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# The Politics of Discomfort

Unsettling Conversations about Preservice Teachers' Engagement with Socioeconomic Disadvantage

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#### **Abstract**

National statistics indicate that approximately 25 percent or 270,000 New Zealand children live in poverty (Children's Commissioner's Expert Advisory Group on Solutions to Child Poverty, 2012). As New Zealand school populations reflect the nation's widening social and economic disparities, this thesis positions rising levels of inequality as a critical concern for the field of teacher education. Despite mounting evidence of the effects of socioeconomic inequality on students, schools, and communities, there are few studies that explore how, why, and in what ways preservice teachers are prepared for teaching in New Zealand's low decile schools. In contrast, much of the existing research that explores the intersection between disadvantage and teacher education focuses on student achievement, teacher quality, and educational policy.

This thesis, set within a critical theory framework and a mixed methods research design, explores the ways in which Graduate Diploma (secondary) preservice teachers perceive and engage with disadvantaged students and schools. The work of Jean Anyon and Nancy Fraser strongly underpins this study. Both scholars identify the wider political, economic, and cultural context of education in disadvantaged schools. Study findings from five university providers identify how the majority of preservice teachers demonstrate minimal engagement with issues of disadvantage that impact on students and schools. This thesis also illuminates how preservice teachers' engagements with disadvantage are influenced by a complex set of political, economic, and social structures, contexts, policies, and practices. Further analysis of documents, interviews with Programme Leaders, and surveys identifies several key findings. First, institutions and programmes pay limited attention to issues of socioeconomic disadvantage. Second, socioeconomic disadvantage is hidden within broad discussions of diversity. Third, preservice teachers' understandings of disadvantage are polarized with minimal change occurring from entry through to programme completion. The development of two original models advances conversations about preparing teachers to teach in disadvantaged schools. Two original conceptual models, 'Continuum of Engagement' and the 'Politics of Discomfort', offer new ways of explaining preservice teachers' engagements with socioeconomic disadvantage making a significant contribution to the field of teacher education.

## **Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to individuals who created a magical childhood where anything was possible.

Tom and Wendy Tatebe

Stan and Gladys Tatebe

Harold and Rene Bird

Barbara Peberdy

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Maisy Clackett

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#### Glossary

This section defines the key terminology used in this study.

#### **Associate Teacher (AT)**

In this study, the term AT refers to a secondary school teacher who mentors and supervises a preservice teacher during a fieldwork placement.

#### **Decile system**

The decile system is New Zealand's educational funding model that is based on national census, school, and zoning data. Decile ratings are socioeconomic indicators each representing 10 percent of the school population. Decile 1-3 schools draw higher proportions of students from low socioeconomic communities while decile 7-10 school populations have the lowest proportion of low socioeconomic students.

#### **Disadvantage**

In this dissertation disadvantage is defined as a form of socioeconomic inequality generated by structural differences in society such as income, wealth, resources, power, and education that often align with socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and culture.

#### **Ethnicity**

Ethnicity refers to a group of people with a shared ancestry and culture that may include language, customs and religion.

#### **Graduate Diploma (Secondary)**

In this research, a Graduate Diploma (GradDip) refers to one-year intensive teaching preparation programme that prepares individuals to teach in secondary school classrooms.

#### **Institutions**

The scope of this research limits institutions to universities offering GradDip (secondary) preservice teacher education programmes.

#### Māori

Māori refers to the indigenous people of New Zealand.

#### **Ministry of Education (MoE)**

The Ministry of Education in New Zealand has strategic leadership, policy development and operational roles. It advises the Government on the education system and works in collaboration with educational agencies and providers to implement national educational goals.

#### **NCEA**

The National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) is the national qualification scheme for secondary school students in New Zealand.

#### **Pasifika**

For the purpose of this study, the term Pasifika will be used to refer to the seven largest Pacific ethnic groups in New Zealand: Samoans, Cook Island Māori, Tongans, Niueans, Fijians, Tokelauans and Tuvaluans, aligning with the definition used by Statistics New Zealand.

#### Fieldwork placement

In this dissertation, a fieldwork placement refers to the school based teaching experience that is a mandatory requirement for all preservice teachers. Although commonly referred to as a practicum, field placement, field experience, or fieldwork in academic literature, fieldwork is the term used in this thesis.

#### Preservice teacher

In this thesis, preservice teacher refers to individuals preparing to become a teacher by participating in a preservice teacher education programme.

#### Preservice teacher education programme

Preservice teacher education programmes in this study refer to teacher preparation programmes that prepare individuals to teach in secondary school classrooms.

#### **Programme Leaders (PL)**

In New Zealand, the term Programme Leader is the common university title given to the principal lecturer responsible for the coordination and facilitation of a preservice teacher education programme

#### Socioeconomic status (SES)

Socioeconomic status, or SES, is a social stratification system that organises people by occupation. This thesis aligns with Statistics New Zealand's definition that positions SES as the "patterned unequal distribution of opportunities, advantages, resources and power among subgroups of a given population. Distinct 'socioeconomic strata' may thus be said to exhibit differential life chances, living standards and associated cultural practices" (Davis, McLeod, Ransom, & Ongley, 1997, p. 8).

#### **Teacher Educators (TE)**

For the purpose of this thesis, TE are defined as the university teaching staff including tutors, lecturers and professors involved in the delivery of preservice teacher education programmes.

# Part I: Framing Socioeconomic Disadvantage and Educational Inequality

## **Chapter one: Contextualizing discomfort**

#### Introduction

New Zealand preservice teacher education programmes face the challenge of preparing teachers to teach increasingly diverse student populations in low decile schools. Such challenges reflect growing inequity in New Zealand society. As the Children's Commissioner's Expert Advisory Group on Solutions to Child Poverty (2012) reports, "as many as 25 percent of children-about 270,000-currently live in poverty" (p. vi). In more meaningful terms, child poverty statistics translate into poorly heated homes, inadequate access to food and winter clothes, and rising levels of health problems yet the inability to see a doctor. In addition to becoming more unequal, New Zealand's ethnic and cultural fabric is undergoing a rapid transformation. Māori, Asian, and Pasifika ethnic groups are representing a growing proportion of New Zealand's population with demographic forecasts indicating continued ethnic diversification to unprecedented levels (Statistics New Zealand, 2008a).

Educational researchers have identified a complex range of factors involved in teaching diverse student populations in disadvantaged schools. Demographers, for example, have demonstrated how concentrations of inequality are replicated in schools (Frankenberg, 2013; Raffo, 2011). Other research ties education to wider political, economic, and social policies that perpetuate inequality in schools (Anyon, 2005a). However, the persistent underachievement of disadvantaged and diverse student populations has identified teacher education as a potential solution to increasing levels of disadvantage and other forms of inequality in schools (T. Howard & Milner, 2013; Wiseman, 2012).

Recognition of educational inequality has led to investigations of teacher quality (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2011), diversity (Achinstein & Barrett, 2004), multicultural education (Nieto, 2000; Sleeter, 2001), and culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2010). Calls for teacher education reform to include greater emphasis on disadvantage and poverty have also been made (Haberman, 1995b). The proliferation of specialized urban teacher education programmes (Matsko & Hammerness, 2013), and alternative certification programmes, like Teach for America (Heilig & Jez, 2010), is also the result of conversations about the preparation of teachers for disadvantaged schools.

This chapter lays the foundation for exploring issues of socioeconomic disadvantage as they relate to teaching and learning in New Zealand. The remaining two sections that structure this chapter provide the necessary contextual information to fully engage in the reading of this thesis. The first section introduces the readers to the New Zealand context in which this study is located. The provision of greater knowledge about the country leads into a discussion of the tensions, factors, and changes that have shaped, and continue to shape, the field of teacher education. The chapter then concludes with an introduction to key concepts relevant to this thesis, followed by an overview of the purpose, aims, and rationale for this study.

#### Section one: National context

#### **Historical context**

New Zealand is a relatively small country of approximately 4.3 million people located in the South Pacific. Due to its remote location, the islands remained uninhabited until their discovery by Polynesian explorers in 800 AD (Belich, 1996). Their descendants, became New Zealand's indigenous people, now referred to as Māori, whose settlements developed in relative isolation (McLauchlan, 2009; Sinclair, 2000). The Europeans arrived in the 17<sup>th</sup> century with Dutch explorers. followed by English and French in the 18th century (Sinclair, 2000). Early colonists were British missionaries who initiated a linguistic, economic, cultural and religious transformation that departed from Māori traditions. Existing colonial tensions between the Māori and British, or 'Pākehā,' non-Māori of European descent, continued. The signing of Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, while still controversial, marked a shift in the relationship between Māori and colonialists by establishing a formal relationship between Māori and the Crown. Irwin (1994) discusses two other significant outcomes of the Treaty for Māori. She identifies how the Treaty established an important "legal, political and moral framework [for Māori] to challenge the state" (p. 335). Irwin also signals the cultural relevance of the Treaty that serves as a "bicultural development policy framework" (p. 336) that set in motion the foundations for a bicultural society. Today, the Treaty continues to shape New Zealand's social and political landscape, policies, and education system.

#### **Demographic context**

Despite bicultural origins, New Zealand has become an increasingly diverse, multicultural country. The introduction of an import-based industrialisation policy stimulated the first wave of migrants to New Zealand immediately following World War II. This shift in economic policy immediately placed unskilled labour in short supply. Pacific Island migrants were favoured to fill positions in the manufacturing and industrial sectors as educated yet unskilled and cheap labour (MacPherson, 1996). As Lay (1996) explains, the majority of Pacific immigrants, "did the jobs Pākehā New Zealanders no longer wished to do or had been educated beyond: shift work, factory work, assembly-line production, processing, cleaning; work involving long hours in unpleasant conditions" (p. 13). Pacific migration continued through the 70s, along with growing numbers of migrants of European ethnic origin. The economic crisis in the 80s led to more restrictive immigration policies that decreased the flow of migrants into New Zealand. Exceptions included highly skilled workers in short supply, and a relatively small number of refugees, particularly from South East Asian countries such as Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos (Ongley, 1996).

Changing immigration policies and globalisation have created an increasingly diverse society. Population statistics indicate increasing growth from the current population of approximately 4. 3 million people (Statistics New Zealand, 2013c). Census data signals a disproportionate distribution of the population with 76 percent of New Zealanders residing on the North Island. The remaining 24 percent of the population is dispersed across the South Island (Statistics New Zealand, 2013d). Urban areas on the North Island are most highly populated. Auckland is the country's largest city with approximately 1.5 million people representing one in four, or 34 percent, of New Zealand residents (Statistics New Zealand, 2013d).

National census data also provides an overview of the changing ethnic landscape in New Zealand. In 2013, 74 percent of the population identified as New Zealanders of European descent, 15 percent identified as Māori, 12 percent were of Asian origin and seven percent identified as Pasifika (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). Population projections indicate the highest growth amongst non-European populations. Annual growth estimates signal an approximate 1.3 % increase amongst Māori, 3.4% growth rate amongst Asian groups, and 2.4% rise in New Zealand's Pasifika population by 2026 (Statistics New Zealand, 2008c).

#### **Economic context**

The concept of a 'classless society' is also central to New Zealand's history. Consedine (1989) describes the 'classless' concept as a myth. He explains that "the most fundamental and persistent historical myth about our society, deeply embedded in the Pākehā psyche, is that New Zealand is an egalitarian society" (p. 172). This egalitarian ideal is accompanied by additional myths that include how "everyone in New Zealand has equal opportunity, [and that] there is no real poverty in New Zealand" (p. 174). Instead, Consedine's chapter opens by debunking the "milk-and-honey egalitarian rhetoric" with remaining sections devoted to discussing the deep divisions in society that "have been obscured by the persistence of the concept of equality" (p. 175). Nolan (2007), a New Zealand historian, approaches the enduring colonial egalitarian myth as a national identity issue resulting from fundamental concepts of "consensus and fairness" (p. 114). She reports how the concepts of "social equality and classlessness"(p. 114) and "relative equality and material prosperity" (p. 115) were actively promoted by the New Zealand government well into the 1960s. Similar to earlier work by Consedine, Nolan "unpack[s] the egalitarian myth" (p. 116) by chronicling the social, political, and economic policies and practices implicit in this historical narrative. Nolan identifies structural inequalities and divisions in society that are embedded within a powerful egalitarian myth so deeply ingrained in the "New Zealand people's sense of themselves and how others have viewed New Zealand" (p. 128). The work of Consedine, Nolan and others serve as reminders of the entrenched attitudes towards socioeconomic inequality set within New Zealand's history.

The process of globalisation has had a significant economic impact on New Zealand. In the 1980s, the country experienced an economic crisis. Decreasing population, a declining skills labour force, rising debt, and fewer international partners resulting in decreased international trade, which all became catalysts for reform (Kelsey, 1997). Economic policy shifted from a highly regulated system to a deregulated one that embraced the principles of an open market economy. From 1990-2007, the economy enjoyed steady growth until the global economic crisis of 2008 (Nusche, Laveault, MacBeath, & Santiago, 2012).

#### **Political context**

Market force politics, introduced in response to the economic crisis, strongly influenced the education sector. New right ideology based on the principles of minimal state support and competition ushered in a decade of education reforms in the 80s and 90s known as *Tomorrow's Schools* (Mutch, 2001). Education, like other public sectors, underwent a period of deregulation (Perris, 1998). The education system was decentralised with school governance devolved to school and community based Boards of Trustees. School choice and zoning policies were also introduced. These new market based reforms sharply contrasted with historical education policies associated with the welfare state. Prior to the educational reforms, the Department of Education placed teachers in schools and controlled the number of preservice teachers accepted into teacher preparation programmes. Under the new self-governing Board of Trustees system, teachers applied to individual schools for employment and preservice teacher providers controlled the selection of entrants into their programmes.

While the introduction of the educational reforms were intended to increase the country's competitiveness on the world stage, they became a 'tipping point', confirming and exacerbating existing structural inequalities. For example, Boards of Trustees rely on the knowledge and skills of their elected members that advantage or disadvantage the available expertise in different school communities. School choice and zoning policies assisted the promotion of a two-tiered education system of publically perceived 'good' and 'disadvantaged' schools. Those afforded the privilege of school choice could elect to enrol in the 'best' schools creating an unequal socioeconomic mix of students. Zoning was another measure that intensified a system of privilege and disadvantage with its use as a means of creating exclusive, 'gate-keeping' grammar zones (Thrupp, 2007b). Misuse of the decile system, introduced in the mid 90s, only served to further reinforce ideas of privilege and disadvantage within the state education system.

Central to this thesis is New Zealand's decile system. Introduced in 1995, the decile system was intended as a means of addressing educational inequity associated with disadvantage and poverty by redistributing the allocation of educational funding (Donnelly & New Zealand Parliament Education and Science Committee, 2003; PPTA, 2013). School decile ratings are the Ministry of Education's (MoE) calculation of the:

Extent to which schools draw pupils from low socioeconomic communities. Decile 1 schools are the 10% of schools with the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities. Decile 10 schools are the 10% of schools with the lowest proportion of these students. (Ministry of Education, 2010b)

School decile rankings are based on several calculations. First, national census data are placed into Statistics New Zealand's meshblock system that organises data into "small geographical areas" of approximately 50 households (Donnelly & New Zealand Parliament Education and Science Committee, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2010b). Next, the meshblock national census data are calculated according to five indicators:

- The percentage of households with income in the lowest 20 percent nationally
- The percentage of households with adults employed in low skilled occupations
- Household crowding that compares the number of people, available bedrooms, number of couples and ages of children
- The percentage of parents without school or tertiary education qualifications
- The percentage of parents who receive Government income support

The five socioeconomic indicators are weighted according to the number of students from each meshblock. Schools receive a ranking for each of the five indicators that are added together (without any weightings) to give a final ranking. These school rankings are then divided into 10 groups or deciles. The decile system has been modified since its original development. Current decile calculations exclude an original Māori and Pasifika variable representing the percentage of Māori and Pasifika students at a school. Contemporary ethnicity data are now based on school rather than census data to create a more accurate measurement of the ethnic composition of school populations (Donnelly & New Zealand Parliament Education and Science Committee, 2003).

Despite the decile system's targeted funding scheme, there has been sustained evidence of an unequal education system (Ministry of Education, 2013c; Organisation for Economic Co-operation Development, 2010; Telford, May, & Ministry of Education, 2010). Aligning with international trends, there have been signals from within academic and policy circles for teacher education to help

resolve what is known in New Zealand as the "long tail of underachievement" (Dale, O'Brien, & St John, 2011; Ell & Grudnoff, 2012; Snook & O'Neill, 2010). As the MoE has formally acknowledged, the "long tail" recognizes the "long standing educational disparities" within the current education system that underperforms for children of Māori and Pasifika descent, and those from socioeconomically disadvantaged communities (Ministry of Education, 2008b, p. 5). The following section explores some of the central themes, tensions, and changes that have influenced the development of the teaching profession in New Zealand.

#### Section two: New Zealand teacher education historical review

Preservice teacher education programmes provide theory, knowledge, and practical teaching experience to individuals seeking to enter the teaching profession (Cameron et al., 2004). In New Zealand, preservice teacher education refers to tertiary education programmes for prospective teachers. The term preservice teacher education will be used in this thesis as it aligns with New Zealand and international contexts. This section of the chapter chronicles the changes and emergent trends in preservice teacher education in New Zealand, illustrating how past events have shaped the direction of the profession. The concluding commentary draws upon prior research to explore some future challenges for New Zealand preservice teacher education programmes.

Early developments in education in New Zealand were underpinned by an understanding that secondary education was for an elite minority; and that teacher preparation required a university degree. This view was called into question in the early twentieth century as Inspector-General George Hogben sought to extend participation in secondary education across social groups. The formal acknowledgement of district high schools and the establishment of technical high schools widened the scope of secondary opportunities, and shifted the perception of 'the qualified teacher'. In 1911, one-year optional secondary training courses for university graduates were made available at the training colleges and endorsed by the Cohen Commission (Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives [AJHR], 1912, p. 13). However, there was neither encouragement from the Education Department to complete the course, nor personal incentive to delay their careers, which resulted in minimal participation and completion of secondary training courses (Harte, 1972). This would change as the massification of secondary became a reality in the 1940s.

The proficiency examination, introduced in 1899, had acted a filter to entry into the elite grammar schools, and therefore to the possibility of a secondary education experience. With its abolition in 1936 under New Zealand's first Labour education administration, participation in secondary education rose rapidly, reaching 85 percent by the mid-1940s. By 1944, the Education Department announced that all graduate teacher trainees should go to Auckland for one year of preservice training (Stephenson, 2006). Secondary schools were now required to offer a broader range of subject options to cater to the needs and interests of the diverse student body; however, teachers for some of these courses did not gain their qualifications through university study. This prompted the establishment of specialist training college courses in Homecraft and Technical subjects and by 1959, when student participation in secondary education had reached 98 percent, a Commercial course had also been established (Whyle, 1965).

A number of factors exacerbated the shortage of teachers at the time, especially in the urban areas where populations rose in response to industrialisation. First, lower birth rates during the years of the great depression meant that there were fewer potential candidates from which to draw (Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives [AJHR], 1949, p. 2). Post-war resignations, especially of women, and the raising of the school leaving age also contributed. Third, with pre-service teacher education now an expectation, the lack of training provision in the South prevented many otherwise interested potential trainees from entering the profession. Additionally, developments in business and industry offered a number of more lucrative employment prospects for school leavers. As Stephenson (2006) notes, for those in the profession, "poor remuneration and low status were at the core of the matter", and it was largely this factor that created a tension between practicing graduates and attempts by the Department to recruit under-qualified teachers to meet the shortage (p. 26).

Teacher education practices in the 1950s aligned with the dominant liberal social ideology of the time. Insights into teacher preparation are visible in the 1951 Consultative Committee's report on recruitment, education and training to the Department of Education (Consultative Committee, 1951). This report reflects the then-current democratic and citizenship values through its support for universal access to free education. The emphasis on knowledge acquisition extended to teacher education. The Committee believed that teacher preparation required five types of knowledge: general knowledge gained from life experience, subject-specific knowledge, understanding of the New Zealand context, and knowledge of working with a diverse range of children, particularly Māori

(Alcorn, 1995). The Committee regarded the Department of Education as best equipped and resourced for administering the delivery of teacher preparation (Lee & Lee, 2001), a sentiment that was reinforced through two subsequent documents – the report of the Currie Commission's comprehensive inquiry into education in New Zealand (Currie, 1962), and the establishment of the National Advisory Council (NAC) in 1964. As noted by Alcorn (1999b), the NAC's primary focus was on maintaining or raising professional teaching entry standards across sectors thereby attracting higher quality staff, and greater professional support in the form of higher salaries, and reviewing teaching loads and increasing library-based resources. Such measures were intended to address teacher supply and demand.

Despite the Currie Commission's celebratory endorsement of the state's role in education, it did identify four groups of children whose 'special needs' were not considered in the current schooling system – Māori children, those with physical and intellectual disabilities, children in rural communities, and children in the new urban suburbs. This was an early indication that students in economically disadvantaged communities were being underserved in New Zealand schooling. It was 1971, however, before the lack of diversity amongst preservice teacher applicants became recognised as a systemic concern. Attention focused particularly on the small number of Māori and Pasifika candidates (Alcorn, 1995, 1999).

In summary, the decades immediately leading up to the 1980s can be summarized as a 'review and report' culture that offered recommendations, yet resulted in minimal change. A primary reason for this level of inaction was that there was little formal government involvement or desire to alter then-current teacher education policies and practices. Without government support, changes to the system would not occur. By the end of the 1970s the social, economic, and political conditions required for transformative change to the education system were aligning.

#### **Section three: Research introductions**

#### Purpose and critical question

This study seeks to understand how, why, and in what ways preservice teachers understand and engage with the concept of disadvantage during their Graduate Diploma (GradDip) secondary preservice teacher education programme. The critical question driving this research is: "How do New Zealand preservice teachers acknowledge and engage with socioeconomically disadvantaged students and schools?" The research design reflects the intention to investigate this important issue from multiple perspectives in order to present a comprehensive view of how preservice teachers engage with socioeconomic disadvantage. The 'voices' of preservice teachers, Programme Leaders, and institutions and preservice teacher education programmes are drawn from preservice teacher entry and exit surveys, PL interviews, and secondary analysis of institution and programme documents.

#### **Key assumption**

This research operates on the assumption that preparing preservice teachers to teach students from diverse backgrounds in low decile schools is critical to providing equal educational opportunities for disadvantaged children. This thesis aligns with the work of other scholars (Anyon, 2005a; Carter & Welner, 2013; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Haberman, 1995b) who regard educational disparities as outcomes of a more holistic opportunity gap. As Darling-Hammond (2010) explains, the opportunity gap refers to the "accumulated differential access to key educational resources including expert teachers" (p. 28). Carter and Welner (2013) also call for a re-framing of the achievement gap. They highlight how re-framing the achievement gap to a crisis of inequitable opportunities, "shifts our attention from outcomes to inputs - to the deficiencies in the foundational components of societies, schools, and communities that produce significant differences in educational - and ultimately socioeconomic - outcomes" (p. 3). Thus, in summary, this thesis positions educational inequality as one aspect of wider social, economic and political inequality existing in society.

#### Role of the researcher

My identity and positionality have undoubtedly shaped this research. In many ways, this is a story of contrasts. From one perspective, this is a narrative about being different. I am an outsider by citizenship, ethnicity, and culture. As a non-European Canadian citizen, I am a 'foreigner' in the New Zealand context. Throughout my data collection I was reminded of my difference when questions of my origins, accent and interest in New Zealand were raised by research participants. Their curiosity about my difference relates to their attempts to 'locate' or make sense of me, and thus make me more familiar. Additionally, I am labeled as an 'external researcher' by most institutions involved in my research, as I am neither a student nor staff member at their institutions. To some degree, my status as an outsider has been useful in gaining approval to conduct a national-scale research project. While no research is neutral, the absence of close personal ties to particular individuals, institutions or schools firmly ties this study to the data, minimizing potential researcher bias.

On the other hand, my academic and professional experiences were familiar to the entire range of study participants. Above all else, I am an educator. I have teaching experience in secondary schools in England and Canada in a variety of subjects. During my PhD, I have also taught on numerous undergraduate and graduate courses at The University of Auckland. My identity as a teacher, scholar, and researcher minimize my difference making me appear more familiar and approachable to university staff and preservice teachers. Thus, my professional identity offered me status as an 'insider'.

I ultimately embraced my identity as an outsider due to my personal difference, and an insider due to my professional familiarity. In her discussion of indigenous research, Smith (1999) examines the complexity of "multiple ways of both being an insider and an outsider" that are applicable to this study (p. 137). Smith problematizes how a researcher's identity influences research through different "ways of thinking critically about their processes, their relationships and the quality and richness of their data and analysis" (p. 137). She also explores distinct challenges for researchers based on their insider/outsider status. For insiders, researching within their own community requires the careful negotiation of their position, status and relationships. In this study, my insider status required delicately balancing relationships between universities and secondary teacher educators (TE) across New Zealand. The second challenge for insider researchers is the importance of being reflexive and critical in order to avoid assumptions of lived experience, or in Smith's words, the "[I] live in it

therefore [I] know" mentality (p. 139). In my case, my identity as a Canadian operating within the New Zealand context minimized this risk. Smith identifies formalities and other "barriers constructed to keep the outsider at bay" as challenges for external researchers (p. 138). She describes academic critiques of a study's rigor, theorising, reliability and validity as academic "exclusionary devices" (p. 140). While some of the ethical and practical considerations of this study are presented in chapter four, I was fortunate to have been able to engage in a national scale study with relative ease. I attribute part of this success to my difference *and* familiarity that allowed me to quickly gain the confidence of my participants at institutional, programme, and individual levels.

My identity and positioning has had one overarching positive outcome. My "familiar yet outsider" status has imparted a constant awareness of inequities in power, position, and privilege that are implicit in this research. Together, my awareness of socioeconomic inequities and my personal orientation towards social justice have served as important guides throughout this research journey.

#### Rationale and significance

There are a number of points of difference that distinguish this thesis from the work of other scholars researching in the area of socioeconomic disadvantage and education. The first is the emphasis on socioeconomic disadvantage that departs from much of the other research within the field that focuses on the impact of ethnicity and culture on teaching and learning in disadvantaged schools, and less frequently on disadvantage and poverty (Rist, 2000; Snook & O'Neill, 2010). The purposeful inclusion of multiple 'voices' or perspectives is this study's second distinguishing feature. This research draws on the voices of preservice teachers, Programme Leaders (PL), and institutions and programmes to gain a comprehensive understanding of how disadvantage is conceptualised by GradDip secondary preservice teachers in New Zealand. A third point of difference is the conceptual objective of this research. This study aims to understand how preservice teachers understand and engage with socioeconomic disadvantage. In contrast, research that examines the relationship between disadvantage, and student and school achievement (Cuthrell, Stapleton, & Ledford, 2010; Gehrke, 2005; Haberman, 2003; Hattie, 2003), and pedagogical approaches to teaching disadvantaged students (Cross & Naidoo, 2012; Cummins, 2003; Haberman, 1991b) is more prevalent within the field of urban educational research. The New Zealand context of the study is a fourth point of difference. Much of the literature related to disadvantage and education is situated within American,

British, and Australian contexts. There are few New Zealand scholars who are currently engaged in research that explores the relationship between socioeconomic disadvantage and the preparation of teachers for teaching in disadvantaged schools.

This study employs preservice teacher education as a platform from which to examine social inequalities in society for several reasons. First, it is a space that can influence change as it is regulated by policy. Secondly, it is a site of convergence for other sectors such as health and social development. A third reason is that teachers and principals have strong personal and professional networks that can also assist to implement change. The aim of this study is to contribute to national and international discussions related to teaching and learning in disadvantaged school contexts. It is anticipated that research findings will offer a conceptual starting point for future discussions about practices of preparing preservice teachers to teach diverse groups of students in New Zealand's low decile schools. From a social justice standpoint, it is hoped that the results of this study may stimulate transformative changes to preservice teacher education curriculum and programme design. Results may assist in the development of innovative and socially responsive preservice teacher education curriculum by greater examination of disadvantage and poverty in preservice teacher education programmes. Finally, this research illustrates how wider social issues like disadvantage and poverty impact on education. For this reason, this study will be of interest to a range of audiences including academics, researchers, policy makers, academic staff involved in teacher education, and those involved in secondary and tertiary education.

#### Overview of the chapters

This thesis is divided into three main parts that guide readers through the multiple issues implicit in discussions of socioeconomic disadvantage and teacher education in New Zealand. Part I: Framing Disadvantage and Educational Inequality began with this introductory chapter and contains a further two chapters that contextualise this study. Chapter two describes the New Zealand context offering a greater understanding of the country's educational infrastructure that supports the processes of teaching and learning. This chapter first introduces topics central to this thesis such as widening socioeconomic inequality and the education system. Following sections identify and problematize the direct impact of inequality and socioeconomic disadvantage on students, schools, and communities. Chapter two concludes with a historical overview of the key influences, factors,

and tensions that have shaped how teachers are prepared for teaching in New Zealand schools. Chapter three broadens in scope by presenting an international review of current teacher education literature that examines various issues and debates related to the preparation of teachers for teaching in disadvantaged settings. The selected literature illustrates the universality of widening socioeconomic inequality across international contexts. This chapter explores various global responses to the growing need to prepare teachers for teaching students from diverse backgrounds in disadvantaged schools.

The two chapters in Part II: Investigating Preservice Teachers' Engagements with Disadvantage describe the research design and methodology. Chapter four discusses the study in further detail by presenting an overview of the philosophical, theoretical, and methodological frameworks that underpin this study. The principles of social justice implicit within the study design are a consistent theme within the methodological and theoretical sections of the chapter. An introduction to the work Nancy Fraser, whose theorising is central to this thesis, is located here. This placement of Fraser's theorising is critical to laying the theoretical foundation for further discussions of Fraser's work, along with my own theorising and original conceptual models discussed later in chapter six. In chapter five, the data and findings from the preservice teacher surveys, PL interviews and secondary document analysis are presented. The focus of this chapter is preservice teachers' conceptualization and engagement with notions of disadvantage from the perspective of preservice teachers, PLs, institutions and programmes.

The remaining chapters in Part III: Understanding Preservice Teachers' Engagements with Disadvantage describe the methods of analysis and related discussion of the data. The main discussion of data occurs in chapter six. Two conceptual models, devised by the researcher, the 'Continuum of Engagement' and 'The Politics of Discomfort', provide the means of explaining and understanding the origins, outcomes, and implications of factors that influence preservice teachers' engagement with disadvantaged students and schools. The thesis then concludes with a summary of the research in chapter seven. The final chapter offers reflections on the possibilities for new directions, or beginnings, for preparing teachers for the important job of teaching disadvantaged children and young people.

## **Chapter two: Prior conversations**

#### Introduction

The glossary and introductory chapter offered initial contextual information about how socioeconomic disadvantage is characterised in this thesis. This chapter offers another contextual layer to the 'prior conversations' relevant to this research by presenting additional contextual knowledge of the New Zealand context. Although this thesis focuses on issues of socioeconomic disadvantage, the intersection between ethnicity and culture, and disadvantage is identifiable throughout the chapter. The three sections that organise this chapter draw together historical, social, economic, and political factors implicit within debates about New Zealand's national education system and the field of teacher education. The first section explores a variety of socioeconomic indicators that consistently identify socioeconomic disadvantage and poverty as critical issues in New Zealand. The second section discusses the New Zealand education system. Within this discussion of the state education system, the author presents evidence of an unequal system that further disadvantages already marginalised students by advancing the concept of a 'disadvantaged school profile'. The third section discusses the history of teacher education in New Zealand highlighting some of the tensions and challenges within the teaching profession. The conclusion draws the three sections together to discuss the positioning of socioeconomic disadvantage within New Zealand teacher education.

#### Section one: Inequality and disadvantage in New Zealand

#### **Evidence of inequality**

Socioeconomic inequality in New Zealand is a pressing concern. Similar to other nations, New Zealand's gap between rich and poor is creating and sustaining an unequal society (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). The work of advocacy groups such as the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) and policy groups such as the Office of the Children's Commissioner, along with academic research, have increased public awareness of growing inequality in New Zealand. CPAG, for example, has continued to generate awareness of the causes and implications of disadvantage and poverty through

research informed publications such as *Left further behind: How New Zealand is failing its children* (Dale et al., 2011). In a role closely linked to New Zealand policy, the Office of the Children's Commissioner regularly reports on issues of well-being and the rights of children, which, like CPAG, continue to raise awareness of inequality in New Zealand (Office of the Children's Commissioner, n.d.).

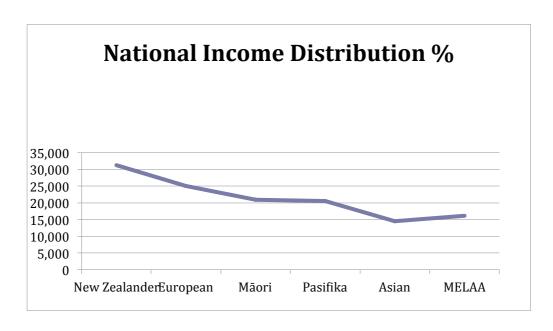
National census data on income, ethnicity, and housing illustrate how inequality in New Zealand disproportionately affects particular groups of society. For example, 2006 census statistics listed in Figure 1 indicate that New Zealanders of European descent have the highest incomes at approximately \$31,200. Māori have the second highest incomes at \$25,000 followed closely by Pasifika people with average annual incomes of \$20, 500. The average income of people of Asian descent is \$14,500 while Middle Eastern, Latin American and African (MELAA) individuals earn the least at \$16,100<sup>1</sup>.

1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Two new ethnic categories were introduced on the 2006 census: New Zealander and Middle Eastern, Latin American and African (MELAA). On all prior censuses, those who identified as New Zealanders were placed under the European category and MELAA groups were located in the other ethnicity category.

Figure 1.

National Income Distribution by Ethnicity

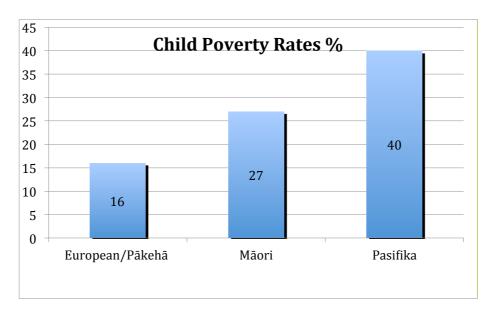


(Statistics New Zealand, 2008b)

Child poverty rates also demonstrate higher levels of inequality amongst some of New Zealand's ethnic groups. Data from 2004 in Figure 2 indicate higher child poverty rates amongst Pasifika and Māori children compared to children in European or Pākehā families (Fletcher, Dwyer, & Children's Commissioner, 2008).

Figure 2.

Child Poverty Rates by Ethnicity



(Fletcher et al., 2008)

National child poverty rates and income statistics help to explain the unequal distribution of the country's ethnic populations in particular areas. In New Zealand, national census data indicates how housing segregation is connected to ethnicity and income. Data from Statistics New Zealand identify how New Zealand's ethnic populations tend to live in and around the Auckland region (Statistics New Zealand, 2009, 2013b). For example, in 2006, Māori are most likely to live in Papakura (27 percent of the total population in 2006) and Manukau city (15 percent). As of the 2006 census, 67 percent of all Pasifika people lived in Auckland with one third of Pasifika situated in the suburb of Manukau (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Meanwhile, Asian individuals were most likely to live in one of four Auckland suburbs: North Shore, Waitakere, Auckland central, and Manukau (Statistics New Zealand, 2009).

In addition to representing inequities in income, housing inequity in New Zealand is also connected to disparities in health (Dale et al., 2011; Wylie, 2013). Two particular health - related issues are relevant here. First, many low income homes are of poor quality, often being cold, damp and mouldy (Howden-Chapman, Bierre, & Cunningham, 2013). Poor housing, one outcome amongst

other socioeconomic inequalities, is widely acknowledged to be a determinant of health and social development (Carroll, Casswell, Huakau, Howden-Chapman, & Perry, 2011). As Howden-Chapman et al., (2013) explain "poor housing causes ill-health, particularly in children" (p. 14). Furthermore their research indicates high rates of what are generally considered 'third world' diseases such as rheumatic fever and pneumonia more commonly found amongst Māori, Pasifika, and socioeconomically disadvantaged populations. Household crowding is a second important health related housing concern (Howden-Chapman et al., 2013; Wylie, 2013). Howden-Chapman et al., (2013) describe how overcrowding is a significant factor in spreading disease and disproportionately affects individuals and families unable to afford better quality housing. As mentioned in the introduction to the thesis, household crowding is one of the five socioeconomic factors used to determine the decile ranking of schools. Its inclusion in the decile calculation process recognises household crowding as an indicator of socioeconomic disadvantage. Closer analysis of income, child poverty, and housing data demonstrates how multiple factors are connected, with each contributing to inequitable circumstances for some members of society.

#### Academic contributions to poverty discussions

Rising levels of inequality are also of concern to academics and researchers. For example, widely publicized international comparative research, conducted by Wilkinson and Pickett (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009), makes a strong, evidence based case for the social and economic impact of inequality for all societies. Findings from their research, published in their book, *The Spirit Level*, offers a holistic view of the root causes of inequality from a range of disciplines including health, social welfare, education, imprisonment, and economics (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). Their research illustrates how income inequality has operated within and between over 20 different countries over a 30 year period. Drawing on findings from multiple sources of international (e.g. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development - OECD) and national (e.g. US census) data, the authors argue that inequality affects all members of society - rich and poor. To address issues of inequality, Wilkinson and Pickett signal that the removal of structural barriers such as low income wages, current tax policies that marginalise low-income earners, and improved education policies are likely solutions to addressing some sources of inequality.

#### **Consequences for New Zealand**

Following Wilkinson and Pickett's holistic approach to inequality, the recently published book, *Inequality: A New Zealand Crisis*, offers similar arguments set in the New Zealand context (Rashbrooke, 2013c). Like Wilkinson and Pickett (2009), the contributors to this volume argue that inequality impacts all members of New Zealand society. Within their fields of expertise, each author identifies current sources of inequality whilst signalling the negative impact of such inequality for New Zealand. Opening chapters establish the growing disparities amongst top and low income earners in New Zealand. Rashbrooke's (2013a, 2013b) concern relates to the effects of income inequality that can limit a disadvantaged individual's "access to opportunities, experiences, security and participation in society" (p. 3). Greater levels of inequality restrict the ability to gain employment leading to additional stress placed on various social welfare systems such as health and income benefits schemes.

Inequality also has economic repercussions. Economists Nana (2013) and Wade (2013) identify how income and wealth disparities reflect different levels of social and economic capital, which, in turn, result in varied knowledge about policy and varied access to available resources. Nana (2013), for instance, offers evidence of the negative impact of inequality for the wealthy and the disadvantaged. He identifies inequality as an "inefficient use of resources" that extends to economic loss attributable to unemployment, and untrained and disconnected members of society (p. 60). Converted into a dollar figure, Nana places New Zealand's loss of human resources based on 2006 census statistics to be upwards of \$27 billion dollars. Likewise, Haworth (2013), fellow Professor and economist, examines inequality through the lens of minimum wage policies advocating for fairer distribution of salaries. Meanwhile, O'Brien (2013) connects minimum wage policies with employment and other social welfare policies. O'Brien discusses the complexity of the current system in which beneficiaries may find themselves transitioning back into "low paid, part-time or casual jobs...[that do not offer] a sufficient income" (p. 215). Nana, Haworth and O'Brien's chapters contribute to arguments for redistributing or raising income levels to 'living' standards, signalling required structural shifts in thinking and policy around the nature of work and compensation.

The social costs of inequality are also high. In their discussion on crime, imprisonment, and poverty, Workman and McIntosh (2013) describe how in increasingly divided societies "trust and empathy between different groups tend to diminish, and those in power become increasingly

concerned to punish rather than help, those who offend" (p. 120). Furthermore, divided societies also lend themselves to "increased cynicism about welfare, and growing support for more aggressive controls for an underclass that is perceived to be disorderly, drug-prone, violent and dangerous" (Workman & McIntosh, 2013, p. 125). With this statement, Workman, the former head of the New Zealand prison service, and McIntosh, a senior lecturer and head of the University of Auckland's Sociology department, signal how New Zealand social values are changing. Surveys of New Zealander attitudes towards inequality support this claim (Gendall & Murray, 2010). This data demonstrate that New Zealand society is becoming more accepting of various forms of inequality.

The consequences of income inequality for certain populations in New Zealand society are also significant. For instance, Mila (2013) examines how Pacific communities are over-represented in low income jobs and therefore are particularly affected by income inequality. As already signalled above, Howden-Chapman, Bierre, & Cunningham (2013) connect inequality to housing and health arguing that opportunities for families and children are tightly associated with geographic status or living in the 'right' location. Most directly related to this thesis is Wylie's (2013) chapter that connects income inequality to differential access to high and low decile schools. Wylie also describes how schooling reflects the social and economic inequality discussed elsewhere in other chapters. For example, she explains how inequality becomes visible in schools through inadequate access to clothing, food, learning resources such as books, and poor health, all of which she argues negatively impacts on children's learning.

One of the challenges of overcoming income inequality in New Zealand is the absence of an official definition and measure of poverty (Children's Commissioner's Expert Advisory Group on Solutions to Child Poverty, 2012). Instead, reporting on issues of socioeconomic disadvantage and poverty often focus on a variety of well-being measures as demonstrated by the series of advocacy group reports and academic research discussed above (Children's Commissioner's Expert Advisory Group on Solutions to Child Poverty, 2012; Ministry of Social Development, 2008; Organisation for Economic Co-operation Development, 2009). Children's Commissioner, Dr. Russell Wills, is currently developing a new child poverty measure with the aid of a philanthropic grant from the JR McKenzie Trust (Collins, 2013, October 29). Annual reporting on child poverty is part of Wills' poverty measure development project. The first of these reports, published in December 2013, offers an expanded analysis of child poverty measures, the nation's economic context, and health and well-being indicators (Child Poverty Monitor, 2013). However, despite strong empirical evidence of child

poverty, the New Zealand government has not endorsed Wills' development of child poverty measures and targets. Therefore, the Child Poverty Monitor remains an independent measure of child poverty in New Zealand (Collins, 2013, October 29).

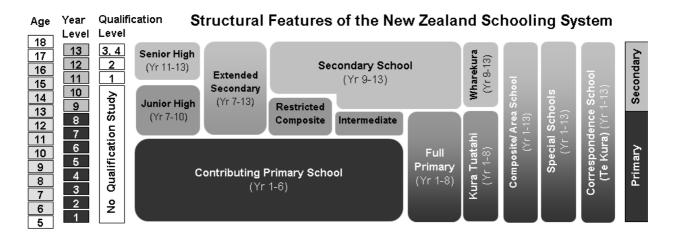
Inequalities within the education system are the focus of section two. The introduction provides an overview of the New Zealand national education system while remaining parts of the section examine how socioeconomic inequalities are replicated in schools. The author draws on a range of evidence to identify the existence of a two-tiered school system in New Zealand. The concept of a 'disadvantaged school profile' is discussed which offers support for claims of an unequal school system that often further marginalises already disadvantaged children.

# Section two: The New Zealand education system

The purpose of this section of the chapter is to provide an overview of the New Zealand education system. Each of the three state sectors: early childhood education (ECE), primary, and secondary are discussed; however, greater emphasis is placed on the secondary school system due to its immediate relevance to this study that examines engagements with disadvantage during GradDip secondary preservice teacher education programmes. Figure 3 provides a visual overview of the New Zealand National education system.

Overview of the New Zealand School System

Figure 3:



Note. Reprinted from New Zealand Ministry of Education (2011b, p. 11), OECD Review on Evaluation and Assessment Frameworks for Improving School Outcomes: Country Background Report for New Zealand.

#### **Education sector overview**

ECE is the first of three education sectors. ECE offers educational programmes and services for children under five in a range of environments such as playcentres and kindergartens (Ministry of Education, 2008a). Formal, compulsory schooling begins with primary school for children aged 6-13; however, most children enrol at age five. Secondary schooling is the third sector within New Zealand's school system. Students aged 13-18 may study a range of academic and vocational subjects following the National Curriculum. As described by the MoE in 2013, approximately 80 percent of all school aged children attend state schools (Ministry of Education, 2013d). The remaining 15 percent of children attend integrated schools that receive government funding, and teach the national curriculum but maintain their 'special character' (e.g. religious). Another five percent of students attend private or special needs schools, or are home schooled (Ministry of Education, 2013d).

Composite schools provide education for children in years 1-13, and are typically found in rural areas (Ministry of Education, 2008a). Intermediate schools are an option for students in years 7 and 8 (Ministry of Education, 2011b). Secondary schooling in New Zealand is intended for students

enrolled in years 9-13, with the first two years covering core curriculum subjects. Years 11-13, the final two years, are part of the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) qualification scheme, the national qualification for secondary students (New Zealand Qualification Authority, n.d.). The provision of schooling in English and Te Reo Māori languages is also available within the New Zealand system.

The secondary school system is the focus of my study as it relates to GradDip secondary preservice teacher education programmes. The remaining part of section two discusses inequities present within secondary schools in New Zealand. First, particular groups of students who struggle to succeed within the state education system are identified. Next, the exploration of educational system inequities is expanded to include low decile school teachers and schools to illustrate how the education system offers differential learning opportunities to various student populations.

### An unequal system for disadvantaged students

New Zealand has developed a high quality education system, yet one that does not serve all students equally (Organisation for Economic Co-operation Development, 2010). Inequities within New Zealand's education system are of particular concern for ethnic and socioeconomically disadvantaged students. The MoE (2008b), for example, acknowledges socioeconomically disadvantaged students as one of its two 'at risk' groups, along with Māori and Pasifika students. Furthermore, the 2008 MoE review of education specifically recognises the system's failure to meet the needs of socioeconomically disadvantaged students. School qualification data suggest developing, yet still insufficient improvement in reducing educational disparities for students from socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds (Ministry of Education, 2008b).

Similar to students they serve; low decile schools also face additional teaching and learning challenges. The remaining parts of section two identify and discuss considerations unique to the low decile school context. The author employs the term 'disadvantaged school profile' as a means of contextualising and framing these concerns.

### The disadvantaged school profile

The section opened with an overview of the New Zealand education system. The focus of this sub-section is to explore the relationship between wider socioeconomic disadvantage and schooling. The concept of a 'disadvantaged school profile' provides a useful framework from which to examine the structural challenges for disadvantaged schools. This discussion begins by examining the ways in which schools illuminate social inequities.

