as the *Teacher Education in Europe*, an ETUCE policy paper published in 2008 and often cited in EU documents since then (see European Commission, 2012, 2013). Another technical report which shows the joint action between ETUCE and EFEE presents the results of a common survey on recruitment and retention of teachers (ETUCE/EFEE, 2012).

The role of international organisations is also widely recognised as being crucial in constructing policy problems and setting new education policy agendas in Europe (Grek, 2010;

Grek & Lawn, 2009). The OECD is identified "as a strong agent of Europeanisation" (Grek, 2010, p. 401) and an organisation with "enormous influence on policymaking" (Interview, EPE-7). As previously discussed, the European Commission works closely with the OECD and their teacher policy agendas are overlapping. It is not by accident that the EU's teacher policy emerged dynamically right after the OECD's study *Teachers Matter* in 2005 (Interview, EPE-13). However, the indirect influence of the OECD is judged as often having a greater impact:

> *So when you try to work directly like we (European Commission) do by establishing a proposal or recommendation, countries can say no sorry we don't want to do that and we can't do anything about it. Whereas if you're like the OECD and you're really "your country is not doing so well in this ranking", then you get very worried. You want to change you want to do what the OECD suggests to do.* (Interview, EPE-4)

Another influential organisation with a more global outreach is the World Bank which developed the Systems Approach for Better Education Results (SABER) framework, a policy instrument targeting teachers and teacher education and applied in several countries, including some European ones. Among the ten areas suggested in SABER for teacher policy interventions, two are related to ITE and CPD, while eight policy goals, including the goal of "preparing teachers with useful training and experience", are promoted as being effective for improving the quality of the teacher labour force (World Bank, 2013, p. 24). A similar framework was produced by the UNESCO Teachers Task Force on Teachers for Education 2030 to support countries in developing evidence-based national teacher policy (UNESCO, 2015). Since 2018, the Teachers Task Force and the World Bank are collaborating using SABER to "see how data can benefit the development of teacher policies" (Teachers Task Force, 2018).

In this section, we should also include the work of the Council of Europe which initiated the Pestalozzi Programme, an action programme supporting the professional development of teachers with a variety of teaching and training resources and the organisation of training events (Council of Europe, 2018a). Although the specific programme ceased operating in January 2018, a new capacity building programme is envisaged targeting Ministries of Education and teacher training institutions instead of practitioners (Council of Europe, 2018b).

Last but not least, European policy and research discourses has been shaped by European networks related to teacher education. One of the first initiatives funded by the European Commission was the European Universities' Network SIGMA, commissioned to produce a report on European teacher training systems (Sander, Buchberger, Greaves, & Kallos, 1996). The major policy impact of the SIGMA project can be seen in the establishment of the Thematic Network on Teacher Education in Europe (TNTEE) in 1996, which published the *Green Paper on Teacher Education in Europe* (Buchberger et al., 2000), one of the first policy papers on teacher education in Europe produced together with experts from European teacher education institutions (Hudson & Zgaga, 2017). Building on the work of the TNTEE, the Teacher Education Policy in Europe emerged in 2006 as an academic network which organises annual conferences and publishes policy-related research in teacher education (ibid.).

Another relevant network which includes policymakers and has a more direct link to the European Commission is the European Network on Teacher Education Policies (ENTEP). Established in 2000, during the Portuguese presidency of the EU, ENTEP contributes with policy work to the development of the ETEA within the broader EHEA and promotes cooperation between Member States regarding teacher education policies (Gassner et al., 2010). Since the mid-2000s, the issue of what constitutes the Europeanness in teachers' work

has been raised within ENTEP, following the discussion paper *What is a 'European teacher'?* (Schratz, 2005). In an effort to promote the European dimension in teacher professionalism and address mobility problems and obstacles for entering into PhD programmes, a consortium of five European universities and ENTEP in the role of advisory board initiated the European Doctorate in Teacher Education (EDiTE) (Schratz, 2014). EDiTE received financial support from the European Commission, first as a project within the Lifelong Learning Programme (2012-2014) and then as a Horizon 2020 innovative training network (2015-2019), with the aim of developing into "a leading European network for innovation in teacher education, accessible to academics, practitioners and policy makers." (EDiTE Website, 2015)

4.1.1. Towards a European Teacher Education Area?

The complex policy ecosystem of European teacher education is made up of a multitude of key agents and mechanisms of interaction which complement or compete each other in shaping policies and practices of the specific field. Within this ecosystem, the EU has claimed a strategic role, acting either as the direct initiator or the subtle facilitator in several of the above described initiatives. Figure 8 below illustrates the mechanisms, processes and key agents of Europeanisation that contribute to the emergence of the ETEA as a new governance space for teacher education in Europe. By means of reciprocal interaction, the specific mechanisms, processes and key agents communicate and produce significant effects on policy formation and implementation, transforming the strictly nation-bound conception of teacher education and resulting in a number of common trends across Europe, which will be examined later on in this chapter.

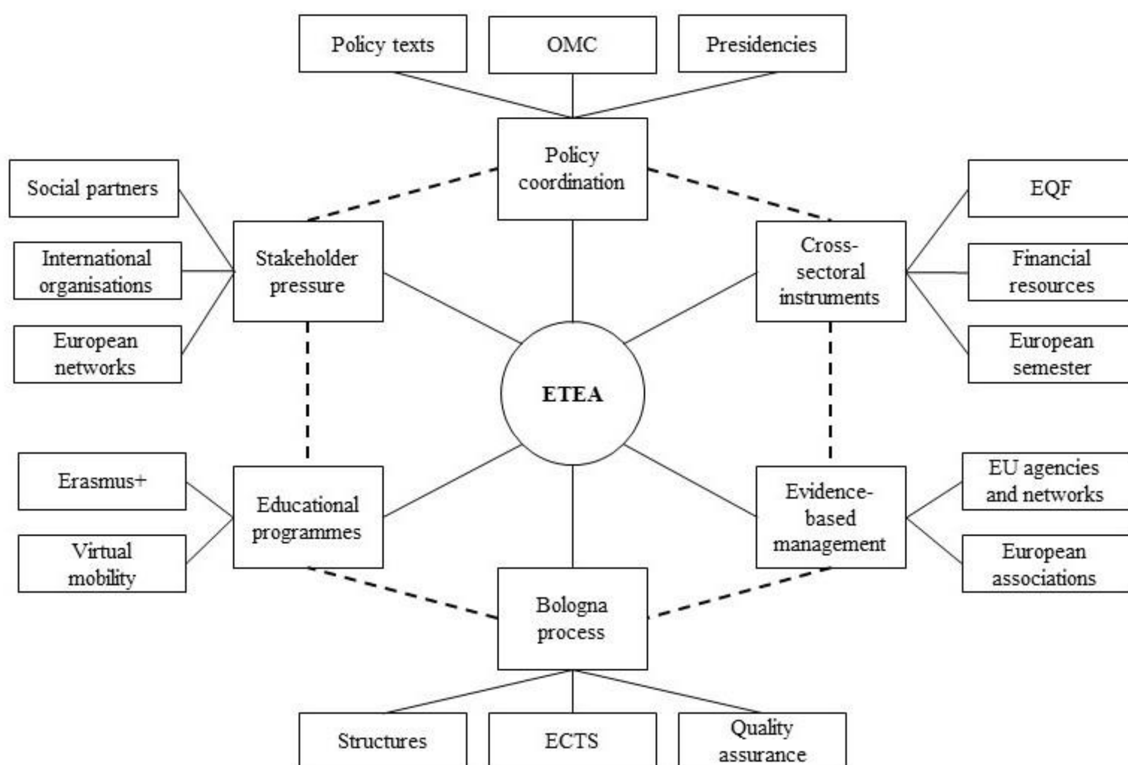

Figure 8. Mechanisms, processes and key agents of Europeanisation in the European Teacher Education Area (ETEA)

From the perspective of Europeanisation, the emergence of the ETEA is the outcome of a "circular approach" (Wach, 2016), which combines vertical and horizontal procedures of policy transfer. On the one hand, vertical procedures of downloading (from the European community to Member States) and uploading (from Member States to the European community) suggest a system of mutual adaptation between the European and domestic levels. Examples of downloading include the EU policy texts, cross-sectoral instruments and evidence-based management, while uploading can occur through presidencies, transnational initiatives such as the Bologna process, and stakeholder pressure. The OMC can be seen as a site of contestation between downloading and uploading policies, while educational programmes function as a direct linkage between the European and local institutions, often evading national level translations.

On the other hand, horizontal procedures imply a system of interaction at the domestic level, in which Europe might provide an impulse for policy change. External horizontal procedures involve policy learning among Member States, while internal horizontal procedures involve policy learning among domestic actors. It is often within the domestic level that "creative usages" of Europe take place, modifying actors' preferences and ways of doing things (Radaelli, 2004, p. 5). Horizontal procedures are facilitated by the OMC, benchmarking and the best practice examples, as well as by the exchange of experts in the form of working groups, policy or research networks and associations.

The emergence of the ETEA confirms also what Halász (2013) identified as future trends of the EU's education reform policies. One trend is the growing role of the EU in education policy, including teacher and teacher education policy, and its increasing capacity to influence Member States' educational developments. This occurs for example with a plethora of policy recommendations on improving the quality of teacher education, the influence of Bologna on the structure and content of teacher education programmes and the direct impact of mobility opportunities on teachers' professional development. The second trend is the continuous possibility of other sectors to influence education developments. This becomes evident when teacher related policies and initiatives fall under the priorities of the employment and social affairs sector where the EU has competences to provide arrangements within which Member States must coordinate policy. Often intentionally, instruments or agencies operating within the employment sector have an impact on teacher education (e.g. EQF and Cedefop's work) and may even monitor policy developments (e.g. the European semester).

Although signs of convergence on what constitutes European teacher education are evident, teacher education still struggles to find its own way within the EHEA. Europeanisation of the specific field has the potential to either exacerbate existing tensions or function as remedy for historically rooted contradictions. In order to allow for new innovative solutions to emerge, the process of Europeanisation should enable teacher education systems to identify their own organisational patterns, considering that different countries may be in different stages of formulating and implementing teacher education policies.

4.2. The development of EU policy cooperation in teacher education

So far, I have envisaged mapping the main actors and mechanisms of Europeanisation in the field of teacher education to date, arguing for the emergence of ETEA. However, in order to better understand how teacher education is defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions, it is important to analyse how it came about as the result of broader EU policy cooperation in education and training. This historical overview helps to trace the way teacher education transformed over the years in EU policy discourse and highlights the main trends

characterising the European thinking in teacher education. Thus, the analysis follows a chronological order starting from the signing of the Treaty of Rome, in 1957, up until 2018, focusing on the policies developed after the Lisbon Strategy in 2000, when the EU formally adopted an education policy. Until the year 2007, the historical categorisation of EU policy cooperation in education and training proposed by Pépin (2007) is employed and redefined with regard to the field of teacher education. The headline allocated for each period of time is indicative of how teacher education is conceptualised in EU policies of the time in question.

4.2.1. European cooperation in teacher education until the 2000s

From 1957 until 2000, European cooperation focused on economic issues and education was not formally recognised as a field of cooperation between Member States. Until 1971, cooperation was officially acknowledged only in the context of vocational education and training. In the period between 1971 and 1992, there is an emergence of references to education, marked significantly by the launching of the first community education programmes. From the moment of signing the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 and until the 2000, the way of officially including education in soft legal competences of the EU is paved. The following sections trace the position of teacher education during those periods of time, employing the vocabulary that official EU documents were using at the time.

1957-1971: Teacher training in the context of vocational training

During this initial phase, starting with the Treaty of Rome, in 1957, and the establishment of the European Economic Community, the education sector remained outside of the Community's policy coordination efforts. Education, closely aligned to the notions of citizenship and national identity, remained a "taboo" topic for almost twenty years after the signing of the founding treaty, and the sensitive topic of cultural and educational cooperation became the task of the Council of Europe (Pépin, 2007, p. 122). Due to the absence of Community engagement in the field of education, there are almost no references to teachers and teacher education in official policy documents of the specific period.

However, the Treaty of Rome offered a clear legal basis for Community cooperation in vocational training, an important development that allowed the Commission, almost thirty years later, to launch the Erasmus programme by expanding the definition of vocational training to include higher education (ibid). Under the Chapter on the European Social Fund, Article 128 offers the possibility for implementing a common vocational training policy "capable of contributing to the harmonious development both of the national economies and of the common market" (Treaty of Rome, 1957). This possibility was materialised in the 1963 Council Decision, which established ten general principles for implementing a common vocational training policy. The specific Council Decision is important, not only because it referred to the necessary link with general education (Pépin, 2007), but also because it promoted for the first time the need for suitable training of teachers and instructors in the field of vocational training. The seventh principle refers to the Member States' responsibility for encouraging the improvement of such training, including "harmonisation of instructor training," "with the assistance of the Community where necessary" (Council of the European Communities, 1963). Despite this clear policy framework at the Community level, actual implementation in terms of policy cooperation between Member States remained limited also in the field of vocational training (Pépin, 2007).

1971-1992: Strengthening the European dimension of teacher training through mobility

It was not until 1971 that cooperation in education started by adopting general guidelines for a Community action programme, which was eventually approved in 1976. Pépin (2007) identifies a change in the attitude of Member States following the May 1968 events, which revealed a dissatisfaction with regard to the university system and management, and the 1969 call of the European parliament "for a Europeanisation of universities as the foundation for a genuine cultural Community" (p. 123). Moreover, the economic and social context of the 1970s (e.g. oil crisis, growing unemployment) resulted in a need for greater action in the field of vocational training and led to the emergence of cooperation in education between Member States (ibid.).

The working party established by the first Council and Conference of Ministers of Education, in November 1971, supported unanimously the need for policy cooperation in education, including the possibility of establishing a European Centre for Educational Development (European Communities Commission, 1974). During that time, the cultural aspect of education was still prevalent, with education ministers reaffirming that "on no account must education be regarded merely as a component of economic life" (Council of the European Communities, 1974, p. 1). With regard to teachers, policy cooperation focused on encouraging professional mobility, mainly by removing administrative and social obstacles regarding their free movement, and by improving the teaching of foreign languages (Council of the European Communities, 1974, p. 1).

In 1976, the Council of the European Communities for the first time adopted a Community action programme and suggested Member States take into account a number of actions in order to improve the preparation of young people for work. Among other measures, the initial and continuing training of teachers received particular attention so that young people could be more effectively prepared for working life and for choosing alternative opportunities in employment, further education and training (Council of the European Communities, 1976, p. 2). The Council considered teacher training as a way to strengthen the links between education and employment.

The 1976 resolution launched a cooperation of "mixed" nature, unique for that time, which combines classical procedures within the European Community with the voluntary commitment of education ministers to work together on a continuing basis outside the legal framework of the Council (Jones, as cited in Pépin, 2007, p. 123). Legal competence in education remained in the hands of the Member States, but cooperation gradually started through pilot projects, studies, study visits and joint study programmes (Pépin, 2007). However, it was mainly after the Gravier Case in 1985, when the European Court of Justice included higher education in Article 128 on vocational training, that the Commission used the new legal opportunities to launch first, in 1986, the Commett programme, and right afterwards, in June 1987, the Erasmus programme (ibid).

Moreover, to stimulate cooperation in school education and following up the 1985 report on a citizens' Europe, the Commission launched initiatives to promote the European dimension in schools through teacher exchanges and school partnerships. Under this new umbrella framework, teacher training received a new task, linked to the cultural aspect of education, but also closely attached to the objective of creating a unified labour market by 1992, meaning to introduce and promote the European dimension in education. Specifically, the 1988 Resolution of education ministers documented the commitment of Member States to make every effort to give greater emphasis to the European dimension in initial and in-service training, "within the limits of their own specific educational policies and structures" (Council of the European Communities, 1988, p. 5), by achieving the following:

- *making suitable teaching material available;*
- *access to documentation on the Community and its policies;*
- *provision of basic information on the educational systems of the other Member States,*
- *cooperation with teacher training institutions in other Member States, particularly by developing joint programmes providing for student and teacher mobility;*
- *making provision in the framework of in-service training for specific activities to enhance serving teachers' awareness of the European dimension in education and give them the opportunity of keeping up to date with Community developments;*
- *opening up, to some teachers from other Member States, certain in-service training activities, which would constitute the practical expression of belonging to Europe and a significant means of favouring the integration process* (Council of the European Communities, 1988, p. 6)

The specific resolution triggered various non-governmental initiatives on teacher-training links, some of them supported through the Erasmus programme (Sayer, 2006). The Commission was even authorised to organise a European Summer University which led to the *Réseau d'Institutions de Formation*, or network of teacher training institutions to promote the European dimension in teacher training (ibid, p. 65). Other cooperation programmes, such as Lingua, established by the European Community in 1989, included, among other objectives, the goal of improving in-service training of teachers and trainers (Holdsworth, 2010). Generally, during the late 1980s and early 1990s, teacher training institutions engaged in initiatives to pursue and identify common issues, including mutual recognition of qualifications and possible convergence (Sayer, 2006). It was also in the beginning of the 1990s that the first phase of TEMPUS was implemented enabling inter-university cooperation with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including mobility of teaching staff. Several of those objectives related to teachers were subsequently further developed by the Socrates, Leonardo and Lifelong Learning programmes (Holdsworth, 2010).

1992-2000: Teachers as lifelong learning professionals in the knowledge society

With the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, in 1992, both higher and school education were included in the Community's action programme with Article 126 for school education and Article 127 for vocational training, supporting and supplementing national action. Any harmonisation was ruled out, and Member States remained responsible for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems. The principle of subsidiarity was officially enshrined, defining the circumstances in which action can be taken by the Union regarding areas which do not fall within the Union's exclusive competence.

The *Memorandum on Higher Education*, completed one year earlier, proposed a strategy of modernisation of higher education and included the training of teachers as a proposed area of action of a "European Community Dimension in Higher Education" (European Commission, 1991, p. 13). Emphasis was given once again on professional mobility using the Erasmus and Lingua opportunities in order to enhance the European experiences of teachers and promote the European Dimension. For the first time, an attempt was also made to sketch the diverse ways in which teacher education is organised across Member States, differentiating between concurrent and consecutive training schemes. The Memorandum recognised the growing involvement of universities in the academic and professional training of teachers, and fostered joint action between Member States on the development of curricula, curricular materials and new approaches to learning. However, the specific agreement caused intensive debate in Member States and the academic community. It was particularly criticised

"for being too oriented towards the economy and for failing to understand the nature of the university" (Corbett, 2011, p. 40).

The 1993 White Paper on *Growth, Competitiveness and Employment*, by Jacques Delors, further promoted the idea that investing in knowledge through education and research is necessary for employment, competitiveness and social cohesion. The role of teachers is considered essential towards the new information era. Teachers and teacher training need to use new technologies, while universities can support this process by offering lifelong education, for example retraining primary and secondary school teachers (European Commission, 1993, p. 120). The 1995 White Paper *Towards the Learning Society* overcame the traditional division between education and training (Pépin, 2007) and acknowledged the transformation that the teaching profession is undergoing as a result of technological advancements and the growing needs of the learning society. New teaching approaches and innovation, validation of non-formal competences, second chance schools, recruitment of the "best teachers", and mobility opportunities are the main recurring themes attached to the interests of lifelong learning (European Commission, 1995).

The growing significance of lifelong learning for a knowledge society was further promoted by choosing 1996 as the European Year of Lifelong Learning and was given constitutional status with the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty, stating that the Community is "determined to promote the development of the highest possible level of knowledge for their peoples through a wide access to education and through its continuous updating" (Treaty of Amsterdam, 1997, p. 24). With the Agenda 2000, the Community proposed to make policies that foster the knowledge society, consisting in innovation, research, education and training, one of the four fundamental pillars of the Union's internal policies, a theme that was taken up by the Directorate-General Education with the 1997 Communication *Towards a Europe of Knowledge* and suggested possible Community actions for the period between 2000 and 2006. Although higher education and particularly teacher training were left aside, the *Europe of Knowledge* envisaged mobility of teachers in the European education area (European Commission, 1997, p. 4). It further promoted the provision of competences that citizens needed.

4.2.2. European teacher education policies in the ET2010

The role of teacher education starts to receive a more prominent status with the signing of the Lisbon Strategy in 2000. At that time, a shift in the legal competences of the EU allows for education to be officially recognised as part of cooperation among Member States. Education is linked to the goal of a knowledge economy and the term teacher education starts to appear as a condition for improving the quality of education in Europe. Until 2007, the first working groups related to teacher policy were established and the area related to teachers was officially separated from the area of trainers. It was in 2007 that the first Council Conclusion addressing specifically the need to improve teacher education was published. Other important decisions of the Council of the European Union followed until 2010 when the priorities for the new decade resulted in a new education and training programme.

2000-2007: Linking teacher education to the quality of education and training in Europe
At the dawning of a new millennium, the Council of the European Union decided on a new strategic goal for the EU until 2010, namely "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" (Council of the European Union, 2000, Paragraph 5). To achieve this strategic goal, education and training was declared a major tool and the

Council proposed a series of measures under the umbrella framework of lifelong learning. With regard to teachers, the measures include: improving teachers' skills in the use of internet and multimedia resources; removing obstacles for the mobility of teachers; and attracting high quality teachers.

As a follow-up to the Lisbon agenda, education ministers in 2002 agreed to implement the ET2010 using the new cooperation approach of the OMC, but respecting subsidiarity. A common set of objectives was defined in order to support three strategic goals to be accomplished until 2010: improving the quality and effectiveness of education and training in the EU, facilitating their access for all, and opening up to the wider world (Council of the European Union, 2002). Teacher education received particular attention, as it became the first objective for improving the quality and effectiveness of education. Teachers play a central role in the knowledge society, and therefore "attracting and retaining qualified and motivated people in the teaching profession, which is faced with massive recruitment needs due to the ageing of the teaching population" became a priority for Europe, while the skills which teachers must have were considered a topic that needed to receive general consensus within the Community (ibid., p. 7). The following key issues to improve the education for teachers and trainers were mentioned:

1. *identifying the skills that teachers and trainers should have, given their changing roles in knowledge society;*
2. *providing the conditions which adequately support teachers and trainers as they respond to the challenges of the knowledge society, including through initial and in-service training in the perspective of lifelong learning;*
3. *securing a sufficient level of entry to the teaching profession, across all subjects and levels, as well as providing for the long-term needs of the profession by making teaching and training even more attractive;*
4. *attracting recruits to teaching and training who have professional experience in other fields* (ibid., p. 7)

According to these issues, the Council defined indicators for measuring progress and themes for exchanging experience, good practice, and peer review. Although teaching was not yet explicitly connected with improved student performance, teacher policy issues focused on teacher supply due to the expected shortage of teachers in Europe. Europeanisation in teacher and teacher education policy, similarly to the other education policy areas, was linked to indicators and benchmarks, as well as joint policy action through the OMC.

Following the recommendations of the Kok report in 2004 and the first progress report of the working group on teacher education in 2003, the Council and the Commission, in a joint interim report, raised the issue of the competences and qualifications needed by teachers as a "matter of priority" (Council of the European Union & European Commission, 2004, p. 11). The specific report is important because it identified the teaching profession as one of the main change agents for the realisation of the Lisbon objectives (Kotthoff & Denk, 2007) and promoted the idea of developing common European references and principles for teachers' competences that could support national policies. The report recognised also that ITE is not yet an integral part of the Bologna process and the EHEA. Therefore, it proposed a strategy for developing indicators for the professional development of teachers, as a first step to link teacher education with the Bologna process (ibid.).

In 2005, the draft document *Common European Principles for Teacher Competences and Qualifications* was adopted in a Brussels conference. The document linked the quality of education and training directly to the quality of teacher education, acknowledging that teachers

are “key players in how education systems evolve and in the implementation of the reforms which can make the European Union the highest performing knowledge-driven economy in the world by 2010” (European Commission, 2005, p. 1). Furthermore, it defined the following European principles for the teaching profession as an impetus for developing policies: a well qualified profession; a profession within the context of lifelong learning; a mobile profession; and a profession based on partnership (ibid, pp. 2-3).

The recommendation document also specified “key-competences” which European teachers should acquire, meaning the abilities to “work with knowledge, technology and information”, “work with fellow human beings” and “work with and in society” (ibid, pp. 3-4). These transversal and rather abstract competences leave room for interpretation and are underpinned by the lifelong learning paradigm of the Lisbon agenda. This means that teachers are expected to develop such competences throughout the continuum of their professional lives and that teachers’ qualifications should be integrated within the EQF (ibid). The specific document served as a reference point for further developments both in Member States and at a European level (Holdsworth, 2010).

2007-2010: Improving teacher education for better learning outcomes

A growing interest with regard to teacher education and a stronger emphasis towards the notion of teacher quality supported by evidence can be observed in EU policy documents following the 2007 Communication on *Improving the Quality of Teacher Education*. The latter linked the quality of teachers to students’ in-school performance, using evidence produced by educational experts and the OECD. During this period, a trend towards more evidence-based policymaking could be observed (Holdsworth, 2010, p. 45) and studies such as the 2005 OECD report and the 2007 Barber and Mourshed report shifted the perception of the role of school and teachers towards achieving high quality education outcomes (Vidović & Domović, 2014).

Individualised and autonomous learning, formative assessment, reflective practice, student outcomes, and competences were some of the recurring themes in the above mentioned studies, which received increasing relevance in European policy discourse from that point in time onwards. Several Member States were employing relevant practices that were made visible through the OMC working groups and in this way knowledge from Member States was uploaded to the European level. Operating as “epistemic communities”, the working groups brought in evidence from Member States and legitimised certain policy initiatives contributing to the conceptual dimension of Europeanisation in teacher education, as depicted by the analysis that follows (Interview, EPE-13).

Specifically, through the 2007 Communication, European policy actors recognised that teacher education plays a crucial role for the quality of teaching, which in turn is key for the EU in order to “increase its competiveness in the globalised world” (European Commission, 2007, p. 3). Teacher education is framed by the complex demands placed upon teachers in a constantly changing world in which students are coming from diverse backgrounds and have different levels of skills. Students are increasingly expected to become autonomous learners and receive responsibility of their own learning, “by acquiring key skills” (ibid., p. 4). These challenges were seen as hastening the need for a competence-based approach to teaching and a greater emphasis on learning outcomes (Council of the European Union, 2007). In this context, it became increasingly evident and accepted that ITE is not enough to equip teachers with the necessary knowledge and skills for a lifetime of teaching.

Intertwined with the idea of lifelong learning, the education and professional development of teachers was seen as a lifelong learning task which needs to be structured and funded accordingly, so that teachers can develop continuously. The continuum of teacher professional development started to appear as central in improving the quality of teacher

education. Specifically, it was defined as "a seamless continuum of provision embracing initial teacher education, induction into the profession, and career-long continuing professional development that includes formal, informal and non-formal learning opportunities" (European Commission, 2007, p. 12). In concrete policy suggestions, the continuum translated as follows: (a) teachers should take part in effective induction programmes during the first three years in the profession; (b) have access to structured guidance and mentoring by experienced teachers or other professionals throughout their careers; and (c) take part in regular discussions regarding their professional development within the context of their institution's development plan (ibid, p. 13).

The Commission's recommendations were endorsed by the Council which highlighted the need to take measures for improving teacher education at national level (Council of the European Union, 2007). The Council further requested that teachers hold a qualification from a higher education institution, receiving adequate balance between research-based studies and teaching practice, as well as between specialist subject knowledge and pedagogical skills (ibid, p. 8). Member States were also asked to provide a "coordinated, coherent, adequately resourced and quality assured" continuum of professional development for teachers, and to "consider the adoption of measures aimed at raising the level of qualifications and the degree of practical experience requirement for employment as a teacher" (ibid, p. 8). As in previous Council Conclusions, suggestions were made towards partnerships between teacher education institutions and schools, teacher competences and professional mobility opportunities.

The continuing efforts of the Commission and the Council to promote policy cooperation in teacher education are evident in two Council Conclusions that followed the one in 2007. In 2008, the Council emphasised the need "to promote teaching as a profession and to improve initial and in-service training for teaching staff and school leaders" (Council of the European Union, 2008, p. 4), as one out of three priorities for European cooperation on school education. Specifically, the Council invited Member States to focus cooperation on enhancing the attractiveness of the teaching profession, on enabling beginning teachers to benefit from early career support programmes, on improving the supply, quality and take-up of CPD programmes, on reviewing teacher recruitment, placement, retention and mobility policies, on expanding opportunities for professional mobility, and on improving the recruitment and training of school leaders (ibid, p. 6).

In 2009, the Council reaffirmed that "the knowledge, skills and commitment of teachers, as well as the quality of school leadership, are the most important factors in achieving high quality educational outcomes" (Council of the European Union, 2009, p. 4). Once again, the Council included teacher education within the context of lifelong learning, promoting the idea that "education and development of teachers should be a coherent continuum spanning initial teacher education (with a strong practical component), induction and continuing professional development" (ibid, p. 6). Therefore, the Council invited Member States to ensure that they attract and retain the best candidates for the teaching profession, make appropriate provision for induction programmes offering both personal and professional support, provide regular reviews of teachers' CPD needs, promote mobility programmes, review the responsibility of school leaders towards shaping the teaching and learning and thus reducing their administrative workload, and ensure that high quality provision exists to develop teachers' competences (ibid, p. 7).

4.2.3. European teacher education policies in the ET2020

After the global financial crisis in 2008, new education priorities became relevant for the EU which renewed its education and training programme for the 2010s decade. Teacher education

was redefined within a context of austerity, and terms such as effectiveness and efficiency became more common. Until the middle of the decade, several policy initiatives were launched and the OMC working groups produced a number of policy handbooks related to teacher education. In 2015, the terrorist attacks that shocked Europe and the emergence of a refugee crisis led to policies around active citizenship education and the revival of the European dimension promoted through teacher education.

2010-2015: Teacher education in the context of effectiveness and efficiency

Following the end of the ET2010 working period, and considering the fact that the EU's ambition to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy faced significant challenges, including the outbreak of the global financial crisis in 2007/2008, the Commission developed a new strategy in 2010 entitled "Europe 2020: A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth" (European Commission, n.d.-c). This new strategy aimed at overcoming the structural weaknesses of Europe's economy, improving the competitiveness and productivity and establishing a sustainable social market economy.

Europe 2020 also implied a new strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training for the decade (ET2020). New instruments for policy coordination were employed and expanded to the field of education, such as the European semester which coordinates economic policies across the EU. According to Nordin (2014), this phase of Europeanising education in the wake of the crisis discourse is characterised by a parallel process in holding the European education policy space together. On the one hand, the use of numbers is strengthened, particularly through the use of the European semester, and on the other hand there is a reintroduction of a normative discourse around a common European identity represented by common cultural symbols and values (ibid.).

Within this context, the European Commission, in 2012, developed the Communication *Rethinking Education: Investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes* with the aim of reforming education systems across the EU in order to meet the growing demand for higher skill levels and to reduce unemployment. Specifically, the staff working document on *Supporting the Teaching Professions for Better Learning Outcomes* suggests to Member States to undertake policy action for improving the recruitment, initial education, induction and CPD of teachers, school leaders and teacher educators, the so-called teaching professions (European Commission, 2012). The Commission proposed ten key actions, five for teachers and trainers, three for school leaders, and two for teacher educators to support the teaching professions in Europe. The reason for this policy action was considered to be a more effective and efficient use of public funds, given the importance of the teaching professions for learning outcomes (ibid.). The analysis following focuses on the actions related to teachers and teacher educators, as they imply policies for teacher education.

At member state level, the actions proposed to support teachers and trainers are framed by the economic argument that investing in teaching staff is likely to bring biggest returns in terms of efficiency of education systems (ibid). Therefore, attracting, educating and retaining high-quality teachers means first of all to define the competences and qualities required of teachers. According to the Commission (2012, p. 60), "teaching competences are complex combinations of knowledge, skills, understanding, values and attitudes, leading to effective action in situation, and thus is likely to resonate differently in different national contexts". Teacher competences in EU policies are disaggregated to what teachers should know (knowledge), should be able to do (skills) and should share as professional values (attitudes) (Stéger, 2014a, p. 339).

However, a shared understanding of teacher competence frameworks or profiles of professional competences, based on teachers' learning outcomes, is considered to be the

necessary starting point for teacher education and professional development in Member States. Such frameworks of professional competences can be used as a basis for other education policies, while their multiple uses in teacher education, professional development, school development, teacher evaluation, and recruitment and selection processes, "can bring significant gains from more efficient investment" (ibid, p. 61). The European Commission also proposed a set of core competences for effective teaching in the twenty-first century, which were submitted to Member States for reflection, as depicted below in Table 4. In several Member States such competences frameworks had already existed and they inspired the EU level list (Interview, EPE-13).

Table 4. Competences required for effective teaching in the 21st century

Knowledge and understanding	Subject matter knowledge
	Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK), implying deep knowledge about content and structure of subject matter: • knowledge of tasks, learning contexts and objectives • knowledge of students' prior knowledge and recurrent, subject specific learning difficulties • strategic knowledge of instructional methods and curricular materials
	Pedagogical knowledge (knowledge of teaching and learning processes) Curricular knowledge (knowledge of subject curricula – e.g. the planned and guided learning of subject-specific contents)
	Educational sciences foundations (intercultural, historical, philosophical, psychological, sociological knowledge)
	Contextual, institutional, organizational aspects of educational policies
	Issues of inclusion and diversity
	Effective use of technologies in learning
	Development psychology
	Group processes and dynamics, learning theories, motivational issues
	Evaluation and assessment processes and methods
Skills	Planning, managing and coordinating teaching
	Using teaching materials and technologies
	Managing students and groups
	Monitoring, adapting and assessing teaching/learning objectives and processes
	Collecting, analysing, interpreting evidence and data (school learning outcomes, external assessments results) for professional decisions and teaching/learning improvement
	Using, developing and creating research knowledge to inform practices
	Collaborating with colleagues, parents and social services
	Negotiation skills (social and political interactions with multiple educational stakeholders, actors and contexts)
	Reflective, metacognitive, interpersonal skills for learning individually and in professional communities
	Adapting to educational contexts characterised by multi-level dynamics with cross-influences (from the macro level of government

	policies to the meso level of school contexts, and the micro level of classroom and student dynamics)
Dispositions: beliefs, attitudes, values, commitment	Epistemological awareness (issues concerning features and historical development of subject area and its status, as related to other subject areas)
	Dispositions to change, flexibility, ongoing learning and professional improvement, including study and research
	Commitment to promoting the learning of all students
	Dispositions to promote students' democratic attitudes and practices, as European citizens (including appreciation of diversity and multiculturality)
	Critical attitudes to one's own teaching (examining, discussing, questioning practices)
	Dispositions to team-working, collaboration and networking
	Sense of self-efficacy

Source: European Commission, 2012, pp. 25-26

The second key action refers to redesigning recruitment systems to select the best candidates into teaching. This policy response is again to be addressed differently across Member States, but some aspects are held to be common, as for example the need to ensure that the number of teacher education graduates matches the demand of school population, as well as the existence of appropriate quality assurance measures and a competence framework (ibid, p. 61). The Commission also prioritises here the importance of finding the right balance between job security and workforce flexibility, the salary levels, and the opportunity of mid-career professionals to enter the teaching profession.

Same as in previous policy documents, two of the key actions to support teachers are a systematic induction support for beginning teachers and the opportunity for teachers to take part in CPD throughout their career. Induction support should be delivered by way of a coherent programme, meaning providing teachers with personal, social and professional support (ibid, p. 62). The design and implementation of induction requires a clear definition of the roles and responsibilities of the relevant stakeholders and involve all key actors, including teachers, school leaders, mentors, teacher educators, trade unions and policymakers. Moreover, induction should be the first part of teachers' career-long professional development, while regular provision of induction policies is necessary to ensure they are updated (ibid, p. 62).

With regard to CPD programmes, these should be part of the overall school development plan and should be seen as integral part of teacher's activities (ibid, p. 62). Here virtual mobility opportunities, such as the EU's eTwinning action or the European Platform for Adult Learning in Europe can be employed for in-service learning provision. Furthermore, a compulsory element for professional development in school development plans is considered important, as well as providing salary or allowance incentives to increase participation (ibid, p. 62). Finally, the fifth key action suggests basing teacher development on regular feedback on their performance. This action is linked to CPD provision and competence frameworks, because feedback is seen as related to evaluation based on standards and implies support through professional development activities.

Moreover, with the 2012 Communication, the profession of teacher educators entered dynamically into the EU teacher education policy discourse, after intensive collaboration among experts which took place with PLAs in Iceland (2010) and in Brussels (2012). The European Commission went one step ahead of Member States in raising the issue of support to

teacher educators, a concept which arose in the European context and contributed significantly to member state policy (Stéger, 2014a). Specifically, the Commission proposed two policy actions for the selection and professional development of those who educate teachers, namely to develop an explicit profile of the competences required by teacher educators, and to reinforce collaboration between all the key actors in all phases of teacher education (European Commission, 2012, p 64).

The orientation towards effectiveness is also evident in the 2014 Council of the European Union *Conclusions on Effective Teacher Education*. The specific document conceptualises teacher education as a continuum and suggests policies for the different phases. With regard to ITE, the Council invited Member States to ensure that teacher education programmes develop teachers' transversal competences, promote effective digital teaching and learning, and involve a broad range of stakeholders in the design phase of the programmes. Once again, the development of comprehensive professional frameworks of teachers for the different stages of their career is promoted, while this time the establishment of competence frameworks refers also to teacher educators (Council of the European Union, 2014, p. 4).

The mid-term review of the ET2020 further strengthened the need to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of education systems in "raising the skill and competences of the workforce" (Council of the European Union & European Commission, 2015, p. 25) and identified six new priority areas for work until 2020. The fourth priority area refers to "strong support for teachers, trainers, school leaders and other members of educational staff, who play a key role in ensuring the success of learners and in implementing education policy" (ibid., p. 29). This priority area implies policy measures for improving teacher education towards the direction that previous policy documents have outlined. Such measures include:

1. *strengthening the recruitment, selection and induction of the best and most suitable candidates for the teaching profession;*
2. *raising the attractiveness, for both genders, and the status of the teaching profession;*
3. *supporting initial and continuing professional development at all levels, especially to deal with the increased diversity of learners, early school leaving, work based learning, digital competences and innovative pedagogies; and*
4. *supporting the promotion of excellence in teaching at all levels, in the design of teacher education programmes and in learning organisation and incentive structures, as well as exploring new ways to assess the quality of teacher training*. (ibid., pp. 33-34)

2015-2018: Reinventing the European dimension of teaching

In response to terrorist attacks in France and Denmark in early 2015, education ministers met in Paris to discuss how education and training can best meet the challenges of radicalisation, resilience and citizenship. The Paris declaration suggested that:

> *The primary purpose of education is not only to develop knowledge, skills, competences and attitudes and to embed fundamental values, but also to help young people – in close cooperation with parents and families – to become active, responsible, open-minded members of society.* (Council of the European Union, 2015, p. 2)

Social cohesion, active citizenship and intercultural dialogue appear as urgent priorities, on which the ministers agreed to boost EU-level cooperation, offering the support of EU tools and

the Erasmus+ programme. Among the six objectives formulated for strengthening policy action there is one that refers to empowering teachers to stand against discrimination and racism, to educate their students in media literacy, to address the needs of pupils from diverse backgrounds, and to convey common fundamental values (ibid., p. 3). The emergence of the refugee crisis also strengthened the need to promote those objectives (Interview, EPE-6).

The role of teachers and teacher education is further redirected towards promoting the European identity and the European dimension of teaching through two policy documents published in 2017 and 2018. The 2017 Communication on *Strengthening European Identity through Education and Culture* strongly emphasised the need for professional mobility and cross-border cooperation, using also the opportunities provided by the eTwinning network and other virtual platforms. The role of teachers "in fostering international perspectives early in a young person's life" (European Commission, 2017c, p. 7) is complementing what the Commission up to this date defined as the quality of teachers and of teaching, which in previous Communications was predominantly related to the development of skills, competences and knowledge.

It is also worthwhile to mention that the 2017 Communication opened up the discussion of a European Education Area, to be established by 2025, building on various European initiatives and including the goal of "giving more support to teachers" (ibid., p. 11). Setting up this vision is an indication that the Commission and Member States envisage reviving and strengthening the idea of social cohesion, which for many years was overlooked by the focus on economic and employment priorities. In the words of Education Commissioner, Tibor Navracsics, "it is no longer sufficient to equip young people with a fixed set of skills – we have to develop their resilience and ability to adapt to change" (European Commission, 2017d). In 2018, the Commission moves in the same direction by proposing a *Council Recommendation on promoting common values, inclusive education, and the European dimension of teaching*. The Commission suggests that Member States should support teachers to impart common values and deliver inclusive education through measures to promote active citizenship, exchanges and peer learning programmes, as well as guidance and mentoring for teachers and academic staff (European Commission, 2018d, p. 17).

4.2.4. Summary

The analysis of EU policy cooperation in the field of teacher education indicates the growing significance attached to the specific field over the years, resulting in what could be called European thinking and action in teacher education. Figure 9 illustrates the evolution of EU policy cooperation in teacher education, showing how the concept of teacher education transformed in European policy discourse over time. Naturally, this transformation added new elements in understanding what constitutes European teacher education and was highly influenced by social, cultural, political and economic changes taking place across Europe. The figure intentionally tries to differentiate between the period 1957-2000, when EU policy cooperation focused predominantly on economic issues, and the period 2000-2018, when policy cooperation in education was officially established and intensified. These different periods are also indicative of the radically different legal competences for the EU in the broader area of education.

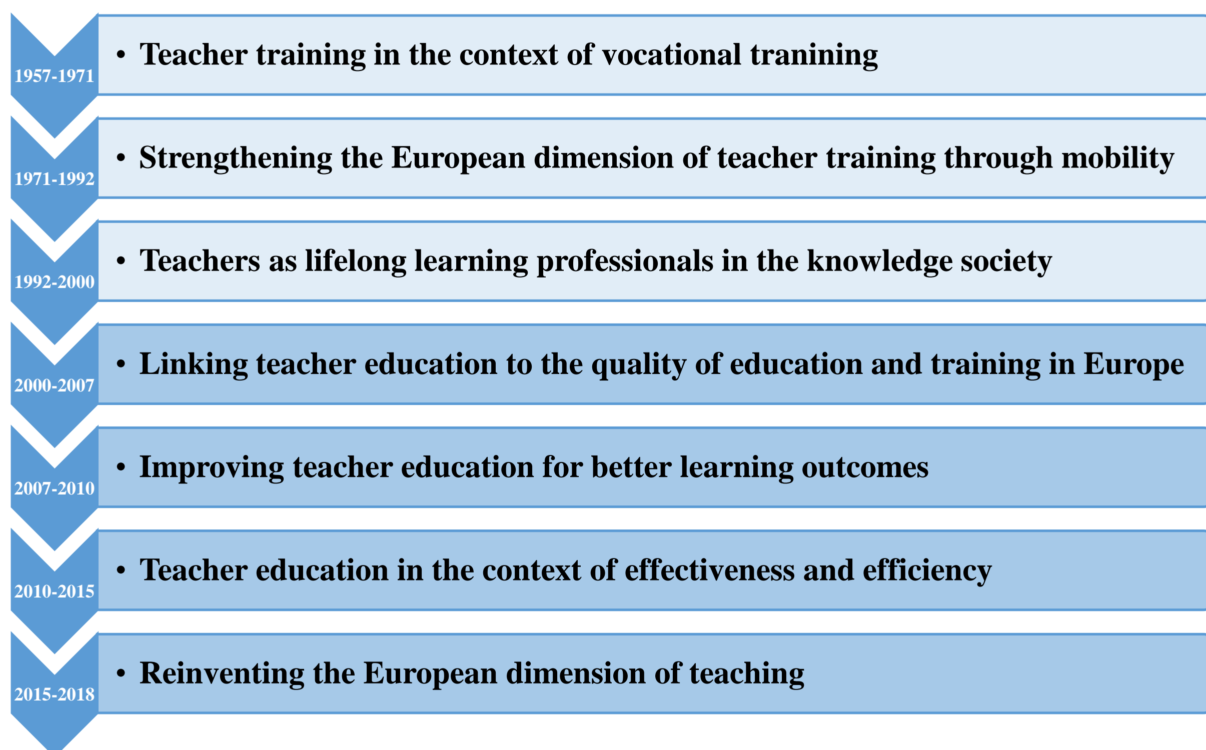

Figure 9. The development of EU policy cooperation in teacher education

Until 1992, policy coordination in education starts to be formally organised, mainly through the establishment of various programmes fostering professional mobility and institutional partnerships. Within this context of emerging cooperation, the notion of teacher training appears in documents of the Community as a means of promoting the European dimension and connecting education to employment. Moving towards the economic aspect of education becomes apparent, although the cultural aspect is still relevant. References related to improving teacher education are broad and concrete policy measures are lacking. Thus, policy cooperation in teacher education is limited to promoting professional mobility of teachers and collaboration of teacher training institutions via the Community's education programmes.

Between 1992 and 2000, it becomes evident that the role of teachers in European policy discourse is framed by the discovery of "knowledge" and the need to adapt in the new information era. Although the role of teachers and teacher education is scarcely mentioned in official policy documents, teachers' contribution is considered important in transforming people's knowledge and skills to promote a knowledge society. Responding to the new social and economic realities, knowledge acquired through education requires a continuing update, implying that teachers and their education should be oriented towards a lifelong learning process. Higher education institutions are seen as one of the main agents to provide those lifelong learning opportunities. Professional mobility remains a predominant theme which Member States are asked to follow up using the financial means provided by the Community programmes.

The 2000 Lisbon Strategy signifies a "transformation" for EU policy cooperation (Ante, 2016) and the period until 2007 shows on one hand, the growing interest of European institutions to gain influence of teacher education in Member States, and on the other hand, the growing interest of Member States to use European institutions to modernise their teacher education systems. Teachers' role is seen as vital for the goals set by the Lisbon agenda and therefore teacher education receives a prominent role in the ET2010 work programme, linked

to the overall quality of education and training. According to Fredriksson (2006), the two main reasons for the increased attention paid to teachers and teacher education in European reports of the specific period are the concern about the future supply of teachers and the interest to focus on the quality of teaching. Thus, indicators set for policy coordination refer mainly to teacher supply. However, teacher education remains marginal within the European Higher Education Area and efforts to coordinate this rather fragmented field across Europe begin to appear in the development of general European principles and competences for teachers within the context of the EQF. A vision of a European teaching profession describes teachers as highly qualified and lifelong learning professionals who are mobile across borders and between different levels of education, working collaboratively with others and being capable of integrating new technologies in teaching and learning (Holdsworth, 2010).

Between 2007 and 2010, teacher education receives particular attention within European institutions, following international evidence which had proved a positive correlation between teacher quality and student in-school performance. This phase of Europeanisation in teacher education is characterised by a shift towards evidence-based policymaking, indicative of the broader EU trend to replace the striving for a common European culture and identity with the production and use of numerical data in comparisons between countries in order to coordinate national education policies (Nordin, 2014). Teacher education practices are examined in relation to students' learning outcomes and there is a shift from teaching quality towards teacher quality. This shift is important because focusing on teacher quality implies a need to measure and quantify teachers' work and standardise their practice, holding them accountable for their students' performance (Mockler, 2013). In teacher education policy, the European Commission promotes the idea of a coherent continuum by linking the different phases of teacher professional development, paying particular attention to the induction phase.

Following the ET2020, teacher education is framed by the policy objectives of effectiveness and efficiency. This implies an ambition to ensure a better allocation of resources to achieve the best possible education outcomes, measured in terms of students' performance. In this respect, the Commission launches the *Rethinking Education* strategy which suggests concrete policy actions for Member States. Specifically, the Commission reintroduces dynamically the need for developing professional competence frameworks in connection to the different phases of teacher education. It also goes one step ahead of Member States in suggesting the need to support the profession of teacher educators. From 2015 onwards, socio-political circumstances push the EU policy cooperation towards reinventing the European dimension in teacher education. Thus, a focus on fostering common European values and strengthening the European social model becomes apparent, while at the same time the influence of the Commission on teacher and teacher education policy increases through shifting priorities across sectors by employing the European semester.

Overall, the analysis suggests that the focus of EU policy cooperation in teacher education gradually shifted from cultural towards economic and employment priorities, in line with the developments of the EU's education and training agenda. This change of focus gave an impetus and led to the growth of European policies in teacher education, though redefining teacher education in terms of ensuring the global competitiveness of each member state's education system. Over the years, the goals of EU policy cooperation in the specific field became more precise, implying a hidden harmonising discourse, as other studies on lifelong learning have also noted (Rasmussen, 2009). Although the Maastricht Treaty officially excluded harmonisation, the strategy of intergovernmental coordination through the OMC and peer learning enabled a certain degree of convergence of objectives and activities. This convergence is strengthened by the stakeholders and mechanisms operating within the broader landscape of European teacher education.

Professional mobility remained a key priority for policy cooperation in teacher education, but gradually new trends emerged as the result of reciprocal Europeanisation examined in the first part of this chapter. The analysis revealed that some of the trends defining the European thinking in teacher education include the recruitment and retention to the teaching profession, the development of teacher competence frameworks and profiles, the continuum of teacher professional development, including policies for the different phases of initial education, induction and professional development, teacher quality assurance and the focus on teacher educators. The specific trends can be organised in some fundamental policy categories that will be examined in depth in the following section.

4.3. Unravelling the European thinking in teacher education: Implications for policy and practice

So far, the study has focused on exploring the Europeanisation process in the field of teacher education, mapping the main actors and mechanisms at a European level, and tracing the development of EU policy cooperation in the specific field. This final section examines what changes EU policy cooperation implies for teacher education policy and practice in Europe, unravelling the main concepts and ideas developed as the result of intensive policy and peer learning work. To this end, this section is examining in depth some key European trends, as these are consolidated in EU decisions, and provides a conceptual framework for identifying relevant influences at national level. Those trends include the continuum of teacher education, the development of teacher competence frameworks, and the role of teacher educators. The specific trends are considered “fundamental” in European teacher policy because they have been “developed, shared, accepted and sometimes implemented” through the OMC (Stéger, 2014a, p. 338). In addition, those trends are inclusive of other key European ideas examined above, such as teacher recruitment and retention, or quality assurance.

4.3.1. The continuum of teacher education

As the analysis in the previous section revealed, a fundamental European approach highlighted in many EU documents is that teacher education needs to be conceived as a continuum from a lifelong learning perspective. This implies that in order to support the professional development of teachers, teacher education should start with Initial Teacher Education (ITE), move on to early career support through induction and then to career-long professional development for teachers (European Commission, 2015). The following quote is indicative of how the Commission conceptualises the continuum process:

> *This professional development of teachers is a lifelong process that starts at initial teacher education and ends at retirement. Generally this lifelong process is divided in specific stages. The first stage concerns the preparation of teachers during initial teacher education, where those who want to become a teacher master the basic knowledge and skills. The second stage is the first independent steps as teachers, the first years of confrontation with the reality to be a teacher in school. This phase is generally called the induction phase. The third phase is the phase of the continuing professional development of those teachers that have overcome the initial challenges of becoming a teacher.* (European Commission, 2010, p. 6)

The continuum of teacher education is a main topic and a framework concept for most other teacher policy areas dealt with in PLAs and working groups (Interview, EPE-2). “The

continuum synthesises other topics, we could say as a framework topic, because once you start working with the continuum perspective, then all other policy areas more or less follow." (Interview, EPE-2) At a systemic level, it is structured "by building induction on the professional outcomes of ITE in a bridging manner so that it prepares teachers for a career-long professional learning" (Stéger, 2014a, p. 339). The different phases are interlinked in a coherent integrated approach so that every phase gives feedback to the pervious phase in order to enhance quality (ibid.) and is influencing the phase following (European Commission, 2015). Figure 10 illustrates the relation between the different phases, indicating the view adopted by the Commission that a teacher is still developing after completing ITE. The stage of selection into ITE is also included, because it has often been raised as a precondition for improving the quality and attractiveness of the teaching profession in various EU documents (see European Commission 2012; Council of the European Union, 2009, 2014).