In education, socioeconomic inequality often results in additional student and school learning barriers. Some of these socioeconomic inequities are readily visible. For instance, children living in disadvantaged circumstances are more likely to attend school without sufficient clothing and/or food (Children's Commissioner's Expert Advisory Group on Solutions to Child Poverty, 2012). Sometimes described as 'non-learning' challenges, the outcomes of disadvantage include health and safety concerns, increased student and family mobility (Darling-Hammond, 2010), access to fewer resources, less challenging and limited curricula, and less qualified teachers (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Haberman, 1991; Oakes, Gamoran & Page, 1992). In New Zealand, recognition of some of these inequitable outcomes has been recognized by the Post Primary Teachers' Association (PPTA). The PPTA (2013) acknowledges that students from low socioeconomic families "start from a point of disadvantage and often have significant pastoral and guidance needs as well as particular educational needs" (p. 2). While prior research (Cuthrell, Stapleton, & Ledford, 2010; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Haberman, 2000; Thrupp, 2008b) identifies disadvantaged students' additional life challenges, this section of the chapter seeks to explore some school based implications of socioeconomic inequities. The following discussion draws on a range of New Zealand research that explores some challenges of low decile schools. The selected literature features key studies that examine equity issues that parallel the development and implementation of the decile system in the mid-1990s. More recent scholarship complements initial discussions about the low decile school context while also identifying on-going and new concerns.

### **School location**

Schools reflect the wider social inequalities of the students, families, and communities they serve. Analysis of school data reveals the connection between geography, ethnicity, and

disadvantage. Multi-ethnic schools are typically large, secondary, state, urban North Island schools, the majority of which are located in the Auckland region (Ministry of Education, 2012f). Demographic projections indicate continued growth of Māori, Asian, and Pasifika populations signalling the likelihood of pressures placed on schools in urban areas (Statistics New Zealand, 2008a). National ethnicity data about Māori, Asian, and Pasifika populations demonstrate a concentration of these ethnic minority populations in certain geographic areas. Analysis of school location by school decile ranking identifies a similar concentration of low decile schools in specific regions. For example, 2013 MoE data indicate higher distributions of low decile schools in the far north district, Gisborne, Hastings, Porirua outside Wellington, Christchurch, and particular areas in South and West Auckland including: Mangere, Otahuhu, Otara - Papatoetoe, Manurewa, and Henderson (Ministry of Education, 2013e).

### Student recruitment, enrolment, and funding

Student recruitment, enrolment, and funding are three challenges facing low decile schools. The three issues are, in fact, related as student recruitment opportunities directly influence school roll demographics that, in turn influence school funding and budgets. Decreased student recruitment opportunities are an important low decile school challenge. In general, low decile schools are often unable to capitalise upon additional funding from both international fee paving students and school fees (Fiske & Ladd, 2000; PPTA, 2012). Several factors contribute towards decile 1-3 schools' limited capacity to increase their budgets through school fees. The first is minimal resources to market their schools overseas. A second factor is the intentional or misguided marketing of New Zealand schools based on the misperception of decile rankings as measures of school and teacher quality (Dunphy, 2011). International students are highly sought after as they pay international school fees that increase school operational funds. For example, the PPTA's 2012 Secondary Schools' Staffing Group report identifies "clear patterns of distribution of foreign fee-paying students across schools" (PPTA, 2012, p. 7). PPTA data suggest how higher numbers of international students enrol in large, state, urban, boys schools. The PPTA reports how the additional income generated from international student fees often covers high decile schools' additional staffing costs. In contrast, lower decile schools have less opportunity to draw on international fee - paying students to supplement additional staffing costs. A third factor contributing towards decreased low decile school income is the fact that many parents are unable to pay school fees that would otherwise generate supplemental

school income (Ministry of Education, 2009b; PPTA, 2013). With fewer student recruitment opportunities, student enrolment is a related concern for low decile schools.

Enrolment numbers are a second low decile school challenge. MoE (2013f) primary and secondary school roll data from 1996-2013 demonstrate a clear, consistent trend of lower enrolments in low decile schools. Recent MoE enrolment data (2013e) in Table 1 below illustrate the distribution of enrolments by school decile.

Table 1

2013 Ministry of Education School Roll Data by School Decile

Decile	Total Enrolments	Total % of Enrolments
Decile 1	52,148	6.8%
Decile 2	59,332	7.8 %
Decile 3	53,904	7.1%
Decile 4	65,295	8.6 %
Decile 5	72,820	9.6%
Decile 6	79,279	10.4 %
Decile 7	70,769	9.3 %
Decile 8	90,652	11.9 %
Decile 9	90,758	11.9 %
Decile 10	118,841	15.6 %
Not Applicable/Unknown	8,602	1.1 %
Total	762,400	100 %

MoE 2013 school roll data demonstrate progressively higher enrolments moving along the decile system bands. The highest enrolment numbers (15.6 %) for primary and secondary schools are found in decile 10 schools across New Zealand. As funding is, in part, allocated by student enrolments declining low decile school rolls from the 1990s to 2012 are another budget related concern for disadvantaged schools (Ministry of Education, 2012c, 2012e; Wylie, 2009). In 2013, MoE individual per pupil funding rates for secondary school students varied slightly, but, on average, is calculated at \$1,088.78 (Ministry of Education, 2013g). School roll stability patterns are another related challenge. Data from the PPTA (2012) signal how high decile schools have greater school roll stability throughout the year compared to lower decile schools. With structural challenges such as limited capacity to market, recruit, and enrol international students; receive income from domestic student school fees; and facing possible decreased MoE funding due to declining enrolments, low decile schools arguably contend with additional challenging circumstances to those faced by other mid and high decile schools.

The student recruitment, enrolment and funding challenges of low decile schools are also applicable to another group of people: school teachers and staff. The following section investigates how the disadvantaged school profile also influences staff retention and teacher responsibilities adding to the unique context of low decile schools.

### Staff recruitment and retention

In addition to student recruitment and funding challenges, low decile schools often have difficulties recruiting and retaining school staff (Hill & Hawk, 2000; Kane & Mallon, 2006; Wylie, 2009). This was evidenced in Hill and Hawk's (2000) report that participating Achievement in Multicultural High Schools Project (AIMHI) schools had lower numbers of quality applicants than higher decile schools. To attract quality candidates to low decile schools Hill and Hawk make a series of recommendations including headhunting, and offering professional development and training packages. However, Hill and Hawk did acknowledge many low decile schools' limited financial capacity to attract quality teachers via these suggested methods. More recent data from the PPTA (2012) suggests similar staffing differences between schools based on decile ranking. The PPTA 2012 report indicates that "the employment of additional staffing above entitlement differs by school decile, with decile 8-10 schools having proportionately more additional staffing relative to their size

than decile 1-7 schools" (p. 6). Kane & Mallon's (2006) study sought to identify key factors that influence recruitment, retention and performance decisions of teachers, principals and preservice teachers. The key finding from Kane & Mallon's research pertains to the perceived high workload and low self-image of teachers in New Zealand. More specifically, teachers who participated in Kane & Mallon's study report how they "are overloaded, inadequately rewarded, undervalued and insufficiently supported" (p. vii). Respect emerged as a retention issue with teachers citing a lack of respect from a variety of sources such as the government, students, parents, the media and the public. The reported decline in student behaviour, and perception of society holding teachers responsible "for resolving a range of problems" are relevant to this discussion of teacher retention (p. vii). Despite teachers' retention concerns, Kane & Mallon's research identifies how teachers from low decile schools are more satisfied with their work and view teaching more positively than mid or high decile school teachers. Further research into teachers' reported levels of satisfaction with their work is recommended as the researchers signal how their findings may be linked to the distribution of funding and support to mid decile schools.

### Teacher flight

Retention is another challenge facing low decile schools. As Ritchie (2004) explains, teacher movement from low to higher decile schools is prevalent within New Zealand's education system. Ritchie's research examined the flow of teachers between schools. His study reveals teacher mobility is highest amongst low decile school teachers. A second major study finding is the directionality of teacher movement: from low to higher decile schools. International research indicating similar movement from disadvantaged to advantaged schools is often discussed as teacher 'flight' (Aragon et al., 2013; Lankford et al., 2002). Teacher mobility influences low decile schools in several ways. First, teacher flight affects student learning. As Wylie (2009) explains, high teacher turn-over rate can translate into a lack of consistency and repetitive disruption for students. Second, staffing and salary data also suggests that low decile schools are more likely to have higher numbers of international and beginning teachers than mid or high decile schools (Ritchie, 2004). Teacher mobility out of low decile schools raises equity concerns regarding equal access to the similar numbers of teachers, experienced teachers, and New Zealand trained teachers (as opposed to internationally trained teachers) who would arguably be more familiar with the New Zealand context.

#### Pastoral care

The disadvantaged school profile also includes additional pastoral care responsibilities for teachers and schools (Ministry of Education, 2001; PPTA, 2008; Te Puni Kokiri Ministry of Māori Development, 2001). For example, a 2001 MoE school staffing review identifies increasing pastoral care and counselling demands placed on teachers due to the increasing complexity of students' social and emotional problems that are highest in low decile schools (Ministry of Education, 2001). The PPTA (2008) also raised concerns about the increased "pastoral and guidance demands" that placed greater pressure on staff (p. 2).

In this thesis, the 'disadvantaged school profile' refers to the structural and socioeconomic related challenges associated with low decile schools. Structural challenges such as funding, student and teacher recruitment, limited school and teacher resources, and pastoral care concerns emphasise the importance of systems and policies for low decile schools. Socioeconomic challenges such as the adequate provision of school clothing and school meals also influences teaching and learning. Overall, the disadvantaged school profile identifies subtle and not so subtle evidence of an unequal system that disadvantages already disadvantaged school children. The final part of this section about the New Zealand education system connects the disadvantaged school profile with larger academic debates about student achievement. Within the scope of international literature, the outcomes associated with demographic school differences are referred to as the 'achievement' or 'opportunity' gap (Haberman, 2003; Strand, 2011).

#### Under-achievement and socioeconomic disadvantage discourse

Education is shaped by economic policy. As Darling-Hammond (2010) observes, educational achievement has important implications for national economies. Education is regarded by policy makers as a means of developing citizens capable of contributing to the global knowledge economy (Codd, 2005; Fitzsimons et al., 1999; Langley, 2009). Economic and political pressures have resulted in greater attention being placed on student achievement. For example, raising the educational achievement of all New Zealanders has been a MoE annual report focus for the past four years (Ministry of Education, 2010a, 2011a, 2012b, 2013a). Intentions to develop "innovative, flexible and resilient workforce skills" (Ministry of Education, 2010a, foreword), improve "public and private

returns on the investment made in tertiary education" (Ministry of Education, 2011a, foreword), and references to the unstable economic climate and the need for workforce development (Ministry of Education, 2012b) are further evidence of the connection between education and economic policy. Greater emphasis on student achievement however has also illuminated two groups of 'underachievers'. MoE annual reports between 2010-2013 have consistently acknowledged the underachievement of Māori and Pasifika students, and socioeconomically disadvantaged students (Ministry of Education, 2010a, 2011a, 2012b, 2013a). This section examines the 'underachievement' discourse that identifies socioeconomic disadvantage as the key reason for lower student achievement in schools.

### Under-achievement discourse: Socioeconomic disadvantage

Disadvantaged students are the MoE's second identified 'at risk' student group (Ministry of Education, 2010a, p. 38). The MoE's concern for underachieving groups is clearly articulated in the following statement:

Students from communities with the greatest socio-economic disadvantage have the worst rates for qualification attainment, numeracy and literacy, and student engagement. The over-representation of Māori and Pasifika in these socio-economically disadvantaged communities means that these groups of students are particularly at risk. (Ministry of Education, 2008b, p. 5)

Educational researchers including Lauder and Hughes (1990); Lauder et al., (1995); Nash (2001; 2003), Thrupp (1995, 2007a, 2008a, 2008b); Fergusson, Horwood & Boden (2008); Snook and O'Neill (2010) offer SES based explanations for differences in educational attainment. Further exploration of this strand of research provides a second perspective of the underachievement debate.

In the 1990s, Lauder and Hughes (1990) investigated the relationship between educational achievement and social class in the 80s and 90s. In 1982, Lauder and Hughes examined differences in educational achievement and future occupational directions of 2,500 Christchurch high school leavers in 20 different schools. They collected and reported data on SES using the Elley-Irving SES index,

ability measured by standardized test scores, achievement in national secondary school exams, and destinations upon leaving school. They concluded that social class had a significant impact on educational achievement and related future occupations. Lauder and Hughes' research also indicated that social mix accounted for significant differences in educational achievement.

Similar to their earlier 1980s Christchurch school leavers study, Lauder and Hughes collected SES (Elley-Irving SES index), ability, and achievement data as part of their Smithfield Project (Lauder et al., 1995; Waslander et al., 1994). Questionnaire, interview, and standardized test results from over 2000 students in both urban and rural locations were analysed. Their findings revealed distinct differences in achievement and post-secondary opportunities according to SES. Higher SES students achieved higher results, more qualifications, and attended university in higher numbers than low SES students. As educational choices are often reflective of social class positioning, Lauder and Hughes argue that there is a wastage of working class talent in New Zealand. Based on their collective study results, Lauder and Hughes conclude that school mix (a school's SES composition), significantly impacts student achievement and tertiary trajectories (Lauder, 1990; Lauder & Hughes, 1990). Their studies imply that a more balanced SES school mix may help to minimize the achievement gap between high and low SES students.

Thrupp (1995, 2007b) also investigates the impact of school mix and SES on educational achievement. Thrupp (1995) is critical of prior analyses of school mix. He argues that many previous studies often ignore the political aspect of school mix by failing to acknowledge the advantage gained by various groups in society at the expense of others. In contrast, Thrupp and colleagues (2002; 2006), examine the social and political contexts of school mix arguing that a persistent 'middle class advantage' is present in schools. Thrupp theorizes that middle class parents employ their political agency, social capital, and knowledge of the education system to create opportunities that privilege their children. For Thrupp, school mix is one of education's 'inconvenient truths' influencing policies such as zoning, school admissions and internal school processes that impact on student learning (2007a, 2008a). Similar to Lauder and Hughes, Thrupp suggests that a balanced school mix may assist in addressing inequities in the school system.

The 'Progress at School' project, conducted by Nash and Harker in the late 1990s, is another major New Zealand social class study. Nash & Harker (1997) followed 5383 students in 37 secondary

schools for over five years to investigate the potential influence of school effects on student progress. They employed standardized test data to measure school attainment and the Elley-Irving SES index to determine students' SES. Self-reported survey and interview data informed understandings of students' perceptions of school life, occupational aspirations and family reading and cultural practices. Nash & Harker's results revealed the alignment of some middle class, school literacy and cultural practices. Their findings suggest that a complex combination of school effects, cultural practices, SES and intellectual ability influence educational performance.

Theoretical SES explanations of educational inequality tend to focus on differential access to social, economic, and political resources. Nash advances this argument by suggesting that the majority of New Zealand studies have subscribed to a Bourdieu informed 'family resource framework' to explain educational inequality (Nash, 2003). The family resource framework recognizes that the access to financial, education and social resources is dependent on a family's location within the social class structure (p. 173). Both families and schools are implicated in reproducing this family resource based class structure by strategically using their financial, education and social resources to their advantage, and schools by recognizing middle class skills "acquired through a literacy-focused socialisation" (p. 173).

Another New Zealand study investigating possible connections between SES and educational achievement is Fergusson and Woodward's (2000) Christchurch Health and Development Study. This 25 year longitudinal study followed over 1000 urban Christchurch children to assess the impact of childhood SES on future educational attainment and participation in tertiary studies. Data were collected from a variety of sources including parent interviews, teacher and student reports and medical records. The study used a modified Elley-Irving SES index to assess student SES. Research findings indicate that students of higher SES are five times more likely to engage in tertiary level studies than their lower SES peers. The data were later adjusted to account for socio-demographic factors such as ethnicity and family income. The corresponding result showed a lower association between SES and university participation; however, despite this socio-demographic adjustment there was an enduring connection between SES and university participation rates. Fergusson and Woodward concluded that family SES at birth impacts future educational opportunities. Their work supports previous research connecting family SES and lower educational achievement (Hughes & Lauder, 1991; Lauder & Hughes, 1990).

This section of chapter two has presented a socioeconomic explanation for lower student achievement in disadvantaged low decile schools. This particular perspective contributes to student achievement debates by exploring how social inequalities impact on student learning in low decile schools. The forthcoming discussion of the multi-dimensional disadvantaged school profile in section three will also illustrate how social inequities operate within New Zealand schools. Knowledge of the New Zealand school system will later provide greater context to the findings of my study in chapters five (findings) and six (discussion). For now, discussions of the New Zealand education system provide an entry point into a deeper examination of the development and role of teacher education.

### New Zealand teacher education: A changing landscape

Preservice teacher education programmes provide theory, knowledge, and practical teaching experience to individuals seeking to enter the teaching profession (Cameron et al., 2004). In New Zealand, preservice teacher education or initial teacher education refers to tertiary education programmes for prospective teachers. The term preservice teacher education will be used in this thesis as it aligns with New Zealand and international contexts. This section of the chapter picks up on earlier conversations about the history of New Zealand teacher education located in the introductory chapter. This section of the chapter discusses more recent issues and tensions have shaped the direction of the profession. The concluding commentary draws upon prior research to explore some future challenges for New Zealand preservice teacher education programmes.

### The economic context of educational reform

New Zealand was subject to a variety of social, economic, and political influences in the 1980s that paved the way for educational reform to commence in the 1990s. Changing social conditions included rising concerns regarding the lack of skilled labour, and increasing unemployment. Population and labour concerns were visible in the education sector through decreased student rolls that prompted a series of cost cutting measures including teacher lay-offs and some school closures (Alcorn, 2012). The key national issue was the economy. International trade was in decline, as were the number of international trading partners (Perris, 1998). Rising debt and currency devaluation

added to New Zealand's financial concerns. By the mid-80s, New Zealand was in financial crisis. Unsurprisingly, economic reforms were on the top of the political agenda.

New Zealand's social and economic concerns placed great political pressure on the National government to resolve the poor economic situation. Prime Minister Muldoon responded to such pressures by calling a snap election, which his National government lost. There was a convincing vote for change with a new incoming Labour government. The victor, Prime Minister David Lange, along with his new Finance Minister, Roger Douglas, focused on implementing a series of economic reforms. Labour was intent on transforming the economy by softening the previous system of government regulations and control (Perris, 1998; Wylie, 2009). They embraced a market economy that initiated a period of deregulation, also popularly known within New Zealand as "Rogernomics" (Kelsey, 1997). The keystone of Douglas' policies was making New Zealand competitive in the world market (Osborne, 1990). Osborne (1990) identifies five key aspects of Rogernomics: "financial deregulation; removal of import and tariff licensing; reforming the labour market; the creation of state-owned enterprises; and posed taxation reforms" (p. 162). While re-shaping the economy was the primary focus of the first Labour government, their attention soon moved towards other public sectors such as education.

### State educational reforms: Plans and implementation

The Lange Labour government introduced some of the most significant educational reforms in the nation's history in the 1980s with the Picot Review in 1987, and the introduction of *Tomorrow's Schools* in the Education Act in 1989 (Kelsey, 1997). These education policy changes mirrored Labour's first term economic policies. Analysis of educational reforms suggests that educational change was aligned to support the nation's new free market economic policy (Kelsey, 1997). From this perspective, the entire education system was the vehicle to implement the desired social, economic, and political structural changes. In other words, education was seen to be critical for the re-shaping of New Zealand society. The theoretical shift to free market ideology revolutionized the entire education system (Fitzsimons et al., 1999). While the proposed changes had roots in primary and secondary sectors, the ripple effect the reforms created had important implications for teacher education. In the following sections, changes to the state system are examined first, followed by an analysis of how these changes influenced developments in the field of teacher education.

### Tertiary reforms and teacher education

Tomorrow's Schools policy changes to teacher education occurred primarily in the 1990s (Wylie, 2012). Structural changes to the tertiary sector as outcomes of *Tomorrow's Schools* reflected the new national market economy. The principles of management, decentralisation and accountability were the focus of the tertiary system changes. A major *Tomorrow's Schools* policy change for teacher education was the removal of compulsory teacher registration (Kelsey, 1997). In its place, Tomorrow's Schools allowed for "teachers without formal qualification (but who have appropriate non-formal qualifications) [to] be eligible for registration" (Minister of Education, 1988, p. 27). The rationale for removing the registration requirement was to reduce administration costs and allow "hard-up schools to employ cheaper, untrained staff" (Kelsey, 1997, p. 221). Instead, a newly created Teachers Registration Board (TRB) was given the responsibility for "determining the conditions and requirements under which teachers would be able to be registered as teachers" (Minister of Education, 1988, p. 23). School principals were given the responsibility of recommending beginning teachers for registration through the TRB. Meanwhile newly formed Boards of Trustees (BOT) became the legal employers of all teachers and support staff. The *Tomorrow's Schools* report made several other references to preservice teacher education under the heading of "Teacher Training". The government stated its intent to fund a certain number of "teacher trainees," directed approval and funding of professional development programmes to BOTs, and discussed allowances and funding for Associate Teachers to be a responsibility of teacher institutions. Relevant to this thesis is the MoE's initial reporting on the effects of *Tomorrow's Schools* reforms signalled clear differences in outcomes based on the socioeconomic composition of each school's community. In general, the reforms, including the new self-governance system, favoured schools in higher socioeconomic areas (Thrupp & Irwin, 2010). As Gordon (2010) explains, this outcome can partly be attributed to the variations in skills and experiences of BOT community members. Gordon describes the BOT system as an "endemic inequality and a paradox. The inequality is that that boards are not all created equal, and the paradox is that less-skilled boards are likely to face the biggest hurdles in relation to the school population." (p. 36).

A series of reports followed *Tomorrow's Schools*, beginning with Professor Gary Hawke's tertiary review (Report on Postcompulsory Education and Training in New Zealand 1988). This report worked within the framework of the Picot Report and, therefore, reflected the new economic driven policies and recurring management and accountability themes. Key recommendations included balancing a need for decentralisation of decision making to provide a system responsive to the

community, while at the same time offering a centralized Ministry of Education for education and training. An improved educational funding system and a transition towards a National education qualification scheme were also amongst the key recommendations. The report recommendations can be subdivided into one of two categories: control and operational issues. In this case, control refers to the government and tertiary institutions. More detailed analysis of the report suggests only partial decentralisation of government authority. Examples of operational issues included changes to the central structure of the Ministry of Education, university governance, and related accountability and review processes (Hawke, 1988). In relation to this thesis, the Hawke report identified the need for greater access to postsecondary education for 'disadvantaged groups' inclusive of Māori, Pasifika and low SES individuals (Hawke, 1988, p. 23).

The Hawke report however was poorly received by the university sector, largely due to Hawke's lack of consultation with universities (Perris, 1998). Consequently, the tertiary sector took legal action, which mandated further consultation. The outcome of this dialogue came in the form of two additional reports, *Learning for Life* and *Learning for Life Two* (Minister of Education, 1989a, 1989b). Both documents add to topics discussed in Hawke's original report; however, the *Learning for Life* series has less emphasis on the roles of the government and central agencies, and greater emphasis on the role and contributions of tertiary institutions and providers.

Major changes to the tertiary system included the establishment of a new national Qualifications Authority, the alignment of polytechnics and colleges of education governance to the independent council led structure of universities, and a new funding system (Perris, 1998). The provision of tertiary education would come from three sources: government funding based on student enrolment numbers, fees paid by students, and a government loan scheme to support student payment of the fees (Kelsey, 1997; Perris, 1998). The major themes of tertiary sector reforms followed the directives of *Tomorrow's Schools* - educational management, decentralization, and accountability.

A changing social environment also promoted changes to the tertiary system. Awareness of social justice issues, and financial and social inequities within society increased (Alcorn, 1999a; Boyask, 2010; Hawke, 1988). In particular, interest in New Zealand's bicultural heritage prompted the development of specialist Māori bilingual and immersion preservice teacher education

programmes (Alcorn, 1999a). Similar emerging interest in Treaty of Waitangi obligations, identified in the Hawke report would become enduring conversations in teacher education.

Analysis of the 1980 tertiary education reforms signalled the importance of education in the new economic policy framework. The teaching profession was acknowledged as the critical means of producing the desired social and economic outcomes required to compete on the world stage. The process of change brought to light concerns about teacher quality and institutions (polytechnics and colleges of education) equalized on the governance level, with reforms placing councils as leaders of tertiary institutes. Such reforms in the 1980s served as indications of additional future changes.

## **Continued change**

Alterations to the field of teacher education in the 1990s were the result of multiple changes to the state funded education system in the 1980s. Preservice teacher education policies were clearly underscored by the new economic objectives of the adopted neoliberal market driven political agenda (Kelsey, 1997). The new competitive environment, along with a massive teacher shortage in 1994, contributed towards shifts in government policies that transformed previous, long-standing teacher education policies and practices (Alcorn, 1999a). The funding model, along with the location and delivery of preservice teacher education programmes were amongst the new changes introduced that re-shaped the teacher education landscape.

The new government tertiary enrolment based funding scheme reflected a competitive economic market policy. Under the newly devised system, tertiary sector funding was based on student enrolment numbers in which institutions received funding for each student (Alcorn, 2012). The economically driven tertiary reforms also reflected the view of education as a private rather than public matter. Consequently, some of the financial responsibility of pursuing a tertiary qualification was deferred to students with the introduction of student fees. The deferment of some financial costs was mediated by a government developed student loan scheme to support students (Kelsey, 1997). Competition for funding was offset by greater institutional autonomy. Institutions became fully in control of their governance, finances (including student recruitment), curriculum, and all aspects of their programme delivery. In addition to changes to tertiary enrolment and funding policies, the

addition of new preservice teacher education providers would also contribute to an increasingly competitive tertiary environment (Roberts & Codd, 2010). Roberts and Codd (2010) express their concern with the "emphasis on maximising competition and 'choice' under National [that] threaten[s] to extinguish the ideals of collegiality, academic freedom and scholarly integrity built up over decades in universities and other institutions" (p. 50).

### Diversity of preservice teacher education providers

Changes to preservice teacher education in the 1990s came in response to a teacher shortage, new tertiary preservice teacher education initiatives, and new government educational policies (Alcorn, 1998). A severe teacher shortage instigated a rapid proliferation of preservice teacher education providers from six colleges of education (Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin, Hamilton, Palmerston North and Wellington) in 1990 to 27 university preservice teacher education programmes in 1998 (Partington, 1997; Rivers, 2006). By 2005, 85 different teacher education qualifications were offered through 131 programmes (Kane et al., 2005). Private training establishments, polytechnics and Wānanga became new providers. Other new providers came as the result of the amalgamation of two colleges of education and universities - Hamilton Teachers' College with the University of Waikato in 1991 and Palmerston North Teachers' College with Massey University in 1997 (Kane et al., 2005). While some ties between colleges of education and universities strengthened, others dissolved. Affiliations between the Auckland College of Education and the University of Auckland, and Dunedin College of Education and the University of Otago ended. As a result, all four institutions began offering competing preservice teacher education programmes in response to the need for more teachers.

New preservice teacher education providers broadened and diversified preservice teacher education programmes and qualifications, changing the nature and focus of programmes. For example, Bethlehem College approaches teacher education from a Christian perspective (Te Puni Kokiri Ministry of Māori Development, 2001). Others, particularly Wānanga, offered Māori-centred and Māori medium qualifications (Rivers, 2006). Despite the increase and diversification of preservice teacher education providers, universities and colleges of education remained the dominant preservice teacher education secondary teacher providers. However, teacher education became an increasingly market based field with the introduction of new preservice teacher education providers.

Institutions were now competing for students, school partnerships and practicum placements. Relationships between institutions were inevitably affected by increased competition between providers. Institutions became protective of their programmes, and seemingly less inclined to discuss and new ideas and initiatives (Alcorn, 1998; Fitzsimons et al., 1999). This new, competitive environment did however help to advance substantial programme changes within the field of teacher education.

Alternative certification possibilities were another method of addressing the supply and demand issues of the mid 90s teacher shortage crisis. The creation of Teach NZ in 1995 for example came into existence due to the need to produce more teachers. The organization was developed in order to attract and train overseas teachers to fill position vacancies. Teach NZ exists in modified form today offering teaching information for overseas teachers and those with New Zealand teaching qualifications seeking to return to the profession (Teach New Zealand, 2013). Emergency fixed teaching certificates were also issued (Alcorn, 1999a). This measure was temporary, but contributed to the collective strategies for fill the need for teachers. The government re-directed its time and resources towards one-year intensive primary programmes. As Alcorn (1999a) suggests, one-year programmes offered numerous advantages: they required fewer resources, shorter completion time frames, and aligned with fluctuating supply and demand cycles. The severe teacher shortage prompted the government to introduce other initiatives to address quickly this pressing concern. The development of additional government policies focused on institutional change.

### **Government policy changes**

The government took several measures to help resolve New Zealand's teacher shortage. First, it supported an increase in available preservice teacher education spaces. Second, it promoted colleges to degree granting institutions. Third, it provided additional government funding (Cameron et al., 2004; Kane et al., 2005). The government demonstrated its support of the Auckland College of Education's new three-year Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) degree by successfully negotiating pay parity with the teacher unions. This action successfully entitled three-year B.Ed. degree holders to receive equal starting salaries with teachers holding comparable four-year teaching qualifications. The government's support and involvement in pay negotiations arguably influenced other preservice teacher education providers to develop similar three-year preservice teacher education programmes.

The government also introduced the Tertiary Education Advisory Commission in 1999 with the aim of reviewing the purpose and structure of the sector (Alcorn, 2002). The government however disagreed with some of the Commission's recommendations and published its own policy reports. Later, in 2003, the government announced the establishment of the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC). Today, TEC is responsible for "funding tertiary education in New Zealand, assisting our people to reach their full potential and contributing to the social and economic well-being of the country" (Tertiary Education Commission, 2009). TEC's mandate indicates continued broad market driven objectives aligning with the national economic and political agenda. Government initiated policies held considerable influence over the provision of teacher education preparation. While the discussion of the shifting preservice teacher education environment has largely focused on changes at macropolitical and structural levels, changes within the profession have also shaped its development.

## Preservice teacher education programme changes

Institutional initiatives also fundamentally changed preservice teacher education in the 1990s. Institutions altered the location, mode, and delivery of preservice teacher education programmes. The teacher shortage increased competition for students and preservice teacher education providers' desire to increase programme accessibility collectively led to the introduction of distance preservice teacher education programmes. These off-campus programmes offered preservice teachers the opportunity to complete preservice teacher education requirements through a combination of online learning methods, on-campus block courses and practicum fieldwork (Alcorn, 1998). Web based learning offers many benefits for institutions and students. The increased accessibility of online distance programmes allows preservice teacher education providers to recruit mature students and those living in more remote areas. Increased accessibility and convenience of online learning tools are also beneficial to on-campus students. Web based course components permit students to learn, and complete tasks at one's own pace and convenience. Consequently, since the 1990s, the use of online learning has become infused into both on and off-campus preservice teacher education programmes. It is likely that with on-going technological advancements and increased computer literacy online learning will continue to be an integral aspect of current preservice teacher education practice.

In summary, institutional and government actions, initiatives and policies in the 1990s collectively altered the field of New Zealand Teacher Education (Alcorn, 1999b). The new

competitive and entrepreneurial environment reflected the market-based ideology (Kelsey, 1997). At first glance, teacher education appeared to be recipients of greater autonomy and freedom; however, government checks and balances indicate otherwise. Concerns of supply and quality ensured that teacher education remained under close supervision of government accountability and review measures. Organizations such as the TRB, Education Review Office (ERO), and TEC were established with the aims of ensuring that the teaching profession would be able to develop the skills required of a global knowledge society. Issues of access and control have been, and continue to be, important considerations in the preparation of future teachers. Debates over these issues have led to the proliferation of preservice teacher education providers, tensions in relationships between institutions, and intensified the fierce competition for students. Such points of contention only add to additional challenges of the new millennium including changing demographics, on-going scrutiny by the public and government, and continued debates over the location, curriculum and control of teacher education (Ell, 2011).

## **Business model thinking**

The themes of diversification, competition, and control continued to inform changes to preservice teacher education in the new millennium. Further changes to preservice teacher education providers and programmes occurred, in part due to the competitive environment in which tertiary institutions were now located. Auckland University of Technology became the first polytechnic to become a university in 2000, and the final two Colleges of Education, Christchurch and Dunedin, amalgamated with the Universities of Canterbury and Otago respectively in 2007. Programmes also continued to diversify with on-going development of alternate provision of preservice teacher education programmes including online and distance programmes catering to demands for access outside immediate institution centres, offering greater flexibility to prospective students.

Business sector thinking and strategies became fully integrated into the tertiary environment. Ushered in by market economics and politics, tertiary institutions became entrepreneurs competing for students, funding, and school practicum partnerships (Roberts & Codd, 2010). Marketing strategies have also become part of the race for students visible in television advertisements; glossy institution handbooks, brochures and other print material; and through promotional and recruitment drives across the country and abroad. In particular, competition for international students, who are

highly attractive due to the higher tuition fees they pay, emphasise the competitive environment between institutions. International marketing strategies tend to draw on international university rankings, the provision of better and/or more resources, and the inter-cultural student experience to entice international fee paying students to travel overseas. The analysis of institution and programme documents as part of this research discussed in later chapters is evidence of this marketing and promotion phenomenon. In public and academic settings business language is becoming normalized with the introduction of terms such as 'stakeholders' (Conner et al., 2008), educational leadership (Robinson, 2004), management (Wylie, 2012) and professionalism (Alcorn, 2004) becoming part of everyday vernacular in educational contexts (Roberts, 2005). Control of the profession arguably remains a key issue within the field of teacher education. In public, research, and tertiary settings, the issue of control is often discernible in discussions of quality, professionalism, accountability, and standards. The remainder of this section examines how these closely related topics contribute towards framing the boundaries of teacher education.

Debates regarding the quality of teachers and teaching are now rooted in market-based ideology. The objective of a global knowledge society underscores the importance and value of education, and by association the teaching profession. Discussions of teacher quality reflect global knowledge society goals (Darling-Hammond, 2010). Mid-decade, a range of research informed reviews of preservice teacher education were sponsored by the MoE and NZTC (Cameron et al., 2004; Kane et al., 2005; Rivers, 2006). The issue of quality features prominently within them. Academics from within the field also engaged in the debates (Codd, 2005; Conner et al., 2008; Jesson, 2008; Ward et al., 2013). Discussions of quality involve policy makers, researchers, academics, and the public-all of whom appear to agree on the importance of developing teachers' knowledge and skills. What divides them is how to develop the practices, knowledge, infrastructure and policies that create and sustain quality teaching.

The government has taken a standards based perspective to address the issue of teacher quality. To achieve this goal it established the NZTC in 2002 replacing the former Teacher Registration Board. The NZTC holds considerable power and influence on the profession. Its central responsibilities include setting the industry standards at institutional and individual teacher levels. Institutions and programmes must meet NZTC programme approval, review, and monitoring requirements that are subject to a six-year review cycle (New Zealand Teachers Council, 2012). The NZTC preservice teacher education criteria are specific, prescriptive, and firmly underpinned by

quality assurance objectives. The introduction to the NZTC approval, review and monitoring processes and requirement document for preservice teacher education programmes clearly outlines the focus on "knowledge, skills and dispositions expected of [preservice teachers] in their preparation if there is an expectation of improving the quality of education for all children and young people" (New Zealand Teachers Council, 2010b, p. 2).

Quality assurance and accountability measures developed by the NZTC include the 2007 Graduating Teacher Standards (GTS), the Good Character and Fit to be a Teacher Policy documents, and the Registered Teacher Criteria (RTC) effective in 2009. The GTS have the most immediate relevance to this discussion of preservice teacher education and therefore will be subject to further analysis. The full GTS document is included in Appendix F. The seven GTS standards are divided into three broad categories: professional knowledge, professional practice, and professional values and relationships demonstrating their alignment with the quality and assurance processes; however, they also have preservice teacher education content and curriculum implications. While the primary rationale behind the development of the GTS was to "provide professional leadership", "establish and maintain standards for qualification...in conjunction with quality assurance agencies" (New Zealand Teachers Council, 2007b, p. 1), the GTS also informs the content of preservice teacher education programmes. Later chapters examine evidence in support of this claim through the analysis of secondary documents. The outcome of a quality and accountability perspective contributed to the introduction of a standard based environment in the new millennium. Looking forward, persistent economic, political, and social pressures foreshadow education's unlikely withdrawal from the government and public spotlight.

### **Looking forward**

In 2010, the MoE established the Education Workforce Advisor Group to conduct a review of preservice teacher education. The Advisory group consisted of a range of educational professionals including the then Secretary of Education, Karen Sewell; principals from primary, intermediate, and secondary sectors; two university professors; and two private education consultants (New Zealand Government, 2010). Their report, *A Vision for the Teaching Profession* (New Zealand Government, 2010), examined three broad areas of preservice teacher education: teacher education as its own entity, professional induction and progression, and professional leadership (New Zealand

Government, 2010). Connections between teacher education programmes, advancement in the profession from induction to progression and awards, and finally making important links with leadership and accountability measures were discussed as part of the *Vision for the Teaching Profession* report.

In addition to a difference in scope, the *Vision for the Teaching Profession* report advanced a revolutionary recommendation. The Advisory Group proposed for teacher education to be a graduate profession. In other words, teacher education would be raised to the academic level of a Master's degree. The rationale behind this recommendation is to raise the status of the profession that has, and continues to be relatively low in comparison with other professions such as law and medicine, and to attract top graduates to be teachers. A second notable characteristic of the report is its emphasis on quality, development, and standards as they relate to "participat[ing] effectively and productively in New Zealand's democratic society and in a competitive world economy" (New Zealand Government, 2010, p. 7). This statement exemplifies the enduring link between education and national economic goals.

The report and review culture originating in the 1950s is still evident today. In 2012, the review culture in teacher education has come full circle with the MoE's launching a revision of the New Zealand Teachers Council's structure, governance, responsibilities, and overall framework (Ministry of Education, 2012a, 2012d). The release of two reports, the Review of the New Zealand Teachers Council: A teaching profession for the 21st century (Ministry of Education, 2012d), and the discussion document by the same name, A 21<sup>st</sup> Century Body for the Education Profession (Ministry of Education, 2012a), are intended to be read in conjunction with each other. The reports raise several important issues: the first is the role and challenges of professional bodies, a second is the tensions associated with managing the relationships between government organizations, educators, and the wider community the education sector serves. Such tensions will continue to be negotiated and debated. On the other hand, one point of clarity is that both documents are further evidence of the location of education and teacher education as the focal points of national economic and social goals. As current Minister of Education, Hon Hekia Parata states in the foreword of the discussion document, "teaching, and the leadership of it, is critical for New Zealand's future." She later identifies the education system as the mechanism for delivering "the economic prosperity that New Zealanders aspire to" (Ministry of Education, 2012a, p. 4). One difference in the 2013 teacher education culture is the consultation process allowing for greater discussion between policy makers,

educators at all levels, and the public. The potential outcome of the reports and related consultative process suggest the potential for further transformative changes to occur in the future. While the teaching profession continues to be of key interest for policy makers, New Zealand's changing social context also has important implications for teacher education.

New Zealand literature reveals few examples of preservice teacher education programmes that prepare preservice teachers for teaching in low decile schools. Examples of low decile teacher preparation include specific courses within particular institutions' teacher education programmes and the Teach First New Zealand programme introduced in 2011 at the University of Auckland. Teach First New Zealand is a New Zealand based preservice teacher education programme that aims to prepare preservice teachers for teaching in low decile secondary schools (Teach First New Zealand, 2013). Teach First New Zealand is part of the Teach For All Network aimed at addressing educational inequality in schools (Teach for All, 2013). The programme falls under the category of Alternative Certification Pathway (ACP) programmes that offer a range of different entry pathways into the teaching profession. The condensed, two-year school based model leads to a two-year long teaching assignment in low decile schools. Critique of the Teach For All concept exists within and external to the field of education, arguably, in part due to its private corporation funding and alternative approach to preservice teacher education (Darling-Hammond, 2008; Labaree, 2010). Further discussion of the Teach First model, and other ACP programmes continues in chapters three (literature review) and five (discussion). Reference to the Teach First model in this chapter is intended to introduce the programme while also confirming the existence of few known New Zealand examples of courses and programmes specifically aimed at preparing preservice teachers for low decile schools.

### Conclusion

This chapter has presented an overview of the role and influence of ethnicity and socioeconomic disadvantage in New Zealand's state education system. Analysis of prior educational research confirms their continued importance in contemporary educational debates. Next, the examination of the intersection between ethnicity, socioeconomic disadvantage, and education has located and contextualised this research within other New Zealand research investigating similar equity issues. The latter half of the chapter presented a review of some significant developments in

teacher education since the 1980s. The overview of New Zealand teacher education connects teacher education to wider social, economic, and political contexts making education more relevant to those working in professions external to the field of education. With a contextual foundation from which to understand the major concepts and issues implicit in this study, the next chapter reviews the international teacher education literature.

# **Chapter three: Current conversations**

### Introduction

This chapter explores the international field of educational research to examine how teachers are prepared for teaching in socioeconomically disadvantaged schools. The international scope of this chapter distinguishes it from the previous one that informed readers about the New Zealand context. The previous chapter however provides a foundation upon which to begin the analysis of current and emergent preservice teacher education models. This chapter demonstrates how topics raised in the New Zealand context, discussed as the 'disadvantaged school profile', are part of wider international conversations about best practices for teacher preparation for teaching in disadvantaged schools.

It has been well documented that disadvantaged students face additional life challenges such as limited access to social and financial resources including adequate food, housing, and medical attention (Anyon, 1994, 2005b; Berliner, 2009; Cho & DeCastro-Ambrosetti, 2005; Hawk et al., 1996; Lareau, 2003; Rist, 2000; Strand, 2011; Thrupp & Lupton, 2006). Some academics emphasise how community demographics, reflected in concentrations of wealth or disadvantage, parallel wider socioeconomic inequalities (Anyon, 2005a; Bratlinger, 2003; Raffo, 2011). For example, selfproclaimed British "geodemographer", Raffo (2011) suggests that "conceptualizations of space [and] place" are powerfully connected to social and educational inequity (p. 4). Raffo's examination of educational policy in the United Kingdom analyses the effects of geographic and environmental inequities on disadvantaged students. In America, Bratlinger (2003) also expressed deep concern about the geographic location of disadvantaged communities and the schools within them. She argued that disadvantaged students live in communities that are spatially and socially isolated and are therefore products of class segregation. Anyon (2005a) added the concept of "spatial mismatches" to geodemographic debates (p. 82). Her spatial mismatch argument problematizes the incongruence between the location of lower income housing and schools, and available jobs and public transportation. She contends that 'spatial mismatches' perpetuate the cycle of disadvantage and poverty.

Arguably one of the most value aspects of Anyon's work (1997, 2005a, 2006, 2008, 2009), was her ability to connect disadvantaged school concerns to wider social and economic policies.

Throughout her career, Anyon analysed and critiqued public policies that created inequities in communities and schools. The key argument in her 2005 book, *Radical possibilities: Public policy, urban education, and a new social movement*, is that "federal policies that sustain urban minority poverty, and metropolitan arrangements that spread resources unequally through regions, have been formative of the problems that plague urban neighbourhoods and schools today" (p. 9). By connecting educational reform to wider political, economic, and social policies, Anyon's work assists in making educational issues relevant to those outside the education sector.

This chapter examines the disadvantaged school context from the perspective of teacher education. The chapter is divided into two sections. Section one explores current issues and debates about the preparation of preservice teachers for teaching in disadvantaged schools. Underpinning this review of the literature are questions relating to who is being educated... and how. Section two examines emergent and innovative programmes aimed specifically at preparing teachers for teaching in disadvantaged schools. The conclusion draws together current and emergent thinking about different community based and other practice focused alternate models of preparing preservice teachers for teaching in disadvantaged schools.

# Section one: Current issues and practices

Four dominant themes emerge from research investigating how preservice teachers are prepared for teaching in disadvantaged schools. The first strand of research examines the topic of disadvantage through the lens of diversity, with a particular focus on ethnicity and culture. The second theme focuses on preservice teachers' knowledge, experience, and engagement with issues of disadvantage. Following the identification of current issues and debates related to disadvantaged schooling, the third theme explores current preservice teacher education strategies of preparing teachers for teaching students from diverse backgrounds in disadvantaged schools. The fourth and final theme discusses critiques of current preservice teacher education practices that inform preservice teachers' knowledge and understanding of disadvantage as it relates to teaching and learning in schools.

### Diversity, ethnicity, and culture

## **Diversity**

Prior research signals how socioeconomic disadvantage is part of wider discussions of diversity. A review of teacher education research of studies investigating disadvantage, poverty, social justice, and urban education identifies concerns about preservice teachers' awareness of diversity (Achinstein & Barrett, 2004; Cuthrell, Ledford, & Stapleton, 2007; Jennings, 2007; Leach, 2011), deficit theorising (Lazar, 2007; Leland & Harste, 2005; Zeichner, 1993), and culture (Gilbert, 1997; Groulx, 2001; Sleeter, 2001; R. Stevens & Charles, 2005).

Research examining the broad topic of diversity includes Jennings' (2007) American study of 142 primary and secondary preservice teacher education programmes. Jennings' research identifies the complexity of addressing multiple diversity topics. Secondary programmes in Jennings' study reported programme wide approaches to diversity. Deeper analysis of Jennings' data however signals clear emphasis on particular diversity concepts. Greatest priority was placed on race/ethnicity (52 percent), followed by special needs (26 percent), language (16 percent), economic/social class (3 percent), and no emphasis on gender and sexual orientation diversity. Keeping with the American context, Achinstein and Barrett (2004) explore how preservice teachers frame the concept of diversity and teaching students from diverse backgrounds. The authors report that many new teachers view diversity as problematic. Achinstein and Barrett's work investigates how mentors can assist preservice teachers to reframe their approaches to diversity and begin developing new approaches to adapt their teaching to suit the needs of diverse groups of students.