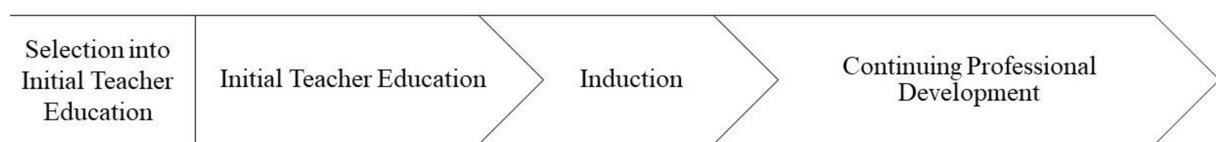

Figure 10: The continuum of the teaching profession (*Source:* European Commission, 2015, p. 15)

A continuum perspective needs to ensure cooperation and dialogue between stakeholders involved in the process, including the education ministry, ITE providers, school leaders, teaching professionals and other education stakeholder groups (Caena, 2014b, p. 3). As the result of research and peer learning, the Commission produced a policy guide entitled *Shaping career-long perspectives on teaching*, in 2015, which brings together best practices, existing knowledge and experts' input, in order to improve ITE in Europe. For enhancing the quality of ITE, the Commission argued that the teaching profession should be regarded as an integrated continuum, "bringing together five interrelated perspectives: addressing teachers' learning needs; support systems; career paths; the organisation of competence levels; and, the impact of school culture" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4). Specifically, the Commission suggested the following key policy actions for Member States to consider as part of creating a broader strategy in teacher education that supports the development of a continuum:

1. *connecting the different phases of the continuum, particularly through career structures and incentives that foster professional growth;*
2. *developing programmes based on teacher learning needs, such as ITE curricula that support the development of teacher agency and the development of competences for self-directed learning;*
3. *establishing support structures which: are initiated by both teachers and external expectations at the national and local level; engage teachers in research in their practice; recognise formal, informal and non-formal professional development opportunities; and promote partnerships between ITE and CPD providers, as well as different types of teacher educators;*
4. *enabling career paths that recognise the range of roles and entry points to the profession;*

5. *identifying different competence levels for the different phases of the continuum based on shared understanding, ownership and language between stakeholders and between the different phases of the continuum; and*
6. *connecting teacher professional development and appraisal procedures to the broader agenda of the school, meaning to school improvement* (European Commission, 2015, pp. 34-35)

It becomes apparent that the Commission conceptualises the continuum as an overarching strategy, connected to different aspects of teacher education policy, and recommends this as a roadmap for Member States when designing teacher education reforms. The continuum also implies that teacher education providers should rethink their activities and play a significant role of supporting teachers throughout their career (EDiTE, 2014). To better understand the implications of the continuum thinking on teacher education policy and practice, brief mention will be made of the different phases of ITE, induction and CPD in the following sub-sections.

4.3.1.1. Initial teacher education

With regard to ITE, the analysis in the previous section of this chapter revealed some recurring themes of European thinking. Firstly, the Commission seems to raise the importance of improving the teacher selection and recruitment processes in order to identify the most suitable candidates for the profession (European Commission, 2012, 2017). "A high level of selectivity at the recruitment stage during the ITE period, combined with an attractive salary and a positive image of the teaching profession," are conditions which can attract the "best students", according to the Commission (European Commission, 2013a, p. 59). Another way to deal with teacher supply is to introduce alternative pathways into teaching, an idea promoted within the EU as early as the launch of ET2010 (Council of the European Union, 2002). Alternative pathways are defined as "usually flexible, mostly employment-based and shorter than main ITE programmes" (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2018, p. 36) that target motivated or high quality professionals of other sectors than education, or graduates from other disciplines, particularly in systems facing teacher shortages (ibid.).

Referring to teacher education programmes, European policies steadily promote the idea of a balanced mix between subject knowledge, pedagogical competences, and integrated periods of practical training (Council of the European Union, 2007, 2014; European Commission, 2012). Moreover, and because of the EQF reform in Europe, EU thinking related to ITE programmes suggests a shift from writing curricula focusing on discipline content towards writing curricula based on competence profiles and learning outcomes (European Commission, 2012). In addition to student workload, the components of competences and learning outcomes should define ECTS points (Tuning, 2009), easing the mobility of student teachers. Along those changes, introducing new topics in study programmes is indirectly implied by referring to: digital teaching and learning, self-reflection and collaborative working, education for diversity, citizenship education, school management and leadership roles (Council of the European Union, 2009, 2014; European Commission, 2012, 2017, 2018e). The Commission connects several of those topics to the idea of enhancing the European dimension in teaching.

In order to prevent a split between theory and practice, the EU considers partnerships with a broad range of stakeholders important, especially in designing and delivering teacher education programmes (Council of the European Union, 2014). Specifically, partnerships between universities and schools can enhance the development of study programmes for school practice and contribute to the development of mentoring systems at ITE institutions and

schools, provided there are joint responsibilities and clear roles for planning, management, monitoring and assessment (Caena, 2014b). Finally, ITE should be accompanied by quality control with a focus on teacher competence requirements, curriculum features and organisation (ibid., p. 16). This also implies the need to install an overall quality assurance system, "with emphasis being placed on achieving the required learning outcomes, on the quality and adequate duration of practical experience and on ensuring the relevance of what is taught" (Council of the European Union, 2014, p. 3).

4.3.1.2. Induction

The role of induction is crucial in European thinking regarding the continuum of teacher education, because induction creates opportunities to relate back to ITE and prepares teachers for CPD (European Commission, 2010). Induction is understood as a structured support phase for newly qualified teachers and is usually associated with the first years of teaching (ibid.). During induction novices entirely or partially carry out their tasks with the support of experienced teachers, they are remunerated for their work, and usually receive additional training and personalised help and advice (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2018, p. 51). According to the Commission (2010, p. 16), induction programmes have various aims: reducing the dropout rate of teachers; improving the quality of beginning teachers; support in the professional, social and emotional dimension; support of the learning culture in schools; and providing feedback for teacher education institutes.

To consolidate the European thinking on induction, the Commission in 2010 published the handbook for policymakers *Developing Coherent and System-wide Induction Programmes for Beginning Teachers*. The specific policy handbook offered guidelines for policymakers in order to develop an induction system appropriate for their local needs. As with other phases of the continuum, the Commission suggested that the specific policy aims of induction should be clearly defined and their effects need to be measurable. Induction can be more effective if delivered as a coherent programme that provides novices with three levels of support: personal/emotional, social and professional (European Commission, 2010, p. 35). All key actors in the field of induction should be involved in the design and assessment of induction, have their roles and responsibilities clearly defined, and have received the necessary preparation for fulfilling their responsibilities (ibid.). This means that teacher educators, including mentors, should receive training for their role in induction which is different to their role in ITE.

To effectively integrate induction in the continuum of teacher education, it is suggested that effective links and strong communication should be in place between the different teacher education providers (ibid.). Moreover, allocating adequate financial and time resources is important, in the sense that beginning teachers should have fewer teaching hours in the first years to be able to have more paid hours for other induction activities, such as meeting with the mentor and lesson preparation (ibid., p. 37). Regular review and evaluation of induction policies and provision can ensure that the induction phase is implemented consistently (ibid.). According to an interviewee of this study, the results of the policy handbook on induction have culminated in various policy developments at both EU and Member States level:

> *The 2010 policy guide on early career support is an example for how such things do not necessarily lead to the birth of initiatives in the short run but maybe in the mid-term create something when the moment is ripe. For instance, this work that was made six years ago fed into our work on the continuum of teacher education and we are now starting a pilot project at the request of the European Parliament*

on mentoring for novice teachers, online tools for mentoring novice teachers, which is an interesting new project that will run over a year. It is a pilot project we are going to do in some countries and at the same time it is also related to e-twinning and can help to understand that online communities of practice can work very well. (Interview, EPE-6)

Other proposals include the length of the induction period, which should be at least one year, or preferably extend over the first two or three years of recruitment, and the involvement of novices in research activities to ensure the development of reflective competences (European Commission, 2013a). For a successful induction phase, it is important to improve the communication and collaboration between the staff of teacher education departments at universities, mentors in schools, school leaders and inspectors, developing a common language among teacher educators (ibid.).

4.3.1.3. Continuing professional development

Unlike with ITE or induction, European policy cooperation in CPD has not yet produced concrete policy outcomes targeting the specific phase. According to an interviewee, this is partly explained by the fact that the Council has not exerted an influence on teachers' CPD as much as on ITE (Interview, EPE-9). References to CPD can be found in various policy documents related to the continuum of teacher education, but generally CPD proves a "highly problematic issue" across Europe, because the transfer to and implementation of European policies on the national level has been only partially successful (Gassner, 2010, p. 31).

This is also because the notion of CPD is not always sufficient to describe all activities aiming at developing the skills and knowledge of practising teachers (Interview, EPE-13). The work of the 2016-2018 OMC working group on networks and schools as learning organisations has shown that even if CPD is not explicitly mentioned, the activities analysed and proposed can be interpreted as CPD (Interview, EPE-7). In this sense, it seems that European policy cooperation has led to important developments in the area of teacher professional development, but this is not always described as CPD in the narrow sense.

In European thinking, CPD has traditionally been linked to professional mobility opportunities in order to enhance teachers' understanding of the European dimension in education. As with other areas of lifelong learning, participation in CPD can take place through formal, informal and non-formal learning activities (Council of the European Union, 2007), using the opportunities of the Erasmus programme or virtual mobility platforms. It is important to note here that implicitly all Erasmus projects related to teachers contain CPD elements, since teachers and schools working on common European projects are meant to go through a learning process (Interview, EPE-13). Similarly, eTwinning, the European Schoolnet and the School Education Gateway are important virtual platforms promoting CPD (Interview, EPE-5).

European policies often promote a compulsory element in implementing CPD (Council of the European Union, 2009; European Commission, 2012), which is considered an integral part of teacher's activities and can thus be connected to school development plans (European Commission, 2012). In a similar way, teacher unions promote the role of CPD:

From our side, it is a general public good, public benefit if the teachers are compulsory obliged to go to CPD and they are supported by the state. It means the courses should be paid by the school and the state, and the government, and the teachers should be allowed to do it during the working hours. However, many teachers are doing the CPD on their own, they have to pay high amount of money

they own. Plus, the provision of the courses is not linked to what the European Commission is defining as necessary skills and competences from the teachers. (Interview, EPE-9)

According to Eurydice (2015), the time teachers in lower secondary education spend in CPD is higher in countries where it is mandatory, while in cases where schools and teachers themselves are responsible for defining training priorities the mismatch between the CPD offer and the needs expressed by teachers is generally lower. Although the economic recession has resulted in many countries reducing their CPD programmes, new expectations from schools, including the key European competence proposed in 2006, require teachers to have CPD throughout their career (European Commission, 2013a). The following expectations by teachers were expressed in a survey undertaken by the Commission: (a) take into account education efforts by teachers and their ability to innovate in meaningful and effective ways for career advancement and/or pay raises; (b) the support of CPD with research-action and sufficient time credits for long-term CPD wherever possible; and (c) special training for school leaders is necessary to prepare them to facilitate CPD (ibid., pp. 66-67).

4.3.2. Teacher competences

Since the 1990s, the notion of "competence" has been increasingly used for basic and general academic education at secondary school levels, although traditionally competences applied to vocational education and training because of the direct link with the labour market and the need to clarify skills and attitudes for specific tasks or responsibilities (Halász & Michel, 2011). Among various studies researching competences in education and training, Caena (2011, p. 5) refers to the following as relevant for teachers: (a) the OECD's Definition and Selection of Competencies (DeSeCo) project; (b) the Tuning project; (c) studies on European Language Teacher Education; and (d) the OECD's TALIS survey. These studies emphasise the importance of knowledge, skills and attitudes, providing reference points for convergence of teacher education in Europe (ibid.).

At the European policy level, the notion of competence gained increasing importance since the Lisbon Agenda which identified the need for a European framework defining the new basic skills to be provided through lifelong learning (Caena, 2011; Halász & Michel, 2011). As a result of intense policy work within the OMC, the Commission proposed a reference framework with eight key competences for lifelong learning, defined as "a combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes appropriate to the context" (European Parliament & Council of the European Union, 2006, p. 13), including: (1) communication in the mother tongue; (2) communication in foreign languages; (3) mathematical competence and basic competences in science and technology; (4) digital competence; (5) learning to learn; (6) social and civic competences; (7) sense of initiative and entrepreneurship; and (8) cultural awareness and expression (ibid.). Following the ratification of the specific recommendation, almost all EU Member States adopted a competence-oriented approach to teaching and learning in their national curricula (Halász & Michel, 2011), although there are significant differences regarding the implementation between countries.

To date, the term competence is widely used in various EU policy instruments which foster mobility, such as the EQF, the learning outcomes approach and the diploma supplement in higher education, the Common European Framework of References for Language, and the Europass curriculum vitae. All of the above have broader implications with regard to teachers and teacher education, because they influence the transferability and recognition of qualifications, thus the professional mobility of teachers. However, competences specifically

targeting teachers were developed for the first time at EU level with the 2005 *Common European Principles for Teacher Competences and Qualifications*, a document which showed that it is possible to find common elements despite the diversity of how teaching is regulated and conceived in different countries (EDiTE, 2014). Since then, almost all Council Conclusions referring to teacher education proposed the improvement of teacher competences and the development of relevant frameworks in Member States, as the analysis in the previous section indicated.

Teacher competences emerged in European teacher education policy mainly as the result of work undertaken in OMC working groups and PLAs, while the European qualifications reform and the development of the EHEA are closely linked to the spread of competences across Europe (EDiTE, 2014). The specific linkage implies also the definition of teacher competences in terms of learning outcomes, an approach endorsed by the Council of the European Union (2007) and the Commission (2012). It is therefore recommended by European institutions that teacher education curricula, as other study programmes in higher education, are written in accordance with learning outcomes derived from competences teachers need for effective work in schools. According to the Commission (2012), teacher competences "should be linked to culture and context, have sufficient details for their purpose, and employ concrete, clear, consistent and action-oriented language" (p. 28).

Policy cooperation in teacher competences received an impetus from the OECD's report *Teachers Matter* (Interview, EPE-13), which argued for "developing teacher profiles to align teacher development, performance standards and school needs" (OECD, 2005, p. 131). By agreeing on a shared definition of teacher knowledge and skills, connected to student learning objectives, the OECD argued that countries can develop a framework to guide and assess the effectiveness of ITE, teacher certification, CPD and career advancement (ibid.). The European Commission has acknowledged this multiple role of teacher competence frameworks (European Commission, 2012, 2013a), making them a transversal tool to most teacher policies. In addition, both the OECD (2005) and the Commission (2013a) maintained that competence frameworks should express different levels of teachers' career appropriate to pre-service, beginning or experienced teachers.

The Commission seems to pay particular attention to the adaptation of teacher competence frameworks in the national context. National and local specificities have an impact on teacher education and thus integration of teacher competence frameworks throughout the continuum of teacher professional development has to take into account the aspect of cultural identity:

> *Teacher education is deeply rooted to the system of culture and values of a national, regional or local community, and from this point of view, of course, the topic of teacher competence frameworks interacts, intersects, and is interwoven with the theme of cultural identity. This implies also that there are resistances or a dialectical process within Europeanisation. On one hand, developing teacher competence frameworks implies the need to follow some guidelines or to find some common ground across countries, and on the other hand, to take into consideration the cultural traits that characterise teacher education on the national level, which are deeply embedded in the national context, and in turn are connected to the visions of schooling, to the kind of citizen that schooling should be connected with, and the kind of teachers.* (Interview, EPE-2)

Therefore, when the Commission defines teaching competences, it argues that "since teaching is much more than a task, and involves values or assumptions concerning education, learning and society, the concept of teacher competences may resonate differently in different national contexts" (European Commission, 2013b, p. 8). Here note should be taken of the interchangeable way in which the Commission often employs the terms "teaching competences" and "teacher competences", although the focus is clearly on teacher competences. According to Caena (2011), teaching competences focus on "the role of the teacher in action in the classroom" (p. 7), while teacher competences "imply a wider view of teacher professionalism" and "consider the multi-faceted roles of the teacher on multiple levels – of the individual, of the school, of the local community, of professional networks" (p. 8).

Furthermore, the focus on teacher competences implies a need for considering teacher dispositions which are "connected to the attitudes to constant professional development, innovation and collaboration" (Caena, 2011, p. 8). Dispositions are seen as an important factor of professionalisation that goes beyond the idea of mere standardisation. The following quote is indicative:

> *If a teacher proved wonderful competencies, evaluated by different assessment tools, wonderful, skills, everything was in an excellent way, but when, he or she, is coming in the classroom with a bad disposition, all the abilities, all the skills, all the standards become nothing. Because the psychological component of the personality overcomes the point of standardised competences. [...] There are components that could be analysed in the standardized way, but many components of teacher's personality cannot be standardized. And we cannot ignore it, because this component, which is hidden one, could influence and change everything in the classroom when a teacher is acting. And the most important thing is what's happening in the classroom not what's happening in the process of preparing and exchanging ideas outside of the classrooms. Sometimes, policy could be wonderful, but if the teacher in the classroom will not be motivated to apply the best strategies, they will not apply them.* (Interview, EPE-3)

The relation between teacher competences and professional standards is crucial, because it points to wider issues of teacher professionalism. Professional standards for teachers are often linked to accountability and quality assurance mechanisms, focusing on "what teachers are expected to know and be able to do" (European Commission, 2013b, p. 15). According to an interviewee, teacher competences have contributed to "seeing teaching as profession" (Interview, EPE-7), alongside other established professions such as medicine and law which define and regulate standards with the action of professional bodies. However, this approach receives also criticism in the sense that experience in countries such as England, the United States and Australia has indicated that the application of professional standards has led to regulatory and measurement-oriented performance cultures with a damaging effect on teacher autonomy and professional identity (Mockler, 2013). There is a difference though between setting professional standards and standardisation and education unions in Europe have increasingly engaged in defining teacher standards:

> *Setting standards is not the same as standardising, right? It's important difference and depends on the language. In Swedish language, for example, it's the same word but in English it's not. So it's very important to be able to separate sort of setting standards for a profession and standardising*

everything, because if you speak to a standard you're just saying this is what you have to do and how you get there is up to you. But you have to meet the standard, right? (Interview, EPE-9)

Acknowledging the criticism, the Commission talks about two contrasting approaches for teacher standards. On one side, a "bureaucratic" or "technical" approach that emphasises measuring, monitoring, comparing and regulating individual behaviour, and, on the other side, a "developmental" approach with loose definitions of competences indicative of performance, focusing on principles and codes of practice (European Commission, 2013b, p. 16). While accepting that the implementation and use of standards can vary considerably among Member States, the Commission proposes that "competence frameworks need to be carefully used so that they promote the agency, empowerment and responsibility of teaching staff, rather than their control and disempowerment" (European Commission, 2012, p. 28). In this respect, it is considered important that the ownership of developing teacher competence frameworks belongs to teachers and their professional associations (ibid.).

Since teacher competences form part of a broader education context, developing relevant frameworks cannot be done without taking into account policies on school curricula, assessment and evaluation (European Commission, 2013b). Thus, bringing stakeholders who deliver any form of teacher education together is important in order to ensure consensus and the sustainability of the process in terms of quality control and professional development (European Commission, 2012, 2013b). Generally, the purpose of defining teacher competence frameworks needs to be clearly determined before the process starts (European Commission, 2013b), while assessing teachers' competence should be based upon a "shared understanding", such as a national framework of the competences required by teachers (ibid., p. 36).

4.3.3. The role of teacher educators

Early on in EU policy cooperation, the issue of providing support to teacher educators was one of the recommendations proposed by the Council to address the new demands on teacher education (Council of the European Union, 2007). If teacher education is to be seen as a continuum, then student teachers and teachers need adequate support at every stage of their career. Thus, the growing relevance of the role teacher educators play moved higher in the European policy agenda, particularly following the intensive policy work within the Commission between 2010 and 2013. The 2009 Council Conclusions recognised for the first time that teacher educators should have "solid practical teaching experience, good teaching competence, and a high academic standard" and invited the Commission to prepare a study on the existing arrangements in the Member States for selecting, recruiting and training teacher educators (Council of the European Union, 2009, pp. 6-7). Before this development, European policies "just talked about teacher education, but not about teacher educators as a profession" (Interview, EPE-1).

The need to define the role and responsibilities of teacher educators was addressed in a preliminary Peer Learning Activity (PLA) organised by the Teachers and Trainers cluster in 2010 in Reykjavik, Iceland. Experts from various European countries participated in the specific PLA in an attempt to map the main policy approaches concerning competence requirements and the selection and professional development of teacher educators. A working definition of teacher educators was then adopted, defining the specific profession as including "all those who actively facilitate the (formal) learning of student teachers and teachers" (European Commission, 2010, p. 3). This definition is fundamental because it extends the traditional view of teacher educators to include not only the ones based in teacher education

institutions responsible for ITE, but also school mentors and all those involved in CPD of teachers. However, the Reykjavik PLA revealed that the notion of teacher educator was differently understood between and within countries' education systems and that policies to support teacher educators are underdeveloped (ibid.). According to an interviewee, "if you examine Member States education policy texts there is a lot about schools, a lot about universities, something about apprenticeships, but almost nothing about those who teach teachers" (Interview, EPE-4).

In March 2012, a peer learning conference was organised in Brussels, Belgium, which emphasised the need to raise awareness of the important role of teacher educators and to ensure that national policies support the development of the profession (European Commission, 2012). The outcomes of the Reykjavik and Brussels PLAs resulted in policy action by the Commission which declared that Member States "should aim at better defining the role and the competences of quality teacher educators to improve their positive impact on teachers' training" (ibid., p. 52). The Commission further encouraged all Member States to make "a significant improvement in the quality of teaching, by improving the ways they select and educate those who educate teaching staff" (ibid., p. 52).

To this end, the Commission suggested two key actions to Member States. The first is that countries should define explicitly what competences are required by any professionals involved in the ITE or CPD of teachers, irrespective of the institutional setting within which they may work (ibid., p. 64). Those competences should include first-order competences (teaching competences) and second-order competences (teaching about teaching, research competences, pedagogy, and didactics), and serve as a basis for selection and recruitment procedures, as well as for professional development opportunities (ibid.). Similarly to policies on teacher competences, the Commission seems to emphasise competence-based criteria arguing for the need to recognise teacher educators as a distinct occupational group.

The second key action is to reinforce collaboration among all key actors, implying an effective professional collaboration among teacher educators working in different settings, such as higher education subject departments and departments of education, pedagogy or didactics; schools, training or adult education centres; local authorities, and the private sector (ibid., p. 64). To achieve this professional collaboration, the Commission argues that education policies should foster the development of relevant networks which represent the voice of teacher educators in social and professional dialogues (ibid.). Those two key actions are essentially interlinked, because the development of competence frameworks can support the collaboration between all heterogeneous groups involved in educating teachers.

Following those developments, the Irish Presidency of the EU hosted a conference about the support of teacher educators in February 2013, and the European Commission (2013c) published a report on *Supporting Teacher Educators for Better Learning Outcomes*. The specific report acknowledged for the first time in the European policy agenda that teacher educators play a major role in achieving improvements in teacher education and consequently schooling (Murray, 2016). It also summarised the main systematic conditions which according to the Commission can enhance the quality of the teacher educator profession. Those include: creating the necessary regulations or legislative framework in which teacher educators can be most effective; promoting and supporting regular dialogue among key stakeholders; providing a framework of professional characteristics; and regularly assessing the quality of teacher educators' work and of the teacher education system (European Commission, 2013c, p. 37). Particular emphasis was placed on the profession's role in proactively defining and safeguarding its own quality through bodies that can represent the voice of the profession (ibid.).

Therefore, according to the Commission (2013c), policy measures to support teacher educators can first include clarifying who can and should educate teachers, as well as defining the necessary competences and the most appropriate qualifications for members of the profession. At a later stage of policy development, criteria can be set for entry into the profession, selection to teacher education posts and further stages of professional development (ibid.). Other optimal policy measures proposed include an induction programme into the identity and task of educating teachers, and high quality professional development programmes to address the needs of different kinds of teacher educators (ibid.).

4.3.4. Summary

After examining some of the main trends in European teacher education, we can observe that the European institutions have developed an elaborated and complex policy thinking and practice regarding teacher education. Particularly through the OMC working groups, new knowledge has been produced that brings into the foreground and disseminates some of the Member States' practices in teacher education. This knowledge can in turn translate into policy proposals which Member States are invited to adopt considering always the framework of the subsidiarity principle. While some of the ideas described above might have been influenced by international trends or research findings from academic studies, the analysis has shown that the way those ideas have developed in European policy discourse bears an innovative aspect. Specifically, the way those ideas are conceptualised and interconnected among each other gives rise to a particular European thinking and orientates the practice of the community towards certain directions.

Setting aside ideological influences, it could be argued that those key European themes in teacher education shape the conceptual and cognitive dimension of Europeanisation offering directions that could be utilised by policy actors within the European Teacher Education Area (ETEA). As such, European policies and practices in teacher education give rise to a special "policyscape" (Carney, 2009) in which policies created in the past can shape the future policies of policymakers, stakeholder groups, and other institutions. Figure 11 offers a conceptualisation on how those key themes of European policy and practice in teacher education are interconnected.

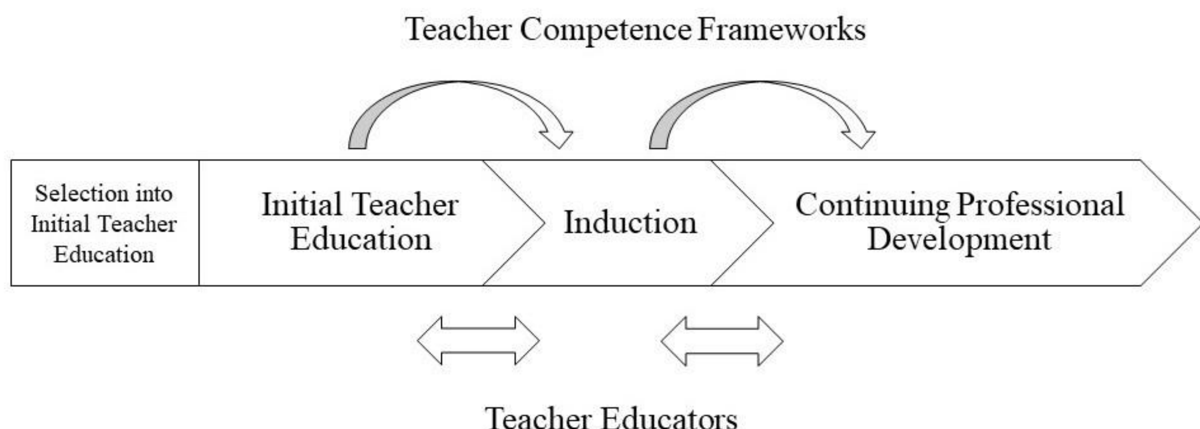

Figure 11. Themes of European policy and practice in teacher education and their interconnection

Central to the understanding of teacher education is the continuum thinking which implies that teacher education is a lifelong learning process consisting of different phases connected to each other. The establishment of teacher competence frameworks adapted to each level of teachers' career aims to support teachers' lifelong learning process, while a competence orientation could promote a more responsive and learning oriented approach to teacher education. Key agents in supporting teacher learning across the continuum are teacher educators, whose professional identity is expanded to include all those responsible for teaching teachers, and in this sense, they are present and can communicate across different phases of teachers' career.

As analysed above, each of those themes of European policy and practice in teacher education receives a particular meaning through the EU policy documents, the results of the OMC working groups, studies commissioned by the EU, and other relevant European initiatives. This meaning is produced and reproduced, translated in concrete policy suggestions and transferred across the ETEA with the policy mechanisms, process and key agents described in the first section of this chapter. Table 5 below is an attempt to summarise the main aspects of those key European themes in teacher education, as stipulated by the analysis in this chapter section.

Table 5. Key references on themes of European policy and practice in teacher education

Descriptors	References
1. Continuum	
Policy actions, including: connecting phases and perspectives, teacher learning needs, support structures, career paths, competence levels, connecting teacher development to school improvement	European Commission, 2015
1.1.Initial Teacher Education	
Selection and recruitment of the most suitable candidates for the profession, including alternative pathways	European Commission 2017d, Council of the European Union 2002
A balanced mix between subject knowledge, pedagogical competences, and integrated periods of practical training	European Commission, 2012
Topics in study programmes: digital teaching and learning, self-reflection and collaborative working, education for diversity, citizenship education, school management and leadership roles	European Commission, 2012, 2017c, 2018d, Council of the European Union, 2009, 2014
Partnerships with a broad range of stakeholders in designing and delivering teacher education programmes	Council of the European Union, 2014
Quality assurance and regular reviews	Council of the European Union, 2014
1.2. Induction	
Clearly define policy aims, the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders, and improve cooperation between teacher education providers	European Commission, 2010
Delivered as a coherent programme (i.e. personal, social, and professional support)	European Commission, 2010
Comprises the first part of a career-long system	European Commission, 2012

Allocate adequate financial and time resources	European Commission, 2010, European Commission, 2013a
Regular reviews and evaluation of policies and provision	European Commission, 2010
1.3.Continuing Professional Development	
Can take place through formal, informal and non-formal activities, including mobility and exchange schemes	Council of the European Union, 2007, 2009
Programmes which are relevant, tailored to needs, and practice-oriented	European Commission, 2012
Compulsory element in school development plans, accompanied with salary or allowance incentives	European Commission, 2012
2. Teacher Competence Frameworks	
Develop comprehensive professional competence frameworks based on learning outcomes and adapted to different levels of teachers' career	European Commission 2013b, Council of the European Union 2014
Multiple uses in teacher education, professional development, school development, recruitment and selection	European Commission 2012, 2013b
Promote the agency, empowerment and responsibility of teaching staff, rather than their control and disempowerment	European Commission, 2013b
Ownership belongs to teachers and their professional associations, and there is a broad range of stakeholders involved in the development process	European Commission, 2013b
3. The Role of Teacher Educators	
Define the role and responsibilities of teacher educators	European Commission, 2010, 2013c
Encourage the establishment of professional competence frameworks for teacher educators	European Commission, 2012
Reinforce collaboration between all the key actors in all phases of teacher education	European Commission, 2012

At this point, it should be noted that the above list is not exhaustive, but envisages to extract policy measures that are included in official policy documents of the EU, namely European Council Conclusions and communications of the European Commission. Those are the documents having a consultative and guiding character for Member States and might be used by national policymakers and local actors to legitimise their policies and actions.

After having analysed the European context in teacher education, the second analytical part of this dissertation explores the case studies of teacher education systems in Austria, Greece and Hungary. The following chapters analyse the development of teacher education policy and practice in the respective countries against the background of European developments. To this end, the procedural and conceptual dimensions of Europeanisation, as presented in this chapter, are considered when exploring the different case studies.

Chapter 5: Austria

This chapter discusses the case study on Austria. The first section will provide contextual information for understanding the development of teacher education in Austria, including information about the governance of the system, the historical background and the accession of Austria in the EU. The second section explores in depth the development of teacher education policy since the year 2000, focusing on the latest reform that restructured the Austrian teacher education system, namely the Teacher Education New (*PädagogInnenbildung Neu*) reform. The third section compares contemporary teacher education policies and practices in Austria with European developments, by looking into the system and the example of the Western Cluster led by the University of Innsbruck (UIBK) from the perspective of this study's analytic categories, namely the continuum of teacher education, teacher competences, and the role of teacher educators. The final section will summarise the main findings and then discuss them against the background of the core features of the system.

5.1. The Austrian teacher education system in context: Setting the scene

The first section of this chapter contextualises teacher education policy in Austria by providing information on different aspects that are relevant to understand the development of the Austrian teacher education system. Firstly, the governance context is presented with emphasis being placed on the particular characteristics that seem to promote or hinder policy changes and innovations in Austria. Afterwards, an overview of historical developments in teacher education is provided, in order to grasp the roots of differentiating teacher education on the basis of school types, and understand the tensions between the teacher education providers in the country. Finally, this section will be looking at the implications of Austria joining the EU in 1995 and of the developments up to the Lisbon Strategy in 2000, since analysis in the following sections of this chapter will focus on the development of teacher education policies after the year 2000.

5.1.1. Austrian policy and reform culture

Austria is a federal state consisting of nine provinces (*Länder*) with partly individual historical identities. After the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in 1918, Austria became a parliamentary republic with a Federal Constitution established in 1920/1929 based on democratic, federal and legal principles, and on the principle of the separation of powers (Bruneforth et al., 2015). Over the course of history, Austria changed from a large, multi-ethnic and centrally regulated empire to a small democratic country (*Parlamentarische Demokratie*), characterised by centralised thinking in national policymaking (Schratz, 2012a). The strong tensions between federal decision-making and the political influence of provinces lead often to compromises, which make some scholars refer to Austria as "the most centralized federal state – or the most federal centralized state" (ibid., p. 96), depending on the perspective one wants to adopt.

The bureaucratic heritage of the monarchy that fosters centralisation and hierarchy is also strongly reflected in educational policymaking in Austria (Seel, 2010; Schratz, 2012a, Kraler, 2012). The legal base for modern education laws dates back to the parliamentary decision of 1962, which stipulates that school laws should be treated as constitutional laws, thus requiring a two-third majority to pass laws that affect schools. This decision, stemming

from the fear of "ideological domination" (Devos & Schratz, 2012, p. 129), presupposes consensus among the leading political parties of the country, namely the Social Democrats (SPÖ) and the Christian Democrats (ÖVP). In addition, the federal structure of the state means that supplementary acts for compulsory education have to be made by the parliaments of the provinces (*Landtage*). The result of such a political culture is "that national changes of any magnitude come about slowly, if at all" (Schratz, 2012a, p. 96).

System changes depend on negotiations between the national and provincial levels with actors at each end trying to gain more political weight (ibid.). However, the influence of the provinces is primarily political and to a lesser extent rooted in formal legal competences, even if the provinces are responsible for translating central legislation into practice (Nusche et al., 2016). In this sense, the centralisation of policymaking at the federal level can also be seen as limiting the number of potential veto players and, thus, allowing significant reforms to be legislated even against the opposition from special interest groups (ibid.). At the same time, centralisation can hamper policy innovation, which depends on the willingness and political interests of the top of the hierarchy (Kraler & Schratz, 2012). A strong tradition of corporatism also helps to balance out the competing interests of various stakeholders and prevents one particular set of organised interests to monopolise access to policymaking (Nusche et al., 2016). By establishing strong links between the state and the civil society, corporatism also prevents "information overload" of the central government (ibid., p. 90).

The complex governance structure, originating from the desire to avoid too much concentration of power at the centre (Schratz, 2012a), has resulted in parallel provincial structures in the form of provincial school boards and school departments of the provincial governments, which are responsible for personnel management among other things. Although the federal government has full responsibility concerning the employment conditions of teachers, the responsibility for the actual employment is more complex, considering that provincial governments are recruiting teachers for some schools, including primary, general lower secondary, polytechnic and vocational schools, while the federal government administers the recruitment of teachers for all levels of academic secondary schools and for vocational schools leading to the school-leaving *Matura* examination (ibid.). According to the OECD, such governance arrangements "provide incentives for overspending" and "result in inefficiencies, fuel mistrust and potential conflicts about the management of resources, and prevent a more integrated approach to governing the school system" (Nusche et al., 2016, p. 23). Since 2017, a new reform package aims to give schools greater autonomy, allocating school leaders with greater responsibility in teacher recruitment.

Throughout the years, Austria has developed strong systems of cooperation between the different actors involved in policymaking. Since the end of World War II, most federal governments in Austria have been formulated as a grand coalition of the two popular parties. The system of proportional power-sharing (*Proporz*) is a long-standing principle of the second Austrian republic and it is also reflected in education, since the provincial school boards in the nine provinces are composed according to proportionate representation in the provincial parliaments (Bruneforth et al., 2015). Moreover, social partnership between the major economic interest groups and the government is perceived as a basis for economic growth and social stability, and stretches over education and particularly VET. The Austrian Trade Union Federation (*Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund*) is the umbrella organisation of all trade unions, embracing also the Civil Servants' Union (*Gewerkschaft Öffentlicher Dienst*, GÖD), which includes teachers. The focus on developing strong social partnership structures with recognised groups has restricted the possibility for individuals and less well-organised groups, such as parents, students, researchers and others, to gain a voice (Schratz, 2012a). On the contrary, the Federation of Austrian Industries is another influential stakeholder in public

political debate, including education policy (Bruneforth et al., 2015), although it is not formally part of the social partnership.

Compared to other federal countries in Europe, such as Germany and Switzerland, legal competences for education policy are more centralised in Austria (Nusche et al., 2016). General legislation on school organisation and implementation of school education is provided by federal laws, including for example statutory regulations related to teachers' employment conditions and ITE. With regard to teacher education, decisions about the structure and organisation of ITE are taken in most aspects (e.g. institutional structure, duration of programmes, exam regulations, certificates) by the parliament and government. Until 2018, two different ministries used to be responsible for the different types of teacher education, namely the Ministry of Education was responsible for ITE at University Colleges of Teacher Education (*Pädagogische Hochschule*, PHs) and the Ministry of Science was responsible for ITE at universities. PHs have to follow national laws and decrees, which regulate the structure, aims, subjects and content of teacher education programmes. To a different degree, universities have to follow national laws and decrees that regulate the basic structure, aims and study fields of ITE, although law guarantees academic freedom of teaching at universities. The following section provides a historical overview of developments in the Austrian teacher education system.

5.1.2. The development of teacher education in Austria: A historical overview

The history of Austrian teacher education is linked to developments in school education and varies according to the different school types. All students in Austria have to attend compulsory education for nine years. Compulsory education is comprised of a four-year primary school (*Volksschule*), which is followed by either the lower cycle of an academic secondary school (*Allgemeinbildende höhere Schule Unterstufe,* AHS-U), or the new middle school (*Neue Mittelschule,* NMS) that replaced the previous version of the middle school (*Hauptschule*) with the school year 2015/2016. The Austrian system separates students into alternative streams at an early age, after finishing primary school, and generally the public is supportive of this policy based on the argument that it allows students to succeed in different ways (Schratz, 2012a). Upon completing one of two lower secondary education options, students can choose to continue their studies in the upper cycle of an academic secondary school (*Allgemeinbildende höhere Schule Oberstufe,* AHS-O), or in a variety of vocational education and training schools.

The sections below aim to give a historical overview of teacher education in Austria, disaggregating between teacher education for primary school and middle school (*Hauptschule*) teachers, and teacher education for academic secondary school teachers. Although this study focuses on secondary education, it is considered significant in the case of Austria to describe the evolution of teacher education for primary and middle school teachers. This is because, until the implementation of the Teacher Education New reform in 2015/2016, teachers for lower secondary schools were educated differently, depending on the school type. Moreover, ITE is still provided by two different main providers, namely the PHs and the universities. ITE at PHs is rooted in a "seminaristic tradition" (*Ecole-Normale-Tradition*) with origins in former teacher seminars, provided at the upper secondary level of the education system, while ITE at university is rooted in an "academic tradition" that follows the Humboldtian principle of "education through science" (*Bildung durch Wissenschaft*) and thus focuses on the study of academic disciplines (Buchberger & Seel, 1999, p. 17).

Teacher education for primary and middle school teachers

The roots of teacher education in Austria date back to the days of the Austrian Empire, when Empress Maria Theresia, in 1774, introduced the *Allgemeine Schulordnung für die deutschen Normal-, Haupt und Trivialschulen in sämmtlichen Kayserlichen Königlichen Erbländern* (School Edict for all German Regular, Main and Trivial Schools in all Imperial and Royal Dominions; Seel, 2010; Schratz, 2012b). The edict established six years of compulsory education for all children between the age of six and twelve, and regulated that future teachers for primary schools (*Volksschulen*) had to attend preparation courses, which lasted from three to six months (Messner, Krainz-Dürr & Fischer, 2018).

In 1869, the Imperial Law for Primary Schools (*Reichvolksschulgesetz*) extended compulsory education to eight years, creating eight-year public primary schools (*Volksschulen*), and established three-year citizens' schools (*Bürgerschulen)* as an alternative and more intensive compulsory schooling for grades six to eight. In primary schools, students were taught by general classroom teachers, while teachers specialised in subjects taught at the *Bürgerschulen*. For the new type of schools, a new type of teacher education was necessary and, therefore, teacher education institutions (*Lehrerbildungsanstalten*) were established to address the needs of primary school teachers (Seel, 2010). Students older than 15 years could study to become primary school teachers at teacher education institutions which were run as schools lasting for four years. Study completion required a school leaving examination (*Reifeprüfung*) which did not grant access to universities, but allowed graduates to proceed with a two-year provisional school service, after which a teacher license examination (*Lehrerbefähigungsprüfung*) was necessary to complete teacher education (ibid.). In 1886, teacher education exams were also regulated for subject teachers working in the newly established *Bürgerschulen*. These exams included the knowledge of three school subjects and pedagogy, and applicants could undertake one year long exam-preparation courses offered by teacher education and other institutions, such as the *Pädagogium* in Vienna or colleges (ibid.).

In the years of the First Republic, between 1919 and 1934, following the end of World War I, the social democratic party with Otto Glöckel as the Minister of Education proposed the *Guidelines for the Reorganisation of Teacher Education* to support their idea of a comprehensive middle school for all children between the age of ten and 14 years (ibid., p. 182). The guidelines suggested that primary school students should be taught by classroom teachers, while middle- and high-school students should be taught by subject teachers. For both groups of teachers, pedagogical departments of universities were meant to provide teacher education programmes, lasting two years for general classroom teachers and four years for subject teachers. However, this proposal was rejected by the universities which argued that teacher education of primary school teachers did not need to conform to scientific criteria. The conservative government in power from 1920 also tried to reform the teacher education of lower primary school teachers, proposing the establishment of six-year teacher academies. However, efforts to reform the system were interrupted by the accession of Austria to the German Reich in 1938 (ibid.).

After World War II, the education of primary school teachers was extended from four to five years and allowed entrance to higher education, but it was not until the School Act of 1962 when the teacher education of primary school teachers was structurally reformed. The School Act upgraded teacher education to post-secondary school level by the establishment of pedagogical academies (*Pädagogische Akademien*). Students who completed their matriculation exams could apply for a four-semester course in order to become primary school teachers. The education of middle school teachers was institutionalised only in 1971, when a six-semester course was introduced in the pedagogical academies, as alternative to the education of primary school teachers. Until then, the education of middle school teachers built

on the education of primary school teachers by attending additional professional development courses. As a consequence of institutionalising the education of middle school teachers, their status improved significantly (ibid.).

Towards the end of the 1990s, following the accession of Austria to the EU in 1995 and the launch of international comparative studies, such as TIMSS (1995), PISA (2000), and PIRLS (2001), it became evident that the education of compulsory school teachers in Austria lagged behind compared to the situation in other European countries, where teacher education took place mostly at universities or university colleges (Messner, Krainz-Dürr & Fischer, 2018; Seel 2010). The decision to upgrade the pedagogical academies to the tertiary level found common ground in both the SPÖ and ÖVP parties, and in 1999 a transitional law (*Akademie-Studiengesetz*) was passed which aimed to reorganise teacher education until 2007. To prepare and facilitate the establishment of University Colleges for Teacher Education (*Pädagogische Hochschulen*, PHs), a planning and evaluation committee was established by both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Science. The aim of the commission was to "unify teacher education on the highest level and bring it up to the constituting standards of the EU area" (Messner, Krainz-Dürr & Fischer, p. 131). Private providers, including mainly the Catholic Church, were allowed to establish pedagogical colleges, while the law foresaw that graduates should be awarded a higher education diploma (*Diplompädagoge*).

In 2005, the Austrian parliament adopted the law for upgrading the pedagogical academies to university colleges (*Hochschulgesetz*, 2005), in the context of the broader effort to reform higher education according to Bologna standards (Schratz, 2012b, p. 94). The course duration at the PHs was defined to be six semesters for primary school teachers, middle school teachers, special education teachers, and vocational education teachers. Although the qualification of school teachers studying at PHs was raised to the Bachelor level, in accordance to the Bologna implementation, the law did not foresee the need for them to acquire a Master degree, which was a prerequisite for secondary school teachers studying at the university. Thus, the law legitimised a difference in the teacher education of compulsory school teachers, and appeared to rank the newly established colleges below the universities of applied science (Messner, Krainz-Dürr & Fischer, 2018; Schachl, 2012).

The chance to raise the PHs to an equal status with the universities by adopting the Bologna structure was missed (Felberbauer, 2009; Schachl, 2012), since PHs, until today, are only allowed to offer further education and not master-level studies. This development was also impeded by the fact that if PH teachers were awarded a Master degree their salaries would also need to increase and this was not something envisaged from the Ministry of Education at the time (Interview, AT_NPE-2). In 2007, all the pedagogical academies hitherto existing were merged into nine public and five private PHs, integrating also the Pedagogical Institutes which were responsible for teachers' professional development. PHs became responsible for offering professional development for all teachers, including secondary school teachers of all school types.

According to Seel (2010), the 2005 higher education law did not sufficiently address the following aspects in the functioning of the PHs: (a) institutional rights; (b) research competence; and (c) quality of teaching (pp. 189-190). With regard to institutional structure, the PHs are not equal to universities and universities of applied sciences, due to the lack of an autonomous status. Moreover, the PHs traditionally had no elected collegial body to pass statutes and to elect a rector, who is instead appointed directly by the Minister of Education. Only recently, PHs were allowed to establish a collegial body (*Hochschulkollegium*) and have more possibilities to develop their own statute, because of a broader political effort to bring them closer to the university structures. Moreover, the PHs have no teaching and research freedoms equivalent to universities. Although the law defines that PHs should undertake

research, it does not provide concrete information regarding the institutional structures or the qualifications of the staff. PHs have no established higher education academic board and there is a lack of staff with higher academic qualifications, holding a Habilitation, which is considered the academic equivalent of a full university professor. Last but not least, the quality of teaching which befits a higher education institution is not guaranteed, because approval of the course curricula passes through the relevant department of the Ministry of Education and not through a competent academic authority.

Teacher education for academic secondary school teachers

The education of teachers for academic secondary schools (*Gymnasium*) followed a different historical development. Dating back to the Latin schools (*Lateinschule*), which were reorganised by the Jesuites as *Gymnasien* in 1599 (*ratio studiorum*), teacher education was the responsibility of monasteries and religious orders (Seel, 2010, p. 191). Teachers were usually graduates of the faculty of theology, while teacher education was considered an intermediate stage for a church career. The 1776 Edict of Maria Theresia did not change this situation.

The technological and scientific developments of the 18th and 19th centuries required an adequate education for teachers at academic secondary schools (ibid.). With the 1849 *Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Oesterreich* (Draft of the organisation of the *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen*), a subject-specific teacher education system was officially introduced (ibid., p. 192). From 1856 onwards, academic secondary school teachers had to undertake three years of studies in faculties of philosophy, after which they were eligible to participate in teacher qualification exams (*Lehrbefähigungsprüfungen*) organised by the state. Teachers could be qualified for two subjects in lower and upper secondary education or in one subject for upper secondary and two subjects for lower secondary education (ibid.). Teaching practice took place after the studies, during a probation year in an academic secondary school. In 1882, the teacher qualification exams became the same for *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen*

Concrete regulation for teacher education studies at universities came with the *Verordnung über die Erwerbung der Befähigung für das Lehramt an Mittelschulen* (Regulation on the acquisition of teaching qualifications in secondary schools) in 1937 (ibid., p. 193). The study duration was prolonged to eight semesters, while the number and type of courses, as well as their content, was more properly defined. Together with exams in the different subjects, an exam on pedagogical courses was introduced. The practicum phase followed the academic studies and was supervised by an experienced teacher. In 1947, the employment status of academic secondary school teachers was raised to civil servants appointed by the state (*Bundeslehrer*).

A significant reorganisation of teacher education for academic secondary schools took place with the *Gesetz über geisteswissenschaftliche und naturwissenschaftliche Studienrichtungen* (Law on social and natural science disciplines) in 1971, which came into full implementation in 1985 (ibid., p. 194). The teacher examination system existing before was replaced by academic diploma studies, which lasted for nine semesters and provided a higher education diploma (*Magister*), thus leading to an academic graduation. The teacher qualification exams organised by the state were abolished and universities were solely responsible for organising teacher education studies, which ended with a final exam at the university. Prospective teachers had to study in two subject-specific disciplines of their choice and to receive pedagogical training which was complemented by approximately twelve weeks of school practice. A probation year after the studies was not considered necessary, since the university diploma granted professional qualifications. However, a year-long teaching internship (*Unterrichtspraktikum*) was re-introduced in 1988 as the first year of service, after graduation, and was considered necessary for receiving the teaching license. The teaching

internship was organised by the school authority and was supervised by two experienced school teachers, one for each subject that the candidate had to teach.

With the university law (*Universitätsstudiengesetz*) of 1997, teacher education became an independent study programme, along with all other university study programmes, and was implemented in two study phases, each ending with a university exam (*Diplomprüfung*). Specifically, teacher education combined studies in two subject-specific disciplines, subject didactics and pedagogical sciences. In addition, each study phase was complemented by school practice. The specific law was an attempt to bridge the gap between the ITE of middle school and academic secondary school teachers, because it offered the possibility for graduates of the pedagogical academies to enter into the second phase of teacher education studies at university.

However, the university law (*Universitätsstudiengesetz*) of 2002 amended the previous one and did not follow up the specific provision related to graduates of the pedagogical academies. The 2002 law further impeded the transfer of PH graduates to the universities, because university ITE was exempted from the Bologna structure, preserving instead the diploma structure of nine semesters without a BA exit. Thus, PH graduates who received a Bachelor of Education could not easily embark on the university diploma studies. Bologna at university ITE was implemented with the Teacher Education New reform that will be examined in detail later in this chapter. The following section contextualises Austrian teacher education policy within the EU, tracing European influences from the 1995 accession until the Lisbon Strategy in 2000.

5.1.3. The accession of Austria to the EU

The accession of Austria to the EU in 1995 was seen by some of the country's education policy actors as a "door opener" that could bring in international cooperation and educational innovations in a system that had remained reluctant to change for many decades (Interview, AT_NPE-2). Educational cooperation with neighbouring and former communist countries, such as Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, was renewed and intensified after the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, at a time when Austria was favourably positioned to regain its economic power in the region (Szabo & Reber, 2008). International cooperation initiatives, such as the Central European Co-operation for Education, were institutionalised in 1997 among Ministries of Education in Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia, aiming to support the implementation of international projects in education in line with the strategic goals of the European Commission (Révai, 2013).