### **Ethnicity**

Other researchers employ deficit theory to make sense of some preservice teachers' negative views of diversity. This thesis aligns with Nieto's (2000) definition of deficit theory. Nieto describes deficit theorising as when an "explanation for academic failure is attributed to students' genetic or cultural inferiority, or as an outcome of the social characteristics of their children with the necessary preparation for academic success" (p. 230). Some academics, including Nieto, sharply critique deficit theorising as "not only classist and racist but also simply inadequate in explaining the failure of so many students" (Nieto, 2000, p. 232). Research from England (Wilkins, 2001) and Australia (Hope-

Rowe, 2006) also identifies deficit theorising as a form of racism. Wilkins (2001), for instance, regards deficit views as a modern type of cultural racism linked to "the persistence of the 'old' biological racism of negative stereotypes and 'signifiers of difference'" (p. 16). For others, deficit theorising is particularly troubling due to its entrenchment in the teaching profession extending across international contexts (Bertanees & Thornley, 2004; Deschenes, Cuban, & Tyack, 2001; Nash, 1997). In his description of how deficit theories negatively impact Māori people, Bishop (2003) explains how deficit theories "blame the victims and collectively see the locus of the problem as either lack of inherent ability, lack of cultural appropriateness or limited resources; in short, some deficiency at best, a 'pathology' at worst" (p. 6). Academics like Bishop and his colleagues raise concerns about deficit theorising as prior research that identifies its influence on preservice teachers' attitudes and willingness to teach diverse groups of students (Castro, 2010).

#### Culture

Cultural reasons have been identified as possible explanations for some preservice teachers' negative views of teaching disadvantaged students. Monoculturalism is one alternative explanation to deficit theorising. Haas (1992), for example, defines monoculturalism as "the practice of catering to the dominant or mainstream culture, providing second-class treatment or no special consideration at all to persons of non-mainstream cultures" (p. 161). In teacher education, concerns about monoculturalism relate to the over-representation of middle class women from European backgrounds (Cherubini, 2008; Garmon, 2004; Hope-Rowe, 2006; Wilkins, 2001). Demographic statistics suggest that the white, middle class, female teacher profile is an international trend. For example, according to Department of Education data, 93 percent of British teachers in 2011 were of European or white ethnic descent (Howe, 2012). In America, 83 percent of teachers are white or of European descent, while 40 percent of all public school children come from ethnically diverse backgrounds (Boser, 2011). Teacher workforce statistics are similar in Canada. In 2006, Canadian teachers from ethnically diverse backgrounds represented 7 percent of the national teaching population (Ryan, Pollock, & Antonelli, 2009). In Australia, ethnic teacher workforce data discussed by academics and government agencies also indicate a teaching force that does not reflect the cultural, ethnic and social diversity of Australia (Allard & Santoro, 2006; Dow, 2003).

The cultural mismatch between teachers and students has been raised as a concern as some studies identify cultural difference as a barrier to preservice teachers' development (Lazar, 2007; Sobel,

Gutierrez, Zion, & Blanchett, 2011; R. Stevens & Charles, 2005). Lazar (2007) for example, describes, "the majority of preservice teachers are cultural outsiders with respect to urban, high-poverty communities" (p. 412). Her research illustrates how limited knowledge and experience in diverse communities can lead to some preservice teachers' fear of teaching students from diverse backgrounds in disadvantaged schools. Lazar also found that the cultural mismatch between teachers and students resulted in some preservice teachers' incorrect assumptions about students whose social backgrounds differed from their own. Cho and DeCastro-Ambrosetti's (2005) American study of 25 secondary preservice teachers supports Lazar's research. Preservice teachers in Cho and DeCastro-Ambrosetti's study identified as "outsiders" and reported feeling "unprepared" to teach students from diverse backgrounds due to limited cultural and ethnic knowledge (p. 26). Preservice teachers' minimal experience, knowledge, and understanding of teaching students from diverse backgrounds also extends to their awareness of socioeconomic disadvantage. Research that examines how preservice teachers engage with issues of disadvantage and poverty is the focus of the next part of this chapter.

### Preservice teacher education and socioeconomic disadvantage

Teacher education research consistently points to the challenge of educating preservice teachers about disadvantage and poverty. A recurring theme within studies that examine the preparation of teachers for disadvantaged school settings is preservice teachers' limited knowledge, understanding and experience of disadvantage (Bennett, 2008; Song, 2006; Swartz, 2003; Zeichner, 1993). As Swartz (2003) describes, the issue is that "many [preservice teachers] will be teaching students of colour in urban schools and communities where they know no one and where they have never been" (p. 256). In response to differing social backgrounds between teachers and students, Swartz focuses on fostering dispositions of critical thinking, continuous learning, and producing knowledge to challenge his white, middle class teachers about their understandings of disadvantage and poverty. Bennett's (2008) study of American secondary school preservice teachers highlights the insularity of preservice teachers' interactions within their own middle class circles as a critical concern. Bennett's findings suggest how by increasing preservice teachers' time in disadvantaged schools and communities, engaging in critical reflection on issues of privilege, and inclusion of course material on poverty resulted in greater preservice teacher awareness of socioeconomic difference, and greater empathy and positive attitudes towards disadvantaged students. For Zeichner (1993), the issue is that many preservice teachers entering preservice teacher education programmes "view student diversity

as a problem rather than a resource" (p. 5). Diversity, as defined by Zeichner, pertains to differences in social class, ethnicity, culture and language. He developed research informed lists of content knowledge and instructional strategies to teach diverse groups of students in his "Key Elements of Effective Teacher Education for Diversity" framework. Zeichner's key elements can broadly be categorized into enhanced preservice teachers' sociocultural knowledge and self-awareness, use of critical pedagogy, and increased personal and field experiences in multicultural, disadvantaged communities.

An increasing number of studies are signalling the need to develop the knowledge, skills and dispositions to work with diverse student populations. Numerous ideas about best practices to prepare future teachers to teach diverse groups of students in disadvantaged schools have emerged within the literature. The remaining parts of section one highlight some of the debates surrounding best practices for educating teachers for the disadvantaged school context. The discussion includes on-going conversations and critiques of current practices.

# Section two: On-going debates

### Attitudes and dispositions

The concept of developing the appropriate attitudes or dispositions to teach diverse groups of students in disadvantaged settings is one enduring debate within teacher education research (Gao & Mager, 2011; Garmon, 2004, 2005; Mills, 2008; Zeichner, 1993). A variety of different perspectives on this issue have been examined. Some academics argue that some preservice teachers hold negative attitudes about students from diverse backgrounds, families and schools (J. Conner, 2010; Frankenberg, Taylor, & Merseth, 2010; Rist, 2000; P. Stevens, 2009; Wubbels, 1992). The previously discussed concepts of monoculturalism (Cuthrell et al., 2010), limited knowledge and experience in disadvantaged settings (Zygmunt-Filiwalk, Malaby, & Clausen, 2010), and deficit theory (Leland & Harste, 2005) have been offered as explanations for this phenomenon. However, other research suggests that while some preservice teachers' attitudes may be strong, they are also changeable through preservice teacher education coursework and fieldwork (Butler, Lee, & Tippins, 2006; Cameron et al., 2004; Owen, 2010). A third stream of research suggests that teacher attitudes are difficult and highly resistant to change (Cherubini, 2008; Wideen, Mayer-Smith, & Moon, 1998; Wubbels, 1992). Yet results from other studies have been inconclusive (Adams, Bondy, & Kuhel,

2005; Garmon, 2004; Neuharth-Pritchett, Reiff, & Pearson, 2001; Rivers, 2006). The research indicates that the possibility of altering some preservice teachers' negative attitudes/dispositions towards students from diverse backgrounds in preservice teacher education programmes remains unresolved.

Negative attitudes or dispositions towards teaching students from diverse backgrounds in disadvantaged schools raise several other equity concerns within the profession. One of these concerns is that these pre-existing attitudes may limit preservice learning, or cause preservice teachers to be resistant to new ideas (Cameron et al., 2004; Garmon, 2004; Pohan & Aguilar, 2001; R. Stevens & Charles, 2005). Stevens and Charles (2005), for example, argue that, "knowledge shapes dispositions and influences behaviour", and describe their faculty's priority on multiculturalism and diversity, along with a "tolerance" focused curriculum as helpful in developing preservice teachers' multicultural knowledge (p. 19). Garmon (2004) also contends that preservice teachers' existing attitudes towards diversity can act as "filters" to their development (p. 211). His research identifies three critical factors in developing greater multicultural awareness and sensitivity in preservice teachers that are transferable to the concepts of disadvantage and poverty. Garmon argues that a mix of intercultural, educational and support group experiences can collectively assist to foster preservice teachers' learning about diversity. A second concern regarding some preservice teachers' negative attitudes towards diversity and disadvantage is the potential for some preservice teachers' unwillingness to teach in disadvantaged schools (Aragon et al., 2013; Castro, 2010; Watson, 2011). Prior research suggests that teaching in disadvantaged schools is often considered to be the least desirable for some teachers (Aragon et al., 2013; Tiezzi & Cross, 1997; Watson, 2011). Aragon et al., (2013) signal how negative conceptions of disadvantaged schools are connected to the realities of the 'disadvantaged school profile' that are propagated within the profession due to references to 'ghetto schooling' (Anyon, 1997), and the 'culture of poverty' myth (Gorski, 2008). The authors identify how many preservice teachers who prefer to teach in suburban schools hold negative and stereotypical views of diverse groups of students and subscribe to a 'colour blind' approach to teaching that assumes that most students have similar white, middle class life experiences. Aragon et al.'s (2013) research confirms a relationship between preservice teachers' beliefs about diversity and social justice and their willingness and commitment to teach in disadvantaged schools. Overall, more supportive views of diversity and social justice correspond with an increased likelihood of a willingness and/preference to teach in disadvantaged schools. Watson's (2011) American study of graduate urban preservice teachers had similar results. Watson discovered that preservice teachers interested in urban schools preferred to teach "urban but not too urban students" (p. 31). "Not too

urban" students were perceived as, "having cultural and symbolic resources that were more in line with those of suburban students. More specifically, these [preservice] teachers wanted to teach students of color who exhibited their perceptions of middle-class-ness" (Watson, 2011, p. 31).

### **Equity**

Preservice teacher preparation for disadvantaged schooling has also become part of wider equity debates. One such equity debate is the inequitable distribution of teachers in disadvantaged schools. Darling-Hammond (2010) joins Aragon et al. (2013) and Watson (2011) in discussions about teachers' professional work preferences. Drawing on a range of American research, Darling Hammond (2010) describes a "revolving door of underprepared teachers" serving predominantly lower income, ethnically and culturally diverse student populations (p. 49). Instead, Darling-Hammond argues that raising teacher quality in disadvantaged schools would also raise student achievement for diverse learners. However, the influence or impact of teachers on student achievement is a second on-going debate in education. Research indicating teachers' strong influence on student achievement includes Hattie's (2003) meta-analysis of school resources. Hattie's research illustrates that of all in-school variables, teachers have the strongest influence on student achievement. In America, a review of 60 studies by University of Chicago researchers, Greenwald, Hedges and Laine (1996) found that spending on teacher education is the most productive in raising student achievement. Similarly, Ferguson's (1991) research also illustrates how teacher expertise has the highest influence on student achievement. Other researchers however dispute teachers' influence on student achievement drawing on studies that identify other external factors or, out-of-school factors like SES, ethnicity, community and family resources, health care and access to food as critical issues impacting student achievement (Berliner, 2009). In New Zealand, Snook and O'Neill (2010) are examples of researchers who argue that "social class and home background effects are always much more significant than any school or teacher effects" (p. 15). A third debate relates to the broad concerns about inequitable access to resources. Topics in this debate include issues of teacher recruitment and retention discussed in the previous chapter (Lankford et al., 2002; McKinney, Haberman, Stafford-Johnson, & Robinson, 2008; PPTA, 2012), school resources (Darling-Hammond, 2010), and unequal access to the curriculum (Gamoran & Weinstein, 1998; Oakes, 2005). Differential access to school curricula is often discussed as 'tracking' or 'streaming' that has been attributed to achievement and opportunity gaps (Oakes et al., 1992; Tieben & Wolbers, 2010), and has even been suggested as a new form of educational segregation (Anyon, 2005a; Frankenberg, 2013; Thrupp,

2008a). Preservice teacher education programmes have developed some strategies and practices to address some of these equity concerns. The following section examines and critiques different responses to some of these current equity debates.

### Current practices and critiques

A variety of different preservice teacher education approaches have been developed to prepare preservice teachers for disadvantaged schools. In this literature review, these approaches will be discussed under one of two headings: critical pedagogy and programme strategies. These two categories reflect various levels of preservice teacher education responses to the increasing diversity of student populations and recognisable additional challenges of teaching in disadvantaged settings. In this regard, wider social inequalities have compelled teacher education to re-assess how preservice teacher education programmes prepare teachers for this particular teaching environment.

### Critical pedagogy

Research examining best practices of preparing preservice teachers for diverse student populations in disadvantaged settings includes a variety of cultural and ethnic based approaches. They include greater inclusion of diversity coursework, culturally relevant pedagogy, and, in general, calls to challenge preservice teachers' views of multicultural and disadvantaged populations (Ladson-Billings & Darling-Hammond, 2000; Sleeter, 2001). For example, Sleeter (2001) found that introduction of multicultural coursework as a common teaching strategy aimed at increasing awareness of ethnicity and culture amongst preservice teachers. Her review of 80 studies suggests that many studies focus on the impact of these multicultural courses on preservice teachers. Milner's (2006) identified three critical "interactions" in raising preservice teachers' knowledge and skills about diverse student populations in disadvantaged schools: coursework examining issues of race, SES and culture, critical reflection on this coursework, and practicum opportunities to "situate theory with practice" (p. 351). Adams, Bondy and Kuhel's (2005) study examined preservice teachers' field experiences within a social justice and equity based preservice teacher education programme. Their research illustrates how cultural responsiveness was highest amongst preservice teachers who "recognised the connections between sociocultural factors and children's priorities, expectations, and cultural capital, and the relationship among these sociocultural constructions, teaching, and learning"

(p. 50). In New Zealand, Hogg (2009), and Bishop, O'Sullivan and Berryman (2010) make similar calls for preservice teacher education programme emphasis on raising preservice teachers' cultural awareness. Hogg for example argues preservice teacher education programmes must "unsettle" preservice teachers' previously held beliefs, values and attitudes in order to encourage preservice teachers to "culturally locate" themselves (p. 89). Cultural location describes the process of becoming aware of one's cultural dispositions and beliefs as they inform individual teaching practice. The MoE has responded with strategic initiatives to minimize the achievement gap through the introduction of cultural based policies such as *Tātaiako: Cultural Competencies for Teachers of Māori learners* (Ministry of Education, 2011c), *Ka Hikitia: Managing for Success: the Māori Education strategy, 2008-2012* (Ministry of Education, 2009a), and Te Kotāhitanga (Bishop et al., 2003).

Despite best efforts to raise preservice teachers' cultural awareness, knowledge and experience with diverse groups of students other research points to the limitations of these strategies. For different reasons, numerous academics have argued that diversity coursework efforts are superficial (Adams et al., 2005; Leach, 2011; Sleeter, 2001). Adams et al. (2005) criticize the fact that diversity papers are often 'one off' courses. Instead, they suggest that diversity should be a common thread throughout all courses within a preservice teacher education programme. Leach (2011) takes Adams et al.'s suggestion to the institutional level. She suggests that diversity should be an institutional priority or be limited to the confines of diversity courses or preservice teacher education programmes. Meanwhile, Sleeter (2001) is critical of the long-term impact of diversity papers. Citing a lack of longitudinal studies following preservice teachers post TEP completion, she argues that the long-term effectiveness of these diversity courses is unknown.

A growing number of studies also identify teacher educators (TE) as limiting factors in developing higher cultural awareness within preservice teacher education programmes (Jennings, 2007; Owen, 2010; Sobel et al., 2011; Zeichner, 1993). As Zeichner (1993) explains, "most of the education faculty, who must be counted on to improve the preparation of teachers for diversity, lack the same kind of interracial and intercultural experience as their students [preservice teachers]" (p. 6). Sobel et al. (2011) discuss numerous studies that support Zeichner's claim, including the work of Cochrane-Smith (2004) who indicates that teacher educators' own discomfort with racial and cultural discourse can limit preservice teachers' cultural competence. Boler and Zembylas (2003) acknowledge the emotional work involved in truly engaging with critical pedagogy. They discuss the practice of critical enquiry as a "pedagogy of discomfort" or "educational approach to understanding

the production of norms and differences" (p. 111). To resolve some of these concerns about preservice teacher education multicultural initiatives, Lazar (2007) suggests for preservice teacher education programmes to reconceptualise around the concept of social justice. Others however suggest ethnic based responses.

Ethnic based approaches of preparing preservice teachers for diverse student populations in disadvantaged schools also vary and are the subject of critique. For example, educational research often includes calls for increased numbers of minority teachers (Millward, Turner, & Van der Linden, 2012; Sleeter, 2008). Other research identifies the need for issues of race or ethnicity to be addressed in greater depth and frequency (Catapano & Huisman, 2010; Leland & Harste, 2005; R. Stevens & Charles, 2005). In the same vein, Castro (2010) identified a general lack of preservice teacher "critical consciousness" about issues of privilege, oppression, and racism in his review of educational research about diversity over a seven-year period from 2000-2007. He argues that many preservice teachers fail to "see structural or institutional barriers that affect marginalised groups" (p. 204). The problem, as Leland and Harste (2005) explain is "the fact that White privilege continues to be a thorny issue for large numbers of prospective teachers" (p. 75). Howard (2010) advances the idea of 'race-matching' to address the topic of ethnicity within preservice teacher education programmes. She defines race matching as the practice of grouping teachers and students by ethnicity as a possible response to the rising ethnic diversity amongst school populations. Howard identifies benefits such as enhanced language development assistance for English Language Learners (ELL), positive role modelling for traditionally marginalised students, and increased cultural understanding with this model. Despite positive findings, ethnic based methods of addressing diversity continue to be the subject of scrutiny and critique.

Criticism of ethnic based strategies of addressing diversity often focuses on dichotomies between inclusion/exclusion or unity/difference, and equality/preference (Leach, 2011). For example, in America Darling-Hammond (1998) describes a "backlash" or "persistent attack on affirmative action in higher education and employment" (p. 28). Her discussion of negative responses to diversity initiatives extend into the public sphere noting that "from the perspective of many Americans who believe that the vestiges of discrimination have disappeared, affirmative action now provides an unfair advantage to minorities" (p. 28). Ravitch (2005) also reminds us of resistance to diversity issues within preservice teacher education programmes, but acknowledges the challenging process of "interrupt[ing] students' fears, mistrust, and avoidance of issues of diversity, pluralism, inclusion, power and privilege" within preservice teacher education programmes (p. 6).

Similar cultural and ethnic tensions exist in New Zealand. Rata and Openshaw (2006) identify rising critiques of multiculturalism and ethnicity in academic and public arenas as "consequences of ethnic politics" (p. 22). Noting the imbrication of culture and ethnicity, Rata and Openshaw describe ethnic politics as the "cultural closure and the creation of ethnic boundaries that segregate people in all areas of social life – residential, physical and emotional" (p. 22). The ethnic focus of the Te Kotāhitanga programme, that seeks to improve Māori student achievement, has been critiqued offering another example of the resistance to ethnic based approaches to educational equity concerns (Nash, 2006).

In relation to this thesis, the key criticism of current preservice teacher education programmes is their limited focus on socioeconomic disadvantage (Reay, 2006; Strand, 2011; Valli, 2000). For instance, Reay (2006) contends that "contemporary initial teacher training rarely engages with social class as a relevant concern within schooling" (p. 288). Reay approaches the issue of social class in the British context, through an educational policy lens. Her critique of educational policy debates about in- school factors, including teaching, is that they largely ignore economic and social context and understanding. Valli (2000) also emphasises the need for careful contextual analysis of disadvantaged schools. Preservice teacher education programmes have developed numerous strategies to prepare preservice teachers for the disadvantaged schools. The following section describes some programme initiatives to confront educational inequalities.

#### **Programme strategies**

Research examining best practices of preparing preservice teachers for disadvantaged schools offers numerous possible solutions. The purpose of this review is to discuss major trends within the literature on preservice teacher education programme initiatives. These initiatives include the development of urban preservice teacher education programmes, admission policies, and alternative sites of learning. Each strategy reflects current thinking about the contextualised issues of the 'disadvantaged school profile' described in the last chapter. The ideas presented here offer different avenues to pursue while also signalling the need for continued development of strategies to address equity issues in preservice teacher education.

#### Urban teacher education

Context specific teacher preparation for diverse student populations in disadvantaged schools is one preservice teacher education strategy arising from growing awareness of unique student and school demographics (Haberman, 1996). Haberman (1996) first initiated the debate about universal or context specific teacher preparation in the mid-1990s. He argued that generic teacher education programmes focused too narrowly on three "knowledge bases" related to the process of learning or development, content knowledge, and teaching children with disabilities (p. 749). Haberman critiques the universal approach from its roots arguing that, by definition, universal preparation does not adequately prepare teachers for the unique context of urban schools. Haberman employs, yet is also critical of the term 'urban', that he describes as a "catchall category and euphemism for denoting conditions perceived as undesirable, such as violence, poverty, drug use, crime, dysfunctional families, inadequate housing, and poor schools" (p. 747). He is equally critical of the term 'cultural diversity' which he argues is also a "catchall phrase denoting groups that may differ on the basis of religion, ethnicity, language, gender, sexual preference, age, class, disabling conditions, or combinations of these differences" (p. 747). Haberman's sustained interest in the field of urban education includes all 'conditions' commonly situated under the generic 'urban' and 'cultural diversity' headings. While the terminology to discuss urban education may vary across contexts, including use of terms such as 'disadvantaged' (Australia, Canada), 'educational inequality' (UK), and 'underserved populations' (America), the socioeconomic issues that underpin educational equity concerns are global issues (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). The advancement of urban educational research has led to the development of urban education programmes across North America (Darling-Hammond, 2010), and in other contexts like urban and rural programmes in Australia (Burnett & Lampert, 2011; Connell, White, & Johnston, 1991). Another stream of urban education research explores various community-based strategies of addressing diversity and disadvantage within preservice teacher education programmes. The next section explores some of these communityfocused initiatives.

# Community based practices.

A growing number of researchers are focusing on the role of the community in preservice teacher education preparation (J. Conner, 2010; Hogg, 2009). Benefits of this practice include becoming familiar with "values, lifestyles and cultures different to their own and generat[ing] a

respect for human diversity" (Zeichner, 1990, p. 117). Research also suggests that experiential learning opportunities may also assist preservice teachers to recognize, value and learn from urban school students' contextual knowledge and skills (Hogg, 2009).

Zeichner (1990) identifies community involvement as a critical factor in understanding a school's unique environment. He suggests returning to American TEP practices in the 60s and 70s during which preservice teachers invested 20 percent of their practicum time in the school's community. Zeichner's suggestion for greater connection with the community is reflected in contemporary American community service learning (CSL) and community based experiences within preservice teacher education programmes (Catapano & Huisman, 2010; J. Conner, 2010; Eyler, Giles, & Braxton, 1997; Giles & Eyler, 1994). The literature on service learning reveals numerous definitions; however, this thesis aligns with Eyler, Giles & Braxton's (1997) view of service learning as "programs which combine community service with study of a particular subject matter" (p. 5). Despite growing interest across institutions, service learning is not a new concept with its origins in the Southern Regional Education Board in 1967 (Eyler et al., 1997). Rising interest in service learning lies in its potential to increase preservice teachers' knowledge, understanding and experience in communities that are often different from their own. For example, Eyler et al. (1997) report how service learning positively influenced participants' attitudes, values, skills and the way they think about social justice. Their study of 1500 American participants across 20 institutions illustrates how service-learning participants were: more likely to view social justice problems as systemic; more open to new ideas; and more likely to acknowledge different perspectives. Conner's (2010) more recent study of 22 American preservice teachers confirms the positive impacts reported in Eyler, Giles and Braxton's earlier research. Conner's findings identify greater preservice teacher knowledge of the lived realities of urban students and disadvantaged schools leading to increased interest in teaching in urban settings. Conner suggests for sustained experiences in urban schools to be embedded into preservice teacher education programmes. Meanwhile, Catapano and Huisman (2010) offer another alternative approach to traditional preservice teacher education programmes. They present a Community Based Model (CBM) preservice teacher education programme. Arguing that traditional programmes often exclude aspects of the community, they describe their CBM as a "fusion of coursework, field experiences, and community experiences incorporated into the teacher education program" (p. 82). Analysis of survey and focus group data indicate the strong impact of the CBM on preservice teacher participants who describe the benefits of first-hand experience in the community leading to greater comfort in urban environments.

A small number of community-based initiatives are evident in some New Zealand preservice teacher education programmes. For example, in one of few available papers about secondary school fieldwork, Carpenter and Sutherland (2005) describe their 'alternative inquiry-oriented practicum' pilot study located in a low decile Auckland secondary school. Preservice teachers in this programme received in-school instruction from a variety of school counsellors, social workers and nurses in addition to teacher educators. Similar to the American studies discussed above, the re-location of the programme to a low decile school offered preservice teachers first-hand knowledge of the low decile school context. In another University of Auckland study, Stephenson, Anderson, Rio and Millward (2009) investigated the significance of locating a preservice teacher education programme in a culturally and ethnically diverse community in South Auckland. This study demonstrated the value of cultural knowledge as a valuable resource in preparing preservice teachers to teach in diverse settings. Location again was relevant to student success and engagement. Students, many of whom were mature students or those who may not have otherwise had the means of attending the programme, expressed how the course valued their community knowledge. This outcome suggests that increasing the ethnic diversity of preservice teachers may require further consideration of programme location and delivery.

Despite urban and community initiatives to address diverse student populations and rising socioeconomic disadvantage, Haberman's work over several decades suggests the need to re-think preservice teacher education preparation for urban schools. For instance, Haberman (1996) critiques common admission practices that rely on GPA, references, a written statement about 'why I want to be a teacher', evidence of experience with children, English language and other skills tests, and references from self-selected nominees as selection criteria. Instead, Haberman (1995b) discusses qualities of 'star' teachers including: persistence, protection of learners and learning, application of generalizations, approach to 'at risk' students, professional orientation towards students, acceptance of burnout, and fallibility or acceptance of children's own mistakes as more accurate characteristics of 'star' teachers for diverse groups of students. However, Haberman's critique of preservice teacher education extends well beyond admission policies. He continues to question the ability of university preservice teacher education programmes to adequately prepare preservice teachers for teaching students of diverse backgrounds in disadvantaged settings (Haberman, 1971, 1991a, 2012). He contends that changing preservice teacher preparation for urban school children requires societal and institutional change (Haberman, 2003). Haberman (2003) notes current resistance to both required forms of change suggesting instead that "it was never the intention of teacher education in America to prepare teachers to teach all the children" (p. 6). Haberman is not alone in his thinking as demonstrated in the development of a range of alternative preservice teacher education programmes. The final section of this chapter examines some alternative preservice teacher education pathways, which are currently employed to prepare preservice teachers for teaching diverse groups of students in disadvantaged schools.

# Section three: New modes of teacher education

# Alternative pathways into the profession

Alternative pathways into the field of education are an emergent strategy of preparing teachers for teaching in disadvantaged schools (Darling-Hammond, 2008; Kopp, 2008; Laczko-Kerr & Berliner, 2002). These types of programmes including Teach for America, Urban Residencies, and a range of other off-site, school-based teacher education models are discussed as Alternative Certification Pathways (ACP) within the academic literature. While these programmes originate in America, the concept of specialized teacher education programmes has been taken on board in various international contexts including New Zealand. The Teach First programme has expanded into a global 29 member Teach for All network (Teach for All, 2013). In 2011, the Teach First model was introduced to New Zealand with the establishment of the Teach First New Zealand programme (Teach First New Zealand, 2013). ACP programmes offer a different approach to teacher education preparation and are highly contentious within the field of teacher education. However, despite critique, they offer promise to address some shortfalls within traditional teacher education programmes. The debates concerning alternative certification pathways originating in America, and now implemented globally, are worthy of greater time and attention; therefore, a review and analysis of some of these programs are discussed below.

#### **Teach First and Teach for All Networks**

Teach for America (TFA), is a non-profit organization that actively recruits top university graduates for two-year teaching commitments in urban and rural schools serving primarily diverse student populations in disadvantaged communities. Since its inception, TFA and related Teach for All

network programmes have drawn intense criticism. Critiques of TFA tend to focus on the inadequate preparation, teacher effectiveness, and teacher retention. Limited preparation is a key concern for TFA opponents. Darling-Hammond (1994) points out that TFA's admission policies that rely heavily on university grades are based on the unfounded correlation between applicant's prior university academic success and suitability for teaching. Darling-Hammond's reference to TFA as a 'quick fix' summarizes her opinion of the TFA programme. (Teach for America, 2012a). Central to critiques of TFA's preparation model is its limited time frame. TFA candidates participate in a five week intensive "leadership framework" (para. 10) summer training programme designed to provide a "foundation of knowledge, skills, and mindsets needed to be effective beginning teachers, made an immediate impact on students" (Teach for America, 2012a). Initial summer training is complemented by 'coaching' in the form of mentoring support and on-going professional development opportunities. Darling-Hammond remains critical of TFA's programme structure citing limited practicum teaching time, minimal mentoring and supervision, and the absence of expert teachers with strong teaching knowledge to teach TFA candidates as areas of weakness (Darling-Hammond, 2008; Darling-Hammond et al. 2005).

Studies of TFA graduates' effectiveness represent another strand of TFA research (Darling-Hammond et al. 2005; Laczko-Kerr & Berliner, 2002). Findings from Darling-Hammond et al.'s (2005) Houston, Texas study found that "controlling for teacher experience, degrees, and student characteristics, uncertified TFA recruits are less effective than certified teachers, and perform about as well as other uncertified teachers" (p. 2). Laczko-Kerr and Berliner (2002) reported similar findings from their comparative study of under-certified teachers, including TFA graduates, with certified teachers in Arizona. However, results are inconclusive as previous research employs different measurements and controls, school subjects and age groups (Heilig & Jez, 2010; Xu, Hannaway, & Taylor, 2011). Regardless of such limitations, the perception of TFA's inadequate preparation practices for teaching in disadvantaged schools persists (Sim, 2010). Arguably, Darling-Hammond's strongest critique of TFA is directed to its social implications for disadvantaged and poor students. She argues that TFA largely ignores the impact on disadvantaged students and schools, focusing instead on assessment and operations of the organization and its TFA candidates (Darling-Hammond, 1994). The TFA candidates themselves are also subject to Darling-Hammond's scrutiny. She claims that the programme ignores the social status mismatch between TFA candidates, and disadvantaged students and schools. Darling-Hammond's concerns are documented by others who also question the level of self-interest, motivation, and possible "missionary efforts" of selected candidates (Labaree, 2010, p. 52).

A third stream of TFA critique pertains to certification and graduate retention. In America, opponents of TFA highlight how TFA and other alternative teaching pathway programmes have altered certification policies (Darling-Hammond, 1994; Darling-Hammond et al., 2005; Maier, 2012). Other research is more concerned with the retention of TFA graduates in the profession. While statistics vary internationally between Teach for All and TFA programmes, on average 50 percent leave after the required two-year teaching requirement (Sim, 2010) with up to 80 percent leaving after three years (Heilig & Jez, 2010). These statistics align with other previous hesitancy regarding TFA candidates' motivation and self-interest in teaching. Likewise, these statistics support Darling-Hammond's (2010) claim of TFA's disproportionate internal focus on itself and its graduates that ignores the social and educational impact of a revolving door of teachers for disadvantaged students and schools.

Despite the aforementioned concerns, there is strong support for TFA and the Teach First network. Research in praise of TFA often relates to its ability to attract a more diverse pool of teacher candidates (Kopp, 2008; Laczko-Kerr & Berliner, 2002). In particular, TFA candidates include higher numbers of "men, older adults, minorities and retired military personnel" (Laczko-Kerr & Berliner, 2002, p. 17). In this sense, TFA appears to be answering the call by many researchers to recruit demographically diverse teachers who are more representative of the student populations they are likely to teach. Likewise, TFA and similar Teach First programmes are placing candidates in disadvantaged schools that are in desperate need of teachers. Again, in this respect, TFA is assisting to fill the teacher shortage gap. TFA also often draws on the support of its school partners such as principals who are pleased with its graduates (Kopp, 2008). Universities have also joined the conversation in support of TFA's ability to respond to teacher shortages through university – TFA community partnerships (Koerner, Lynch, & Martin, 2008). The TFA website also draws on a range of research evidence supporting their graduates' effectiveness as teachers, their impact on student achievement, and school partner satisfaction. Even with contested outcomes, and intense critique, TFA and the Teach for All network are likely to continue largely due to large investments of corporate funding and support from large-scale institutions (A. Anderson, 2013). The Teach for All network is joined by several other ACPs that all emphasise the importance of practical fieldwork.

#### **Urban Teacher Residencies**

Darling-Hammond discusses the concept of Teacher Residency Models as a potential long-term solution to teacher shortages in urban schools. Described by Darling-Hammond as "high-quality alternative routes" into teaching, residency models offer attractive incentive packages of a paid oneyear internship, a master's degree credential, and teacher certification in exchange for a four-year commitment upon programme completion (2010, p. 210). Prospective residency candidates are carefully selected into university programmes that focus on bridging the theory-practice divide. Methods employed to make stronger connections between course and fieldwork includes careful selection of in-school mentors who work with professors to integrate coursework learning into each preservice teacher's practice. The important role of mentoring distinguishes Teacher Residencies from other ACPs. Graduates are mentored for an additional two years by expert teachers involved in the programme. Teacher Residency programmes, originally launched in Chicago, Boston and Denver, also enrol higher numbers of minority teachers, and boast retention rates of 90 percent of its first four cohorts (Darling-Hammond, 2008). Matsko & Hammerness (2013) offer insight into the 'contextspecific' approach of the University of Chicago Urban Teacher Education programme (UTEP). The UTEP programme is framed as a five-year experience encompassing a two-year Master of Arts credential, teaching license and a further three-year teaching experience in Chicago public schools. The authors signal the value of the context specific UTEP approach in instilling greater geographic, socio-cultural, and political context of classrooms, schools and communities. Keller (2006) offers a balanced view of the residency model, highlighting benefits of the programme including preservice teacher mentorship under expert teachers. On the other hand, Keller also acknowledges the residency model's political underpinnings with original funding for Chicago's programme from venture capitalists like Martin J. Koldyke who maintains contact with the programme. High programme costs linked to the paid internship are another financial consideration of the teacher residency programmes. Supporters of the programme, however, argue that higher teacher retention rates mitigating turnover more than balances out the initial costs (Keller, 2006).

# **Professional Development Schools**

Professional Development Schools (PDS) are another practice focused preservice teacher education programme strategy of preparing preservice teachers to teach diverse student populations in disadvantaged schools. The concept of PDS schools began in the 1980s in America with the intent to

prepare teacher candidates specifically for high-poverty schools (McKinney et al., 2008). PDS schools partner closely with universities to create learning communities that build stronger connections between schools and university preservice teacher education programmes. As Darling-Hammond (2010) explains, preservice teachers are taught collectively by school and university staff in equity focused programmes with a commitment to teaching diverse groups of students, and often engage in project-based learning. Preservice teachers are also highly encouraged to participate in outof-classroom experiences such as support services, parent-teachers meetings, and community outreach projects. Increasing numbers of PDS school partnerships have been forged with universities such as Stanford, University of Chicago, and the University of Pennsylvania. A central critique of PDS schools is their limited engagement with school community groups including parents and neighbourhood associations (Gimbert, Desai, & Kerka, 2010). Gimbert et al. (2010) point out the value of community knowledge in working with diverse student populations in disadvantaged settings. Other PDS school limitations are identified in McKinney et al.'s (2008) study. McKinney et al.'s research investigated the impact of PDS school internships on the development of effective urban teachers aligned with Haberman's extensive research on urban preservice teacher education programmes described earlier in the chapter. The results suggest minimal long-term effect of a successful PDS internship in urban settings. McKinney et al. suggest for universities to "take unprecedented steps to redesign current teacher education programs to include a specific framework for the development of prospective urban teachers" (2008, p. 78).

The debates about preservice teacher education preparation for teaching diverse student populations are inconclusive. The increasing range of programmes including university initiatives, ACPs, Urban Residencies and PDS school partnerships illustrate a positive response to the challenge of preparing preservice teachers for unique urban school settings. The models discussed in this literature review offer emerging insight into different practice based preservice teacher education strategies that emphasise the importance of context specific knowledge and preparation. Regardless of their differences, this group of practice based models appears to align with Darling-Hammond's (2010) emphasis on the importance of opportunities to practice teaching strategies in order to "connect theory to practice in a well-grounded fashion and to develop the adaptive expertise they will need to address new problems in the specific classrooms they later encounter" (p. 215).

#### Conclusion

Cuthrell, Ledford and Stapleton (2007) send a strong message by calling it "imperative" for teachers to "recognize poverty as one of the most critical aspects of diversity" (p. 276). This review of prior research has identified numerous key equity concerns in education. Critical to current teacher education debates are equity concerns related to the unique context of disadvantaged schools. The research evidence clearly identifies the need for preservice teacher education preparation programmes to prepare teachers for teaching diverse student groups in disadvantaged schools and communities. What remains unknown is how best to achieve this goal. Traditional university programmes have integrated critical pedagogy, diversity coursework and community based experiences into their programmes. Specialized urban teacher education programmes have also been developed to address the challenge of preparing teachers for diverse student populations in disadvantaged schools. The complexities involved in teaching and learning in disadvantaged schools have led to the proliferation of numerous alternative certification pathways including the Teach for All network, Urban Residences, and PDS schools. All developed strategies have merits yet none have been able to resolve the varied levels of educational inequity in schools. This research departs from many of the studies reviewed in this chapter that focus on preservice teacher education outcomes such as teacher effectiveness, knowledge, and skills. Instead, this study seeks to answer another unknown question: How do preservice teachers engage with disadvantaged students and schools? The next chapter presents the methodology for this study.

# Part II: Investigating Preservice Teachers' Engagements with Disadvantage

# **Chapter four: Methodological conversations**

#### Introduction

The previous chapters have set the foundation for this study. Chapter one introduces the study by presenting an overview of the research, frames the issues of socioeconomic disadvantage within an educational context, and outlines this study's line of enquiry. Chapter two discusses the New Zealand context identifying the unique contextual challenges of addressing disadvantage within New Zealand's schools and preservice teacher education programmes. Meanwhile, chapter three locates this study within the international field of literature on teacher preparation for disadvantaged schools. The purpose of this chapter is to identify and discuss the theoretical and methodological frameworks of my research. The chapter begins by describing the rationale for selecting a critical theoretical frame to guide this study. Next, critical theorist Nancy Fraser's theoretical model of justice is introduced. The examination of Fraser's multi-dimensional justice model contributes to the theoretical foundations of this research. The overview of the study's theoretical decisions is followed by a discussion of the methodological decisions related to my study. An exploration of different approaches to mixing methods precedes discussions of the research design choices, data collection tools, and analytic techniques employed in this research. The chapter concludes by connecting the theoretical, methodological and research design choices to the study's underlying principles of social justice.

#### **Theoretical framework**

This study is about inequality, education, and social justice. The selection of a theoretical framework required a world view aligned with the principles of social justice, and this study's objective of understanding how individuals involved in New Zealand preservice teacher education programmes engage with social, economic, and political inequities in education. The following theoretical discussion outlines the selection of a critical theoretical framework to guide this research.

The study's key question re-directed attention towards critical theory as a means of addressing the complexity of content, scope, and perspectives incorporated into this research. This study investigates how various interest groups (institutions, preservice teacher education programmes, lecturers, and preservice teachers) involved in New Zealand preservice teacher education engage with socioeconomic disadvantage. As the study's emphasis is on broader issues of socioeconomic disadvantage, critical theory best matched my intention. A more detailed exploration of critical theory suggests its ability to extend a Marxist analysis by greater emphasis on social, ethnic, cultural, and political contextual complexities operating within a variety of social, institutional, and individual levels relevant to New Zealand GradDip secondary programmes.

# Critical theory

As observed by Kincheloe & McLaren (2002), numerous understandings of critical theory exist. Historically, many scholars point to the origins of critical theory in the work of the Frankfurt school (Anyon, 2009; Gibson, 1986; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002; Tripp, 1992). Established in 1923 at the University of Frankfurt, the intellectual roots of the Frankfurt school are in Marxism, German philosophical and social thought, and the work of Freud (Gibson, 1986).

The principles of social justice, emancipation, and empowerment of oppressed and/or exploited groups of people also strongly underpin the work of the Frankfurt scholars (Tripp, 1992). Using theory, the Frankfurt school scholars attempted to gain a deeper understanding of the world in order to create a more just society (Gibson, 1986). The examination of different forms of domination in everyday life unified the Frankfurt scholars who sought to uncover, critique, and challenge the sources of inequity creating inequitable systems and conditions (Giroux, 1984; Tripp, 1992). Critical theory came to represent a "'school of thought' and a process of critique" (Giroux, 1984, p. 8) that "disrupts and challenges the status quo" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002, p. 87).

Ontologically, critical theory suggests that reality is shaped by "social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender values that are crystallized over time" (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 195). Strongly tied to ontology and its significance of what constitutes reality, critical theory presents an epistemological view of knowledge as a subjective process in which 'facts' are socially constructed and co-constructed (Coxon, Massey, & Marshall, 1994; Guba & Lincoln, 2005). As Kincheloe and

McLaren (2002) explain, early critical theory scholars were drawn to "critical theory's dialectic concern with the social construction of experience, [and] came to view their disciplines as manifestations of the discourses and power relations of the social and historical contexts that produced them" (p. 88). Kincheloe and McLaren refer to this construction of knowledge as a "discourse of possibility" leading to a potentially "more egalitarian and democratic social order" (p. 89). In their discussion of critical theory, Kincheloe and McLaren offer their definition of the term:

A critical social theory is concerned in particular with issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy; matters of race, class, and gender; ideologies; discourses; education; religion and other social institutions; and cultural dynamics interact to construct a social system. (p. 90)

Kincheloe and McLaren's description of critical theory is particularly useful in connecting education to other complex structural issues including ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and social institutions. The work of Apple (1979) and Anyon (2009) also inform the ways in which theory is integral to educational research. The insights of these two critical scholars support my use of critical theory to examine how individuals and groups engage with issues of socioeconomic disadvantage within New Zealand preservice teacher education programmes.

Apple (1979) reminds us of the political aspect of education. He contends that "by the very nature of the institution, the educator [is] involved, whether he or she [is] conscious of it or not, in a political act" (p. 1). Apple explains how theory enables the organization of "one's thinking and action about education" (p. 1). Theory becomes a means of understanding what Apple describes as "structural arrangements" defined as "the basic ways institutions, people, and modes of production, distribution, and consumption are organised and controlled dominate cultural life. This includes such day-to-day practices as schools and the teaching and curricula found within them" (p. 2). Apple's statement embeds education into the economic, social, and political aspects of life within the processes of teaching and learning. By establishing a relationship between theory and education, Apple offers several examples of how a critical scholarship can be employed to analyse and understand aspects of inequality in education. His examples include the role of political and economic power in society, the unequal distribution of knowledge through curriculum choice, the implications

of labelling schools, and more generally schools as sites of cultural and economic reproduction of class relations (Apple, 1979).

Anyon (2009) also identifies the importance of theory in educational research. She argues that the integration of theory and data offers "increased explanatory, critical, or even liberatory power" (p. 1). Anyon defines critical social theory as "various types of scholarship that critique domination and subordination, promote emancipatory interests, and combine social and cultural analysis with interpretation, critique, and social explanation" (p. 2). In the following analysis, Anyon (2009), like Apple noted above, identifies how critical theory can connect educational issues to wider society:

Critical social theory can be a powerful tool with which to make links between educational 'inside' and 'outside'...and between research design and larger social meanings. Theory allows us to plan research that connects the ways in which social actors and conditions inside of school buildings, districts, and legislative offices are shaped and changed by what happens outside the classrooms, offices, and official chambers they inhabit. Conversely, theory can point us to the larger political and social meanings of what occurs in educational institutions and systems. (p. 3)

In relation to this study, critical theory situates teaching within wider economic, political, and social contexts, identifying how disadvantage and poverty are implicit within socioeconomically disadvantaged communities (Anyon, 2009; Fraser, 2007; Lynn, Williams, Benigno, Mitchell, & Park, 2006). Critical theory assists to enhance the accessibility of examining macro, meso, and micropolitical influences and contextual factors that influence educational issues through the use of a critical theoretical framework (Anyon, 2009).

Anyon (2009), Apple (1979), and Kincheloe and McLaren's (2002) descriptions of critical theory, inclusive of social and cultural dynamics, discourses, and issues of power and (in) justice, align with this study's call for a theoretical framework to address the complexities surrounding equity issues in school and social systems. For these reasons, this study employs a critical theory framework

as a lens to explain and critique current sources of inequality and injustices impacting on the field of teacher education (Fay, 1993; Gibson, 1986).

In this study, the work of critical theorist Nancy Fraser structures, informs, and explains the ways in which various groups involved in New Zealand teacher education engage with socioeconomic disadvantage. In her own words, Fraser (1995) explains how critical social theory "frames its research program and its conceptual framework with an eye to the aims and activities of those oppositional social movements with which it has a partisan though not uncritical identification" (p. 87). The following discussion of Fraser's theoretical model of injustice concludes by exploring my use of Fraser's theorising to examine the multiple economic, social, and political forces that influence how institutions, programmes, teacher educators, and preservice teachers frame, understand and engage with socioeconomic disadvantage.

# Theoretical underpinnings: Framing injustice

Fraser's (1995, 2000) theoretical model of injustice is premised upon the principles of redistribution and recognition. Redistribution refers to the unequal distribution of resources and labour while recognition refers to the acknowledgement and promotion of identity and difference. Fraser explains how the principles of redistribution and recognition align with two types of injustice. The first type of injustice is socioeconomic injustice. Redistribution is linked to economic and political structures of society. According to Fraser, problems of redistribution, or maldistribution, are cause for concern as they lead to the "economic subordination" of marginalised groups (Fraser, 2000, p. 117). Outcomes of such socioeconomic injustice include labour and class exploitation, unequal access to material and social resources, and restricted access to participate in the political economy. Remedies to socioeconomic injustice require a deep restructuring of the political-economic system that offers greater equality to resources. Calls for redistribution often focus on a more equitable distribution of wealth. In this study, participants' comments about the decile system, available school resources, and parents' support of their children's learning are examples of Fraser's concept of redistribution.

The second type of injustice in Fraser's model is cultural or symbolic. Recognition is a form of cultural or symbolic injustice embedded within institutionalized patterns of "representation, interpretation, and communication" (1995, p. 71). Fraser theorizes that the injustice of *mis*recognition is therefore one of marginalisation, absence, disrespect, and the "institutionalized subordination" of particular groups in society (2000, p. 114). Remedies for misrecognition typically come in response to marginalised group demands for recognition; or inclusion, access, and participation in dominant cultural and social practices. For example, Fraser discusses law changes to create marriage equality for same-sex partnerships. In education, the integration-segregation of students with disabilities in mainstream or specialized schools is an example of misrecognition in schools.

### The redistribution-recognition dilemma

Fraser's earlier theorising positions "redistribution and recognition as two analytically distinct paradigms of justice" (1995, p. 70). Fraser refers to the tensions between her two opposing conceptualizations of injustice as the redistribution-recognition dilemma. The division between Fraser's principles of redistribution and recognition lie in their different perspectives of group difference. Redistribution claims seek to eliminate group difference implicit in the inequitable allocation of resources. The goal of redistributive claims is to alter existing political and economic structures to produce greater socioeconomic equality. In contrast, recognition claims seek to address forms of cultural disrespect and social status subordination. By definition, recognition claims identify and value cultural and social differences.

The dichotomy between issues of political economy (redistribution) and culture (recognition) has been the subject of critique, and Fraser's own continued theorising. Young (1997) for example has criticized Fraser's 'dual system theory' on several grounds. First, Young asserts that Fraser's redistribution-recognition theory presents claims of injustice as, "more one-dimensional than they actually are" (p. 148). Instead, Young regards Fraser's redistribution-recognition model as a "polarizing strategy" (p. 149). Young argues that injustice is rarely a 'pure' form of either redistribution or recognition, proposing instead a more pluralistic vision of injustice extending beyond Fraser's theoretical redistribution-recognition division. Young's critique however appears to discount Fraser's acknowledgement of these concerns. As Fraser (1995) explains:

Even the most material economic institutions have a constitutive, irreducible cultural dimension; they are shot through with significations and norms. Conversely, even the most discursive cultural practices have a constitutive, irreducible political-economic dimension; they are underpinned by material supports. (p. 72)

As Fraser suggests above, a myriad of complex social, economic, and political relations exist creating injustices that have economic and cultural origins. The objective of this strategy is to avoid displacing and undermining' either type of injustice. Fraser offers several responses to Young's critique of the redistribution-recognition theory.

# Mediating the redistribution-recognition dilemma

#### Problems of displacements and reification.

One aspect of Young's critique is addressed in Fraser's later theorising of her justice model. In her essay, "Rethinking Recognition," Fraser (2000) acknowledges the changing nature and scope of injustice claims. She identifies how the increasing complexity and competition of injustice claims have further complicated the struggles for justice by creating two new concerns: *problems of* displacement, and problems of reification. First, Fraser argues that redistributive injustice claims are increasingly being displaced by recognition struggles. She describes how "questions of recognition are serving less to supplement, complicate and enrich redistributive struggles than to marginalise, eclipse and displace them" (Fraser, 2000, p. 108). Fraser employs the term, "problem of displacement" (2000, p. 108) to refer to the phenomena of recognition claims outweighing redistributive ones. Following this line of thinking, Fraser introduces a second recognition issue called "the problem of reification". Migration and global media are attributed to the hybridisation and pluralisation of cultural forms leading to recognition struggles on a global scale. In this global context, recognition claims "often serve not to promote respectful interaction within increasingly multicultural contexts, but to drastically simplify and reify group identities [that] tend to encourage separatism, intolerance and chauvinism, patriarchalism and authoritarianism" (2000, p. 108). In other words Fraser highlights the potential for problems of displacement and reification to reinforce the ills of economic inequality and the lack of status/recognition they seek to overcome. In light of expanding global contexts and changing social relations, Fraser signals the need to reconceptualise

injustice claims. She reconciles the two opposing redistributive-recognition struggles by re-examining how the concerns of maldistribution and misrecognition can both be the sources of injustice.

# Bivalent axes of injustice

Fraser's second method of addressing the redistribution-recognition divide is through the integration of redistribution and recognition claims. While struggles for justice can be cultural or economic, Fraser also argues how some injustices have both cultural and socioeconomic origins. She reconciles the theoretical constructs of recognition and redistribution through use of the term "bivalent collectivises" (1995, p. 78). Here Fraser contends that the complexities of social and political life often result in multiple injustices that overlap, yet can be in conflict with one another. She argues that most injustices are bivalent, or simultaneously cultural and economic. Marginalised groups, for example, suffer the ills of both misrecognition and maldistribution. As Fraser explains:

Far from occupying two airtight separate spheres, economic injustice and cultural injustice are usually interimbricated so as to reinforce one another dialectically. Cultural norms that are unfairly biased against some are institutionalized in the state and the economy; meanwhile, economic disadvantage impedes equal participation in the making of culture, in public spheres and in everyday life. The result is often a vicious circle of cultural and economic subordination. (1995, pp. 72-73)

The intersecting axes of economic and cultural injustice therefore reinforce each other dialectically. By definition, issues of maldistribution encompass dimensions of recognition and distribution. In this study, bivalent axes of injustice are visible within the ethnic, poverty, income, and school roll statistics presented in chapter two. This range of national data demonstrates the overlap between ethnicity and income. A range of statistical demographic data reveals how European/Pākehā children experience lower rates of child poverty (16 percent) in comparison to Māori (27 percent), Pasifika (40 percent) and (23 percent) of all other ethnic groups (Fletcher et al., 2008). European/Pākehā families also earn between 22-73 percent more income than Māori, Pasifika, Asian and MELAA ethnic groups (Statistics New Zealand, 2008b). Furthermore, MoE school roll data indicate comparatively higher percentages of Māori and Pasifika in low decile schools in comparison to other ethnic groups (Ministry of Education, 2013f). These MoE statistics, first reported in chapter two, identify low decile

school ethnic populations to be approximately eight percent European/Pākehā, 45 percent Māori, 60 percent Pasifika and 16 percent Asian. Considered cumulatively, these national statistics provide an example of Fraser's intersecting injustices of misrecognition and maldistribution.

In addition to theoretical opposition to Fraser's redistribution-recognition model, Young (1997) is also critical about the scope and applicability of Fraser's work. Young's (1997) second critique of Fraser's redistribution-recognition theory relates to the model's absence of "a third, political, aspect of social reality, concerning institutions and practices of law, citizenship administration, and political participation" (p. 151). Instead of addressing political aspects of social life, Young suggests that Fraser "fits" political phenomena into her two-fold redistribution-recognition model. Fraser however integrates her dimensions of redistribution and recognition through the concept of *parity of participation*. Located at the core of Fraser's view of justice, the term *parity of participation*, refers to the social arrangements that permit all individuals to "participate on a par with others, as full partners in social interaction" (p. 20).

McCarthy (2005) and Honneth (2003) join Young (1997) in the critique of Fraser's 'dual notion' of justice. McCarthy (2005), for example, finds Fraser's theoretical separation of redistribution and recognition to be problematic. Fraser (2003) however encourages a "perspective dualism" approach to her model that acknowledges the integration of economy and culture (2003, p. 63). Similar to Young and McCarthy, Honneth's (2003) main critique of Fraser's work is her dual systems approach to injustice. In contrast to Fraser, who links her dual concepts through her principle of *participatory parity*, Honneth unifies Fraser's dualistic theory by integrating redistributive injustice claims into larger claims of misrecognition. In this vein, Honneth suggests that the ultimate injustice is disrespect created by infractions within the social recognition order.

# Third dimension: Representation.

Fraser (2007, 2008) responds to critiques of her theorising by later adding a third, political dimension to her theoretical model of justice. Fraser introduces the term *representation* to describe the two-tiered political element of her justice framework. Conceptually, representation is a "matter of social belonging" focused on "issues of membership and procedure" (p. 21). Membership is about inclusion and exclusion. In other words, membership determines who is authorized to make justice

claims. Procedure is the second aspect of representation. At this procedural level, representation refers to the processes involved in evaluating or adjudicating justice claims.

The political injustice associated with representation is *misrepresentation*. Fraser explains how misrepresentation "occurs when the political boundaries and/or decision rules function to wrongly deny some people the possibility of participation on a par with others in social interaction" (p. 21). Fraser goes on to identify two types of misrepresentation: ordinary-political misrepresentation and misframing. The injustice of ordinary-political misrepresentation denies some individuals the ability to fully participate as peers in social life. Meanwhile, *misframing*, the second level of misrepresentation, concerns the practice of political boundary setting that excludes some individuals from any participation in justice struggles. Fraser suggests that globalization has intensified misframing issues as justice claims increasingly transcend national politics and boundaries. For example, Fraser identifies how our globalized economy, associated foreign investors, and transnational corporations compound *misframing* concerns. Fraser ultimately concludes that the political dimension of justice is "indeed required by, the grammar of the concept of justice. Thus, no redistribution or recognition without representation" (p. 23). Fraser advances her theorising on issues of misrepresentation and globalization in her 2008 book, Scales of Justice: Reimagining Political Space in a Globalizing World. With rising complexity of justice claims, Fraser's three dimensional justice model based on the principles of redistribution, recognition, and representation offer a perspective of justice that can be employed to examine, interpret, and explain a range of equity concerns, including those existent within the field of education.

In this study, Fraser's theoretical model of justice provides the "conceptual architecture" (Anyon, 2009, p. 9) to examine how educational inequities are part of much larger economic, social, and political institutions and systems that impact on the processes of teaching and learning in New Zealand preservice teacher education programmes and schools. Fraser's theorising is re-visited in chapter seven (discussion), to explain how a modified version of Fraser's justice model was devised to analyse and interpret the study data. In addition to presenting her three-dimensional model of justice, Fraser offers several methods or remedies to injustice. The following sections continue to explore Fraser's theorising by discussing some of her proposed remedies, or solutions to injustice.

#### Remedies for the redistribution-recognition dilemma

Fraser proposes two types of approaches as remedies to the injustices of redistribution and recognition. Affirmative remedies are the first solutions to maldistribution and misrecognition. As Fraser explains, affirmative remedies seek more equitable outcomes for marginalised groups that support and value their difference within existing systems, leaving inequitable structures intact. Affirmative remedies therefore focus on changing outcomes rather than processes. In contrast, transformative remedies take a different approach to resolving sources of inequity. While transformative remedies also seek more equitable outcomes they differ from affirmative remedies in their resolve to eliminate inequity by restructuring the systems that create the injustices of maldistribution and misrecognition. Thus, the deconstruction of systems is the outcome of transformative remedies.

# Combining the concepts: affirmative and transformative remedies

Fraser discusses remedies for the injustices of misrecognition and maldistribution through a four-celled matrix, which is replicated in Table 2 below. The table provides a visual model of the intersecting injustices of redistribution and recognition on the horizontal axis. Affirmative and transformative remedies are located on the vertical axis.

Table 2

Fraser's Social Justice Matrix

	Affirmative Remedies	Transformative Remedies
Redistribution	"Surface reallocations of existing good to existing groups; supports group differentiation; can generate misrecognition"	"Deep restructuring of relations of production; blurs group differentiation; can help remedy some forms if misrecognition"
Recognition	"Surface reallocations of respect to existing identities of existing groups; supports group differentiation"	"Deep restructuring of relations of recognition; blurs group differentiation"

*Note.* "From redistribution to recognition? Dilemmas of justice in a 'postsocialist' age," Fraser, N., 1995, *New Left Review, 212*, p. 68-93.

The matrix facilitates a comparison between affirmative and transformative remedies. Fraser cautions that affirmative responses can lead to the stigmatisation of disadvantaged groups. She describes how the process of recognition itself is contradictory. Through demands for recognition, marginalised groups, who suffer from misrecognition and maldistribution, initially appear to be deficient, yet over time, they can be perceived as privileged recipients of special consideration and resources.

Affirmative approaches also tend to be one-dimensional with diminished ability to address multiple identities and dimensions of cultural politics. A critical examination of remedies in the affirmative-recognition category of the matrix exposes their limited ability to address the complexities of identity that can prevent equal participation in society.

In contrast to affirmative remedies, transformative remedies to injustice promote dedifferentiation to address issues of misrecognition while avoiding the stigmatisation of marginalised groups. Transformative remedies, however, require fundamental structural changes and, therefore, represent significant opposition to the status quo. Fraser explains how the restructuring of inequitable systems requires the relinquishment of dominant identities and current beneficiaries of present systems, in favour of more equal distribution of resources. This section of the chapter has presented Fraser's two primary remedies to injustice: affirmative and transformative remedies. However, she also advances a third, alternative type of remedy to injustice discussed below.

# Nonreformist reform

Nonreformist reforms are Fraser's third remedy to injustice offering a third space, or middle ground, between affirmative and transformative remedies. Borrowing the idea from André Gorz, Fraser (2003) explains how nonreformist reforms are, in fact, a two-fold (phased) remedy, incorporating both affirmative and transformative approaches to remedying injustice. As Fraser suggests, nonreformist reforms "engage people's identities and satisfy some of their needs as interpreted within existing frameworks of recognition and distribution; on the other hand, they set in motion a trajectory of change in which more radical reforms become practical over time" (p. 79). In other words, affirmative remedies are precursors to transformative remedies, initiating structural shifts providing conditions necessary for later transformative actions and remedies to the injustices. Fraser refers to the concept of Unconditional Basic Income (UBI) that would "guarantee a minimum standard of living to every citizen, regardless of labor force participation" as an example of a nonreformist reform (p. 78). Under this scheme, subsidizing low incomes to a minimum standard may initially appear to be an affirmative remedy to the injustice of maldistribution yet could also be transformative in the long term. This action could shift the "balance of power between capital and labor" with a long-term result of "undermin[ing] the commodification of labor power" (p. 78).

The discussion of Fraser's three types of remedies to injustice concludes the discussion of Fraser's theoretical framework that informs this study. The overview of Fraser's social justice model began with the original conceptualisation of the principles of redistribution and recognition. An exploration of Fraser's bivalent axes of injustices with cultural and economic origins adds a second layer of theorising to Fraser's social justice framework. The remaining sections of the discussion about Fraser's model of justice explore her three types of remedies to economic, cultural, and

political injustices. The examination of affirmative, transformative, and *nonreformist* reforms infuses a practical element to Fraser's theorising. The following sections are also practical in nature as the focus shifts from theory to methodology.

# Methodology

The research design and methods were influenced by the study's critical theory framework, which emphasises social justice, complementarity and diversity of perspectives. The discussion of mixed methods can be divided into two parts. The first explores this research approach. The second part of the mixed methods discussion provides a three-fold rationale for employing mixed methods strategies and procedures in my research.

#### Mixing methods

As a relatively new approach, the basic definitions and design features of mixed methods research are currently being debated. Terms such as integrative, combined, blended, multi-method and multi-strategy are often used within academic circles; however, the most commonly accepted term is mixed methods (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009). While a variety of approaches to mixed methods research exist, this study aligns with Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009) and Greene's (2007) conceptualization of mixed methods research.

Tashakkori & Teddlie (2009) define mixed methods as "the process of integrating the qualitative and quantitative approaches and procedures in a study to answer the research questions, as well as the specific strategies and procedures that are used" (p. 284). Tashakkori & Teddlie conclude that a mixed methods study is one in which both quantitative and qualitative forms of data collection and analysis are present and findings and inferences from both approaches are integrated.

Acknowledging multiple variations within mixed methods research, Tashakkori & Teddlie have devised their own method of categorizing mixed method research. They use three dimensions to classify mixed methods designs: the number of strands, the type of implementation process and the stages of integration. In this model, 'strands' refer to quantitative and qualitative approaches. The type of strand implementation places the study into one of five families: sequential, parallel,

conversion, multilevel or fully integrated. The stage of integration, or mixing of the contrasting quantitative-qualitative approaches, characterises Tashakkori & Teddlie's definition of mixed methods research. Integration may occur at data collection, analysis or inference stages.

The implementation of mixed methods approaches is a defining aspect of research design and the second dimension within Tashakkori & Teddlie's (2009) typology. Using Tashakkori & Teddlie's definition and typology, this study is an example of a multi-stranded mixed method research design. A variety of implementation techniques are used, and methods are mixed in parallel, independently and sequentially as appropriate. In parallel mixed methods designs, quantitative and qualitative strands data collection occurs simultaneously or with a slight time delay. Analysis of each contrasting strand occurs separately but may influence the other's findings. The entry and exit surveys in this research implement quantitative and qualitative methods in parallel as the surveys simultaneously collected quantitative and qualitative data. Closed questions on entry and exit surveys were the primary source of quantitative data that served multiple purposes. Closed questions in section one were employed to gather participant demographic data. In sections two and three, closed survey questions were designed to probe participants' views and understandings of socioeconomic disadvantage and teaching in low decile settings. Free form text boxes accompanied the majority of closed questions offering participants the opportunity to expand upon the reasoning for their response. The incorporation of closed questions supplemented by open-ended responses boxes illustrates how quantitative and qualitative data were implemented in parallel through this project's surveys.

In addition to showcasing the implementation of mixed methods in parallel via entry and exit surveys, this study also demonstrates how data collection techniques can operate independently. Secondary document analysis of course material related to diversity and teaching in low decile schools is an example of qualitative data collection and analysis that occurred independently of any quantitative techniques. On-going collection of preservice teacher education programme and course documents was an informative process providing the researcher with valuable insight into the aims and goals of each programme. Secondary documents also provided valuable contextual background information about each preservice teacher education programme. Disparities between survey and PL interview data were often identified upon review of secondary documents. PL interviews initially functioned independently of any quantitative methods; however, logistical considerations of

arranging in-person interviews across New Zealand created a time overlap with the secondary document analysis; and therefore in some cases evolved as a parallel design.

Mixed methods techniques were also implemented sequentially. In sequential designs one strand precedes the other so that the strands operate chronologically. Conclusions from the first strand often inform the questions, data collection and analysis of the second strand. Depending on PL interview timing the qualitative PL interviews were followed by secondary document analysis. Discussions with PLs were helpful in providing further explanation and understanding of the course material. While Tashakkori & Teddlie's approach to mixed methods offers a useful overview of this methodological approach, Greene (2007), offers an alternative perspective to mixing methods that illuminates other issues that align with my study.

Greene (2007) presents a paradigmatic approach to mixed methods. She contends that methods are framed within a particular paradigm, or way of knowing. For this reason, a stronger link between the purpose of mixing methods and the actual research design characterizes Greene's model of mixed methods research. Using "mental models" defined as the "set of assumptions, understandings, predispositions, and values and beliefs with which all social inquirers approach their work" Greene acknowledges that contextual factors such as resources, opportunities and societal trends influence research (Greene, 2007, p. 12). For example, Greene indicates how mental models reflect personal values including personal experiences, ideas, and a commitment to diversity.

A prominent social justice perspective is firmly integrated into Greene's mixed methods approach. Building upon a commitment to social justice, Greene views mixed methods research as a means of "conducting social inquiry that meaningfully engages with difference and that is thus positioned in service to the public good, towards a noble vision of a pluralistic society characterized not by radical disparities in power and privilege, but by tolerance, understanding, and acceptance" (Greene, 2007, p. 29). Mixed methods research is advanced as a tool to uncover a better understanding of phenomena by "unsettling the settled; probing the contested; challenging the given; engaging multiple, often discordant perspectives and lenses" (p. 21). Greene's paradigmatic approach to mixing methods, combined with an emphasis on social justice offered an important connection between theory and methodology. In addition to the alignment between theory and methods, a mixed methods approach was selected for methodological and ethical reasons.

#### Mixed methods rationale

A mixed methods approach to my research was chosen for theoretical, methodological, and ethical reasons. Theory played a significant role in the methodology selection process. As Anyon (2009) explains, theory "direct[s] us to appropriate research strategies, to extend the analytical, critical - and sometimes emancipatory - power of our data gathering and interpretation" (p. 2). With a commitment to social justice, and the aim of "challenging the given," Greene's mixed methods approach resonates with critical theory's orientation towards social justice, emancipation, and empowerment (2007, p. 98). Greene's conception of mixed methods also aligns with Fraser's theoretical model of justice. A strong connection between Greene and Fraser's work lies in Greene's "mental model' framework. Greene's mental models acknowledge the influence of contextual and political factors in social science research. Greene discusses contextual factors as resources, opportunities, constraints, and issues in society, aligning with Fraser's economic (redistribution) and cultural (recognition) dimensions of her justice model. In terms of political issues, Greene offers the examples of class, power, and voice that correspond with Fraser's political (representation) dimension of her social justice framework.

A mixed methods approach was also selected for methodological reasons. Mixing quantitative and qualitative methods offers researchers a comprehensive view of the phenomena in question (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009). Greene (2007) for example urges researchers to view mixed methods research as an engagement with epistemological differences, offering the potential for greater understanding of a social phenomenon. Mixed methods designs are advantageous to researchers for two other reasons. First, strengths of one method can be used to inform the other such as the role of quantitative survey data to initiate the development of following data collection tools. Secondly, mixing methods is beneficial for data triangulation purposes. Use of multiple methods can increase the validity of the data by minimizing bias and potential errors leading to the "convergence, corroboration, or correspondence of results" (Greene, 2007, p. 100). A mixed methods design was applied to this study because it offered the flexibility to choose the most appropriate method to examine the research questions. The application of different methods created a platform from which to map trends and identify patterns of change. In addition to providing flexibility, a mixed methods research design was also responsive to changing research dynamics such as institution specific factors, and logistical data collection challenges.

Ethical considerations were the final reason for selecting a mixed methods approach for this study. Due to the sensitive nature of socioeconomic disadvantage and poverty, this study also sought to identify the silences and absences related to what was not said, heard, or discussed in relation to these equity concerns by those involved in New Zealand preservice teacher education programmes. Mixing methods offered multiple opportunities and methods of exposing the 'anomalies' or absences. In this study, the silences surrounding issues of socioeconomic disadvantage inform later theorising and interpretation of the data explained as part of the Politics of Discomfort model in chapter seven (discussion). The inclusion of silences and arguably less frequently heard comments about disadvantage and poverty corresponds with theoretical and methodological ideas of co-construction of knowledge, power discourses, democratic order, social justice, and challenging the status quo that further support the connection between theory and methodology. With an overview of this study's theoretical, methodological frameworks in place, the remaining sections of the chapter illustrate how elements of the research design reflect the chosen theoretical and methodological decisions of the thesis.

# Research design

While a mixed methods research design capitalizes upon the strengths of qualitative and quantitative research methods, my study's emphasis is on qualitative methods. Qualitative research emphasises the "social context for understanding the social world" reflecting the belief that context can alter the meaning and/or significance of the social phenomena (Neuman, 2003, p. 146). Qualitative research permits researchers to "study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3). For this reason, qualitative research often occurs in the participant's regular environment (Creswell, 2009).

Context, or setting, was a central consideration in my study design. A primary objective of this research was to capture participants' engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage during the 2011 GradDip secondary programme timeline. Data were collected in three phases to measure initial, developing, and final engagement with disadvantage in education. Phase one (February-March 2011), surveyed preservice teachers' initial thoughts about socioeconomic disadvantage, and teaching in disadvantaged schools at the beginning of their programme. In phase two (October and December

2011), programme and course documents were collected for analysis and PL interviews were conducted. In the third phase (November-December 2011), exit survey data was gathered to investigate preservice teachers' engagements with socioeconomic disadvantage upon programme completion. Please note the exception of one institution that had two cohort start dates: February and July. Data collection for the July cohort followed the same year-long data collection timeframe. Although there is an emphasis on qualitative methods, quantitative survey data also plays an integral role within this study.

In quantitative research, deductive reasoning, empirical data, and statistical techniques are central to describing patterns of social behaviour to better understand social phenomena. With a focus on numerical data, quantitative methods permit a "wider scope and more generalised level of explanation" (Payne & Payne, 2004, p. 182). Subscribing to a positivist or rational approach to research, precise measurements are sought by analysing variables to test hypotheses (Creswell, 2009; Neuman, 1997). Statistical analysis and interpretation of data can identify patterns and trends, predict events and reveal relationships between concepts (Neuman, 1997). An advantage of quantitative research is that numerical data allow the researcher to assume a neutral, more objective perspective (Payne & Payne, 2004). In this research, quantitative survey data both informed and complemented qualitative data. Initial themes and key concepts identified in the quantitative survey data initiated further investigation of these topics in the qualitative data.

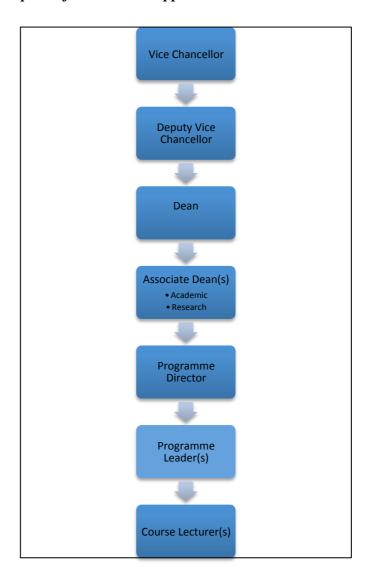
Research dynamics including multiple actors and variables involved in this study required revising the initial research design. In this sense, the research plan operated as a 'living' document. The progression of the research design, from initial conception to final implementation highlights the flexibility and adaptability of the study design to accommodate logistical and institution specific requirements.

#### Site access.

Site access was an important research design consideration. The challenge arose due to slight variations in university organization that influenced the approach taken to invite universities to participate in the study. In most cases site access involved gaining approval from seven levels of senior management and academic university staff (see Figure 4).

Figure 4.

Levels of Site Access Required for Research Approval



Initial requests for site access to staff and students were directed to the University's Deputy Vice Chancellor (DVC) or Vice Chancellor (VC), or Dean of the Faculty of Education. Positive feedback regarding the research project was received from all seven universities; however, two institutions declined the offer to participate. In total, five universities accepted the invitation to participate in this national study. Next, a consultative process followed the VC, DVC, or Dean approval for site access at each participating university. Senior administrative staff such as Associate Deans, Programme Directors, Programme Leaders, and some senior academic staff were invited into informative discussions about my study.

Student privacy emerged as a key discussion topic at all participating institutions. PLs in particular were keen to ensure that preservice teachers were well informed about the project, and understood that academic relationships would not be affected by participation or non-participation in this study. The insights from these consultations led to several minor research design alterations such as word changes on Participant Information Sheets (PIS) and Consent Forms (CFs), and PLs were the vital link between myself, as the researcher, and the preservice teacher study participants.

The primary form of communication with the GradDip secondary cohort was intended to be via email as research suggests that higher survey responses are generated using this method (Sue & Ritter, 2007). Using the saturation sampling technique, all GradDip preservice teachers at each participating institution were invited to participate in the surveys and forum. PLs distributed all research information to their GradDip secondary cohort using different internal communication channels, in alignment with university privacy policies. Information about the study was also disseminated via different online communication tools. Online software programmes such as Blackboard, Moodle and CECIL were helpful in informing potential participants about the research. The third method of reaching prospective participants was the distribution of hard copies of the research advertisement around each participating Faculty of Education.

Interested preservice teachers self-selected to be involved in the research by contacting the researcher directly via email. Interested participants then received a copy of the full PIS to review. The enclosed message encouraged participants to take the opportunity to ask questions about the research prior to using the provided Survey Monkey and Moodle links to access the online surveys and forum. Site access was integral to the successful outcome of multiple ethics committee approval processes.

#### **Ethical considerations.**

The site access consultation process at one institution raised the issue of multiple institution ethics committee approval to conduct my research. In addition to the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee approval for this study, Institution 1 required ethics approval from its own internal Ethics Committee. Issues of access, and participant and institution confidentiality were

key topics addressed in this application. Successful ethics approval was gained from both institutions allowing the research to commence.

One ethics amendment was submitted and approved at the University of Auckland, and Institution 1. The amendment sought permission to offer preservice teacher participants the opportunity to complete the exit survey in hard copy format as an alternative to completing the survey online. Approval for this additional data collection method was received from both institutions.

Issues of access, privacy, and confidentiality surrounding the sensitive topics of socioeconomic disadvantage, ethnicity, and culture were reflected in the research design and implementation. The selection of data collection tools were carefully selected in order to demonstrate a high level of awareness and respect for the ethical issues and participants, while comprehensively examining how individuals and groups engage with socioeconomic disadvantage.

# Research design development.

The original research design incorporated multiple voices and data collection techniques. Intended study participants included all seven university GradDip secondary programmes, along with their academic staff, and preservice teachers to participate in this research. A variety of data collection tools including online surveys, an online forum, semi-structured interviews, and document analysis of programme/course material provided knowledge of programme, teacher educator, and preservice teachers' engagements with socioeconomic disadvantage and teaching in low decile schools.

This study's iterative design and development process included numerous adaptations in response to a range of factors including data collection logistics, and institution specific requirements and feedback. Three key modifications to the original research design were implemented. Participation prompted the first two adaptations of the research design. First, entry survey completion rates prompted the provision of hard copy exit surveys. Second, participation and logistical advertising and distribution factors prompted the cancellation of the online forum. Third, informed by survey and interview data, the document analysis process was extended to relevant policy documents

including the New Zealand Teachers' Council *Graduating Teaching Standards* (New Zealand Teachers Council, 2007a).

#### Methods

This research engaged with a range of data collection tools that permitted the researcher to measure preservice teachers' understandings of disadvantage from various perspectives. In this research surveys were employed to gain insight into how preservice teachers engaged with issues of socioeconomic disadvantage and teaching in low decile schools.

#### Surveys.

As Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) explain, surveys are useful instruments that "gather data at a particular point in time with the intention of describing the nature of existing conditions, or identifying standards against which existing conditions can be compared, or determining the relationships that exist between specific events" (p. 169). In this study surveys sought participants' self-reported understandings of disadvantage and teaching in low decile schools upon entry and completion of their GradDip secondary programmes (L. Gay, 1996; Neuman, 1997). Surveys were chosen to assess if, how, and in what ways preservice teachers' understandings of issues change over time (Cozby, 2009). As described earlier, preservice teachers had the option of completing the survey online or in hard copy format.

Online surveys are becoming increasingly common data collection tools. Research shows that online survey research accounts for 20 percent of global data collection expenditure in 2006 (Vehovar & Manfreda, 2008, p. 179). Online surveys were incorporated into my research as the virtual environment transcends physical and geographical challenges, providing access to preservice teacher participants across New Zealand (Wright, 2005). Participating universities offer various online services, courses and IT support suggesting the likelihood that most preservice teachers would have the computer literacy skills and internet access to successfully complete the online surveys.

Online surveys offered several other advantages. They are cost efficient, sustainable, provide immediate data and permit researchers to track participant access, usage and survey completion statistics (Sue & Ritter, 2007; Wright, 2005). It has also been reported that the anonymous virtual environment encourages more honest responses (Sue & Ritter, 2007). Online surveys can also be more attractive to individuals who may be hesitant to meet in person, addressing issues of anonymity and confidentiality discussed earlier in the chapter (Wright, 2005). Minimizing in-person contact with the participants also assists in reducing researcher bias (Sue & Ritter, 2007). The 24-hour accessibility of online surveys is another advantage to participants and researchers. Participants can respond to the survey at their own pace, in the environment that is most convenient to their individual preferences (Sue & Ritter, 2007; Vehovar & Manfreda, 2008). Preservice teachers were also able to complete the survey at several different intervals. Technological advancements increased the accessibility of the survey. Preservice teachers were able to respond to survey questions on the technological tool of their choice including computers, Personal Digital Assistants (PDA) such as ipads and mobile phones (Vehovar & Manfreda, 2008).

Survey Monkey software (<a href="www.surveymonkey.com">www.surveymonkey.com</a>) was used to conduct the online survey. Survey Monkey was selected as it is well-known, user friendly and offers secure data storage and the option of manually entering hard copy survey data. Survey Monkey software also offers numerous analysis tools including filters, text analysis, downloadable charts, and report summaries. Survey Monkey was also best suited to this study as it offered the flexibility to present questions in a range of different formats and styles.

## Survey questions.

The surveys offered a range of complementary closed and open-ended survey questions. Closed questions offered participants fixed response choices. Closed questions were advantageous in this national survey for several reasons. For participants, closed questions were quick and easy to answer. For the researcher, closed questions facilitated participant response to sensitive issues (Neuman, 1997). Closed questions also assisted the researcher to easily code, compare, and statistically analyse participant responses (Neuman, 1997). The entry and exit surveys incorporated a range of forced choice closed questions including yes/no, ranking, and Likert scale questions probing preservice teachers' understanding of issues related to socioeconomic disadvantage. Open-ended questions offered participants the opportunity to expand upon their fixed choice response providing

richer, more complex data. Large text boxes followed most closed questions allowing participants to share their knowledge, opinions, and understandings of issues related to disadvantage and teaching in low decile school contexts. The second online data collection tool is the online forum. This additional qualitative strategy was integrated into the original research design for many similar reasons as those described above in relation to the use of surveys.

#### Online forum.

Research suggests that online or virtual forums offer numerous benefits. For example, hosting an online forum eliminates time, access, financial, and geographical constraints (T. Anderson & Kanuka, 1997). With 24-hour accessibility, the virtual forum environment allowed participants to contribute to online forum questions at their convenience. The online environment also increases the forum's accessibility for particular groups of students, such as those with disabilities. For students with disabilities, and others who face other life challenges, the online environment is an academic and social equalizer that can, if only temporarily, remove some of the learning and participatory barriers for these students. The virtual setting also allows students to reflect on the questions and forum responses, providing opportunities to research supporting evidence to advance their ideas. The anonymity of the online environment may encourage students who may be less comfortable participating in class discussions (Tickner & Gallagher, 2010). Financial barriers to participation in the online forum were dismissed, as internet access was available to all preservice teacher participants at their respective universities and also at public institutions such as community libraries.

The online forum was made accessible to participants during 2-3 weeks of their GradDip programme. Live access to the online forum varied by institution from late July to early August. Discussion questions that initiated online forum discussion included the following prompts:

- Discuss decile rankings.
- What causes poverty?
- Discuss the influence of your GradDip programme is having on your attitudes towards teaching in low decile schools.
- Cultural and socioeconomic diversity in New Zealand is increasing. Why should this be of concern to schools and teachers?

Forum data were unique to other data collection methods as the forum posts occurred in real time and therefore data generated immediately. Developments and/or changes in dispositional trends were identifiable as they occurred. As participants were placed into subgroups by tertiary institution, their comments were only viewable to other participants at the same institution.

## Interviews.

At the most basic level, interviews are mere conversations between two people on a particular topic during which time ideas, opinions and perspectives are exchanged. Research interviews are more structured with well-defined purpose and goals (Kvale, 1996). The voices of experienced PLs added a different perspective to conversations about various engagements with disadvantage during GradDip secondary programmes. With extensive lecturing and teaching experience, and strong leadership qualities, participating PLs are positioned as 'elites' within the faculty.

## Interviewing elites.

Interviewing elites poses unique challenges. Elites are individuals with high social status who correspondingly hold influential levels of cultural, political and social capital (Mutch, 2006). Access to elites is a primary consideration for researchers. Elites often belong to closed networks that are difficult to enter requiring researchers to carefully negotiate numerous access related issues. In research personal and professional networks are often useful in securing access to elites (Mutch, 2006). Conducting PL interviews required the approval of the Vice Chancellors (VC) or Deans of each participating institution. VCs and Dean support this study led to introduction to other key institutional elites - most often Associate Deans, Head of Schools (HoS) and Heads of Department (HoD) who then provided access to the desired PLs. This approval and referral process demonstrates how various levels of elites opened the elite network for this research to be pursued.

As Mutch (2006) explains, maintaining communication with elites is another challenge for researchers. For example, elites' busy schedules can limit contact time with them as research participants. Additionally, gatekeepers such as administrators and personal assistants can also inhibit access to elites. Strategies employed to maximise contact time with elites include introductions to PLs by VCs and Deans, and securing meetings well in advance.

Recognising the political and ethical motivations of the interviewee is the third important consideration of interviewing elites. Elites tend to be strong political players in positions of authority, familiar with being in control of a given situation, and are therefore often skilled interviewees (Mutch, 2006; Payne & Payne, 2004). Researchers must be aware that interviews reflect the interviewee's interpretation of the phenomenon from their own perspective (Cohen et al., 2000; Mutch, 2006). For instance, elites may have deeper political motivations to be interviewed. For various reasons elite interviewees may be selective in the information they choose to share with the researcher or attempt to lead the interview in a particular direction, increasing the researcher's challenge of mediating the interviewee's transcript. The researcher must maintain the same level of objectivity towards the elite interviewee despite the elite's political position and social status that may draw higher attention and scrutiny from the public (Payne & Payne, 2004).

In this research, full transparency minimized these ethical issues. Interview questions were forwarded in advance to PLs who also were provided the opportunity to review and approve the written transcripts. Following the principle of reciprocity, each interviewee was invited to a formal research presentation about the study demonstrating open collaboration between myself, as the researcher, the interviewees and participating institutions. Interviewing elites is a complex process involving multiple access issues and ethical considerations; however, these interviews provided rich data and a deeper understanding of preservice teachers' understandings of disadvantage and teaching in low decile schools. In addition to the voices of preservice teachers and PLs, the analysis of institution and programme documents offered a third perspective of engagements with disadvantage during GradDip secondary preservice teacher education programmes.

## Secondary documents.

This research is also informed by the analysis of a range of internal and external preservice teacher education documents. Examples of internal preservice teacher education documents include institution and programme prospectuses, course material related to socioeconomic disadvantage and diversity, and lecturer notes that added another contextual layer to study findings. For instance, institution and programme prospectuses offered insights into university diversity strategies. Meanwhile programme and course documents including publically available course outlines, lecturer notes, and personal communication offered more specific information about how programmes approach the concept of disadvantage. The inclusion of multiple voices (participant, PL and institutional) strengthens the reliability of data yet also required the use of numerous quantitative and qualitative analytic techniques. The following discussion of the analysis process illustrates how different analytic strategies informed one another.

# Data analysis and interpretation

## Quantitative data analysis

Closed survey questions were the main source of quantitative data. Survey Monkey software offers additional descriptive statistical data analysis tools for examining different numbers of variables. For example, univariate analysis focuses on one variable, which was used as an initial level of analysis (Neuman, 1997). A frequency count is a univariate analysis feature of Survey Monkey summaries. Frequency counts provided the researcher with a general overview of the distribution, and patterns of participant responses. A series of Survey Monkey bivariate analysis tools were also employed to analyse the collected data. Filters were applied to specific questions across the survey allowing the researcher to isolate and determine potential relationships between two variables. For instance, this study sought to investigate if preservice teachers' understandings of disadvantage were influenced by demographic, historical, personal or experiential factors. Filters were applied to particular questions to identify possible correlations between personal factors and outcomes related to disadvantage.

The national scale of this research project required a method of organising and analysing the data by institution and as a collective national sample. Participant data was organised into subgroups by tertiary institution. Designated institution codes identified participants' tertiary provider. Institutional subgroups facilitated data comparison between institutions and assisted the researcher to identify national trends. Data filtered by institution gained strong interest from participating university institutions eager to receive insights into their cohort's understandings of disadvantage in relation to teaching in low decile schools. Filtering data by institution allowed the researcher to investigate potential institution specific patterns, and to compare institution trends with the national sample. In some cases, the application of a response date filter provided insight into the influence of particular courses or fieldwork participants were undertaking at the time of the survey.

Multivariate analysis tools such as Survey Monkey filters, crosstabs, and custom reports enabled the researcher to examine the influence of multiple variables on participants' responses. For example, multiple filters and crosstabs were used to analyse the combined influence of various experiential factors on participants' understandings of low decile schools. For example, personal educational and practicum experience in a low decile school were isolated as two potential factors influencing preservice teachers' intentions of seeking future employment in low decile schools. Mapping of responses to a line of related questions indicated possible dependencies among multiple variables. Quantitative analysis of survey data provided an initial overview of the national GradDip cohort's understandings and engagements with socioeconomic disadvantage. Key concepts drawn from these quantitative findings directed the early stages of the qualitative analysis of open-ended survey questions, PL interview transcripts and secondary documents.

## Qualitative data analysis

The surveys, PL interviews and secondary documents generated a substantial amount of qualitative data to analyse. Multiple analyses were completed to identify patterns and organise data into categories and themes (Creswell, 2009). Initial findings from analysis of quantitative survey data provided a starting point for emergent themes within the qualitative data. Content analysis, coding and discourse analysis were three qualitative analysis techniques used to analyse the open ended survey questions, interview transcripts and programme documents.

## **Content analysis**

Content analysis indicates the presence of words, concepts and themes to make sense of documents or texts to better understand the implications of human behaviour (Gray, Williamson, Karp, & Dalphin, 2007). Conceptual content analysis establishes the frequency of words and concepts through systematic identification and recording of occurrences within the text. Relational content analysis is a more in-depth analysis technique in which the researcher examines the meanings, subtexts and relationships between the identified concepts adding deeper meaning to the text. As an analytic tool, content analysis is highly beneficial. The identification of categories and relationships between concepts is statistical in nature, serving as a bridge between quantitative and qualitative methods. With a focus on text rather than human subjects content analysis is 'unobstrustive' also assisting in reducing researcher bias (Gray et al., 2007). The value of language is also highlighted as an indicator of human behaviour and means of interpreting values and dispositions within unique historical and cultural contexts (Neuman, 1997).

In this study, content analysis was the first analysis method applied to written survey, interview transcript and secondary document texts. Identifying and recording the presence and frequency of concepts served two functions: it provided a quantitative description of the textual content while also indicating trends within and between data sources. The methodical analysis of qualitative documents began with preservice teachers' open-ended survey responses before moving onto PL transcripts and institutional programme material. Four concepts: socioeconomic status, deciles, ethnicity and culture, and dispositional understandings of disadvantage created an initial point from which to begin the sense making process. Strong commonalities and some differences in word use reflected different perspectives of preservice teachers' understandings of disadvantage. The relational analysis was crucially important in assisting the researcher to make sense of participants' use of, and meaning attached to particular concepts. Patterns of word use, and interchangeable use of particular words became findings indicative of participants' understandings and feelings about teaching in disadvantaged school contexts. A greater understanding of the implications of language was made possible through content analysis (Shuker, 1999). High frequency of particular words and concepts provided a natural direction and transition into coding or the next phase of qualitative analysis.

## **Coding**

Coding is the process of systematically labelling and assigning descriptive and/or inferential information to the data (Creswell, 2009; Punch, 2005). Coding identifies patterns and irregularities for further analysis based on frequency, direction and intensity of a concept. In my research a two phase coding process was adopted. In the first phase, survey, interview, and document data were first coded separately. This initial coding process allowed for key codes to be identified by data source. Initial codes illuminated similarities and differences between data sources to be pursed in the second coding phase. All additional coding phases were holistic or applied across all data sources.

Data was analysed, classified, and organised in multiple ways using NVivo software. NVivo enables researchers to manipulate the data and save the results while testing specific theories. Software features such as visual representations and query functions made different manipulations of the data accessible. Exploring data through various representations styles enabled the researcher to draw deeper conclusions from the data. For example, visual data representations emphasised stronger connections between themes.

Three levels of coding can be applied to the survey, interview, and document data. The first level of coding is descriptive or open coding. This initial coding stage is a low level of analysis in which initial labels and themes are assigned to the data (Neuman, 1997). Open coding is often directed by the research questions, key concepts from previous research and literature in the field. In my research open coding did follow many of these conventions. Instead, as indicated above, key concepts from the quantitative findings largely informed the open coding process. In my study PL interview and document data were also entered into NVivo for coding. The same open coding process led to the identification of broad descriptive codes in PL interview transcripts, and within the range of institution, programme and course documents.

Inferential coding is the second phase of the coding process. Inferential coding involves the review of initial codes identified in the preliminary open coding phase. Data and codes are reexamined and expanded for connections, causes and effects, sequences, strategies and processes, and patterns that may guide the reorganization of concepts into larger clusters or subcategories (Neuman, 1997). In my research initial codes were expanded into multiple subcategories. The creation of

subcategories identified the variance in strategies, behaviours, and engagements with socioeconomic disadvantage amongst participant groups.

In this research, theoretical coding was the final phase of the coding process. Using Fraser's theoretical model of justice discussed earlier in the chapter, all data were coded as examples of redistribution or recognition. This theoretical coding process informed the development of two original conceptual models discussed later in chapter 7 (discussion). The theoretical coding offered the flexibility to isolate SES related questions while also identifying findings with economic and cultural roots. Theoretical coding also provided a means of connecting survey, interview, and document data. Overall, the theoretical coding adapted from Fraser's model of justice provided a more comprehensive understanding of how participants engage with issues of disadvantage by integrating the findings from the surveys, interviews and documents. Memos, or written notes about data and codes, are integral to the coding process. The significance and function of memos is important to all phases of coding.

## Memos

Memos are concentrated hubs of information about each code. They typically contain information and notes regarding significance of the code and even thoughts and questions about the data that prompted its creation (Punch, 2005). Analytic memos serve several important functions. First they document the coding process. Memos are important records of the researcher's thoughts and reflections on the reason for the development of each code. The definition and interpretation of codes are two other sources of information contained in memos that assist in maintaining consistent application of codes across the data. Finally, memos may also help direct the analysis in new paths by connecting the data to analytic and abstract thinking about current codes. The reflective nature of memos assists to interrogate the data, discover links between the codes, and create additional more precise names for codes. With the methods and analytic strategies in place, three final research design considerations remain. Discussions regarding validity, reliability and research limitations conclude this methodology chapter.

## Ensuring rigour and credibility

Issues of validity and reliability have traditionally been associated with quantitative research and heavily debated in association with qualitative research Mutch (2013). Regardless of semantics, issues of quality and rigour were carefully considered. The dependability and trustworthiness of this research leading to credible and defensible findings was addressed by mixing methods and using a variety of data collection techniques providing different entry points from which to investigate a "controversial aspects of education" (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 115). The development of all data collection tools included rigorous testing, review and revision phases. The researcher engaged with academics, research colleagues, participating institutions, and two ethics committees in association with the surveys, forum and interview questions improving the quality of each instrument. The surveys were also tested by independent colleagues working outside the field of education. Reviewer comments prompted minor revisions, improving the clarity of wording and instructions for participants. Consistency of coding was enhanced by strict adherence to the developed definitions and rules of analytic memos within open-ended survey, interview transcripts and secondary document data. Iterative analysis of the data strengthened the consistency and dependability of the results. Mixing methods, use of multiple data collection tools, and the inclusion of different perspectives of how various teacher education groups engage with socioeconomic disadvantage and the low decile school context demonstrate a high level of rigor, dependability and transferability of study findings. Triangulation or the "convergence, corroboration, or correspondence of results" (Greene, 2007, p. 100) from the multiple sources adds to the trustworthiness of study findings while minimising methodological limitations and biases (Cohen et al., 2000; Greene, 2007). While significant measures were taken to ensure a high level of rigour and trustworthiness in the reported findings of this project, all research is susceptible to some limitations. Limitations of this research were largely associated with status as an external researcher and the online environment of the surveys and forum.