The 1995 enlargement also included Sweden and Finland, countries with a strong welfare state tradition, similar to Austria, which helped to initiate exchanges and learn from discussions about the role of the welfare state in financing education, a topic that was intensively debated at the beginning of the 90s. "Entering the EU was a chance to open the Austrian education system for more internationalisation, and also to create networks with possibilities to exchange and learn from each other." (Interview, AT_NPE-2)

One of the first reports to evaluate teacher education systems in Europe identified significant influences of EU initiatives and policy documents on Austrian education policies (Buchberger & Seel, 1999). The concept of a European dimension has been given greater emphasis in both schools and ITE since the country joined the EU, Buchberger and Seel (1999) argued. Other influences mentioned include an intensified foreign language learning for teachers, the study of comparative education in ITE programmes, as well as multicultural education. Particularly the role of educational programmes, such as Socrates and Leonardo, is highlighted with regard to the internationalisation of ITE. Additionally, the ECTS is seen as having put "some pressure on national teacher education policy" (ibid., p. 27). Interestingly,

the report also identified the following "new" needs for Austrian teacher education of the time in connection to European issues and criteria:

i. *lifelong learning, the continuous education and training of teachers and flexible models of qualification necessary to approximate to these have to become more than lip service;*
ii. *curricula and programmes of study of TE have to be restructured, oriented more than recently on dynamic qualifications and have to become more flexible;*
iii. *curricula have to become more compatible to European standards (cf. with the European Credit Transfer System ECTS) and problems of academic as well as professional recognition of (teacher) diplomas are in need of clarification.* (ibid., p. 29)

Shortly after the launch of the Lisbon Strategy, the Ministry of Education in Austria established working groups to address the objectives of the ET2010, one of which was related to teacher education. Working groups consisted of national experts, mainly university professors, who participated in the EU meetings and brought back ideas that could influence the national debate in education (Interview, AT_NPE-1, AT_NPE-2). According to an interviewee, several European ideas, mainly regarding practices of other countries, served as arguments for policy change in the field of teacher education. "My interest was to synchronise our policies, which was not an easy process, and so we tried to bring in initiatives from the European level." (Interview, AT_NPE-2)

Specifically, European best practices helped some policy actors to influence the teacher education policy debate on two topics in particular. The first was that the variety of teacher education providers in Austria had to be reduced and that the colleges of teacher education had to be upgraded to the university level (ibid.). And the second referred to the need for changing the teacher service code, considering that the average working hours of teachers in Austria were below the European average, and because of the priority to implement the all-day school in primary education. "So we used the European resources and policy exchanges to see how is the situation in other countries and how can we find ideas to discuss such topics with the unions." (ibid.) The following section will examine the development of teacher education policy in Austria from 2000 onwards, focusing on the development and implementation of the latest comprehensive reform of teacher education, namely the Teacher Education New.

5.2. The way towards the Teacher Education New reform[2]

The years from 2000 to 2012 entailed significant changes to the teacher education landscape of Austria, marked by the implementation of the Bologna process and the initiation of the Teacher Education New reform. Following the results of the first PISA tests in 2003, the overall trust in the quality of the Austrian education system was shaken, but it did not immediately lead to radical changes (Schratz, 2012a). The pressure for political action, combined with wide media coverage of the topic, increased and the Ministry of Education established the so called "future committee" (*Zukunftskommission*), in order to identify strategies and proposals for the reform of the Austrian education system.

The report of the committee starts with a reference to "the knowledge society" (Haider et al., 2003, p. 5) and includes suggestions for the professionalisation of the teaching profession in Austria. Relevant for this study are the proposals to "define standards for the main

[2] Some parts of this section have been published, as follows: Symeonidis, V. (2018). The Struggle to Reform Teacher Education in Austria. *Hungarian Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 73-88.

competences of teachers" (ibid., p. 78), to proceed with the accreditation of the pedagogical colleges, and to establish a career model for teachers with mentoring for the newly recruited teachers. With regard to professional development, the committee concluded that the 15 hours requirement for compulsory school teachers is not enough and should be prolonged to at least one full working week per year (ibid., p. 82). To this end, expanding the network of in-service training providers to private and public enterprises, in addition to the already existing pedagogical institutes, was recommended.

The university law of 2002 and the higher education law of 2005 regulated teacher education for universities and PHs respectively, upholding the separate roles of the institutions, as described in the previous section. At the time of upgrading the pedagogical academies to university colleges, an intensive discussion took place on the subject of integrating the pedagogical academies into the universities (Interview, AT_NPE-6). However, the political decision that prevailed was to keep the institutions separate. Some interviewees identify as a reason behind this development the complex governance structure of ITE, which is regulated by two different ministries (Interview, AT_NPE-5, AT_NPE-6). Historically, the great coalition between the two popular parties implied that the Ministry of Education is allocated to the SPÖ and the Ministry of Science to the ÖVP. The often conflicting political agenda of the two parties is mirrored in the struggles of reforming teacher education, as will be detailed below (Interview, AT_NPE-5).

Following the 2008 elections, resulting in a great coalition led by the social democrats, the reform project Teacher Education New was launched on the basis of a government agreement reached for the period 2008-2013. In an effort to overcome the political blockage of reforming school education, the reform of teacher education seemed an appropriate first step in improving the modest performance of students, as identified by international assessment studies. "A teacher education reform did not require the 2/3 majority in the parliament, and it could have significant implications on student performance" (Interview, AT_NPE-1). The reform seeks to enhance the academic and practical training of future teachers, creating a common teacher education scheme for secondary school teachers. According to the official website of the ministry, the goals of the reform were:

- *a revaluation in terms of content and further academisation of the teaching profession;*
- *a competence based education that ensures the scientific and professional qualifications of the graduates; and*
- *the harmonisation of education at PHs and universities with the intention of extensive cooperation during the implementation* (BMBWF, 2018a)

This nationwide reform of teacher education which "includes the education and training of all people, involved in educational professions, and takes account of the social developments and conditions of the 21st century" (BMBWF, 2018b), has been implemented since 2015/2016 for new primary school teachers, and since 2016/2017 for new secondary school teachers. It is important to note that already from the phase of developing the reform, the expert groups suggested that a new teacher education system should be encompassing all teachers for all levels of education, including pre-primary and primary school teachers, social education workers and other pedagogically responsible employees (BMUKK/BMWF, 2010a). The competence orientation of the new teacher education is described as follows:

> *With the new competence-based teacher education, the professional and research qualification of all teachers is ensured for the best possible school*

use. The Teacher Education New is embedded in a professionally oriented overall concept. The aim is to guarantee a high-quality academic education with scientifically based theory and practice, which follows the recommendations of national and international education experts and fulfils the requirements of an internationally competitive education both pedagogically and professionally. (BMBWF, 2018b)

The new "internationally competitive" model of teacher education is structured according to Bologna in Bachelor studies of eight semesters and Master studies of two to four semesters, and is organised jointly by universities and PHs (ibid.). Although the reform maintains the institutional division between PHs and universities, it creates the obligation for them to collaborate, particularly to provide Master degree programmes (BGBl. I, Nr. 124/2013, § 38 (2c)). To enhance the collaboration between PHs and universities, four regional clusters were developed throughout the country: Cluster South-East (Burgenland, Styria, Carinthia), Cluster North-East (Vienna, Lower Austria), Cluster Middle (Upper Austria, Salzburg), and Cluster West (Tyrol, Vorarlberg). The following sub-sections will be taking a closer look at the motives, developments and challenges of implementing the reform.

5.2.1. Reform motives

The Teacher Education New reform was an attempt to unify ITE at the level of lower secondary education and thus abolish the "strange division" between the ITE providers (Interview, AT_NPE-7). This development was perceived differently by the interviewees of this study. Some considered the reform as "an integration in terms of the curriculum, but not on the level of institutions" (Interview, AT_NPE-6), arguing that the reform should have instead integrated PHs into the universities in a more radical way, similarly to what happened in other European countries, such as Germany, which used to have a similar organisational structure for teacher education (Interview, AT_NPE-5). Others interpreted the focus shift from reforming the institutions towards reforming ITE programmes and structures as a "pattern change" that boosted the development and implementation of the reform, helping to move away from the "more of the same logic" (i.e. integrating the institutions) that prevailed and hindered previous reform efforts (Interview, AT_NPE-1).

Apart from differences with regard to training, the division among teachers of lower secondary education had also broader implications for the salary and the status of teachers. Or, as one of the interviewees put it:

> *Having two categories of teachers, one coming from the university, earning more salary and having higher prestige, and the other coming from the PHs, doing more pedagogy and having less subject knowledge, was absurd. There was a certain consciousness about it, that this has to change. And we had talked about it for decades that this has to change and finally it happened.* (Interview, AT_NPE-7)

A common teacher education scheme was thus intended to reduce the differences between teachers working for federal and those working for provincial schools. The reform envisaged to raise the status of teachers of provincial schools, educated at PHs, relative to the highly qualified teachers of federal schools, educated at universities, and in this way increase teachers' mobility between the different school types (Nusche et al., 2016). Following the reform, the new teacher education is orientated towards age groups rather than different school types,

which means that all newly recruited teachers working in secondary education will have the same qualifications and will be able to find a job on equal terms in both lower and upper secondary schools.

This alignment of qualifications for secondary school teachers was further complemented by the introduction of a new teacher service code (*Dienstrecht*) in 2013 that has been implemented on a voluntary basis since 2015 and will be mandatory for all teachers by September 2020, aiming to harmonise the employment conditions and salary of secondary school teachers. The establishment of education directorates (*Bildungsdirektionen*), as organisational units for quality management of schools in every province, is also an effort to reduce any differences in the teacher recruitment procedure (BGBl. I Nr. 138/2017). However, the provinces have managed to uphold their influence on teacher recruitment, so that practically the division of administrative responsibilities between the federal state and the provinces remains, meaning that teachers working for the AHS will be recruited by the state, while teachers working for the NMS will be recruited by the provinces (Interview, AT_TE-PP-2).

Another reform motive was related to the need of upgrading the degrees of both teacher types and implement the Bologna architecture in university teacher education (Interview, AT_NPE-1). The new common teacher education scheme is currently structured according to Bologna into Bachelor and Master degrees. According to an interviewee, "Bologna offered the institutional platform to align qualifications, something that was not possible to happen with previous policy efforts" (ibid.).

Some interviewees also saw the reform as an effort of the ruling social democrats to achieve the political goal of a comprehensive school in lower secondary education (Interview, AT_NPE-6, AT_NPE-9). In 2008, the NMS was introduced as an alternative to early tracking, and it has since become the new standard school for lower secondary education. Although the initial aim of the NMS project was to create a comprehensive school for all pupils aged between ten and 14 years of age, a political compromise within the government coalition allowed the lower academic secondary school AHS-U to exist as a parallel track and AHS were only invited to adopt the new school model on a project basis (Bruneforth et al., 2015, p. 32). Nevertheless, the idea of a common comprehensive school implied the need for a common teacher education scheme that would cater for preparing teachers to teach students hailing from diverse socio-economic backgrounds (Interview, AT_NPE-10).

5.2.2. Development phases

Teacher Education New was developed in four phases over a period of four years (from 2009 to 2013) and both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Science were involved. The first phase (2009 to 2010) included the work of the expert group led by Peter Härtel, which resulted in the report *Teacher Education New: The future of the teaching profession*, published in March 2010. The specific report provided the core thinking for developing and implementing the reform, and included suggestions with regard to:

- *Principles and criteria for a new teacher education;*
- *Core competences for teachers, job profiles, and professional careers;*
- *The curriculum architecture based on a three-phased model of teacher education, including selection criteria to ITE;*
- *The continuum of teachers' professional development;*
- *Suggestions for implementation based on regional teacher education clusters;*
- *Guidelines for science and research in the context of teacher education; and*
- *Conditions for the implementation of the reform.* (BMUKK/BMWF, 2010a)

Several of the report's suggestions reference European policies and initiatives, as well as international trends in teacher education, and will be examined in more detail in the following section. The report of the Härtel group was further discussed with interest groups and stakeholders in approximately 50 round table discussions (Schmied, 2012, p. 18), resulting in written statements that were considered in a second complementary report, published in September 2010. Complementary topics included suggestions regarding: (a) the training model and entrance in the teaching profession; (b) structuring the induction phase; and (c) the organisational model and organisational development of the institutions (BMUKK/BMWF, 2010b).

The second phase (2010) included country-wide stakeholder conferences that took place between November and December 2010 in Linz, Vienna, Graz and Innsbruck, bringing together approximately 269 representatives of ITE providers (e.g. universities, PHs, early childhood education providers, and providers of social pedagogy; Schmied, 2012, p. 19). In addition, representatives of school authorities, social partners, teacher unions and the industry were invited to join those conferences, which had a consultative and steering function (Interview, AT_NPE-3).

The third phase (2011) included the work of a preparation group led by Andreas Schnider. Considering the recommendations of the Härtel group and the results of the stakeholder conferences, the preparation group offered concrete suggestions on how the reform could be implemented. In this respect, recommendations were made to both federal ministries with regard to:

- *The structure of teacher education for teachers of the age groups 0–19 years old;*
- *Key features of curricula, including ECTS allocated for different courses;*
- *Requirements for the institutions materialising the Teacher Education New;*
- *The establishment of a development council (Entwicklungsrat) for supporting and monitoring the implementation of the reform; and*
- *Needs for immediate actions with regard to legal arrangements and institutional capacities.* (BMUKK/BMWF, 2011)

The preparation group structured the teacher education curricula for all types of compulsory school teachers according to Bologna and defined the number of ECTS that should be allocated to subject disciplines, subject didactics, educational sciences and school practice. Overall, the guidelines of the preparation group pointed towards a common teacher education scheme for secondary school teachers with four-year Bachelor courses, an induction phase and Master courses parallel to teachers' professional career. For this, teacher education providers had to adjust accordingly both in terms of creating the necessary institutional structures and of improving the human resources capacity, which was considerably different between universities and PHs. The first steps of implementation started already in October 2011, when the Ministry of Education launched three reform packages to further upgrade the PHs and bring them on an equal footing with universities (Schnider, 2012). The reform packages were related to human resources development, particularly strengthening the research competences of personnel, new study offers for Master programmes, and accompanying measures for quality assurance (Schmied, 2012).

The fourth phase (2012 to 2013) of the reform included the establishment and the work of the development council which meant to guide, support and further develop the implementation process (BMUKK/BMWF, 2011). The development council was established for ten years and the members were appointed for a five-year term. Two members were

nominated by the Ministry of Education and two by the Ministry of Science. “What is special about this group is that the members were always from both ministries and this is one of the reasons that made the project successful. It doesn’t happen so often that these two ministries work together so close and for such a long period.” (Interview, AT_NPE-3)

As an outcome of the four phases, a federal law for the introduction of a new teacher education was regulated in 2013 (*Bundesrahmengesetz zur Einführung einer neuen Ausbildung für Pädagoginnen und Pädagogen*, BGBl. I, Nr. 124/2013), amending the 2005 Higher Education Act, the 2002 University Act and the Higher Education Quality Assurance Act. The new federal law provided the legal framework for the implementation of the reform which started in 2016/2017 for the new secondary school teachers. It is worth noting here that the new law restructured the development council and renamed it Quality Assurance Council (*Qualitätssicherungsrat*, QSR) for teacher education, increasing the members of the council to six representatives and recognising the following responsibilities:

- *Observing and analysing teacher education in Austria, considering European and international developments, and preparing proposals for its further development;*
- *Counselling the federal ministers and the higher education institutions on matters of quality assurance;*
- *Evaluating the scientific and professional oriented requirements for the study programme provision of the university colleges of teacher education, if necessary with the assistance of an internationally recognised independent quality assurance agency for higher education (e.g. the Agency for Quality Assurance and Accreditation of Austria, or one quality assurance institution registered in the European Quality Assurance Register);*
- *Providing recommendations in the context of the curricula evaluation procedures for the curricula of teacher education studies, considering the rules of professional conduct (particularly the competences required for the teaching profession, the qualification profile, the requirements of the School Organisation Act 1962 and its amendments related to responsibilities of school types and employment requirements), to the respective teacher education providers; and*
- *Annual publication of a report about the current status of teacher education in Austria which should be submitted to the National Assembly.* (BGBl. I, Nr. 124/2013, § 74a (1))

From 2013 onwards, it is the role of the QSR to assist and monitor the implementation of the reform. Although officially the QSR does not provide accreditation, it needs to evaluate all teacher education curricula and approve them, in order for the institutions to receive financial resources from the ministries (Interview, AT_NPE-6). In addition, members of the QSR travel to the different cluster regions, supporting the cooperation between universities and PHs and trying to resolve any issues that might occur (Interview, AT_NPE-5). With the annual report to the parliament, the QSR provides recommendations for further supporting the implementation process (ibid.).

5.2.3. Challenges of implementation

Although the political will to implement the reform was strong, several challenges arose during the development and particularly during the implementation process, which explains why some of the reform aspects that will be described in the following section of this chapter are not yet clearly discernible by research participants.

As previously mentioned, a central issue for education policy makers in Austria was whether teacher education should be taking place at the PHs or at the universities, and consequently whether the pedagogical or the subject education part is of greater importance (Töchterle, 2012). According to research participants, those dilemmas arose from a power game originating for two reasons. On the one hand, universities and PHs were governed by different ministries, administered by different political parties, which did not want to hand over their respective authorities (Interview, AT_NPE-5, AT_NPE-6). On the other hand, the Ministry of Education wanted to avoid the integration of the PHs into universities, which would have meant greater academic freedom and therefore less influence by the ministry (Interview, AT_NPE-7). This would also have meant that the strong subject orientation of universities could overshadow the strong professional and practice oriented approach of the PHs. "We didn't want the logic of the university to dominate, but rather we tried to combine the best sides of both institutions." (Interview, AT_NPE-3)

It should also be noted that PHs help the Ministry of Education to steer the budget for teachers' professional development, which is not allocated directly to provincial school authorities, and in this capacity the PHs are acting as a way for the Ministry of Education "to respond to federalist tendencies" (Interview, AT_NPE-10). Letting go of the PHs could mean that the Ministry of Education has less of a chance to counterbalance the influence of the provinces on certain school types. Besides, the provinces also influence developments in the PHs and efforts to change the structures of organising teacher education are often resisted by provincial governments. (Interview, AT_NPE-7)

In 2012, when the work of the preparation group was completed, it was not yet clear if universities and PHs will merge or whether a new institutional structure will appear. As one interviewee said: "The Ministry of Education wanted teacher education to be completely allocated to the PHs and some members of the QSR supported this. They said that PHs are more practice oriented and with educational sensitivity, while universities tend to focus on subject knowledge and research." (Interview, AT_NPE-7) Similar views were expressed by some university rectors who thought that teacher education should be better placed at PHs: "At that time the University of Vienna had a rector who was in favour of letting teacher education go to the PHs, arguing that the university is the place for excellence of research." (ibid.) However, it soon became clear that it is against the interest of universities to let go of a substantial proportion of their students, which in some universities reached up to 10 per cent (e.g. University of Vienna), because this would imply a significant loss of financial resources.

Through different institutional platforms, the universities envisaged to make their contribution to teacher education visible to the public and to policy makers. In 2011, a conference of Austrian universities published a position paper for the Teacher Education New reform, arguing that: (1) the universities see teacher education for secondary school teachers as their primary responsibility in the context of the new reform; (2) the universities consider an obligatory Master degree essential in view of the growing scientific and professional challenges of teachers; and (3) the universities are open for organisational developments that can lead to better quality and organisational improvement of university teacher education (Mettinger, 2011, pp. 17-20). Similarly, the University Platform for Teacher Education, in 2012, published the book *Best Spirit: Best Practice, Teacher Education at the Austrian Universities*, which brought together articles from various university providers, emphasising the fact that "universities have a clear commitment to teacher education" (*Universitäre Plattform für LehrerInnenbildung*, 2011).

It was also after 2010 that the idea of establishing new institutional structures within universities, such as Schools of Education or Teacher Education Centres, became popular in Austria. Originating from the United States, the School of Education model was meant to

provide a distinct institutional structure for organising the professional and pedagogical components of teacher education and promote research in the field. Already in 2006, the Ministry of Education launched some initiatives to foster the School of Education model, such as organising a study visit with all PH rectors to the City College of New York (Interview, AT_NPE-2). In 2012, the University of Innsbruck became the first Austrian university to establish a School of Education with an independent faculty structure and later on other universities followed by installing the School of Education model, integrated within already existing faculties, though. It was also in the Western region of Austria that the idea of creating a pedagogical university in Vorarlberg, upgrading the existing PH in the province, was developed (Stemer, 2012), but it was not implemented due to political hindrances and other finance-related issues (Interview, AT_NPE-4).

Eventually, the idea of keeping the universities and PHs as separate institutions prevailed, and the 2013 law created the obligation for PHs to cooperate with universities. "New studies to obtain a teaching qualification in secondary education (general education) can only be offered in cooperation with one (or more) universities and/or foreign higher education institutions." (BGBl. I, Nr. 124/2013, § 38 (2c)) Some interviewees interpreted this as cooperation on unequal terms, because the law obliged the PHs to cooperate with universities, and not the other way around. "The initial idea was that they have to cooperate, but cooperation means in both directions. If the law says the PHs have to cooperate and the universities do not have to, then they are not equal partners." (Interview, AT_NPE-3)

However, other respondents interpreted the specific legal arrangement as appropriate, arguing that the cooperation was based on the idea of academic quality, in which the universities had the advantage, since the PHs could only provide Bachelor degrees (Interview, AT_NPE-4, AT_NPE-5). As one interviewee put it: "The hypothesis behind the idea of cooperation was that both institutions have principally the same level of quality. But this is not the case, because you have different working environments, and if we do not raise the level of the PHs to the level of the universities in research and so on, then this will not work." (Interview, AT_NPE-4) Another interviewee meanwhile contends: "The collaboration of these institutions with different histories, old universities which have high prestige and then the PHs which are fighting for the status, is complicated. This is an issue and in different clusters you have to deal with that and negotiate some standards." (Interview, AT_NPE-6) Adding to imbalances in terms of status and research capacity, interviewees identified significant differences in organisational structures, working arrangements for the employees, and most importantly the lack of autonomy for the PHs (Interview, AT_NPE-6, AT_NPE-7).

Finally, several interviewees referred to the reform as a "top-down process" that was politically impregnated. "It was really a top-down process and in my view there wasn't even much pressure from the bottom that something has to be changed." (Interview, AT_NPE-6) For some respondents this was seen positively in the Austrian context, because it actually led to changes in the system, while for others such an approach implied little room for stakeholder influence. According to the respondents supporting the first view, this approach had the advantage of softening tensions among the stakeholders involved, for example by defining concretely the amount of credits that should be allocated to the different study components of ITE programmes (ibid.). On the contrary, some interviewees mentioned that the voices of teacher unions and teacher educators were not adequately heard (Interview, AT_NPE-4, AT_NPE-9). Despite the discussion rounds and the stakeholder conferences during the development of the reform, a representative from the teacher union argued that:

> *The principles of social partnership have been violated by the federal government and our views were not heard. There were some so called*

stakeholder conferences, probably to calm down some spirits, but they were not at all relevant for the final decisions. The government already had clear goals and strategies and was not interested on counter arguments. This means that we were only here to react. If we were explicitly invited to develop a common model, it would now look different. (Interview, AT_NPE-9)

However, the fragmentation among the different teacher union sections and the absence of a professional teacher community were seen by some respondents as additional impediments to the reform (Interview, AT_NPE-4, NPE-10). "The AHS teacher union representing the Gymnasium teachers did not want to see a separation in the teacher education of lower- and upper-secondary teachers, because they saw it as a threat to the academic school type that they represent." (Interview, AT_NPE-10) Similarly, some of the teachers were sceptical: "The more privileged teachers coming from the university were afraid of losing something, such as salary or image; and for me it was very important to stop this." (Interview, AT_NPE-1)

5.3. The resonance of the Austrian teacher education system with European developments

After describing the development of teacher education policy in Austria, this section will pay closer attention to the resonance between Austrian teacher education and European policy developments. Based on the analytic categories of this study, the section will explore how and to what extent the ideas of teacher education continuum, teacher competences, and supporting teacher educators have influenced Austrian teacher education, tracing the role of European instruments in supporting this process. In addition to information provided for the national policy level, the case of the Western Cluster led by the University of Innsbruck will be used to illustrate how policies are enacted in practice, considering the perspectives of teacher educators from universities, PHs and schools.

5.3.1. The continuum of teacher education

From the very start, the Teacher Education New reform aimed to restructure teacher education on the basis of a continuum that would include three different phases interconnected with each other. "The professionalisation continuum was the idea from the beginning of the reform, but the implementation of this, as often happens in Austria, takes place slowly." (Interview, AT_NPE-3) Already with the paper published by the Härtel group, in 2010, the concepts of lifelong learning and continuum of teacher professional development, as stipulated in European thinking, are introduced in official policy discourse related to teacher education. "The new model [of teacher education] strengthens the idea of lifelong learning, which must also and especially apply to educational professions." (BMUKK/BMWF, 2010, p. 12) This new teacher education model was suggested to include the three phases of ITE, induction and CPD, each following the previous one in a lifelong learning context that is based on professionalism and fundamental teacher competences. According to the recommendations of the expert group:

The expert group recommends an overall, comprehensive three-phase model for Teacher Education New, which enhances the attractiveness of pedagogical professions, includes stringent selection and admission procedures, and provides a progressive, interlinked and permeable structure of initial education, professional induction and continuing phases of lifelong learning – further and continuing education. The new educational structure

strengthens and expands the subject and pedagogical initial and continuing education and does not lead to decreasing previously demanded training requirements. (ibid., p. 10)

The new curriculum architecture of teacher education was meant to adapt to this three-phase model in which the first phase includes Bachelor studies, the second phase includes the professional induction accompanied by Master studies, and the third phase includes postgraduate continuing education opportunities, such as a Master of Advanced Studies on school-related areas, PhD studies, or other related professional trainings.

The expert group refers to this three-phase model as a continuum of professional development for teachers, considering the recommendations of the European Council (Council of the European Union, 2007, 2009) and the European Commission's policy handbook on induction (European Commission, 2010). Using these references, the experts envisage highlighting the international trend of seeing teacher education in a continuum that begins with the selection of the best candidates for the teaching profession and binds the different phases together in a coherent way (BMUKK/BMWF, 2010a). The expert group, thus, concludes that for Austria it is essential that "the fragmentation of teacher education in different phases (initial education, professional preparation, entry into the profession, further education, continuing education), which are partly organised from different institutions and follow each other uncoordinated, must be overcome" (ibid., p. 61). This, the expert group argues, "is suggested not only by the idea of LLL (lifelong learning) or CPD (continuous professional development), but also by the growing acceleration of social development" (ibid., p. 61). The initial idea of the expert group is illustrated in Figure 12, which shows the three phases of a teacher education continuum in a sequential order.

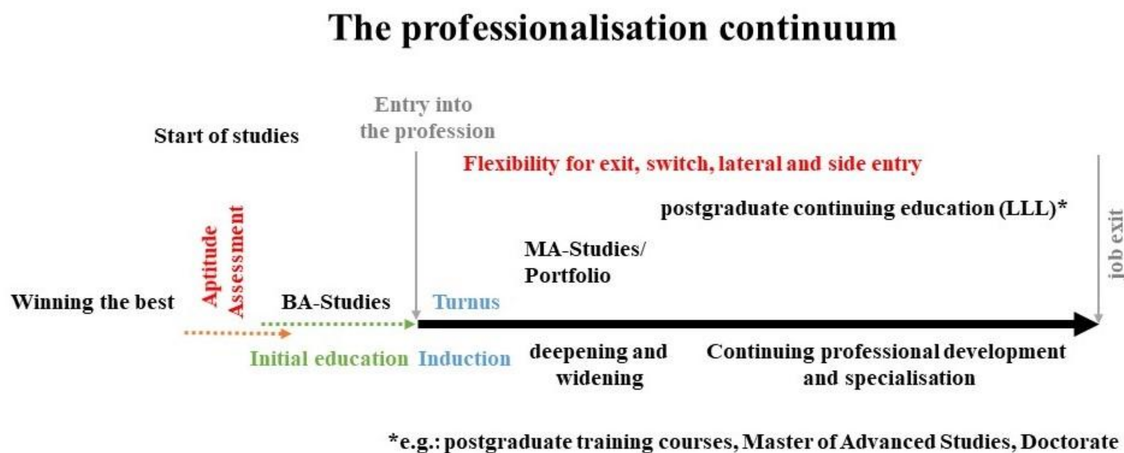

Figure 12. The professionalisation continuum in Austria (*Source:* BMUKK/BMBF, 2010a, p. 61, own adaptation in English)

Although the Härtel group introduced the continuum idea as a cornerstone for the Teacher Education New reform, the workings of the 2011 preparation group and the 2013 federal law focused on regulating ITE and provided general guidelines for induction, while provisions related to CPD were absent. This development led one interviewee to contend that:

In my view, this reform is not a reform of lifelong teacher education, because I think it was just looking at the preservice education phase and the induction

phase, although the latter is not legally clear how it will be organised. But there wasn't any provision for lifelong learning, because provisions for inservice training were missing. We wanted to include inservice training into preservice education both by inviting people and by sending students to inservice things, because I think it is important to prepare students also for this task, but I didn't see anything in the reform that has this perspective. (Interview, AT_NPE-6)

Despite legal references missing, the Teacher Education New reform envisaged changing the Austrian teacher education system in a holistic way and certain ideas related to the continuum have penetrated the system, as will be detailed in the following sub-sections. The QSR, as the body supporting teacher education providers in order to implement the reform, continues to promote ideas that originate from the work of the expert groups. According to an interviewee: "I would say that the idea of competence orientation, together with the fact that teacher education has to be a lifelong learning process, these have been adopted by the QSR. But not necessarily with the association that this is a European idea." (Interview, AT_NPE-4) The following sub-sections will describe policies and practices for each phase of the continuum, presenting how these have been implemented, in an exemplary fashion, in the Western Cluster of Austria, led by the University of Innsbruck.

5.3.1.1. Initial teacher education

Central to the Teacher Education New reform proves to be the phase of ITE. From the beginning of developing the reform and throughout the first stages of its implementation, the policies that seem to resonate with European developments are related to ITE selection, the structure of ITE studies, and certain aspects of ITE programmes.

Selection to ITE

In keeping with European recommendations on ITE, the Härtel group introduced the idea of selecting the best candidates for the teaching profession and suggested the development of scientifically grounded aptitude tests for career guidance, self-assessment and student selection (BMUKK/BMBF, 2010). In a fairly broad way, the 2013 federal law encompasses this idea by stipulating that "the prerequisite for admission to a Bachelor's degree in teaching is the general university entrance qualification, as well as the performance-based, personal, professional, artistic and pedagogical aptitude for study corresponding to the necessary competences for the teaching profession" (BGBl. I, Nr. 124/2013, § 51(1)). This means that after proving the general eligibility for entrance to higher education, all applicants for ITE programmes at universities and PHs have to undergo an aptitude and admission procedure, which might vary depending on the regional cluster and the institutions.

To support this process, the University of Graz has developed a new selection tool that is widely used for student selection by teacher education providers in Austria. This so-called "Teacher Student Assessment Austria" includes: (a) an online self-reflection tool that provides candidates information about career requirements; (b) a standardised computer-based test, evaluating cognitive, linguistic, emotional, creativity and personality traits; and (c) a face to face assessment that is a standardised interview of approximately 10 minutes (Neubauer et al., 2017, p. 6). The first two stages of the specific tool are also employed in the Western Cluster of Austria, with PH Tyrol and PH Vorarlberg being responsible for organising the standardised computer test for the whole cluster (*LehrerInnenbildung West*, 2018). Once students successfully pass the tests, they can apply for the ITE programme at the University of

Innsbruck, which has the role of admitting the students for the Western Cluster (Interview, AT_TE-PP-2). With this sharing of responsibilities, the partners of the Western Cluster have managed to resolve complex legal issues, such as different admission procedures between universities and PHs, which were not sufficiently addressed by the general provisions of the 2013 federal law, due to haste in formulating legislation (ibid.).

According to some respondents, the initial selection and admission process to ITE is further complemented by an introductory and orientation period (*Studieneingangs- und Orientierungsphase*, STEOP; Interview, AT_TE-PP-2, AT_TE-SD-1). STEOP includes the first study semester for beginners and is completed with exams that determine if the study beginners can acquire the personal and professional skills necessary for the teaching profession in order to continue their studies. STEOP has been a nationwide practice for all study programmes in Austria and currently also includes exams for educational sciences, which students need to successfully undertake. At the University of Innsbruck, all ITE students need to pass the compulsory course "School as Educational Institution and Role of the Teacher", which is allocated two ECTS credits (UIBK, 2017, p. 13).

However, the implementation of selective procedures can prove problematic when issues such as teacher shortage arise. An interviewee contends that "in teacher education, we have less applicants than what we actually need, and, therefore, one needs to think that such a test should not pick and choose, but rather identify if a candidate is totally inappropriate" (Interview, AT_TE-SD-1). Similarly, teacher educators from the university felt that a self-assessment tool would be sufficient for entry to ITE, since the standardised procedure that is currently implemented seems inadequate for assessing the candidate's personality and dispositions (Interview, AT_TE-PP-1, AT_TE-SD-1). "Previously at UIBK we gave the opportunity to students to go to schools, stand before a classroom and see how they can act during the first two study semesters. An average of 20 per cent of the students just decided that this profession is not for them. I don't know whether the self-selection test can really cover the same impressions." (Interview, AT_TE-SM-1)

It is also important to note that the 2013 law allowed for lateral and side entry to ITE, as was suggested by the Härtel group. Specifically, graduates of relevant study programmes acquired at a higher education institution can be granted access to an ITE programme for secondary-level general education (i.e. lateral entry; BGBl. I, Nr. 124/2013, § 74a Abs. 1 Z 4). Along with the new service code, the legal provisions for the new teacher education also facilitate side entry into teaching for other professionals by recognising work experience in other fields in order to meet qualification requirements and to advance in the salary scale (Nusche et al., 2016). According to a national policy expert: "With the reform we wanted also to encourage people with other professional background to go to schools and we should have special offers for them in our teacher education programmes to make this really possible." (Interview, AT_NPE-1) However, due to administrative challenges in implementing the specific policy measure, there are several universities who allow lateral and side entry only for specific disciplines. In the case of the University of Innsbruck, for example, lateral and side entry to ITE is currently only possible for music education (Interview, AT_TE-PP-2).

Duration of ITE studies – Bologna structure

Once students are admitted to an ITE programme for secondary-level general education, they begin their Bachelor studies of 240 ECTS, followed by Master studies that should include at least 90 ECTS (BGBl. I, Nr. 124/2013, § 74a Abs. 1 Z 4). Since the first intake of students with the new system started in 2015/2016, the first cohort has not yet finished the Bachelor studies and a clear image of how the system will look like in the future thus cannot be adequately depicted at the time that this dissertation is written. However, it is generally stipulated that

students need to complete their Master studies within the first five years after receiving their Bachelor degrees.

The overall duration of completing both Bachelor and Master studies was perceived differently by participants of this study, who largely seemed to agree that the final allocation of ECTS credits between subjects and pedagogy was a win-win situation for all stakeholders involved, but that it eventually led to an increase in the years of study. For some respondents, an average of six years is "too long" for ITE studies, considering that the status of teachers remains low in Austria and there are teacher shortages that need to be tackled (Interview, AT_TE-PP-2, AT_TE-PP-3, AT_TE-PH-3). The increase in the study duration has diverted the student population of PHs that used to join ITE for general secondary education towards ITE for primary education (Interview, AT_TE-SD-1, AT_TE-PH-3). It has also led to a decrease in the number of older people deciding to join teaching: "The last years, we started really with very young students, because the older ones said that the new studies are too long and they cannot do that. When it was three years, we had several older students." (Interview, AT_TE-PH-3)

The duration of four-year Bachelor studies is also seen as uncommon compared to other European countries that employ Bologna for ITE, because it hinders mobility across countries. "For instance, ITE programmes in Germany are mainly structured on three-year BA programmes. So if students from Germany want to make an MA degree here at UIBK, in most cases they cannot. This is not the idea of European mobility and of Bologna." (Interview, AT_TE-PP-2) A main reason for this development is considered to be the different priorities of the respective ministries. As one interviewee said: "During the reform process, the ministries didn't have the same interests. The Ministry of Science always wanted to ensure that only master level students are allowed to work as teachers in schools. The Ministry of Education was uncertain about that." (ibid.) In the interest of the Ministry of Education was to ensure that there are enough qualified teachers who can fill teaching gaps and to improve the student performance in the NMS schools, which was particularly low according to PISA results (ibid.).

In this context, the crucial aspect for deciding on the existing duration of studies was the implementation of Bologna that stipulated the need to define a certain job profile for Bachelor students. Since Bologna was about to be implemented for the first time in university ITE, it was unclear if a Bachelor degree would qualify university graduates to teach at both lower- and upper-secondary education. Indeed, the 2013 law did not offer any specific provision on that point. This uncertainty regarding the job rights of Bachelor students, led universities to lobby for four-year Bachelor programmes, overlooking other aspects, such as international mobility or scientific career for teachers (Interview, AT_TE-PP-2). It was important for universities to adequately prepare candidates who could teach until Matura level and therefore, three-year Bachelor studies were deemed insufficient for that purpose, considering also that student teachers are traditionally required to specialise in two subjects.

Eventually, the Ministry of Education decided that Bachelor graduates are allowed to be employed as full teachers in lower secondary education, but need to receive a Master degree within five years after completing the Bachelor, in order to remain in the profession and be eligible to teach in upper secondary education (BGBl. I Nr. 211/2013). "If it was decided earlier that the Master level is required for all teacher education students, maybe we could have lived with a three years Bachelor and a two years Master programme, but instead we ended up with a very compact BA structure." (Interview, AT_TE-PP-2) As a result, the Bachelor programme has a tight structure with many obligatory courses and limited opportunities for international mobility, while the Master programme can offer a higher amount of selective courses and mobility options (ibid.).

Respondents that were in favour of the longer study duration referred to the example of other countries, such as Finland and Canada, and to the case of other professions, such as medical doctors, arguing that an improvement in the status of teachers is closely aligned to the quality and, consequently, the duration of studies. "When somebody sees that the image of the profession is not good, then somebody needs to improve this and not to say that we make shorter studies, because then the image remains bad." (Interview, AT_TE-SD-1) "If being a teacher starts to be highly regarded in the Austrian society, like in Finland or Canada, then I think that students would be happy to do four years BA and two years MA studies and then go to teach." (Interview, AT_TE-SM-1) Besides, respondents recognised that the salary and working conditions for teachers in Austria are favourable compared to other European countries. An approach in favour of the existing study duration was also expressed by a teacher educator working at a PH:

> *I am actually glad that initial teacher education has been extended. I think it is right, because it shows an external seriousness, that is, if you want to become a teacher, you have to do a six-year study. We used to have this almost only in medicine and natural sciences, such as physics. Here at the PH, we shifted from three to six years and the process is developing well, so that, in my opinion, we are now more aware of the importance of a well-founded specialised training. And we have seen that there was no decrease, but rather an improvement in student numbers, although the study has become longer.* (Interview, AT_TE-PH-1)

Finally, the longer duration of studies was evidently a compromise among the stakeholders involved in the different components of ITE, and teacher educators responsible for different study areas perceived this positively. "I am happy that the ITE duration is six years, because having two subjects that need to be studied requires more time. One needs to make the subject education in each subject rich, so that student teachers can understand very well what they are teaching in schools." (Interview, AT_TE-SD-1) Without taking any credits away from subjects, an additional impetus was given to educational sciences, subject methodology and practice, as will be detailed in the following sub-section.

ITE programmes: The four pillars

As previously mentioned, the Teacher Education New envisaged the implementation of a competence-oriented ITE curriculum, the different components of which were clearly stipulated by the QSR (see BMUKK/BMWF, 2011). The design of the curriculum requires intense cooperation between universities and PHs, while the QSR plays a significant role in approving the curriculum. Promoted by the QSR, the handbook *Basic Principles and Materials for Developing Curricula* (Braunsteiner et al., 2014) provides guidance to teacher education providers for curriculum development, placing learning outcomes and competences at the centre of the development process.

The new ITE curricula in Austria are built on a four-pillar model, including educational sciences (*Allgemeine bildungswissenschaftliche Grundlagen*), subject disciplines (*Fachwissenschaften*), subject-specific didactics (*Fachdidaktiken*), and pedagogical-practical studies (*Pädagogisch-Praktische Studien*). These four pillars are complemented by a fifth one related to personal awareness and development (Braunsteiner et al., 2014, p. 45). As a result, competence development is seen as either subject-related (e.g. theoretical and methodological knowledge and skills) or transversal (e.g. methodological, social and personal competences) (ibid., p. 45). According to Braunsteiner et al. (2014), curriculum development should be based

on the relevant professional qualification profile and provide information about the professional competences that students acquire during the study programme, as well as the occupational field that the competences are relevant for. To this end, the architecture of the ITE programmes needs to provide learning opportunities to achieve these competences through the specification of workload (i.e. ECTS) and differentiation of related modules (ibid.).

With regard to the workload allocated for each of the four pillars, it can be observed that ECTS credits increased for all pillars. Table 6 below compares the previous and newly initiated curriculum requirements at the University of Innsbruck (UIBK) to showcase that the number of ECTS credits increased for all study components of ITE, with educational sciences, subject didactics and practice receiving a substantial increase.

Table 6. Comparison of the previous and newly initiated ITE curriculum at UIBK

Newly initiated: Bachelor's & Master's degree	ECTS	ECTS	Previous: Diploma degree
Subject I ➢ Subject: 95–100 ECTS ➢ Subject Didactics: 25–30 ECTS	125	95	Subject I ➢ Subject: 80,5 ECTS ➢ Subject Didactics: 14,5 ECTS
Subject II ➢ Subject: 95–100 ECTS ➢ Subject Didactics: 25–30 ECTS	125	95	Subject II ➢ Subject: 80,5 ECTS ➢ Subject Didactics: 14,5 ECTS
Master thesis	30	30	Diploma thesis
Elective courses	20	20	Elective courses
Basics of educational sciences ➢ Pedagogical-practical parts: 40 ECTS	60	30	Pedagogical education and school placement
Total 6 years	**360**	**270**	**Total 4,5 years**

Source: Hinger (n. d., own adaptation)

The new balance between the ITE pillars that is envisaged by the Teacher Education New reform is also evident by the fact that Bachelor students have an additional option to study one subject and one education-related specialisation (e.g. inclusion, social pedagogy, career guidance, multilingualism, media pedagogy), instead of the traditional option to study two subject disciplines (BGBl. I, Nr. 124/2013, § 74a Abs. 1 Z 4). However, from an organisational point of view, the coordination and management of such an abundance of study offers can prove an administrative burden. As an interviewee from UIBK contends: "We are offering 24 subjects that students can freely choose and combine. This is a big coordination task and requires discussion culture and cooperation." (Interview, AT_TE-SD-1)

Based on the four pillars of curriculum development, the joint Bachelor curriculum of the Western Cluster describes the qualification profile of teacher education graduates and defines certain competences that will be explained in section 5.3.2 of this chapter. The study programme has evidently adopted the Bologna architecture, including the provision of diploma supplements, the application of ECTS, and the development of support structures for student mobility, which is "strongly recommended" for at least one semester by the new Bachelor curriculum (UIBK, 2017, p. 14). In accordance with Bologna provisions, the new curriculum has also been modularised and each module is defined based on learning outcomes. For Bachelor studies, Table 7 indicates the respective modules for educational sciences together

with the allocated ECTS credits for each module as a whole and for the part of each module that deals with pedagogical-practical studies.

Table 7. Educational sciences modules for ITE Bachelor studies at UIBK

Modules	ECTS	of which practice in ECTS
1. Introduction to Teaching: Becoming a Professional	7,5	5,5
2. Learning, Teaching and Research in the Context of Diversity and School Research	7,5	2
3. Diagnostics, Counselling, Educating, Teaching, and Assessing	7,5	3,5
4. Professional Teacher Development	10	10
5. Integration and Development of Professional Skills and Elective Courses	2,5	2
6. Current Topics of Education and School Research	5	0,5
Total	**40**	**23,5**

Source: UIBK, 2017, pp. 12-13

The pillar of educational sciences is evidently intertwined with the pedagogical-practical studies, since in every module there is a practical component integrated. Since the first year of studies, students at the Western Cluster have orientation practice, which helps students to evaluate if teaching is a desirable profession for them, followed by extensive practical periods in the third and fourth year of studies. Indicative of the new comprehensive approach brought by the Teacher Education New is the fact that the practical period in the fourth study year takes place partly in an NMS and partly in an AHS school. In addition to the practice attached to the educational sciences pillar, there is also practice attached to the subject-didactics one, taking place also in the fourth study year. This means that in addition to the 23,5 ECTS credits of practice allocated to educational sciences, there is an additional 10 ECTS credits of practice in subject-didactics (i.e. 5 ECTS credits for each of two subjects), resulting in a sum of 33.5 ECTS credits for practice throughout the Bachelor studies.

The increase in the workload related to practice has been positively perceived by respondents. "I think that the new programme has a lot of practicum, more practicum than before, and this is very helpful, so that students do not get a shock at the end of their studies, and as a teacher I think that is a good way." (Interview, AT_TE-PP-3) According to another interviewee, this increase in practice can also be justified as a pressure from the side of PHs, that traditionally included school practice in every study semester of their students (Interview, AT_Teacher-1). In this respect, one interviewee from the PHs expressed some reservations:

> *In the beginning, we were a bit concerned, because with the new programme students have their initial practice in the very beginning, and then practice comes in the fifth semester. So, there is a big gap in-between and we think it's important that students are at schools to see if this is really what they want to do, but with this gap they might have already lost some semesters when they have no school practice.* (Interview, AT_TE-PH-2)

From the perspective of teacher educators working at universities, another important aspect of the new ITE programme seemed to be the establishment of lectures (*Vorlesungen*) in educational sciences, which aim to introduce the research areas, methods and schools of thought for a given subject (UIBK, 2017, p. 13). "Previously in the educational sciences part there were no lectures. And now only in the Bachelor studies we have four lectures, which should offer the basic knowledge, and together with seminars, closely aligned to the lectures, this knowledge is applied and reflected upon." (Interview, AT_TE-PP-4) Respondents from the university argued that the old UIBK curriculum used to be practice-oriented with limited focus on educational theory, something that changed with the new curriculum that offers a better balance between theory and practice (Interview, AT_TE-PP-3, AT_TE-PP-4).

Overall, the curriculum development in the Western Cluster of Austria was the result of continuous information exchange and the collection of consultation statements from all relevant stakeholders. It is therefore considered very advanced with regard to the specific module development and the agreement of competences and learning outcomes required by the four ITE pillars mentioned above. Respondents of this study evaluated positively the collaboration between the different stakeholders in the Western Cluster, arguing that from the beginning of the curriculum development process each institution had nominated a representative who participated in joint discussions and reported back to his/her institution before final decisions were made (Interview, AT_TE-PP-1, AT_TE-SM-1, AT_TE-PH-3). From the perspective of UIBK, participants of the curriculum committee felt that they had the freedom from the university senate and the rectorate to proceed accordingly (Interview, AT_TE-SM-1), something that was not necessarily the case in other development clusters.

However, the implementation of the new ITE curriculum in the Western Cluster faced considerable challenges of a legal nature that according to an interviewee were not sufficiently considered by the expert and preparation groups that initially developed the reform (Interview, AT_TE-PP-2). As the same interviewee explains, no agreement could be found on the adaptation of the University Act 2002 and the Higher Education Act 2005 that would allow the joint delivery of the new ITE study programme. This concerned legal matters, including the central administration and data management of students, responsibilities for human resources, and the decision structures within the curriculum development process (ibid.; Kraler, Reich & Fügenschuh, 2017).

As a result, the new ITE programme can only be offered at UIBK with consecutive integration of the PHs in the delivery of the study programme during the next academic years. The difficulty in aligning the responsibilities of the different institutions seems to be further obscured by a climate of "fear" and "competition" between the institutions, which was cultivated in the past ten years. In this context, the Ministry of Education and the PHs try to preserve their responsibilities and organisational structures, limiting the cooperation with universities to the field of secondary education. An example of preserving old structures is that the three PHs in the Western Cluster still offer different study programmes in primary education. Further details about the implementation of the Teacher Education New and the cooperation in the Western Cluster is provided by Kraler, Reich and Fügenschuh (2017), who argue that the ITE programme needs to become more attractive for candidates and that legal requirements for the different institutions should be harmonised eventually.

5.3.1.2. Induction

According to the Härtel group, entry into the professional career should follow the Bachelor studies in the form of a mandatory induction phase for all teaching professions, which could form part of the Master studies (BMUKK/BMWF, 2010a). Such an induction phase is supposed

to build on the professional and practical experiences gained through the Bachelor studies, and successful completion of induction is a prerequisite for remaining in the profession. Thus, induction has a double role: on the one hand, it counts as the completion of initial education, and on the other as the start of lifelong further education (BMUKK/BMWF, 2010b, p. 9).

In Austria, the induction phase aimed to dissolve the traditional division between the one-phased and the two-phased ITE model, which stipulated that graduates of PHs received a teaching license immediately, while graduates of universities had to undertake a one-year internship before receiving full teaching qualifications (BMUKK/BMWF, 2010a). The new thinking introduces common requirements for all novice teachers and replaces the internship with employment as teacher. It also foresees the cooperation between universities and PHs in organising the induction phase. In this sense, universities and PHs become actively involved in the career entry of novices, which previously was the sole responsibility of provincial school authorities. From the perspective of the expert group, the development of induction should include the following:

- *Establishment of a career entry phase (induction phase) for teachers of all school types, as well as kindergarten teachers;*
- *Integration of the induction phase in further education with deepening and widening competence acquisition (extra-occupational master's degree/competence portfolio);*
- *Reduction of the teaching workload for the period of the induction phase;*
- *Upgrading of the mentors through a certified education.* (ibid., p. 28)

During induction, the expert group suggested that the professional part, accompanied by mentoring, should be linked to an educational part, corresponding to 30 ECTS credits of core pedagogical courses, and these two parts should be intertwined as a cycle (*Turnus*), complementing each other. In this period, which should last between two and four years, novice teachers could begin their Master studies at some point during and not necessarily from the beginning of the induction phase (ibid., p. 49). In addition to the 30 ECTS credits of the core pedagogical courses, to be acquired throughout the induction phase, Master students could receive 90 ECTS credits from three specialisation areas, either two subjects and one education specialisation, or one subject and two education specialisations, each allocated 30 ECTS credits respectively (ibid., p. 54).

Moreover, the expert group evidently considered the 2009 European Council Conclusions on the professional development of teachers and school leaders, as well as the Commission's policy handbook on induction, through emphasising the three aspects of personal, social and professional support during induction (BMUKK/BMWF, 2010a, pp. 63-67). For each of these aspects, the experts made recommendations for application in the Austrian context. The efforts to support teachers' career entry is conceptualised by the expert group as a broader European development, which stipulates the need to expand measures for early career support, connected to initial and further education, and involves a clear definition of the role and tasks of all the actors and institutions involved in this process.