#### Limitations

Additional issues of access to participants were associated with status as an external researcher. University privacy policies and regulations limiting contact time and communication with participants were challenges at most institutions. To minimize these constraints the researcher worked in collaboration with institutional elites, namely Programme Leaders, who were critical informants about the research, and important contacts in communicating with preservice teacher study participants. A potential low survey response rate was one concern associated with the online environment of the survey and forum. One strategy of addressing the issue of participation was to modify the research plan to offer preservice teachers the option of completing the exit survey in hard copy format. The outcome of distributing hard copy exit surveys was a 181 percent participation increase.

Minimal online forum participation was the major limitation in this study. Even with careful, time intensive planning and IT workshop development training online forum did not progress as planned. Minimal online forum participation can be attributed to a variety of reasons including access issues and competition for students' time amongst other mandatory online forums and programme assignments. Upon reflection, the logistics behind providing students access to the forum as dictated by university privacy policies, and the requirement to maintain participant anonymity likely contributed to low online forum participation. The research plan was adapted to minimize the limitations outlined above. Preservice teachers' limited participation in the forum led the researcher to focus on the survey data to understand how preservice teachers understand and engage with disadvantage during their GradDip Secondary programmes.

#### **Conclusion**

This chapter presents the overarching theoretical and methodological frameworks that guide this study. In this research, the theoretical and methodological decisions are grounded in the principles of social justice that seek to challenge different sources of injustice in pursuit of a more equitable society, and influenced all theoretical, methodological and research design decisions. In other words, this study's orientation towards social justice is the 'red thread' that connects its critical theoretical framework to Greene's social justice approach to mixed methods research. In turn, the theoretical and

methodological decisions set the context for the inclusion of multiple data collection tools and analytic techniques to examine how multiple 'voices' or individuals and groups engage with issues of disadvantage within GradDip secondary preservice teacher education programmes across New Zealand. Aligning with principles of social justice, this study's iterative design was carefully crafted in consultation with multiple rounds of feedback from institutions, preservice teacher education programmes, and a range of teacher educators. Subscribing to Greene's idea of "challenging the given" the research plan was operationalized with data being collected from March to December 2011 (Greene, 2007, p. 98). With the theoretical and methodological constructs of my research outlined here, the next chapter presents the key findings of this study.

# Chapter five: Findings: Unsettling conversations about preservice teachers' engagement with disadvantage

#### Introduction

This chapter presents the key findings from the document analysis of institution and programme documents (N=5), PL interviews (N=5), and preservice teacher entry and exit surveys (N=198). This study aimed to examine how New Zealand GradDip secondary preservice teachers acknowledge and engage with socioeconomic disadvantage during their one-year preservice teacher education programmes. The findings have been organised according to the three strands of voices (institutions and programmes, PLs, and preservice teachers) involved in this research. The inclusion of each distinct voice offers a comprehensive understanding of how socioeconomic disadvantage is acknowledged and conceptualised within each source. This method of organisation enables rich descriptions of the data highlighting the similarities and differences between each participant group and lays a foundation for the comparative analysis of findings across the multiple data sources. Methodologically and logistically, organising findings by data source is advantageous for two reasons. First, it aligns with the aim of presenting the findings as objectively as possible. Secondly, presenting findings independently by data source enables an in-depth analysis of each participant group's perspective on preservice teachers' engagement with disadvantage. In the following section, a brief review of the context in which this study was conducted serves as a reminder of the setting, data sources, and analytic tools involved in this research.

## Study overview

This study sought to capture a national snapshot of how preservice teachers acknowledged and engaged with socioeconomic disadvantage. In order to achieve this goal a range of publicly available and private institution and programme documents, from five institutions, were analysed. Documents included university and programme prospectuses, online programme information, and course booklets and outlines. Semi-structured interviews with PLs were the second source of data. Two national surveys of preservice teachers, upon entry and near completion of their GradDip secondary programme, were the third and final source of data. With the review of data sources and analytic tools

complete, the following paragraph provides a more detailed outline of how the findings will be discussed.

This analysis of findings commences at the broadest institutional level and successively narrows in scope to discuss the views of PLs, and preservice teachers. This multi-layered analytic approach provides the opportunity to identify and discuss any possible alignment or incongruence between institutional goals, their delivery at the programme level, and outcomes amongst preservice teachers. Divided into three sections based on data source, the first section discusses the range of institution and programme documents by type: institution and programme prospectuses; online programme information; and course booklets and course outlines. The second section, PL interviews, presents strands of findings organised into three categories: institution and programme environment; policy; and logistical imitations. The third section presents findings from the preservice teacher entry and exit surveys. The six categories that emerged from the latter analysis are: understandings of the decile system; engagement and understanding of socioeconomic diversity and disadvantage; engagement with ethnicity and culture; classroom environment; understandings of the disadvantaged context of students, families, and schools; and the role of teachers in challenging socioeconomic inequality. The chapter concludes with an integrated summary of all of the findings that emerged from the three data sources.

# Section one: Institution and programme documents

This section identifies the findings that emerged through a document analysis of a range of institution and programme documents. Findings from the document analysis are divided by document type: institution and programme prospectuses; online institution and programme information; and course booklets and outlines. The analysis of all document types focuses on the key contexts in which socioeconomic disadvantage is mentioned.

## Institution and programme prospectuses

Overall, institution and programme documents yield little published evidence of any acknowledgement and/or engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage. However, additional iterative analyses of institution and faculty documents suggest five contexts in which discussions of socioeconomic disadvantage are most likely to occur: in reference to the New Zealand Teachers Council (NZTC) Graduating Teaching Standards (GTS) document; through recognition of ethnic student groups; supporting resources in descriptions of inclusive pedagogy and practices; and in relation to fieldwork placements. Examples from each context illustrate how participating institutions refer to issues of socioeconomic disadvantage within formal university communication.

## New Zealand Teachers Council Graduating Teacher Standards document

One method of discussing disadvantage is through reference to the NZTC GTS document. The NZTC sets professional teaching standards as a quality measure for all graduating preservice teachers (New Zealand Teachers Council, 2007a). "Professional Knowledge" is the third GTS category that focuses on the contextual factors that influence learning. These contextual factors include the "bicultural, multicultural, social, political, economic and historical contexts of Aotearoa New Zealand". The full NZTC GTS document is located in Appendix F.

Institutions often replicated or paraphrased GTS criteria in their documents. For example, Institution 1's prospectus states: "[Preservice teachers will] have an understanding of education within the bicultural, multicultural, social, political, economic and historical contexts of Aotearoa New Zealand". Institution 2 describes teaching as:

Contextual, culturally and historically situated and inevitably coloured by the stories, explanations, theories and values that are dominant at any one time. Teachers need to have critical self-awareness and be able and willing to offer explanation of their own position in respect of these influences, culturally constructed viewpoints and principles.

Institution 3 offers a similar discussion of contextual learning factors in relation to their programme's aim to "examine theories of how people learn and the socio-cultural factors that influence them".

Institution 4 presents similar GTS messaging in its course descriptions. These courses consider the "impact of personal, social, political and cultural factors on teaching and learning" and "examine theories of how people learn and the socio-cultural factors that influence the responsibilities for teachers in New Zealand schools". Institution 5 follows suit in its prospectus by "explor[ing] questions relating to catering for the needs of diverse learners, the Treaty of Waitangi, and the socio-political influences that shape the interconnections between learning and context". The concept of culture, which is prominently featured in the GTS document, continues to resonate within university and programme prospectuses through sustained discussions of ethnic and cultural groups explored in further detail in following sections.

## Ethnic student groups.

Institutions and programmes in this study also demonstrate some awareness of socioeconomic disadvantage through their recognition of Māori and Pasifika cultural and ethnic groups (all institutions), and international students (all institutions). Frequently, the identification of diverse ethnic and cultural groups is followed by descriptions of strategies to address cultural and ethnic diversity issues. For example, Institution 1 has an expectation for its students to "recognise and value diversity e.g. gender/ethnicity/culture and promote a learning culture which engages diverse learners effectively". Institution 2's prospectus discusses its distinctiveness from other New Zealand programmes by its provision of "experiences enabling graduates to meet New Zealand's bicultural commitments and work within its diverse communities". Likewise, Institution 3's GradDip secondary programme content considers "bicultural issues in Aotearoa/New Zealand". Institution 4 refers to staff who, "contribute to scholarship, both nationally and internationally, in a wide range of areas" including "Māori, Pasifika and indigenous education". Institution 5 discusses five courses that focus on biculturalism, multiculturalism and "inter-culturality". These courses specifically refer to:

- The educational and cultural needs and aspirations of Māori learners and communities.
- Developing the knowledge, skills and attitudes associated with planning, teaching and assessing for learning languages and develops conceptual understandings about bi-/ multi-lingualism and bi-/multi-lpreservice teacher educationracy and inter-culturality.
- Competence in te reo Māori and matauranga Māori....[and] addresses the needs and aspirations of Māori learners and communities in order to improve educational outcomes.
- Exploration of "identity" for Pacific learners.

Institution 5 courses descriptions listed above indicate how biculturalism, multiculturalism, and ethnicity often referred to Māori and Pasifika ethnic groups. Further review of institution and programme documents also suggests that specialised support services also apply to Māori and Pasifika students.

## Supporting resources.

Analysis of institution and programme prospectuses and handbooks suggests the existence of targeted university support systems (by all institutions) for Māori and Pasifika students. The participating institutions have developed a range of support mechanisms for Māori and Pasifika that can be placed in three categories: academic support, ethnic and cultural support, and financial support. Institutions 3 & 5 offer multiple forms of support to Māori and Pasifika students. For example, Institution 3 offers a range of cultural, spiritual, academic, and financial support for Pasifika students. The prospectus describes their Pacific Islands Centre as a "cultural and spiritual home for all those who identify with the Pacific nations of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia". The centre seeks to create a community network for the Pacific community within the university offering "support and guidance" as required. This prospectus also refers to the strategic, multi-dimensional planning inclusive of general pastoral student care, academic and financial planning for all enrolled students. Another example of multiple support systems includes the range of services at Institution 5 that has developed Māori and Pasifika Academic Support Services. A third example of multiple integrated support systems for Māori students is located in Institution 2's handbook. Although located under the heading of "mentoring support" the handbook description discusses a university wide network providing academic and personal support that "informs Māori students about the many facilities, events and services available within the university".

Financial support, in the form of scholarship information, was also discussed by some institutions (Institution 1, 4, 5). Scholarships for Pasifika students were offered at Institution 1 while Institution 5 provided external scholarship information for Māori and Māori medium teachers, and "secondary teachers of specific subjects". Institution 4 presented a unique case. Their scholarship information for Māori and Pasifika students was attached to specific school decile attendance criteria. Their statement reads, "[these] scholarships are offered to academically able students who are of Māori or Pacific descent, have a disability or who were educated at a decile 1–3 school and can

demonstrate financial hardship". This scholarship information is unique in that it directly aligns disadvantaged students with other groups under the 'diversity' umbrella including cultural and ethnic minorities, and individuals with disabilities.

All five institutions identified the need for academic, ethnic and cultural, and financial support for ethnic groups, particularly for Māori and Pasifika students. That is not to say that support for all other students is not available. Institution 3's prospectus, for example, refers to strategic multi-dimensional pastoral student care, inclusive of academic and financial planning for all enrolled students. This analysis simply identifies additional ethnic based support systems for Māori and Pasifika student groups. Further evidence of a sustained focus on ethnicity and culture within participating New Zealand teacher education programmes is now discussed in relation to descriptions of various inclusive pedagogies and practices below.

## Inclusive pedagogy and practices.

The examination of 'inclusive' pedagogies and practices in university and programme prospectuses indicates again their close alignment with ethnic and cultural groups. Some universities such as Institution 2 make broad commitments to diversity, stating that "students will study and work with a diverse range of people, including university staff, other teacher education students, teachers and the students you meet in schools and centres". Equity is also one of Institution 2's Faculty goals: "this Faculty is committed to excellence in teaching and research, equity". Other institutions offer bicultural interpretations of inclusive pedagogies and practices. The provision of Te Reo Māori teacher education streams (mainstream, bilingual, and immersion) at Institutions 2, 4, 5 are evidence of this bicultural approach to "inclusive" pedagogies. Institution 2's handbook refers to preservice teachers' development of "knowledge of te reo Māori me ona tikanga Māori, along with the capacity to teach effectively in schools and/or early childhood settings in ways that support Māori development priorities and are consistent with the Treaty of Waitangi". Meanwhile Institution 4 and 5 offer preservice teachers the opportunity to earn their teaching qualification in Te Reo with the intention of teaching Te Reo Māori as a subject in secondary schools. Institution 5 supports the use of Te Reo with policy stating preservice teachers' right to submit assignments and examinations in Te Reo.

The incorporation of Kaupapa Māori research, methodologies, pedagogies, and learning sites are further examples of the bi-cultural focus of participating New Zealand GradDip secondary programmes. Institution 2, for instance, acknowledges how "Kaupapa Māori underpins much of the content of the papers on offer" with specific reference to their early childhood and primary programmes. This institution also assists preservice teachers to implement curriculum from a "Māori perspective" in order to support students and their families. Institution 4 takes a broader approach to the introduction of Māori pedagogies. This university calls on their Māori school within the faculty so that it "contributes to all teacher education programmes by preparing [preservice teachers] to teach Māori children (mainstream, bilingual, enrichment, and total immersion)". Two institutions (1 &4) integrate marae visits into their programmes. At Institution 4, preservice teachers participate in classes at the marae and they can also use the marae as a "place to study and relax". Institution 1 offers comprehensive details about learning and staying over at a marae. Preservice teachers at this institution complete a marae overnight visit as part of the curriculum in order to "broaden their understanding of Māori culture". Analysis of institution and programme documents suggests how participating institutions interpret inclusive practices through a cultural and ethnic lens. Institutions' sustained emphasis on biculturalism and inclusivity, combined with emerging references to equity signals some awareness of existing inequities in schools. The analysis of institution and programme documents concludes with the discussion of fieldwork placements below.

## Fieldwork placements.

Participating institutions were most likely to engage in discussions of socioeconomic disadvantage in relation to fieldwork field work placements. All institutions promoted hands-on classroom experience in 'different schools'. Some institutions expanded upon their definition of different schools while others did not. For example, Institution 2 offers their preservice teachers a "range of schools in different socioeconomic and cultural contexts". Institution 1 presents a similar explanation referring to fieldwork in different "economic" contexts which again aligns with the NZTC GTS. However, the most specific reference to socioeconomic disadvantage is located in Institution 5's handbook. Institution 5 refers to experience in "a range of schools from decile one to ten, and a range of class levels". However, it is noteworthy to mention that institutions and programmes discussed the economic and socioeconomic contexts of fieldwork in relation to early childhood and primary preservice teacher education programmes. In contrast, similar detailed references to socioeconomic disadvantage were absent from GradDip secondary programme descriptions.

## Institution and programme document analysis summary.

The review of institution and programme documents suggests relatively limited acknowledgement and engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage. The direction set by the NZTC GTS ensured that all institutions included at least one reference to the "economic contexts of Aotearoa New Zealand". However, outside of the GTS related references, this review of institution and programme documents reveals participating institutions' disjointed approach to examining socioeconomic disadvantage within their preservice teacher education programmes. In general, institution documents tended to discuss socioeconomic disadvantage in relation to ethnic and international student groups, inclusive pedagogies and practices, and in descriptions of fieldwork placements. Study findings also indicate that institutions tend to associate the topic of socioeconomic contexts with fieldwork school partners. Finally, socioeconomic contexts of school partners are discussed more often in connection with early childhood and primary programmes with less emphasis in descriptions of secondary programmes. Collectively these findings identify minimal emphasis on socioeconomic disadvantage is discussed obliquely within broader discussions of ethnicity and culture, pedagogy, and teaching practices.

## Online programme information

Findings from the analysis of university and programme websites mirror the results of print documents: institutions and programmes do not typically engage with issues of socioeconomic disadvantage in formal university communication. Online institution and programme information are included in this analysis due to the increasing use of online technology to communicate with students. Participating universities' websites tend to offer brief descriptions of programme and course related information. Publicly available online programme information is inclusive of programme overviews (all institutions); course lists (Institutions 1, 3, 4, 5); and course descriptions (Institution 3). Online programme information is often generic and brief. Programme overviews available online illustrate this point. For example Institution 1's online programme description promotes the teaching profession as a means of combining personal interest in specific disciplines, inspiring young learners and "mak[ing] a difference [in] young people's lives". Building teaching knowledge and skills is also emphasised. Institution 2's online GradDip secondary programme overview is brief, identifying how their programme caters to those wanting to pursue a teaching career. Institution 3's overview

emphasises the development of teaching skills and the outcome of initial teacher registration upon programme completion. Institutions 4 & 5 omitted overviews, electing to promote their programme goals (Institution 4) and focus on their compulsory courses (Institution 5).

A single reference to 'disadvantage' was included in a curriculum course description on Institution 1's programme website. The objective of this particular course is to design "learning events which encourage students from disadvantaged groups to actively pursue learning". This course considers strategies designed to engage 'disadvantaged' students in learning activities as part of lesson planning and development. No additional references to socioeconomic disadvantage, poverty, or school deciles were identified on any institution or programme website. This single curriculum course reference offers further evidence of the relative obscurity of socioeconomic disadvantage within official institution and GradDip secondary programme communication. The next section transitions from institution and programme level engagements with socioeconomic disadvantage, to the analysis of course based acknowledgements of the same issue. A review of how socioeconomic disadvantage is explored within course material leads this exploration of how disadvantage is framed within specific preservice teacher education courses.

#### Course booklets and course outlines

Course booklets and outlines were examined for their acknowledgement and engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage. A range of documents was included in this analysis and they varied by institution. Some course material was publicly available on institution websites while others such as course outlines were most often provided (to me as the researcher) by individual PLs. It is important to note that course material from Institution 4 was unavailable and therefore the course documents from the other institutions form the basis of this review. Three trends emerged from the analysis of course booklets and outlines. First, the courses employed a variety of different terms to discuss socioeconomic disadvantage. Secondly, curriculum and diversity courses were the ones that tended to engage with issues of socioeconomic disadvantage. Third, socioeconomic disadvantage was most likely to be mentioned in three different contexts: as a course content topic, in relation to assessment tasks, and on recommended reading lists. The remaining discussion of course materials is organised by institution in reference to these three trends.

## **Institution 1.**

Four GradDip secondary course outlines from Institution 1 are included in this analysis. They cover a range of topics from curriculum, professional practice, teaching and learning, and assessment. A thorough review of these documents reveals that a variety of terms were employed to discuss socioeconomic disadvantage. For example, the curriculum course outline used three different terms to discuss social inequality and disadvantage. This list included social class, social origins, and social background. The contexts in which these three terms were used also varied. Social class was discussed near the beginning of the course outline under the 'course content' heading. Social class was one of many course topics in a list inclusive of: technology, gender, New Zealand history, curriculum, and literacy and numeracy. Social class was also mentioned twice in the assessment section in relation to a possible essay topic. The assessment task directions prompted preservice teachers to discuss social class in the context of New Zealand secondary education. Possible essay topics also included two different quotations citing the terms 'social origins', and 'social background'. One quote asked preservice teachers to comment on the "relationship between social origins and destinations". The second essay topic challenged preservice teachers to discuss how educational systems often disregard the implications of social background to replicate the status quo. Preservice teachers had the option of responding to either prompt in their first essay assessment task.

The recommended course reading lists of Institution 1's teaching and curriculum courses each contained one document that examined aspects of socioeconomic disadvantage. The full reference listed in the teaching practice course reading list is: Hill, J. & Hawk, K. (2000). *Making a difference in the classroom: effective teaching practice in low decile, multicultural schools.* Wellington: Ministry of Education, Research Division (Electronic document). This MoE document explores the complexity of teaching in low decile schools. The recommended course reading list of Institution 1's curriculum paper offers a second arguably more obscure reference to disadvantage. The full reference listed in the course reading list is: Carpenter, V., Jesson, J., Roberts, P. & Stephenson, M. (Eds.) (2008) *Ngā kaupapa here: Connections and contradictions in education.* Australia: Cengage learning. Unlike the first example, the book title does not directly refer to socioeconomic disadvantage or school decile rankings. Instead, knowledge of the book or further research is required to uncover Carpenter's book chapter entitled "Teaching New Zealand's 'children of the poor'". The key goal of Carpenter's chapter is to "look more deeply at social class and poverty issues related to New Zealand education" (Carpenter, 2008, p. 109). The placement of both documents on the recommended reading list arguably influences the readership of these texts. The Hill and Hawk MoE report for

example is amongst 60 recommended texts while Carpenter's book chapter is one of 73 "highly recommended books". The analysis of Institution 1's course material illustrates how socioeconomic disadvantage is profiled in various ways within their curriculum and teaching practice courses. Analysis of Institution 1's course booklets suggests some engagement with issues of socioeconomic disadvantage through: use of various terminology employed to discuss socioeconomic disadvantage, inclusion as an assessment task, and through texts placed on recommended reading lists.

#### **Institution 2**

Two GradDip secondary diversity course outlines were examined as part of this analysis of course material. This institution required all preservice teachers enrolled in this programme to complete both diversity papers. The initial course is offered in semester one, followed by the second diversity course completed in the second semester. References to 'economics', 'class', and the phrase 'economic spheres' were evidence of varied terminology employed to socioeconomic disadvantage. Both diversity papers made reference to disadvantage in their introductions. The first diversity paper discussed the complexity of teaching that is influenced by the "economic spheres of society". The second diversity paper aimed to expand preservice teachers' knowledge of the "economic forces" that influence education and teachers' role within the education system. The second diversity paper also refers to class and deciles as course topics under the heading of 'class in the classroom'. The list of topics under this heading includes: middle class advantage, deciles, funding, and zoning. The analysis of these two diversity course outlines positions class, the decile system, and related socioeconomic issues as diversity topics.

## **Institution 3.**

At Institution 3 the terms 'class' and 'deciles' were consistently used to discuss socioeconomic disadvantage within its diversity course. 'Class' was listed as a course content topic amongst a wide range of topics. Some examples included in this list are issues related to gifted and students with disabilities, bullying, bi and multiculturalism, educational models, and classroom management. Class, and its relationship to education and liberalism, is located in the second week of the course. Later on in the course, the decile system was introduced as a possible research topic for an assessment task.

Preservice teachers were asked to explain the role and function of the decile system along with the social and educational implications of New Zealand's educational funding system.

#### **Institution 5.**

Analysis of Institution 5's diversity paper indicates the consistent use of 'economics' to allude to socioeconomic disadvantage. The first reference to economics is located under the heading of critical literacy. Critically literate individuals are described as people who use information with the understanding of "cultural, ethical, economic, legal and social issues surrounding the use of information". Economics was mentioned a second time as part of an assessment task. Preservice teachers were asked to explain how curriculum development reflects the "social and economic concerns of the times". This institution's diversity course does not examine socioeconomic disadvantage directly. Instead, socioeconomic disadvantage is positioned within larger discussions of 'economics'.

## Course booklet summary.

In brief, the analysis of course booklets and course outlines indicates minimal engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage. Course material employed a variety of terms to discuss disadvantage including: economic origins, economic background, class, deciles and economics. These terms were explored within the available curriculum and diversity papers in lists of course content topics, assessment tasks and as part of additional recommended reading. Institution 1's discussions of class and social background was the most comprehensive and made the most direct link to socioeconomic inequality by asking preservice teachers to discuss the influence of social background on reproducing the status quo. Institution 2's examination of 'class in the classroom' offers a New Zealand perspective on class as suggested by some terms listed under this heading. For example the terms middle class advantage, deciles and zoning are all New Zealand centric, as discussed in chapters 2 and 3. Meanwhile analysis of Institution 3's diversity paper indicates an in-depth examination of the decile system and its implications for the education system in comparison with other institution documents. In contrast to the other institutions, the 'economic' focused phrasing in Institution 5's diversity course outline is arguably broad and vague.

## Institution and programme communication summary

Analysis of institution and programme documents occurred at various levels yet revealed the consistent piecemeal engagement with disadvantage at institution, programme, and course levels. The review of institution and programme prospectuses was complemented by a more detailed course based analysis of how socioeconomic disadvantage is framed within official university and programme documents. At the institution level, socioeconomic disadvantage was discussed: by quoting or paraphrasing the NZTC GTS requirements; by identifying issues particular to Māori, Pasifika and international ethnic and cultural groups; and in logistical fieldwork related conversations. Similar discursive practices of discussing disadvantage were identified at the programme level. The exploration of how socioeconomic disadvantage is framed within GradDip secondary programmes continues with the analysis of PL interviews in the following section.

# Section two: Programme Leader interviews

Five PLs, one from each institution, were interviewed for their thoughts and opinions on a range of issues related to socioeconomic disadvantage. Interview questions asked PLs to comment on programme design and teaching practices. Programme related questions included programme approaches to diversity, admission criteria, and methods of preparing preservice teachers for teaching in low decile schools. PLs were also asked to share their thoughts on preservice teachers' responses to diversity and the possibility of teaching in low decile schools. The full list of interview prompts is located in Appendix E. Findings from in-depth interviews with PLs are divided into two categories: Institution and programme environment; and Logistical limitations. Within the category of institution and programme environment PLs described institution and programme approaches to socioeconomic disadvantage and diversity, and the challenges of operationalising diversity practices within one-year GradDip Secondary programmes. In the second category, logistical limitations, PLs consistently focused on three types of limitations: those related to institutions and programmes; school partners; and society. Particular emphasis was placed on social limitations resulting from negative stereotypes; preservice teacher emotional responses to low decile schools; and different forms of discrimination. The analysis of PL interviews begins with their descriptions of their GradDip Secondary programme environments. This discussion serves as a foundation upon which to understand later discussions of the complexity and logistical limitations of delivering preservice teacher education programmes.

## Institution and programme environment

## Institution and programme approach to socioeconomic disadvantage

As described in the methodology section, the interviews with PLs were semi-structured. Two questions prompted responses to discussions of programme approaches to diversity as an entry point into more specific conversations about socioeconomic disadvantage. They are:

- 1. Can you describe your programme's pedagogical approach to the issue of diversity?
- 2. How is diversity defined in your Graduate Diploma in Teaching (Secondary) programme?

Two key findings emerged from the data: all PLs stated that socioeconomic disadvantage is included within broader programme approaches to diversity; and all PLs used ethnicity and culture as entry points into conversations about socioeconomic disadvantage. In the following section, PLs explain how their programmes approach the topic of diversity, and specifically socioeconomic disadvantage. This conversation sets the scene for following conversations about the challenges of operationalising the identified strategies of addressing issues of difference.

## **Broad diversity approaches**

When asked to describe their programme's approach to diversity all five PLs discussed broad, all-encompassing definitions. For instance, PL1 describes her programme's three-fold approach to examining the topic of diversity. She explains how "[diversity] is actually woven throughout our whole programme, there are three threads woven right through". The three threads relate to three different diversity focused courses. The initial course aims to bring awareness to different forms of diversity: ethnic, cultural, and subject diversity. Once these issues, and others, have been raised the lecturers help preservice teachers to reflect on their own privilege and position in society in order to "articulate their own sort of self-image of themselves as a teacher" and understand that "their way of being might not be the same as someone else's way of being". The second paper addresses the issue of socioeconomic and ethnic diversity. The third and final diversity course examines different views of assessment and challenges preservice teachers to understand that "not everybody thinks of

assessment in the same way". The PL reiterated that diversity is built throughout the programme rather than being discussed in an isolated lecture. She explains how "we're explicitly building [diversity] right through the whole thing and in all sorts of different ways". PL2 also described how her programme embraced "a range of pedagogies". Later in the discussion she added how this range of pedagogies arises "particularly out of cultural diversity". Following the same trend, PL3 responded with a similar broad definition of diversity. She explained how her programme embraced: "a whole range [of diversity] cultural diversity, social diversity, physical diversity um, gender, any kind of diversity you think of diversity [is] all encompassing". Elaborating upon this response she included "socioeconomic background" within a comprehensive list of other diversity topics. In order, ethnicity and culture preceded socioeconomic background in a list of diversity topics which was followed by heritage, home language, gender, special needs, disability, and gifted and talented students. In relation to pedagogy PL3 signalled how "everything is underpinned by the New Zealand curriculum" and therefore focuses on effective pedagogy and "being inclusive". PL4's response was brief but informative in her explanation of a "really inclusive" programme with respect to diversity. PL5 focused on the use of culturally responsive pedagogies within her programme. She explained how the recent Te Tātaiako document (Ministry of Education, 2011c) assists teachers to develop the cultural competencies required to successfully support Māori student learning, is leading the development of their programme in this direction. Consequently, her programme is beginning to integrate the principles of Te Tātaiako into their programme and methods of instruction. While all PLs expressed their programme's broad approaches to diversity, analysis of their responses, to varying degrees, emphasise the importance of ethnicity and culture as the main underpinning diversity topics. Further analysis of the ethnic and cultural based framing of diversity is explored in the following section.

## Connection with ethnicity and culture

The second finding related to institution and programme approaches to diversity is that socioeconomic disadvantage is often discussed in connection to ethnicity and culture. For instance, PL1 states that "diversity would refer to not only ethnic diversity" although they report on statistics of "Māori, Pacific Island and Chinese" students amongst other ethnic groups. When asked to provide her programme's definition of diversity, PL2 gave a list of different diversities beginning with cultural diversity before other forms of diversity including social, physical, gender and "any kind of diversity you think of". PL 3 also began her discussion of diversity as "ethnicity [and] cultural heritage" with specific links to Māori and Pasifika learners. PL4 provided an arguably vague

"inclusive" response to the diversity definition question. In contrast, the following quote from PL5 exemplifies the emphasis placed on ethnicity and culture:

My understanding of diversity, and how we think about it, first of all tends to be initially Māori. Then we think of Pasifika and then we start sort of diversifying our thoughts to the changing the face of New Zealand society and cultures but we also start thinking of diversity in its many forms: ability, of language, of physical aspects of diversity. So we're trying to think of diversity in its very broadest sense.

Ethnicity and culture also feature prominently in PL discussions of curriculum and pedagogical approaches to diversity. Most responses returned to the issue of biculturalism and referred to the Treaty of Waitangi - one of the nation's key constitutional documents (see preceding discussion from chapter one on pages 3-4). Institution 2's PL stated that "we do look at that element of biculturalism honouring the Treaty of Waitangi looking at specifically Te Kotāhitanga, and some other Māori pedagogies to try and help those Māori students in our classrooms to achieve to a higher level". PL4 offered a similar response, "[what is our] pedagogical approach to the issue of diversity? That's huge in terms of Treaty of Waitangi issues in New Zealand [we offer] a whole core paper on bicultural education and also being culturally responsive". Again, as mentioned above, PL5 signalled her institution's focus on ethnicity and culture through reference to the MoE Te Tātaiako policy document. With broad diversity approaches that often rely on ethnicity and culture as focal points, the next section examines some of the challenges PLs described in addressing diversity and socioeconomic disadvantage.

## Challenges of operationalising diversity practices

PLs discussed two kinds of challenges associated with operationalising diversity practices: preservice teachers' prior experience of diversity; and addressing (mis) perceptions about low decile schools. Preservice teachers' experience of diversity refers both to the ethnic diversity of the participating preservice teacher cohorts, and preservice teachers' actual experiences with people from diverse backgrounds. Diversity in this context aligns with all participating programme's broad, allencompassing definitions of diversity.

## Preservice teacher diversity

In terms of preservice teacher demographics, PLs describe varying degrees of preservice teacher ethnic and cultural diversity and experience. Some PLs (Institutions 2 & 3) report increasing ethnic and cultural diversity amongst their cohorts. For example, PL3 explains that "we are getting [preservice teachers] from all different ethnicities from all social backgrounds." PL2 also shared a similar view. She explained how her current preservice teacher cohort "come from all over the country they come from all sorts of backgrounds". Even with institution and programme initiatives to create a 'diverse' student body, other PLs (Institutions 4 & 5) indicate limited ethnic and cultural diversity amongst their preservice teacher cohorts. PL4 explains this phenomenon at her institution:

We do everything to get a diverse [population]. You know the applicants don't necessarily reflect as broad a range as we would like but we do everything we can. One student said- a Chinese student who applied online through Skype - Would there be others? and I thought, yes, but not many. It is possible they may seem more comfortable to apply to go to [another] university where there are more.

The latter example suggests how the limited ethnic and cultural diversity within New Zealand society may influence enrolments of ethnically and culturally diverse preservice teachers. PL5 offers another rationale for her institution's limited ethnic and cultural diversity. She points to NZTC English language restrictions as a factor limiting the diversity of preservice teacher candidates. Not only do the academic requirements restrict programme access, but also the high fees to take the exams may limit interested applicants. She explains that "financially those [language] tests are very - costly and they're also very exacting...it's really hard". Explanations of the limited ethnic diversity at Institution 4 & 5 are similar as both could be described as external limitations - or elements outside of preservice teacher education programme's sphere of influence. However as the next PL comments suggest, students from ethnically diverse groups who do enrol in preservice teacher education programmes are often able to promote greater awareness of diversity.

Two PLs (Institutions 2 & 3) discussed the positive influence of international students in their programmes. In particular, PL 2 & 3 noted how international students often provided alternative perspectives in class discussions. PL3 observed that international students "have a lot to offer and it

does tend to help some of our New Zealand students [by broadening] their thinking". PL 2 explained how international students often have a "much greater global perspective" and described one particular international student as a "cat amongst the pigeons" in terms of pushing other students to evaluate their own biases. Profiling the ethnic diversity and different perspectives of international students contrasts with comments signalling the comparatively limited diversity of domestic students. Further details of preservice teachers' self-reported demographic information is presented later in this chapter. In addition to contrasting levels of ethnic diversity within preservice teacher cohorts, all PLs discussed the challenge of contending with wider societal misperceptions about low decile schools. Analysis of the most commonly discussed misperceptions adds another contextual layer to the review of the GradDip secondary landscape.

#### Misperceptions about low decile schools

PLs discussed misguided, incorrect, and negative societal perceptions of low decile schools by members of the public as another significant barrier to addressing issues of socioeconomic disadvantage within preservice teacher education programmes. PLs specifically acknowledged how preservice teachers' negative stereotypes of low decile schools led to difficulties in arranging fieldwork placements. They described preservice teachers' fears of: certain schools (Institution 1), neighbourhoods (Institution 4), school decile rankings (all institutions) and the damaging effects of "low decile school labelling" (Institution 2) that led to some preservice teachers' avoidance of low decile placements. PL2 described a low decile fieldwork partner school as "tough- it's a tough school and a low decile school". She later profiled another low decile school in consideration of the neighbourhood's implications for student learning. PL2 described how this particular school is plagued by "all sorts of drug and gang related problems so the kids come to school with all this incredible baggage". PL3 also identified how disadvantaged school descriptions can influence student teachers' impressions of the school and the community in which it is located. She explained how preservice teachers are often "quite nervous when they find out they're going to certain schools - very nervous that it's going to be really rough and students are going to be really violent and gang problems and so they ask about behaviour management".

Other PLs identify how preservice teachers' limited experience in environments different from their own can be another barrier to the willingness to teach in low decile schools. PL1, for example, described some preservice teachers' fear of teaching in disadvantaged schools. She suggests that some preservice teachers often feel overwhelmed with the prospect of teaching outside their own experience. PL1 describes how this group of preservice teachers often ask "how do I work with 'these' people?" Other PLs (1, 2, 4 & 5) discretely pointed to the limitations of the dominant Pākehā cultural identity as a significant barrier to addressing socioeconomic disadvantage and other forms of diversity. As PL2 explains:

It's from that cultural frame really isn't it? It's from growing up, how they perceive the world and what they assume. If you say South Auckland, they assume a whole lot of things about schools in South Auckland. They go visit them and come back completely with different, you know, ideas.

PLs 1, 2, 4 & 5 also attributed preservice teachers' fear of low decile schools and limited engagement with disadvantage to their personal backgrounds. PL1 shares her belief that:

Students do need to somehow be forced to confront their own - what they may never have ever conceptualised the fact that they have a world view that has been shaped by...you know the way they've been raised, the way they've been educated, and the people they've interacted with and I think it is actually — I think it is actually quite difficult for people to move beyond that. To see that there is another way. And people have had to confront that and realised that just because they learnt in a particular way that will not necessarily work with everybody.

PL5 also discussed the process of addressing preservice teachers' prior beliefs. She argued that some preservice teachers are "unsettled" by being asked to examine personal beliefs and standing in society during preservice teacher education course work. She suggests that, "they've [preservice teachers] had every opportunity that life's had to give them in many cases. And they don't necessarily understand what it's like to be disadvantaged." She returns to the idea that "what some people think is actually quite worrying, and of course it's quite hard to have opportunities that challenge them to think". PL2 makes a similar observation. She suggests how course work and experience in low decile

schools challenges some preservice teachers' "sense of rightness". PL2 explains how the outcome of challenging personal beliefs about privilege and disadvantage is that "white Pākehā people's sense of rightness/fairness is shaken. And they feel very much on the back foot and quite defensive often, and some Pākehā students get quite antsy about that". PL4 provided a possible explanation for some preservice teachers' apprehension to teach in low decile schools. She explains that despite "encourag[ing] them to go to something that is different than their own experience ultimately they may veer back towards what was their experience because it's probably what's comfortable".

PL1 offers a slightly different rationale. She believes that some preservice teachers are intimidated by the aura or perception of certain schools. She explains that, "they're hearing people saying that they were really scared when I heard I was going to 'unnamed decile' school". PL2 confirmed some preservice teachers' misguided perception about low decile schools. She stated that some preservice teachers perceive low decile schools to be "bad" schools. However, she was equally quick to refute such comments stating that "just because a school is labelled 'low decile' doesn't mean it's a dead loss". PL5 made the same point about some preservice teacher beliefs about low decile schools. She said that "they [preservice teachers] have in their minds that low decile means low quality".

Despite PLs maintaining they speak positively about low decile schools and make concerted efforts to address misguided beliefs about them during preservice teacher education programmes, all PLs reported requests from preservice teachers for mid and high decile school fieldwork placements. Special requests often cited transportation issues, and family commitments; however, PL1 explained her belief that the "attitude[s] on the part of the students" is the key underlying factor of many special fieldwork requests. The PLs explained how some requests are accommodated on a case by case basis, but that most requests are denied, as all programmes require preservice teachers to gain experience in a range of different schools. PLs 2 & 5 stated that most preservice teachers who complete low decile fieldwork placements returned with different ideas about disadvantaged schools and students.

#### **Discrimination discussion**

Discrimination was also raised by two PLs (4 &5) as another challenge of operationalising programme diversity related strategies. As PL4 explains:

I think there is a lot of complexity about bicultural education and multicultural education because I suppose you know a lot New Zealanders have come from a dominant cultural environment that mightn't have been really, really inclusive. Yes, so it's hard - you know they learn the theory. They are very interested in culturally responsive practice but being actually put into action, going into a school that actually doesn't reflect that is quite hard for them to sustain these ideas.

PL5 raised a different yet related issue. She hints at the existence of language and accent discrimination. She disclosed her realisation of society's possibly limited acceptance of difference. She recounts how, with the best of intentions, programme diversity goals may "backfire". In reference to her programme's admission processes she suggested:

We're actually not doing them [ethnic minority preservice teachers] a service - particularly Chinese students, taking them in for maths for example. Brilliant degrees in many case but [their] English language is not clear enough. In the end, we're not helping them because they're not getting work ok? So they're hitting the schools and people will bend their ears to decode a Scottish accent but they are not at all willing to do so for other accents.

She continued to explore the issue of conflicting teacher education diversity goals and public acceptance of them:

I really believe that the population of a school should reflect who's coming to that school. And it doesn't. And now we're feeling complicit in making and ensuring that continues but at what point? At what point do you persevere when you have students come to you and say, "I've tried all over New Zealand and I cannot get work", and Immigration has told me that

there was a shortage of maths teachers. I've got a PhD in maths and re-trained here. I've taught X number of years and I cannot get work. It is really difficult.

The discussion of various forms of discrimination is significant as these PL conversations were the only instances in which discrimination was identified and discussed.

PLs reviewed two key social or environmental challenges of engaging with socioeconomic disadvantage within preservice teacher education programmes. By discussing minimal ethnic diversity within preservice teacher cohorts, and negative perceptions of low decile schools, PLs identified how external social and political factors influence teacher education. The next section continues to discuss factors that limit programme engagements with socioeconomic disadvantage. However, the focus shifts towards challenges originating within the field of teacher education.

PLs indicated limited low decile fieldwork completion rates. Survey data reveal that 17 percent of preservice teacher study participants completed a low decile fieldwork placement. Further discussion of survey fieldwork related information will be discussed in the final section of this chapter as part of the survey findings. Instead, PL discussions of logistical reasons for the limited number of low decile fieldwork placements are the focus of this section of the chapter. These programme related limitations are organised in two categories: institution and programme limitations; and school partner limitations. Two findings emerged from discussions of institution and programme limitations: the absence of a low decile fieldwork requirement at all institutions; and time constraints of a one-year programme. PLs also identified two school partner limitations: the limited availability of low decile school placements; and school subject offerings. The following analysis highlights the challenges of arranging fieldwork placements that involves consideration of programme policies and school partner limitations.

## **Institutional and programme limitations**

A significant finding from the PL interviews is the absence of mandatory low decile fieldwork placements at participating institutions. PLs 2, 3, 4 & 5 indicated that their programmes did not have a mandatory low decile fieldwork requirement. Instead, these PLs explained how their programmes offered preservice teachers a series of different teaching experiences. PL2 explains "we try to give students a range of fieldwork experiences". PL3 echoes her colleague's comment stating that "a range of experiences is what we are looking for". PLs 4 & 5 confirmed how their programme offers "two different fieldwork experiences". In contrast to the other participating programmes, PL1 signalled how their programme did require "at least one low decile" placement. However, the latter institution employs a distinct and incorrect definition of low decile schools (according to the official Ministry of Education decile system definition). The PL stated that, "when we say low decile what I actually mean is there is a high proportion of Māori or Pacific Island young people". This thesis follows the MoE definition of school decile rankings and therefore it is reported here that none of the participating institutions have mandatory low decile fieldwork policies. Instead, all institutions offered preservice teachers a range of school experiences.

All PLs discussed the complexities of organising fieldwork placements. They indicated how the process of securing school placements involves the consideration of a multiple factors. For instance, preservice teachers' own educational history is a factor in organising fieldwork placements. All participating programmes did not permit preservice teachers to return to the secondary school they attended. PLs also considered the following school characteristics: school size (large or small student populations); gender mix (either co-ed or single sex schools); and location (urban or rural). All PLs signalled their efforts to organise placements at two different types of schools using the criteria noted above that also contrast with preservice teachers' own educational experience.

The second reported programme limitation, discussed by two PLs, was the time constraints of a one-year intensive programme. PLs 2 & 5 discussed how challenging preservice teachers' prior beliefs and encouraging the engagement with new ideas requires time and repetition. These PLs questioned the ability of programmes to shift prior beliefs in such a short period of time. For example, PL2 asks, "How can you prepare them? I don't know that you can...prepare them for the reality of what it might be like". She goes on to say, "do we prepare them for low decile schools? Probably not

much. Probably only in so far as we can talk to them our own experience". PL5 offered this reflection:

What is coming out for me is the confirmation of the fact that we are a weak influence on student beliefs. We...I don't know what your research is going to show but we - I don't know we have them for such a short period of time—we see so little of them. We have so little time and dialogue that we are a weak influence. The beliefs they come in with at the beginning are fixed often and challenging them or just even airing them or discussing them you know let alone starting to challenge takes time.

These PL responses indicate the strength of preservice teachers' prior beliefs and the challenge these beliefs pose for programmes to address them. However, PL1 offers a contrasting perspective on the impact of programmes on preservice teachers' engagement with disadvantage and teaching in low decile schools. She believes her programme "definitely" has the capacity to influence preservice teachers' dispositions and beliefs. Her programme's ability to shift beliefs is attributed to the small size of the programme, and the small teaching team. She explains:

[It's] because we work with them so closely and follow them through and there are only the three of us working on the programme - there used to only be two. We do get to know them very, very, very well. And so we're sort of working with them almost individually as well as collectively and you know so there are a lot of conversations and we do believe that because of the way we work with the students that it's not fragmented at all. They get this clear vision underpinning everything we do with them during the year. Very clearly articulated position and we hope we hope that everything we do is consistently with that.

PL3 did not directly address the issue of time limitation but did discuss some challenges of addressing prior beliefs. She discussed a variety of measures to raise preservice teachers' awareness of their own culture and worldview. One such initiative developed to address some preservice teachers' negative perception of low decile schools is a workshop for low decile school principals to speak to preservice teachers about their schools and students. PL4 approached the issue in a similar indirect manner. She commented that:

I think there is a lot of complexity about bicultural education and multicultural education because... I suppose you know a lot New Zealanders have come from a dominant cultural environment that mightn't have been really, really inclusive. Yes, so it's hard - you know they learn the theory.

Both comments signal the limits of programmes and PTE coursework to shift preservice teachers' prior beliefs connected to the dominant New Zealand worldview. This section identifies how the absence of programme policy and time limitations can influence the provision of low decile fieldwork placements. The next section continues this conversation from a different perspective. The focus now shifts towards exploring various school-based limitations that PLs identified as limiting factors in organising low decile fieldwork.

#### **School partner limitations**

PLs discussed two school related limitations of completing low decile fieldwork as a method of engaging with socioeconomic disadvantage. They include: limited access to low decile schools; and school subject offerings. PLs deferred to the limitations of the local university communities as a reason for minimal low decile placements. For instance, PL 4 stated that, "there are not many decile 1 secondary schools [here]". Similar school access comments were echoed by PLs 2, 3 and 5. PL 2 suggests that, "well, in [this area] there are actually no schools with deciles as low as you were talking so we can't possibly provide 1-3 decile experience". PL3 also provided contrasting information on this topic. At first she indicated that the local area could not accommodate all preservice teachers to complete a low decile fieldwork. Conversely, she then explained how other preservice teachers, limited by location, "have no option but to go to low decile school". Meanwhile PL5 indicates how school size often determines the availability of low decile placements. She explains how "statistically the lower decile schools are the smaller schools and basically cannot accommodate". In her opinion, low decile schools are often smaller schools with arguably less teaching and school resources to take on preservice teachers for fieldwork placements. In contrast, she explained how larger schools are able to absorb larger numbers of preservice teachers for multiple fieldwork placements.