However, developing the induction phase proves challenging and it remains unclear how it will be implemented in the near future, particularly because the necessary legal conditions and guidelines are yet not established. "It is a complicated construction and few people know what will happen in 2019. It is some sort of confusion, because there are different notions of what induction means." (Interview, AT_NPE-3) Some of the challenges recognised by research participants include the limited amount of school placements for all novice teachers (Interview, AT_NPE-4), the difficulty from the side of universities to organise the placements (Interview, AT_NPE-3), the demanding task of combining work with studies (Interview,

AT_NPE-5, AT_TE-PH-3), and the absence of a fixed concept and legal provisions for mentoring (Interview, AT_NPE-7). In addition, an AHS union representative expressed dissatisfaction with the replacement of the internship with an induction period, arguing that novices will have to apply for a vacancy, which some might not get, while mentors will not have the required time to supervise novices appropriately (Interview, AT_NPE-9). The risk of failing to achieve the intended vision proposed by the expert groups is summarised in the following quote:

> *The induction phase isn't going to be implemented the way it was intended for a couple of reasons. Number one is, if you use the same teachers you were using before for guiding new teachers, you're not going to make a difference there. In other words, we need to train all of them to be mentors and not do what they were doing before. I don't see that training happening at a scale that will make an impact. Second point is that we are right now in this phase of a huge gap in employees because so many of our teachers are retiring. Because of that need, already in some provinces they are hiring student teachers. No one in the system is going to require them to do a Master's degree. The bottom line is that this is going to become a niche to have, because the local school authorities need to hire people to fill their positions.* (Interview, AT_NPE-10)

Respondents at the Western Cluster also perceived the implementation of an induction phase as a challenging task that requires different thinking in order to overcome administrative hindrances. For example, the idea of having a *Turnus* between finishing the Bachelor and before starting the Master studies was judged as impractical by interviewees, one of whom argued: "You can't put someone one year at the school and then put him back into the master program. It is very difficult to organise something like that." (Interview, AT_TE-PP-2) Another interviewee expressed some reservations regarding quality of the Master studies, if combined with induction: "It will be difficult if somebody has full employment at school and on the side a Master. And we don't want here at the university to spare on the Master studies, only because there will be people already in school practice." (Interview, AT_TE-PP-4) There was also the fear that some students might not be able to complete their Master studies if disconnected for a longer time from the university (Interview, AT_TE-SD-1). Besides, some of them might have started a family while working at school (Interview, AT_TE-PP-1).

In this context, there are currently three possible options for implementing induction at the Western Cluster, as an interviewee at the University of Innsbruck explained (Interview, AT_TE-PP-2). One option is that students who complete their Bachelor studies, particularly the ones specialising in mathematics and natural sciences, can directly apply for a job, begin with their induction and undertake Master studies at some point during the first five years of entering the profession. Another option is that students who might face difficulties in finding a job and begin with induction, such as students who combine history and geography as subjects, complete first their Master studies and then look for a job. And the third, and most preferred option by respondents working at the university, is that students begin their Master studies immediately after the Bachelor and simultaneously apply for jobs. With this last option, students will be able to receive approximately ten ECTS credits for doing their induction during their Master studies, while in case someone finishes the Master studies without induction, then he/she should instead acquire those credits from selective courses offered by universities or PHs. There is, thus, the risk of detaching induction from the studies, creating two separate rather than continuing phases.

Once again, some respondents perceived the different responsibilities between the teacher education providers as impediments to the delivery of induction. While universities are responsible for organising the Master studies, PHs are responsible for organising the induction phase and the training of mentors. Although the expert groups envisaged cooperation among the teacher education providers in developing the induction, differences in administrative and academic cultures lead to tensions between the institutions. "We received one draft for the mentor training programme by the PHs, but it was problematic, because it was not aligned to the study programme that we have here." (Interview, AT_TE-PP-2) "Here at the university we teach methods in language didactics based on current research, but if you look in the mentor programmes, there are methods applied which are outdated." (Interview, AT_TE-SM-1)

The need to better prepare the mentors is turning into a crucial issue for successfully implementing induction, and it highly depends on the will of the institutions to cooperate. Traditionally, the supervisors of the internship period used to be teachers who had teaching experience of a minimum three years and had attended a training course (*Lehrgang*) for supervisors, offered by PHs (BMUKK/BMWF, 2010a, p. 27). This situation has not yet altered, although there has generally been a call from the expert groups to upgrade the training of mentors (BMUKK/BMWF, 2010a). Moreover, the new teacher education law in 2013 allowed universities to offer programmes for mentors (BGBl. I Nr. 211/2013), which until then was only allowed for PHs.

To date, PHs are still the main provider of mentor training programmes, because they receive the necessary funding from the Ministry of Education. However, in the context of the Teacher Education New reform, the task of preparing mentors who adequately meet the needs of novice teachers graduating from university requires the responsiveness of PHs to the teacher education approach of universities. "When we introduced new perspectives in ITE here at university, we asked the PHs to introduce new topics also in the courses for the mentors, so there is no gap afterwards. And we were successful in some courses, but not in all." (Interview, AT_TE-SM-1) In this sense, respondents from the university expressed their will to cooperate with PHs on training the mentors, but developments remain unclear (Interview, AT_TE-PP-1, AT_TE-SM-1). Although universities have been granted the legal right to offer training programmes for mentors since 2013, the lack of financial resources has prevented the University of Innsbruck from doing so and cooperation among institutions is perceived as "the ideal solution" (Interview, AT_TE-SM-1).

5.3.1.3. Continuing professional development

Teachers in Austria were traditionally obliged by the respective service codes to ensure that their teaching reflects the latest subject-specific didactics and pedagogy (Nusche et al., 2016). However, concrete requirements for participation in professional development differed depending on the service code and the employment status. Teachers working for general compulsory school employed by the provinces were required to complete 15 hours of professional development per year. Teachers working for academic secondary schools employed by the federal government were not required to do so if they were employed as civil servants, but if they were employed on a contractual basis then they were also required to undertake 15 hours of professional development. The reform of the teacher service code in 2013 aligned the requirements for teachers' CPD, stipulating that all newly employed teachers since 2015 are employed under a contractual status and are thus required to undertake 15 hours of professional development per year (BGBl. I Nr. 211/2013, § 40a. (12)). PHs are the main providers of professional development courses, which are organised according to current policy priorities of the Ministry of Education.

When designing the Teacher Education New, the expert groups paid particular attention to CPD as the third phase of the continuum, which plays a crucial role in the lifelong learning process of developing teacher competences. “Dispositions and competences are developed in the initial phase of teacher education and are deepened in the continuing professional development during the whole career.” (BMUKK/BMWF, 2010a, p. 28) However, the delivery of CPD in Austria lagged behind the developments in other European countries, particularly because of the different requirements for teachers, the low number of hours allocated to CPD, and the lack of academic orientation for CPD courses (ibid.). To overcome these deficits, the Härtel group suggested the following measures:

- *Orientation of teachers' professional development on acquired competences instead of orientation on school types;*
- *Establishment of a documentation system in the form of a teacher portfolio, which identifies formal and informal acquired qualifications;*
- *Linking the functions of teachers at schools with the designated qualifications;*
- *Enabling a differentiated professional career through specialisations and priorities in continuing professional development;*
- *Offering opportunities and incentives through secondments and leaves of absence for temporary research.* (ibid., p. 29)

The proposals of the expert group are closely aligned to the Lifelong Learning Strategy of the EU and the development of NQF in Austria, since the aim is to connect CPD with competences and qualifications acquired throughout the career. In this context, the expert group raised also the need to consider the EU’s key competences for lifelong learning (ibid., pp. 68-70). Other recommendations included proposals of ENTEP to connect teachers’ competence development with postgraduate courses that could allow teachers to study to the level of a professional doctorate (ibid., p. 49). In this sense, the idea of teacher education providers offering Master of Advanced Studies and other postgraduate trainings were recommended by the Härtel group, which argued that CPD could benefit from the Bologna system (ibid., p. 28).

However, as mentioned before, the recommendations of the expert groups with regard to CPD have only been partially considered in the revision of the teacher service code, while the new teacher education law in 2013 did not include any relevant provisions. Also in the case of the Western Cluster an interviewee contends: “We have not dealt with this topic sufficiently, one has to say. This is now under discussion, but in the last years we were all focused with setting up the new ITE studies.” (Interview, AT_TE-SD-1)

For some respondents, the fact that universities have no official role in providing CPD as well as the absence of legal provisions for collaboration between universities and PHs in the delivery of CPD prevents the realisation of the overall continuum idea. “It seems absurd that PHs and the university collaborate in the field of ITE and after the students go to work and become teachers, the in-service training is only at the hands of the PHs.” (Interview, AT_NPE-5) However, the PHs usually contract university personnel to offer CPD courses and many of these courses are also offered in cooperation between universities and PHs. As an interviewee explains: “University people are asked by PHs to run professional development seminars, but teachers can only enrol in them via the PHs. The selection of the trainers is always made by the PHs, because they receive the money from the ministry.” (Interview, AT_TE-SM-1) Another interviewee shared the experience that sometimes the trainers contracted by PHs might have no or very limited research background (Interview, AT_TE-PP-3).

Differences in CPD requirements among teachers was a crucial issue for interviewees who generally valued CPD, but saw it as a static phase without many changes compared to ITE

and induction. According to an interviewee: “You can see that the professional development situation is a bit chaotic, because in the AHS area, a teacher does not need, and might even have never participated in CPD after 30 or 40 years of service.” (Interview, AT_Teacher-1) Despite changes in the service code, respondents argued that it largely depended on the decision of the individual teacher whether they attended any CPD courses (Interview, AT_NPE-4). In this sense, it seems that institutions offer CPD opportunities and teachers are free to make their choice.

Some interviewees who participated in CPD argued that not all trainings are well attended, although CPD in Austria is provided free of charge. As a policy expert indicates: “We have on a regular basis in Austria funded continuing development programmes that are cancelled because there is not always enough registrants.” (Interview, AT_NPE-9) Similarly, a teacher expressed the following view: “I know that because it is free, many teacher register but they don’t show up. And for the PHs it is a big problem, if they spend so much money and only few people appear.” (Interview, AT_Teacher-1) As reasons for this development, interviewees identify the voluntary character of CPD or the fact that the law to participate in CPD is not always enforced by some school directors and school inspectors. However, when there is a broader significant change in the system, as was the case with the centralisation of the school leaving exams (*Matura*) in 2010, the Ministry organises nation-wide professional development courses, which are well attended by teachers (Interview, AT_NPE-9, AT_TE-SD-1).

The voluntary character of participating in CPD is also not necessarily geared towards addressing a policy agenda or influencing change in school. According to an interviewee: “We reach the people that are already convinced and they maybe become multiplicators in their schools, but I don’t think that the amount of courses and offerings we have within service-teacher training is sufficient to actually reach the system.” (Interview, AT_NPE-8) Participation in CPD might also prove challenging, because it usually takes place outside of teachers’ regular working hours and only if the school authorities consider it necessary, teachers can participate in CPD during teaching hours (BGBl. I Nr. 211/2013, § 40a. (12)). So far, professional development seems also not linked to a teacher’s specific subjects (Interview, AT_NPE-8). The following section will cast a closer look at teacher competences and their development for teachers’ career and for ITE.

5.3.2. Teacher competences

The definition of competences in Austria is based on the definition proposed by Weinert (2001), which found broad agreement among education experts in Austria (Interview, AT_NPE-2, AT_TE-PP-1). According to Weinert (2001, p. 27): “Competences are understood as an individual combination of knowledge and cognitive skills for problem solving, and the motivational and social willingness to adapt problem solutions to various situations in a successful and responsible way.” In German-speaking countries, the term has been widely used in VET, but with reference to action competency or the ability to perform (*Handlungskompetenz*). Constituting elements of action competency include the dispositions of knowledge, ability and willingness. Since 2000, the Terhart commission in Germany has defined the term competence for the teaching profession. According to Terhart (2000), teacher competences imply a unity of necessary professional knowledge, professional ability, and professional ethics, acquired throughout teacher’s professional career.

Already in the school curriculum reform of 2000, Austria introduced a competence orientation, influenced by international and regional developments, particularly the OECD’s DeSeCo and the contemporary psychological research in the German speaking world,

represented by Weinert (Interview, AT_NPE-2). The change in the school curricula implied also changes in the initial and in-service education of teachers, because, as an interviewee contends: "When you have more competence oriented learning, then you need more competence oriented teaching; so, this is a kind of parallel." (ibid.) For example, teacher education at the University of Innsbruck started in 2000/2001 with the implementation of a competence-oriented curriculum for ITE, based on three dimensions, including social and personal competences, subject-oriented and didactical competences, and organisational and systemic competences (Kraler, 2008, p. 157). This profession-based education at the University of Innsbruck was supported by a personal portfolio and the increased proportion of practical experiences in the classroom, starting in an early phase of the ITE studies (Kraler & Schratz, 2012).

The development of professional competence frameworks

The notions of competence and standards caused a lot of scepticism among the stakeholders in the system, since for some of them, including PHs, this meant an output-based approach of "teaching to the test" (Interview, AT_NPE-2). Although neighbouring countries, such as Germany and Switzerland, introduced competence frameworks for teacher education in a top-down way, policy actors in Austria envisaged developing relevant models through a bottom-up approach. "I was convinced that when it comes to defining standards for teachers you cannot do it by order, but you must do it from bottom-up and this needs networking." (ibid.) In this context, the Ministry of Education commissioned a task force, which in 2005 developed a model based on five domains of teacher professionalism (Schratz et al., 2008):

- *Reflection and Discourse: Sharing knowledge and skills*
- *Professional Awareness: The self as expert*
- *Collegiality: The productivity of cooperation*
- *Ability to differentiate: Dealing with large and small differences*
- *Personal Mastery: The power of individual prowess*

This so-called Developing Professionalism in an International Context (*Entwicklung von Professionalität im internationalen Kontext*, EPIK) model aims to define domains or fields of competence which determine a teacher's everyday professional life irrespective of school type or subject (ibid.). However, in practice, the application of the domains related to school types, subjects and their specific didactics is prevalent and termed the "sixth discipline" within the EPIK concept (Schratz, 2014, p. 15). It is important to note that EPIK talks about domains in a broader sense than competences, since the model envisages defining both individual competences and configurations of system structures. EPIK is designed as a model for professionalism of teachers in Austria, but the model itself takes into account the increasing international context of education and looks at issues of professionalism through international perspectives (ibid.).

The EPIK model has found widespread use, particularly in PHs, as well as in some universities, including the University of Innsbruck. Although it has not been officially regulated, meaning that it rests upon the individual institutions to employ the model, the expert groups and the development council, as well as Braunsteiner et al. (2014), considered EPIK when developing recommendations for the Teacher Education New. Moreover, teacher educators at the Western Cluster felt that EPIK had an influence in their institutions. According to an interviewee from the University of Innsbruck: "The domains are very helpful because they give you an overall structure, and not single items of competence. We use them as orientation for the development of our students, as a tool for their self-evaluation, and they

provide a common professional language for our students.” (Interview, AT_TE-PP-3) Another interviewee from the PHs also argued: “EPIK offers a good basis for our teacher education and we have included the domains as an important aspect for the phase of student orientation, as something that has to be necessarily dealt with students, so that they know where they are heading to.” (Interview, AT_TE-PH-1) However, several participants argued that competence models such as EPIK have not managed to provide a common vision for what constitutes the professionalism of secondary school teachers in Austria (Interview, AT_TE-PP-1, AT_TE-PH-1).

The development of teacher competence frameworks has also been boosted by the introduction of education standards in the Austrian school system (Interview, AT_NPE-8). In 2008, the Austrian government introduced education standards in view of improving student performance in Austria. To this end, BIFIE (*Bundesinstitut für Bildungsforschung, Innovation und Entwicklung des österreichischen Schulwesens*) was established as the organisation responsible for implementing and monitoring education standards through regular reviews (ibid.). The education standards determine the competences that students should possess after the fourth and eighth grade of compulsory education and are currently formulated for the main subjects of mathematics, German and English.

According to the legal regulations, education standards are defined as concrete, subject-specific learning outcomes that can be deducted from the subject curricula for the different school types and grades (*Gesamte Rechtsvorschrift für Bildungsstandards im Schulwesen*, consulted 21.01.2016, §2). In the context of education standards, competences are defined as sustainable cognitive abilities and skills, which enable learners to solve tasks in variable situations, successfully and in a responsible way, showing motivation and social willingness for performance. Education standards are based on competences that students should achieve at the end of each school year. Such competences build on core competences of a subject and are described in process-oriented competence models, which specify the acquisition of subject-specific and interdisciplinary competences. Competence models are built on competence areas, which focus on specific skills. The function of education standards is to provide insights into the effectiveness of teaching and the development potential of the Austrian school system. Their main aims are the individual support of pupils on the basis of the diagnostic monitoring of achieved competence levels and the quality development and evaluation of schools. To this end, teachers regularly receive feedback on the learning outcomes of their students, based on the reviews undertaken by BIFIE.

As a result of implementing the framework of education standards in school education, teachers were required to develop learning environments that support students in developing the necessary competences. Education experts argued that one of the core tasks of teacher education was to identify the professional competences that allow creation of such learning environments (Interview, AT_NPE-8). In this context, the development council of the Teacher Education New reform in 2013 proposed a list of professional competences for teachers (*Entwicklungsrat*, 2013). The specific list was included in the new teacher service code, which stipulates that teachers have to develop the following competences during their teacher education studies:

- *profession-oriented competences and general pedagogical competences;*
- *subject competences and didactics competences;*
- *competences for dealing with diversity and gender aspects;*
- *social competences; and*
- *a professional understanding* (BGBl. I Nr. 211/2013, Annex 2, §38 (2))

The law also stipulates that teacher education students acquire demonstrable knowledge in the following eight study areas:

1. *Introduction to educational sciences*
2. *Education in Austria and its organisations (schools and education institutes)*
3. *Diagnostics and support*
4. *Individualisation and personalisation of learning*
5. *Leading lessons and development of learning environments*
6. *Design and evaluation of education processes, instruments of quality assurance at Austrian schools*
7. *Development of pedagogic quality and professionalism*
8. *Communication and work with parents* (ibid., Annex 2, §38 (5))

The competences and knowledge areas mentioned above are aspects which the regional clusters should consider when developing ITE curricula. However, the development council emphasised the need to respect the autonomy of institutions and, thus, avoided to specify further what kind of knowledge, skills and attitudes each competence should include. Instead, it was recommended that working groups throughout Austria can define and adjust the competences to the respective curricula (*Entwicklungsrat*, 2013). According to an interviewee: “All the development clusters refer to the competences that the development council has published. However, it is not a very strong framework, but rather a loose one.” (Interview, AT_NPE-3) This flexibility in defining competence models may explain why the new teacher service code includes only a rather tenuous list of competences and knowledge areas, which is not restricting curriculum development.

The majority of interviewees, both national policy experts and teacher educators, expressed the view that the impact of such a competence framework is limited. An example is that the new higher education law of 2017 omitted the reference to the competences mentioned above, which appeared in the curriculum regulations for PHs in 2013. According to an interviewee: “With the new law in 2017, they skipped this part with competences. Although the primary and secondary education curricula reference these general competences, they are not as explicit in the higher education law now, as it was before.” (Interview, AT_NPE-3) Moreover, the competences appear the same for all different phases of the continuum, and no specific legal provision could be identified for upgrading the competences according to the different phases. As a national policy expert argues: “There are members of the QSR who are very interested in the issue of systematically developing competences in ITE, in induction and then in lifelong learning. But so far this has almost no impact I would say.” (Interview, AT_NPE-4) Similarly, another interviewee mentions: “The competences appear in the curricula, but not further on for induction or further education.” (Interview, AT_NPE-3)

Competence-oriented curricula and learning outcomes

The discussions on professional competences and the qualification profile of teachers have also influenced curriculum development of teacher education in Austria. Although, as mentioned before, competence-orientation had existed in Austria since the early 2000s, the Teacher Education New placed particular importance to competence-based teacher education, following international practices and standards. This development was informed by Bologna, but also from by implementation of the NQF, which was officially regulated by the parliament in 2016 (BGBl. I Nr. 14/2016).

With reference to the definition of learning outcomes by the European Parliament and Council in 2008, the Austrian NQF is based on descriptors of relevant learning outcomes

required for the acquisition of specific qualifications and is disaggregated in knowledge, skills and competences. The Austrian NQF defines learning outcomes as statements on what learners know, understand and are able to do after the completion of a learning process. Considering the NQF and the Tuning project, Braunsteiner et al. (2014) suggested how learning outcomes can be applied in the development of ITE curricula on four hierarchical levels:

1) *EQF/NQF reference level: generic description of the level and continuum of learning outcomes, allowing a hierarchical classification of qualifications;*
2) *Qualifications: the description of the sum of learning outcomes of an educational programme, referring to the NQF descriptors;*
3) *Modules: a concrete description of the learning outcome of a module, referring to the learning outcomes of the relevant qualification, as well as learning outcomes that can be assessed during relevant subjects or courses;*
4) *Courses: detailed description of the expected learning outcomes, taking the form of single statements that can be assessed, with a direct relation to standards.* (Vogtenhuber, as cited in Braunsteiner et al., 2014, p. 15)

If we take the example of the new ITE curriculum in the Western Cluster of Austria, we can see that there is a coherent reference to learning outcomes on all levels, meaning from the NQF to qualification profiles to modules and to courses. The curriculum sets out from the beginning the qualification profile of teacher education graduates with regard to teaching, subject-didactic education, education sciences and pedagogical-practical studies. Based on these pillars, it further defines the following aspects: (1) general competences; (2) competences in educational sciences; (3) subject-specific competences; (4) subject-didactical competences; (5) interdisciplinary competences; (6) scientific vocational preparation; (7) interdisciplinary and social competences and understanding of professionalism; (8) access to vocations; and (9) consecutive character (UIBK, 2017, pp. 9-11).

For each of these aspects, general statements in the form of learning outcomes are provided. It should be noted, though, that learning outcomes are not clearly disaggregated in knowledge, skills and attitudes in neither the competence description nor the module and course descriptions. For teacher educators at the University of Innsbruck, competence development used to be promoted through a meta-cognitive portfolio method, which accompanies the students throughout the study programme and leads to the final study phase with a formative assessment character (Interview, AT_TE-PP-1). In addition, self-reflective assessment for monitoring individual professional aspirations is employed in various courses, and research competences are developed through projects on inquiry learning taking place at schools (Interview, AT_TE-PP-1, AT_TE-PP-3).

Teacher educators specialising in subject methodology felt particularly confident in formulating and working with competences, since the relevant department at the University of Innsbruck since 2002 had developed the “Innsbruck model of foreign languages didactics” (Hirzinger-Unterrainer, 2014), based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Interview, AT_TE-SM-1). In the case of foreign language teaching, the new ITE curriculum aligns the qualification profile and competences of student teachers closely to the European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Language, which evidently employs the competence orientation and learning outcomes approach.

However, some interviewees expressed scepticism towards the competence orientation for curricula, arguing that both competences and learning outcomes stay on the surface and fail to reveal if learning is actually student-centred. As a policy expert contends, it proves

challenging to measure the impact of competences, because adequate examination procedures are missing and teacher educators focus on traditional examination methods:

> *The main problem with the competence orientation is that there is almost no method of assessing whether a young teacher has developed the specific competence. In the curricula we see a very high level of what they want to achieve, but then there is no innovation about how it is assessed whether a competency has been achieved. I think it would be necessary to have a situation where young teachers are coming into real school or classroom situation and are observed and then you can see something. But this is much work for the examiners and you cannot know whether a young teacher has developed the competence only by making examination where the teacher writes some pages.* (Interview, AT_NPE-4)

Finally, respondents pointed to the fact that with the ongoing changes occurring in ITE and the limited experience teaching with the new curriculum, it is still unclear how things will develop. For some respondents, methods that were previously employed to assess competence development, such as portfolio assessment, might be employed again with the new system (Interview, AT_TE-PP-3), while others referred to the need for developing new assessment tools (Interview, AT_TE-PP-1, AT_TE-PH-2).

5.3.3. The role of teacher educators

In Austria, teacher educators include scientific staff at universities, personnel at PHs and schools. Although there are no legal provisions that specifically define the role of teacher educators, the 2002 and 2005 legal acts refer to qualifications and responsibilities of personnel for universities and PHs respectively. The 2002 University Law stipulates that universities have full autonomy in personnel planning, selection and development. The specific law together with the 2009 Collective Agreement (*Kollektivvertrag*), signed by the universities federation and the public service union, and the Performance Agreement (*Leistungsvereinbarung*), a three years contract concluded between the federal government and each university, provide the legal framework in which universities deal with personnel matters. The universities have also established codes of conduct in which basic principles are defined for all university members to ensure good academic practice.

In the case of PHs, human resources management is not carried out autonomously by the respective institution, but the rectorate of each PH in consultation with the Ministry of Education decides on selection of personnel. According to the 2005 Higher Education Law, teaching at PHs is undertaken by permanent teaching staff, by assigned federal and provincial teachers, and by lecturers (BGBl. I Nr. 30/2006, § 18. (1)). Depending on the employment group, which can be university professors (employment group 1) or professors (employment groups 2 and 3), they have to demonstrate certain qualifications which range from a higher education degree to a doctorate, combined with relevant teaching experience at schools or universities, as well as academic publications. The law further stipulates that teaching personnel at PHs should combine teaching with profession-related research and development activities (BGBl. I Nr. 30/2006, § 18. (5)). PHs have not officially defined a code of conduct, but some of them have formulated guidelines which provide the ground of their educational work (e.g. PH Vorarlberg).

From the perspective of interviewees, a common understanding of what defines a teacher educator is still missing. “We had one or two conferences about teacher educators in

Austria, but there is no clear characterisation or definition of what is a teacher educator." (Interview, AT_TE-PP-1) A common understanding is further made difficult by the different academic and professional requirements that applied to universities and PHs for personnel recruitment and professional development. Universities focused predominantly on research competence of personnel, while PHs traditionally recruited practising teachers and emphasised teaching over research. Respondents from PHs argued that the teaching workload leaves little room for research:

> *Where I see a need to catch up here is that one has few good opportunities and too little time to conduct research projects. In this, we do not have what the university has. The university always has a research focus. I miss the opportunity to develop my own research projects. I do not have enough time for that here. That is a bit of a backlog. One tries to do this, but in principle, I personally see few possibilities.* (Interview, AT_TE-PH-1)

> *At least 50 per cent of our work has to be teaching, and the other 50 per cent has to be pedagogical conceptualisation or administration. Not everyone has research and it is really hard to get resources for research, which actually means that you get some amount of your working time to do research. Me, for example, I have to do my PhD in my free time.* (Interview, AT_TE-PH-2)

The closer connection to praxis plays a key role for PH respondents in order to identify themselves as teacher educators. The same applies for teachers who are contracted at universities to supervise the pedagogical-practical studies of ITE students (Interview, AT_Teacher-1). However, research is increasingly becoming relevant for identifying oneself as teacher educator in the new teacher education context and in this respect it is evident that PH teacher educators feel as lagging behind. The situation appears also complex when it comes to university personnel, particularly in subject disciplines. According to an interviewee from subject-disciplines: "In my view, there are people teaching subjects who have less understanding, and some who have more, but that is everywhere like that." (Interview, AT_TE-SD-1) There seems to be a firm belief that teacher educator competences and relationship with school practice is not relevant for those specialising in subject-disciplines (ibid.). Another interviewee contends: "What we need at university is people who are qualified in integrating the different contributions in teacher education. This kind of people we need to develop and they do not exist up to now." (AT_NPE-4)

An interest in defining the role of teacher educators evidently emerged in research initiatives launched in Austria after 2012, when the EU promoted the idea of supporting teacher educators. Schratz (2012c) raised the issue of revealing this "hidden profession" for Austria and introduced several of the European ideas produced in the OMC working group on teacher professional development. Adopting the definition of the European Commission, Schratz (2012c, p. 72) argues: "All those, who actively support the (formal) learning of (teacher education) students, can be counted in the profession of teacher educators. They include those who are involved in the initial education, and those in the continuing professional development." Similarly, the Department of Teacher Education and School Research (*Institut für LehrerInnenbildung und Schulforschung*, ILS) at the University of Innsbruck published a special issue in the institute's research magazine with the title "Teacher educator – a profession?" (*ILS Mail*, 1/2014). Adopting a similar theme, the Austrian Journal of Teacher Education in 2015 published an issue related to "Teacher educator – the unknown being",

including examples of regional initiatives on the professionalisation of teacher educators (*Journal für Lehrerinnenbildung*, 2/2015).

Competence frameworks for teacher educators

Despite research efforts to define competences for teacher educators, there are no officially established professional competence frameworks for teacher educators in Austria. Formal requirements are rather locally regulated, depending on the teacher education provider. Interviewees of this study were generally in favour of defining professional competences for teacher educators (Interview, AT_TE-PP-1, AT_TE-SD-1, AT_TE-SM-1). However, some respondents opposed the idea of defining special competences for teacher educators, arguing along these lines:

> *If we want education to be on eye-level with all other disciplines, I don't think that we need to make it more like school in that regard. I think we need to use the same standards that you would use in any other discipline for quality of education at university level. The content is of course going to be education but I don't get the point of yet again creating a special thing there, I really don't. I do think for the profession in the same way, that you see it in medicine and law, the profession itself has its standards and has the final say over whether or not you'll be licensed. We don't have that in teaching.* (Interview, AT_NPE-9).

In the case of the Western Cluster, the University of Innsbruck in 2012 initiated a collaborative process for defining the competences of teacher educators working in the newly established School of Education. According to an interviewee: "We tried to define what is our understanding of our services as a school of education and as teacher educators; what is our fingerprint. We started a collaborative process of defining yourself, what does it mean to be a teacher educator, which requirement does one need to have." (Interview, AT_TE-PP-1) This process developed further through professional development meetings and resulted in the creation of a cube, a material artefact shared among teacher educators and newly recruited personnel, illustrating six areas of teacher educator competences. These areas are:

1. *Qualification in the professional field of teacher education;*
2. *Competences for the professional field of teacher education;*
3. *Pedagogical and subject-didactics approaches, attitudes and practices;*
4. *Scientific praxis;*
5. *Research and development; and*
6. *Professional exchange and cooperation.*

The cube was accompanied by a folder with practical information on working as a teacher educator (ibid.). Although the process was perceived positively by University of Innsbruck teacher educators, it was considered as a first step that was not enough to bridge the different expectations between education, subject methodology and subject discipline experts. A subject methodology expert put it thus: "The process did not really lead to conclusions we could all stick to. So it was like this is important for me, the other important for him, and we couldn't find a bridge, so we decided let's stay side by side." (Interview, AT_TE-SM-1) It was generally deemed necessary to invest more time in order to further develop trust and engage more people in the process.

Networks to support teacher educators
As described above, the Teacher Education New reform envisaged a closer cooperation between universities and PHs. This need for cooperation led to the emergence of several initiatives aimed at developing the professional identity of teacher educators, particularly in the period after 2010. One such initiative with great importance was launched by the QSR in 2014 and proposed the establishment of work units (*Arbeitseinheiten*) for each of the four pillars contributing to the new comprehensive scheme of teacher education. With the goal of better aligning the scientific and professional requirements of the reform, the QSR stipulates the following: "The work units are seen as an important element of quality assurance, in which the educational sciences, the respective education areas, subjects and specialisations are represented." (QSR, 2014, p. 2)

The work units involve people from both research and practice, who generate research findings that are fed back to the teacher education system. According to a policy expert: "The work units should be responsible for the development of curricula, the development of scientific projects in the field of teacher education, and they should also make decisions and influence the development of their respective areas, promoting also networking." (Interview, AT_NPE-5) Each work unit should include at least three teacher educators, two holding a PhD and one with a Habilitation, while for educational sciences and subject didactics work units, at least one person from the field of practice should also be included (QSR, 2014). The work units can be developed jointly by universities and PHs.

For each teacher education pillar, a minimum number of work units is defined (e.g. five for educational sciences, one for each area of subject didactics, two for each subject discipline) (ibid.). At the University of Innsbruck, for example, the following work units were proposed for the pillar of educational sciences: (1) teaching and learning; (2) professionalisation; (3) organisation of education sociology and school development; (4) inclusion; (5) educational psychology (Interview, AT_TE-PP-1). Work units are becoming central for human resource management, as the following quote by a University of Innsbruck teacher educator indicates: "We used the work units as a quality assurance and development instrument for the curriculum, but also as a developmental instrument for teacher educators, for human resources. If somebody wants to become a teacher educator, he should be part of one research unit." (ibid.). However, the development of these work units started only recently, in 2016, and the whole development process is expected to last at least six to seven years until they are fully functional (Interview, AT_NPE-5).

Another initiative which proved crucial for collaboration and networking among teacher educators is the so-called Platform Teacher Education, which succeeded the University Platform for Teacher Education, developed in 2010 by representatives of the university senates. Although at first the platform aimed at demonstrating the contribution of universities in the field of teacher education, it developed into a broader umbrella network encompassing also PH representatives. According to the platform's website: "The platform is interested in a qualitative development of the overall architecture of teacher education in Austria and has therefore renamed itself in view of the advanced institutional networking." (*Plattform LehrerInnenbildung*, 2018) The platform offers a space to exchange views regarding the development and implementation of the new teacher education reform, and organises various events, including symposia, seminars and workshops.

As a bottom-up initiative, the platform offers "a certain togetherness", involving teacher educators active in educational sciences and subject methodology, as well as teachers and administrative personnel (Interview, AT_NPE_7). On several occasions, the platform has offered consultancy to the ministry, representing the interests of teacher educators with regard to professional matters. According to an interviewee: "We try to stay in contact with the

ministry and in several meetings the representatives of the QSR were there to participate, so I think that we have somehow an influence on policy with the platform." (ibid.) The platform has also organised conferences related to the professionalisation of teacher educators. An interviewee who participated in such a conference contended: "It is good to become more aware about the profession of teacher educators, what are the intricacies of their jobs and what they are doing. For me this is more a stimulus for discussion, rather than an end in itself." (Interview, AT_NPE-6)

Finally, in the case of the Western Cluster, the establishment of the School of Education at the University of Innsbruck provided an institutional structure that fosters the collaboration among teacher educators. Teacher educators specialising in educational sciences and those specialising in subject methodology are based in two respective departments of the faculty, namely the ILS and the Department of Subject Didactics. Through faculty meetings and professional development events teacher educators have the opportunity to meet and collaborate (Interview, AT_TE-PP-1). The School of Education coordinates and helps design teacher education at UIBK by cooperating with eight other faculties of the university specialising in the subjects. It also works closely with the regional education authorities and has a leading role in the Western Cluster implementing the Teacher Education New together with the PHs.

The faculty structure of the School of Education, which in 2018 was renamed Faculty of Teacher Education, offers an institutional basis for teacher educators and a "home" for teacher education students (Interview, AT_TE-PP-3). The faculty structure also offers advantages compared to the structure of teacher education centres. As an interviewee argues: "When you are not embedded as a faculty and have the structure of a centre it is quite easy to reduce budget, reduce the staff, and cut down several responsibilities. This is not easy if faculties have to change their organisational plan." (Interview, AT_TE-PP-2) It also helps to raise the status of the faculty, since the dean is part of the university senate and the faculty can negotiate for staff and budget on an equal footing with other faculties (ibid.).

5.4. Summary

During the past ten years, Austria moved from a two-track teacher education system based on school types towards a common teacher education scheme for secondary school teachers. The political resistance to change, which traditionally had characterised the system, was finally broken in 2009, following external pressures from international student assessments and European developments. Policy actors and local stakeholders employed European resources, such as the Bologna process, the EQF, the OMC work and policy recommendations, to influence the development and implementation of reforms, particularly the Teacher Education New reform which reshaped the system into the form it has today. Although analysis shows that the reforms were the outcome of internal policy processes, which evolved over many years, European resources were used to support and, to a certain extent, legitimise specific policies, such as the aptitude test for ITE selection, the architecture of ITE programmes, the introduction of an induction period, the application of learning outcomes, and other measures.

Process tracing reveals that the development of Teacher Education New was significantly influenced by European policy recommendations, particularly with regard to the continuum of teacher professional development and its different phases, as well as the competence orientation of ITE and the development of professional competence frameworks for teachers. The recommendations of the expert groups and the role of the QSR foster a lifelong learning approach to teacher education that builds on an adequate balance between the different pillars of teacher education, both scientific and professional. The close cooperation

between universities and PHs is also strongly envisaged. However, the implementation of such ambitious recommendations faced several challenges, resulting from the different political priorities of the respective ministries, the competition among the teacher education providers, and resistance from some stakeholders. The reform was designed and implemented in a top-down way that eventually led to regulating hasty policies, which focused predominantly on ITE and curriculum development, rather than on other phases of the continuum.

While the Austrian teacher education system is evidently oriented towards the continuum concept, lack of policy provisions and difficulties in organising the induction phase seem to disrupt the connection between the different phases. In addition, the turbulent organisation of CPD, with responsibilities still remaining predominantly at the level of PHs, makes it difficult to predict, for the time being, if a significant proportion of secondary school teachers will engage in meaningful professional development. At the level of ITE, the Bologna structure has been adopted for study programmes at the University of Innsbruck, including the Bachelor and Master structure, the provision of diploma supplements, the application of ECTS and the development of support structures for student mobility. Moreover, the curriculum development in the Western Cluster was successful in reaching agreement on the contents, learning outcomes and module development of the new curriculum. However, structural incoherencies in the legislation related to the university and PHs hindered the joint delivery of the curriculum and thus the first year of studies could only be realised by the University of Innsbruck. Starting from 2016/2017, a joint study programme involving all partners could be implemented due to changes in the law.

The introduction of professional competences in the teacher service code of 2013 and the competence orientation of ITE, which already existed in Austria since the early 2000s, appears as a step to define a common professional identity for secondary school teachers. Similarly, teacher competence models, such as EPIK, find widespread application in ITE and prove useful for the practice of teacher educators, although they are not officially institutionalised. Competence models prove to be rather broad, allowing a flexibility that is not restricting curriculum development. The new teacher education curricula in Austria are informed by a qualification profile and professional competences of teachers, with learning outcomes serving as the basis for the integrated module development. Such a tenuous list of competences appears to predominantly influence the phase of ITE and is not necessarily geared towards the different phases of teachers' career, nor is it connected to teacher appraisal. Teacher education students and practicing teachers are not always aware of these general competence areas. The lack of professional teacher associations further obscures the development and ownership of competence frameworks.

With regard to the role of teacher educators, it becomes evident that discussions were triggered after 2012, mainly in research and professional circles, as a result of the emphasis given by the EU on this topic. Although there is no official definition of the profession, nor a common understanding among the different teacher education providers, it becomes increasingly relevant that a teacher educator needs to possess research competences. This appears to be a crucial difference, when conceiving the profession of a teacher educator, between universities and PHs. Developing competence frameworks for teacher educators depends on individual institutions, and some initial efforts have been attempted in the example of the University of Innsbruck, which attempted to employ a framework with broad competence areas in order to strengthen the professional identity of the different teacher education stakeholders and encourage collaboration. Last but not least, opportunities to reinforce networking between teacher educators are promoted in a national scale by the work units policy of the QSR and bottom-up initiatives, such as the platform for teacher education, which is jointly run by university and PH teacher educators. At the University of Innsbruck,

collaboration is also enabled by the institutional structure of a teacher education faculty which provides an institutional basis for teacher educators responsible for the different ITE pillars and caters for the collaborative development and organisation of the teacher education programme in the Western Cluster.

Chapter 6: Greece

This chapter analyses the case of teacher education for secondary school teachers in Greece. The first section will contextualise teacher education in Greece by providing information on the governance of the system, the historical development of teacher education policies, and the impact of the country's accession to the EU. The second section will trace the process of reforming teacher education between 1997 and 2017, focusing on policies and practices related to the so-called "Certificate for Pedagogical and Teaching Competence", a policy initiative aiming to strengthen the pedagogical preparation of secondary school teachers. The following section explores the resonance of teacher education policies and practices in Greece with European developments, employing the example of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki to illustrate policy enactment. The final section concludes the chapter by providing a summary and some critical considerations.

6.1. The Greek teacher education system in context: Setting the scene

This first part of the chapter aims to provide an overview of contextual factors relevant to understand the development of teacher education policies and practices for secondary school teachers in Greece. Firstly, the governance context of Greek education policy is presented highlighting some main aspects of policy and reform culture in the country as these have been shaped over the years and particularly following the impact of the global economic crisis in 2008. Afterwards, a historical overview of teacher education for secondary school teachers is described from the moment this was first established until the early 2000s. The third section links some of these developments with European influences, analysing how Europeanisation emerged in the Greek context after the country's accession to the EU in 1981.

6.1.1. Greek policy and reform culture

Greece has been a parliamentary republic since 1974, following the collapse of the colonels' military dictatorship that lasted seven years. Due to the global economic crisis in 2008, Greece has faced a deep recession that immensely affected its economy and society, including education. From 2010 until 2018, the country has been dependent on an internationally coordinated adjustment programme, administered by the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Between 2009 and 2015, the country's gross domestic product fell annually by approximately four per cent, national debt was 183 per cent in 2016, and public spending in education declined over the past decade by 36 per cent (OECD, 2018, p. 16). At the same time, fiscal austerity poses a threat to social cohesion, causing strikes and increasing unemployment and poverty (Zmas, 2014). This situation exacerbates the demographic challenges that Greece has been facing for over two decades, namely an ageing population and low birth rate (OECD, 2018), while it also led to a resurgence of emigration. Driven by the economic crisis, more than 240,000 Greek citizens have left Greece since 2010 to seek employment in other countries, mainly the United Kingdom and Germany (Labrianidis & Pratsinakis, 2016). The refugee crisis that started since 2015 has also challenged the education system which was already struggling with financial resources (OECD, 2018).

This context has caused significant pressure on government spending, leading to severe cuts affecting education among other government activities. Specifically, teachers' salaries

have been reduced and a recruitment freeze of public civil servants has resulted in the hiring of substitute teachers through short-term employment contracts (OECD, 2017). Precarious employment appears to have a negative impact on the quality of the education system as a whole, because it has affected teacher morale and has reduced the society's level of trust in the education system (OECD, 2018). The attractiveness of the teaching profession has been further impaired by the negative way that politicians used to refer to teachers in the media, accusing them of not doing their job well and of resisting change (European Commission, 2013a). In a European survey, more than 60 per cent of Greek teachers contended that they might envisage looking for another job (ibid., p. 40).

Nevertheless, the Greek society traditionally places a strong value on education (OECD, 2011, 2018), which is considered as a way for upward social mobility, particularly for individuals with low socio-economic background (Kalyvas, 2015). Higher education is also especially valued and is characterised by high attendance, particularly because of its perceived role in contributing to someone's overall education, independent of employment prospects (OECD, 2018). All levels of education are provided free of charge, since education is constitutionally a basic mission of the state (The Constitution of Greece, Article 16). Overall, there is a strong commitment to social equity and an egalitarian society (ibid, Article 4), so that the Greek education system prevents early tracking and allows selection among students, teachers, schools or regions only on the basis of criteria defined at the national level (OECD, 2018).

Other contextual governance issues that shape education policy over the years include clientelism and mistrust of governmental initiatives, fuelled by the existence of corruption (OECD, 2018; Zmas, 2014; Gotovos, 2005). The patrimonial characteristics of the state, originating in Ottoman times, which embedded patron-client networks in the society, have restrained modernisation efforts and the ability of state mechanisms to respond effectively to international demands (Zmas, 2014; Petras, Raptis & Sarafopoulos, 1993). Clientelism has long been recognised in Greece, but efforts to change this culture have proven ineffective so far (OECD, 2018). Recent international surveys keep on pointing out that the perception of public sector corruption is considerably high in Greece (Transparency International, 2017), while the failures of the governments to implement structural reforms over the past years have damaged the trust of the people in their representatives and the political system. Within the education system, this situation has created concerns about the misuse of public funds, public employment for private purposes, as well as a widespread fear of any kind of external or internal evaluation of school or teacher performance (OECD, 2018).

The education system in Greece is highly centralised, since the main responsibilities for education policy and administration in all education sectors lie with the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs. Under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, the Institute of Education Policy (*Institouto Ekpaideutikis Politikis*, IEP) acts as scientific advisory body, with main tasks including scientific research for primary and secondary education, the transition from secondary to higher education, and technical support in the planning and implementation of education policies (Eurydice, 2018a). Three committees have also been developed since 2015 to support the consultation with different stakeholders, including the Committee for National and Social Dialogue for Education, the Standing Committee on Education of the Greek Parliament and the Committee on the Economics of Education (OECD, 2018, p. 50).

In this so-called "administrative pyramid" (ibid., p. 64), a decentralised service of the Ministry called the Regional Education Directorates is operating in each of the 13 regions of the country. The role of these directorates is to provide scientific and pedagogical guidance for education in the region and to supervise the implementation of the national education policy

(Eurydice, 2018a). Further down the pyramid, at the district level, Directorates of Primary and Secondary Education which respond directly to the state and not to the local authorities oversee the compliance of schools with national legislation (OECD, 2018). Higher education institutions are self-governed, but overall the governance of higher education is still considered the most centralised in the EU (ibid.).

Generally, the education system of Greece has proven to be not easily amenable to change and innovation over the years (OECD, 2011, 2018; Papagueli-Vouliouris, 1999). The highly detailed and technical character of the Greek legislation has led to a complex top-down governance of education, which alienates bottom-up initiatives. During the crisis, frequent legislative changes have further complicated the system, so that the gap between policy and practice has widened. A recent extended study of the OECD, commissioned by the Ministry of Education, has revealed "the absence of a clearly articulated and universally accepted long-term vision to guide education in the future, or a clear focus on students and their learning" (OECD, 2018, p. 50). This can be partly explained by the consistent disagreements among the political parties regarding the aims of education (Charalampous, 2007; Panitsides, 2014), and partly because the Ministry, especially during the crisis, has been mainly preoccupied with administrative and resource-related challenges (OECD, 2018). Thus, there is a tendency that educational priorities change radically depending on changes in the political scenery of the country. It is not by coincidence that the average service of Ministers of Education in the period between 1974 and 2013 has hardly exceeded one and a half years, indicative of the discontinuity of education policy (Panitsides, 2014, p. 310). This instability leads to piecemeal policy making and a lack of a coherent approach regarding reforms and changes (OECD, 2018). The difficulty to implement reforms is further obscured by the lack of evaluation mechanisms from the side of the Ministry of Education, meaning that often there are not enough information about the outcomes of targeted interventions (Interview, EL_NPE-6).

Despite the centralised character of the system, initial and in-service teacher education appear highly diversified, since each university department creates its own ITE curriculum in the absence of overarching standards (Liakopoulou, 2009; Stamelos, 1999), and there is no coherent plan for the organisation of teacher professional development (Vergidis, 2012). As will be analysed in the following section, teacher education for secondary school teachers takes place in the subject faculties of universities and appears highly fragmented. Teacher recruitment is centrally administered and all teacher candidates who want a permanent position in the public sector have to participate in the Supreme Council for Civil Personnel Selection (*Anotato Simvoulio Epilogis Prosopikou*, ASEP) examination. However, with the freeze in teacher hiring, ASEP examination has not been conducted since 2008 and a candidate list provides a pool for recruiting substitute teachers to fill school vacancies. Deployment of teachers in schools takes place according to a point system, so that vacancies in disadvantaged locations can be filled, considering the geographical specificities of Greece. Since the crisis took hold, the international pressures to reform all aspects of public life in Greece have also considerably influenced teacher education. The next section provides a historical overview of teacher education developments for secondary school teachers in Greece until the early 2000s.

6.1.2. The development of teacher education in Greece: A historical overview

The state of the art of teacher education for secondary school teachers in Greece is different from the other two country cases examined in this study. This is because teacher education for secondary school teachers in Greece has remained largely unattended and unorganised for reasons that will be explained in the following sections. Several research studies have identified the deficit of teacher education for secondary school teachers, particularly with regard to their

pedagogical preparation and teaching practice (Gomatos, 2013; Kassotakis, 2007, 2010; Liakopoulou, 2009, 2011;). Most subject discipline faculties in higher education institutions can prepare someone to become a teacher in general or vocational secondary education without necessarily providing teacher education courses. Moreover, teacher education differs between the so-called "teacher faculties", in which students receive teacher qualifications automatically upon graduation (e.g., linguistics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, history-archaeology, and theology), and other higher education faculties (e.g. law, political science, sociology, economy, technology, agronomy, medicine, engineering, and other), in which graduates can become teachers only after receiving professional training in the School of Pedagogical and Technological Education (*Anotati Scholi Paidagogikis kai Technologikis Ekpaideusis*, ASPETE).

The institutionalisation of teacher education for secondary school teachers in Greece starts with the establishment of the University of Athens in 1836 (Antoniou, 2015). However, the law which established the university did not make any special provision regarding the pedagogical preparation and practical training of prospective secondary school teachers (ibid.). The aim of the university was to provide subject-specific education, while the professional component of teacher education was not considered a priority (ibid.). On the contrary, the pedagogical preparation for the education of primary school teachers was already regulated with the law of 1834 (Antoniou, 2012).

Other legislative efforts in 1850 and 1884 tried to impose the pedagogical preparation and teaching practice for secondary school teachers, but failed to do so, due to significant teacher shortages. Thus, throughout the 19th century, secondary school teachers were educated solely in one subject specific discipline. Until the 1880s, "teaching staff at the Gymnasia [secondary schools] proved completely ineffective in their professional duties" (Antoniou, 2015, p. 853), while the *First Greek Education Conference* in 1904 came to the conclusion that secondary education is "sick" and "the only medicine for its treatment" is to improve teacher education by complementing disciplinary studies with pedagogical preparation and teaching practice (ibid., p. 857). However, it remained unclear whether this professional training should be taking place during university studies or afterwards.

The issue of pedagogical preparation for secondary school teachers was emphatically brought up as a policy issue in the years between 1899 and 1901 by pedagogy professor D. Zaggogiannis, and in 1912 by pedagogy professor N. Exarchopoulos (ibid.). Following the proposal of Exarchopoulos, the Teacher Training College for Secondary Education (*Didaskaleio Mesis Ekpaideusis*, DME) was established in 1910, as an institution separate from the university. Its initial aim was to offer theoretical pedagogical knowledge and practical training for both student and in-service teachers during a one-year study programme which was designed by the Ministry of Education and could be attended by a maximum of 100 teachers per year. This was defined as a prerequisite for teacher recruitment in public secondary education (ibid.).

However, the laws that followed in 1914 and 1920 redefined the role of the DME, focusing its scope on professional development rather than initial teacher education, and placing greater importance on subject specific rather than pedagogical courses. The highly selective character of the DME and its inadequacy to meet the demands of a growing teaching force in need of in-service training led to Law 1566 of 1985 which abolished the DME. The law separated in-service training from further education, which later became the responsibility of universities within the framework of the newly established Master degree programmes. This opened the door of further education to teachers, who since then had the opportunity to develop themselves professionally, undertake senior management positions, conduct research, and

follow an academic career path (ibid.). In-service training remained largely unattended and not strategically planned (ibid.).

During the 1970s, Greece undertook the institutionalisation of in-service teacher training. In 1977, the first two Secondary Education In-service Training Institutes (*Scholi Epimorfosis Leitourgwn Mesis Ekpaideusis*, SELME) were established, followed by the establishment of two Primary School In-service Training Institutes (*Scholi Epimorfosis Leitourgwn Dimotikis Ekpaideusis*, SELDE) in 1979 (Vergidis, 2012, p. 98). SELDE and SELME offered in-service training for one year and teachers had the right to participate, provided they were selected through a lottery system (ibid.). The specific units failed to satisfy educational needs, because of several weaknesses related to the number of participants, the selection procedures, the organisation and quality of the courses (Papagueli-Vouliouris, 1999, p. 131). After operating for fifteen years, SELDE-SELME were replaced in 1992 by Regional In-Service Training Centres (*Perifereiako Epimorfotiko Kentro*, PEK), which were self-governed institutes with administrative and financial autonomy (Vergidis, 2012). Their establishment was proposed already since 1981 and enacted in 1985, when the Ministry of Education stipulated that “all forms of in-service training are obligatory for teachers” (Law 1566/1985, Article 28 §2γ.). However, this obligation to participate annually in some kind of in-service training turned into a periodical obligation that teachers should undertake every four to six years (Law 1824/1988, Article 12 §1). Law 1566/1985 also introduced an obligatory period of induction before a teacher received permanent employment and full teaching duties, in an attempt to complement the pedagogical knowledge and teaching competence of teachers (Article 28 §2a).

ASPETE is another organization related to the preparation of vocational secondary school teachers, while its role has in recent years been expanded to include the professional preparation of general secondary school teachers. ASPETE’s predecessor, the Technical and Vocational Teacher Training Institute (*Scholi Ekpaideutikwn Leitourgwn Epaggelmatikis kai Technikis Ekpaideusis*, SELETE) was founded in 1959. The aim of SELETE was to scientifically and professionally prepare vocational education and training teachers, upgrading this way the role of vocational education and training which was considered important for the economic development of Greece at that time (Kalouri, 2010). Over the years, SELETE went through different phases, from having its role redefined to being merged with other institutions, being split into different units, or even have its operation ceased for some time (ibid.). In 2002, SELETE was replaced with ASPETE and was subsequently upgraded to a university of applied science, with the mission to provide its students with pedagogical training, promote applied research on education technology and pedagogy, and offer professional development opportunities (ibid.). However, dependencies on the political system, understaffing and other bureaucratic hindrances have impaired ASPETE’s status which is considered lower compared to universities (Kalouri, 2010; Kassotakis, 2010).

The history of teacher education in Greece is also inextricably linked to the development of education faculties, in which two traditions co-exist, namely the educational sciences and the teacher education of pre-primary and primary school teachers. In the early 1980s, pedagogical academies in Greece were upgraded to university faculties, following a long-standing demand of primary school teachers and their union to upgrade their status and improve their working conditions (Antoniou, 2012). Despite strong resistance from the universities, it was a political decision to establish those faculties merging together the academic fields of educational sciences and teacher education to strengthen their scientific orientation and legitimise their integration to universities (Stamelos, 1999). Education faculties are currently comprised of Departments of Preschool Education and Departments of Primary Education, which are based on nine universities and offer four year undergraduate studies. The

co-existence of educational sciences and teacher education perpetuates old conflicts and rationales related to different epistemological traditions, reproducing divisions between theory and practice, especially with regard to questions of how and what should be taught in the education of future teachers (Sarakinioti & Tsatsaroni, 2015). Although suggestions initially included the idea of creating education faculties consisting of departments that represent each level of education, including a department for secondary school education, resistance from the side of the different teacher unions and from the side of universities eventually kept the teacher education for primary and secondary school teachers separate (Interview, EL_NPE-2).

During the 1990s, the Greek Federation of Secondary State School Teachers (*Omospondia Leitourgon Mesis Ekpaideusis*, OLME), along with various non-government social and scientific stakeholders, raised the pressure towards restructuring the system of initial teacher education (ITE) for secondary school teachers and made specific proposals to the Ministry of Education (Kassotakis, 2010). Under this pressure, the conservative government of New Democracy in 1991 created a special committee with the task of restructuring ITE, focusing on teachers' pedagogical preparation. However, the government at that time did not undertake any legal actions and silence on the subject prevailed until 1997. It was then that the socialist government of PASOK, with Gerasimos Arsenis as the Minister of Education, passed Law 2525 which reformed teacher recruitment at public schools and introduced the "Certificate for Pedagogical and Teaching Competence" (*Pistopoiitiko Paidagwgikis kai Didaktikis Eparkeias*, PPDE). Since then, the policy of teacher recruitment based on candidate lists was replaced by recruitment based on competitive exams organised centrally by the state. As a condition to participate in these competitive exams, teacher candidates for general secondary education had to hold the PPDE which could be acquired after having completed a year-long programme of pedagogical and teaching preparation at a university or ASPETE (Law 2525/1997, Article 6 §6). The only exception concerned graduates of the philosophy, pedagogy and psychology departments which existed within faculties of philosophy in a few universities around the country.

However, the implementation of the PPDE remained in papers, since only a small number of universities were willing to establish relevant programmes, and there was no strong political will to support the implementation process (Kassotakis, 2010; Liakopoulou 2009). Although PASOK remained in power for a second term in 2000, the new minister in office abandoned the idea of enforcing the specific reform and the Presidential Decrees required for implementing the law were not issued on time so that the law was eventually repealed (Interview, EL_NPE-1). Before analysing policy developments after the year 2000, the following section aims to identify the first traces of Europeanisation in teacher education after the accession of Greece to the EU.

6.1.3. The accession of Greece to the EU

Greece is one of the European countries that was actively seeking membership in the EU. Already in 1959, the country submitted a membership application, which was frozen due to the military dictatorship of 1967, but was renewed after the restoration of democracy in 1974 (Eurydice, 2018a). The accession eventually occurred in 1981, at a time when conservative political elites in the country saw membership as a paramount factor for achieving political stability, consolidating democracy, and securing conditions for the modernisation of the socio-economic system (Tsoukalis, as cited in Ioakimidis, 2000, p. 76).

Therefore, modernisation in Greece was quickly equated to an intended Europeanisation (Featherstone 1998; Ioakimidis, 2000), meaning that there was a strong intention by the political actors to transfer into their political system the logic, dynamics and

governance patters associated with European integration (Ioakimidis, 2000). Europeanised elites in Greece have since become determined to use the EU to gain a domestic reform not available to them by any other means, while Europeanisation helps to make reforms more attractive (Featherstone, 1998). Much of the Greek public opinion is also traditionally in favour of the EU, and despite the devastating impact of the economic crisis, which is associated to austerity measures imposed by the EU, the public is still in favour EU membership (Eurobarometer, 2017).

Following the accession of Greece to the EU, higher education was the sector mostly impacted by the process of Europeanisation (Mattheou, 2006; Zmas, 2014). Adding to the impetus given on mobility and internationalisation, the Greek society and its higher education institutions were exposed to debates and policies questioning the status quo of Greek higher education, in terms of its institutional character, its role in the globalised world, its relation with the state, the market and the individual (Mattheou, 2006). In 1983, for example, Technological Educational Institutes (*Technologika Ekpaideutika Idrymata*, TEIs) were established as self-governed higher education institutions equal to universities and oriented towards technological studies. According to Zmas (2014, p. 499), the establishment of TEIs was justified by the Ministry of Education as a necessity in order to follow up the process of European economic unification, and because of the fact that other Western European countries had already established a non-university sector contributing to their financial and educational development and thus Greece should adopt a similar strategy.

During the 1990s, and particularly after the 2000s, Greek education policy becomes part of the broader EU education policy framework and the country is committed to promote EU education priorities, the development of which is also actively shaped by Greece and other member states (Moutsios, 2007b). The Greek education policies that were influenced by the EU included, among others, the establishment of lifelong learning institutes, the upgrading of vocational education and training, the establishment of second chance schools and all-day schools, a unified upper secondary education, foreign language teaching, and the assessment of higher education institutions (Charalampous, 2007; Moutsios, 2007b). The European dimension in education was also promoted as evidenced by the increase of relevant courses in the school curricula (Sarakinioti & Tsatsaroni, 2015). With regard to teacher education, the abolition of the candidate list and the introduction of ASEP examination for teacher recruitment in 1997, as well as the introduction of the certificate for pedagogical and teaching competence, and efforts to install teacher assessment, have been perceived as owing to the influence of the EU (Charalampous, 2007; Interview, EL_NPE-1). In the case of Greece, the promotion of EU education priorities is also largely associated with generous EU funding.

Several studies contend that the role of EU structural funds has been paramount for accelerating the Europeanisation process of the Greek education system which has directly or indirectly influenced the teaching profession (Moutsios, 2007b; Sarakinioti & Tsatsaroni, 2015; Stamelos & Vasilopoulos, 2013; Zmas, 2014). Specifically, the EU-funded development interventions in education were implemented in four consecutive periods, since the Ministry of Education was authorised to design operational programmes. Co-financed by the European Social Fund and the European Regional Development Fund, development interventions were first launched under the framework of the Operational Programme for Education and Vocational Training (OPEIVT), including OPEIVT I (1994-1999) and OPEIVT II (2000-2006), and subsequently under the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF) in 2007-2013 and 2014-2020. According to Sarakinioti and Tsatsaroni (2015), teacher education curricula reforms have taken specific directions under the framework of OPEIVT, while the NSRF aimed more at "exerting pressures to make teachers more competent, productive and effective" (p. 269).

The influence of operational programmes has been crucial for in-service teacher training (Mattheou, 1998; Stamelos & Vasilopoulos, 2013; Vergidis, 2012). According to a policy expert, "the European funds led to the spring of in-service teacher training from 1985 until 2000" (Interview, EL_NPE-2). During the Greek presidency of the European Council in 1988, a conference on teacher professional development was organised in Thessaloniki, during which the role of the newly established PEK were presented by Greek experts to their European peers (ibid.). Moreover, the Organisation for the In-service Training of Teachers (*Organismos Epimorfosis Ekpaideutikwn*, OEPEK) was established by Law 2986/2002 as an independent organisation supervised by the Ministry of Education to coordinate the development of teacher professional development policies for both primary and secondary education. Its establishment was perceived as a clear indication of European influences and as an outcome of the increasing significance that teacher education received in Europe (Interview, EL_NPE-2). Among its main roles, OEPEK was also responsible for allocating European funds to appropriate institutions for the delivery of in-service trainings.

Overall, the accession of Greece to the EU marked a new era in the modernisation of the Greek education system connecting it to European priorities. The discontinuity that traditionally characterised education policy in Greece began to diminish, since the major ruling political parties increasingly adhered to EU commitments stipulated in the Maastricht Treaty (Charalampous, 2007). Naturally, this process influenced teacher education, particularly through reforms related to school education and higher education. The following section will trace policy developments following the year 2000, starting though from the education reform of 1997, which has been widely considered a reform package complying to policy proposals and recommendations of the EU (Charalampous 2007; Oudatzis, 2003).

6.2. Reform efforts towards a "Certificate for Pedagogical and Teaching Competence": Developments between 1997 and 2017

As mentioned before, the period between 1974 and 1997 brought no significant changes to the ITE of secondary school teachers. The political will during the late 1970s and early 1980s focused on upgrading the ITE of pre-primary and primary school teachers. On the contrary, the ITE of secondary school teachers remained unattended, due to fierce resistance from highly influential pressure groups (Kassotakis, 2010; Interview, EL_NPE-2). Secondary school teachers continued to be recruited from a candidate list composed of graduates from the so-called teacher faculties.

According to teacher recruitment laws, teacher faculties are considered to be all those faculties including university departments whose graduates are recruited as teachers in primary and secondary education without any additional degree or certificate of pedagogical competence (Kassotakis, 2007, p. 173). In this sense, the law gave an equal status to the graduates of education faculties, recruited in pre-primary and primary schools, and the graduates of subject discipline faculties, recruited in secondary schools. The following sections will trace policy developments that tried to reform this situation by introducing pedagogical and teaching competence for secondary school teachers. The reforms of the period between 1997 and 2010 are firstly examined, followed by an analysis of reforms and policy initiatives between 2010 and 2017.

6.2.1. The period between 1997 and 2010

Following the accession of Greece to the EU, the first effort to change the situation of teacher education for secondary school teachers came with Law 2525/1997. The Minister of Education

at the time, Gerasimos Arsenis, seemed determined to proceed with the modernisation of Greek education, which implied changes to the way teachers were recruited (Kassotakis, 2007). Among several policy measures, the law introduced some innovations, interpreted as European influences promoting the connection between education and the labour market (Charalampous, 2007; Oudatzis, 2003). Some of the policy measures included the idea for a unified upper secondary education, access to university studies based on the upper secondary education certificate, whole day schools, second chance schools, teacher evaluation and other policy measures, which the Greek education society seemed not ready to accept at the time. With Article 6, the law abolished the candidate list for teacher recruitment and replaced it with nationwide ASEP examinations in which prospective candidates could participate every two years. Only those who succeeded in the exams could then receive permanent employment in the public school sector (Law 2525/1997, Article 6 §5).

Prospective secondary school teachers had to hold a certificate for pedagogical and teaching competence (PPDE), awarded by universities, in order to participate in ASEP examinations. Specifically, the law stipulated that universities should provide relevant programmes, including theoretical preparation and practical training during a period of two semesters, which prospective candidates could attend during or after their undergraduate studies (Law 2525/1997, Article 6 §6). However, the law did not define any concrete steps with regard to the implementation of the specific policy measure. “The law had some internal contradictions and its provisions were to a great extent not well conceived. It was regulated very fast and then they were unsure as to how to proceed.” (Interview, EL_NPE-11) Eventually, an independent institute, the Centre for Education Research, suggested that in order to implement the PPDE, the Ministry of Education had to cooperate closely with universities, and the whole endeavour should be financed by EU resources under the OPEIVT II (Kassotakis, 2007, p. 166).

The law faced strong resistance from stakeholder groups and most of its provisions were actually never implemented. The teacher union of secondary school teachers OLME was against the abolition of the teacher candidate list. The fact that this measure was linked to the introduction of the PPDE led OLME to reject the law as a whole, although during the early 1990s OLME had made similar suggestions and was positive to the upgrading of ITE for secondary school teachers (ibid.). Moreover, some of the universities felt that the law was a violation of their autonomy (Interview, EL_NPE-12), while subject discipline faculties were generally suspicious and raised concerns that the introduction of pedagogical courses might reduce the quality of their studies that was meant to be “scientific” (Interview, EL_NPE-2; Interview, EL_NPE-6). The most significant and determined reactions came from the side of students who rejected the option of prolonging their studies by two additional semesters, despite the fact that the law gave also the opportunity of integrating those semesters within the duration of existing study programmes (Kassotakis, 2007; Interview, EL_NPE-6).

Some concerns were also expressed by departments of philosophy, pedagogy and psychology which were seen as the departments meant to assist the teacher faculties with providing the PPDE. The specific departments argued that their infrastructures and staff capacity were inadequate to provide pedagogical preparation and practical training for such a big amount of students, especially in large cities, such as Athens and Thessaloniki (Interview, EL_NPE-2, EL_NPE-11). The fact that the majority of graduates of the teacher faculties envisages to find a job in education, due to lack of employment opportunities in other sectors of the economy, created an enormous burden for the departments meant to assist with the PPDE. In the case of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, a committee was established in order to plan the introduction of the PPDE which came to the conclusion that approximately 23,000 students were studying at teacher faculties, meaning that an enormous amount of mentor

teachers and schools had to be recruited to assist with the teaching practice of those students (EL_NPE-11). The ambition that the law would also be applied to those who had already graduated but had no pedagogical competence was a further impediment to implementation (ibid.).

Similar to the practice of other European countries, the Ministry of Education attempted through the establishment of ASEP examinations to introduce selection criteria for teacher candidates, a practice that was seen as a precondition for raising the quality of public education (Arsenis, 2015, p. 221). In this sense, the ASEP examination was designed to assess the knowledge of prospective teacher candidates on the respective subject discipline, as well as on topics related to pedagogy and subject methodology (ibid.). "In a way ASEP tried to assess a wide spectrum of teacher competences, but actually if you have a look at the questions asked, then it's obvious that this was not achieved." (Interview, EL_NPE-12) Another implication of introducing ASEP is that teachers are considered novices during the first two years of employment, before receiving permanent employment as civil servants. With Law 2525/1997 (Article 8 §4ι), novices were meant to receive permanent employment only after a positive evaluation from external evaluators had taken place. Following these legal provisions, the phase of induction was reformed in 1999. It became obligatory for both primary and secondary school teachers to undertake 100 hours of induction consisting of three phases taking place at the regional in-service training centres (Presidential Decree 45/1999, Article 1).

Law 2525/1997 further attempted to introduce both internal and external evaluation of teachers, a topic rather sensitive for the Greek education society, particularly because of the negative experiences that many teachers faced in the period before the political changeover in 1974, when the institution of school inspectors was still in place. According to a policy expert: "An inspector in 1952 wrote in his evaluation report that a teacher was buying groceries from a leftist grocer, or in 1968 a teacher got in trouble because the inspector reported that he voted for a specific party." (Interview, EL_NPE-6) Due to this kind of incidents, indicative of the conservative and authoritative character of the inspection system, the institution was abolished by the PASOK government in 1982, but was never replaced with a more democratic way of teacher evaluation (ibid.). The role of school inspectors was undertaken by school advisors who were given the responsibility of supporting teacher professional development. Since the time of school inspection, teacher unions in Greece remain firmly against any kind of teacher evaluation, a crucial reason for halting the respective legal provisions of the 1997 reform (Arsenis, 2015; Kassotakis, 2010).

As a result of the above mentioned reactions and the changes that occurred in the political leadership of the Ministry of Education in the year 2000, the provisions related to the PPDE and teacher evaluation were not enacted in practice and they soon fell into obsolescence. The only actual change enacted was related to teacher recruitment and the ASEP examination, as well as the induction period. From the side of policymakers, teacher education and particularly the phase of teacher professional development has seemed to be closely linked to teacher evaluation, something that was rejected by the unions and obscured the implementation of policy initiatives related to teacher education. As a policy expert argues:

> *I think that we never really embraced teacher education as a matter of necessity. In the sense that you cannot be in education, if you have no continuing professional learning. Of course, this meant connection to evaluation, so that after a certain period of time one could demonstrate that he/she learns and then applies this knowledge to practice. Teacher unions were always extremely negative towards evaluation, though positive towards professional development, but always with many conditions. That teachers*

should be paid extra, do this outside of working hours with salary and leave of absence. So you couldn't really push this policy as part of teachers' workload, as a matter of professional duty. And it was very difficult for the finances of education. (Interview, EL_NPE-3)

Between 2000 and 2010, there were no significant changes regarding teacher education of secondary school teachers (Kassotakis, 2010; Interview, EL_NPE-2). Exceptions to this are the establishment of ASPAITE and the establishment of OEPEK, which were previously described. Under the framework of OPEIVT II, OEPEK commissioned a study for exploring the professional development needs of secondary school teachers in 2008, considering good practices in EU countries (OEPEK, 2008). Under the same framework, several nationwide in-service trainings were organised by school counsellors, mainly around the themes of intercultural education, special education and introduction to information and communication technologies (Karras & Oikonomidis, 2015, p. 116).

Some of the changes related more broadly to higher education were influenced by the emergence of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA). According to Zmas (2014), the influence of European education policies on Greek higher education becomes evident with a series of laws passed during the mid and late 2000s. Following the principles of the Bologna process, Law 3374/2005 introduced mechanisms for internal and external evaluation of universities, the establishment of ECTS, and the provision for diploma supplement. It also established the Hellenic Quality Assurance and Accreditation Agency, which has only recently, in 2016, become part of the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (Stamelos, 2016). Similar to what happened with teacher evaluation, the law caused a strong backlash creating a divide within the academic community between those in favour of Europeanisation and those against it (Zmas, 2014). Despite reactions, the direction of the Greek higher education towards the European paradigm was reinforced with Law 3549/2007, which aimed to internationalise study programmes promoting foreign language teaching. It also promoted the idea that universities should establish four-year development planning, a prerequisite for them to keep on receiving public funding (Law 3549/2007, Article 5).

It was not until 2010, amidst the financial crisis, when the issue of secondary school teachers' pedagogical preparation was brought up again as a significant education policy matter. Specifically, a Minister of the socialist PASOK government, Anna Diamantopoulou, reintroduced the obligation for secondary school teachers to hold the PPDE before being able to apply for recruitment in the public school sector. The following section will look deeper into policy changes between 2010 and 2017.

6.2.2. The period between 2010 and 2017

Starting from 2009, the new socialist government launched an ambitious reform package, which unlike previous reform efforts that used to focus on students' entrance to tertiary education, it pursued significant changes in compulsory education and the administrative structure of the education system. The overarching framework of the reform, entitled "New School: The Student First", is indicative of the broader international and European trend towards learning outcomes and raising student performance.

The reform was significantly influenced by European thinking and the practices of other European countries through working groups developed by the Ministry of Education. The working groups included experts from the European Commission, the OECD and countries such as Finland and France (Interview, EL_NPE-3). As a Ministry official during that time contends: "The reform was developed in cooperation with European experts and we received

the best of existing expertise. So the whole programme was influenced by the best cases existing in Europe. At the same time, it was a reform very generously funded by the EU." (ibid.) The Ministry also commissioned the OECD to evaluate the Greek education system and provide policy advice (see OECD, 2011), which was incorporated in reforms related to the study programmes and the administrative structure of education (Interview, EL_NPE-3).

Among the four pillars of the reform, one was devoted to "upgrading the work and the status of teachers" (Hellenic Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 7). To achieve this, the first horizontal action proposed in the Ministry's development report included "the establishment of a Certificate for Pedagogical Competence", which could be provided to prospective secondary school teachers during or after their undergraduate studies, while the second action included a large-scale professional development project for all teachers with a duration of three years (ibid., p. 17). "At that time, we made two significant decisions. The first was related to the certificate because it was obvious that secondary school teachers had little to do with the specificities of teaching adolescents, and the second was professional development for preparing teachers to enter the New School." (Interview, EL_NPE-3) Other measures were related to the recruitment and deployment of teachers, the implementation of the previous legal provision about the employment status of novice teachers, and the introduction of quality standards for the selection of education management personnel (Hellenic Ministry of Education, 2010). The development report reintroduced also the policy of teacher evaluation, although this time the measure seemed to prioritise the idea of school self-evaluation (ibid.).

It appears a widespread belief among interviewees of this case study that the specific reform boosted the establishment of the PPDE for secondary school teachers. Once this policy was regulated with Law 3848/2010 (Article 2 §2), some universities, including the University of Crete and the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, introduced a PPDE for students of teacher faculties, as well as for those graduates willing to pay a fee (Interview, EL_NPE-1). The charging of fees was a practice negatively perceived by other universities and departments, which thought that the certificate should be free of charge and included in the undergraduate programmes of universities (Interview, EL_NPE-1, EL_NPE-6). What proves to be different in this second effort to regulate the PPDE is that more time and expertise were devoted in the planning of the reform, while the law gave a clearer framework of implementation compared to its predecessor in 1997.

Specifically, a circular from the Ministry of Education in 2011 defined some of the main aspects of the new system, including for example that the PPDE should consist of 8 to 10 semester-long courses taking place between the fifth and the last study semester (Circular 46820/Δ1, 15/4/2011). The circular also defined that teaching practice is necessary and that other courses of the PPDE study programme could be related to educational sciences and subject methodology (ibid.). This last provision was included as an amendment in the 2010 law, stipulating that courses leading to PPDE are required to include: (a) topics related to educational sciences; (b) topics related to learning and teaching; and (c) subject didactics and practical teaching (Law 4186/2013, §36 22β). The Ministry of Education is the responsible authority granting the right for a university department to be awarding the PPDE, following a positive evaluation of the departments' proposed study programme by the Institute of Education Policy (ibid.). Initially, the ambition of the Ministry was for the PPDE to be allocated 60 ECTS, but reactions from universities led the Ministry to reduce the amount of credits to 30 ECTS (Interview, EL_TE-PP-4).

From the Ministry side, it was also intensively discussed whether the Bologna structure would be an appropriate solution, meaning that the pedagogical preparation of secondary school teachers could move to the Master level (Interview, EL_NPE-3). However, the idea was soon abandoned, on the grounds that it seemed easier for universities to prepare the students

during only one semester (ibid.). Overall, the PPDE policy does not appear to have received widespread acceptance among universities and teachers themselves, while student teachers see it more as an add-on than a necessary competence (Interview, EL_NPE-12, EL_TE-PP-4, EL_TE-SD-1). "It was perceived as yet another burden for a candidate who wants to become a teacher. Some universities saw this positively and made good programmes, but generally there wasn't any great acceptance." (Interview, EL_NPE-3) From the teacher union's side, OLME expressed the view that all teacher faculties should include pedagogical preparation, but has not adopted a firm position on how this should happen (Interview, EL_NPE-9).

The teacher-related reforms were accompanied by a new framework law for higher education, which envisaged changes in the internal governance and management of universities, and aimed to strengthen finance and accountability mechanisms (Law 4009/2011). With the motto of achieving "excellence" and "internationalisation", but declining finances due to the economic crisis, the law proposed the merger of universities and university departments, and at the same time invited each institution to improve its services, aligning itself with the basic principles of the EHEA. Every higher education institution was expected to align its degrees with the European Qualifications Framework (EQF), provide services for lifelong learning, and establish a company for the most effective allocation of its resources which would be provided by the state according to quality indicators (ibid.). Once again, the reorganisation of universities divided the academic community and became a subject of controversy between the Ministry of Education and a part of the academic community, including the union of university teachers, which perceived the reform as the result of neoliberal ideologies infiltrating the Greek higher education (Interview, EL_NPE-9, EL_NPE-11). The frequent references of the law to the European and international practices were also interpreted as a government means of applying pressure to implement changes (Zmas, 2014).

Although the above mentioned reforms were approved with a great majority in parliament, their implementation was halted by the negative effects of the crisis, which led to a freeze in the hiring of public servants, and the turbulent political scenery with the change of three governments in less than four years from 2011 to 2015. The new governments paused or altered some of the above mentioned legal provisions and the ambitions of the "New School" reform stopped in 2013. According to a policy expert: "As it usually happens in Greece, all those policy measures were voted, began to be implemented and then stopped, once the new government came into power." (Interview, EL_NPE-3) The latest policy proposals regarding teacher education came with the leftist government of SYRIZA in office since 2015.

The implications of Law 3848/2010 that graduates of teacher faculties need to hold the PPDE in order to be able to take part in ASEP examination was put on hold and annual extensions were given by the Ministry of Education so that graduates of teacher faculties would not encounter any future recruitment issues, if they had not received the PPDE. The government in office since 2015 decided to freeze the whole process until a more comprehensive plan was developed. With a new framework law for higher education, the government revoked the right of some university departments to be awarding the PPDE for students who began their studies from 2013/2014 onwards (Law 4485/2017, Article 83 §13), until the issue was resolved centrally. As a policy expert explains, the government argued that the way some teacher faculties were awarding the PPDE was not sufficient to prepare future teachers, particularly because of the content of the courses provided and the lack of substantial teaching practice (Interview, EL_NPE-10). Teacher professional development was also considered ineffective, because practically no major training was organised by the state since 2013 (ibid.).

In the early 2017, the Institute of Education Policy (IEP) issued a detailed proposal to the Ministry of Education for restructuring the system of teachers' pedagogical and teaching

competence (IEP, 2017). At the core of the proposal is the intention to strengthen and further upgrade the education faculties, which in addition to the ITE of pre-primary and primary school teachers could undertake the ITE of secondary school teachers. Such an idea of creating education faculties responsible for the ITE of all levels of education emerged also during the late 1970s and early 1980s, but was rejected due to the reactions of universities and teacher unions (Interview, EL_NPE-2). However, it currently seems to be a firm idea of the Ministry that a new institutional structure should emerge within universities in order to organise and monitor the pedagogical relevance of ITE programmes (Interview, EL_NPE-5, EL_NPE-10).

The proposal of IEP allows a degree of flexibility, in the sense that pedagogical and teaching related courses can be offered either by the subject departments themselves, wherever this is possible, or by a newly established unit supervised by the university senate or included in education faculties (IEP, 2017, p. 2). Having a closer look at the proposal, IEP appears to favour the second option. It is also evident that IEP tries to centralise the whole process by providing the exact framework regarding the courses and allocated credits that should be included in all ITE programmes. In an attempt to highlight the critical situation of ITE, IEP openly questions the pedagogical and teaching preparation of secondary school teachers by the teacher faculties, referring also to the absence of "a real practical teaching period", which even in the case of education faculties appears to be insufficient (ibid., p. 2).

Although teacher unions have not to the present day officially reacted to the above mentioned proposal, university departments that have already established relevant ITE programmes seem to oppose the establishment of a new institutional structure within their universities. "Since the PPDE has been established and is working well in our department, we cannot really understand why such a horizontal policy needs to happen, since it will create only problems and colleagues from subjects won't accept it." (Interview, EL_TE-PP-2) Another interviewee argues that this new proposal raises insecurity in some departments: "Some colleagues of teacher faculties keep on asking if their already established programme for PPDE will be abolished, and yes actually it seems that it will be abolished." (Interview, EL_NPE-6) The financial aspect of establishing a new institutional structure is also raised as an argument against the implementation of the specific measure (Interview, EL_TE-PP-2, EL_TE-PP-4), while student unions within universities react to the potential imposition of additional requirements for acquiring professional rights to work as teachers (Interview, EL_NPE-8).

On the other hand, education faculties have endorsed IEP's proposal, which seems to strengthen their institutional position and recognises the significance of their respective expertise (Interview, EL_NPE-1, EL_NPE-6). For example, the education faculty at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki has replied positively to IEP's proposal for undertaking the role of pedagogical and teaching preparation for secondary school teachers, provided that the proposal will be implemented in its full extent (Interview, EL_NPE-1). Another argument in favour of IEP's proposal is that it would prevent the commercialisation of the PPDE, which became evident by the practice of some universities during the past years to charge fees (ibid.).

6.3. The resonance of the Greek teacher education system with European developments

After an in-depth analysis of policy developments related to teacher education of secondary school teachers in Greece, this section will examine teacher education policies and practices against the background of European developments. On the basis of this study's analytic categories, a closer look will be cast on how contemporary policies developed in Greece particularly after 2010 resonate with European thinking on the teacher education continuum, the concept of teacher competence frameworks, and the role of teacher educators. To illustrate

the enactment of these policies, the case of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki is employed. However, since teacher education for secondary school teachers is not located in a particular faculty at the moment this dissertation is written, analysis focuses on the situation of ITE in the Faculty of Philosophy, and specifically with regard to the teacher education of Greek philology teachers. The department of Greek philology, the department of history and archaeology, and the department of philosophy and pedagogy are all educating students who can potentially claim a position as secondary school teachers of Greek philology. The specific group of teachers is also proportionally the largest compared to teachers of other specialisations (Interview, EL_NPE-9)

6.3.1. The continuum of teacher education

The discontinuity of education policy in Greece as demonstrated by the analysis above seems to have hindered the development of a coherent strategy for teachers' lifelong professional learning. Particularly during the crisis, the financial situation prohibited the development of induction and CPD opportunities and has further impeded the career prospects of teachers, considering the precarious nature of their employment. According to several interviewees, the rationale of the continuum thinking has not yet penetrated the system of teacher education, particularly at the level of secondary school education (Interview, EL_NPE-3, EL_NPE-12, EL_TE-PP-6). However, fractions of the continuum thinking can be traced in the reform efforts of 2010 and 2017. The following quote is indicative of the policy intentions in the 2010 reform period.

> *We took into account that teacher education should be seen as a permanent continuous process, meaning that in the first phase you fulfil the conditions to enter as a teacher in school, in the second phase you enter into a lifelong learning process because your qualifications and needs are constantly evolving, and the third phase is if somebody wants to specialise in something or move on to a next career level. The policy development happened in that way and this is the right way. However, it didn't work out and at this moment I think there is not even an appropriate structure to support this.* (Interview, EL_NPE-3)

The 2010 reform closely aligned the continuum thinking with the policy of teacher evaluation, leading to stakeholder reaction and challenges of implementation. Since 2015, the new government has tried to redefine teacher evaluation, abolishing previous legal provisions and reducing the focus on what was considered to be a "punitive" evaluation, in the sense of connecting teacher appraisal to teachers' working conditions (Interview, EL_NPE-5). Thus the policies related to teacher education appear to be isolated from teacher evaluation policies.

In 2017, the proposal of IEP further contributed to the continuum of teacher education by proposing the establishment of a structured induction phase. Through a broader reorganisation and merging of teacher professional development providers, as well a redefinition of the school advisor's role, the Ministry of Education further envisaged the development of a sustainable and effective system of CPD, investing in opportunities of distance and ICT-facilitated in-service trainings (Interview, EL_NPE-10). Specific information about each phase of the continuum and their interconnection is provided in the following sections.

6.3.1.1. Initial teacher education

Teacher recruitment in Greece is based on competitive entry and ensures lifetime employment. This permanence of employment and stability makes teaching an attractive career choice (OECD, 2018), provided that one manages to pass the nationally organised ASEP examination. Thus, the quality of teaching depends on the quality of ITE, which in the case of secondary school teachers is highly diversified and not always adhering to the standards of pedagogical and teaching competence, as previously mentioned.

Selection to ITE is based solely on student performance in the Panhellenic university admission examinations, organised centrally at the end of upper-secondary education. There are no other provisions related, for example, to attitude tests, since universities are not actively involved in the selection process of ITE students (Interview, TE_PP-2). All graduates of general and vocational upper secondary schools are eligible for admission to teacher faculties, provided they have received the score in the Panhellenic examinations required for each faculty. Lateral and side entry into the profession is not really a common practice (Interview, TE_PP-1), since it is only possible for graduates of other departments who need to pass a special university admission procedure.

Due to the lack of alternative career opportunities, the great majority of students in the teacher faculties envisages a job as a teacher in the public sector or in shadow education. Specifically, the oversupply of secondary school teachers, especially in the subjects of Greek philology, physics and mathematics, leads many graduates of teacher faculties to work in *frontistiria* (cram schools) or conduct private lessons, both of which aim to prepare secondary school students to pass the Panhellenic examinations (OECD, 2018). Over the years, *frontistirio* has become a regulated and official component of the Greek education system, enrolling a majority of secondary school students (ibid.).

Despite this clear professional orientation of teacher faculties' students, it is a widespread belief among interviewees of this study that teacher faculties in the case of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki persist focusing on the "what", the content and structure of knowledge, rather than the "how", the method of transmitting knowledge (Interview, EL_TE-PP-1, EL_TE-PP-6, EL_TE-SD-1). Mattheou (2011) explains this as the outcome of deeply rooted epistemological traditions of Greek universities, proclaiming the intrinsic value of science irrespective of its practical applications and the detachment of scientific knowledge from vocational qualifications. For example, an idea relevant to the practice of Greek universities seems to be the belief that science, meaning the subject discipline that each teacher has studied, should be the main point of reference for teachers' educational work. It has been often quoted by interviewed teacher educators at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki that their colleagues at subject departments argue until today that "if you know the science, then you can be a good teacher" (Interview, EL_TE-PP-1). Young students who internalise this attitude, tend not to feel the need to develop their role as educators when they eventually manage to find a job in secondary education (Interview, EL_TE-PP-6).

The approach of focusing on the subject knowledge permeates the ITE curricula of teacher faculties across the country, as demonstrated by Liakopoulou (2009). University departments are solely responsible for the development of their study programmes, including the courses related to teachers' pedagogical and teaching preparation (Interview, EL_NPE-6, EL_NPE-12). Although criteria for the accreditation of study programmes have been regulated with Law 4009/2011, the accreditation process for ITE programmes has not started at the time of writing this dissertation. The universities have full autonomy and representatives of some departments expressed the view that any effort from the state to dictate their work is considered degrading (Interview, EL_NPE-6, EL_TE-PP-2). It was only with Law 4186/2013, and IEP's

proposal in 2017, that the state attempted to regulate the content of ITE curricula. Similarly, through the ASEP examination there was an indirect pressure towards teacher faculties to converge their ITE programmes, though without a successful outcome (Interview, EL_NPE-6, EL_NPE-12). Even in the education faculties, the focus on a large number of subjects, some of which with little relevance to the demands of school education (Interview, EL_TE-PP-1), and the different priorities set by the individual departments have resulted in a significant divergence among their ITE programmes (Sarakinioti & Tsatsaroni, 2015; Interview, EL_TE-PP-2).

Since law 3838/2010 and its amendments, some university departments across the country have envisaged to adjust their ITE programmes according to the regulated requirements for awarding the PPDE. In the case of the Faculty of Philosophy at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, all foreign language departments have adjusted their study programmes to include 30 ECTS of pedagogically related courses and teaching practice leading to the acquisition of the PPDE (Interview, EL_TE-PP-2). At the time of writing this dissertation, the department of Greek philology and the department of history and archaeology were awaiting approval of their ITE programmes from the Ministry of Education. Naturally, the department of philosophy and pedagogy had the right to award the PPDE, while the specific department is currently "supplying" the other departments with pedagogical courses, despite its limited financial and staffing capacities (Interview, EL_TE-PP-2, EL_TE-PP-4). This is because some of the subject departments, such as the one for Greek philology, have no staff specialised in educational sciences or subject methodology, while most of the lecturers have no work experience in schools (Interview, EL_TE-SD-1). However, the process of receiving the Ministry's approval proves to be overly bureaucratic, leading to confusion in the administration of some departments.

> *Based on the 2011 legal framework, some technocrats from the Ministry and the Institute of Education Policy create unnecessary and irrational demands. Firstly, they are asking us why are you including pedagogical courses during the first semesters, when the law says from the fifth semester onwards. But if the department of German philology has a professor teaching introduction to pedagogy, when should he teach it? Here at the department of philosophy and pedagogy, we are teaching this course from the first semester, and we have the right to award pedagogical competence anyway. So the system is confusing. Secondly, the Ministry insists on seeing at least eight courses in the programme, but when the EU wants us to apply the ECTS, then how can eight courses account for 30 ECTS, which is the legal requirement? They make too much fuss out of it.* (Interview, EL_TE-PP-4)

Until today, there are strong controversies and resistance from some departments at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki to reduce their subject-related courses in order to fit in pedagogical courses, subject methodology and teaching practice which are widely perceived as a "burden" (Interview, EL_TE-SD-1, EL_TE-PP-4). As an interviewee from the department of Greek philology explains: "Our department, as other departments with clearly cognitive character, has a problem to integrate the PPDE, because we have to reduce subject courses. And this is not easy, nor is there a will from us to do so, because it will devaluate the scientific training of our students." (Interview, EL_TE-SD-1) There is a firm belief in those departments that "our main job is to prepare scientists and not teachers", and in this sense their representatives expressed the view that it would be better if the PPDE was taking place after the undergraduate studies and not simultaneously (ibid.). However, strong pressure from the

side of student unions, which reacted to the options of having their studies prolonged or creating two streams in the undergraduate studies, one for teachers and one for the others, has led the leadership of subject departments to opt for including the PPDE study component within the Bachelor degree (ibid.).

On the contrary, ITE programmes at the department of philosophy and pedagogy appear to balance the proportion of subject related courses, educational sciences and subject methodology, as well as teaching practice. As stated in the website of the department, its aim is to prepare scientists competent in the fields of philosophy and pedagogy, as well as graduates competent to teach in secondary education (Department of Philosophy and Pedagogy, 2018a). All students at the department are obliged to attend 31 ECTS of educational sciences courses, as well as 18 ECTS of subject methodology, including teaching practice (Department of Philosophy and Pedagogy, 2018b). These core subjects are additional to the obligatory subject specific courses and should be acquired irrespective of the specialisation one chooses to follow later on, namely in philosophy or in educational sciences. Students of the specific department receive some of their subject-specific courses from the other departments of the faculty.

Teacher educators at the department of philosophy and pedagogy feel confident that their students are competent to teach in secondary education, and they acknowledge that their focus lies more on the "how" than on the "what", which is often perceived by the other departments as a weakness (Interview, EL_TE-PP-4, EL_TE-PP-5, EL_TE-PP-6). The fact that students graduating from the department of Greek philology, the department of history and archaeology, and the department of philosophy and pedagogy can later on apply to be recruited for the exact same position, namely teachers of Greek philology, although their ITE studies vary considerably, creates controversies among the departments. This situation appears to influence the status of the department of philosophy and education and results in the belief that graduates of this department might lag behind graduates of the other departments when it comes to subject specific knowledge (Interview, EL_TE-PP-5, EL_TE-SD-1). It is apparent that the different departments do not share a common vision on the competences of the teacher for Greek philology, which can be explained by the highly diverse epistemological traditions and beliefs within the individual departments.

As previously mentioned, the Bologna structure has not been considered by policy actors and universities as an adequate solution to reform ITE. The ITE curricula in the Faculty of Philosophy have introduced the ECTS, which appear to be connected to learning outcomes, and a diploma supplement is provided upon graduation. However, the learning outcomes are not disaggregated to knowledge, skills and attitudes, while the modular structure is not yet embedded in the ITE programmes. As a teacher educator contends: "Bologna had no influence regarding the modules and the duration of studies, because there were severe resistances of ideological nature, not only in educational sciences, but more generally, as far as I know." (Interview, EL_TE-PP-1) The issues of learning outcomes and competences have only recently begun to appear in ITE curricula, due to the pressure of the EU to develop the National Qualification Framework, which has not yet been fully implemented in Greece (Interview, EL_NPE-6; Stamelos, 2016). The duration of studies has steadily remained at four years and proves to be the norm for undergraduate degrees in Greece (Stamelos, 2016).

Finally, the practicum period differs considerably among the different departments of the Faculty of Philosophy. Interviewed teacher educators consider that the foreign language departments and the department of philosophy and pedagogy organise an appropriate period of practical teaching, closely attached to subject methodology courses (Interview, EL_TE-PP-2, EL_TE-PP-4). For example, the department of philosophy and pedagogy organises practical teaching into three phases, aiming to develop students' identity towards "the critical-reflective teacher" (Interview, EL_TE-PP-5). The first phase starts in the fourth semester during which

students visit a school for eight days conducting a case study to familiarise themselves with school administration and teacher identity (ibid.). The second phase is intertwined with the subject methodology courses and includes classroom observation and practical teaching lasting one hour for each course (ibid.). Teacher educators perceive this amount of actual teaching as considerably low, referring to the challenge of identifying school placements and teachers who are willing to open their classes to student teachers (ibid.). Practicing teachers seem to lack motivation for assisting students with their teaching practice, due to their pressing workload and lack of incentives (Interview, EL_TE-PP-4).

While the above mentioned two phases are obligatory for all students at the department of philosophy and pedagogy, a third phase consisting of full-time employment in a school during a period of three months is voluntary (Interview, EL_TE-PP-5). This third phase is traditionally funded by EU operational programmes and includes a small number of students who are selected and receive a salary for their job (ibid.). “This third phase is the best of what we have, because there is funding. However, the number of available positions is constantly declining and now we have only 33 posts.” (ibid.) Foreign language departments also envisage to receive funding for their students’ practical teaching through EU operational programmes (Interview, EL_TE-PP-2).

However, practical teaching at the department of Greek philology and the department of history and archaeology is perceived as inadequate by most interviewed teacher educators, including the ones specialising in subject disciplines (Interview, EL_TE-PP-4, EL_TE-PP-5, EL_TE-SD-1). As one interviewee contends: “They are only naming some courses as practicum, when in fact it is not, because they do not even visit schools, they just want to appear as doing it in order to be able to award the pedagogical competence as required by the law.” (Interview, EL_TE-PP-5) And as another interviewee from the subject argues: “To be honest, these courses happen only on a theoretical basis here. Our students don’t go to schools. Sometimes we require from our students to observe classes, but this is not always the case.” (Interview, EL_TE-SD-1. The big number of students studying in those departments is also perceived as a big challenge in terms of identifying school placements and also organising practical teaching from an administrative point of view (Interview, EL_TE-SD-1). The idea of some teacher educators to organise a central administration office for practicum at the Faculty of Philosophy has not been implemented and was even confronted with resistance from some departments (Interview, EL_TE-PP-5).

6.3.1.2. Induction

Following ITE, induction has been regulated and implemented in Greece already since 1999, as described above. Newly recruited teachers, either with permanent or temporary employment status, are obliged to attend an induction period of 100 hours in three phases (Presidential Decree 45/1999, Article 1). The first phase is allocated 60 hours and takes place during two weeks before the beginning of the school year and informs teachers about topics related to school, teaching and education in general (OEPEK, 2008, p. 17). The second phase takes place during the school year and includes 30 hours of classroom observations, while the third phase, including ten hours, concludes the whole process with reflections about the induction period (ibid, p. 18). Initially, novice teachers used to attend induction trainings during the evening hours, while later on induction happened during the weekends (Karras & Oikonomidis, 2015).

Before the economic crisis, induction used to be the only systematic form of professional development for teachers (OEPEK, 2008), in the sense that it was clearly regulated and was organised every time new teachers were recruited in schools. However, several interviewed teacher educators argued that induction served predominantly as compensation for

the inadequate pedagogical and teaching competence that secondary school teachers received during ITE (Interview, EL_TE-PP-1, EL_TE-PP-6). According to a policy expert: "There is a paradox in that the system acknowledges through ITE pedagogical competence to people who actually don't have it, and afterwards, the system obliges them to undertake induction to acquire pedagogical competence, which it has already awarded to them." (Interview, EL_NPE-12) For some teacher educators, this contradiction seems to be further intensified by the fact that both primary and secondary school teachers had to take part in induction (Interview, EL_TE-PP-1, EL_Teacher-3). Although induction was organised separately for each teaching specialisation, it seemed uncomfortable that primary school teachers who had intensive pedagogical training were required to undertake as many hours of induction as their secondary school peers who had received significantly less pedagogical training (EL_TE-PP-1).

The institutionalisation of induction and its financial sustainability was closely aligned to the implementation of EU operational programmes (Interview, EL_NPE-8; Vergidis, 2012). Induction was taking place in the Regional In-Service Training Centres (PEKs), which were initially responsible for the whole spectrum of teacher professional development, but their role was gradually reduced to organising only the induction period (Vergidis, 2012). However, since the hiring freeze imposed by the crisis, PEKs are understaffed and barely functional, because their main activity, namely induction, ceased to operate (Interview, EL_NPE-4, EL_NPE-7). Although, currently, there are discussions within the Ministry of Education to recruit permanent staff and subsequently organise induction, no specific policy has been implemented yet (Interview, EL_NPE-4).

Interviewed teacher educators and teachers widely expressed the view that induction was not serving its purpose in supporting teachers personally and socially, while professionally the training seemed to be helpful mainly for secondary school teachers (Interview, EL_TE-PP-1, EL_TE-SM-1, EL_Teacher-1, EL_Teacher-2). Research has shown that the training preferences of secondary school teachers were significantly different from the practices of the trainers who preferred to use lecture as the main teaching method (Vergidis et al., 2011). This practice was referred to by interviewees of this study as a kind of "schooling-like induction", in the sense that novice teachers were sitting in a classroom attending a lesson that was concluded with a written assessment about the knowledge they received (Interview, EL_NPE-8). For some interviewed teachers with experience as school advisors, induction was seen as helpful for teachers particularly because it trained them in classroom management, and because trainers were experienced teachers and school counsellors (Interview, EL_Teacher-3).

Other interviewees explained though that trainers were not necessarily certified in adult education (Interview, EL_TE-PP-1, EL_TE-PP-6). A relevant study supports the argument that trainers failed to employ adult education methods during induction, mainly for two reasons. One is because they generally preferred to adopt traditional teaching methods which they were more familiar with, and the second reason is the lack of adequate infrastructure and material conditions to enable the use of interactive teaching methods (Vergidis et al., 2012). Moreover, mentorship was never institutionalised, although several professional discussions and policy initiatives were launched (Interview, EL_NPE-3, EL_NPE-8). Law 3848/2010 regulated that each novice teacher should be supported by a mentor, who is an experienced teacher working in the same school (Article 4 §6). However, the law left it open for future decrees to define the requirements and responsibilities for becoming a mentor, and eventually the law was not implemented following the broader rejection of the reform from teachers and teacher unions (Interview, EL_NPE-3). The idea that the mentor could act as a small "school director" who evaluates the novice teacher and at the end decides on teacher's permanent employment was not perceived positively by the union, especially in a context of economic crisis when several teachers were substitutes for many years (Interview, EL_NPE-9). More recently, IEP's

proposal brought back the idea of mentorship during induction (IEP, 2017) and policy experts from the Ministry claimed that they are considering the benefits such an institution might have (Interview, EL_NPE-5, EL_NPE-10), but no further policy measure have been taken so far.

Overall, induction for secondary school teachers appears to be a supplement for ITE rather than a continuation, in the sense that it tries to fill up the lack of pedagogical competence for teachers. Although it used to be the first step of teachers' professional career, the economic crisis and the related hiring freeze has halted induction which currently requires restructuring. As a teacher educator contended: "Considering the financial situation, it is an issue to establish a real induction period, which never really existed in Greece in the sense of closely supporting the teacher during his/her first steps in the career." (Interview, EL_TE-PP-1) Despite the deficits of the induction system, several interviewees mentioned that it was better to have it than having nothing instead (Interview, EL_NPE-8, EL_TE-SM-1).

6.3.1.3. Continuing professional development

Already since the middle of the 1980s, Greece regulated teacher professional development in a continuing way, in the sense that teachers were obliged to attend in-service training every four to six years (Law 1824/1988). As a result, several CPD organisations emerged, including the aforementioned Regional In-Service Training Centres (PEKs) and the Organisation for the In-service Training of Teachers (OEPEK). These are public organisations adhering to the administrative pyramid of the Greek centralised education governance and their establishment proves that the state considers CPD as its mission. Teacher professional development was closely attached to EU priorities and the whole system depended heavily on EU structural funds (Interview, EL_NPE-2; Vergidis, 2012). During the 1990s, professional development flourished and various opportunities were offered to teachers, whose number was steadily increased as a result of EU funding (Vergidis, 2012).

However, a national policy for teachers' CPD has not been established (OEPEK, 2018), and research has shown that teacher professional development in Greece is incidental and not guided by a coherent plan (Karras & Oikonomidis, 2015; Papanaoum, 2005). Several interviewees also argued that professional development happens "ad hoc" in order to fulfil occurring needs, such as an update of teachers regarding newly established curricula and school textbooks, and therefore it cannot be considered as a continuing and systematic process (Interview, EL_NPE-12, EL_TE-PP-6). Before the economic crisis, the state organised large-scale trainings periodically, with the most recent example being the in-service training of approximately 8,000 teachers in 2011 which aimed to implement the ideas of the "New School" reform and offered both contact hours and 150 hours of distance learning for teachers to manage the new curriculum and integrate new technologies in their teaching (OECD, 2011, p. 25).

As mentioned in the previous section, the role of PEKs gradually diminished and after 1999 their role was limited to induction. In this sense, teacher professional development became rather centralised. Some researchers explain this situation as the outcome of the close dependency of nationwide in-service training programmes on EU structural funds (Vergidis, 2012). In a way, policy actors wanted to absorb as much EU funds as possible by organising CPD trainings, but without sustainable and strategic planning, while the big number of participants led to the emergence of new institutional structures and alternative training routes which existed as long as EU funding was available to them (Interview, EL_NPE-7). Moreover, it was often argued by interviewees that most of the nationwide professional development trainings were almost never evaluated for their impact by the Ministry of Education (Interview, EL_NPE-8, EL_TE-PP-2). Due to this lack of evaluation, some interviewees expressed the

view that a lot of EU money were "wasted" and the country has still not developed a comprehensive CPD system (Interview, EL_NPE-8, EL_NPE-10). Of course, it was generally argued that every kind of professional development leaves some traces of improvement for both individual teachers and schools, for example when schools are equipped with laptops and teachers are trained on how to use them (Interview, EL_NPE-7, EL_Teacher-3).