School subject availability was a second identified school based reason for few low decile fieldwork placements. PL5 explained how the limited availability of specialist subjects restricts some placements at low decile schools. She maintained "it [is] impossible to have a blanket rule [as] low decile schools don't always offer the subjects – some - certain subjects". This discussion alludes to subjects such as languages, art, and dance. School partner limitations emphasise the importance of fieldwork related concerns as significant challenges of addressing issues of disadvantage and teaching in low decile schools.

#### PL interview summary

Discussions with PLs added context and depth to knowledge of programme approaches to diversity and the challenges associated with engaging with issues of socioeconomic disadvantage. PLs discussed broad, all-encompassing approaches to diversity that, upon further analysis, often focused on ethnicity and culture. PLs also identified how preservice teacher education programmes' diversity goals are mediated by institution, programme, school partner, preservice teachers' prior knowledge and experience, and wider cultural worldview limitations. In sum, PLs painted a picture of a complex web of challenges of addressing issues of disadvantage and other forms of diversity. The next section of the chapter delves more deeply into the perspectives of preservice teachers' engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage.

#### Section three: Preservice teacher perceptions

This section presents survey findings of five 2011 GradDip secondary cohorts across New Zealand. A brief overview of participating preservice teachers' demographic information begins this analysis of findings, as the demographic information contextualises survey and interview data. Next, the findings focus on preservice teachers' understandings of the decile system. This section explores preservice teachers' self-reported survey comments about the decile system. The third strand of findings looks more broadly at preservice teachers' understanding of socioeconomic diversity and disadvantage. Considered collectively, the study findings capture how these preservice teachers engage with disadvantage in educational and wider social contexts.

#### Preservice teacher demographics

Preservice teachers' self-reported demographic information suggests their relative homogeneity. The majority of preservice teachers in this study were born in New Zealand (67 percent) and identified as New Zealanders/Pākehā (68 percent). Preservice teacher study participants were mainly young (28 percent being between 21-29 years of age) females (74 percent) entering their teacher education programme with a Bachelor degree qualification (66 percent).

Additional demographic information suggests that participants were also relatively financially comfortable. During their own childhood, 89 percent of preservice teacher participants' parents owned their own house and were in full time employment (88 percent). Most employed parents also held relatively high skilled jobs requiring formal education. This argument is based on the analysis of parents' occupations according to the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations scale (ANZSCO). ANZSCO is the official occupation classification tool used by Statistics New Zealand to calculate national census data. Survey findings indicate that 14 percent of full time employed parents held level 1 'manager' positions while another 50 percent of preservice teachers' parents held level 2 'professional' status jobs. Considered in tandem, 64 percent of participant preservice teachers' parents were employed full time in jobs requiring formal education. School based data provide additional supporting evidence of preservice teachers' relatively comfortable financial backgrounds. Table 3 below offers information about the primary and secondary schools preservice teachers attended as children and young adults.

Table 3

Decile Ranking of Preservice Teachers' (N= 198) Attended Primary and Secondary Schools

	Entry Survey N=51			Exit Survey N=146				
	Primary		Secondary		Primary		Secondary	
	school		school		school		school	
	attended		attended		attended		attended	
Low decile (1-3)	9	17%	6	12%	22	16%	20	14%
Mid decile (4-7)	22	42%	19	37%	62	42 %	48	33%
High decile (8-10)	20	41%	26	51%	62	42 %	78	53%

The data in the table illustrate how the majority of preservice teachers attended mid decile and high decile schools. Considered in relation to the other demographic data, school decile ranking information helps to paint a picture of the preservice teacher participants in this research. With greater information about the preservice teachers, the presentation of the findings commences with data regarding their understandings of the decile system.

#### Understanding of the decile system

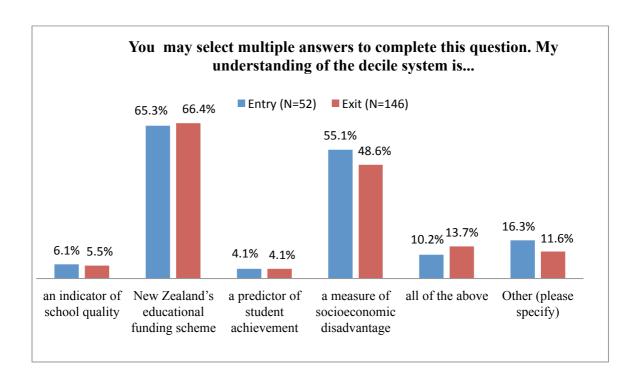
Findings of preservice teachers' understandings of the decile system are divided into three sections: self-reported understandings; document analysis of open-ended commentary regarding school deciles; and informants and/or factors shaping preservice teachers' understandings of the decile system. Overall the data suggest a diverse range of preservice teacher knowledge and understandings of school deciles.

#### Self-reported survey data

On entry and exit surveys preservice teachers were asked about their understanding of the decile system and were offered five options. They were able to select as many options as they wished. The survey also provided space for open-ended comments. The Figure 5 indicates preservice teachers' responses upon programme entry and exit.

Figure 5.

Entry and Exit Survey Decile System Understandings



#### Entry survey data

The statistics reveal that most (65 percent) preservice teachers associated the decile system as New Zealand's educational funding scheme; or as a measure of socioeconomic disadvantage (55 percent). However, incorrect responses totalled an approximate 20 percent and 23 percent on entry and exit surveys. The personal responses included references to house prices, income, parents'

education, percentage of enrolled Māori and Pasifika students, and variations of the socioeconomic level of the local school area. For example, one preservice teacher explained how deciles are "an indication of a number of things: the average house price or percentage of state housing and the number of Māori & Pacific island students that attend the school". Another reported that deciles relate to "parents' income" while others provided responses related to socioeconomic status. Such responses included: dependent on location; indicator of the socio-economic school zone; networking and socio-economic advantage. Another preservice teacher linked deciles to income, stating that deciles are "a measurement of the income level and level of education of the parents of school aged children living in the area. I think it excludes unemployed people".

#### Exit survey data

Exit survey responses had some similarities to those in the entry survey. In general, preservice teachers' understandings of the decile system remained relatively consistent. The data reveal arguably minimal difference between participants' entry and exit survey responses (between one and five percent). The personal responses, like those reported on the entry survey, were also similar. Participants referred to house prices, income, parents' education, and variations of the socioeconomic level of the local school area. The following comment acknowledges house prices: "[deciles] are based on the price of property in the school area". Three other preservice teachers believed income and parents' educational status to be associated with decile calculations: "it's a combination of factors including parental income, educational level etc." Observations relating to the perceived socioeconomic status of the school community were common. The following observations illustrate this point: "a measure of the local socio-economy"; "school decile level [is] based on the socioeconomic factors of surrounding suburbs"; and "a measure of socioeconomic situation in the community". The following section offers further insight into this topic through the analysis of preservice teacher's open-ended comments throughout the entry and exit surveys.

#### **Decile commentary**

As discussed in the methodology chapter, most survey questions offering fixed responses also offered preservice teachers the opportunity to make their own comments in open-ended text boxes. Analysis of these comments sharply contrasts with the self-reported fixed question responses discussed above. The major finding, in both entry and exit surveys, is a wide range of perspectives,

opinions, and ideas about school deciles and socioeconomic disadvantage. This indicates suggestions for further examination of the decile system to be undertaken during preservice teacher education programmes. With each iterative analysis it became clear that comments about low (1-3), mid (4-7), and high (8-10) decile schools ranged from very negative to very positive. Negative, in this thesis is defined as unfavourable. Examples of negative or unfavourable comments about high decile schools include comments such as "have social problems and stigma" and "don't like snobby kids". Negative comments about mid decile schools is found in the following quote, "I want to spend my time teaching, not dealing with discipline issues". Negative opinions of low decile schools include comments such as "behaviour management is such a major part of low decile schools and I don't enjoy it". In contrast, positive or favourable comments about different schools included observations such as "classroom management may be less of an issue and I may be able to concentrate on other things" (high decile comment). Another example of a positive or favourable comment is this description of a low decile school: "I am working at a low decile school now and I think the students are great! What surprises me is how much they do try to please you when you take the time to work with them". The data in Table 4 represent the average of preservice teachers' positive (favourable) and negative (unfavourable) comments about low, mid, and high decile schools from entry and exit surveys.

Table 4

Average Percentage of Preservice Teachers' School Decile Comments

	Positive comment	Negative comment
High decile (8-10)	28 %	23 %
Mid decile (4-7)	35 %	11 %
Low decile (1-3)	26 %	35 %

The data indicate higher percentages of positive comments about mid and high decile schools. In contrast, negative comments about low decile schools were more frequent than those directed towards mid or high decile schools. Entry and exit survey comments have been further classified by

"directionality" (negative, neutral, or positive) by decile group and participating institution. Neutral comments are defined as descriptions that avoid making positive or negative judgements. Comments in the neutral category include discursive comments that arguably do not answer the question. Examples include: "I am looking forward to all fieldworks and experiencing the range of educational environments", and "I don't mind where I teach", and "any job would be good". The following section explores the range of positive or negative comments about low, mid, and high decile schools in further detail.

#### Entry survey school decile descriptions

Entry survey comments about school decile rankings suggest polarized negative or positive opinions about high, mid, and low decile schools. Upon programme entry, the majority of preservice teachers (86 percent) responded positively to the prospect of teaching in high decile schools. A summary of preservice teachers' comments reveals how participants generally spoke positively about high decile schools. Preservice teachers predominantly regarded high decile schools to be positive teaching-learning environments; well-resourced, with better behaved, more respectful, and 'classroom ready' students. Conversely, preservice teachers who held negative views of high decile schools (14 percent) often made negative comments about students and staff. For example, a small number of preservice teachers anticipated some high decile students and staff to be 'snobby' or unhelpful to their learning. Overall, positive comments about high decile schools were more prevalent than negative ones.

Commentary about mid decile schools were largely neutral or positive (96 percent). Only three negative comments about mid decile schools were shared in the entry survey data. One participant from Institution 3 associated mid decile schools with more discipline issues while the two Institution 5 preservice teachers believed that they would gain 'better' experience in either high or low decile schools. Neutral comments about mid decile schools tended to refer to the need to 'gain experience'. Examples of positive comments about mid decile schools included "I find these students more accepting of my help" and "good mix of ethnicities [and] resources". Preservice teachers also repetitively identified mid decile schools as 'comfortable' environments to teach in. The following comment represents this perspective: "[mid decile schools are] comfortable to start the first year teaching".

Statistically, preservice teachers made more comments about low decile schools. This finding extends to negative comments about low decile schools. Some 90 percent of entry survey preservice teacher participants indicated that they were looking forward to completing a low decile school fieldwork; however, 20 percent of all open ended low decile school comments made by these preservice teachers were negative. The data reveal a discrepancy between preservice teachers' fixed responses and their open ended comments about low decile schools. For instance, one preservice teacher indicated her willingness to complete a low decile fieldwork placement yet also signalled her reservations about this possible experience in her associated comment. She stated that "I am [looking forward to completing a low decile fieldwork placement] but I also have reservations about it" (Institution 1). Negative low decile school comments were most closely associated with personal safety concerns, fears of 'bad' behaviour issues, and fewer school resources. Some preservice teachers provided responses such as, "I need to 'gain experience' to questions probing their views of low decile schools. Such comments were again coded as neutral as they were neither positive nor negative. Preservice teachers who expressed interest in low decile school fieldwork in the entry survey described how they wanted to feel appreciated or 'help' disadvantaged students. For example, one preservice teacher writes: "you can really see the positive effect you have on them". Another preservice teacher commented that "I am looking forward to the challenge and I feel I have a lot to give to a low decile school". Being able to help students also resonates in this third quote: "[I want] to gain personal experience in that environment and see if I can make a difference". These comments suggest that some preservice teachers' interest in low decile schools was for their own learning or benefit. In contrast, another group of preservice teachers held positive views of low decile schools. As one preservice teacher explains, "I am looking forward to it for the experience, and because I have been told lower decile schools are very appreciative of student teachers". Another preservice teacher writes how she is "most looking forward to a decile 1-3 school." She goes on to explain how she "actually requested a specific decile 1 school in South Auckland as one of my placements. I am not under an illusion that it will be easy, however I am looking forward to the challenge".

A review of preservice teachers' entry survey comments about low, mid, and high decile schools indicates divergent views and opinions of each type of school. Comments were classified as negative, neutral or positive with each type of comment applicable to low, mid, and high decile schools. The following section explores possible changes in preservice teachers' views about each type of school through the analysis of their exit survey comments written near completion of their programme. A comparison of entry and exit survey comments concludes this analysis of preservice teachers' opinions of school decile rankings.

#### Exit survey school decile descriptions

Aligning with findings from the entry survey, participants held a range of contrasting views about low, mid, and high decile schools. Near programme completion, 40 percent of exit survey participants indicated that they were not looking forward to teaching in high decile schools. Three strands of negative comments of high decile schools are identifiable within the data. One strand suggests some preservice teachers' perception of additional 'pressures' of teaching in high decile schools. These preservice teachers indicated how these additional pressures stem from school and parent interest in high school and student achievement results. For example, one preservice teacher writes: "there is a lot of pressure from parents in higher decile schools". A second strand of negative high decile comments concerns poor high decile student attitudes. High decile students were often described as 'rude' or 'snobby'. One preservice teacher describes how "some students at decile 10 schools can have a sense of entitlement". Another preservice teacher writes: "I want to make a difference in students' lives not spit out info to already fortunate/privileged children". Finally, a third group of preservice teachers regarded high decile schools negatively due to the perceived limited ethnic and cultural diversity amongst the student population. As one preservice teacher explains, high decile schools can "lack different ethnicities". The same group of preservice teachers believed that greater rewards and challenges would be found in mid or low decile schools. Examples of neutral high decile school comments were similar to those written about high and mid decile schools. Statements such as "I will take any job" or "I already have a job" summarize many discursive, neutral low decile school comments. However, another group of preservice teachers expressed their interest in future high decile school employment near completion of their programme (52 percent). This group of preservice teachers regarded high decile schools as desirable future employers due to good resources, less behaviour issues, and a familiar and comfortable environment. One preservice teacher shared how "I will be treated well [in high decile schools], teachers will be happy and that there will be a lot of resources/supplies etc." Other common behaviour related comments include examples such as, "less classroom management is needed" and "not so much trouble with classroom management and more respect from students". Some preservice teachers' comfort with high decile schools appears to be related to their own experience in this setting. As one preservice teacher explains, "I grew up going to these types of schools. Therefore relate better". Another preservice teacher states a similar rationale, "I feel it will be similar to the school I attended".

Mid decile schools received the fewest negative comments (27 percent). Preservice teachers generally regarded mid decile schools as a good experience and were willing to accept future employment at mid decile schools. For example, one preservice teacher writes, "I intend to work in a mid-decile school for a few years after completing my diploma, while I build up a comprehensive set of strategies and resources for teaching". Those who spoke positively about mid decile schools described "students [who] are more interested in learning" and greater student diversity. As one preservice teacher explains, "[mid decile] schools will have a wide variety of ethnicities and student academic abilities". Responses such as "I have a job at a decile 4 (I am looking forward to it)" reflect sustained neutral opinions of all schools (low, mid, high decile).

Identical to the entry survey, low decile schools drew contrasting negative and positive comments on preservice teacher exit surveys. Near programme completion 54 percent of preservice teacher survey participants indicated that they were looking forward to teaching in low decile schools. This statistic represents a significant shift from the 90 percent of entry survey participants who signalled their interest in completing a low decile school fieldwork placement. Preservice teachers' negative comments ranged from less resources and funding, to more behavioural issues, to preservice teachers' discomfort with potential additional challenges of teaching disadvantaged students.

Examples of preservice teachers' behaviour management concerns include the following comments: "I associated bad behaviour with low decile"; "classroom management might be a problem as a first year teacher"; and "behaviour management is such a major part of low decile schools and I don't enjoy it". Teaching in low decile schools was often described as "too hard". As one preservice teacher suggested "I think you need to be a certain type of person to cope in [low decile] schools". Preservice teachers who made positive comments about low decile schools often commented on the positive contribution of increased student diversity observed in low decile schools.

In contrast to preservice teachers holding negative views of low decile schools, another group of preservice teachers discussed their positive low decile school experiences on fieldwork or from personal prior experience. These preservice teachers often expressed a personal desire or predisposition to teach in low decile schools. For example, one preservice teacher shares how opinions of low decile schools can change: "I think people misjudge low decile schools. I did at the beginning but was totally surprised after I did my fieldwork there. I loved it and felt I could give back to these students in a huge, positive way". Other preservice teachers reported feeling 'rewarded' when teaching in low decile schools. Reflecting on fieldwork experience, a preservice teacher

describes teaching in low decile schools as "very enjoyable. Together the students work well together and you can really see the positive effect you have on them". Another preservice teacher makes a similar comment about having "more opportunity to make an impact on students".

Preservice teachers' open-ended entry and exit survey comments confirm contrasting views of school decile rankings. Preservice teachers expressed negative and positive opinions of all school deciles. For instance, low decile schools were often associated with greater behaviour issues (all institutions) while high decile schools were often highly regarded for their additional school resources and mentoring opportunities (all institutions). These findings arguably pose a challenge for preservice teacher education programmes to address such a spectrum of opinions about the decile system. The next section continues to examine preservice teachers' understandings of the decile system by analysing data concerning preservice teachers' self-reported sources of information about decile rankings.

#### Informants of the decile system

The survey queried how preservice teachers gained their knowledge about school deciles. The sources or people who shaped preservice teachers' knowledge of the deciles system were investigated. Some 60 percent of preservice teachers signalled that their knowledge of deciles came from within the teaching profession. Within the teaching profession, colleagues and Associate Teachers or other school mentors were the most influential informants, followed by GradDip lecturers and coursework information. Preservice teachers reported being less influenced by media and school reports while a handful of participants (10 percent) stated that their knowledge had not changed during their preservice teacher education programme. Weaker influences on preservice teachers' knowledge of the decile system included sources such as the internet, friends, family, teaching experience, and personal experience.

Considered collectively, preservice teachers displayed a range of knowledge, opinions, and ideas about the decile system. These perceptions ranged from negative to positive views of all school deciles (1-10). Also notable was the difference in depth of responses between fixed responses and open-ended comments. The analysis of informants of the decile system confirmed the importance and

influence of preservice teacher education programmes on disseminating correct knowledge of the decile system.

#### Understanding of socioeconomic diversity and disadvantage

This section reports on preservice teachers' understanding of the disadvantaged school context introduced earlier in chapter two. Aligning with findings of the decile system, preservice teacher data suggest a wide range of knowledge and understanding of the context and realities of socioeconomic disadvantage for students and families. Much of the information regarding this issue is drawn from responses to a series of questions about disadvantaged parents and families (see Appendix D.

#### The 'disadvantaged' context of students, families, and schools

Varied levels of knowledge of socioeconomic disadvantage and poverty became visible within the survey data. Some preservice teachers expressed deficit views of disadvantaged students and families. For instance, a preservice teacher from Institution 1 writes, "I think that from my experience it's not the children that are at fault it's the parents". Disadvantaged parents were recipients of many preservice teachers' negative comments. Of all preservice teachers' comments specifically made about school student parents, 67 percent were negative. The following comment is a second example of some preservice teachers' negative views of disadvantaged parents:

While some parents will be concerned and supportive, I believe that many do not have their children's' best interest at heart. If they did, they would find out about the importance of breakfast, of books at home, of reading to their children, of backing up the school over discipline issues etc. (Preservice teacher at Institution 3)

Another group of preservice teachers' acknowledgement of disadvantage was rooted in stereotypes of disadvantaged settings (from all institutions). Their comments signalled a range of understandings of disadvantage including some preservice teachers' negative stereotypes of disadvantaged students. As

one preservice teacher explains, "people and teachers stereotype SES students as dumb or lazy but maybe don't think of other avenues of how to try to engage these students" (Institution 5). Other preservice teachers described disadvantaged schools as having "discipline issues that may interrupt teaching practice" (Institution 3), "truancy issues" (Institution 5), and fewer school resources such as "not enough money for Education Outside The Classroom" (Institution 3). Similarly, some preservice teachers describe low decile school students as individuals who "aren't going to be perfect and polite" (Institution 2), who use "foul language" and come from "such bad circumstances" (Institution 4). However, these negative views of low decile schools may be explained by another preservice teacher who describes how "people misjudge low decile schools. I did at the beginning but was totally surprised after I did my fieldwork there" (Institution 1).

A small number (34) of negative comments about low decile schools related to fears about personal safety. These fears were associated with the possible behaviour of low decile school students and the local school communities in which low decile schools are located. For example, one preservice teacher shares how she "[feels] nervous about the type of students who I will come across in low decile schools, to the point where I worry a little about my safety (Institution 1). Another preservice teacher from Institution 3 shares her fear of low decile school communities writing that it "maybe a bit daunting to have to travel to the area". A third example is provided by a preservice teacher at Institution 4 who writes that low decile schools "sounds a step too far in the scary direction".

Preservice teachers also tended to perceive students in disadvantaged schools as 'lower' academic achievers. One preservice teacher shares her belief that "generally children in low decile schools don't achieve that well academically" (Institution1). Another preservice teacher follows up with the comment "when students come from disadvantaged backgrounds and a poor home life, they may be far less prepared to engage with the curriculum" (Institution 5). This group of preservice teachers offer numerous explanations for such perceived lower achievement. These reasons include a lack of parental support to "behave at school or produce homework" (Institution 1), and some understanding of the "particular sets of issues and challenges" associated with "lower SES settings" (Institution 2). As one preservice teacher concludes, "for some [disadvantaged school students] I think poverty can be a factor which may block a student's focus or potential" (Institution 5).

Other preservice teachers provided a more balanced view, acknowledging similar learning challenges associated with disadvantage yet also recognizing the potential benefits of teaching in disadvantaged schools. Examples of more balanced views include references to reciprocal learning experiences between teachers and students. This preservice teacher states that "[teaching disadvantaged students] would be a huge challenge but we could learn a lot from one another" (Institution 5). Another preservice teacher expressed her belief that "teaching diverse pupils in low SES settings is more difficult than teaching more homogeneous pupils in high-decile schools, however I believe that it would provide a much richer learning environment, both for pupils and for teachers" (Institution 5). Another preservice teacher from Institution 1 agreed, writing that "no matter their economic status, students will have something to lend to a classroom". The positive classroom contributions of disadvantaged students are also noted in responses such as "I think the fact that the students are from low SES households enriches the experience" reflect greater value of students from disadvantaged communities (Institution3). These types of comments reflect a greater openness and willingness to engage with disadvantaged students.

In contrast to some preservice teachers who hold negative views of disadvantaged parents, other preservice teachers view parents of students from low decile schools positively. For example, one preservice teacher shares her opinion that:

It is very difficult, and requires a lot of understanding on the part of the teacher. It requires a genuine care and respect for the students and their families and an appreciation of the challenges they face due to factors such as language barriers, limited access to resources and parents' high workload.

Another preservice teacher writes that "students in low SES settings have greatly concerned parents more than students from high SES settings, because it's about living, not just a job. A better life, and all parents who don't have that want a better life for their children" (Institution 2). Other preservice teachers discussed some financial constraints of low decile families. For example, one preservice teacher comments: "I am fairly sure that most would want their children to have the opportunities that education can bring, although they may not be able to get very actively involved in their children's education for multiple reasons" (Institution 5). A similar comment that "many parents cannot afford to take time off work to attend school activities" (Institution 2) demonstrates some knowledge of the

financial limitations faced by some disadvantaged parents.

Preservice teachers were also able to conceptualise and articulate their views of disadvantage and poverty indirectly, through descriptions of disadvantaged settings. Two other preservice teachers (Institution 2 and 5) comment on the additional challenges of teaching in low decile schools that create a more challenging environment for new teachers. For example, fears of poor student behaviour were amongst the issues raised. One preservice teacher suspects that "classroom management might be a problem as a first year teacher" (Institution1). Other preservice teachers made similar observations: "I think this [low decile] environment requires more experienced teachers" (Institution1). Another states, "I think I need a bit of experience under my belt and resource gathering before being at this decile level" (Institution 5). These participants demonstrated the most engagement with disadvantage in response to the question regarding poverty's impact on educational outcomes. Preservice teachers' comments revealed varied levels of recognition and understanding of poverty related concerns facing disadvantaged and poor students. Responses such as "students did face additional barriers to learning" (Institution 1), and "home life is often not ideal for learning" (Institution 4) are possible acknowledgments of social inequality. Other preservice teachers directly address poverty concerns such as hunger (Institution 5 & 3), less educational and material resources (all institutions), and the provision of childcare to younger siblings and family members (Institution 1) as obstacles facing disadvantaged and poor children. Despite divergent open ended comments about disadvantage and poverty, 83 percent of preservice teachers indicated that poverty impacts on educational outcomes.

Questions related to families and parents engaged preservice teachers in discussions of disadvantage and poverty. Overall however, survey data reveal preservice teachers' conflicting views and understandings of the 'disadvantaged' context. Comments about parents illustrate polarized views of parents and families whose children attend low decile schools. Disadvantaged families were described as "disengaged" (Institution 5) while others explained parents' absence as a financial consequence: "many parents cannot afford to take time off work to attend school activities" (Institution 2). Contrasting views of disadvantaged parents and families signal varying understandings of poverty within this national GradDip study. These findings are of interest as only 17 percent of preservice teacher participants reported completing a fieldwork placement in a low decile school.

#### **Classroom environment**

Preservice teachers also engaged with issues of socioeconomic disadvantage in their descriptions of school and classroom environments. Preservice teachers' comments focused on the inequitable distribution of resources amongst schools and students. The data-informed definition of resources is inclusive of personal (socioeconomic), school (computers and also teachers), and university financial support (economic). Preservice teachers in particular focused on visible, tangible differences between available school and classroom resources. Their comments demonstrate a connection between low decile schools, lower SES areas, and fewer resources, exemplified in the following comment: "[I am interested] to see how these [low decile] schools cope with fewer resources and the pedagogy used with kids from a lower socioeconomic area" (Institution 5). Some preservice teachers also explained their perception of low decile schools being more challenging teaching and learning environments:

It [socioeconomic disadvantage] makes it hard for a teacher. Even in a high decile school, teaching a diverse range of pupils can be challenging. Add a lower SES setting into the mix and the school may not have the resources to help the teacher in their classroom teaching. Therefore the teacher has more pressure on them to find ways to teach the curriculum successfully (Institution 2).

Some preservice teachers' comments confirm PL observations of negative stereotypes and perceptions of low decile schools. Classroom management and behavioural issues were at the forefront of preservice teachers' low decile school concerns. As one participant explains, "classroom management might be a problem as a first year teacher" (Institution 1). Another preservice teacher states that "[I] don't want to put too much pressure during my 1st years" (Institution 5). Both comments acknowledge low decile schools as challenging teaching environments while also identifying some initial discomfort in teaching in this setting as a beginning teacher. Other preservice teachers concluded that teaching in low decile schools is "too hard". Similar perspectives of low decile schools were conveyed in slightly more diplomatically in comments such as: "I think this [low decile] environment requires more experienced teachers".

#### Challenging socioeconomic inequality as teachers

Again, conflicting perceptions of the role of teachers in challenging sources of inequality emerged from the data. On one end of the spectrum some preservice teachers strongly believed in the power of teachers, schools and individual achievement to overcome poverty limitations. The comment, "background factors do have a real effect on students - but all students can achieve" (Institution 4), reflects this view. In the following reply another preservice teacher includes family into the group of people and factors that assist in overcoming the disadvantages of poverty:

To some extent poverty, when it results in malnourishment, abuse, lack of resources for learning at home (e.g. wireless broadband + laptop) puts poor students at a disadvantage, but with hard work and support from family and/or teachers/school they can still achieve at top levels (Institution 5).

The faith in teachers, schools, families, and students to overcome poverty related obstacles is counterbalanced by a small group of students who regard "the poverty cycle and student achievement [as] complex" issues (Institution 5). This view recognizes the contribution and limitation of personal and educational factors in transcending poverty barriers. The range of responses to the role of teachers in addressing socioeconomic disadvantage is further complicated by data concerning teachers' views of the role of teachers in challenging sources of inequity. Near programme completion, when asked if they agreed or disagreed with this statement, 16 percent of preservice teachers responded that teachers should challenge school-based arrangements that maintain social inequities. Another 55 percent said they agreed which leads to a conclusive 71 percent who, near the end of their preservice teacher education programme, felt that teachers should address social equity concerns.

#### Summary of survey findings

Preservice teacher survey data cover a diverse range of views on various aspects of disadvantage and poverty as they relate to the processes of teaching and learning. Preservice teachers' understandings of the decile system varied, yet there were discrepancies between self-reported data

and open commentary about school deciles. Overall, self-reported data appeared to indicate relatively strong, and often correct, understandings of deciles, yet open-ended comments suggest deeply divided views—covering deficit to favourable perspectives of all school deciles. Similar contrasts were found in preservice teachers' knowledge of the disadvantaged school context. The daily realities of disadvantaged and poor students and families were understood by some preservice teachers yet not by others. One topic most preservice teachers agreed on was that low decile schools present a more challenging teaching environment. However, preservice teachers' willingness to teach in low decile schools was polarized. Upon programme entry 90 percent of preservice teachers agreed that they were looking forward to completing a low decile school fieldwork. However, upon programme completion only 54 percent of exit survey participants were looking forward to future employment in low decile schools. This decreased interest in low decile school teaching is further complicated by statistics indicating only 17 percent of these preservice teachers completed a low decile school fieldwork. These data suggest that other programme related experience, information, or external factors and/or people may be impacting preservice teachers' willingness to engage with issues of disadvantage during their preservice teacher education programmes. Preservice teachers' decile ranking preferences however remained relatively stable. On both entry and exit surveys, preservice teachers were asked to rank which type of school they anticipated teaching in upon completion of their GradDip secondary programme. Preservice teachers' first choice ranking statistics of are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5

Preservice Teachers' First Choice Decile Ranking Preferences

Decile ranking	Entry Survey	Exit Survey
Low decile (1-3)	18%	15%
Mid decile (4-7)	49%	47%
High decile (8-10)	33%	38%

Preservice teachers' decile ranking preferences present somewhat contradictory information to the prior survey question findings probing preservice teachers' anticipated willingness to teach in low decile schools. The ranking process signals a difference between preservice teachers' willingness to

engage in low decile school teaching and their preferred teaching environments. These statistics illustrate how the majority (49 percent upon entry and 47 percent upon programme completion) of preservice teachers are seeking to start their teaching careers in mid decile schools. Conversely the fewest number of survey participants (18 percent upon entry and 15 percent on programme completion) anticipate employment in low decile schools. These data again point to the complexity of addressing issues of disadvantage and poverty within GradDip preservice teacher education programmes. Overall the survey data cover a broad spectrum of preservice teachers' knowledge and willingness to engage with disadvantage and poverty in education.

#### Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings from the analysis of institution and programme documents, PL interviews, and preservice teacher surveys to understand how these three participant groups acknowledge and engage with socioeconomic disadvantage. Findings from all three data sources were organised by key emerging themes with reference to the research question. A key finding of this study is institution and programme's limited engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage and poverty. In particular, institution handbooks, functioning as official Faculty communication, rarely engage with the concept of socioeconomic disadvantage. At the programme level, similar few discussions of disadvantage are evident in programme course booklets. A second key finding is that institutions and programmes often approach the issue of socioeconomic disadvantage through broader discussions of diversity and inclusive policy related to ethnicity and culture. Interview data, for example, offered evidence of disadvantage being hidden within larger diversity discourses. A third key finding is that preservice teachers' knowledge, opinions, and experience of disadvantage are polarized. Whether negative, neutral, or positive, preservice teachers' survey comments reflected firmly held beliefs about low and high decile schools. When all three data sources are considered as a whole, study findings reveal some consistent trends, and discrepancies between stated diversity goals, actual practices, and preservice teachers' engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage. In the next chapter, the findings are interpreted using two new conceptual models that draw heavily upon Fraser's theoretical justice framework (1995).

# Part III: Understanding Preservice Teachers' Engagements with Disadvantage

## Chapter six: Discussion: Making sense of preservice teachers' engagements with disadvantage

#### Introduction

The complexity and richness of data presented in the previous chapter created an analytic and interpretive conundrum. Findings drawn from different data sources, and from different perspectives, revealed varied findings and some consistent trends. Responding to the complexity of document, interview, and survey data two original conceptual models were developed to make sense of how New Zealand preservice teachers engage with socioeconomic disadvantage during their GradDip secondary preservice teacher education programmes. This chapter's analysis, interpretation, and synthesis of findings is organised in three sections. The first presents the theoretical underpinnings of the new Continuum of Engagement model. Section two locates the study data within the Continuum of Engagement model. In effect, this mid-section operationalises the Continuum of Engagement conceptual model. The third and final section discusses the findings from a complementary perspective through the introduction of a second original conceptual framework entitled the Politics of Discomfort. The Politics of Discomfort framework offers a holistic analysis of the range of factors that influenced my research participants' engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage. The chapter then concludes with a summary of how the Continuum of Engagement and Politics of Discomfort conceptual models both inform and complement each other. The summary also signals the potential wider applicability of both conceptual models to address other issues internal and external to the field of teacher education.

#### **Section One: The Continuum of Engagement**

The primary focus of the first part of this chapter is to present the Continuum of Engagement conceptual model which examines research participants' engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage. This explanatory model is strongly underpinned by political philosopher Fraser's (1995, 2000) theory of justice, and, for that reason, an overview of her social justice framework opens this section of the chapter. Examples of Fraser's concepts of misrecognition and maldistribution drawn from the study findings are used to explain how inequities exist and operate within New

Zealand's GradDip secondary system. Following the discussion of Fraser's theory of injustice the Continuum of Engagement model is presented. This conceptual model is advanced as a means of examining the complexity of participants' varied responses, acknowledgements, and engagements with the concept of socioeconomic disadvantage, and issues related to teaching in low decile schools.

#### Theoretical underpinnings: Framing injustice

Fraser's (1995, 2000) theoretical model of justice is underpinned by the principles of recognition and redistribution. Recognition refers to the acknowledgement and promotion of identity and difference, while redistribution refers to the unequal distribution of resources. Fraser explains how the principles of recognition and redistribution align with cultural and socioeconomic injustice. Recognition is presented as a form of cultural or symbolic injustice embedded within institutionalized patterns of "representation, interpretation, and communication" (1995, p. 71). Fraser theorizes that the injustice of *mis*recognition is therefore one of marginalization, absence, disrespect, and the "institutionalized subordination" of particular groups in society (2000, p. 114). Remedies for misrecognition typically come in response to marginalised group demands for recognition; or inclusion, access, and participation in dominant cultural and social practices. For example, Fraser discusses law changes to create marriage equality for same-sex partnerships. An education-based example would be the integration- segregation debate concerning the placement of students with disabilities in mainstream or specialised schools.

Meanwhile, Fraser positions redistribution as a socioeconomic injustice, visible in the inequitable distribution of resources amongst members of society. The problem of redistribution is therefore based in the economic structures of society that lead to the "economic subordination" (Fraser, 2000, p. 117) that restricts marginalised group access to participation in the economy. Remedying socioeconomic injustice requires a deep restructuring of the political-economic system that offers greater equality to resources. Calls for redistribution often focus on a more equitable distribution of wealth. In this study, participants' comments about the decile system, available school resources, and parents' support of their children's learning identified in the previous findings chapter are examples of Fraser's concept of redistribution.

#### Bivalent axes of injustice

Fraser contends that the complexities of social and political life often result in multiple injustices that overlap, yet can be in conflict with one another. She argues that most injustices are bivalent, or simultaneously cultural and economic. Marginalised groups, for example, suffer the ills of both misrecognition and maldistribution. As Fraser explains:

Even the most material economic institutions have a constitutive, irreducible cultural dimension; they are shot through with significations and norms. Conversely, even the most discursive cultural practices have a constitutive, irreducible political-economic dimension; they are underpinned by material supports. (1995, p. 72)

The intersecting axes of economic and cultural injustice therefore reinforce each other dialectically. By definition, issues of maldistribution encompass dimensions of recognition and distribution. Remedies for the redistribution-recognition dilemma must be capable of cutting across the intersecting injustices of misrecognition and maldistribution. This process involves addressing issues of misrecognition or "institutionalized pattern[s] of cultural value that constitutes some categories of social actors as normative and others as deficient or inferior" (Fraser, 2000, p. 114). Here Fraser refers to social welfare policy examples that can "stigmatise" recipients as "irresponsible scroungers" (Fraser, 2000, p. 114). New Zealand economists Morgan & Guthrie (2011) offer an alternative perspective on the issue of social welfare. They claim that social welfare policies in New Zealand "have been reduced to assistance of last resort. Like an ambulance at the foot of the cliff, it kicks into action only when a person's lot has fallen so far below what society deems adequate that our compassion is engaged" (p. 10). In my research low decile schools can also be stigmatised due to similar perceptions of receiving additional funding through the decile system itself. PL5 describes a particular view of the decile system, which reflects one type of maldistribution concern:

They [preservice teachers] have questions about why should these [low low decile] schools [receive more funding], because they listen to the high decile schools they've come through. In most of the cases they listen to high decile schools say, "why should low decile schools get more money than us?" You know we don't get any funding, they'll say. We don't tell the students we set our fees at several hundred dollars and we get 100% of the fee intake.

Whereas a low decile school sets their fees at \$50 and maybe 30% of the parent population can afford to pay them. There needs to be a differential.

This quotation reveals one particular perspective, and arguably emergent awareness of the decile system designed to "provide additional resources to support their students' learning needs" (Ministry of Education, 2010b). This view also signals equal emerging understanding of the additional challenges facing disadvantaged students and families. Similarly, the previous chapter also reported PL awareness of the potential stigma associated with low decile schools described by PL2 as "low decile school labelling" that reveals how some preservice teachers associate low decile schools with drugs, crime, violence, and poor behaviour.

The second dimension of maldistribution is set within the economic structures of society such as "property regimes and labour markets" that categorise individuals based on "differential endowments of resources" (Fraser, 2000, p. 117). For Fraser maldistribution is a concern because the inequitable distribution of resources can be an "impediment to parity of participation in social life" (Fraser, 2000, p. 116). Findings from my study support Fraser's identified concern with regard to parents' involvement in schools. For instance, one preservice teacher (Institution 1) explains how "parents may have to work rather than to help at school or come to meetings". This comment reveals how some parents' involvement in their children's education is restricted due to financial realities such as work, as opposed to a lack of willingness, interest, or engagement. In this case, financial and work related concerns become what Fraser refers to as 'impediments' to participation in social life.

The bivalent axes of injustice are visible within the ethnic, poverty, income, and school roll statistics presented in chapter two. This range of national data demonstrates the overlap between ethnicity and income. The data reveal how European/Pākehā children experience lower rates of child poverty (16 percent) in comparison with Māori (27 percent), Pasifika (40 percent) and 23 percent amongst all other ethnic groups (Fletcher et al., 2008). European/Pākehā families also earn between 22 - 73 percent more income than Māori, Pasifika, Asian and MELAA ethnic groups (Statistics New Zealand, 2008b). Furthermore, MoE school roll data indicate comparatively higher percentages of Māori and Pasifika in low decile schools in comparison with other ethnic groups (Ministry of Education, 2013f). These MoE statistics first reported in chapter two identify ethnic school populations in low decile schools to be approximately eight percent European/Pākehā, 45 percent Māori, 60 percent Pasifika and 16 percent Asian. Considered cumulatively, these national statistics

provide an example of Fraser's intersecting injustices of misrecognition and maldistribution. Fraser's on-going theorising of the redistribution-recognition dilemma has resulted in the conceptualisation of two types of remedies to the bivalent sources of injustice that are discussed in the following section.

#### Remedies for the redistribution-recognition dilemma

Fraser proposes two types of remedies to the injustices of redistribution and recognition. The first of these are affirmative remedies. As Fraser explains, affirmative remedies seek more equitable outcomes for marginalised groups that support and value their difference within existing systems, leaving inequitable structures intact. Affirmative remedies therefore focus on changing outcomes rather than processes. In contrast, transformative remedies, while seeking more equitable outcomes, fundamentally restructure underlying systems in which inequities are created. Thus, the deconstruction of systems is the outcome of transformative remedies. As reported in the previous chapter, all PLs identified an all-encompassing approach to diversity. These 'inclusive' approaches to diversity are examples of affirmative remedies to injustice that promote, support, and value all types of 'difference' amongst student populations. These 'inclusive' messages likely correlate with preservice teacher comments such as "every student deserves the same educational opportunities" (Institution 5) and "students are students as far as I'm concerned" (Institution 2).

In comparison to participating programmes' unanimous affirmative approaches to diversity, few, if any, examples of transformative remedies were evident within the data. Arguably the closest identifiable examples are individual critiques of current preservice teacher education experiences.

One such example comes from a preservice teacher at Institution 5:

I think the Ed faculty has inadvertently helped seed the view by many that decile 1 is for low ability and 10 for high ability wealthy schools by getting students to have practicum in different decile schools. Actually I found very low ability troublesome kids in both decile 4 and 10 and high ability in both schools. We should be asked to demonstrate that we have taken low ability classes regardless of the school. And that we have taken classes that have children from poor background etc.

Another Institution 5 preservice teacher offers a critique of the perceived ethnic and cultural programme focus on Māori students. She writes, "I am concerned for immigrants from other countries being marginalised by our focus on Māori being made comfortable in the education system". However, neither of these preservice teachers' comments are true examples of transformative remedies as they do not restructure underlying systems creating inequities. They do represent some emergent critique and transformative thoughts that may lead to transformative remedies.

### Combining the concepts: Redistribution and recognition and their affirmative and transformative remedies

Fraser discusses remedies for bivalent injustices of misrecognition and maldistribution through a four-celled matrix previously described in chapter four. Fraser cautions that affirmative responses can lead to the stigmatisation of disadvantaged groups. She describes how the process of recognition itself is contradictory. Through demands for recognition, marginalised groups, who suffer from misrecognition and maldistribution, initially appear to be deficient, yet over time, they can be perceived as privileged recipients of special consideration and resources. In this study, one preservice teacher shares the belief that addressing issues of socioeconomic disadvantage in low decile schools requires "not just money" but also parent support for students in low decile schools (Institution 5). This preservice teacher's comment is an example of what Fraser refers to as the 'practical recognition-effect' that exemplifies the tensions between recognition and affirmative distribution of resources (Fraser, 1995). Affirmative approaches also tend to be one-dimensional with diminished ability to address multiple identities and dimensions of cultural politics. A critical examination of remedies in the affirmative-recognition category of the matrix exposes their limited ability to address the complexities of identity that can prevent equal participation in society. In relation to this study, data presented in previous chapters signalled greater emphasis placed on diversity issues, such as ethnicity and culture over others such as socioeconomic disadvantage. Priority placed on ethnicity and culture does not account for multiple forms of misrecognition but rather it is possible for misrecognition to occur at multiple levels. For example, a school student from a low-income family may also have a disability. An example of multiple forms of recognition in my research pertains to the intersection between ethnicity and culture, and socioeconomic disadvantage. Institutions made reference to this ethnicity-culture-socioeconomic status overlap through a range of support for Māori and/or Pasifika students. This support included cultural, academic, and financial (scholarship)

support. According to Fraser, these three types of support systems can lead to perceived 'special' status and possible stigmatisation or marginalisation of these groups (Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

In contrast to affirmative remedies, transformative remedies to injustice promote dedifferentiation to address issues of misrecognition while avoiding the stigmatisation of marginalised groups. Transformative remedies, however, require fundamental structural changes and, therefore, represent significant opposition to the status quo. Fraser explains how the restructuring of inequitable systems requires the relinquishment of dominant identities and current beneficiaries of present systems, in favour of more equal distribution of resources. In relation to this study, a living wage would arguably assist to mitigate current income based inequities resulting in differences in home and school resources, and school students' access to adequate food and clothing. Some preservice teachers suggested the correlation between hungry children and children's decreased ability to focus on learning. For instance, one preservice teacher stated that, "a hungry child will not concentrate as well, stay on task as long" (Institution 5). The reorganization may be challenging for those who are socially, economically, and politically advantaged by current unequal systems. This section of the chapter has presented Fraser's two primary remedies to injustice: affirmative and transformative remedies. However, she also advances a third, alternative type of remedy to injustice that is explored in the following section.

#### **Nonreformist reform**

Nonreformist reforms are Fraser's third remedy to injustice offering a third space, or middle ground, between affirmative and transformative remedies (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). Borrowing the idea from André Gorz, Fraser explains how *nonreformist* reforms are, in fact, a two-fold (phased) remedy, incorporating both affirmative and transformative approaches to remedying injustice. As Fraser suggests they "engage people's identities and satisfy some of their needs as interpreted within existing frameworks of recognition and distribution; on the other hand, they set in motion a trajectory of change in which more radical reforms become practical over time" (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 79). In other words, affirmative remedies are precursors to transformative remedies, initiating structural shifts and providing conditions necessary for later transformative actions and remedies to

the injustices. Fraser refers to the concept of Unconditional Basic Income that would "guarantee a minimum standard of living to every citizen, regardless of labor force participation" as an example of a *nonreformist* reform (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 78). Under this scheme subsidizing low incomes to a minimum standard may initially appear to be an affirmative remedy to the injustice of maldistribution yet could also be transformative in the long term. This action could shift the "balance of power between capital and labor" with a long-term result of "undermin[ing] the commodification of labor power" (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 78). In this research, there are no clearly identifiable examples of *nonreformist* reforms. The primary reason for the absence of *nonreformist* reforms is linked to paucity of transformative remedies evident within the data. While it is arguable that affirmative remedies such as culturally responsive pedagogies were emphasised within all participating preservice teacher education programmes, these solutions to injustice were not followed by radical and consistent pursuit of transformative remedies. Therefore, by definition, this research did not reveal any examples of *nonreformist* reforms.

The discussion of Fraser's three types of remedies concludes the discussion of Fraser's theoretical framework that informs my first conceptual model, the Continuum of Engagement. This overview of Fraser's social justice theory began with the original conceptualisation of the principles of redistribution and recognition. Fraser's continued theorising of these two foundational concepts led to the examination of injustices of multiple sources. An exploration of Fraser's bivalent axes of injustice, or injustices of cultural and economic origins, added a second layer of theorising to Fraser's theory of social justice. By problematising injustices of mixed origins, Fraser illuminates the complexities of contemporary injustices. Fraser's three types of remedies: affirmative, transformative and *nonreformist* reforms infused a practical element to Fraser's theorising. The next section of the chapter seeks to connect Fraser's work to this research; and in so doing, initiates the transition from Fraser's theorising to the introduction of my Continuum of Engagement model.