Over the years, participation in CPD became voluntary, partly because it was never officially stated in terms of professional duty (Interview, EL_NPE-3; OECD, 2018). Teachers who participated officially in CPD trainings often received leave of absence and allowances, which created pressures on the finances of education (Interview, EL_NPE-3). For example, primary school teachers had the chance to participate in two-year-long trainings provided by special institutes, during which they were substituted in their teaching duties by substitute teachers. The activity of those institutes was suspended in 2012 because of budgetary restrictions (Interview, EL_NPE-1, EL_NPE-3). The role of teacher unions was crucial in promoting the right for all teachers to receive CPD. As an OLME representative argued: "The main position of OLME throughout the years is that we need to have CPD, because teaching is a complex profession and needs to have a high status, but so far there hasn't been any serious CPD policy implemented." (Interview, EL_NPE-9)

Furthermore, teachers in Greece have few opportunities for long term career growth (OECD, 2018) and there is a lack of incentives to participate in CPD, since CPD activities are not translated into direct and durable benefits for teachers' salaries, working conditions, and career advancement (Interview, EL_NPE-12; Ifanti & Fotopoulou, 2011). The lack of teacher evaluation was also referred to as an aspect reinforcing the limited participation of teachers in CPD (Interview, EL_NPE-3, EL_NPE-12). During the time that teacher evaluation was about to be regulated, it was noted by several interviewees that the number of teachers participating in CPD increased, because many teachers wanted to collect certificates and points that could be put forward in case of an upcoming external evaluation (Interview, EL_NPE-7, EL_NPE-12). As a policy expert puts it: "If the EU is funding programmes for example learning about ICT, then many teachers participate to acquire different certificates and points. It is not obligatory, but they go because you collect points that might be needed. The tool is the point system." (Interview, EL_NPE-7)

However, it has been widely recognised by interviewees that there is a significant number of motivated teachers who voluntarily participate in CPD opportunities, undertaking also Master and doctoral studies at education faculties (Interview, EL_NPE-1, EL_NPE-12). According to a policy expert: "There are many teachers who despite the crisis undertake trainings and often they pay for that. This is somehow counterbalancing the stillness of the system that should have been providing CPD at an institutional level." (Interview, EL_NPE-1) And as another interviewee puts it: "This part of teachers interested to continue learning always finds ways to do so, but a big number of those who are not interested are allowed by the system to remain indifferent." (Interview, EL_NPE-6) Indicative of teachers' individual motivation to undertake CPD is also the wide acceptance that eTwinning has received in Greece and the increasing number of eTwinnings taking place in partnership with Greek schools (*eTwinning Greece*, 2018). As a teacher working in a regional education directorate argued, participation in professional development through eTwinning is recognised officially as CPD and teachers can document this when they apply for posts in the administration (Interview, EL_Teacher-1).

From the perspective of interviewed teachers, CPD trainings were seen as offering opportunities to learn new teaching methods, but were not always deemed as directly related to actual school needs. "These trainings were not related to our pedagogical preparation in terms of classroom management for example. They usually talk to us about new methods, new textbooks, new curricula, and all those things coming from the Ministry." (Interview,

EL_Teacher-2) All interviewed teachers also argued that CPD trainings focus predominantly on formal learning, while non-formal and informal activities are not always recognised by the Ministry of Education as professional development. It has also been noted that the Ministry is increasingly trying to promote distance CPD through the use of ICT, in order to enable wider participation of teachers and reduce the costs (Interview, EL_Teacher-3).

The economic crisis has led to huge cutbacks with direct and indirect impact on teacher professional development. Since 2013, the supply of professional development appears to be rather limited, while the economic circumstances have affected teachers' job satisfaction and willingness to participate in professional development opportunities (Interview, EL_Teacher-1, EL_Teacher-2). "During the economic crisis professional development stopped to exist and it might take place depending only on the good will of school advisors who can gather a group of teachers and talk to them about something." (Interview, EL_NPE-1) In an effort to reorganise CPD, the government in office has recently regulated the reorganisation of education structures aiming to create a new institutional framework for planning and implementing CPD in the near future (Interview, EL_NPE-10). Specifically, the new law merges previously existing organisations to create centres for educational planning and centres for educational support, while it establishes school networks and committees for supporting teachers' work (ibid.). It also redefines the role of school advisors to in-service trainers, abolishing this way an institution which has been largely associated with efforts of previous governments to implement teacher evaluation (Interview, EL_NPE-8, EL_NPE-10, EL_Teacher-2). The following section will analyse another aspect related to teacher evaluation, namely teacher competence frameworks.

6.3.2. Teacher competences

As noted above, teacher competence frameworks are not officially established in Greece, although there have been efforts to evaluate teacher competences indirectly, while a competence-orientation seems to have penetrated ITE curricula through the learning outcomes approach. Starting with the evaluation of teacher competences, the establishment of the ASEP examination for teacher recruitment in 1997 signalled indirectly that the state is interested to assess the qualifications deemed necessary to become a teacher (Interview, EL_NPE-12). However, the related legal texts make no reference to teachers' competences, nor to what the state understands as professional knowledge for teachers (Liakopoulou, 2011).

Specifically, the ASEP examination included open-ended and close-ended, as well as multiple-choice questions related to general teaching methodology, pedagogical issues and subject specific didactics. Although the examination envisages to evaluate pedagogical competence, this is not achieved because: (a) the number of topics examined in each category of pedagogical competence is rather limited; (b) the restrictions related to written exams with close-ended questions obscures the evaluation of competence acquisition; and (c) the way questions are formulated often fails to guarantee the pedagogical knowledge of prospective teachers (Liakopoulou, 2009, p. 256). Moreover, a written examination such as ASEP evaluates the knowledge rather than the skills or the attitudes necessary for proving teachers' competence. Even though by focusing only on knowledge, Liakopoulou (2011) argues that the understanding of that knowledge and the ability to use it is examined to a lesser extent. Thus a lack of alignment between ASEP examination and classroom practice indicates that these examinations fail to measure teachers' pedagogical competences (OECD, 2018).

Several interviewees argued that the state has not defined a clear policy for teacher competences, particularly because secondary education appears overly fragmented with over 100 teaching specialisations (Interview, EL_NPE-8), while the notion of competence has

received negative connotations of an ideological nature (Interview, EL_NPE-9, EL_TE-PP-3, EL_TE-PP-5). Some interviewees explained that the idea of competence and the notion of key skills entered the official political discourse with the reforms of the 2010 period (Interview, EL_NPE-2, EL_NPE-3). Indeed, the word skills (*deksiotites*) appears in Laws 3848/2010 and 4186/2013, but this refers only to student skills or to skills required for education management personnel.

> *In Greece, there was always the issue of how recruitment can be detached from politics and political interests. So the aim is how to achieve objectivity and not meritocracy. We tried to include the idea of competence and skills in selecting the school principal or the regional education director. Their appointment was meant to happen after their skills were assessed, but in Greece there is the feeling that no kind of evaluation can be really objective.* (Interview, EL_NPE-3)

The idea of school or teacher evaluation is perceived negatively by the education community because in the perception of many teachers evaluation is linked to corruption rather than objectivity or meritocracy (Interview, EL_NPE-3, EL_TE-SM-1). So the government in office has recently abolished the policy of teacher evaluation and this seems to have also affected the political discourse related to competences and skills. Indicative is the fact that the latest Law 4547/2018 on restructuring education structures omits any reference to skills when describing the qualifications of education personnel. The same is true for IEP's proposal on the ITE of prospective secondary school teachers (IEP, 2017). As a policy expert explains: "So far, there hasn't been any concrete suggestion of teacher competence frameworks. The recent proposal we made for the certificate of pedagogical competence defines broader knowledge areas, rather than specific skills. Perhaps this might happen later." (Interview, EL_NPE-5)

Furthermore, some teacher educators at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki expressed their scepticism over the notion of competences, and particularly the aspect of skills. As a teacher educator puts it: "Some colleagues despise the notion of skills, because they consider it degrading for humans, and instead they proclaim the need for reflective and critical thinking students. So they think that the term skills refers to praxeology." (Interview, EL_TE-PP-4) And another teacher educator argues: "I am not interested in competences in the behavioural sense and as Europe promotes it. I am interested to see the whole. I am interested to see that my students understand how to critically reflect, that they change their views and traditional perceptions about school and teaching." (Interview, EL_TE-PP-5) In this sense, interviewed teacher educators appear to promote the value of the Greek *paideia*, the equivalent of the German *Bildung*, meaning the holistic cultivating development of human beings which is not limited to the exercise of practical skills.

Especially at the department of philosophy and pedagogy, the use of a portfolio for teaching practice is perceived as helping students to theorise their observations connecting theory to practice and developing critical reflections (ibid.) It also happened that teacher educators, such as in the department of Greek philology, were not familiar at all with the notion of competences, although several courses in the curriculum are described in terms of competences. A broad disagreement with the notion of competence was also expressed by the teacher union of secondary school teachers. For OLME, education should provide broader knowledge which one can later on further specialise during the professional career, and in this sense, education cannot be limited to competences (Interview, EL_NPE-9). This can be gleaned from the following quote.

> *By observing what happens in Europe, we disagree with an education based on competences as a general principle. We disagree with the idea that someone should define his life or that the school should serve competences based on the needs of the particular socio-economic context. We believe that one should receive a solid basis of education which can later on be specialised on the job, because we understand that in a society one can change several jobs, so it cannot be that someone specialises at a very early stage. So we want something more general that is not dependent on competences of the moment.* (ibid.)

The development of professional competence frameworks remains a topic that is predominantly discussed within professional and scientific networks, but is not included in the political agenda (Interview, EL_NPE-1, EL_NPE-2). Some influences of this broader discourse appear to exist at the micro level, meaning the practice of individual teacher educators and teachers. For example, the method of micro-teaching that has been applied for many years at the department of philosophy and pedagogy at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki is considered as a direct way to develop teaching competences of student teachers (Interview, EL_TE-PP-1, EL_TE-PP-2). However, the specific method is deemed by some as behaviouristic and thus not appropriate to develop "critical reflective practitioners" (Interview, EL_TE-PP-5). Moreover, a teacher acting as school advisor explains how through his experiences in European schools, he developed an interest in teacher competences: "I have been using competences to develop my own seminars, but also if I was in a selection board for regional education directors, I would be interested to evaluate the candidate's competence, for example human resource management skills." (Interview, EL_Teacher-3)

Competences and the learning outcomes approach have also recently begun to appear in ITE curricula, as a result of developing the NQF. In the case of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, the quality assurance unit of the university, established in 2011, has provided a framework for formulating learning outcomes in the curricula (Quality Assurance Unit, n.d.). As previously described, all departments at the Faculty of Philosophy have included learning outcomes in their ITE curricula, but the extent to which this has affected the practice of teacher educators is questionable. The fragmentation of how teacher education takes place in the different departments and the dominance of the subject discipline aspect over the pedagogical one indicates that the focus is still largely on the content rather than the learning outcome process (Interview, EL_TE-PP-4, EL_TE-SM-1).

This seems to be the case also for some teacher educators specialising in educational sciences: "To a great extent, the truth is that I am still attached to the content and I am thinking of competences only to a lesser extent. This is also because we have no system to measure those competences and this is not easy." (Interview, EL_TE-PP-1) The fact that most departments at the Faculty of Philosophy have difficulties to implement a long-term practical teaching period for their students is considered to be another hindrance for developing skills and attitudes necessary for teachers (Interview, EL_TE-PP-6, EL_TE-SD-1). Since there is no sorting out of student teachers and students who want to specialise in science, there is a very big number of students who can later on decide to become teachers of Greek philology. This big number of students appears to legitimise the practice of teacher educators to focus on knowledge and to deal predominantly with content (Interview, EL_TE-PP-1, EL_TE-PP-4). The role of teacher educators is examined in greater depth in the following section.

6.3.3. The role of teacher educators

The professional identity of teacher educators in Greece is significantly influenced by the broader context in which teacher education for secondary school teachers operates in the country. Several interviewees seemed to question whether ITE for secondary school teachers actually exists, because the university departments of the so-called teacher faculties focus first and foremost on subject disciplines and thus recruit personnel with expertise on the subject discipline rather than the knowledge or ability of the person to prepare future teachers (Interview, EL_NPE-2, EL_NPE-12). “When the philosophy of the department is that we are preparing historians and archaeologists, for example, then they will recruit a scientist to teach those subjects.” (Interview, EL_NPE-12) In this sense, there was no common understanding shared among interviewees regarding the role and responsibilities of teacher educators.

The teaching and research at all higher education institutions is conducted by the teaching and scientific personnel divided into professors, associate professors, assistant professors and practicing lecturers (Law 4485/2017, Article 2). The requirements to be elected to these positions are a doctoral degree and the relevance of the PhD thesis or the research of the candidate to the advertised position. Teaching at university can also be undertaken by special teaching staff who have a temporary employment status. In the absence of official legal provisions defining the role of teacher educators, it could be argued that teaching and scientific personnel at the education faculties and at the departments of philosophy and pedagogy, as well as experienced teachers supervising students in their teaching practice are teacher educators.

Some interviewees referred also to school advisors and in-service trainers as teacher educators (Interview, EL_TE-PP-2, EL_TE-PP-6). As noted above, the institution of mentor does not exist in Greece, but often experienced teachers could undertake the role of school advisor or in-service trainer and offer CPD opportunities to teachers. In this respect, Law 3848/2010 defined conditions for the selection of school advisors, including a certificate of counselling and guidance (Article 11 §9). Traditionally, though, the years of service had a higher impact during the selection process, while an interviewee argued that a systematic training for school advisors or in-service trainers never took place in Greece (Interview, EL_NPE-2). “Many of the trainers think that since I am teaching in school or in the university, I can also become a trainer, but it is not like that and one needs to be specialised in teaching adults.” (ibid.) There has also been a policy initiative for creating a register at the Ministry of Education including qualified in-service trainers whom the Ministry could select in case of a nationwide in-service training, but, as two interviewees mentioned, “nobody knows what is happening with that register anymore” (Interview, EL_NPE-2, EL_TE-PP-2).

The majority of interviewees was also not aware of any initiatives to define competences for teacher educators. When asked about relevant institutional practices with regard to teacher educator competences, some teacher educators pointed out that quality assurance in their institutions was not evaluating teaching, focusing instead on research output (Interview, EL_TE-PP-6, EL_TE-SD-1). As an interviewee explained, university pedagogy was an unexplored academic field in Greece (Interview, EL_NPE-6). The practice of emphasising the “what” over the “how” is also applicable in the case of higher education teaching, since the majority of academics in teacher faculties would hardly identify themselves as teacher educators who need to be taught how to teach (Interview, EL_TE-SD-1, EL_TE-SM-1). A recent initiative at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki aimed to address this issue by establishing an office to support university teaching, and although an initial plan was created the implementation process was frozen (Interview, EL_TE-PP-6). The lack of teacher educator competences is also evident in the practice of in-service trainers who generally thought that

they are complying with methods of adult education, but were actually giving lectures to teachers (Interview, EL_NPE-7; Vergidis et al., 2011).

With regard to professional development, there are no special provisions for teacher educators, while CPD is not obligatory for higher education staff. The main incentive to participate in CPD is the sabbatical leaves for research purposes which one can request after completing three years of service at a higher education institution, receiving full salary (Law 4009/2011). Despite the sabbatical leaves, several interviewees felt that they were not supported enough by their institutions, particularly in the period following the economic crisis which resulted in serious salary cuts for them (Interview, EL_TE-PP-1, EL_TE-PP-4). Since the salary loss, it has been noted that some academics have tried to replenish their income by establishing Master degrees that charge student fees (EL_TE-PP-1). The economic crisis has further undermined the situation in higher education, since many institutions were forced to merge and several university departments remain understaffed. As an interviewee explains: "In 2010, in the beginning of the crisis, we were 29 people here in the department, and now we are 19, while in three years we will remain 13 if nothing changes." (Interview, EL_NPE-6)

Considering this challenging context and the uncertainty regarding teacher education reforms, collaboration among teacher education stakeholders remains an unresolved issue. As previously discussed, the tensions among teacher educators are rooted in different epistemological traditions, but collaboration has improved in recent years due to the need to establish the certificate for pedagogical and teaching competence (PPDE). In the example of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, the departments making up the Faculty of Philosophy have established an interdepartmental committee for implementing the PPDE and have allowed for some flexibility in their curricula so that students can select courses from the different departments (Interview, EL_TE-PP-4, EL_TE-PP-5). However, this seems to be the outcome of a top-down process, rather than an initiative of teacher educators themselves. As a teacher educator contends: "There was a time when there was no cooperation among the departments of the same faculty, but since the last four years we have achieved some collaboration. Working together with the other teacher faculties would also be an important next step." (Interview, EL_TE-PP-2)

Due to the absence of a coordinating unit and the fragmentation of ITE in the different faculties and departments, the collaboration of teacher educators representing different aspects of ITE proves to be rather challenging. There is no common vision shared among the departments and collaboration among the staff seems to be incidental, rather than based on professional needs. Other efforts to promote networking more broadly within the university is the online platform *Dialogos* (Dialogue) in which university staff can exchange views regarding occurring issues. Although there is no nationwide network or association specifically targeting teacher educators, there are some teacher networks bringing together teachers from the same subject, for example teachers of drama education or teachers of music, organising conferences and joint events (Interview, EL_NPE-1).

6.4. Summary

Over the past ten years, Greece has been struggling with an economic crisis which has significantly affected the system of teacher education in the country. Due to a hiring freeze and budget cuts in education, developments in teacher education have been halted, considering that induction and CPD basically have not been taking place since 2013. However, the reasons behind the stillness related to teacher education for secondary school teachers can be traced back to long-standing policy issues, including some deeply rooted epistemological beliefs within universities, the discontinuity of education policy, and reactions from pressure groups

safeguarding their own interests. Although there is a widespread belief that ITE for secondary school teachers is ineffective, and that teachers' professional development is not systematically organised, numerous policy initiatives have been launched but not fully implemented.

In this context, political actors employed European policy instruments to promote the idea of modernising the Greek education system, including teacher education, in a country that was open to European influences shortly after its accession to the EU. The role of operational programmes funded by the EU was crucial in establishing and implementing the induction period, as well as in organising large-scale teacher professional development programmes. New institutions responsible for the in-service training of teachers were created based on EU funding, but still no comprehensive system of CPD was developed. As Stamelos and Vasilopoulos (2013) argue, it seems that driven by the incentive of EU funding, Greece is trying to implement some of the European policies in teacher education, but it is not clear if the goal is to actually implement those policies or to merely absorb EU structural funds. In this sense, it appears that Greece is just reproducing some of the developments taking place in Europe, but without a sustainable planning in mind. This difficulty relates also to internal contradictions of the system, as well as to resistance of the education community which is firmly against any efforts to regulate specific policies, such as teacher evaluation. Traces of Europeanisation are most evident in higher education, where quality assurance, ECTS, diploma supplement and learning outcomes have been widely introduced.

Process tracing has also shown that there have been sporadic initiatives to regulate the different phases of the teacher education continuum, but a comprehensive reform addressing the whole spectrum of teachers' professional career has not taken place yet. Throughout the years, the central issue of secondary school teachers' pedagogical and teaching competence has not been sufficiently addressed, due to reactions from subject discipline faculties and student unions, as well as internal controversies at the political level. As a result, induction served as a compensation for the inadequate pedagogical preparation during ITE, while professional development was organised on an ad hoc basis in accordance with the central needs of the state, rather than on a continuing basis addressing teachers' professional needs. There are also no relevant policies aiming to improve the selection to ITE or lateral and side entry to the teaching profession.

The example of the Faculty of Philosophy at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki has also revealed numerous challenges in the enactment of policies related to teachers' pedagogical and teaching competence. Specifically, there is a highly diverse approach among the departments on how they approach teacher education, with resistance from the department of Greek philology and the department of history and archaeology indicating that the emphasis is still on the "what" rather than the "how" of teaching. Clearly there is an imbalance between the different components of ITE, and only the department of philosophy and pedagogy appears to have introduced a strong teacher education component. In all departments, the issue of organising the practicum appears to be the biggest challenge, while there are no institutional links established between ITE and induction. With regard to the application of European policy instruments, it seems that Bologna has not influenced the structure of ITE, and other instruments, such as learning outcomes, appear to be integrated into the curricula as part of broader higher education policies imposed in a top-down way.

Moreover, discussions related to teacher competences are taking place mainly within professional and scientific circles, and so far there have not been any policy initiatives to establish relevant professional frameworks. Overall, teacher educators expressed reservations regarding the need to establish teacher competence frameworks, arguing against the narrow focus on generic skills. The negative perception of teacher evaluation on the part of the Greek education community has also prevented policy efforts to regulate teacher competences.

Indirect efforts to evaluate teacher competences, such as through the central teacher recruitment examinations, have proven to be unsuccessful. The development of the national qualifications framework has only recently contributed to the spreading of competences and learning outcomes approach in ITE curricula.

Finally, policy developments and practices related to the role of teacher educators remain limited to the local level. Due to the overly diversified ways of delivering ITE, and the strong subject orientation of the teacher faculties, it proves challenging to develop a common understanding on the professional identity of teacher educators. Through this study, it was not possible to identify any efforts to define competence frameworks for teacher educators, while a more intensive collaboration among the different departments responsible for ITE has started only recently, in keeping with the need to establish a certificate for pedagogical and teaching competence.

Chapter 7: Hungary

This chapter provides data analysis related to the Hungarian case study. The first section presents contextual information about the governance of the system, the historical development of teacher education and the accession of Hungary to the EU. Policy developments between 2006 and 2015 are then traced in the second section, which focuses on the implementation of the Bologna process in 2006 and the revoking of the process seven years later. Afterwards, the resonance between the Hungarian teacher education policy and European developments is explored, with attention being given to the role of European policy instruments and the enactment of policies in the example of Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE). The chapter is concluded with a summary and critical considerations regarding the Hungarian case study.

7.1. The Hungarian teacher education system in context: Setting the scene

The first section of this chapter aims to contextualise teacher education policy in Hungary. Specifically, the national context of teacher education policy is firstly described, in order to understand the historical and cultural traits of the system. Afterwards, the transition to a post-socialist state is explored, with emphasis being placed on the major shift that occurred since 2010, namely the shift from a decentralised to a centralised education system and the subsequent implications for teacher education. A historical overview is then provided of how teacher education developed in Hungary until the early 2000s, followed by some important insights related to Hungary's accession to the EU.

7.1.1. Hungarian policy and reform culture

Hungary belongs to the group of Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries which experienced a rapid transformation following the collapse of the Iron Curtain and the fall of communism. The transition from communism to democracy and market economy was different from that experienced by other CEE countries, because most institutional conditions for a market economy, as well as basic democratic institutions, were already in place before the fall of communism (Halász, 2003). Since 1989, Hungary has been a parliamentary republic, while political stability that characterised the period after the political changeover has contributed to economic growth (Eurydice, 2018b).

A particular feature of educational transformation in Hungary is the balance between restoration and modernisation goals (Halász, 2003). For Hungary, as for other CEE countries, an important aspect of the educational transition was the intention to catch up with Western Europe (Falus & Kotschy, 1999). Europeanisation was explicitly stated as major goal of the transition process, but this often rather meant a desire to restore "traditional European values than a genuine wish to modernise the system" (Halász, 2003, p. 55). The need to "close the gap" and accelerate modernisation efforts led Hungary to prioritise global trends which had already influenced the education policies of the most economically developed European countries (Faragó, 2003, p. 1). According to Tóth, Mészáros and Marton (2018, p. 1), Hungary's "catching-up revolution" stabilised the neoliberal hegemony in education and fostered a high degree of decentralisation. By the early 1990s Hungary had become one of the most decentralised education systems of the world (Halász, 2018). During this period of decentralisation, there were strong debates about the role of local authorities, whether and to

what extent they increase the differences among schools regarding the quality of teaching and learning (Interview, EL_NPE-8).

After twenty years of decentralisation, the Hungarian neo-conservative and right-wing government in office since 2010 introduced legislation to centralise power in education, putting schools under the direct governance of central authorities. Despite many changes during those twenty years, depending on alterations in the political system, the main aspects of the educational administration, namely the shared responsibility among the stakeholders and the focus on the local administration, remained stable until 2011 (ibid.). The parliament adopted new education acts in 2011 that significantly transformed the organisation of public education, higher education and VET. As a result, governance of the education system is currently shared between the central government and 58 school districts (Interview, HU_NPE-6). The Ministry of Human Resources is responsible for the overall management of the education system, including teachers' salaries and career structure (OECD, 2015).

A major systemic change that came with the new government includes the transfer of school maintenance from the level of local governments to the level of the state through the establishment of the Klebelsberg Institution Maintenance Centre (*Klebelsberg Intézményfenntartó Központ*, KLIK) in 2013. In addition to school maintenance, KLIK undertook the responsibility of teachers' employment and the provision of professional development (ibid.). In 2015, some of KLIK's responsibilities for school management were allocated to the Education Authority (*Oktatási Hivatal*), a government organisation responsible for student examinations and the register of HEIs. Specifically, the Education Authority has assumed responsibility for the qualification and professional/pedagogical inspection of teachers (ibid.).

Moreover, the *Decree on the National Core Curriculum* in 2012 redefined the mission of the national curriculum as a regulatory instrument and introduced general content knowledge, while the *Act on Textbook Provision in National Public Education* in 2013 established a new body responsible for producing and disseminating textbooks (ibid.). Through the *Act on Public Education* in 2011, the employment of teachers was transferred to the state and teachers' tasks, rights and obligations were redefined. In 2015, external and internal school evaluation were strengthened and linked to teacher appraisal which has an impact on teachers' salaries and career opportunities (ibid.). However, schools have retained a certain level of decision-making authority related to pedagogy, while teachers continue to have a relatively high level of autonomy (Halász, 2018).

The efforts to centralise the school system also had a significant influence on teacher education. Until the end of the 1990s, ITE remained fragmented in the sense that teachers responsible for the different levels of the education system received a different type of teacher education (ibid.). Following the integration of ITE colleges into universities and the implementation of Bologna structure in teacher education during the 2000s, ITE for lower and upper-secondary school teachers was unified. However, the *Decree on the Teacher Training System* in 2012 reintroduced an undivided ITE programme and elements of the earlier fragmented structure were restored. The following sub-section presents the development of Hungarian teacher education, from the moment that teacher education was officially established until the early 2000s.

7.1.2. The development of teacher education in Hungary: A historical overview until 2000

Since the 18th century and until 1848, the Hungarian school system developed as part of the Austrian education system. According to Németh, Szabolcs and Vincze (2012), the

institutionalisation of teacher education for primary and middle school teachers followed the School Edict of Maria Theresia in 1774. In 1805, the Royal Decree *Political Constitution of the German Schools* regulated the primary school teacher education, while in 1819 the first independent and catholic teacher education institution was established in Eger. Same as in Austria, subject teachers who received a university education were taught at faculties of theology. Shortly after the Hungarian revolution of 1848, the eight-year academic secondary education (*Gymnasium*) was introduced in 1849 (ibid.).

The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 partially re-established the sovereignty of Hungary and led to changes in teacher education regulations. Already in 1868, a new primary school law regulated the establishment of state-owned teacher education institutions, defined their responsibilities and decreed a three-year study duration, which in 1881 was increased to four years (ibid.). The teacher education of academic secondary schools continued to be organised according to the model of three-year university studies at faculties of philosophy, followed by teacher qualification exams. In 1895, the Eötvös Collegium was established as a boarding school with the purpose of undertaking the teacher education of social science students, after a highly selective recruitment procedure (ibid.).

Following the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in 1918, the Hungarian education system was marked by the conservative minister of culture Kuno Klebelsberg. The status of primary school teacher education institutions was improved and study duration, in 1923, was increased to five years. To receive the teaching qualification, a primary school teacher had to complete written and oral exams, as well as a trial lesson (ibid.). With regard to teacher education for academic secondary school teachers, Klebelsberg, in 1924, regulated the establishment of institutes of teacher education in the faculties of philology, which were responsible for providing subject methodology along the study of subject disciplines. In order for a student to be qualified as an academic secondary school teacher, he/she had to register with a faculty of philology, select at least two school subjects and successfully complete courses offered at university and at the institute of teacher education. Afterwards, student teachers had to undertake a one-year internship period in a practice school of the university (ibid.).

The socialist period and the 1990s

Since the end of World War II, the Hungarian education system has tried to balance between centralisation efforts, stemming from authoritative governments, and decentralisation efforts, closely aligned to the idea of a democratic and pluralistic society. The expectations for a democratic political transformation, which appeared for a short period after 1945, quickly proved to be illusionary as Hungary was turning into a communist dictatorship and efforts to nationalise, centralise and politicise all academic activities were evident (Kotschy & Golnhofer, 2008, p. 230). Pedagogy increasingly became determined by politics and ideology, while past achievements and traditions were rejected. This development disrupted the continuity in pedagogical thinking and "resulted in uncertainty and confusion of identities and values among Hungarian teachers" (ibid, p. 232). From that point onwards, the reform of education evolved slowly and only after the fall of the Iron Curtain substantial changes in education were allowed to happen.

During the socialist period, teacher education suited the needs of an 8+4 school structure, meaning eight years of primary education, including a four-year lower primary and a four-year upper primary education, and four years of secondary education. This school structure implied a clear division of tasks, since newly established teacher training colleges were responsible for the education of primary school teachers, and universities for secondary school teachers (Kotschy, 2012, p. 43). However, university degrees were accepted for teaching

at both upper primary and secondary schools. Moreover, teacher education was traditionally implemented differently in the sciences and in the arts, with science faculties making a clear distinction between scientific and teaching careers, often leading students to contra-selection, meaning that those who did not get a position in the science discipline entered the teaching field (ibid.).

In 1985, while the Communist Party was still in power, a new education law aimed to redefine the governance of education by fostering administrative and professional decentralisation, significantly raising professional autonomy within schools (Kotschy & Golnhofer, 2008, pp. 236-237). However, it was not until the public education law of 1993 (Act LXXIX) that the legal conditions for the decentralisation process were in place and the following changes were introduced: (a) the provision of school education was defined as a local task; (b) the learning process was directed by a school-developed curriculum and a central framework curriculum; (c) each school had to develop a pedagogical programme approved by the local authority maintaining the school; and (d) a board consisting of representatives of the provider, parents, teachers and students had to be set up in every school (ibid, p. 239-40).

Decentralisation resulted in a diversified school system in which school structures such as 6- and 8-year-long secondary schools or gymnasiums (6+6 and 4+8) appeared as alternatives to the traditional 8+4 Hungarian school system. This diversification created the need for new general competences developed by teachers and teacher education had to stop depending on the pupils' age group (Stéger, 2014b). The brokering of the rigid school structure led to the reform of teacher education which started with the Act LXXX of 1993 on Higher Education and continued with the *Government Decree 111/1997 on the Qualification Requirements for Teachers*. The overall aim was to raise the qualification of the teaching profession by unifying the requirements across subsystems and strengthening general pedagogy against fragmented subject areas. This development was seen as important to align with trends in EU countries (Falus & Kotschy, 1999). "The aspiration to become an equal member of the European community" was a characterising trend of the new teacher education context (ibid, p. 30). Teacher education had to reflect the needs of social pluralism and run democratically, while modernising the methodology and content of teacher education was considered a prerequisite for the changes in the attitude of teachers and their roles (ibid., pp. 27-28).

Kotschy (2012, p. 44) describes the transformation of teacher education within the new context: (a) teacher qualifications coming with degrees were extended to allow college teachers to teach in higher grades; (b) the duration of teacher education increased from three to four years for lower primary school teachers; and (c) the pedagogy and psychology components of teacher education programmes were unified. The *Government Decree 111/1997* unified the teacher education programmes offered by different training institutions and fundamentally changed the relationship between them (ibid.). Slowly but steadily a process of integration of the various teacher training institutions started to occur, resulting in big universities absorbing the small training colleges, although the final result was highly diversified (ibid., p. 46). For example, Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) stopped operating subject teacher training at college level, while the teacher training college in Eger remained independent, aspiring to become a university. Some universities acquired a larger regional role through the integration of previous colleges and universities, such as the University of Szeged and the University of Pécs (Stéger, 2014b, p. 23). The 1997 Decree initiated also the process of quality assurance in ITE by defining elements appropriate for quality preparation, such as the regulation of the teaching practice, the comprehensive examination, and the introduction of the teacher qualifying exam, as well as the content elements and their proportions in teacher education programmes (ibid, p. 25).

During that time, teacher education had to cope with a rapid demographic change, caused by the increase in the number of students in higher education and the simultaneous decrease of the number of pupils in public education (Falus & Kotschy, 1999, p. 28). The new *National Core Curriculum* (NCC), introduced in 1998, restructured the 12-year education process into three pedagogical stages (1-6, 7-10, 11-12) and shifted the learning process from traditional specific subjects to an integrated range of subjects or "cultural domains" (Kotschy 2012; Falus & Kotschy, 1999). The NCC paved the way for competence-based education, following the transformation of the pedagogical approach in Europe, and influenced the practice of ITE (Stéger, 2014b).

It was also in 1998 that Hungary introduced a credit system influenced by the ECTS, before the Bologna process was signed. Thus, the original use of the ECTS was different from Bologna, meaning that the credit system was meant to support flexibility within the curriculum itself. "Compared to a traditional curriculum, where students were not allowed to select any subject, introducing ECTS resulted in increased freedom for students to plan their own learning." (Interview, HU_NPE-4) Later on, the scope of ECTS was extended to support mobility across programmes and higher education institutions (ibid.). Before tracing policy developments in the 2000s, the following section will focus on the accession of Hungary to the EU and will sketch the main European instruments which influenced education policy in the country.

7.1.3. The accession of Hungary to the EU

Hungary joined the EU in 2004, during the Eastern enlargement, following a constitutional amendment that could allow accession. The EU's pluralist and internationalised constitutional paradigm created particular conditions for the EU accession of CEE countries, including Hungary, which is strongly identified as a kin-state (Batory, 2010). Specifically, democratic conditionality had significant constitutional implications, which were evident in the numerous conflicts between European norms and the legal order of CEE countries during the accession process (ibid.). Several of these conflicts were related to social integration of individuals, such as Roma populations, and collective rights. Although Hungary pursued integration in the EU actively, the relationship between ethnicity/national identity and political community remained a central topic in political life and in the field of citizenship legislation (ibid.). EU accession could thus be seen as another transition period, which challenged domestic politics over the notions of citizenship and national identity, having broader educational implications.

According to Halász (2007), accession to the EU signalled a second transition for Hungary, which happened before the first one was complete, and thus the two transitions "superimposed upon each other" (p. 2). Table 8 shows how the two parallel transitions unfolded in different phases and influenced education. In the first phase, characterised by a high degree of uncertainty and unrealistic views, education became more detached from social and economic areas, while in the second phase actors started becoming familiar with the new context and a new dynamic thus emerged that reattached education to other social and economic areas. The third phase of systemic reform, Halász (2007, 2018) argues, has not yet been reached in Hungary, while reform efforts after 2010 to restore previous models of education governance have further impeded this process.

Table 8. The phases of two transitions in Hungary

	Transition 1	Transition 2
Phase 1	Destruction of old structures and idealised views of parliamentary democracy and a market economy	Idealised views of the EU, no direct implications for the daily management of the system
Phase 2	Emergence of new structures and ideas and improved problem-solving capacity	Daily working relationship with the EU; the transfer of community goals and approaches to the domestic scene
Phase 3	Systemic reform	Europeanisation of domestic education policy

Source: Halász, 2007, p. 2

Hungary became an EU member in a period when education was turning into a high political objective for the EU and the role of teacher education was increasingly prioritised in the union's policy agenda. Following the signing of the Lisbon Strategy, education was seen as an instrument of modernisation connected to the broader goals of European social, employment and economic policies. The Open Method of Coordination (OMC), which was invented when the CEE countries started their accession process, led to the emergence of new policy instruments in Hungary that were meant to support the connection between education and socio-economic policies (Halász, 2015). Already before their accession, CEE countries had started applying the OMC, implementing EU education policies as part of employment and social policies, while the decision to establish education sector indicators at community level was taken together with CEE countries (ibid.).

Due to the influence of European policy coordination mechanisms and EU structural funds, the role of education in Hungary, as well as in other CEE countries, was redefined within the new context provided by the EU's lifelong learning approach (ibid.). Especially the role of development interventions financed by the ESF have had a significant impact on modernising school education, supporting competence-based learning and social integration (Fazekas, 2018; Halász, 2018), and their influence on teacher education will be detailed later in this chapter. It was also at this time, when the CEE countries became members of the EU, that the ESF was significantly modified and could be used for systemic reforms in the education sector. This led CEE countries to start designing national development plans, including operational programmes for human resource management (Halász, 2015). Moreover, European policy goals were conveyed to Hungary through the Bologna process, the implementation of which started before the country's EU accession, and its impact on teacher education is examined in the following section.

7.2. The implementation and revoking of the Bologna process: Developments between 2006 and 2015

The Bologna declaration, signed by Hungary in 1999, but introduced only with the Government Decree 381/2004 and the Act CXXXIX of 2005 on Higher Education, led to radical changes in both the structure and content of Hungarian teacher education. Stéger (2014b) argues that

the aim of introducing the Bologna type multi-cycle education framework in Hungary was to join the European Higher Education Area. Similarly, Nagy describes the most important European targets adopted by the national Bologna committee:

- *introducing an easily comprehensible and comparable system of education in order to boost European citizens' opportunities for employment and increase the international competitiveness of European higher education;*
- *setting up a training system which is fundamentally based on two main training cycles;*
- *introducing the credit system;*
- *supporting the mobility of students and teachers;*
- *promoting European cooperation in the field of quality assurance and finally encouraging the appearance of 'European content' in higher education* (as cited in Kotschy, 2012, p. 47).

The professional debates related to teacher education took place within the Bologna subcommittee led by György Hunyady, founding dean of the ELTE Faculty of Education and Psychology (*Pedagógiai és Pszichológia Kar,* PPK). According to a national policy expert, "Hunyady invited in the committee people who were likeminded, because it was easier to work with them. And this led too much to the direction of pedagogy and psychology, so the subject matter teacher educators were against the whole Bologna because of that" (Interview, HU_NPE-2).

Even before the signing of the Bologna declaration, Hunyadi's working group had started developing the so-called "ELTE model" for teacher education which largely influenced the implementation of the Bologna process in the specific field (Nagy, 2009), not without ongoing professional arguments and institutional conflicts (Hunyady, 2010). The ELTE model argued for establishing a uniform ITE system, with the following characteristics: (1) upper primary teacher education should be raised to university level; (2) the solid disciplinary knowledge is the starting point and precondition in the preparation of student teachers to teach their discipline; (3) the higher education training of lower primary school teachers (ISCED 1) should be different from the training of upper primary and secondary school teachers (ISCED 2 & 3); and (4) all levels of teacher education should be organised and coordinated by a professional forum at the university (Hunyady, 2003, pp. 12-14).

With the introduction of the two-cycle programme, ITE moved higher up to the master level and was harmonised across all HEIs. Although the training of school teachers for lower primary education remained at the four-years Bachelor level, subject teachers working either at primary or secondary level were required to hold a Master's degree (MA or MSc). During the first three-year cycle, all students had to acquire specialised knowledge of subjects, collecting 110 credits in a major subject, 50 credits in another minor subject and 10 credits in introductory courses of education and psychology (Stéger, 2014b, p. 27). After this period, students could choose to become teachers following a 120+30 credits Master's degree programme in which two subject modules are allocated 80 credits (40+40 or 30+50, within which 7+7 must be subject methodology), one pedagogical and psychological module is allocated 40 credits, and 30 credits are allocated for school practice which takes place after the end of the studies (ibid). The requirement that subject teachers should major in two subjects remained and students had two choices until the end of their master level studies: (a) major in two general subjects, with the first major requiring 160 credits and the second 90 credits; or (b) major in one general subject and choose as second major a pedagogical specialisation requiring 40+10 credits (Kotschy, 2012, p. 50).

Overall, the Bologna system increased significantly the time allocated for pedagogy and psychology and for school level practice, although the amount of subject specific knowledge remained higher than the European average (Stéger, 2014b, p. 29). As a result of the two-cycle structure, teacher education at the level of colleges was strongly questioned, while professional tensions and disputes between experts in pedagogy and in subject methodology increased (Kotschy, 2012). The new unified system of teacher education created the need to set up new organisational units within universities to coordinate the different departments. Although the organisational form of those units could vary, they were always closely connected to the units of pedagogy and psychology (ibid.).

7.2.1. Challenges of the Bologna implementation

The Bologna process left several blueprints in both the structure and content of Hungarian teacher education, although the process of its implementation faced several challenges for various reasons. Firstly, the implementation process occurred very fast, within four years since the Minister of Education decided to use the Bologna process for reforming higher education in 2002, while policy consultation with relevant stakeholders was not deep and extended (Interview, HU_NPE-4). This very quick implementation combined with the apparent consequences of massification in higher education, which occurred a few years earlier, resulted in many academics opposing the Bologna reforms. “Massification and Bologna reform connected to each other very easily, so academics blamed the Bologna for all the issues that came originally from the massification of higher education.” (ibid.) Teaching staff were faced with the challenge of dealing with a very diverse student population, which they were neither open nor prepared enough to deal with.

Moreover, the Bologna system did not seem to fit the school structure which traditionally made a clear distinction between the different levels of teacher education and required from secondary school teachers to be trained in two subjects. Considering the different amount of credits allocated for a major and minor subject, subject discipline professionals felt that the system is “asymmetrical” as it provides poorer preparation for the minor subject and is not adequate to the required workload of teachers in schools (Interview, HU_TE-SD-1, HU_TE-SM-1). Organising the everyday activities of the school requires teachers to be competent in two subjects, instead of one. “If you get a job at a school, you will need to teach two subjects to give you enough work; with one subject you cannot fill your worktime.” (Interview, HU_TE-SD-1)

The main point of tension reached the level of whether teaching should be considered “a real profession” or not. According to a policy expert, “for a long time in higher education, teachers were not considered a real profession, so there was no reason to put a higher proportion of subject credits on the teacher education programme” (Interview, HU_NPE-4). The decision to raise teacher education to the Master level significantly changed the approach to teacher education, since “the focus of studies was placed on the fact that this is a profession and the Master studies had to teach and prepare for a profession, and shouldn’t continue the disciplinary studies that one started at Bachelor” (ibid.).

However, the specific policy created two opposing sides: those who believed that the Master studies should prepare teachers for the profession and those who wanted to continue the disciplinary studies in the Master programme. The first group was represented mainly by the faculties of education and psychology, the second group by the subject discipline faculties, and mainly the faculty of science. The following quotes are indicative of this tension:

> *I think the 2006 Bologna reforms in Hungary were completely in accordance with the European trends, were completely in accordance with what happened in Europe and the values that were emphasised in Europe, because we are not teaching subjects, we are teaching children, and the emphasis is on the children and their development and not about transmitting knowledge.* (Interview, HU_NPE-1)

> *But it was even more absurd that they focused too much on the pedagogy. The first question was how good teacher you are. And the second what do you teach. Which I strongly object at least at the high school level from ages 14 to 18. At this age, the technical content of the subject is so deep that it is sometimes very difficult to find somebody who really understand physics and know physics or chemistry or biology. On the second question may be that, ok, are you a good teacher? If you are not, we help you to become a good teacher.* (Interview, HU_TE-SD-1)

ELTE University stood in the frontline of this tension, which resulted in internal conflicts, still evident today. The growing power of the ELTE PPK, as the unit responsible for both the unified ITE system and the in-service teacher training, was seen by other faculties as a threat resulting in less students and funding for them, as well as job losses. This problem was reinforced by the unresolved tension at ELTE between pedagogy-psychology experts and subject methodology experts, because the second were left attached to their disciplinary faculties in which they traditionally enjoyed a lower status compared to the disciplinary experts.

> *When the Bologna system was introduced, education technology was taken from us. From one day to the other, we were jobless. From one day to the other, someone at ELTE decided that everything would be taught by the educational faculty, including educational technology. The day came when they started teaching educational technology for every faculty. Here we had computer labs, video studios, so students could have a direct involvement in designing their teaching aids. Now everybody from this building goes to the Faculty of Education, sits in a lecture hall and hears the very general rules of how to use educational technology in any subject. Not in science, in anything. This is how things work. We have no saying, even today.* (Interview, HU_TE-SM-1)

The argument of job losses was also connected to the decreasing number of student teachers enrolling to become subject discipline teachers, particularly in natural sciences (Interview, HU_TE-SD-1, HU_TE-SM-1). "There were years when we had about 15 to 20 chemistry teachers in teacher training at all universities in the whole country." (Interview, HU_TE-SM-1) The decrease in the number of credits for subject discipline studies and the fact that subject methodology was only taught at the master level led many people to feel insecure about their career prospects.

The Bologna structure of teacher education led also to different perceptions with regard to contra-selection. On one side, teacher educators at the PPK felt that it is too early for students to decide on becoming a teacher at the age of 18, arguing also that the motivated students in a specific discipline such as physics would predominantly choose as a first option to enrol in a disciplinary, instead of a teacher education path, which would be their second choice (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1, HU_TE-PP-2). On the other hand, subject discipline and subject

methodology experts argued that student teachers can be more motivated when they know from the beginning of their studies that they will become teachers (Interview, HU_TE-SD-1, HU_TE-SM-1). In this respect, contra-selection might appear after the three-year bachelor's programme, when many excellent graduates choose either to enter the labour market directly or to follow master studies in another non-teaching related programme (Sági & Varga, 2012).

As a result of the whole process, there was a clear tension between winners of the Bologna reform who seemed to be overwinning, and losers who were not compensated for their losses. The debaters' fundamentally different beliefs were not taken into consideration neither in the planning nor in the implementation phase of the reform, while the winners seemed to be using Bologna for promoting their own institutional priorities. Within this context of organisational macro- and micro-politics, interest groups who were against the Bologna process managed to convince politicians and some parts of the society about the harms of the Bologna and the superiority of the previous undivided structure, which eventually took place when the government changed in 2010. The new political order shifted the power balance between teacher education stakeholders in favour of subject disciplines, a change that was also symbolically marked by the appointment of a chemistry professor as the new Secretary of State for Higher Education (Interview, HU_NPE-4).

7.2.2. Toward centralisation: Policy developments between 2010 and 2015

As mentioned above, the government in office since 2010 initiated a process of centralisation in all aspects and levels of education, restoring old modes of governance. Among several policies, the ones influencing teacher education include the revoking of the Bologna structure in ITE, the introduction of a new teacher career model, and the new system for teacher appraisal.

The restoration of undivided ITE programmes started as a contra-reform to the implementation of the Bologna process. With Act CCIV of 2011 on National Higher Education, Articles 102-103, the undivided ITE programmes are reintroduced and the two-track teacher education system based on school types is restored, with effect from the academic year 2013/2014. This means that student teachers for lower and upper-secondary education (ISCED 2 and ISCED 3) have to choose between a 4+1- and a 5+1-year-long programme respectively, in which there is no BA exit degree after three years. This new concurrent programme defines altogether 100 credits for non-subject specific modules, increasing though the duration of school practice from six months to a full academic year at the end of the studies leading to an MA degree. For each of the two major subjects, a student needs to collect 130 credits. The result seems to be an emphasis on subject-related studies and a lighter treatment of pedagogy and psychology (Cedefop, 2016). The education of vocational and art teachers can be carried out in both the consecutive and the concurrent models, while ITE for pre-school and primary school teachers (ISCED 0 and ISCED 1) lasts three and four years respectively. After this ITE model was introduced, there was an increase in the number of applicants to ITE programmes (OECD 2015).

With regard to the organisation of this new ITE system, teacher education centres are established within each university which offers at least two subject disciplines for teachers (Interview, HU_TE-SD-1). The role of these centres includes tasks, such as coordinating the selection of students, the process of credit recognition, pedagogical training and the completion of students' final exams, as well as organising and evaluating school practice (ibid.). In-service professional development becomes also the responsibility of the teacher education centres (ibid.). For the time being, the role of these centres remains administrative as they are

understaffed and with limited capacity to develop pedagogical training (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1).

With Government Decree 326/2013, a teacher career model was introduced with significant implications for teachers' working conditions and professional development. This new system of career progression stipulates that teachers can be promoted from "Novice Teacher" to "Teacher I", "Teacher II", "Master Teacher" or "Researcher Teacher". Although all teachers need to go through the first three classifications, the last two are optional and one can decide to be a master or a researcher teacher at a later stage of one's career. The new system is linked to teacher competences and introduces progressive ideas with regard to the continuum of teacher education, as will be analysed later in the chapter.

According to a policy expert, the introduction of the teacher career model was a government effort to raise teacher salaries in connection though to teachers' performance (Interview, HU_NPE-8). This is because a previous effort of the socialist-liberal government in 2002 to raise the salary of teachers by almost 50 per cent had a low impact on the quality of the education system, since it failed to improve teachers' performance. "Teachers thought it was time to get an increase and why should I do anything different? And the salary was not raised since then, so when inflation hit the Hungarian economy after 2006, wage gains were wiped out." (ibid.) When the FIDESZ government decided to raise teacher salaries in 2013, all additional salary benefits that teachers were eligible for in the previous system were merged into the new higher salary. Between 2013 and 2015, the statutory salary of lower secondary education teachers was raised by 46 per cent, although teacher salaries in Hungary remain among the lowest seen in the OECD countries (OECD, 2017).

The implementation of the new teacher career model happened in haste and led to widespread disappointment on the part of teachers, because of the way it was introduced (Interview, HU_NPE-2, HU_NPE-5). In 2013, all teachers were classified as Teacher I and experienced teachers faced a salary loss because of the reclassification. To be promoted to Teacher II, experienced teachers had to prepare a portfolio. This policy measure was generally perceived as "unfair" and "degrading" for teachers, because it included everyone in the same classification, overlooking the years of work experience (Interview, HU_NPE-5, HU_NPE-7). "All teachers received the same salary, those who were teachers for two years and those who were teachers for 20 years. And that was very offending for the teacher society. So all teachers opposed the system in the beginning, because of the way it was introduced." (Interview, HU_Teachers-1, Master Teacher) As a policy expert argues, the reason behind this development was related to financial issues and other administrative impediments (Interview, HU_NPE-5). In an effort to resolve the existing tensions, the government introduced amendments to the law in 2015, allowing experienced teachers to move faster in the career ladder, while teachers that were five years before retirement were automatically upgraded to Teacher II (ibid.).

The teacher career model was also connected with reforms on external and internal school evaluation. In 2015, the government introduced new types of external evaluation that was linked to teacher appraisal. Specifically, legal compliance checks ensure that schools operate according to legislation, while pedagogical/professional inspections evaluate teachers, school leaders, and schools (OECD, 2015). The inspections are organised by the Education Authority and carried out by experienced teachers who need to be ranked as Master Teacher in order to get a licence to act as inspector (Interview, HU_NPE-8). A network of regional pedagogical education centres, operating under the auspices of the Education Authority, supports the implementation of the appraisal system. According to the regulations, teachers are externally appraised every five years or if they are seeking promotion to a higher level of the career model (Eurydice, 2018b). Teacher appraisals take into account student achievements,

while for promotion purposes teachers must produce a portfolio providing evidence of their professional achievements (Interview, HU_NPE-8). At the same time, the law stipulates that schools should conduct internal evaluations and that teachers make self-evaluations (ibid.).