#### Theorising redistribution and recognition within the field of teacher education

In this study Fraser's work assists to enhance our understanding of how institutions, PLs, and preservice teachers engage with the concept of socioeconomic disadvantage. Fraser's theory of injustice has provided the basis for the development of the two complementary conceptual models,

the Continuum of Engagement and the Politics of Discomfort, advanced as part of this thesis. The former adapts and extends Fraser's model of injustice to explain the complexities associated with the three participant groups' engagement with disadvantage as it relates to teaching in New Zealand low decile schools. The second conceptual model entitled the Politics of Discomfort aligns with what Anyon (2009) describes as a "holistic rather than piecemeal solution to educational problems" (p. 15). She defines "holistic theory" as a plan for action and social change that address[es] the entire nexus of relevant issues or problems" (Anyon, 2009, p. 15). The Politics of Discomfort conceptual framework offers insights into how political, economic, social and discursive systems create sources of inequity and injustice within preservice teacher education programmes. Both models are discussed in further detail later in the chapter.

Within the field of teacher education, culture and ethnicity are often discussed in terms of culturally responsive pedagogy related to rising ethnic diversity in New Zealand's student populations. This trend arguably has significant implications for teaching and learning. MoE sponsored projects such as Te Kotahitanga (Bishop et al., 2003), Achievement in Multi-Cultural High Schools or AIMHI (Hill & Hawk, 1998) and research reports including *Ka Hikitia - Managing for Success: The Māori Education Strategy 2008 – 2012* (Ministry of Education, 2009a) and *Te Tātaiako: Cultural competencies for teachers of Māori learners* (Ministry of Education, 2011c) illustrate contextual priorities of culture and ethnicity, and related culturally responsive pedagogy (Leach, 2011; Nakhid, 2006). At present, no comparable MoE projects specifically focusing on poverty and socioeconomic disadvantage were located in a review of current MoE documents. The sustained emphasis on culture and ethnicity is also evident within MoE diversity related documents such as the *Quality Teaching for Diverse Students in Schooling: Best Evidence Synthesis*, or BES (Alton-Lee, 2003). Alton-Lee's BES employs a broad definition of diversity "encompass[ing] many characteristics including ethnicity, socio-economic background, home language, gender, special needs, disability, and giftedness", yet also highlights the importance of biculturalism (p. v).

Alton-Lee's BES clearly identifies that "fundamental to the approach taken to diversity in New Zealand education [is its] honour[ing of] Articles 2 and 3 of the Treaty of Waitangi" (Alton-Lee, 2003, p. v). In response to this broad approach to diversity Alton-Lee (2003) identifies the need for teachers to adapt to the needs of diverse learners:

Teaching needs to be responsive to diversity within ethnic groups, for example, diversity within Pākehā, Māori, Pasifika and Asian students. We also need to recognise the diversity within individual students influenced by intersections of gender, cultural heritage(s), socioeconomic background, and talent. (p. v)

While gender, socioeconomic background, and talent accompany ethnicity and culture in this excerpt, their placement behind the reference to ethnicity is arguably further evidence of initial contextual emphasis on ethnicity and culture. Leach (2011) also explores different understandings of diversity concluding that recent tertiary education policies in New Zealand focus on Māori and Pasifika ethnic groups. This emphasis on ethnicity has drawn some critique. Nash (2006), for example, argues that scholarship which isolates one variable, ethnicity or class, as a reason for educational failure or underachievement is "ill fated" (p. 167). Instead, Nash challenges the dichotomy between ethnicity and SES in favour of analysis that reflects the complexities, and often integration, of issues of ethnicity and socioeconomic status.

Both strands of research, (culture and ethnicity, and socioeconomic status), are relevant to this discussion as they align with Fraser's concepts of recognition and redistribution. Dominant themes within current teacher education research presented in the literature review in chapter three have been placed in Fraser's social justice matrix. Table 6 provides examples of affirmative and transformative remedies for the injustices of maldistribution and misrecognition related to identified challenges of disadvantaged students and schools (Anyon, 2005a; Berliner, 2009), diversity (Sleeter, 2008; R. Stevens & Charles, 2005); calls for better preparation of teachers for disadvantaged school settings (Garmon, 2005; Haberman, 1995a, 1996); and teachers' diversity beliefs (Milner, 2005).

Table 6

Teacher Education Affirmative and Transformative Remedies drawn from the Literature

	Affirmative	Transformative
Redistribution	<ul> <li>"Surface reallocation of existing goods to existing groups; supports group differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p.87)</li> <li>Educational examples that redress SES injustice:</li> <li>Eliminating tracking and/or enforcing zoning policies to encourage greater school mix</li> <li>Free school meal programmes</li> <li>Targeted, supplementary funding schemes for low SES students: i.e. the decile system</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>"Deep restructuring of relations of production; blurs group differentiation; can help remedy some forms of misrecognition" (Fraser, 1995, p.87)</li> <li>Educational examples that redress SES injustice:</li> <li>Examining the structural roots of SES disparity in schools and preservice teacher education programmes</li> <li>Examining the interplay between social, health, education, and economic policies</li> <li>Specialized TEPS for disadvantaged schools</li> </ul>
Recognition	"Surface reallocations of respect to existing identities of existing groups; supports group differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p.87) Educational examples that redress SES injustice:  • Inclusion of SES/poverty in diversity awareness campaigns • Correcting stereotypes of economically disadvantaged and economically privileged students, families, and schools	<ul> <li>"Deep restructuring of relations to recognition; blurs group differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p.87)</li> <li>Educational examples that redress SES injustice:</li> <li>Use of SES discourse in schools and preservice teacher education programmes</li> <li>preservice teacher education programme inclusion of a critical analysis of economic privilege and disadvantage in the education system</li> </ul>

Affirmative remedies to recognition and redistribution focus on greater inclusion of socioeconomic disadvantage as discussion topics within schools and preservice teacher education programmes, in addition to calls for variations to current educational funding models. The literature suggests that the majority of remedies to injustice within the field of teacher education are affirmative. In the New Zealand context, the decile system itself is an example of an affirmative-redistributive remedy to this type of socioeconomic injustice. In contrast, transformative remedies aimed at dismantling the structures creating inequitable conditions were absent from the literature. Therefore the transformative remedies in Table 6 extend emerging ideas and suggestions by scholars investigating improved practices for preparing preservice teachers for teaching in disadvantaged schools. The next section refocuses on the discussion of findings from the analysis of my study's participants' engagement with issues of socioeconomic disadvantage.

#### Theorising redistribution and recognition within my research

Fraser's theory of justice offers valuable insights into the study's research data. The social justice matrix is a powerful organizational and analytic tool when applied to structural injustices operating at institutional and programme levels. Analysis of institution and programme material including programme and course booklets, and course outlines, and PL notes were placed on Fraser's social justice matrix in Table 7. This analytic process helps to locate institutional and programme's conceptualizations of, and responses to disadvantage.

Table 7

Institution and Programme Responses to Socioeconomic Disadvantage in this Research

	Affirmative	Transformative
Redistribution	"Surface reallocation of existing goods to existing groups; supports group differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p.87)  Educational examples that redress SES injustice  • Scholarships for preservice teachers educated at low decile schools  • Targeted funding schemes: decile system	"Deep restructuring of relations of production; blurs group differentiation; can help remedy some forms of misrecognition" (Fraser, 1995, p.87)  Educational examples that redress SES injustice  • Examining the interplay between social, health, education, and economic policies  • Mandatory low decile fieldwork
Recognition	"Surface reallocations of respect to existing identities of existing groups; supports group differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p.87)  Educational examples that redress SES injustice  • Engagement in broad diversity discourses  • Discussions of the decile system	"Deep restructuring of relations to recognition; blurs group differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p.87)  Educational examples that redress SES injustice  • Use of SES discourse in schools and preservice teacher education programmes  • preservice teacher education programme inclusion of a critical analysis of economic privilege and disadvantage in the education system (zoning, private schooling, school mix)

As with the review of academic education and teacher education literature, institution and programme documents are placed here within affirmative recognition and redistribution quadrants. Similar to the examples from international literature, the New Zealand programmes involved in this research primarily engage in affirmative responses to socioeconomic equity concerns. Two affirmative redistribution remedies were identified within the study data. The scholarship in Table 7 is the outcome of Institution 4's scholarship scheme. This institution has chosen to acknowledge applicants'

educational history at low decile schools a criterion of the award. The redistribution of scholarship funding to graduates of low decile schools is an example of an affirmative - redistribution remedy to socioeconomic injustice. The second affirmative-redistribution example in my research is the MoE's decile system. As discussed in the introduction, school decile calculations determine state and stateintegrated school funding. Low decile schools receive additional funding to assist them to overcome educational challenges faced by some students from low socio-economic areas. The absence of transformative remedies in this study echoes the same phenomenon within the teacher education literature. The transformative remedies in Table 7 are ideas that respond to gaps within the available institutional and programme documents. For instance, the proposed transformative remedies place greater emphasis on the inclusion of socioeconomic disadvantage and privilege in preservice teacher education course work and practicum experience. These examples respond to findings discussed in the previous chapter that suggest participating institution and programmes' limited engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage. This finding, and proposed solution, corresponds with international research presented in chapter two (literature review). For example, American research suggests that the study's participating programmes placed less emphasis on socioeconomic disadvantage in comparison with other diversity topics such as culture, ethnicity, special needs and language development (Jennings, 2007).

While Fraser's social justice matrix assists to explain current New Zealand preservice teacher education responses and practices to disadvantage, her theorising offered limited capacity to explain the intricacies of rich data from multiple participant groups (institutions, programmes, PLs, and preservice teachers) and data sources (interviews, and surveys). The first of the original conceptual models, the Continuum of Engagement acknowledges Fraser's earlier work but enhances and expands its explanatory capacity.

#### Section two: Theorising the Continuum of Engagement

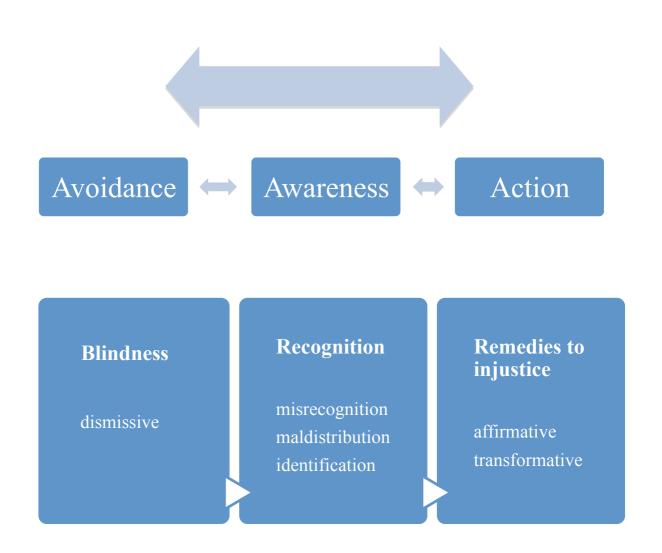
Inviting multiple perspectives of preservice teacher's understandings of disadvantage through varied data sources confirmed existing tensions associated with social equity concerns. At the structural level, institution and programme documents were easily inserted into Fraser's social justice matrix that identified and explained institutional responses to disadvantage and associated remedies. PL interview and preservice teacher data, however, was significantly more complex. Data analysis

revealed multiple, often conflicting, ideas about disadvantage, and teaching in low SES environments. Seeking to understand and explain the range of preservice teachers' engagement with disadvantage led to the development of is the Continuum of Engagement conceptual model.

The Continuum of Engagement draws on Fraser's theory of injustice, yet is distinguished from it through the acknowledgement of a greater range of responses to socioeconomic inequity. Initial reviews of the data confirmed that preservice teachers' and PL's engagement with SES discourse are often varied representing a continuum of responses. This section of the chapter provides an overview of the Continuum of Engagement. Employing examples from the data a later section of the chapter illustrates how the model is operationalised. The Continuum of Engagement model is presented in Figure 6.

Figure 6.

The Continuum of Engagement



(Developed by Tatebe, 2013)

The Continuum of Engagement model acknowledges earlier theorising of scholars such as Nieto (2000), Leach (2011), and Schmidt et al., (2012) who are also researching issues of social justice. In examining the concepts of culture and sexuality within the context of preservice teacher education programmes, these scholars have also developed multi-level conceptual models to explain the intricacies of their findings. In my research three broad categories (Avoidance, Awareness, Action) capture the various stages of engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage. Additionally continua exist within each category. In the Avoidance phase of the Continuum of Engagement, the concept of socioeconomic disadvantage is 'dismissed' leading to a general lack of acknowledgement and

engagement with issues of socioeconomic disadvantage. The continua within the 'Avoidance' category begins with Resistance, followed by Denial, and Blindness represented in the Table 8.

Table 8

Avoidance Continuum

Engagement level	Type of engagement	Conceptualization of poverty		
	Resistance <b>↓</b>	<ul> <li>Firm resistance to acknowledging socioeconomic disadvantage and other forms of social inequity</li> </ul>		
Avoidance	Denial <b>↓</b>	<ul> <li>Deficit views</li> <li>Critique of disadvantaged students, families and schools</li> <li>Maintain that some disadvantaged students succeed</li> </ul>		
	Blindness <b>↓</b>	<ul> <li>Belief in equity</li> <li>Claims to teach students equally regardless of difference (SES status, culture, ethnicity)</li> </ul>		

(Developed by Tatebe, 2013)

Arrows in the table signal the progression of comments along the Avoidance continuum. Comments that most strongly avoid engaging with socioeconomic disadvantage are situated in the initial 'resistance' phase of the Avoidance category. The next 'denial' phase represents a significant shift in thinking. At this stage, individuals and groups still, albeit to a lesser degree, avoid fully engaging with issues of socioeconomic disadvantage. However, their 'denial' represents some recognition of

this social equity concern. 'Blindness' is the most developed of the three phases along the Avoidance continuum. At this stage individuals demonstrate emerging understanding of socioeconomic disadvantage issues yet minimize their impact on students' educational experiences in equity based principles. The mantra of treating all students 'equally' is a strongly held belief.

The next stage along the Continuum of Engagement is Awareness. This phase encapsulates Fraser's principles of recognition and redistribution. Participants can identify and discuss the injustices of misrecognition and maldistribution, but remedies to these injustices are absent. The Awareness category is therefore marked by varying degrees of non-commitment or complacency towards challenging factors and influences that create and maintain sources of socioeconomic inequity. Table 9 provides further explanation of the continuum within the mid phase of the SES engagement model.

Table 9

Awareness Continuum

Engagement level	Type of engagement	Conceptualization of poverty	
Awareness	Misrecognition	<ul> <li>Identification of social inequity concerns         (descriptions of poverty, and stereotypes of         disadvantaged students, families, schools)</li> <li>Discusses impacts of poverty on students,         families and schools</li> </ul>	
	Maldistribution	<ul> <li>Identification of inequitable distribution of social, school and personal resources</li> <li>Discusses the impact of varying levels of support i.e. on learning processes and teachers</li> </ul>	

(Developed by Tatebe, 2013)

In this mid phase of the continuum participants acknowledge social, personal, and school-based inequities. While able to identify and discuss some implications of these injustices demonstrating an increased engagement with SES, disadvantage and poverty, remedies to SES injustices are still non-existent.

The third and final category of the Continuum of Engagement model is Action. The four levels of engagement in this phase are premised upon Fraser's theorising: recognition-affirmation, recognition-transformation, redistribution-affirmation, and redistribution-transformation.

Characteristics of these four levels of increased engagement with SES are located in Table 10.

Table 10

Action Continuum

Engagement level	Type of engagement	Conceptualization of poverty
	Recognition- Affirmation (CA)	"Surface reallocations of respect to existing identities of existing groups; supports group differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p.87)  In this phase all participant groups reiterate:  Respect for all students Inclusive practices
	Recognition- Transformation (CT)  Redistribution-	"Deep restructuring of relations to recognition; blurs group differentiation"  (Fraser, 1995, p.87)  Participants (PLs and preservice teachers) in this phase:  • Are in emergent phases of SES discourse engagement  • Question the use/absence of SES in TEP programmes  "Surface reallocation of existing goods to existing groups; supports group differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p.87)
Action	Affirmation (DA)	Participants (PLs and preservice teachers) in this phase:  • Engage in conversations of the decile system • Critique current educational resource distribution (books, facilities, opportunities)  "Deep restructuring of relations of production; blurs group differentiation;
	Redistribution- Transformation (DT)	can help remedy some forms of misrecognition" (Fraser, 1995, p.87)  Participants (PLs and preservice teachers) in this phase:  Examining the structural roots of SES disparity in schools and preservice teacher education programmes  Connect education, schools and classroom inequities to social, health, education, and economic policies  Understand the impact of wider school community support and welcome greater inclusion of families/whānau/communities in schools

(Developed by Tatebe, 2013)

Participants in the Action phase of the Continuum of Engagement demonstrated the highest levels of engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage. In line with Fraser's original model of injustice both affirmative and transformative remedies are possible within the Continuum of Engagement. The examples in Table 10 are drawn from the research data, the literature on teaching in disadvantaged schools, and proposed remedies developed from concepts located within the study data.

Findings from my research initiated the development of a new conceptual model entitled the Continuum of Engagement. With theoretical origins in the work of Nancy Fraser, this chapter opened with an overview and discussion of Fraser's social justice model. Next, Fraser's key concepts of redistribution and recognition, and affirmative and transformative remedies were extended and expanded into the Continuum of Engagement model. With the "conceptual architecture" (Anyon, 2009, p. 9) now complete, the next section operationalises the Continuum of Engagement. Integrating the research data into the Continuum of Engagement illustrates how the new conceptual model can be used to organise, analyse, and explain the complexities of this study's preservice teachers' engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage.

# **Section two: Theory in practice**

# The Continuum of Engagement: A conceptual, organisational, and analytic tool

The Continuum of Engagement offers a new lens from which to analyse and make sense of research participants' engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage. The location of the research data along the Continuum of Engagement deconstructs and transforms a complex web of findings into the three Continuum categories of Avoidance, Awareness, and Action. The process of integrating the research data into the Continuum model illuminates the model's ability to explain participants' varied levels of engagement with socioeconomic disadvantage within an educational context. The summary of the section of the chapter concludes with the presentation of the key argument of this thesis. In turn, this central argument, developed within the Continuum of Engagement, leads the discussion into the overview and analysis of the second conceptual model, the Politics of Discomfort.

# Avoidance

The first stage along the Continuum of Engagement model is the Avoidance category. Examples drawn from all three participant groups (preservice teachers, PLs, and institutions and programmes) signal how some individuals and groups have arguably limited engagement with the concept of socioeconomic disadvantage. Examples of participants' avoidance of discussing issues of socioeconomic are located in Table 11.

Table 11

Participants' Avoidance of Disadvantage

Engagement category	Level of engagement	Conceptualization of disadvantage		
		Preservice teachers	PL	Institutions, programmes, policy
	Resistance	Devaluation of the decile system  "Deciles are irrelevant"  (Institution 3)	Alluding to the challenges of discussing disadvantage  "How do you prepare them [to teach in low decile schools]?" (PL3)	Minimal discussion of socioeconomic disadvantage and school decile system within key documents
		"I don't want to live in an area with a low SES. I don't want to commute to low SES"  (Institution 5)	in low decile schools]? (FL5)	
		Deficit views  "I would expect low [student] motivation" (Institution 5)	Referral to structural limitations of engaging with disadvantage	Programme development for diverse learner groups
		"Generally children in low decile schools don't achieve that well academically."  (Institution 1)	"There are not many decile 1 secondary schools in [this area]. I think XX college is but we can't send them all there." PL 4	"We also use the Te Kotahitanga- effective teacher profile" (Institution 3)  "[The school] engages in teaching and research related to Māori education, policy and practice." (Institution 4)
	Denial	Teaching is complex and challenging  "All jobs have challenges" (all institutions)		"[We] offer courses on diverse learners" (Institution 5)
Avoidance		Belief in equality and equity  "I don't mind what school I teach in" (all institutions)	Maintain inclusivity and universal preservice teacher education preparation for all schools	Maintain inclusivity and universal preservice teacher education preparation for all schools
	Blindness	"All children are the same and deserve a good education"  (Institution 5)	"We prepare preservice teachers to teach all students" PL2	"[We] teach inclusive pedagogy"  "This Faculty is committed to excellence in teaching and research, equity" (Institution 2, 5)

(Developed by Tatebe, 2013)

A few explanatory notes about the layout of the table precede the analysis of participants' comments. The phrases emphasised in bold font summarise participant group's conceptualisations of disadvantage. Quotes located underneath these general descriptors are examples of typical participants' comments at each level along the Avoidance continuum: resistance, denial, and blindness. As indicated in Table 11, each participant group demonstrated slightly different forms of resistance to engaging with issues of socioeconomic disadvantage. One relatively common preservice teacher response was to 'devalue' the significance of the decile system through comments such as the example above "deciles are irrelevant" (Institution 3). This type of response disregards the decile system, and the socioeconomic inequalities that underpin it. PLs often referred to the challenge of discussing issues associated with socioeconomic disadvantage, representative within the quote "How do you prepare them [to teach in low decile schools]?" (PL 3). This comment appears to signal the complexity of addressing issues of socioeconomic disadvantage within preservice teacher education programmes. At the institution and programme level, the previous chapter identified minimal discussions of disadvantage, and the decile system within formal university documents. Overall, in the resistance phase of Avoidance, participants displayed various forms of resistance ranging from some preservice teachers' dismissive attitude towards the decile system, all PL's identification of multiple influential barriers to discussing disadvantage, and minimal discussion of disadvantage and deciles within institution and programme documents.

Denial is the next level of Avoidance. At this mid-phase along the Avoidance continuum, participants continue to avoid acknowledging issues related to disadvantage. As in the Resistance phase, participant groups demonstrated varied forms of 'denial'. Some preservice teachers expressed deficit views, as discussed in greater detail in the previous chapter. As the example in Table 11 suggests, some preservice teachers believe low decile school students are less academically inclined. As one preservice teacher indicates, "generally children in low decile schools don't achieve that well academically" (Institution 1). Other preservice teachers avoided the issue by making statements about the complexity of the teaching process. Preservice teachers at all institutions commented, "all jobs have challenges". As in the resistance phase, PLs continued to refer to the multiple challenges involved in addressing issues of socioeconomic disadvantage within preservice teacher education programmes. In the second Denial phase, some PLs referred to structural school-based limitations such as the decreased capacity of low decile schools to accept preservice teachers for practicum placements. However, discussions of school-based limitations direct attention away from programme based opportunities to integrate socioeconomic disadvantage into the curriculum. Additionally, some

institution and programme documents deflected attention away from engaging with disadvantage by focusing on other maldistribution and misrecognition issues such as culture, ethnicity, and diverse learners. This denial-deflection technique again offers a nuanced acknowledgement of equity concerns. Within the New Zealand context, programmes supporting Māori education support Fraser's two-dimensional distribution-recognition argument. Historically, and in contemporary society, Māori are underserved by the education system, as evident in references to MoE supported culturally responsive programmes like Te Kotahitanga (Bishop et al., 2003), cited by numerous participating institutions (Institutions 2, 3, 4). This institutional response may reflect the perceived connection between socioeconomic disadvantage and ethnic groups.

Blindness is the third and mildest form of Avoidance. The concepts of inclusivity and equity dominate this perspective. Preservice teachers' belief in equality is applied to both schools and students. For example, comments such as, "I don't mind what school I teach in", and "all children are the same and deserve a good education", reflect the tenets of equality in the processes of teaching and learning. The emphasis on inclusive learning continues at the PL level. All PLs interviewed as part of this research promoted their programmes as excellent preparation for teaching in 'all' schools. Quotes, such as, "we prepare preservice teachers to teach all students" were universal; however, the definition of 'all' differed between programmes. The majority of PLs indicated their programme's focus on preparing teachers to teach in New Zealand schools, while others acknowledged the preparation for teaching in international contexts (Institution 2 and 5). The 'inclusive' theme was consistent amongst all participant groups. This message was particularly clear at institutional and programme levels. For instance, two Faculty handbooks quoted the "commit[ment] to excellence in teaching and research, and equity" (Institutions 2 & 5). At the programme level, the commitment to inclusiveness resonates in statements, such as, "[we] teach inclusive pedagogy". The theme of preparing teachers for 'all' schools and 'all' types of learners signals some acknowledgement of difference, or in Fraser's social justice theory, the acknowledgement of some forms of misrecognition. However, use of the term 'all' is problematic, as it remains undefined by all three participant groups. As the quotes in Table 11 above suggest, priority appears to be given to the topics of culture and ethnicity. The prioritisation of some diversity issues such as culture and ethnicity over others, like socioeconomic disadvantage, is apparent within the data and will be discussed in further detail as part of the Politics of Discomfort framework.

The aversion to examining issues of socioeconomic disadvantage summarises the initial Avoidance category on the Continuum of Engagement. The Continuum framework reveals examples of all three levels of Avoidance (resistance, denial, and blindness) across preservice teacher, PL, and institutions participant groups. The Continuum of Engagement also illuminates how participant groups employed a range of different discursive strategies to avoid fully engaging with issues of disadvantage. These strategies often included deflecting attention towards school partner limitations and wider 'diversity' programme initiatives that tend to focus on ethnic and cultural diversity. The reference to other diversity initiatives arguably reflects how programmes often view disadvantage within wider diversity discourses. A distinct shift occurs in the second Awareness phase of the Continuum of Engagement. Participants in this category directly acknowledge the existence of socioeconomic disadvantage in social and educational contexts. The following section offers a deeper examination of participants' Awareness of disadvantage.

### **Awareness**

In this mid phase of the Continuum of Engagement, participants demonstrate developing understanding of disadvantage and its implications for teaching and learning in low decile schools. Participants are, to varying degrees, able to recognize the injustices of misrecognition and maldistribution. This discussion commences with an overview of participants' comments with examples drawn from the data in Table 12. The ensuing analysis begins with participants' acknowledgement of the injustice of misrecognition followed by an examination of identified maldistribution concerns.

Table 12

Participants' Awareness of Socioeconomic Disadvantage

Engagement	Level of	Conceptualization of disadvantage		
category	engagement			
		Preservice teachers	PL	Institutions, programmes
		"Disadvantage" stereotypes	Awareness of stereotypes and assumptions	Identification of specific groups
	Misrecognition	"The decile ranking of a school should not cloud the teachers' perception of how the students are to be taught. It is dangerous and unproductive to make assumptions about the students in your class" (Institution 3)  "There are many perceptions around low deciles but it is important to teach the student as individual. The decile is just a reflection of the students society but NOT of their academic abilities" (Institution 3)	"Often they are quite nervous when they find out they're going to certain schools that it's going to be really rough and students are going to be really violent and gang problems" (PL3)  "We [the programme] try to avoid judging schools by their deciles or having expectations of certain deciles." (PL 2)  "We [the programme] obviously try to challenge some of their [preservice teachers'] assumptionssome of their beliefs." (PL1)	"The School also undertakes specialist teaching and research that relate to gender and women's studies." (Institution 4)  "The Pacific Islands Centre is a cultural and spiritual home for all those who identify with the Pacific nations of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. The centre enables you to connect with the local Pacific community, as well as providing you with support and guidance, and access to scholarship information." (Institution 2)
Awareness		Cites inequality of resources	Cites inequality of resources	Cites inequality of resources
	Maldistribution	"Resources available to students does vary" (all institutions)  "To see how these [low decile] schools cope with fewer resources and the pedagogy used with kids from a lower socioeconomic area."  (Institution 5)	" where it makes it impossible to a have a blanket rule is that low decile schools don't always offer the subjects- some subjects- certain subjects." (PL5)	"[These] scholarships are offered to academically able students who are of Māori or Pacific descent, have a disability or who were educated at a decile 1–3 school and can demonstrate financial hardship."  (Institution 4)

(Developed by Tatebe, 2013)

Participants from all groups (preservice teachers, PLs, and institutions and programmes) were able to identify problems of misrecognition, yet expressed their Awareness of disadvantage in different ways. Preservice teachers' acknowledgement of disadvantage was rooted in discussions of disadvantaged stereotypes. Their comments signalled a range of understandings of disadvantage and understanding of stereotypes. Both examples above reflect some awareness of existing stereotypes of disadvantage in education. These stereotypes include casting low decile school students as lower academic achievers and some incorrect understandings of the decile system.

PL responses to problems of misrecognition are operationalized at two levels. At the first level, PLs openly acknowledge their awareness of stereotypes and negative perceptions of disadvantaged schools and students. Comments such as, "we [the programme] try to avoid judging schools by their deciles or having expectations of certain deciles" (Institution 2) reflect some PL awareness of school decile stereotypes. At the second level, some PLs and programmes attempt to "challenge some of their [preservice teachers] assumptions—some of their beliefs". These comments suggest deeper exploration of socioeconomic disadvantage within preservice teacher education programmes that arguably bridge the Continuum model's Awareness-Engagement divide.

Unlike some preservice teachers and PLs, institutions and programmes approach problems of misrecognition in more discrete ways. As illustrated in Table 12, institutions and programmes acknowledged misrecognition concerns pertaining to women, Māori and Pasifika students. Similar Awareness or recognition of disadvantaged students is absent from institution and programme documents. This phenomenon was first identified in the previous chapter. The obscurity of disadvantage at institution and programme levels is an outcome of 'deflection' techniques first identified in the initial Avoidance category of the Continuum model. In this case, deflection refers to the displacement of socioeconomic disadvantage as an educational concern in favour of Awareness and recognition of other diversity issues. Examples in my study's analysis of preservice teacher education programme documents include gender, ethnic, and cultural awareness. While Awareness of ethnic and cultural misrecognition marks a progression from the previous Avoidance category, institution and programme messaging regarding culture and ethnicity are problematic for several reasons. One concern is a general lack of clarity about diversity issues. Undefined and differing understandings of key terms contribute to the ambiguity surrounding the concept of diversity within preservice teacher education documents. For instance, Institution 2 offers a range of support systems for Pasifika students from Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. The identification of these three

groups however suggests a different definition to the ethnic groups traditionally under the 'Pasifika Umbrella' (Samu, 2006) as discussed in the glossary and chapter 2. As stated in these two chapters, this thesis employs the Statistics New Zealand definition of the term Pasifika which includes the seven largest Pacific ethnic groups in New Zealand: Samoans, Cook Island Māori, Tongans, Niueans, Fijians, Tokelauans and Tuvaluans. The quote does however demonstrate greater forward planning regarding how to mediate the injustices of ethnic and cultural misrecognition through positive guidance and scholarship information. Along the same vein, even with excluding disadvantaged students and families as an undeserved group within the education system, this example signals the *potential* to respond in a similar manner to the needs of disadvantaged students.

The second form of Awareness pertains to maldistribution concerns. In comparison to varied acknowledgements of misrecognition, participants' identification and understanding of maldistribution were straightforward and relatively uniform in nature. Preservice teachers were particularly concerned about the inequitable distribution of resources amongst schools and students. Resources in this context are inclusive of personal (socioeconomic), school (computers and also teachers), and university financial support (economic). In general, preservice teachers' comments in the maldistribution-Awareness phase of the Continuum tended to focus on the visible differences in available school based resources. For example, one preservice teacher writes, "[I am interested] to see how these [low decile] schools cope with fewer resources and the pedagogy used with kids from a lower socioeconomic area" (Institution 5). In my research, preservice teachers strongly associate fewer available school resources with low decile schools. PLs also discussed the inequitable distribution of school resources. PL conversations about school resourcing emphasised the negative impact of limited resources on the delivery of preservice teacher education programmes. For instance, PL5 explains how school subject offerings influence low decile practicum placements "low decile schools don't always offer the subjects - some subjects - certain subjects". In this case, the subjects in question were identified as art, dance, and languages. This PL quote is significant as it identifies a snowball effect of maldistribution problems. In making this point, PL5 alerts us to wider implications of inequitable resource distribution that can originate in one setting but, by association, cross over into others affecting multiple groups of learners. As identified by PLs in my study, maldistribution issues involving school students have ramifications for preservice teachers. Few institutions and programmes directly acknowledge the injustice of maldistribution. Institution 4's prospectus is a rare exception to this trend by offering "scholarships to academically able students who are of Māori or Pacific descent, have a disability or who were educated at a decile 1–3 school and can demonstrate financial hardship" (Institution 4). This scholarship information is unique for two reasons. First this

institution directly references low decile schools. Secondly, the scholarship information places socioeconomically disadvantaged students on par with other groups under the 'diversity' umbrella including cultural and ethnic minorities, and individuals with disabilities.

The data suggest that all preservice teachers, PLs, and institutions and programmes consistently interpret the issue of maldistribution as the inequitable distribution of school resources. What differentiates participant groups' discussions of maldistribution is the scope of their conversations. Problems of maldistribution amongst preservice teachers are narrowly confined to the presence or absence of tangible school and classroom resources. A sense of immediacy accompanies preservice teachers' awareness of maldistribution issues. In contrast, PLs address maldistribution concerns from a wider programme perspective. Their comments reveal greater awareness of the social influence, and implications of inequitable resource distribution. Meanwhile, institutions and programmes' are hesitant to directly discuss disadvantage continues with their approach to maldistribution concerns. My research data identify how institutions and programmes discursively draw attention away from maldistribution concerns within their own sphere of influence in favour of discussing school based resource inequity. The exploration of data along the Continuum of Engagement has clearly identified varied levels of engagement with disadvantage beginning with Avoidance and progressing through to Awareness of misrecognition and maldistribution issues. In the final phase of the Continuum participants take various levels of 'Action' to resolving the injustices of misrecognition and maldistribution. The following section discusses examples of participants' emergent critique of misrecognition and maldistribution issues, and their ideas to address them.

# Action

Fraser's theoretical social justice concepts have been transformed into theoretical codes to organise and analyse the data (Fraser, 1995). There are four codes in the Continuum: affirmative recognition, transformative-recognition, affirmative- redistribution, and transformative-redistribution. When incorporated into the Continuum of Engagement, these codes help to capture and organise the data into four stages of 'Engagement' or thinking about disadvantage and remedies for socioeconomic injustice. This final category of the Continuum of Engagement reveals participants' sense of justice, and inclination and willingness to engage in remedying these injustices.

An overview of participants' comments located along the Action axis as part of the final category in the Continuum of Engagement model is located in Table 13.

Table 13

Participants' Engagement with Disadvantage

Engagement category	Level of Engagement	Conceptualization of Socioeconomic Disadvantage		
		PTs	PLs	Institutions, programmes,
		"Surface reallocations of	"Surface reallocations of respect to	"Surface reallocations of respect to
		respect to existing identities of	existing identities of existing	existing identities of existing
		existing groups; supports group	groups; supports group	groups; supports group
	Affirmative-	differentiation" (Fraser, 1995,	differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p.87)	differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p.87
	Recognition-	p.87)		
Action	(AR)		Respect for all students	Respect for all Students
		Respect for all students	"certainly we are getting	Taken from the GTS #3
		"A multicultural classroom	[preservice teachers] from all	Taken from the G15 #5
		opens up new perspectives"	different ethnicities from all social	"[preservice teachers will] have an
		(Institution 2)	backgrounds we also have	understanding of education within
		(institution 2)	international students which we see	the bicultural, multicultural, social
			as really positive. They have a lot to	political, economic and historical
			offer and it does tend to help some	contexts of Aotearoa New
		Value of students'	_	Zealand."
		contributions to the classroom	of our New Zealand students [by	
			broadening] their thinking to have	"Students will study and work wit
		"I have a strong belief that a	internationals [preservice teachers]	a diverse range of people, includir
		mix of cultures/ideas brings	in the programme" (PL3)	university staff, other teacher
		better understanding &		education students, teachers and the
		knowledge" (Institution 5)		students you meet in schools and
				centres." (Institution 3)
		"Deep restructuring of relations	"Deep restructuring of relations to	"Deep restructuring of relations to
		to recognition; blurs group	recognition; blurs group	recognition; blurs group
		differentiation" (Fraser, 1995,	differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p.87)	differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p.87
		p.87)		
	75 e d		Curriculum inclusive of SES,	Curriculum inclusive of SES,
	Transformative- Recognition	Curriculum inclusive of SES,	cultural discourse in schools and	cultural discourse in schools and
	(TR)	cultural discourse in schools	preservice teacher education	preservice teacher education
	(==-)	and preservice teacher	programmes	programmes
		education programmes	"we do look at that element of	Te Reo Maori streams (mainstream
Action		"I don't think it [diversity] is	biculturalism honouring the Treaty	bilingual, immersion), use of
		highlighted enough and it needs	of Waitangi looking specifically	Kaupapa Māori research
		to be multicultural and include	[at] Te Kotahitanga, and some other	methodology (Institution 2,4,5)
		diverse abilit[ies] not just	Māori pedagogies to try and help	2, ( , ,,,=)
		Māori." (Institution 2)	those Māori students in our	Incorporation of different cultural
			classrooms to achieve to a higher	learning sites (i.e. the marae)
ļ			Classrooms to achieve to a higher	• , ,

		"Surface reallocation of existing	"Surface reallocation of existing	"Surface reallocation of existing
		goods to existing groups;	goods to existing groups; supports	goods to existing groups; supports
		supports group differentiation,	group differentiation, can generate	group differentiation, can generate
		can generate misrecognition"	misrecognition" (Fraser, 1995,	misrecognition" (Fraser, 1995,
		(Fraser, 1995, p.87)	p.87)	p.87)
		(11asci, 1773, p.o7)	p.67)	p.67)
			Teacher allocation	Funding schemes:
		Teacher allocation	"The other two- fantastic teachers-	The decile system
		"I don't have a problem with this but it will be more likely to	both could have gone anywhere but they were head hunted by those	Scholarships for preservice teachers educated at low decile schools
Action		happen after I have more	schools [high decile 8-10] who saw	
		teaching experience at least 3+	a really good teacher coming	
	Affirmative- Redistribution	years" (Institution 1)	through and snapped them and	
	(AD)		they're not going to turn it down are	
	()		they?" they've got the ability to do	
			that than low deciles who might be	
			struggling for funding.	
			(Institution 4)	
		"Deep restructuring of relations	"Deep restructuring of relations of	"Deep restructuring of relations of
		of production; blurs group	production; blurs group	production; blurs group
		differentiation; can help remedy	differentiation; can help remedy	differentiation; can help remedy
		some forms of misrecognition"	some forms of misrecognition"	some forms of misrecognition"
		(Fraser, 1995, p.87)	(Fraser, 1995, p.87)	(Fraser, 1995, p.87)
				, ,
		Examining the structural roots	Structural or programme change	New funding model-
		of disadvantage in schools and	suggestions for greater inclusion of	decommissioning the decile system
		preservice teacher education	SES discourse, disadvantage and	De la contrata de la
	Transformative-	programmes	poverty throughout preservice	Re-examining zoning, private
	Redistribution	Examining the interplay	teacher education programmes	schools, school mix policies
	(TD)		(curriculum, teaching, practicum	Examining the interplay between
		between social, health,	components)	social, health, education, and
		education, and economic		economic policies
		policies		•
		Greater inclusion of families/		
		whānau/communities in schools		
		and the learning process		
		G F		
	<u> </u>	L		

### **Recognition-Affirmation**

Examples of affirmative recognition are plentiful across participant groups. The data strongly suggest that preservice teachers, PLs, and institutions and programmes engage in various forms of affirmative-recognition defined by Fraser as "surface reallocation of existing goods to existing groups; supports group differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p.87). Respect for all students, and the value of diverse groups of students' classroom contributions resonate strongly across all participant groups. The examples in Table 13 align with others which suggest the prioritization of culture and ethnicity over other forms of diversity such as socioeconomic disadvantage. Culture is discussed positively by all participants. The two preservice teacher quotations illustrate both respect and value for different cultural perspectives. The second preservice teacher also makes a powerful statement through the recognition of culture as a means of understanding the world, and as a form of knowledge. She writes, "I have a strong belief that a mix of cultures/ideas brings better understanding & knowledge" (Institution 5). Further evidence of participants' emphasis on culture is demonstrated in comments that reference socioeconomic disadvantage yet return and focus on culture. For example, another preservice teacher describes how she "think[s] it is a great opportunity for teachers to teach student in low SES settings as they can bring a wide variety of cultural diversity to the classroom" (Institution 5). In this particular example, this preservice teacher perceives "low SES settings" to also be culturally diverse environments. This comment reflects the connection between culture and socioeconomic disadvantage discussed in chapter two.

PLs, like preservice teachers, recognized the importance of ethnicity and culture. In the example below, PL3 describes the increasing diversity of her institution's preservice teacher cohort:

Certainly we are getting [preservice teachers] from all different ethnicities from all social backgrounds we also have international students which we see as really positive. They have a lot to offer and it does tend to help some of our New Zealand students [by broadening] their thinking to have international [preservice teachers] in the programme.

Three key points of difference between preservice teacher and PL affirmative responses to the injustices of misrecognition are revealed in Table 13. First, PLs, as illustrated in the quotation above,

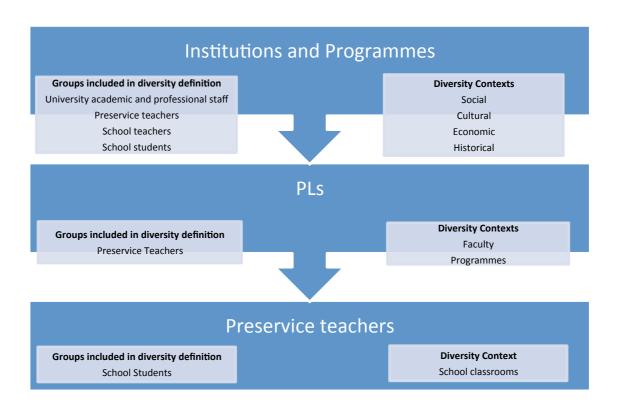
include socioeconomic disadvantage as a form of misrecognition. Secondly, PLs emphasise the importance of students from diverse backgrounds' contributions to the classroom. In this example PL3 describes how ethnic and socioeconomically diverse international preservice teachers develop the cultural knowledge and understanding of New Zealanders. Later in the interview, PL3 explained that her programme had less preservice teacher diversity than desired. The programme therefore relies on international students to expose New Zealand preservice teachers to different cultures, ethnicities, and social backgrounds that they otherwise would not experience during their preservice teacher education programmes. PL3's discussion of international students also reveals the third distinction between preservice teachers and PL affirmative responses to problems of misrecognition. Her comment illustrates critical reflection on the ethnic, cultural, and socioeconomic composition of preservice teacher cohorts. This quote also suggests differences between New Zealand and international students' awareness and 'thinking' about diversity issues. Other PLs (2 & 4) made comparable comments about international students' role in advancing New Zealand preservice teachers' cultural and diversity knowledge. For instance, PL2 described one international student from Eastern Europe as a "cat amongst the pigeons of the young Māori people who were wanting their own ethnicity to be valued and cherished and not made separate, but recognized as not the same". PL2 also noted how it is a "bit of a treasure to have somebody who comes from a bit of a background like that because it puts what we're doing into a much greater global perspective". Domestic and international students' varied awareness and thinking about diversity will be explored further in the final section of the chapter, within the Politics of Discomfort framework.

Unlike PLs and preservice teachers, institutions and programmes apply the term diversity more broadly. Institution 3's handbook for example informs students of their interactions with diverse groups of people: "students will study and work with a diverse range of people, including university staff, other teacher education students, teachers and the students you meet in schools and centres". This example is unique in that it extends the application of diversity from school students and preservice teachers, to university staff and school teachers. Examples from policy documents like the Graduating Teaching Standards (GTS) also signal different applications of the term 'diversity'. GTS number three, included in most institution handbooks often in slightly altered form, supports Fraser's claim of the recognition of difference. GTS three states that "[preservice teachers will] have an understanding of education within the bicultural, multicultural, social, political, economic and historical contexts of Aotearoa New Zealand" (New Zealand Teachers Council, 2007a). Diversity, as defined in the GTS is more widely applicable to other domains (political, economic, and history).

Further analysis of diversity related data suggest that participant groups employ the term 'diversity' in different ways. Figure 7 summarises this information. The arrows located in the centre of the figure illustrate how 'diversity' applies to different groups and contexts. Diversity is defined and applied more broadly by institutions and programmes, and less so by PLs and preservice teachers. Consideration of the scope and aims of each participant group assists to explain this phenomenon. Institutions have responsibilities to greater numbers of stakeholders including professional governing bodies like the NZTC, university academic and professional staff, preservice teachers, and school partners including school teachers and students who, in different ways and to varying degrees, are involved in preservice teacher education programmes.

Figure 7

Groups and Contexts to which Diversity is Applied



In contrast, PLs largely operate at programme and school levels. The key groups they are responsible for, and interact with, are academic and school based colleagues, and preservice teachers. For this reason, PLs' interview comments often focused on the diversity of their preservice teacher cohorts, followed by some reflection on the diversity of school roll populations. Preservice teachers' main

priority is their own learning, which involves developing the knowledge and skills required of teachers. Their interactions largely reside with preservice teachers, university academic staff, and secondary school circles. Preservice teachers' tendency to discuss diversity in relation to school student populations is arguably understandable.

In this study, tolerance and respect for diversity are defining features of participants' affirmative responses to the injustices of misrecognition. Preservice teachers and PLs demonstrated these attributes by discussing the value of cultural knowledge and understanding, and students' contributions to the classroom. At the institutional level, the theme of inclusivity resonated within policy (GTS), and institution and programme documents. Even with slight differences in the groups (school students or preservice teachers) and scope of the contexts that were considered diverse, participants who demonstrated affirmative responses to problems of misrecognition embraced the concept of diversity and promoted culturally inclusive practices. The next type of engagement along the Action continuum is recognition-transformation. The following discussion explores the data for evidence of "deep restructuring of relation to recognition; [that] blurs group differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p. 87).

# **Recognition-transformation**

Transformative remedies to misrecognition involve cultural or symbolic change at structural levels. As Fraser (1995) explains, actions that would alter current structures that shape societal "patterns of representation, interpretation and communication would change *everybody's* sense of self" (p. 73). Following Fraser's theorising, transformation in the Continuum model requires "deep restructuring of relations to recognition" that alter existing social structures (Fraser, 1995, p. 87). Therefore, by definition, transformative remedies to the injustices of misrecognition require significant changes to current social practices. In general, however, there were few examples of transformative remedies within the data.