Overall, interviewees of this study contend that the development and implementation of the above mentioned reforms was done in a top-down way, which overlooked the involvement of social partners (Interview, HU_NPE-2, HU_NPE-7). According to a policy expert, "after the big demonstrations organised by teacher organisations, the government started to have meetings with representatives of teachers. Unfortunately, they organised the meetings so that teachers could not send their representatives, but the government chose the representatives of teachers." (Interview, HU_NPE-2) Similarly, a teacher union representative argued that "in every reform they ask our opinion, but then it stops and nothing happens, as if they didn't receive any feedback. Although we provide advices, the government simply doesn't take them into consideration" (Interview, HU_NPE-7). Nevertheless, it seems that the steadily low performance of Hungarian students, as indicated also by the PISA 2015 results, has provided an external pressure on the government, which generally seems to resist external influences (Interview, HU_NPE-2). It is also important to note that while the government established many changes in the system after 2010, it seems that this was done without piloting nor evaluating the effects of the changes, with the exception of the inspection system reform which included a pilot project before becoming compulsory by law (Interview, HU_NPE-8).

7.3. The resonance of the Hungarian teacher education system with European developments

After examining the development of teacher education in Hungary, with particular focus on the impact of the Bologna process, as the tip of the spear for teacher education reforms, this section will analyse the implementation of teacher education policies against the background of European developments. Considering the way that teacher education developed since 2010 and the role of European policy instruments, empirical data will be presented on the basis of this study's analytic categories. To illustrate how some of the policies are enacted in practice, the case of ELTE university is employed.

7.3.1. The continuum of teacher education[3]

Since the accession of Hungary to the EU, the continuum approach has strongly influenced policy thinking on teacher education, dissolving the strict borderlines between ITE and CPD (Halász, 2018). On one side, the influence can be identified on the national policy level, by establishing the induction phase with the new teacher career path and by connecting teachers' career progression with a support system of professional development. On the other hand, the influence goes deeper to the level of institutions, individual HEIs and teacher educators themselves. The role of experts who travelled to Brussels and contributed to the OMC working groups has been pivotal to the dissemination of the continuum idea. As one of these policy experts argues:

[3] Some parts of this section have been published, as follows: Symeonidis, V. (2017). Weaving the Threads of a Continuum: Teacher Education in Hungary from the Perspective of European Developments. *Studia Paedagogica*, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 131-149.

If I can say some things which I was able to pass on to teacher educators, one of them is the concept of the continuum. The continuum, this whole word continuum wasn't used at all in Hungary before. The concept of induction wasn't used in Hungary before, the whole understanding of induction, that the role of induction was important, and the concept of continuous professional development, instead of further training. Especially in pedagogy and psychology, teacher educators completely understood, they used and they refer to the European documents to say that there has to be a continuum. Actually, I cannot say I influenced them, I think the things that I said where in accordance with what they believed and I set the wording based on my own translations, and now they are using that, saying for example continuous professional development. (Interview, HU_NPE-1)

Moreover, European development funds for modernising teacher education have provided incentives for all relevant actors to move towards the continuum thinking. Some of the development interventions targeted higher education and particularly ITE, while the new teacher career model was developed exclusively with European funds. As a policy expert put it: "In the past few years there were several development interventions which were targeting all stages of teacher education, including ITE, induction and CPD. And the fact that all these areas were object of development interventions shows that the continuum thinking had an impact." (Interview, HU_NPE-6)

Although there is a wide consensus among research participants about the way the continuum conception has penetrated teacher education, it is also widely accepted that there are incoherencies among the different phases. For example, ITE proves to be separate for the other professional phases, because student teachers are not adequately prepared for the idea of lifelong teacher learning, while university teacher educators are not part of the induction phase (Interview, HU_NPE-1, HU_TE-PP-1). "There is a division, that this is higher education, while this is about employment, and that is about teacher development, so it is not glued together." (Interview, HU_NPE-1) Another issue of administrative nature relates to the fact that within the Education Authority there are two separate units responsible for teacher education. The vice-president for school education is responsible for the implementation and monitoring of induction and CPD, while the vice-president for higher education is responsible for ITE (ibid.).

To better understand how Hungary deals with the continuum of teacher education, this section will examine the redefined role of the undivided ITE, the introduction of the induction system, and the role of CPD. The new system of the teacher career path is also examined as it has redefined the professional profile of teachers, connecting the profession interchangeably with all phases of the continuum and with the idea of teachers' lifelong learning.

7.3.1.1. Initial teacher education

ITE in Hungary has gone through three major waves of transformation since the change of the political system: standardisation of the contents in 1997, Bologna reforms in 2005, and restoration of the previous undivided ITE programmes in September 2013 (Stéger, 2014b, p. 25). Teacher education providers include sixteen state universities, ten colleges, two universities and three colleges run by churches, as well as two private institutions (Sági & Varga, 2012, p. 106).

Focusing on the current situation of undivided ITE, mention should first be made of the subject of ITE selection. With the undivided system, students have to choose becoming a teacher at the beginning of their studies, an issue that sparked controversial debates among

teacher educators, as described in detail above. The Higher Education Act of 2011 introduced also an aptitude test as obligatory step of the teacher selection procedure (Act CCIV, 2011, Article 102 (4)). However, many universities rejected the implementation of the specific measure, arguing that there are no adequate tools and facilities to do this (Interview, HU_TE-PP-2). Although the law formally obliges universities to conduct this selective examination, the process seems to have a very low systemic impact. "You will hardly find any teacher education programme in Hungary that agrees with this law, developed by this government. Therefore, they do some kind of examination formally, but practically they don't select. No more than five or six applicants are rejected." (ibid.)

To tackle the phenomenon of contra-selection and to raise the number of ITE admissions, particularly in natural sciences, the government introduced teacher study bursaries, awarded via a tender procedure, on top of state bursaries (Act CCIV, 2011, Article 102 (3)). The so-called "Klebelsberg Scholarship" is available to students who agree to teach in the public school system upon graduation for a period of time equal to the duration of their scholarship. As a teacher educator contends: "Many students receive a very high scholarship and this is very attractive. And we are happy to observe that the student teachers nowadays are better than the BA or BSc students of the older system. Because earlier it was the other way around." (Interview, HU_TE-SD-1) According to several interviewees, this improved performance is also justified by the fact that with the undivided system student teachers and students of subject-disciplines receive different training, whereas in the Bologna system they were all educated together at the Bachelor level (Interview, HU_NPE-5, HU_TE-SM-1).

Despite the revoking of Bologna, we can discern a number of Bologna aspects which are still prevalent in the system and make a difference compared to the pre-Bologna version of undivided ITE programmes. Specifically, the overall credits allocated to preparatory teaching courses remained higher than in previous times, while the teaching practice period was prolonged to one year. The increase in the study duration seems to be a controversial issue. According to a policy expert, "a unified master degree of 5 and 6 years gives time and space for a complex development of a teacher. It provides a good framework for developing teacher attitudes and for cultural development, because there is a long time available." (Interview, HU_NPE-1) On the contrary, some teacher educators felt the current study duration is "too much" for a teacher:

> *When I think about the number of years a student teacher has to spend studying nowadays, it is the same as for the doctors. And of course if a parent thinks about providing the child with a training, six years, and then the child becomes a teacher or a doctor, same 6 years financed by the family, the salaries and status are incomparable.* (Interview, HU_TE-SM-1)

Pedagogy and psychology experts at the ELTE PPK expressed concerns that their courses appear mainly during the first three years of study, and are thus not embedded in a coherent way throughout the teacher education programme (Interview, HU_TE-PP-2, HU_TE-PP-3). Students encounter first pedagogy and psychology modules, then move on to subject methodology courses, and after that follow the short and long periods of teaching practice. Figure 13 illustrates the distribution of pedagogical and psychological courses (PP), comparing the Bologna with the undivided ITE structure. In the undivided system, the balance between ITE components is evidently leaning towards the side of subject disciplines, widening the gap between disciplinary and pedagogical courses. The pedagogical courses also stop to appear during the last two years of ITE, while practice is pushed towards the end of studies.

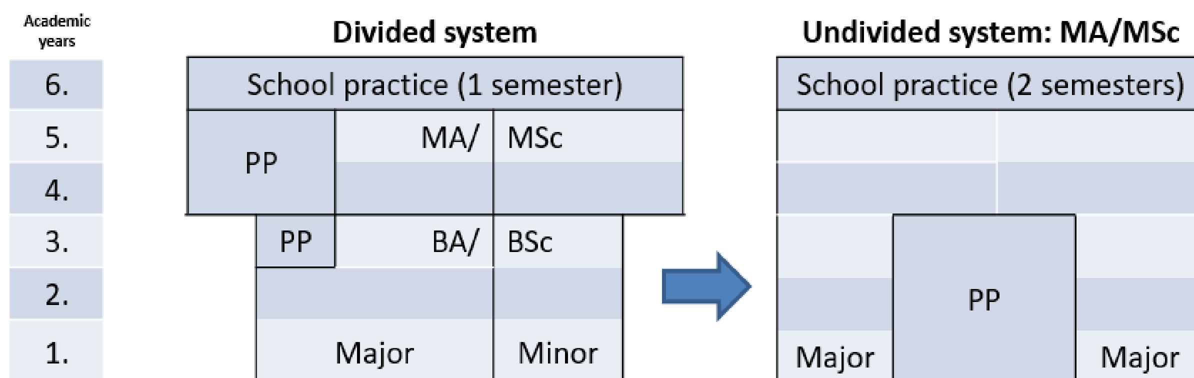

Figure 13. ITE in the divided and undivided systems in Hungary (*Source:* Pesti et al., 2017, p. 60)

Although the credits for pedagogy and psychology have been reduced, teacher educators in the case of ELTE PPK tried to integrate many subjects of the previous divided programme into a new and limited curriculum, aiming to keep some of the core elements and approaches to teaching of the previous programme (Interview, HU_TE-PP-3). In accordance with Bologna, the curriculum of pedagogy and psychology is structured around four modules: teacher as an individual, teacher as part of the society, teaching professionalism, and teaching in institutional contexts. The new modular structure and the strong synthesis of psychological and pedagogical contents, as well as the introduction of horizontal aspects, such as reflectivity, individualised support, and adaptability, are seen as positive aspects by some of the interviewed teacher educators (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1, HU_TE-PP-4). However, the very small amount of credits (1-2 ECTS) allocated to a variety of courses proves dysfunctional and efforts to change this situation are currently evident (Interview, HU_TE-PP-3).

With the new system, ITE programmes are designed based on the Training and Outcome Requirements (TORs), an overarching framework that stipulates standards and general requirements for all degree programmes in Hungary, including guidelines on "how to teach, what to teach, and for what to teach" (Interview, HU_NPE-4). Within that framework, universities should develop their own ITE programmes. Because of that, there is often the case that lobby groups try to influence the ministry to include certain requirements within that framework (ibid.). As will be detailed later in the teacher competences section of this chapter, the TORs are based on learning outcomes, but their development with regard to ITE has not been preceded by "a real professional discussion and interpretation", while the overly detailed list of learning outcomes is considered to set too high expectations for student teachers (Pesti et al., 2017, p. 60).

With regard to school practice, teacher educators at the PPK largely questioned the quality and efficiency of how it is currently implemented (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1, HU_TE-PP-3, HU_TE-PP-4). The following arguments were raised: (1) the gap between theory and practice widens, because practice is placed toward the end of the studies, after all theoretical courses have finished, and is not accompanied by any introductory or professionally oriented course; (2) prolonging the practice was mainly done so that students would graduate in September, when they could actually seek for a job, instead of graduating in January, in the middle of the school year; (3) there is no mentoring network in place to support student teachers; and (4) the practice period is not financially compensated, and students often need to take care themselves of finding a school placement. A major issue was also related to the university practice schools in which many students undertake their teaching practice. The

specific schools are generally considered as “elite” and “atypical” schools in Hungary, as their student population is rather homogeneous both ethnically and in terms of socio-economic background. The following quote is indicative:

> *What I experienced during my university teaching practice was very different from the real school situation, because at the university you go to these elite practice schools, but if you go out and start teaching in a real school then you can face more difficult students and many challenges.* (Group Interview, HU_Teachers-1, Novice Teacher)

In the case of ELTE, the cooperation between the different faculties responsible for ITE remains problematic as a consequence of the unhealed wounds left since the Bologna period. The different institutions do not share a common vision of teacher education and thus teacher education programmes at ELTE appear fragmented. Each student teacher receives a different curriculum with courses from the different faculties and since the whole process is currently administered by a teacher education centre within the university, teacher educators at PPK feel they lost the ownership of ITE programmes (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1, HU_TE-PP-4). Although a list of competences for teacher education students exists, an agreement among the faculties has never been reached as to how to interpret the overarching training and outcome requirements.

Moreover, pedagogy and psychology teacher educators feel that the status of their disciplines has decreased in the eyes of students, who “receive a lot of impressions from other faculties and arrive here with a lot of immaturity and a bad mentality; they don’t understand why to learn all these staff” (Interview, HU_TE-PP-3). The different faculties may also transmit different approaches to learning. For example, while the PPK follows an approach of social constructivism, subject methodology departments at ELTE may provocatively disregard the specific approach (Interview, TE-PP-4). A tension was also evident even between the pedagogy and psychology teacher educators at PPK. According to representatives of the pedagogical side, “psychology is very much represented and sociology is not. But this has all been like that in the Hungarian ITE structure, so it’s not only the issue in this curriculum, but all previous curriculums were the same.” (Interview, HU_TE-PP-3)

The role of EU-funded development interventions

During the restructuring period of ITE, development interventions have significantly contributed to aligning teacher education policy in Hungary with European priorities, although their use has been increasingly politicised. The development interventions, entitled Human Resources Development Operational Programme (HEFOP, EFOP) and Social Renewal Operational Programme (TÁMOP), were conducted in three consecutive periods: 2004-2007 (HEFOP), 2008-2013 (TÁMOP), and 2014-2020 (EFOP). As a policy expert explains, development interventions gradually shifted from addressing profession-generated needs towards prescribed services dictated by the political context (Interview, HU_NPE-8). This means that the process of applying for development funds seems to have moved from the micro- towards the macro-level, considering the level of regulation in each application process. It is interesting to note that the latest phase of development interventions, namely EFOP, are strictly regulated by the state without prior consultation with universities (ibid.).

Specifically, TÁMOP 4.1.2-08/1/B “Establishing service and research network for supporting teacher education”, developed in two phases, the first between 2008 and 2009 and the second between 2010 and 2011, aimed at establishing school networks around teacher education universities. The developed projects fostered school-university partnerships and

created a number of “reference” and “mentoring” schools, which applied to gain this title by demonstrating innovative teaching practices and capacities to share these practices with other schools (Halász, 2018). While the first phase of the overall programme was characterised by less centrally defined standards and more flexibility in the application process, the second phase, implemented after the change of government, was more centrally regulated (Interview, HU_NPE-8).

Similarly, the continuation programme, TÁMOP 4.1.2.B2 “Further development and widening of service and research network for supporting teacher education”, between 2013 and 2015, shifted the focus from the micro- to the macro-level, by allowing consortia of universities from each region and not individual universities to apply for funding (ibid.). During the implementation of the specific operational programme, the complete reform of ITE programmes took place and teacher education centres were established in all universities. The second phase of implementation allowed application for projects that provided teachers with opportunities for two-year specialised courses, while projects that promoted the idea of school as learning organisation were developed (ibid.).

7.3.1.2. Induction

National policy experts referred to the introduction of an official induction system in Hungary as the necessary step for bridging ITE with in-service training and start thinking of teacher professional development as a continuum, in accordance to European trends (Interview, HU_NPE-1, HU_NPE-2). The Government Decree 326/2013 on the promotion of teachers regulated the period of induction as the first phase of teachers’ professional career, following the successful completion of ITE certification exams. The process of planning the induction period was supported by EU structural funds and regulatory frameworks produced at European level:

> *The policy handbook on induction which was prepared by an EU expert group was a very useful tool that we could implement in Hungary in the last four years. We worked out a system of induction, planned the two-year period and the kind of examination, and produced handbooks for mentors and for beginning teachers as well. The base was worked out in European level and then we implemented it to the Hungarian system and I think it works well.* (Interview, HU_NPE-2)

During this two-year probationary period, teachers are classified as “novice teachers” and are appointed a mentor who is usually a teacher with at least five years of experience (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1). Novice teachers have less hours of teaching, keep a working diary and observe lessons which they later on discuss with their mentors. Some of their activities may include familiarising themselves with the curriculum and policy documents, participating in school projects, and organising school events (Group Interview, HU_Teachers-2). Novices also make a plan of their activities per semester and a self-assessment of their practice based on the official teacher competence list, indicating their strengths and weaknesses, as well as areas in which they would like to improve.

Mentors support the novices in their everyday tasks and challenges, observe a certain amount of the novices’ lessons and assess novices’ work twice a year (ibid.). According to the new system of the teacher career path, mentors of novice teachers need to be teachers classified as Master Teachers, who observe and evaluate the teaching practice of their younger peers, contributing to their promotion (Government Decree, 326/2013). To be qualified as Master

Teacher, one needs to have reached the level of Teacher II and prepare a five-year plan demonstrating how one intends to further develop one's teaching practice, as well as the practice of one's school in general. The specific plan is evaluated according to four aspects, namely innovation, gathering evidence on one's own practice, knowledge sharing, and professional development (Interview, HU_TE-PP-4). Development interventions supported the development of a mentoring system as essential aspect of the teacher career path, including training for mentor teachers (Interview, HU_NPE-6).

However, mentors are currently not required to hold any kind of certification proving their ability to act as supporting experts of novices. Although the initial idea was to allocate the specific task to Master Teachers, the shortage of qualified mentors and the increasing need to support novices led schools to allocate the specific task to interested teachers with some years of experience (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1). This situation results in school mentors enjoying a lower status compared to teacher educators at the university, and thus a common understanding of the teacher educator's role is missing. In addition, some schools with teaching shortage seem to overlook the purpose of the induction period. "Some schools allocate the novice teacher with more lessons to substitute for other teachers; they use him/her as workforce and don't regard him/her as trainee who is here to learn." (Group Interview, HU_Teachers-1)

While the law provides some basic requirements, the relationship between mentors and novices is generally defined by mutual agreement between the two. At the end of their induction period, novices are assessed by a committee based on three criteria: (a) a portfolio produced by the novice teacher; (b) observation of at least two lessons; and (c) defence of the portfolio by the novice teacher (Interview, HU_NPE-8). A list of 8 competences, disaggregated to 62 indicators and a three grades system, is used to measure teachers' performance. The specific competence list follows the learning outcomes approach, while it proves to be similar to the Training and Outcome Requirements of ITE, as will be analysed in the teacher competences section. Upon successful completion of the assessment, the novice teacher is promoted to the next category of Teacher I. The same competence list is used for qualifying teachers to the next categories of the career path. However, teachers have ambivalent views regarding the competence list, since some consider the list as overdeveloped and difficult to translate to their practice, while others feel disappointed and consider that the list "has not fulfilled its purpose to hold bad performing teachers accountable" (Group Interview, HU_Teachers-1).

Overall, the fast implementation of the career system led to several issues which are still prevalent in the phase of induction. The new teacher career system was introduced as Act of the 2013 Public Education Law and thus remained separate from ITE which is regulated by the 2011 Higher Education Law. The gap between ITE and induction is also reinforced by the fact that induction is not giving feedback to ITE, while school mentors are neither monitored nor adequately trained by HEIs (Interview, HU_NPE-1, HU_TE-PP-1). "Induction seems to be there just to make sure that we do not give employment to people who are not capable to teach; instead it should help to produce reflective practitioners who develop in the continuum." (Interview, HU_NPE-1) Similarly, a teacher union representative questioned the role of induction in assessing teachers' qualifications, considering that novices have already acquired an ITE university degree (Interview, HU_NPE-7).

7.3.1.3. Continuing professional development

Since the Government Decree of 1997, teachers in Hungary have the professional duty to attend in-service training (Government Decree, 111/1997). There are currently two fundamental forms of in-service training: (a) 120 hours of in-service training obligation every seven years; and (b) preparation for the teachers' special examination which leads to a diploma and is a

precondition for reaching the category of Master Teacher in the new system of the teacher career path (Eurydice, 2018b). Although the two forms remain separate, there is a clear effort to include the lifelong learning perspective and the continuum thinking by linking teachers' professional development with the career path system. National policy experts mentioned, however, that the term CPD, although translated into Hungarian, lacks a professional meaning because it still uses a very course-based idea of in-service training, similar to the way in-service training was defined by the 1997 decree.

> *Continuous professional development is like an artificial word in Hungarian, it doesn't really mean anything, so you have to keep on repeating that it is not further training. Further training is something that happens to someone, it is not something that you generate to self. However, in continuous professional development, you, yourself generate your own professional development and this has to be explained in Hungarian, because you cannot really say that I took a CPD course. But somehow there was a cultural change because the pedagogical professional communities agreed with the wording provided by the European Commission documents. I have only translated these documents to Hungarian and their adaptation became common knowledge, became more widespread since 2008.* (Interview, HU_NPE-1)

Similarly, interviewed teachers seemed ambivalent as to the impact of CPD on their professional practice and development (Group Interview, HU_Teachers-1, HU_Teachers-2). While most of them acknowledged the professional benefits of CPD, some teachers thought of CPD as a formal duty and not a personal investment or a tool for answering school-based problems, mainly because of the obligatory character and the limited financial support they receive. As of 2010, in-service professional development can only be financed from targeted tender funds because normative funding support was abolished and teachers have to self-finance their participation in CPD (Sági & Varga, 2012), especially if this takes place in universities or private training providers. Participation in CPD is in addition to teachers' regular workloads.

Moreover, participating in the obligatory 120 hours training every seven years does not translate into financial or career advancements. Only the form of CPD linked to teachers' special examination can lead to promotion, which is also not guaranteed. Since the specialisation programmes vary (e.g. school leadership, mentorship), the Minister of Education decides on a yearly basis which specialisation is valid for becoming a Master Teacher, based on system needs and capacities and not on the professional merit of individual teachers (Interview, HU_NPE-7). However, the structure has proven to allow flexible career paths through the special examination process. With regard to content, many CPD programmes take the form of traditional courses offered by universities or pedagogical training centres, while informal or non-formal training opportunities, organised by the school or online providers, are considered invalid for allocating the necessary amount of credits. This can be gleaned from the following extract.

> Master Teacher: *We organise internal trainings in the school and it is very natural thing to organise professional days when we try to learn new things, such as learning how to use an app.*
> Interviewer: *And is that recognised for collecting your CPD credits?*

> Master Teacher: *Well, 30 out of 120 credits can be certified by the school principal based on these internal trainings – but it has never happened in practice! So it has to be an accredited course and it depends on the school provider, because it is easier to keep track of accredited courses.*
> Teacher II: *Many of us collect anyway more than 120 credits. Many teachers do it because of intrinsic motivation, while others have problems to collect these credits. And if someone hasn't collected the credits in the given period, he/she will receive a warning by the school district.* (Group Interview, HU_Teachers-1)

At the moment, the organisation of CPD seems to be rather turbulent (Interview, HU_NPE-3). A special committee within the Education Authority is responsible for accrediting training programmes which can be organised by any public or private training provider. Training needs are established by the local authorities, schools and individual teachers, while the responsibility of organising a formal CPD plan lies with the school principal (Eurydice, 2018b).

During the decentralisation period in Hungary, schools were receiving normative funding and they could choose from a variety of courses provided in the free market. In 1997, when the CPD became compulsory, it was planned that three per cent of the educational budget should be spent on CPD programmes for teachers through resources allocated directly to schools (Interview, HU_NPE-8). "Teachers' needs were dominant and many innovations were possible, but sometimes teachers couldn't actually recognise what they really needed." (Interview, HU_NPE-3) Moreover, between 1997 and 2010, CPD worked as a quasi-market, where private providers had the greatest part, since universities did not seem particularly interested in developing CPD programmes, because of the financial risk and time investment involved (Interview, HU_NPE-8).

Since that time, the budget for CPD was reduced and in 2010 the situation changed dramatically because the budget for CPD stopped and the private providers were mostly pushed out of this market:

> *In recent years, in-service training was a big mess in the country. It was a very simple thing to receive the accreditation from the Education Authority and even within the university there was no coordination. It happened sometimes that a department here from the university thought of an in-service training programme and they sent the application letter directly without even the dean knowing about that. Not even the rector. Nobody knew about it. Only the department who organised that. And then they received the accreditation and started the course. Can you imagine that? This is absurd.* (Interview, HU_TE-SD-1)

In an effort to take hold of this situation, the government is currently considering to allocate some responsibilities for organising CPD to HEIs, including the subject discipline faculties (Interview, HU_TE-SM-1), though nothing has been regulated yet. The main idea is that there will be five big universities in the country which will be responsible for organising CPD on a regional basis (Interview, HU_NPE-3). While universities appear willing to receive additional funding, teacher educators expressed concerns that this might be yet another step from the government to control universities and reduce their autonomy by making them even more dependent on public funds (Interview, HU_TE-PP1, HU_TE-PP-4).

Since 2015, the Education Authority has also developed a network of experts who visit schools and provide support when a challenging situation occurs or teachers request

counselling (Interview, HU_NPE-1). However, the lack of communication between the qualification, evaluation, support and teacher education systems obscures the process of organising CPD in a way that can effectively address teachers' and schools' needs (Interview, HU_NPE-5). To improve the information flow among the different systems, a project has been launched to prepare an online platform that can help to align teachers' needs and the opportunities for professional development (ibid.).

7.3.2. Teacher competences

Already with the 1993 Law on Public Education, a competence orientation was adopted in Hungary to reshape school curricula, particularly with regard to student learning (Kotschy & Golnhofer, 2008). A first attempt to define competences for teacher education appeared in the Government Decree 111/1997 on the Qualification Requirements of Teachers, which regulated the operation of ITE programmes and standardised the contents of teacher education for both college and university degrees (Stéger, 2014b). The novelty of the specific document was that it envisaged to define general competences covering all teacher categories, from primary to upper-secondary education, independent of the level of training (Interview, HU_NPE-6). This new approach contributed to the uniformity of the different ITE programmes and raised the significance of pedagogical and psychological components in teacher education (ibid.). According to a policy expert, this first policy effort to define competence requirements for teacher education was strongly influenced "by the same European processes, which influenced the teacher education policy proposals in the European Commission" (ibid.).

Shortly after the accession of Hungary to the EU and parallel to the process of implementing Bologna, the European Commission's priorities and the EU's structural funds fostered the spreading of competence-based teaching (Fazekas, 2018). "If this wasn't a European initiative, then we wouldn't have an official government decree stating teacher competences or ITE competences. This would have never become an issue from within Hungary." (Interview, HU_NPE-1) The development interventions functioned as motive for policy officials to commission the development of competence frameworks according to European standards, although it was not always clear to politicians what the value of competence-based teaching was (Interview, HU_NPE-5).

The current version of teacher competences for ITE started in 2005 and continued between 2009 and 2011 with the development of competences for the new teacher career model, as will be detailed in the following sub-sections. The development process was financially supported by TÁMOP 4.1.2-08/1/b.13. "Working out methodology standards for career aptitude of teacher trainees and research on the success of training".

The development of competences and learning outcomes in teacher education
Parallel to the Bologna reforms in teacher education, a research committee comprised of teacher educators from the ELTE PPK and led by Iván Falus, professor of education at ELTE and key education policy actor in Hungary, started the development of standards and competences for teacher education in 2005. The specific committee worked out an algorithm for developing competence-based teacher education (Falus, 2012a). The algorithm stipulated a research process according to which the researchers started by analysing international literature, with emphasis on competence development in England and the United States. Once appropriate competence models were identified, they were adjusted to the Hungarian context. The next step of the algorithm involved asking the employers to evaluate the system of competences, before the research committee could proceed with describing the content of each competence. Due to technical reasons, however, the research committee described first the

content of competences, and only afterwards employers were asked to assess the competences (schy, 2006). The competences were defined according to knowledge, attitudes and skills, while a unified terminology was established to determine the relationship of competences and abolish overlapping.

At the HEIs level, the development of a teacher competence framework for ITE continued in two ways. One research group dealt with developing a detailed list of competences based on which a system of courses, as well as requirements and content for each course were developed (ibid.). Thus each competence was supported by different courses and it was possible to monitor the amount of courses according to the significance attached to a specific competence. Parallel to content planning, the description of standards for Bachelor and Master levels were defined and assessment instruments developed (ibid.). The final step of the algorithm included the compilation of a guideline for students consisting of the requirements, the standards, the forms of assessment, and the course descriptions. According to Falus and Kotschy (2006), such a competence-based planning for teacher education aimed toward better organisation of courses, a more goal oriented way of studying, and more opportunities for students to plan and be responsible for their studies.

While developing the new competence model for ITE, the Bologna committee finalised its theoretical work regarding the structure of teacher education, and the new system of competences produced at ELTE helped in providing a description of outcome requirements which were included in Annex 1 of the Ministerial Decree 15/2006 (IV. 3.). The specific decree defines the accreditation process in teacher education and regulates general standards for teacher training, the so-called Training and Outcome Requirements. Although the decree specified requirements for output standards and qualifications in teacher education based on the ELTE's list of teacher competences, the two documents differ in the number of competences they list (Falus, 2012a).

Moreover, the 2006 decree adopted for the first time the learning outcomes approach and specified learning outcomes for each competence in three categories of (1) professional and subject-specific knowledge, (2) professional skills, and (3) professional attitudes. The decree set the basis of transformation and re-accreditation of all programmes and institutions, aiming to help HEIs in Hungary to join the European Higher Education Area (Stéger, 2014b). HEIs submit their programme proposals to the Hungarian Higher Education Accreditation Committee which assesses and accredits the programmes in five-year cycles, according to the Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area (Vilmos Kovács, 2014).

It should also be noted here that the European Qualification Framework was implemented in Hungary parallel to the Bologna process (Interview, HU_NPE-3). Although the two processes remained largely separate, the Bologna adoption created various opportunities to tailor the design of ITE programmes according to the evolving framework of teacher competences, the implementation of the National Qualification Framework (NQF) and the learning outcomes across ITE (Vilmos Kovács, 2014). The participation of Hungary in the Tuning programme with three universities, including ELTE, also helped to link the Hungarian qualification framework to EU-level requirements (Interview, HU_NPE-3). The project resulted in the development of methodological guidelines for learning-outcomes-based programme in pedagogy (ibid.).

Since the revoking of the Bologna process and the restoration of the undivided ITE programmes in 2013, the general standards for teacher education were only slightly modified in Annex 2 and Annex 3 of the Ministerial Decree 8/2013. The learning outcomes have been adjusted, but kept the key features of the previous phase, and in this respect ITE is still pioneering in the application of the learning outcomes approach compared to other higher

education areas (Vilmos Kovács, 2014). Overall, the 2013 Decree provides detailed description of eight areas of competences with categories of knowledge, skills and attitudes, formulated according to the learning outcomes approach. As a policy expert argues, the decree presents altogether high expectations and the description of competences seems to be a representation of an ideal teacher than a realistic outcome profile of ITE graduates (Interview, HU_NPE-3).

What changed with the new decree is that next to the Training and Outcome Requirements (TORs) of ITE, separate TORs for the subject-disciplines (e.g. physics, chemistry, English language) are also defined in a detailed way. As a result of the rapid introduction of the undivided system and the lack of comprehensive professional consultation in setting up the TORs framework for ITE, teacher education appears to be overly fragmented (Pesti et al., 2017; Interview, HU_TE-PP-4). The lack of a common vision on how to interpret the TORs hinders the collaboration between teacher educators of the different ITE components, while the approach towards learning outcomes seems to differ substantially between pedagogy and psychology experts and subject discipline experts (Interview, HU_TE-PP-4). "The learning outcomes approach is still in the evolving phase. If I ask university lecturers, coming from other fields than education, they often think that learning outcome is what we ask students at the exams." (Interview, HU_NPE-3) This is also apparent in the fact that subject discipline experts interviewed for this study were not familiar with the concept of learning outcomes (Interviews, HU_SD-2).

Overall, the effort to harmonise the TORs in all disciplines to the NQF has led to the spreading of the learning outcomes approach. As previously mentioned, ITE programmes and courses are currently described according to learning outcomes, although this transformative work has not yet resulted in a radical shift (Vilmos Kovács, 2014). In the case of ELTE, as in other universities, the ITE programmes have been rewritten using learning outcomes and distinguishing the terms knowledge, skills and attitudes, while a fourth descriptor of autonomy and responsibility has been added. Bottom-up initiatives at ELTE that were funded by national development programmes, for example regarding structural and content problems of the pedagogy Bachelor programme, promoted directly or indirectly the learning outcomes approach (Interview, HU_NPE-3).

From the perspective of teacher educators at ELTE, certain concerns were raised regarding the implementation of the TORs. Although the present TORs framework is generally considered to be progressive, there were concerns that the content might be too detailed, while the language is highly academic so that implementation becomes more challenging (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1, HU_TE-PP-3). The current version of the TORs misses also some important elements of the previous version, such as the self-assessment of teachers (Interview, HU_TE-PP-4). The strictly regulated character of the TORs, meaning that only what is included in TORs can be part of ITE programmes, was also perceived as a risk in terms of mistrust towards the teaching profession (Interview, HU_TE-PP-3). This was also perceived as yet another policy instrument of the government to regulate teachers' work in a top-down way (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1). The following sub-section will refer more specifically to the competence areas for ITE, contrasting them to teacher competences for the new teacher career model.

Teacher competences for teacher evaluation and career promotion

The teacher competence framework for ITE influenced the development of a broader competence framework for teacher evaluation and career promotion in 2013. The development project led by Iván Falus, that started in 2005 and continued between 2009 and 2011, was concluded with a competence list and levels of teacher competences that were later on adopted by the government in regulating the teacher career model.

The two teacher competence frameworks, the one for ITE and the other one for teacher evaluation and career promotion, appear to be almost identical, as depicted by Table 9 below. Analysing the respective government decrees, one can observe that the original competence list for ITE, regulated in 2006 and amended in 2013, was basically transferred to the competence framework for the teacher career model, regulated in 2013, with the difference being that the latter enriched the description of some competences and changed the original numbering order.

Table 9. Teacher competence frameworks for ITE and the teacher career model in Hungary

Training and Outcome Requirements (As amended by Government Decree 8/2013. (I.30.))	**Teacher competence framework for teacher evaluation and career promotion (Government Decree 326/2013)**
1. Developing the student's personality together with tailor-made treatment, based on individual needs;	d) Developing the student's personality together with tailor-made treatment, appropriate methodological preparation for the successful education of disadvantaged students, students with special needs or integration, learning and behaviour difficulties together with other children, students;
2. Helping and improving the development of students' groups and communities;	e) Helping and improving the development of students' groups and communities, creation of opportunities, openness to different social and cultural diversity, integration activities, classroom activities;
3. Having knowledge of the special methodology and the special subject;	a) Professional tasks, professional-scientific, specialised subject, curricular knowledge;
4. Planning the pedagogical process;	b) Planning the pedagogical process and activities, and the self-reflection related to their implementation;
5. Supporting, organising and managing the learning process;	c) Supporting learning;
6. Assessing pedagogical processes and the students;	f) Continuous assessment and analysis of pedagogical process and personality development of students;
7. Communication, professional cooperation and career identity;	g) Communication and professional development, problem solving;
8. Autonomy and responsibility.	h) Commitment and professional responsibility to professional development.

Comparing the above mentioned teacher competence frameworks, as well as their respective indicators for knowledge, skills and attitudes, with EU teacher competences one can identify significant resemblances, as well as shortcomings. According to Kárpáti (2009), teacher competences for ITE are substantially overlapping with EU teacher competences, with the exception of social and civic competences, which is missing from the Hungarian set of requirements. Similarly, Kopp et al. (2015) point out that categories related to social justice were reduced in the new ITE curricula. Although references to equity are evident in the

knowledge, skills and attitudes of the personal development, learner support and learning organisation competences, the aspect of intercultural competences seems to be missing. This influence, stemming from the neo-conservative political context, is also reflected in the recent decisions of the Hungarian government to abolish intercultural and gender studies from universities.

The alignment of teacher competences between ITE and the career indicates a broad understanding of teacher professional tasks and strengthens the lifelong learning perspective of teacher education, analysed in the previous section. The competences are an attempt to link the different phases of the continuum, although they are not necessarily adapted to the different classifications of teachers' career in an upgrading manner. This is because both competence frameworks appear to be almost identical, while there are no provisions to differentiate competences based on the teacher classifications. Moreover, as a policy expert explained, the alignment of teacher competence frameworks was not the result of active policy learning from the government side, but more a "coincidence" that occurred because the main actors who developed the two competence frameworks, such as Iván Falus, were present throughout the process (Interview, HU_NPE-1). The following quote is indicative of this development.

> *From policy level, there should have been attention given to aligning the competence framework, but no one ever thought about it. They were not interested about how these could be glued together. So now there is competences required for ITE and competences required for the career scheme. But they are not really linked, not very well thought out. Actually competences seemed to be something you do for the ESF funds, but not something deeply understood in Hungary.* (ibid.)

With the new government came the political will to install a national level evaluation system, which was missing in Hungary since the middle of the 1980s, based on which teacher salaries would be increased. At that time, two competing views with regard to teacher evaluation were clashing, one that wanted to link teacher evaluation with the teacher career model, and another one which wanted teacher evaluation to be based on a bureaucratic model considering years of service, without any reference to competences (Interview, HU_NPE-6). Eventually, the competence-based evaluation of teachers was adopted by the government in 2013 and a salary increase followed, although with serious fallacies during the instalment process. For the developers of the competence based approach, "the concept of the Teacher's Career Model offers far more than mere identification with the teachers' salary scale. Standards are needed for colleagues involved in decision-making processes to be able to decide on promotion with a reasonable degree of objectivity." (Falus, 2012a, p. 296).

To support the evaluation of competence levels and allow the promotion of teachers in the career classification scale, the research committee produced indicators and assessment tools, but what remained underdeveloped was a set of criteria for evaluation, feedback, self-reflection and professional discussions (ibid.). Similarly to ITE, a teacher portfolio has been employed to evaluate teachers' career promotion. Since 2013, teachers who want to move higher in the career ladder have to upload an e-portfolio documenting their lesson plans, professional activities and reflections in a platform operated by national authorities and used by evaluators as part of the evaluation process. Despite initial reactions to the introduction of the portfolio, because of the way the whole teacher career model was implemented, many teachers, particularly the younger ones, seem to be currently using the portfolio for reflection purposes (Interview, HU_TE-PP-7; Group Interview, HU_Teachers-2). The following exert is indicative of the different views teachers have regarding the portfolio assessment.

> Teacher II: *In my case, I felt that the portfolio was too much work and I had no capacity to do it. I couldn't do my lessons properly during that time. It also brings too little benefit. Maybe one or two things I have benefitted from. And I mean everybody can write anything, so who is going to control whether this is true or not.*
> Master Teacher: *Well, the portfolios that I have seen were actually checked thoroughly. And the people who came to evaluate knew every little detail about it and were really well prepared and had various questions.* (Group Interview, HU_Teachers-2)

For some teacher educators, the portfolio proves to be more of a measurement tool rather than a professional development activity. "When they arrive to the evaluation, teachers have to present the best things they did, but what actually happens, because this is a measurement tool, is that they collect everything quickly, connect them to different competences, and that's all." (Interview, HU_TE-PP-3) Similarly, another teacher educator argued that "teachers do the portfolio with lots of exercise in it, then they will have their exam to reach the next level, and then they will forget everything. So it is really an assessment, rather than a help to develop, in my opinion" (Interview, HU_TE-PP-5). The limited flexibility and adaptability of the competence list seems also to pose a challenge for the effective implementation of the related policy (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1).

Finally, it is worth mentioning another effort, under the TÁMOP 4.2.1., undertook by the University of Szeged in order to identify the competence profile of teachers based on the views of employers of teachers, teacher educators and teachers (Baráth, 2014). The structure of defining competences was developed in line with EU recommendations, considering the Commission's *Common European Principles for Teacher Competences and Qualifications* of 2004. As a result, competence profiles were developed for six teaching professions (i.e. nursery school teacher, junior school teacher, medical rehabilitation teacher, school teacher, technical vocational instructor, and mentor) and in all cases the description of competences contained an elaboration of the knowledge, skills and attitudes based on the key teacher competences of the EU recommendations (Baráth, 2014). The next section explores policy developments and practices in Hungary with regard to the role of teacher educators.

7.3.3. The role of teacher educators[4]

As in other European countries, the role and responsibilities of teacher educators in Hungary is defined locally at institutional rather than national policy levels. In the absence of official policy regulations that define the role of teacher educators, policy experts referred to a common understanding, shared among teaching professionals, that teacher educators in Hungary include all those who contribute to the education and professional development of prospective and in-service teachers (Interview, HU_NPE-1, HU_NPE-2). Specifically, higher education staff who specialise in pedagogy or psychology, subject methodology, and subject-disciplines are responsible for educating teachers at higher education institutions. This means that their qualifications are regulated by higher education acts.

[4] Some parts of this section have been published, as follows: Symeonidis, V. & Gajewska-Dyszkiewicz, A. (2017). Revealing The Hidden Profession? Recent Developments to Support Teacher Educators in Europe – The Cases of Hungary and Poland. In L. Rasinski, T. Toth & J. Wagner, *European Perspectives in Transformative Education*, pp. 144-167. Wroclaw: University of Lower Silesia Press.

According to the 2011 Act on National Higher Education, employment at higher education institutions may include the following positions: assistant lecturer, senior lecturer, college or university associate professor, and college or university professor (Act CCIV, 2011, Article 27). Enrolment in a PhD is a precondition for employment as an assistant lecturer, while holding a PhD is a precondition for employment as a senior lecturer at universities and as associate professor in colleges and universities. Habilitation and international acknowledgement constitute additional requirements for employment as a professor at universities (ibid., Article 28). Depending on the higher education institution, more rigorous or softer regulations may apply. For example, some universities currently employ "master lecturers" who have not completed doctoral studies and their main task is to teach rather than to conduct research (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1).

In addition to higher education faculty members, teacher educators in Hungary are also practising teachers who work as mentors in schools. At present, and because of the high demand of school mentors, there are various ways a teacher can become a mentor – for example by following an in-service course awarding a certification, or simply by having a minimum of seven years' teaching experience (Interview, HU_TE-PP-6). As detailed in a previous section, the new system of the teacher career path aims to change this situation by allocating mentor responsibilities to teachers who are classified as Master Teachers.

In a survey about Hungarian teacher educators' perception of their own profession, Stéger (2014b, p. 39) indicates that a vast majority of respondents (90.8 per cent) considered themselves teacher educators, including 17 per cent of the respondents who had jobs in institutional coordination and another 31 per cent who were disciplinary teachers in the fields of subject, pedagogy, or psychology. The respondents found their activity as teacher educators definitely important among their other tasks, rated the professional content in their own practice as more modern than that used by other professions, and thought they were using a broad range of methods in their own teaching but developing the pedagogical skills of their students only moderately.

However, research participants of this study referred to some challenges that currently hinder the shift towards the professionalisation of teacher educators. Although the salaries of teachers increased significantly with the new career system, the salaries of university teacher educators remained unchanged. As a result, teachers who are classified as Master or Researcher Teacher are currently receiving the same or even a higher salary than university staff. "The government solved one problem and created another one, because there any many university lectures who now prefer to find an employment at school, since there is less workload and better salaries." (Interview, HU_NPE-8) Moreover, the quality assurance system of several universities focuses on research output rather than teaching competences of university staff. This is perceived by some teacher educators as a barrier of professionalisation, particularly when it comes to university staff dealing with subject disciplines (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1, HU_TE-PP-3).

According to Falus (2012b), teacher educators in Hungary receive support from different levels, including ministerial, regional, institutional, and doctoral schools. The Ministry of Education defines the training requirements through legislation, estimates the percentage of teacher educators with PhDs, and finances projects in which teacher educators work and learn together. At regional level, teacher education centres have also the responsibility to provide support to teacher educators, publish support materials, and organise methodological conferences (Interview, HU_TE-SD-1). Moreover, teacher education universities organise workshops for all profiles of teacher educators, as well as in-service training for school mentors. Finally, doctoral schools offer specialised doctoral programmes for teacher educators (Falus, 2012b).

Although opportunities for professional development seem to exist, there is no systematic or mandatory professional development for teacher educators. Academic faculty members are generally responsible for their own CPD, which plays an important role in applying for promotion but is not centrally regulated (Eurydice, 2018b). School mentors are subject to the same regulations applying to teachers' in-service training, meaning that teachers must complete a minimum of 120 hours of CPD every seven years. In this respect, TÁMOP 4.1.2. included projects aimed to support teacher educators and the development of their competences as will be detailed in the following sub-section.

Competence frameworks for teacher educators

Formally, there is no regulation concerning the competences of teacher educators. Depending on whether they work at a higher education institution or a school, teacher educators need to follow the respective national education acts. Despite the lack of a formal framework, a research group at the Eszterházy Károly University at Eger developed in 2015 a handbook for teacher educators' competences (Falus and Estefánné, 2015), which was funded by TÁMOP-4.1.2.B.2. The handbook considered the competence framework produced by the Dutch Association for Teacher Educators (VELON), as well as the respective European initiatives on supporting teacher educators (Interview, HU_NPE-2). The competences consist of relevant indicators of knowledge, skills, and attitudes. The aim of the research group was to showcase the idea that teacher educators have multiple identities, including their professional identity as experts in specific disciplines and their identity as teacher educators (Interview, HU_TE-PP-5). In the specific handbook, it is suggested that teacher educators should develop the following competences:

1. *Model professional teaching practice (possess the competences of a teacher).*
2. *Support student teachers in the process of becoming teachers and in their professional development, in their career socialisation, and in their continuous professional development.*
3. *Collaborate with other people, institutions and organisations related to teacher education.*
4. *Regularly analyse their own practice, reflect on it, and make clear their commitment to lifelong professional development and teacher education.*
5. *Conduct research on learning, teaching and teacher education.*
6. *Contribute to the development of teacher education activities within their institutions.*
7. *Take responsibility for ensuring and improving the quality of teacher education and public education.*
8. *Join the international stream of teacher education and public education regarding their approaches and practices, at least on a European level.* (Falus & Estefánné, 2015)

This competence list includes both first and second order competences as specified in the Commission's policy guidelines on teacher educators (see European Commission, 2013). The handbook produced by the Eger research group has been widely disseminated in Hungary, including in conferences organised by the Hungarian Association of Teacher Educators, while efforts were made to promote the topic at the national policy level. "We had a meeting with representatives from the ministry and we tried to explain the usefulness of such competence list. But they hesitated whether it would be good to have any law or formal decision now." (Interview, HU_NPE-2) As another policy experts explains: "Such an idea should be legitimate not because it is put in a government decree, but because the profession agrees with it." (Interview, HU_NPE-1)

Such an initiative proves to be more influential at the institutional level. For example, the vice-rector at Eger university introduced as part of the university's quality assurance system a self-assessment questionnaire that integrated the above mentioned competences (Interview, HU_TE-PP-5). The aim of this questionnaire is to help all higher education staff at the university to reflect on their teaching competences. Based on staff needs, the Faculty of Education and Psychology at Eger organises relevant in-service trainings (ibid.). Moreover, the endeavour to define teacher educator competences seems to have an impact at the level of teacher educators, sparking discussions about their role and collaboration among each other. As an interviewee contends:

> *During the pilot phase of developing the competences, I remember the case of a geography teacher educator at the university. He worked together with other colleagues and they put into practice how one topic taught by an educator at the university can be used at the school and how they can combine their mutual experience so that the lesson would be enjoyable for the children. Well I saw bad examples as well. The worst was when the history teacher educator mentioned that 'I know history, I can teach that and I don't need any competences'.* (Interview, HU_TE-PP-6)

Teacher educators' competences remain a debated topic in Hungary, as there are fears that the government might use such a competence list for control and appraisal rather than professional development. Some teacher educators expressed the view that such a tool may be used as a "political weapon" that, in the form of a checklist, might disqualify competent teacher educators because of their political beliefs and attitudes (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1, HU_TE-PP-4). Instead, autonomy and improved salary and working conditions were highlighted as measures that could have a direct influence on supporting teacher educators.

Networks to support teacher educators

At this point mention should be made of the Hungarian Association of Teacher Educators, one of the oldest associations of its kind in Europe, dating back to 1988. The association was founded as a non-governmental organisation by teacher educators, with the mission of participating in policymaking, fostering cooperation among teacher educators in different institutions, and supporting teacher educators' self-development (Falus, 2012b). As a professional association, it promotes a common professional identity among teacher educators. The association also contributes to research and publications on teacher education through its journal, *Pedagógusképzés* (Teacher Education), and book publications. It currently has more than 300 members, mainly teacher educators from the fields of education, psychology and subject methodology, as well as school teachers (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1).

However, it remains a challenge for the association to reach out and include more teacher educators specialising in subject disciplines. Originally, all kinds of teacher educators, from pre-school to upper-secondary education, could be members of the association, but later a separate association was created specifically for pre-school and primary school teacher educators (Interview, HU_TE-PP-4). The association's activities are organised around the following interest groups: pedagogy, psychology, subject methodology, mentors, subjects in teacher education, in-service education, centres for teacher education, and vocational education and training (Interview, HU_TE-PP-1). Members participate in professional committees developed on the basis of contemporary issues of high importance for the profession.

The association offers formal professional learning programmes for teacher educators from various institutions through the Teacher Educators' Academy. According to Falus

(2012b), the specific academy was introduced as a policy initiative of the association to support the in-service training of its members, focusing on theoretical issues that influence teacher education. About 80 to 120 participants from all teacher education institutions in the country take part in professional training organised by the academy at least once a year, usually in the form of half-day, one-day, or two-day sessions. When urgent issues related to the profession arise, additional training or group meetings may take place. The training may include lectures, seminars, discussions, workshops, or projects, and lecturers are usually high-level policymakers, university professors, and practising teacher educators. In the last years, some trainings were related to the competences of teacher educators (January 2017), in-service teacher education (October 2016), and renewing teacher education (October 2015). The academy actively contributes to the professional development of teacher educators, while outcomes so far include scientific articles published in the association's journal and the development of documents considered by policymakers in the preparation of various ministerial decrees or institutional-level decisions (Interview, HU_NPE-2).

Although the association promotes networking among teacher educators, political tensions that were created during the Bologna period have left an impact in the case of some universities, such as ELTE. For example, subject methodologists at ELTE still belong to the respective subject discipline faculties, where they enjoy a lower status compared to their subject discipline colleagues (Interview, HU_TE-PP-2, HU_TE-SD-1). One reason for this development is that when the PPK was established, subject methodologists were not included in the development process. As an interviewee explains: "They not just remained in their faculties, but it was also a kind of split between the experts of general education and subject methodology. So the subject methodologists got less number of lessons and they had to negotiate this with the science faculties." (Interview, HU_TE-PP-2) Moreover, the qualification of subject methodologists might differ depending on the disciplines, so that language methodology specialists might be more trained in pedagogy than their colleagues coming from the history department (Interview, HU_TE-PP-3).

7.4. Summary

Since the middle of the 2000s, the influx of EU structural funds and the Bologna process, as well as OMC policy handbooks and the implementation of the EQF have been utilised by domestic actors in Hungary to reform teacher education, which currently reflects several European trends. Findings indicate that Hungary has adopted some of the structural elements related to the continuum concept, including measures to support ITE selection, formalise the induction phase and establish a model for teacher career promotion with a lifelong learning perspective. Development interventions have also promoted the development of a teacher competence framework for both ITE and the career, while the Hungarian Association of Teacher Educators and local institutions have contributed to a grounded self-understanding and support measures for teacher educators. However, many of these changes remain at the structural level and although financial conditions and career perspectives have improved for teachers, the profession's status remains relatively low and the reforms need more time to become embedded in the system.

Political culture appears to be a crucial factor in the implementation process of educational reforms (Devos et al., 2012), and this has proven to be the case also in Hungary. On several occasions, such as the implementation of the Bologna process and its subsequent revoking, political actors have acted in haste, influenced by different interest groups, and their decisions took place within a context of macro- and micro-organisational politics. As a result, various stakeholders felt distrusted and cooperation among the different actors involved in

teacher education remains a challenge as evidenced in the case of ELTE. Changes caused by the implementation and revoking of Bologna were politically influenced and met with resistance because they destabilised existing power structures within and across institutions. Similar studies conclude that implementation of teacher education policies at the national level is often politically difficult, although the knowledge about the policy measures to be taken exists and several of the policy measures have been recognised as effective through research and peer learning activities (Gassner, 2010).

Despite the revoking of Bologna, several blueprints of the process remain evident in the phase of ITE, including the credits allocated for preparatory courses, the modularisation of curricula, the competence orientation and learning outcomes approach, and the long period of teaching practice. These developments, combined with the introduction of the new teacher career model, have fostered the continuum thinking and led to a shift from the traditional form of teacher education based in higher education institutions towards a system that encompasses a lifelong learning approach, in which induction and CPD have become equally important forms of equipping teachers with the competences needed for their teaching (Halász, 2018).

However, analysis has also revealed some challenges that obscure the effective interconnection among the different phases of the continuum. A lack of communication between ITE and induction is apparent, while CPD is not effectively linked to the newly established system for teacher career promotion. The different phases do not provide feedback to one another and appear fragmented. ITE has experienced the biggest changes within the last ten years in terms of content and structures, but highly qualified and motivated candidates, mainly in natural sciences, appear to have made teaching their second choice (Interview, HU_TE-SD-1). Undivided ITE programmes emphasise subject-related studies, although the reflective approach seems to have penetrated the system, as can be seen in the content of preparatory courses and the portfolio assessment. Induction constitutes the first part of teachers' career path and requirements have been defined for both mentors and novices. Practically speaking, however, the mentoring system currently remains underdeveloped. Validation of informal and non-formal learning remains an unresolved issue for CPD, while professional development programmes seem to be course-oriented and not always tailored to teachers' individual needs. Efforts to centralise the system also imply that CPD might move further away from addressing school and local needs.

The development of teacher competence frameworks for both ITE and the career promotion constitutes an attempt of linking the different phases of the continuum, although this is hardly the outcome of policy learning by the government. Here the role of development funds was catalytic in promoting competence-oriented teaching and competence frameworks were the outcome of research and development work, undertook by national experts with European outreach. The competence frameworks developed for ITE and for career promotion prove to be quite similar, without provisions to differentiate among the different classification levels. As stipulated in the European Qualifications Framework, teacher competence frameworks are formulated as knowledge, skills and attitudes, and follow the learning outcomes approach. Similarly to Bologna, the implementation of the new teacher career model was linked to political priorities and implemented in haste. As a result, several teachers felt distrusted and many perceived the competence framework and the portfolio assessment as yet another effort of the government to regulate their work. The teacher competence frameworks are generally perceived as a progressive instrument, although there are still ambivalent views regarding their usage from the perspective of teacher educators.

Finally, the role of teacher educators in Hungary is actively promoted by a professional association, namely the Hungarian Association of Teacher Education. Although an official definition of teacher educators' professional role is missing, there seems to be a bottom-up

profession-driven process that facilitates the self-understanding of teacher educators. This is evident not only in the workings of the professional association, but also in efforts of some universities to define teacher educators' competence profiles. Collaboration among teacher educators is promoted through the association, but tensions between professionals specialising in different components of teacher education are evident, as shown in the case of ELTE.

Chapter 8: Discussion

This chapter discusses the findings related to the European context and the case studies of Austria, Greece and Hungary, considering the overarching aim and research questions of the present study. To explore Europeanisation in teacher education, a first step was to examine how teacher education is consolidated at the European policy level and the subsequent changes this implies for European teacher education policy and practice. Focusing then on three case studies of teacher education systems helped to explore in a bottom-up way how relevant policies and practices have developed over time, particularly since the year 2000, and to what extent they resonate with European developments. Considering the inextricable connection between policy and practice, it was also envisaged to understand how actors involved in teacher education enact certain policies within the context of their institution.

In the following, the study's findings will be discussed from a comparative perspective. In accordance with the comparative case study approach of Barlett and Vavrus (2017a), the discussion is organised into vertical, horizontal and transversal comparisons. First, findings are compared in a vertical way across the European, national and institutional scales, in order to understand how certain actors, policies and instruments move in space and influence policy change. Afterwards, a horizontal comparison attempts to contrast the different teacher education systems and trace the European influences across the case studies. Finally, the transversal comparison connects the horizontal elements and the vertical scales to explore how teacher education systems have changed over time. In comparing the findings across scales, systems and time, this chapter employs the conceptual tools presented in the theoretical framework chapter, as well as the study's analytic categories.

Generally, the findings suggest that teacher education is being Europeanised, although countries adapt at different speeds and in different directions. During the past twenty years, teacher education has received growing attention in Europe and policy changes were triggered across teacher education systems. Rather than a straightforward impact of Europe on the domestic levels, however, findings in the respective countries show how domestic actors utilise European resources to influence change which is conditioned by the socio-political and economic contexts, deeply rooted traditions, and actors' preferences at both national and local levels. Teacher education systems have their own internal dynamics which still determine the translation and enactment of policies.

8.1. Comparison across scales: Vertical comparison

This section conducts a vertical comparison of Europeanisation influences at different levels, considering the European, the national and the local layers of the teacher education policy ecosystem. Although the understanding of levels helped in the analysis of empirical material, it is considered more appropriate at this point to reflect in terms of networks of actors and entities spanning across different scales (Barlett & Vavrus, 2017a). Instead of restricting our conceptual understanding to levels, it is useful to acknowledge once more that social relations are complex and extend beyond predetermined groupings or levels, while connections within a network are neither stable nor random because they are influenced by broader power relations (ibid.). The stream of Europeanisation flows across scales and enables actors and policies to draw on knowledge that circulates globally. Ball (2016, p. 563) put it like this: "as policies move they change the sites and the landscape through which and across which they move."

European context analysis has revealed a multitude of mechanisms, processes and key agents of Europeanisation, as well as concrete policies promoted by the EU, which constitute the emerging landscape of the European Teacher Education Area. Researchers have previously argued about the existence of such a landscape, as an integral part of the European Higher Education Area, characterised by particular qualities of its own (Gassner, Kerger & Schratz, 2010; Hudson & Zgaga, 2008). Within the specific landscape, this study dealt with the following mechanisms, processes and key agents of Europeanisation: policy coordination, cross-sectoral instruments, evidence-based management, the Bologna process, educational programmes, and stakeholder pressure. Considering the Europeanisation literature, all these aspects of Europeanisation in teacher education combine vertical and horizontal procedures of policy transfer, revealing a process of mutual adaptation and co-construction between Europe and Member States (Alexiadou, 2007, 2014; Radaelli, 2004).

Within the domestic level, actors' preferences seem to depend from the particular socio-political context and rooted traditions regarding teacher education which significantly define the degree of acceptance or resistance towards new ideas entering the system. Despite international pressures to align teacher policies with the notions of efficiency and quality, political culture in the respective countries played a significant role in sustaining meaningful differences at the national and local levels. Political culture is understood as the enduring political attitudes and behaviours of groups that live in a particular geographical context (Devos et al., 2012, p. 8). As such, it is embedded in relationships among policy actors and influences how external pressures are negotiated within the system. In Austria, Greece and Hungary, the centralised character of education policymaking and the involvement of many actors in creating consensus revealed that change does not come easily, and that when change is imposed, it might not find resonance with local actors.

Nevertheless, process tracing across the three countries showed that domestic actors make indeed "creative usages" of Europe (Radaelli, 2004, p. 5) at both national and local levels, in order to promote their own political interests and modernise their teacher education systems. To a different extent for each country, it can be argued that influential European mechanisms and processes for all countries included the following: financial resources, the Bologna process, the European Qualifications Framework (EQF), as well as European policy texts and policy handbooks. Although EU educational programmes seem to contribute significantly to a subtle Europeanisation, it was not possible during the course of the present study to examine their influence in depth.

Specifically, the influence of policy coordination mechanisms in terms of the Open Method of Coordination and policy guidelines can be traced in the development of teacher education reforms in both Austria and Hungary. The role of key agents (e.g., policymakers, academics) who acted as "boundary spanners" (Caena, 2017) moving across the European, national and institutional levels was crucial to circulate knowledge and influence change. For example, both the expert group of the Teacher Education New reform in Austria and the research group that developed the teacher career model in Hungary utilised and referred to the European policy handbook on induction published by the European Commission in 2010. In addition, policy documents regarding the Teacher Education New in Austria used references to European Council conclusions in what seemed to be an effort of the experts to legitimise policies about the continuum of teacher education.

The Bologna process too had a significant influence on the structure of initial teacher education (ITE) in both Austria and Hungary, whereas ITE for secondary school teachers in Greece remained largely unchanged due to persistent epistemological traditions within universities. As a result of the Bologna process and the EQF, the learning outcomes approach appears to have penetrated the content of ITE curricula and the definition of competences in

all three countries. Moreover, EU structural funds have been a strong incentive for Greece and Hungary to initiate reforms across the continuum of teacher education. For Greece, this incentive appeared stronger in the phase of continuing professional development (CPD), whereas Hungary utilised EU funds to reform ITE, develop the teacher career model and introduce teacher competences. Although in both countries, the use of EU funds was closely attached to European policy priorities, the situation in Greece showed that policymakers tried to merely absorb the funding, without actually developing a comprehensive plan, while the process of applying for such funding in Hungary became increasingly centralised and connected to political priorities of the national government since 2010. These findings suggest that despite the seemingly higher impact of the EU in peripheral states, given their relative economic weakness (Featherstone, 1998), national traits and domestic actors' preferences can absorb and sometimes neutralise the EU influence.

With regard to the content of Europeanisation and the actual policies moving across scales, the present study focused on three of them: the continuum of teacher education, teacher competences, and the role of teacher educators. The European thinking and action related to these policies developed since 2000 as the result of EU policy cooperation in teacher education, whereby Member States and EU institutions co-constructed policies related to teachers and teacher education. Without violating the subsidiarity principal, the EU seemed to promote these policy areas which were not strongly institutionalised in Member States and changes could thus be triggered more easily than in other areas where resistance appeared to be stronger (Interview, EPE-13). Influenced by global trends, but bearing particular European characteristics, it is argued that these policy areas constitute what Carney (2009) terms "policyscapes" that cut across state-bounded units and as such help us to capture some essential elements of Europeanisation as phenomenon that represents both an object and a process. Networks of actors circulate the specific policies in bits and pieces rather than as complete packages (Ball, 2016) across different teacher education systems. The process of policy transfer arguably involves learning among actors and might thus lead to policy change (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000).

To examine this assumption for the purposes of the present study, a stages matrix was proposed in the theoretical framework chapter based on Hall's (1993) stages of policy change and the literature on Europeanisation. First-order change in policy occurs when instrument settings are changed, whereas the overall goals and instruments of policy remain the same. If connected to the impact of Europeanisation, first-order change could be the outcome of inertia or absorption, meaning that there is a lack of change or that Member States are absorbing European requirements but without substantial modifications of existing structures. It could also imply retrenchment, which is the paradoxical effect of increasing the misfit between European and domestic processes. Second-order change occurs when the instruments of policy and their settings are altered, even though the overall goals of policy remain the same. This kind of change could be the outcome of accommodation, whereby Member States might adapt existing policies as a response to European developments, but without changing core features of the system. Finally, third-order change, which rarely occurs, is when complete changes take place, meaning that the instrument settings, the instruments themselves, and the goals of policy are changed. In terms of Europeanisation, this highest degree of change indicates transformation of domestic rules by new, substantially different ones.

Table 10 below applies the specific framework in the context of the Austrian, Hungarian and Greek teacher education systems, considering how relevant policies and practices in the respective countries resonate with European developments.

Table 10. Stages of policy change in the teacher education systems of Austria, Greece and Hungary

Stages / Countries	Stage 1 1st order change	Stage 2 2nd order change	Stage 3 3rd order change
Austria	• Teacher educators	• Continuum of teacher education • Teacher competences	• N/A
Greece	• Continuum of teacher education • Teacher competences • Teacher educators	• N/A	• N/A
Hungary	• Teacher educators	• Continuum of teacher education • Teacher competences	• N/A
Degree of change	Inertia, retrenchment, absorption	Accommodation	Transformation

In Austria, the Teacher Education New reform changed the settings of teacher education policy and introduced new policy instruments regarding the continuum model and teacher competences. As a result of dissatisfaction with past experience, the system opened itself to international and European influences utilising the knowledge of experts, European policies and the Bologna process. Austria shifted from a two-track ITE model based on school types towards a comprehensive model of initial preparation for secondary school teachers embedded within a professionalisation continuum. The changes included new policy instruments, such as an aptitude test for selecting teacher students, a new ITE programme based on the Bologna structure, a period of induction supported by certified mentors, as well as an obligation for all teachers to attend CPD. Moreover, professional teacher competences were introduced as broad areas of professional conduct in the new teacher service code of 2013, while the competence orientation of ITE curricula, which already existed in Austria since the early 2000s, was strengthened by defining qualification profiles and using learning outcomes. With regard to the role of teacher educators, the settings of policy changed after 2012 when the specific topic started to appear in professional and research discussions, but without concrete policy measures taking place.

In Greece, the influence of European resources altered the policy settings at frequent intervals, but concrete measures related to European developments in teacher education have not actually been implemented. A decisive reason for that was the impact of the economic crisis which froze some of the ongoing developments in ITE, induction and CPD since 2010. Moreover, stagnation in terms of teacher education policy could be explained by deeply rooted epistemological traditions within universities, reactions from pressure groups safeguarding their own interests over time, and the discontinuity of education policy that characterises the socio-political context of the country. The notion of absorption seems to better define policy change in Greece, whereby actors are utilising European resources, particularly EU structural funds, and are thus absorbing European requirements into their domestic policies but without

substantially modifying existing structures. Although there were efforts to regulate different phases of the continuum, a comprehensive approach to teacher lifelong learning was never established. With regard to teacher competences and the role of teacher educators, relevant initiatives mainly take place within professional circles, while the overly diversified way of delivering ITE seems to obscure efforts of creating common professional standards for teachers and teacher educators.

In Hungary, the influx of EU structural funds and the Bologna process have considerably changed the settings and instruments of policy towards the direction of European developments, in line though with the given institutional set-up of teacher education. Considering national priorities, actors employed European resources to legitimise their decisions, which often took place in haste and within a context of macro- and micro-organisational politics. Despite the revoking of Bologna, several blueprints of the Bologna system remained within the undivided ITE, and the continuum approach of teacher education was formalised through the establishment of a teacher career model. In addition, teacher competence frameworks were introduced for both ITE and for career advancement, following the logic of learning outcomes. Although the role of teacher educators is actively fostered by a national association of teacher educators, there is a lack of policy measures targeting the specific professional group.

Across the three countries, the notion of third-order change or transformation was not applicable, because the hierarchy of goals behind the three policy areas remained largely the same over the years. Analysis in the three countries reveals that the domestic environment of institutions and actors shaped the outcome of policy change in a way that is least disturbing for the national systems, while the EU had only a subtle influence on the process. This means that the core features of teacher education systems were not radically altered, while teacher education is still primarily regulated by national interests which effectively adjust, resist or ignore increasing pressures to converge policies in Europe. Similar studies on Europeanisation of public policy areas have also reached the conclusion that national systems tend to mitigate change (Ante, 2016; Maggi, 2016; Witte, 2006).

The difficulty of identifying third-order changes could also be explained by the fact that some of the policy measures in the respective countries have not been fully implemented yet and that some of them are faced with resistance from teacher educators and teachers during the process of enactment. For example, the phase of induction in Austria is still under development, while power struggles between universities and university colleges of teacher education seem to create partial fragmentations among teacher educators. Changes regarding ITE in Greece are not always implemented by some university departments that still emphasise subject knowledge over pedagogical preparation. Initiatives related to teacher competences are also approached with scepticism by some of the teacher educators in Greece who are reluctant to define their work in terms of generic skills. In Hungary, the growing efforts of the government to centralise education and monitor teachers' work has led some teachers and teacher educators to perceive teacher competence frameworks as yet another instrument of the government to measure their performance, rather than support their professional development.

Taking a closer look at the realisation of policy in relation to practice, the examples of higher education institutions in the respective countries show that the process of recontextualisation produces some degree of heterogeneity in practice. In the Western Teacher Education Cluster of Austria, the cooperation between universities and university colleges of teacher education revealed some structural incoherencies regarding the joint delivery of the ITE curriculum, which were mediated in 2017 following amendments in the legal framework. Similarly, the situation within the Faculty of Philosophy at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki points towards a different understanding of how the Greek philology teacher

should be prepared, taking into account the considerably different relevance allocated to pedagogical courses and teaching practice among the different departments. At Eötvös Loránd University the process of implementing the Bologna process and its subsequent revoking revealed how actors who felt distrusted resisted the change of existing power structures with long-lasting effects on cooperation among teacher educators. These findings suggest that policy enactment is not a straightforward and rational process, but rather a complex set of translation processes which are contextually mediated and institutionally rendered (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012).

In conclusion, the landscape of European teacher education is constituted by a multitude of mechanisms, processes and key agents of Europeanisation which circulate policies across different scales. These policies are the outcome of mutual adaptation and co-construction between the EU and Member States, and their movement can lead to policy change. The three case studies showed that domestic actors utilised some of the European resources to influence change according to their preferences, although contextual factors, domestic traditions and resistance by stakeholders mitigated the impact of change. In Austria and Hungary, new policy instruments and settings appeared with regard to the continuum of teacher education and teacher competences, while in Greece change was limited to policy settings. There was no transformative change identified in any of the policy areas, while the examples of higher education institutions showed that policy enactment can lead to heterogeneous outcomes.

8.2. Comparison across systems: Horizontal comparison

After the vertical comparison across scales, this section moves on to a horizontal comparison across the teacher education systems. The horizontal axis of a comparative case study not only contrasts one case with another, but also traces influences across these cases (Barlett & Vavrus, 2017a). The present study involves homologous units of analysis, since the entities being compared, namely teacher education systems, have a corresponding structure to one another and are categorically equivalent (ibid.). To undertake this kind of comparison, the study's analytic categories are employed as points of reference considering the European thinking behind them.

Starting with the continuum of teacher education, several convergences and divergences can be observed between the different teacher education systems. Austria and Hungary created a policy framework that fosters teachers' lifelong learning career, while in Greece policies targeted the different phases rather than the continuum as a whole. Since 2013, higher education institutions in Austria have introduced a new student selection tool that evaluates the attitudes of teachers, in addition to their cognitive knowledge and skills before entering ITE. This is followed by an introductory and orientation period that takes place after teacher students' admission to ITE. Similarly, Hungary introduced an aptitude test, in 2011, as an obligatory step for selection to ITE and established teacher study bursaries to tackle contra-selection and raise the number of ITE admissions. These policy measures suggest an effort to select highly qualified candidates, but face challenges in the implementation process when issues of teacher shortages arise, or when universities apply them in a superficial way and examine only the cognitive knowledge of candidates.

The duration of ITE studies, which in both Austria and Hungary has been extended to six years, is perceived differently among teacher educators. Some teacher educators seem to agree, arguing that extended duration corresponds to better teacher professionalism, whereas others raise the argument of additional studying costs and overly academic studies which might not bring the same benefits compared to becoming a doctor or a lawyer. In Greece, policy efforts to extend the duration of ITE above four years, in order to improve the pedagogical and

teaching competence of prospective teachers, without reducing the amount of credits allocated to subject disciplines, faced resistance by student unions which pressured the universities to incorporate a certain amount of credits for pedagogical competence within the existing study duration. Nevertheless, research contends that the attractiveness of becoming a teacher depends significantly on the social status of the profession (Darling-Hammond et al., 2017), which in the respective countries still appears to be rather low.

Across case studies, the structure and content of ITE has been influenced by the Bologna process to varying degrees. All countries introduced ECTS, diploma supplements and learning outcomes as part of reforming higher education in general, and a modular structure in ITE programmes appears in Austria and Hungary. However, the different case studies reveal an ambiguity regarding the relevance of Bologna for the academic field of teacher education. Policy actors in the three countries considered that three-year Bachelor studies were insufficient for adequately addressing the different components of teacher education. Different priorities of the responsible ministries in Austria led to four-year Bachelor studies, which is uncommon compared to other countries employing Bologna, followed by two years of Master studies. In Greece, the Bologna structure was not considered appropriate for teacher education, while Hungary revoked the Bologna structure of ITE, instead opting for an undivided model that has no Bachelor exit. In all cases, the pressure exerted from representatives of subject disciplines seemed to be crucial for negotiating the Bologna structure in the different countries.

An important issue regarding ITE programmes proved to be the balance between subject knowledge, educational sciences, subject methodology and teaching practice. Considering the fragmented nature of ITE, teacher educators specialising in the different ITE components were in favour of more credits for their respective courses. Especially in Greece and Hungary, teacher educators specialising in educational sciences expressed their concerns about the imbalance between ITE components in the study programmes of their universities. Deeply rooted epistemological beliefs within Greek universities traditionally undermined the pedagogical preparation of prospective teachers, but government efforts since 2010 have to a certain extent succeeded in pressuring university departments to integrate 30 ECTS of pedagogical courses and teaching practice within their subject curricula. The revoking of Bologna in Hungary since 2012 restored the emphasis on subject knowledge and reduced the credits allocated for the other ITE components, but increased the duration of teaching practice. Research participants in Austria seemed satisfied with the balance between ITE components, since the increase in the duration of studies and the requirements defined centrally by the Ministry of Education stipulated more credits for all ITE components in general.

Moving on to the phase of induction, teacher education systems are in different stages of development. All three countries appear to consider induction as a probation period which novice teachers should successfully undertake to continue their professional careers. However, teacher education systems struggle to integrate induction effectively within the continuum as a bridge between ITE and CPD. In Hungary, induction is officially part of the teacher career model introduced in 2013 and constitutes the first step of teachers' career development. Novice teachers are meant to be supported by experienced and trained mentors, and their performance is evaluated based on teacher competences. Yet induction is not giving feedback to ITE, and adequate preparation of mentors remains an issue. Greece is currently not providing induction due to the financial restrictions posed by the economic crisis, but generally policies related to induction aimed over the years to substitute the deficits of ITE, namely the lack of pedagogical preparation and teaching practice for secondary school teachers. Moreover, policies regarding induction were never included in a comprehensive plan about the continuum of teacher education. In Austria, the phase of induction has not been officially implemented yet, while the future connection between ITE and induction remains blurred, since for some specialisations

induction might overlap with Master studies. Nevertheless, the initial intention of the expert groups in Austria was that induction should constitute an essential part of the continuum providing personal, social and professional support to novices through certified mentors.

The phase following induction, namely CPD, appears to face most difficulties in terms of organisation and effective implementation, because it constitutes the longest period in the continuum of teacher education. The shift from a logic of in-service training to one of continuing professional development appears to be challenging across the three teacher education systems. Some of the challenges relate to the financial investments required, the involvement of relevant stakeholders in delivering CPD, as well as the relevance for teachers' career. While all three countries regulated a certain amount of hours as obligatory CPD, the implementation of this policy measure followed quite different paths. Austria has recently created a common obligation for all secondary school teachers to attend CPD, but responsibility for providing CPD opportunities remains with university colleges of teacher education, limiting this way collaboration with universities only to ITE. The obligation to attend CPD was eventually not implemented in the case of Greece where professional development opportunities are still organised on an ad hoc basis rather than as part of a broader strategy for teacher development. CPD is also in a turbulent situation in Hungary, where the government restricted the role of private providers and centralised responsibilities to universities. Across the three countries, CPD is also not directly linked to financial incentives or the career promotion of teachers.

A shared definition of teacher knowledge, skills and attitudes, as a framework to guide teacher education along the continuum, is also a policy translated differently in the three case studies. By establishing teacher competence frameworks at a central policy level, rather than through professional associations, governments seem to betray a desire to monitor the teaching profession, which some teacher educators perceive as a threat to their autonomy. Caena (2011) outlines two contrasting approaches to teacher competences, one bureaucratic and technical approach for accountability purposes, and another developmental one with loose definitions of competences, stressing principles and codes of conduct. Considering these different perspectives, it could be argued that Austria adopted a broad and rather flexible approach to teacher competence frameworks, developing in a bottom-up way domains of teacher professionalism (e.g. the EPIK model) and establishing a rather loose list of competences in the new teacher service code. Hungary introduced a detailed competence list with indicators and gradually connected it to career advancement and teacher appraisal. In Greece, policy initiatives regarding teacher competences have not taken place, an inertness that could be explained by the negative connotations that the education community is still attaching to teacher evaluation at large.

The development of teacher competence frameworks is based on learning outcomes, but it is not necessarily adapted to the different levels of teachers' career. Across the three teacher education systems, the shift to learning outcomes proves widespread with regard to ITE, a finding that is not surprising, according to Cedefop (2016), because ITE is generally more receptive to curriculum design and delivery modes based on the use of learning outcomes than other disciplinary fields. To evaluate teacher competences and learning outcomes, teacher educators at the universities examined in this study favoured the portfolio method, which is perceived as a tool for stimulating reflection by student teachers. Hungary employs the portfolio method also for evaluating teacher competences when it comes to career advancement. However, some teacher educators across the three teacher education systems expressed concerns about the purpose of teacher competences and whether these can actually serve teacher professional development instead of the control over teachers' work. For the same research participants, it is also unclear if defining competences and learning outcomes has

managed to shift the focus from content to student learning, considering also that curricula for subject disciplines appear to be rather attached to content.

Another essential aspect of a more integrated approach to teacher education is a better understanding of the role of teacher educators across the continuum. It is common in all three countries that there are no national or institutional policies targeting teacher educators as a distinct occupational group. Their roles and responsibilities within universities are similar to the other higher education staff, while school mentors and CPD personnel are not necessarily considered to be teacher educators. In Austria, the different requirements that still apply to universities and university colleges of teacher education regarding personnel recruitment and professional development result in a different status and working conditions among those who educate teachers. The context in which teacher education for secondary school teachers operates in Greece obscures the development of a common identity among teacher educators, since the subject departments recruit personnel with expertise on the subject discipline rather than the ability to prepare future teachers. In Hungary, a national association of teacher educators promotes a common identity and code of conduct, but its impact seems to be limited to a professional exchange among its members.

The findings regarding teacher educators conform to the argument of Livingston (2014) that teacher educators remained hidden professionals because of the identities they construct for themselves, the values that they or others attach to their roles and the institutional structures and cultures in which they work. Nevertheless, some local initiatives are indicative of efforts to promote the professionalisation of teacher educators. For example, higher education institutions in Austria and Hungary have individually developed models of professional competences for teacher educators. Such a framework of teacher educator competences seems to function as a tool for professional development activities in the example of the University of Innsbruck, and as part of quality assurance for teaching competences at Eger University.

Across countries, a lack of a common professional understanding hinders the collaboration between the different actors involved in teacher education. In all three case studies, collaboration proves challenging, particularly with subject discipline experts, and depends on the policies of the respective higher education institutions. New organisational structures within universities, such as faculties of teacher education in Austria, create an institutional basis for teacher educators and provide leverage for a merging with the subject preparation of teacher students. In addition, the Hungarian Association of Teacher Educators and the policy initiative on teacher education working units in Austria are some broader endeavours that have the potential of fostering cooperation, provided they find ways to engage different groups of teacher educators in the process.

In conclusion we may say that the horizontal comparison of the study's findings offers insights into convergences and divergences in teacher education policies and practices across the three case studies, considering some central issues of the European teacher education agenda. Although convergences regarding the continuum of teacher education and the development of teacher competences can be observed, teacher education systems tend to preserve discernible national characteristics which originate from particular traditions, the socio-political context and domestic actors' preferences. As Caena (2014a) argues, different degrees of political commitment and implementation capacities determine the success and speed of policy enactment. In each country, the negotiation between European and national processes leads to the emergence of distinct "glocal" developments (Caena 2014a, 2017) that have the potential to resolve existing tensions within the system or further exacerbate them. Teacher education systems have their own nationally and institutionally driven dynamics and within this context European developments can stimulate policy learning by challenging domestic institutions, policies and processes (Börzel, 2005).

8.3. Comparison across time: Transversal comparison

Considering the horizontal elements and the vertical scales, this section discusses how the phenomenon of Europeanisation in teacher education developed over time. Time and space are closely connected, and therefore the analysis of policy change across time opens up alternative explanations for phenomena that have historical roots and their study could seem self-evident if analysed only from a contemporary perspective (Barlett & Vavrus, 2017a). In the present study, the empirical part explored the historical development of EU cooperation in teacher education and traced the changes of teacher education systems across time, focusing on the period after the launch of the Lisbon strategy in the year 2000.

The first steps of European cooperation in teacher education started with broad agreements on professional mobility and moved on to foster a European dimension in the education of teachers (Council of the European Communities, 1988). Teacher education was mainly a national issue and cooperation was possible predominantly in connection with cultural priorities of Member States. This situation started changing with the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 when general education, as well as teacher education, became officially part of European cooperation which was intensified after Lisbon in 2000. Under the umbrella framework of lifelong learning, EU policy cooperation in teacher education gradually shifted from cultural towards economic and employment priorities, and the focus on the European dimension diminished. International evidence, linking student performance to the quality of teachers, gave an impetus to the learning outcomes approach and an emphasis on standardisation and accountability mechanisms (Council of the European Union, 2007, 2008, 2009). Indicative of the influence of the broader socio-political context in Europe also is the focus on the notions of effectiveness and efficiency during the economic crisis period (European Commission, 2012), and the reinvigoration of the European dimension following the terrorist attacks and refugee crisis in 2015 (Council of the European Union, 2015).

Although these European developments were co-constructed with Member States, case studies showed that teacher education systems develop at different speeds and in different directions. Process tracing has revealed the deep historical roots of teacher education systems and national traits that still determine policies and practices in the respective countries. The preparation of secondary school teachers traditionally fell within the remit of subject departments of universities, but from the late 1970s teacher education started to become an independent study area and gradually developed into an integral part of higher education. This, of course, is not an exclusively European affair (Zgaga, 2008), but certain landmark events in Europe such as the Bologna process in 1999 boosted developments towards a more integrative direction. And while the case studies confirm this argument, the influence of national traits is also evident. For example, the case of Greece, which is also the oldest EU member among the examined countries, shows that teacher education for secondary school teachers remains an area rooted in national specificities, although the ineffectiveness of the system has been exposed since the beginning of the 20th century.

Comparison across time also helps to better understand the potential of glocal innovations referred to in the previous section. Before the Teacher Education New reform, teacher education for secondary school teachers in Austria was organised according to school types, separating the preparation of teachers between academic and general education tracks. The Bologna process offered an institutional platform to align teacher qualifications and as such, it was utilised by domestic actors to gradually overcome a tension with historical roots. Since 2016, the joint delivery of ITE programmes for secondary school teachers between universities and university colleges of teacher education is based on the Bologna architecture and provides an example of negotiation between global and local processes towards producing

innovative solutions. Another example is related to increasing the salaries of teachers in Hungary, whereby the introduction of the teacher career model in 2013 came to satisfy a professional and social need that was considered long overdue. Based on a lifelong learning perspective and teacher competences, the new model offered substantial salary increases attached to opportunities for teacher career advancement.

Chronologically, there were some concrete policies and practices in the three countries developed after the launch of relevant European initiatives. Specifically, teacher education policies with regard to the continuum concept, the phase of induction and teacher competences were developed in Austria and Hungary after the publication of the respective European Council Conclusions (Council of the European Union, 2007, 2009) and policy guidelines (European Commission, 2010). At a local level, practices regarding the role of teacher educators were initiated in higher education institutions following the peer learning meetings of the period between 2010 and 2012, as well as the publication of the European policy handbook on supporting teacher educators (European Commission, 2013c). Policy developments about teacher education in Greece appeared more intense during the 1980s and 1990s, following the accession of the country to the EU. After 2000, Europeanisation efforts in Greece were more generally related to higher education rather than teacher education, while some of the policy initiatives in 2010 reflecting European ideas about the continuum were halted because of the economic crisis outbreak.

Tracing policy developments over time has also revealed the growing efforts of governments to regulate the teaching profession and monitor teacher education with the argument of improving student performance. The notions of standardisation and accountability, that emerged in European policy discourse since the mid of 2000s, have coincided with national policy efforts to regulate standards, establish learning outcomes and strengthen quality assurance. Since 2008, Austria introduced education standards with the goal to improve student learning and created a quality assurance council for teacher education to monitor the implementation of reforms. Since 2010, Greece has regulated standards for recruiting teachers into the profession through the so-called Certificate for Pedagogical Preparation and Teaching Competence. In the same period, the Hungarian government has allocated the ownership of ITE programmes to teacher education centres within universities, regulated teacher competences as performance indicators, and strengthened internal and external evaluation of schools. These policy developments can be understood as part of what Trippestad, Swennen and Werler (2017) label the third global wave of reforming teacher education as a problem, whereby the solution is sought through standardisation and accountability mechanisms. As such, however, the emergence of accountability, legitimised by international organisations, bears the risk of taking control of education away from teachers and teacher educators (Tatto, 2007).

Overall, all three countries appear to have moved in different paces over time from a strictly nationally bound and fragmented approach to teacher education towards a more internationally receptive and integrated approach. Teacher education is being Europeanised in the sense that there are some changes in the direction of European developments, and for Radaelli (2008) changes that bring countries closer to common EU goals suggest a manifestation of Europeanisation. Nevertheless, teacher education systems are characterised by historical traits linked to national and institutional contexts which still determine the negotiation between European and domestic processes, perhaps to a greater extent in some countries than in others.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

This study set out to explore the process of Europeanisation in teacher education from an international and comparative perspective by analysing how and to what extent teacher education policies and practices in three case studies, namely Austria, Greece and Hungary, have been influenced by European developments. This final chapter reflects on the main theoretical and empirical contributions of the study by drawing together the conclusions from the three research questions. It then explores the broader policy implications of the study and proposes avenues for future research.

9.1. Theoretical and empirical contributions

This doctoral thesis was conducted within the framework of the European Doctorate in Teacher Education (EDiTE), a project including fifteen early stage researchers to explore the theme of "transformative teacher learning for better student learning in an emerging Europe." In contributing to EDiTE, this study chose as a research topic the phenomenon of Europeanisation in teacher education. The growing interest of international organisations in teachers and teacher education, following international evidence that correlate student performance to the quality of teacher labour force (Barber & Mourshed, 2007; Hattie, 2009; OECD, 2005), has sparked teacher education reforms across Europe. Various policy initiatives have been launched by both the EU and Member States pointing to an accelerating process of Europeanisation of national policies regarding teacher education, perceived as a broad concept encompassing the whole continuum of teacher professional development. This background has led to the selection of the research topic and the three research questions, presented in Chapter 1.

The theoretical framework of the study was addressed in Chapter 2, contributing to our understanding of researching Europeanisation and policy change in the area of teacher education. The literature review suggests that Europeanisation is a useful explanatory concept also in areas of soft EU policy, such as education in general and teacher education in particular. To research the phenomenon of Europeanisation in teacher education, it is argued that the best way is to adopt a circular approach to Europeanisation and a bottom-up research design that explores policy changes as they occur at the domestic level (Radaelli, 2004). Combining the literature on Europeanisation and Hall's (1993) ideas of policy change, a stages matrix for analysing policy change in the context of Europeanisation is provided.

Moreover, this study offers a broader understanding of teacher education systems by drawing on elements of teacher education research, ecological system theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Caena, 2014a, 2017) and the theory of policy enactment (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012). Teacher education is conceptualised as a policy ecosystem with multiple layers (i.e. global, European, national, and institutional contexts) that interact with each other and with other education policy ecosystems. Within such a policy ecosystem, networks of actors and entities, including policies, communicate and travel in space, altering the landscape through which and across which they move (Ball, 2016). This study also contributes to alternative conceptualisations of implementation as mutual adaptation and co-construction (Datnow & Park, 2009), and as policy enactment (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012). In this way, teacher education policies and practices can be analysed as dynamic processes unfolding across scales, systems and time.

With regard to empirical contributions, the first research question, *"How is teacher education defined and consolidated in the making of EU policy processes and what changes*

does this imply for European teacher education policy and practice?", was addressed in Chapter 4. The analysis argues about the emergence of a European teacher education landscape constituted by various mechanisms, processes and key agents of Europeanisation, which can be categorised as follows: policy coordination, cross-sectoral instruments, evidence-based management, the Bologna process, educational programmes, and stakeholder pressure. Teacher education policies and practices are therefore defined and consolidated through both vertical and horizontal Europeanisation. In terms of content, European cooperation has over the years loaded the policy area of teacher education with meaning. From a focus on mobility of teaching professionals and the European dimension, EU cooperation in teacher education was centred after the 2000s around the aspects of improving learning outcomes, achieving effectiveness and efficiency, and promoting active citizenship. This kind of cooperation led to concrete suggestions and initiatives for policy learning, several of which can be categorised in the themes of the continuum of teacher education, the development of teacher competence frameworks, and the role of teacher educators. The way these themes are interconnected and the policy instruments used to promote them depict concrete elements of European thinking and action.

The second and third research questions were addressed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The analysis of the research question, *"To what extent and how does contemporary teacher education policy and practice in the respective countries, developed since the year 2000, resonate with European developments?"*, was undertaken through process tracing for each of the three case studies. Teacher education systems have gradually moved from a strictly national approach to teacher education towards a more European one, although they did so at different speeds and following different directions. In this process, the socio-political and economic contexts, national traits and rooted traditions, as well as domestic actors' preferences were crucial factors for policy change. Through certain reforms and policy initiatives, Austria and Hungary introduced new policy instruments and changed the settings of policy regarding the continuum of teacher education and teacher competences. In Greece, policy change was limited to the settings of policy, considering that domestic actors merely absorbed EU funding, while the deterioration of the economic environment and resistance from local stakeholders obscured actual change. Across the three case studies, policy initiatives about the role of teacher educators took place mainly at the local level. Overall, there was no transformation that could change the hierarchy of policy goals and lead to the replacement of domestic rules by substantially different ones.

The third research question, *"How do actors involved in teacher education enact these policies within the context of their institution?"*, was addressed through the examples of higher education institutions which aimed to illustrate the process of policy enactment. Teacher educators and teachers can also utilise European resources to influence change, as was the case for example with the Bologna process at Eötvös Loránd University, or the teacher educator competences at the University of Innsbruck and Eger University. Findings suggest that policy enactment is not a linear top-down process, since a complex set of translations taking place at the institutional level can lead to heterogeneity in practice. This heterogeneity can span from the emergence of glocal innovations, such as the new ITE curriculum at the Western Teacher Education Cluster in Austria, or the teacher career model in Hungary, to the resistance or retrenchment of policy, such as the ineffective implementation of the Certificate for Pedagogical and Teaching Competence at some subject departments of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Moreover, actors involved in teacher education promote a profession-driven and supportive use of competence frameworks, and resist policy efforts that aim to control their autonomy. Collaboration and networking among teacher educators proves to be a challenge,

because fragmentations are still prevalent among the different components and phases of teacher education.

Finally, the study's findings were discussed in Chapter 8 according to the comparative case study approach of comparing phenomena across scales, systems and time. The specific chapter exposed the complexity involved in policy transfer and policy change regarding phenomena such as the Europeanisation in teacher education. Comparison across scales reveals the crucial role of context and domestic actors in utilising European resources to influence change. Comparison across case studies shows the different speeds and directions that teacher education systems follow in order to change and move closer to European developments. Over time, teacher education is being Europeanised, although national and institutional contexts still determine the multiple processes of translation. Perhaps, the motto "unity in diversity," adopted by the EU since the year 2000, explains appropriately the conclusion that the impact of Europeanisation, also in the field of teacher education, is not uniform but differential.

9.2. Policy implications and recommendations for future research

Avoiding to assume a normative stance, the focus of the study was not to assess the impact of Europeanisation, but rather to explore the way in which Europeanisation is manifested in the different layers of the teacher education policy ecosystem, as well as to identify the subsequent interconnections among these layers. By means of conclusion, a number of lessons can be drawn at this point that could be relevant for policymakers, teacher educators and teachers.

One main policy implication is the need for European and national policymakers to attend to the national and institutional context specificities of teacher education. The incentives provided by the EU matter to the extent that domestic actors find them meaningful and utilise them. In policy areas such as teacher education, one cannot expect policy change to be imposed from the EU to the domestic level. It has been argued instead that the EU can predominantly play a role in domestic policy changes, when European developments resonate with the orientation and preferences of domestic actors. Therefore, it is important to deepen the international dialogue and EU cooperation in teacher education, in order to produce meaningful incentives and policy tools that can be easily utilised by policymakers and practitioners. This dialogue process, of course, would benefit from the direct involvement of education professionals by means of increasing the relevance of European teacher education policies. It has been noted that certain policy initiatives that directly target practitioners, such as educational programmes, can have a significant influence on the institutional level.

With regard to the content of European teacher education policies, the EU cooperation in policy areas which are not firmly institutionalised in Member States can lead to innovative developments and less resistance at the local level. Particularly policies regarding the continuum of teacher education and teacher competence frameworks have found fertile ground in national teacher education systems, as shown in the cases of Austria and Hungary, while local initiatives have also been launched about supporting teacher educators. As long as teaching remains a national profession, it seems more effective to promote European convergence mainly in terms of structure, so that other more integral parts of the system, such as the content of ITE curricula, the offering of professional development opportunities, or the definition of competences can be defined within the national and institutional settings. In this sense, the study agrees with Kotthoff and Denk (2007) on the need to allow space for unity in diversity and to avoid a "eurocratic levelling of educational structures and content in teacher education" (p. 126).

The study findings point also to the importance of effective mediation between global and local processes by being sensitive to national traits, historical traditions and institutional

settings that play a determining role in policy enactment. The translations of European policies in different countries can lead to glocal developments which policymakers and teacher educators could utilise to overcome existing tensions within the teacher education systems. This would require avoiding hasty implementation that can lead to resistance or rejection of certain policies, building instead a culture of collaboration among the various stakeholders involved in teacher education that could enable innovative glocal solutions to emerge.

To strengthen teacher development, policies about the continuum of teacher education should aim to better interconnect the different phases of the continuum and help to overcome fragmentations obscuring the collaboration among education professionals. This study argues about the need of developing a comprehensive strategy for teacher professional development, instead of targeting separately the different phases of the continuum. Teacher education and teacher policies should be better aligned and the respective authorities need to improve communication with each other, in order to reduce the gap that appears between initial preparation and the other phases of teacher development. A more integrated and holistic approach requires policy dialogue at multiple levels within the system.

Teacher competence frameworks can "glue" the different phases of the continuum together by creating a shared understanding of teacher professionalism, and thus function as a compass for professional development which might be more effective if attached to career structures and incentives. To generate continuous intrinsic motivation and trust among teachers, the role of competence frameworks needs to be based on a system of professional support, rather than accountability mechanisms defined by standards and control over teachers' autonomy. In addition, there is a high need to define policies about the role of teacher educators, which still remains a hidden profession despite initiatives at the local level. This would imply though collaboration and consensus among higher education departments, and connections between teacher education providers and schools. While policymakers could provide a framework to enable collaboration, the most effective policy measures can emerge bottom-up when teacher educators and teachers organise themselves in professional associations that can take ownership of their professional needs.

Future research should include more cases to verify the role of the EU and the way that Europeanisation is manifested in teacher education. For example, case studies targeting countries of the EU core could enrich the picture that has been provided in this study. Future analysis should also include other European policies in teacher education and their translations into national systems, so as to better understand the process of policy transfer and the interconnections between the different layers of the system. To this end, future analysis should also essentially address the global context as an important layer of the teacher education ecosystems and thus, examine the influence of international organisations, such as the UNESCO, OECD and the World Bank, on European and national teacher education policies. Last but not least, the ideological underpinnings of both the Europeanisation process and the specific European policies should be examined, in order to grasp the impact of new public management and neoliberalism in shaping the European policy discourse regarding teachers and teacher education.

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Appendix A: Interview guide for European policy experts

A. Introduction

1. EDiTE-EJD programme, including the overall theme “transformative teacher learning for better student learning in an emerging European context” (EDiTE flyer)
2. Purpose and scope of the study (hand-out)
3. Assure confidentiality
4. Note: The concept of Teacher Education in this study refers to the continuum of teacher learning, including the phases of initial teacher education, induction, and continuing professional development.

B. Europeanisation in teacher education – Policy issues

1. Which importance does teacher education have on the policy agenda of your organisation and has this changed over time? Is teacher education a priority in the education policy of your country?
2. Which major initiatives have been undertaken by your organisation with regard to teacher education and which were the outcomes so far?
3. Have you participated in any European level meeting with regard to teachers and teacher education recently? Which were the issues discussed?
4. In your view, what are the key moments in which important political decisions have been taken with respect to the teachers and teacher education agenda in Europe and what do you think about them?
5. Which are the main areas of action within the field of teacher education from the perspective of your organisation?
6. If you hear the theme “Europeanisation in teacher education”, what comes to your mind?

C. Teacher education within a national context – Degree of change

1. In your view, to what extent and how do international and/or European resources (e.g. ideas, symbolic and peer pressures, development interventions, financial resources) modify the domestic policy-making process of your country? Which are the most influential resources and why?
2. Could you please mention three areas related to teacher education in which you see a lot of changes/developments in Europe? Could you please mention some areas, if any, in which no changes/developments have occurred?
3. In your view, how do Member States respond to the proposed actions coming from the level of the EU? Which conditions foster and which conditions hinder the implementation of the proposed actions on the national level?
4. Could you provide some information with regard to the following areas of teacher education policy and practice: (a) the continuum of teacher education (ITE, Induction, CPD); (b) teacher competences; and (c) the profile of teacher educators?

D. Policy enactment

1. In your view, how do the policies of your organisation influence (directly or indirectly) the practice of education professionals (e.g. teacher educators, teachers, school principals)?
2. How do you see education professionals being influenced by European actions? Is there any direct or indirect connection? How is their interaction influenced by their knowledge and socialisation into European approaches?

E. Future directions

1. Which are the future potentials of teacher education in Europe? How do you envisage teacher education in Europe in 30 years?
2. Is there something you think policy makers have not considered or addressed sufficiently when developing teacher education policies?

F. Conclusion

1. Is there anything else you want to add or emphasise with respect to the topic of Europeanisation in teacher education?
2. Would you recommend any documents or initiatives which the specific research needs to take into consideration?

Appendix B: Interview guide for national policy experts

A. Introduction

1. EDiTE-EJD programme, including the overall theme "transformative teacher learning for better student learning in an emerging European context" (EDiTE flyer)
2. Purpose and scope of the study (hand-out)
3. Assure confidentiality
4. Note: The concept of Teacher Education in this study refers to the continuum of teacher learning, including the phases of initial teacher education, induction, and continuing professional development.

B. Europeanisation in teacher education – Policy issues

1. Which importance does teacher education have on the policy agenda of your organisation and has this changed over time? Is teacher education a priority in the education policy of your country?
2. Which major initiatives have been undertaken by your organisation with regard to teacher education and which were the outcomes so far?
3. In your view, what are the key moments in which important political decisions have been taken with respect to the teachers and teacher education agenda in Europe and what do you think about them?

C. Teacher education within a national context – Degree of change

1. In your view, to what extent and how do international and/or European resources (e.g. ideas, symbolic and peer pressures, development interventions, financial resources) modify the domestic policy-making process of your country in the field of teacher education? Which are the most influential resources and why?
2. Could you mention some of the latest reforms which took place in your country related to teachers and teacher education? What do you think about them? Which do you think have been the dominant motives driving those reforms and do you identify any international influences in this process?
3. Do you notice any difference between the conceptualisation of a specific reform, which you referred to in the previous question, and the implementation of this reform? Could you provide an example from your own experience?
4. In your view, how have teachers and teacher educators in your country perceived the above mentioned reforms, and which have been the challenges so far?
5. In your view, how does your country respond to the proposed actions coming from the level of the EU? Which conditions foster and which conditions hinder the implementation of the proposed actions on the national level? (e.g. political culture)
6. Could you provide some information on the degree of change, if any, with regard to the following areas of teacher education policy and practice: (a) the continuum of teacher education (ITE, Induction, CPD); (b) teacher competences; and (c) the profile of teacher educators?

E. Future directions

1. How do you see teacher education in your country developing in 10 years from now? Could you describe some potentials or challenges which education policy in your country needs to consider?

F. Conclusion

1. Is there anything else you want to add or emphasise with respect to the topic of Europeanisation in teacher education?
2. Would you recommend any documents or initiatives which the specific research needs to take into consideration?

Appendix C: Interview guide for teacher educators

A. Introduction

1. EDiTE-EJD programme, including the overall theme "transformative teacher learning for better student learning in an emerging European context" (EDiTE flyer)
2. Purpose and scope of the study (hand-out)
3. Assure confidentiality
4. Note: The concept of Teacher Education in this study refers to the continuum of teacher learning, including the phases of initial teacher education, induction, and continuing professional development.

B. The continuum of teacher education

1. Which function do you have in the initial teacher education (ITE) programmes of your institution?
2. How do you see your role in developing ITE programmes? Are you somehow involved in this process?
3. How would you evaluate the current structure of your ITE programmes? What do you think are the main differences between the old and the new curriculum?
4. What is your view on how the induction phase is organised by your institution?
5. In which age group of students are you teaching? Are you teaching only in the degree programmes of your institution or in other continuing professional development (CPD) programmes as well? Could you describe an example of a CPD activity in which you have been recently teaching?

C. Teacher competences

1. Could you please describe how do you usually plan one of your courses and how do you evaluate your students' progress (e.g. portfolio assessment)? Which factors do you consider when developing and evaluating your courses?
2. How do you see the development of teacher competence frameworks at your institution? To what extent do you think these competence frameworks change the practices within your institution, as well as your own teaching practice?

D. The role of teacher educators

1. In your view, which are the key competences of a teacher educator in 21st century Europe? Are you aware of any efforts to define teacher educator competences in your country?
2. Which are the challenges you face as a teacher educator?
    a. Have you been supported in addressing any of those challenges, and if yes, how?
    b. Could you provide an example of a professional development activity in which you have recently participated? How is this contributing to your professional advancement?
3. Do you collaborate with teacher educators working in different settings (e.g. Higher Education subject departments and departments of Education, Pedagogy or Didactics, schools, training or adult education centres, local authorities, private sector)? If yes, could you describe an example of such a collaboration?