Critiques of current preservice teacher education programme diversity practices by a few preservice teachers are examples of emerging transformative remedies to addressing misrecognition. Such critiques however were rare. Seven comments critiquing either societal influence on low decile schools perceptions (N= 5), or preservice teacher education programmes (N=2) were located within the data. In total, 1.4 percent of all preservice teachers' comments in the Action category of the

Continuum of Engagement are classified as transformative remedies to the injustice of misrecognition. Preservice teachers' critique of society's role in creating various forms of misrecognition was vague, arguably reflecting emergent critical thinking about the topic. For example, another preservice teacher explains her that "schools and teachers cannot be held responsible for providing what wider society is lacking. And you cannot expect teachers to do more and more to make up for society's failings" (Institution 3). In contrast, the two preservice teachers who were critical of preservice teacher education programme's approaches to cultural misrecognition were arguably more developed. For instance, one preservice teacher writes, "I don't think it [diversity] is highlighted enough and it needs to be multicultural and include diverse abilit[ies] not just Māori" (Institution 3). Her critique reveals a perceived over-emphasis on Māori culture within preservice teacher education programmes. This preservice teacher comment aligns with other PL interview, and institution and programme document data indicating a sustained focus on culture and ethnicity within participating preservice teacher education programmes.

Culturally focused pedagogy and programmes are further examples of transformative remedies for cultural misrecognition. PLs references to culturally responsive programmes such as Te Kotahitanga (Bishop et al., 2003), discussed in chapter two, reflect New Zealand's bicultural heritage, and efforts to redress cultural misrecognition. Along the same vein, all institutions involved in this research engaged in a range of cultural and ethnic initiatives. Examples in Table 13 illustrate how institutions have developed initiatives such as Te Reo Māori teacher education streams (mainstream, bilingual, and immersion), use of Kaupapa Māori research methodology, and different cultural learning sites such as the marae into their programmes.

All participating New Zealand institutions in my study engaged in transformative recognition remedies related to curriculum and culture. The data indicate that participating New Zealand institutions maintain a firm commitment to greater inclusion of culturally responsive pedagogy and curriculum for Māori. This finding advances Fraser's (2003) argument that posits that remedies within the recognition paradigm involve cultural or symbolic change. Cultural recognition of Māori in participating preservice teacher education programmes supports Fraser's notion of recognition as an issue of identity (2003) and social status (2000). Identity politics aim to establish an alternative narrative to dominant "theories and practices that assume their culture, knowledge, values, even their humanity, are of no worth" (Cazden, 2012, p. 182). In this case, Māori are Fraser's marginalised group seeking recognition by presenting a response to dominant social and education practices.

Through culturally focused curriculum and pedagogy, New Zealand teacher education programmes are engaging and practising transformative recognition remedies.

Fraser would likely identify my participants' sustained emphasis on culture and ethnicity as a "problem of displacement" (2000, p. 108). As discussed earlier in the chapter, displacement problems marginalise redistributive concerns. This research data illustrate how bicultural and multicultural issues have displaced distributive claims within participating preservice teacher education programmes. To solve displacement concerns Fraser (2000) suggests, "treating recognition as a question of social status" (p. 113). Redressing misrecognition under Fraser's 'status model' involves changing "institutionalized patterns of cultural value" that deny some "social actors as less than full members of society and prevents them from participating as peers" (Fraser, 2000, p. 114). As recent scholarship on issues of inequality suggest, adopting Fraser's status model approach to resolving misrecognition concerns likely involves multiple legal, policy, and institutional level change (Rashbrooke, 2013c; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). Further discussion of such possibilities occurs in the final conclusion chapter. For now, the discussion shifts in focus to examine remedies to the injustice of maldistribution. The data will be explored for examples of affirmative and transformative redistribution practices.

# **Redistribution-affirmation**

The second principle of Fraser's social justice framework is redistribution. Fraser explains how redistributive injustice claims "correspond to the economic structure[s] of society" resulting in "differential endowments of resources" (Fraser, 2000, p. 17). In education, redistribution tends to focus on the allocation of a variety of financial, school, and teaching resources including: operational funding, school resources such as computers, teachers, and the school curriculum. Affirmative policies are defined as "surface allocation of existing goods to existing groups; supports group differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p. 87). In this research the decile system itself is a prominent example of an affirmative-redistributive policy. Decile rankings determine funding levels based on the socioeconomic status of families in the local school vicinity. Aligning with Fraser's definition of affirmative policies, the decile system reallocates existing goods (funding) to existing groups (students and schools) that support differentiation (decile rankings). In my research there was evidence of an underlying belief amongst preservice teachers at all institutions that low decile schools required more experienced teachers. One preservice teacher explains:

I see this [teaching in low decile schools] as a complex task to do while still getting to grips with the practice of teaching. Therefore I would prefer to gain experience with less "demanding" students first - much like you learn to drive on a straight flat road before attempting winding narrow hill roads. (Institution 2)

This type of comment suggests that there is a perception that more knowledge and skills are required to teach students in low decile schools. Other preservice teachers signalled their openness to teach in low decile schools after gaining further teaching experience: "I don't have a problem with this [teaching in low decile schools] but it will be more likely to happen after I have more teaching experience at least 3+ years" (Institution 1). Another preservice teacher at Institution 5 described "resource gathering" as part of the preparation required prior to teaching in low decile schools. These types of statements reflect some preservice teachers' hesitancy to engage in teaching disadvantaged students as early career teachers.

PLs and institutions add further depth to preservice teachers' discussions of inequitable school resources. PL4 introduced the issue of high decile school head hunting practices. She explains how:

Two fantastic teachers- [who] could have gone anywhere but they were head hunted by those schools [high decile 8-10] who saw a really good teacher coming through and snapped them... and they're not going to turn it down are they?" They've got the ability to do that whereas low deciles might be struggling for funding.

PL4 identifies how financial resources can lead to other inequitable distribution practices. In this case, high decile schools' financial superiority affords them another advantage: teachers. However, PL4 offered a more balanced view by following up the headhunting comment, stating that, "we do have some good students going to low deciles as well". PL4's discussion of head hunting is worthy of attention as it represents a different form of affirmative-redistribution. Instead of reallocating goods to a different existing group, this example indicates how advantageous high decile school funding is distributed to themselves (in the form of top preservice teacher graduates). This self-serving act supports group differentiation by adding to the inequitable resources advantaging higher decile schools.

Redistributive justice claims at institutional and programme levels focus on economic concerns. One affirmative-redistribution remedy located within the programme document data is Institution 4's unique scholarship criteria. Eligibility for this particular scholarship carries cultural, personal ability and educational history requirements. Applicants for this award must be of Māori or Pacific descent, a student with a disability, or those who were "educated at a low decile school". Applicants must also demonstrate financial hardship. By targeting a range of different students, this scholarship can be considered a hybrid remedy to the injustices of maldistribution and misrecognition.

In education, maldistribution claims often focus on the allocation of school resources. Study data raise two important issues about participants' engagement with affirmative remedies to maldistribution. First, participants' engagement with affirmative remedies varied amongst participant groups. Institution 4's scholarship is the only example in Table 13 that directly addresses the issue of maldistribution by redistributing scholarship funding to individuals in financial hardship who were educated at low decile schools. Preservice teachers and PLs discussed teachers as a resource. Some preservice teachers offered a delayed affirmative-redistributive remedy. This group of preservice teachers felt that low decile school teaching required more experience, and signalled their openness to possible future teaching in low decile schools. PLs' acknowledged, and often critiqued, the injustices of inequitable school resources that included the distribution of new preservice teacher education graduates across all school deciles. Their discussions however were often rationales of the teacher 'sorting' process of placing graduates into full time teaching positions. One conversation with PL4 revealed an alternate perspective of redistributive practices. Rather than reallocating existing goods between groups, head hunting, as described by PL4, identifies the allocation of goods within the same group. In this example, one high decile school transformed their financial power into another type of advantage — top teacher recruitment. Superior funding permitted the high decile school to attract top preservice teacher graduates. Yet despite discussing redistributive practices PLs did not present or offer examples of new affirmative-redistribution remedies. The paucity of affirmative-redistribution remedies is the second issue identified in my study data. A single scholarship at Institution 4 is the only example that reallocates funds to socioeconomic disadvantaged students. The data therefore suggest participants' minimal engagement with remedying issues of maldistribution in educational contexts. The final Action category on the Continuum is transformative-redistribution. A discussion of how participants in this study engaged in transformative remedies to the maldistribution concludes this section of the chapter.

#### Redistribution-transformation

Within Fraser's (1995) social justice model transformative redistributive remedies are defined as "deep restructuring of relations of production; blur[ing] group differentiation; [that] can help remedy some forms of misrecognition" (p. 87). Continued theorising led Fraser to conclude that "all other things being equal, transformative strategies are preferable" due to their deconstructive nature aimed at "destabilizing status distinctions" and promotion of "interaction across differences" (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 77). Aligning with Fraser's most recent theorising, the final category along the Continuum of Engagement is transformative-redistribution. Examples of transformative redistribution initiatives were non-existent within the data; however, their absence is significant. This finding locates the majority of equity based teacher education practices within the Continuum of Engagement's Affirmative category. Additionally, study data indicate that participating preservice teacher education programmes most often discuss and engage in remedies to misrecognition concerns pertaining to the bicultural heritage of New Zealand. Consequently, redistribution-transformation examples in Table 13 are the research and literature informed strategies to address problems of educational maldistribution. These examples focus specifically on remedies to socioeconomic injustice. These possible remedies seek to restructure current educational policies and practices with the aim of creating a more equitable education system for historically disadvantaged students. The researcher acknowledges that the majority of the proposed transformative - redistribution suggestions will likely need to occur at various policy and university levels. Further discussion of policy and the politicization of education occurs in section three.

# Theory in practice summary

The Continuum of Engagement model provides a structured pathway from which to deconstruct, organise, and explain the multiple contextual layers implicit within participants' responses to socioeconomic disadvantage. The outcome is an enhanced meaning of my collected data. By operating on a bi-directional continuum, the model assists to explain how participants may, at various times, or in response to particular topics, move within and between the categories of Avoidance, Awareness, and Action. The Continuum is also an organizational tool that offers increased analytic potential. It illuminates how, despite a wide range of engagements with disadvantage, the majority of institution and programme, PL, and preservice teachers' comments

about socioeconomic disadvantage are located in the Awareness, and affirmative-recognition categories. This thesis therefore argues that New Zealand preservice teacher education programmes, academic staff, and preservice teachers do not, except on rare occasion, fully engage or take action to address issues of socioeconomic disadvantage within GradDip secondary programmes. The Continuum of Engagement offers some insights into reasons for this key claim. Analysis of all data sources strongly suggests a complex web of factors influence the teaching profession and preservice teacher education. The result of additional consideration of these factors led to the development of the second new conceptual model presented in this thesis. The third and final section of this chapter discusses the Politics of Discomfort framework that examines the structural factors that contribute towards what this thesis argues is the inactive position taken by preservice teacher education programmes towards the injustices of socioeconomic disadvantage in social and educational contexts.

# **Section three: The Politics of Discomfort**

The previous section discussed a range of responses to socioeconomic disadvantage in relation to the Continuum of Engagement conceptual framework. This final section of the chapter shifts in focus from the conceptualisation and operationalisation of the Continuum of Engagement model. The aim is to examine the origins, outcomes, and implications of the social, educational, and personal influences implicit in creating a general level of inaction towards full engagement with issues of socioeconomic disadvantage within preservice teacher education programmes. The section opens with a presentation of the second, complementary conceptual model entitled the Politics of Discomfort. The Politics of Discomfort is advanced as a pathway from which to examine this sense of the inaction of the three participant groups in this study.

# The Politics of Discomfort conceptual model

This section of the chapter is premised upon the understanding of inaction as being a consequence of unsettling or discomforting social concerns. In this thesis, 'Discomfort' is understood as any direct or discursive expression of awkwardness, anxiety, or uneasiness with a particular concept. Analysis of findings showed a disproportionate number of participants responded cautiously to the topic of disadvantage in school settings. This finding suggests that institutions and

programmes, PLs, and preservice teachers take limited action to fully engage with issues of disadvantage operating within social and educational contexts. Following the explanation of the fundamental concepts of the model, the discussion moves towards a 'politicised' analysis of participants' engagement with the topic of disadvantage. The intended aim is to provide greater understanding of how social factors collectively operate to create discomforting situations that result in inaction. From a social justice perspective, understanding participants' discomfort with disadvantage in teacher education involves the examination and critique of teacher education structures, discourses, policies, practices and identities. This research responds to the call for a critical inquiry into teacher education's position towards disadvantage, and similar social equity issues (Darling-Hammond, 2006, 2013; Haberman, 1995a).

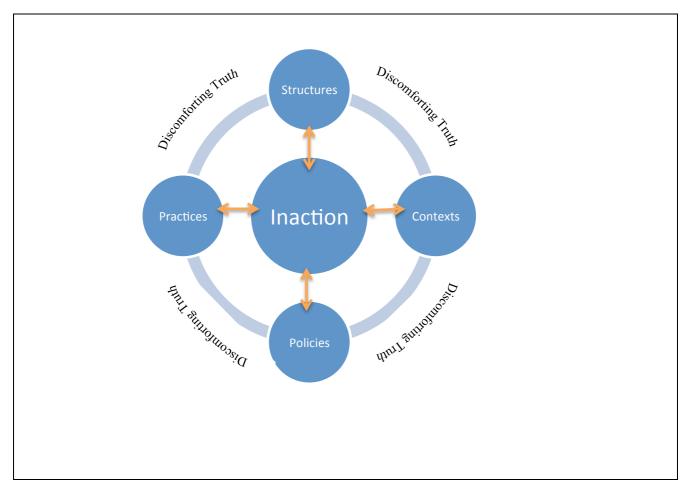
#### The Framework

The Politics of Discomfort is a conceptual model that identifies and connects existing structures, contexts, policies, practices, and identities that illuminate the 'discomforting truths' that can lead to individual and group inaction. In doing so, the Politics of Discomfort offers possibilities for transformative change, shifting from inaction to action, through the critical analysis of four structural elements. The Politics of Discomfort framework is therefore a conceptual tool, applicable across multiple fields and contexts, creating the space to discuss visible and hidden barriers to transformative action and change.

The starting point of this discussion is the conceptual architecture of the Politics of Discomfort. A visual representation of the Politics of Discomfort is found in Figure 8. The discussion begins with further analysis of the four foundational elements of the framework at a broad social level before narrowing in scope to the field of education, and later more specifically to teacher education.

Figure 8

The Politics of Discomfort



(Developed by Tatebe, 2013)

As shown above, the Politics of Discomfort framework is based on four elements: structures, contexts, policies, and practices. The light blue circle connecting each of the elements signals how the elements are linked. The orange bi-directional arrows illustrate how 'inaction' is created, yet also perpetuates current thinking associated with each element. The term 'discomforting truth' marks the space between each element. Deeper analysis of each element illuminates the discomforting truths associated with preservice teacher education related structures, contexts, policies, and practices. A more detailed explanation of the Politics of Discomfort framework begins with the examination of each individual element. This analysis of findings will examine the role and influence of external and internal factors in preservice teachers' preparation for teaching and learning in disadvantaged New Zealand schools.

#### Foundational elements: Structures

The structures, upon which the Politics of Discomfort model is premised, refer to the systems that organise our society. These structuring systems are inclusive of political, economic, and social domains. The analysis of structures, as the first element of the Politics of Discomfort model, contextualises some of the boundaries, limitations, and important considerations of those working within the field of teacher education. Due to the inter-related nature of education and teacher education sectors, the respective political, economic, and social structures influencing the field of teacher education also includes the analysis of wider education based structures. This discussion begins with an examination of political structural influences on preservice teacher education programmes followed by economic and social structures to provide a comprehensive understanding of the different types of structures impacting on preservice teacher education.

#### **Political Structures.**

The analysis of political structures implicit in framing the preparation of teachers for disadvantaged school settings is discussed first. This initial foundational element of the model serves to illuminate the influence of structures, both external and internal to teacher education, in the development, content, and delivery of preservice teacher education programmes. At the highest macro-political level, global and government structures are shifting teacher education goals. Ongoing globalization pressures continue to influence the direction of teacher education through the diversification of teacher education pathways. Recent educational research literature includes continuing debates concerning programmes such as Teach for America - that has developed into a multi-national Teach for All network in 26 countries including New Zealand (Teach First New Zealand, 2013; Teach for All, 2013). As discussed in chapter three (literature review), other alternative teacher education pathways include models such as Urban Residencies and Professional Development Schools. This thesis engages with the Teach First model as it is the first official alternative teacher education pathway introduced in New Zealand.

The Teach for All network illustrates the influence of macro-political forces like globalization on the New Zealand teacher education landscape. A discomforting truth is the encroaching privatization and/or corporatization of teacher education and schooling. Programmes like Teach First

are now multi-national conglomerate businesses with significant political, economic, and social implications. Politically, TFA has been part of a successful teacher accreditation policy shift at American state and federal levels (Grossman & Loeb, 2010). As noted by Decker et al. (2004), while TFA corp members must meet individual state certification standards, TFA actively works with districts, states, and Faculties of Education to ensure their members are supported to meet accreditation requirements. In New Zealand, Teach First graduates complete NZTC requirements for the Postgraduate Diploma in Teaching (Secondary Field-Based) accreditation (Teach First New Zealand, 2013).

Several important implications arise from TFA's, and now Teach First New Zealand's, strategic political alignment with leading academic institutions and businesses. This has helped to establish their legitimacy and reputation. For example, in America, TFA partnerships with prestigious graduate schools such as Harvard, New York University, Brown, and Columbia have offered TFA alumni a variety of discounted rates, scholarship opportunities and stipend support for PD opportunities, often in the form of Master's level programmes (Teach for America, 2012c). The Teach First New Zealand programme offers candidates a slightly different compensation scheme including a tuition scholarship for the duration of the two year programme, fully covered accommodation, transport and meal costs for the six week intensive coursework component, and a guaranteed secondary teaching position with a competitive salary (Teach First New Zealand, 2013; University of Auckland, n.d.).

Teach For America's funding, compensation and benefit, and recruitment schemes demonstrate how politics and economics are connected. Economically, TFA has revolutionised preservice teacher education funding structures in two ways. The first is through the provision of funds from corporate sponsors and private donors such as the Bank of America, Fedex, and Coca-Cola, and private foundations including the Bill and Melinda Gates and W.K. Kellogg foundations. TFA also has federal funding from the US Department of education, and state level funding from the state of South Carolina, and the Illinois State Board of Education. Secondly, TFA also offers TFA candidates compensation and benefit packages including salaries, health insurance, and retirement incentives, along with AmeriCorp benefits inclusive of "loan forbearance, interest accrual payments, and education awards" and possible re-location grants or loans (Teach for America, 2012b). TFA's "Full-Time Business Resume program" offers a third example of TFA's incentive package. Strategic partnerships with multinational corporations such as Google, General Electric and Target offer two-

year deferrals to accepted TFA candidates and full time recruitment opportunities upon completion of TFA's two year teaching commitment (Teach for America, 2012c). Teach First New Zealand has also formed strategic partnerships with "universities, businesses, the Ministry of Education, schools, philanthropic foundations, and other not-for-profit organisations" (Teach First New Zealand, n.d.). Supporting partners include companies like Deloitte, ASB, foundations such as the Woolf Fisher, as well as support from the University of Auckland, the MoE, and the Secondary Principals Association (Teach First New Zealand, n.d.).

TFA, and the Teach For All network have placed teacher education in the political and public spotlight. As a result, traditional preservice teacher education programmes have become subject to new critique. These alternative teacher preparation programmes raise critical questions regarding the objectives, policies, and methods of preparing teachers for disadvantaged school settings. Another political and social implication of TFA and ACPs is intensified competition between traditional and new providers. Similarly, some institutions that partner with TFA may also offer their own traditional preservice teacher education programmes. Thus, the concept of competition is also applicable within institutions. This internal competition for preservice teacher education delivery is relevant in the New Zealand context with the two-year Teach First New Zealand programme introduced in 2011. Traditional preservice teacher education programmes such as the ones participating in this study must now contend with additional providers offering incentives such as guaranteed employment that they cannot match. Also, traditional preservice teacher education programmes must defend the aims, outcomes, and delivery of their preservice teacher education programmes against those of these new programmes with specific goals of addressing educational inequity. Therefore, Teach First and similar programmes are not only the outcome of globalization but they serve to perpetuate the concepts and competitive, market driven outcomes that underpin it.

Analysis of political structures continues with the examination of professional and university structures that influence and shape preservice teacher education programmes. Institution and PL interview data strongly signal the important programme development role of the New Zealand Teachers Council's (NZTC), and in particular the NZTC's Graduating Teachers Standards (GTS). The NZTC has numerous significant roles in the development of preservice teachers. As discussed in previous chapters, the NZTC sets professional standards outlined in GTS. These standards include learning outcomes but also regulations such as the required length of practicum placements. The NZTC is also responsible for approving initial teacher education programmes and individual teacher registration. The professional regulation function of the NZTC has significant implications for

institutions. As the NZTC approves programmes, institutions must meet all requirements in order to offer preservice teacher education programmes. It is therefore not surprising that secondary document analysis of institution and programme documents reflects key NZTC goals and learning outcomes. Examples vary from direct inclusion of the GTS in some preservice teacher education programme handbooks, to course booklets mirroring NZTC language concerning content knowledge, to discussions of NZTC GTS in courses by PLs and lecturers. All participating PLs signalled how the NZTC informed the development of their programmes and course material. The process of determining course learning outcomes, reading materials, and sequence of courses is often set by working backwards from the NZTC requirements.

The NZTC is mentioned here as another example of political structures that influence New Zealand's teacher education landscape. Its inclusion is important to this conversation as it identifies how teacher education is directed by external sources. The NZTC council consists of 11 elected and appointed members. The New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI), Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA), and the New Zealand School Trustees Association (NZSTA) each elect one member. The NZEI is the largest education union in the country representing principals, teachers and support staff in Early Childhood, Primary, and Secondary sectors, special education and school advisory services. As per their website, the NZEI identifies as "a Treaty based organisation and a powerful advocate for quality public education" (New Zealand Educational Institute, n.d.). The PPTA is the trade union and professional association that campaigns on "professional and educational issues" and negotiates collective employment agreements (PPTA, n.d.). The New Zealand School Trustees Association (NZSTA) represents school boards and individual trustees. They aim to "strengthen school governance in New Zealand" by providing leadership and support to BOTs and trustees (New Zealand School Trustees Association, 2010). All three associations are firmly committed to Treaty of Waitangi principles. The inclusion of NZEI, PPTA, and NZSTA perspectives is important as they represent the voice of current educational professionals. The other four elected members represent each of the education sectors (early childhood, primary, secondary and principals) and are appointed by the Minister of Education. Therefore, the current professional regulations are influenced by a range of external professional associations, current practitioners, and appointed citizens, each representing varying perspectives. Holding significant power over the preservice teacher education regulations, programming and delivery of preservice teacher education, the role of the NZTC is a significant political structure in the field.

A second recognizable meso-level political structure influencing the direction of preservice teacher education programmes is the state education system. PLs all referred to the availability of Associate Teachers (AT) who mentor preservice teachers during practicum as a limiting factor in organising low decile fieldwork placements. The other limiting school structure is the National Curriculum. PLs also signalled how the availability of specialist subjects, particularly those in art, dance, and languages are strong determinants of fieldwork placements for some specialist preservice teachers. The availability of ATs and specialist subjects were rationales for only 17 percent of participants completing teaching experience in disadvantaged settings. Some PLs discretely mentioned the importance of maintaining relationships with schools. This example again points to the social implications of political structures.

A third programme specific structure is the one-year time frame of current GradDip secondary programmes. As discussed in the previous chapter, three of the five PLs directly or indirectly discussed the challenge of operating within a tight one-year time frame. These PLs expressed concerns about the time required to challenge preservice teacher beliefs and the time requirement for preservice teachers to process and reflect on the information presented to them. This programme design limitation is an example of another structural factor with a strong impact on how preservice teacher education programmes engage with socioeconomic disadvantage.

Further examination of the wider context in which preservice teacher education programmes are situated has revealed how the field of teacher education is influenced by a range of external and internal political structures. The scope of the political structures also varies from wider macropolitical influences such as globalization leading to an increasingly competitive environment to more local considerations of school fieldwork placements. Political structures also include institution and programme structures such as program design time frames. Together the collection of political structures suggests that the provision of preservice teacher education programmes involves a careful balancing act between political, professional, and institutional entities.

#### **Economic structures.**

The data indicate that the decile system is one of the key economic structures influencing preservice teachers' experience in preservice teacher education programmes. Pre and post surveys clearly signal preservice teachers' awareness of varying levels of school resources associated with school decile rankings. High decile schools (8-10) were associated with being well resourced with low decile schools associated with having fewer available teaching resources. From preservice teachers' perspective, resources tended to focus on immediate classroom resources such as access to computers and books; however, a small number (N=10) of preservice teachers extended their discussion of resources to mentor teachers. These preservice teachers regard decile 8-10 teachers as more experienced or skilled (Institution 4) and therefore anticipated greater learning and mentoring opportunities. In contrast, one preservice teacher noted a "weaker support system" for teachers in low decile schools after a fieldwork placement in this setting (Institution 5). Another preservice candidate described low decile school teachers at her practicum school as "apathetic and disengaged" (Institution 5). The comment "[there is] not enough money for Education Outside the Classroom [activities]" directly indicates awareness of fewer financial resources in low decile schools (Institution 3). The limitations of these preservice teacher comments are acknowledged. These comments may reflect individual experiences at specific schools; however, they align with the mainstream resourcing comments.

Preservice teachers' comments regarding varying available school and teacher resources by decile ranking reveals another discomforting truth - additional funding alone does not guarantee any change. In this research, Fraser's (1995) social justice model, and the Politics of Discomfort illuminate the significance of these redistribution concerns. The decile system serves as the epicentre of New Zealand's educational funding debates. While designed to provide additional funding to low decile schools to mediate educational disadvantage experienced in these settings; the decile system is not impenetrable to flaws. The distribution of MoE funding occurs within a self-managing school system. The Board of Trustees (BOT) manages operational funding and staffing amongst other duties. A simplistic analysis might blame BOTs for differing available resources as identified in preservice teachers' survey comments. Deeper analysis of the BOT composition suggests additional factors to consider. The majority of the BOT seats (ranging from three to seven) are allocated to elected parent representatives. The other members include the school principal, an elected staff member, and elected student representative for schools offering year 9 and above (Ministry of Education, 2013b).

Therefore, the composition of the BOT varies by professional and personal experience, and by

school. While the Ministry of Education offers resources to support BOTs, the impact of BOT parent members' other professional, personal, and experiential commitments to access these resources remains unclear. The discomforting truth revealed here is that the decile system, although well intended, is not a guarantee for change. Instead, the decile system is an example of an affirmative-redistribution remedy involving the "surface reallocation of existing good to existing groups [that] supports group differentiation" (Fraser, 1995, p. 87). The Continuum of Engagement and the Politics of Discomfort models illuminate how the decile system offers a slight re-configuration of available education funding.

The data also reveal the influence of socioeconomic disadvantage on teaching and learning in low decile schools. As discussed in previous chapters, survey and interview data identify preservice teachers' emergent or developing Awareness of disadvantage throughout their preservice teacher education programmes. Preservice teachers with personal or practicum related experience with disadvantaged students, families, and schools resulted in two streams of comments. The first stream of comments related to socioeconomic disadvantage as being of a general nature. Discussions of visible outcomes of disadvantage such as available resources dominate preservice teachers' comments. The data indicate a distinction between school, home, and community resources. School resources such as funding have already been discussed above. Preservice teachers' conversations of home and family resources include inadequate or lack of access to computers, internet, and basic needs like adequate food and clothing. Examples of community resources were discussed more generically and less frequently. A small number (three percent) made discrete references to limited access to community resources such as transportation and financial support for community programmes. The second stream of comments relate to the financial realities of disadvantage. A similar limited number of preservice teachers (9 percent) made reference to students' social circumstances as an outcome of financial disadvantage. This line of comments relates to family and student obligations created out of financial need. Examples include family work obligations applicable to parents and students. Students' work obligations also extend to looking after siblings and doing household chores while parents work. Meanwhile preservice teachers' comments such as "lower SES settings bring with them their own particular sets of issues and challenges" (Institution 2) demonstrate more general understandings of socioeconomic disadvantage.

This analysis of preservice teachers' understandings of the implications of disadvantage and poverty reveals another discomforting truth. In addition to limited understandings of disadvantage

and poverty, these data signal preservice teachers' limited capacity to identify economic structures as sources of educational inequity. In other words, only six percent or 12 preservice teachers linked disadvantage, as an outcome of inequitable economic and social structures, with learning. Representing the majority of comments, five preservice teachers identified hunger, as a consequence of poverty, as a hindrance to concentration, engagement, and general learning. Four other preservice teachers made broader statements by identifying 'poor social background' as a reason for lower engagement with, and interest in learning. Two preservice teachers from this small group suggested that education was less of a priority for disadvantaged students who contend with other lifestyle implications of financial stress. One comment pertained to language. This preservice teacher identified language barriers for students learning English as a second language as negatively impacting their ability to clarify concepts presented in class. These findings align with the conclusion presented in section two. Like the Continuum of Engagement model, the Politics of Discomfort conceptual framework identifies examples of deep, critical examination of the structural roots of disadvantage.

The social structures operating within the school system are the third and final type of structures analysed. The next section discusses the role and impact of teachers' perceptions and understandings of teaching in low decile schools for preservice teacher education programmes. The second half of the social structure conversation draws on data illustrating preservice teachers' and PL awareness of poverty as a socially constructed element impacting students, schools and preservice teacher preparation.

### Social structures.

The analysis of social structures begins by focusing on in-service teachers' impact on teaching and learning in low decile schools. It is important to articulate the boundaries of this conversation prior to delving into further discussion of in-service teachers' influence on preservice teachers' development. The inclusion of preservice teachers' commentary is not intended to identify examples of poor teaching practice, nor are they intended to blame schools or specific teachers for their actions. Instead, preservice teachers' comments about observed teaching experiences are intended to further the discussion concerning differential learning opportunities within the education system. From this perspective, current low decile teaching and learning experiences illuminates another discomforting

truth: how the act of teaching contributes towards differential learning opportunities existent within the New Zealand education system.

Emerging from additional reviews of preservice teacher survey data is a small (15 percent), yet noticeable thread of commentary regarding Associate Teacher (AT) or inservice teachers' dispositions towards disadvantaged students. Upon completion of a low decile practicum, one preservice teacher observed that "my students whom other teachers saw as "no good losers" actually did well in my end of unit test over 80% what does that say?" (Institution 4). Several other preservice teachers discussed inservice teachers' low expectations of disadvantaged students. For example, comments such as, "treat them [low decile students] with consideration and respect" (Institution 5) signals some differential treatment of students by some teachers. Still other preservice teachers appeared to take a more direct approach towards some teachers' lower expectations of low decile students. These preservice teachers directly called for more equality within the system. Comments such as, "be patient with students and provide equal opportunities", and "students may need to 'catch up' but they shouldn't be deprived of the opportunity to learn", and "allow learning to happen for everybody" reflect preservice teachers' awareness of differential learning experiences during fieldwork placements. Again, these preservice teacher comments are limited as they represent the views of particular survey participants. On the other hand, they cannot be ignored as they represent preservice teachers' observed experiences in schools.

In this research, preservice teachers' experience with ATs and other in-service teacher mentors have several implications for the preparation of teachers for disadvantaged school settings. In general, these comments signal the need to maintain high expectations of students across school deciles. These experiences also suggest a need for further reflection on the role of in-service teachers in preservice teacher education programme delivery. For example, universities may also seek to work more closely with school partners to identify ATs whose teaching philosophies align with preservice teacher education low decile schooling objectives. In this research, the data identifies how preservice teacher education programmes are influenced by a variety of different political, economic, and social structures. Fraser's on-going theorising of her social justice model will be drawn on to understand how these multiple structures are connected.

# The politics within the Politics of Discomfort

Fraser's sustained theorising of justice has led to a third dimension to be added to her original social justice model. Building upon the principles of distribution and recognition, Fraser adds a political dimension to theorising. In her book, *Scales of justice: Reimagining political space in a globalizing world,* Fraser (2008) defines her "political" dimension of justice as "the scope of the state's jurisdiction and the decision rules by which it structures contestation" (p. 17). She integrates this political dimension into her social justice model by identifying how "the political dimension of justice specifies the reach of those other dimensions: it tells us who is included in, and who excluded from, the circle of those entitled to a just distribution and reciprocal recognition" (Fraser, 2008, p. 17). In addition to determining who is entitled to distribution and recognition, the political dimension also establishes the boundaries, procedures, and rules for resolving maldistribution and misrecognition concerns. Therefore 'representation' establishes the criteria of injustice claims. It determines *who* is entitled to make justice claims, and *how* justice claims are to be resolved.

Misrepresentation, or "political voicelessness", is the injustice associated with the political dimension of Fraser's theoretical model (Fraser, 2008, p. 59). Fraser identifies two different levels of misrepresentation. The first is "ordinary-political misrepresentation" (Fraser, 2008, p. 19). This type of misrepresentation pertains to the "political decision rules" that deny some individuals and groups the opportunity to fully participate in society. Fraser presents debates about the merits of different electoral systems as an example of ordinary-political misrepresentation. The injustice here would be electoral systems that deny parity to particular members of society. The second level of misrepresentation relates to "political boundary-setting". Fraser (2008) describes how the injustice at this level occurs when "the community's boundaries are drawn in such a way as to wrongly exclude some people from the chance to participate at all in its authorized contests over justice" (p. 19). Fraser discusses this type of misrepresentation as "misframing". She describes "frame-setting" as a critical political decision, one of the "most consequential of political decisions", as it determines the boundaries of who is entitled to issues of distribution, recognition, and ordinary-political representation. Fraser unites her three dimensions of justice together through the "overarching principle of parity of participation" (Fraser, 2008, p. 60). Under this principle she contends that overcoming injustice requires "dismantling" institutionalized [economic, cultural, and political] obstacles that prevent some people from participating on par with others" (Fraser, 2008, p. 60).

The Politics of Discomfort model reveals examples of representation and misrepresentation within my data. NZTC membership is an example of both. On one hand, NZTC membership suggests

relatively strong representation by including the voices of several unions such as the NZEI, PPTA, NZSTA elected by members of the teaching profession. Additional NZTC seats are given to principals from early childhood, primary, and secondary sectors but are appointed by the Minister of Education. These appointed seats are a form of ordinary-political misrepresentation as they deny teaching professionals a voice in the selection of these three NZTC members. Representation and misrepresentation also apply to BOT election processes. BOT members are elected (representation); however, deeper analysis raises questions about proportional representation of community members. The question of who runs for BOT election is a critical question. Underlying this question is an arguably more discomforting one: are all community members equally resourced and represented to become BOT members? This data signal some preservice teachers' emerging awareness of the additional obstacles of lower socioeconomic families. In these families parents may work several jobs, and older school aged children may also work or have care taking responsibilities for younger children. BOT membership is voluntary and requires time and commitment. With additional work responsibilities, and less financial resources, more discomforting question are linked to representation. Are all families in a community equally resourced (financially, socially, and politically) to be elected as BOT members? Are all community members, in this case lower socioeconomic families, proportionally represented in the voting and election processes?

Examples of misframing are also revealed in the study data. As Fraser explains, "globalization has put the question of the frame squarely on the political agenda" (Fraser, 2008, p. 20). From Fraser's perspective transnational corporations and private foreign investors have further complicated struggles for justice. These international and private groups have entered the political arena shifting the political boundaries in which they operate. A key source of injustice concerns how transnational companies and investors are shielded from critique, and complicate the process of challenging potential sources of injustice they create. In this study debates about Alternative Certification Pathways, in particular the Teach First programme, have introduced misframing concerns to New Zealand's secondary and tertiary education systems. Despite not-for-profit organisation status, Teach First New Zealand partners with large international financial corporations such as KPMG and Deloitte, Fuji Xerox, and private investors such as the Glenn Family Foundation and the Woolf Fisher Trust. These companies and private foundations have arguably shifted the political and financial boundaries of teacher education. At the same time, their introduction to education's political arena raises questions about distribution, recognition, and ordinary-political representation. Discomforting questions include: How much influence do these sector partners have on the programme? Are community members and other teaching professionals groups able to participate fully as peers with

these programme partners? What processes are in place to raising misframing concerns about the Teach First programme?

Preservice teacher and PL observations about fieldwork experience identify another misframing concern. Preservice teacher, and ATs/schools' divergent theoretical perspectives and pedagogical practices illuminate the mutual divide between secondary and tertiary sectors. Divergent practices are examples of ordinary-political misrepresentation in which each sector largely operates independently. For instance, while teacher education programmes may seek consultation from teaching professionals, their programmes, as signalled by PLs, are largely directed by institution and NZTC learning outcomes. Discomforting questions related to the secondary-tertiary divide include: what opportunities for greater collaboration are possible within preservice teacher education programmes? In what ways would stronger relationships between schools and teachers, and preservice teacher education programmes influence preservice teacher learning?

The collective analysis of political, economic, and social structures illuminates the complexity of factors that shape and contextualise the field of teacher education. Findings demonstrate how issues such as globalization may originate within particular political, economic, and social structures, yet their outcomes often have implications across multiple domains. The discomforting truths revealed through deeper examination of political, economic, and social structures all suggest that the field of teacher education must carefully balance both external and internal pressures created by these structures. While working within the boundaries set by these structures, the most significant discomforting truth is that preservice teacher education programs have the ability and opportunity to make transformative programme changes to enhance preservice teacher preparation for disadvantaged schools. The next section explores two particular contexts about which participants most frequently discuss issues of socioeconomic disadvantage.

# Context(s)

Fieldwork experience.

Strong evidence linking discussions of disadvantage to fieldwork placements is present within the data. Programme and course booklets inform preservice teachers of the requirement to complete practical experiences at a range of schools. For example, Institution 2's fieldwork information

sections signals the possibility of school placements in "different socioeconomic contexts". Other institutions are more specific in their placement descriptions. Institution 5 advises preservice teachers of the requirement to complete three different school placements ranging from "decile one to ten", in addition to experience working with different school levels.

PL discussions of disadvantage are also tied to fieldwork. Fieldwork related discussions focus on the challenges of securing low decile school placements. Four of the five PLs identified the inadequate number of low decile schools as a reason for the provision of minimal low decile fieldwork placements. PL5 also cites size and fewer resources as reasons for low decile schools being less able to support practicum placements for preservice teachers.

Preservice teachers' misperceptions of low decile schools are also implicit in PL practicum related discussions. Common to all PL interviews is the recurring issue of preservice teachers' fear of low decile schools. PL1 describes how some preservice teachers' initial fears of certain school names and school decile rankings are reversed after positive low decile school placements. PL2 voices her concern regarding the damaging effects of 'labelling'. Her comment, "just because a school is labelled 'low decile' doesn't mean it's a dead loss" acknowledges the misuse of decile rankings as school quality indicators. PL3 also recognizes preservice teachers' fear of low decile schools. She explains how her institution prefers to avoid using deciles in fieldwork descriptions. This response recognises the inaccuracy of judgements, expectations, and perceptions of school decile rankings. For instance, the incorrect association between school quality and decile rankings emerges for a second time in PL5's interview. She comments that "they [preservice teachers] have in their minds that low decile means low quality". Fear of low decile schools and incorrect understandings of decile rankings as measures of school quality demonstrates how equity concerns impact on education.

# School decile rankings.

School decile rankings are the second most likely entry point into further discussions of disadvantage amongst preservice teachers. Data concerning school decile rankings initially discussed in the previous chapter suggests contrasting negative and positive views of high and low decile schools. Further analysis of data suggests the existence of negative and positive school decile profiles. Mid decile schools are not included in this discussion as many comments were neutral or

arguably non-descriptive responses such as "I am looking forward to teaching anywhere" (Institution 1). Table 14 reveals possible low and high decile school profiles informed by preservice teacher survey responses.

Table 14

School Decile Profiles

Decile ranking	Positive profile	Negative profile
High decile (8-10)	<ul> <li>Better resources</li> <li>More experienced teachers</li> <li>Learning ready students</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Snobby kids</li> <li>Too much pressure on teachers to get top results</li> <li>Restricted teaching and curriculum</li> </ul>
Low decile (1-3)	<ul> <li>More cultural and ethnic diversity</li> <li>Increased student motivation to learn</li> <li>Nice students</li> <li>More rewarding</li> <li>Greater sense of community</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>More cultural and ethnic diversity</li> <li>"Bad" student behaviour</li> <li>Less resources</li> <li>Less mentoring</li> <li>Students unprepared for school</li> <li>Unsafe working environment</li> </ul>

Preservice teachers' words, beliefs, values and descriptions of high decile and low decile schools suggest polarized views of high and low decile schools. The data have been organised into two categories, or profiles. The resulting negative and positive school profiles in Table 14 direct the remaining discussion of the school decile context section. Each profile will be explored in further detail.

The positive high decile school profile is primarily informed by preservice teachers' perception of better resourcing. This profile draws on findings from the earlier discussion of economic structures in which preservice teachers discussed school-based resources such as computers and books. Resources also extended to curriculum, such as specialist arts based subjects like dance.

Experienced teachers and mentors were also included in preservice teachers' discussions of school resources. Some preservice teachers associated more experienced ATs and mentors to learn from with high decile schools. The second profile offers a negative view of high decile schools. Multiple iterative analyses of the survey data locate preservice teachers' negative commentary in three categories: views of students, the teaching environment, and the school environment. Some preservice teachers regard high decile students as "snobby" and "entitled" and "more concerned with [school] rankings" than learning which high decile students take for granted. Other preservice teachers offered nuanced suggestions of existing 'social problems' and stigmas attached to high decile schools. Although less common, these discrete comments correlate with similar PL comments that also raise awareness of decile specific school challenges. The teaching environment was another concern amongst some preservice teachers who regard high decile teaching to be restrictive. Comments such as "more work, and no socialising" and more "pressure" to perform and attain high student achievement are currents running through the survey data. Some preservice teachers also described some high decile (8-10) school teachers as conceited, arrogant, and racist. Comparable unfavourable views of the school environment are expressed in comments again pointing to high pressure - high stakes settings due to strong school emphasis on decile rankings, and school and student achievement. Analysis of preservice teachers' discussions of high decile schools identifies contrasting positive and negative perspectives of school students, in-service teachers, and school pressures. This finding presents a more balanced view of high decile schools that can reflect outcomes of political, economic, and social structures discussed as the first element of the Politics of Discomfort model.

Similar contrasting profiles of low decile schools are drawn from preservice teacher survey data. Positive commentary about low decile schools tended to focus on the diversity of the student populations and a greater sense of school community. Both positive and negative low decile school profiles acknowledge greater cultural and ethnic diversity amongst low decile student populations. Some preservice teachers regarded cultural and ethnic diversity positively. Others' inexperience with diverse cultures often made them uncomfortable. Preservice teachers with positive outlooks of low decile schools discussed the theme of community in two different contexts: in-school community, and the local school community. Descriptions of increased parent and staff interaction, and strong relationships between teachers and students were applicable to both contexts. Low decile school students were described as pleasant, engaging, fun, and challenging.

Negative opinions of low decile schools and students however are also present within the survey data. Analysis of survey responses suggests that the negative low decile school profile is based largely around concerns about fewer school and classroom resources, personal safety concerns, and decreased learning opportunities. The inequitable distribution of school and classroom resources has already been discussed as an economic structural concern; therefore, the analysis moves towards examining some preservice teachers' negative perceptions of the low decile school environment. Preservice teachers who were fearful about their personal safety attributed their fear to the unpredictable behaviour of students in low decile schools. The link between perceived poor student behaviour and preservice teachers' safety concerns is supported by PL interview data. The issue of 'bad behaviour' dominates preservice teachers' school environment comments. Survey data clearly demonstrates that 93 percent of all preservice teachers' comments about behaviour are negative, and associated with low decile schools. Definitions of bad behaviour varied, ranging from generic descriptions of "bad teaching circumstances" to more specific actions such as "foul language". Other preservice teachers associated bad behaviour of students in low decile schools with fewer learning opportunities. The thinking behind this view is that high levels of poor behaviour disproportionately direct teacher attention towards behaviour management rather than teaching and learning.

In this study the context element within the Politics of Discomfort accomplishes two tasks. First, it identifies the two principal contexts in which participants discuss socioeconomic disadvantage: fieldwork and school decile rankings. Secondly, discussions of context organised preservice teachers' descriptions into positive and negative school decile profiles. Considered in isolation, the context element of the Politics of Discomfort model also revealed a discomforting truth about some preservice teachers' fear of low decile schools. Study data indicate that some preservice teachers' underlying fear of teaching in low decile settings relates to their inexperience in culturally and ethnically diverse settings. Preservice teachers also shared their fear of mispronouncing ethnic minority students' names (Institution 5), and lack of knowledge about students from diverse backgrounds' cultural or ethnic backgrounds (all institutions). For other preservice teachers, the discomforting truth is the prioritisation of their own learning during fieldwork placements. This group of preservice teachers saw 'bad' student behaviour as a hindrance to their own learning as teachers. This observation raises important questions about supporting student and preservice teacher learning. The next element of the Politics of Discomfort model is policy. The corresponding discussion of policies that impact on preservice teacher preparation for low decile school teaching highlights the importance of policy in addressing issues of socioeconomic disadvantage in education.

# **Policies**

The demographic mismatch between preservice teacher and student populations is a recurring theme within this thesis. This issue was first discussed in chapters two and three that provided international evidence of the predominance of white, middle-class women who enter the teaching profession. Survey data from this study aligns with this international trend. The majority of my study's preservice teachers are women (75 percent), under 25 years of age (59 percent), entering directly from a bachelor's degree (66 percent). Additionally, the typical preservice teacher comes from a relatively comfortable background based on data indicating relatively high attendance at high decile primary (57 percent) and secondary (64 percent) schools, their parents' full time employment during their school years (88 percent), and overseas travel to South East Asia and Europe (68 percent). Subsequent reviews of PL interview data suggest that preservice teacher education admission policies may provide some explanation for the internationally pervasive demographic trend.

PLs approached the issue of preservice teachers' diversity in three ways. The initial response was to emphasise the growing diversity of candidates. The growing diversity refers to "people from all different ethnicities from all social backgrounds" (Institution 3) older, second career candidates (Institutions 2 & 3), and domestic applicants from all over New Zealand (all institutions). However, further investigation of the data exposed that a significant portion of preservice teachers' cultural and ethnic diversity came from increasing international student enrolments. Discussing international preservice teachers was a second method of addressing the issue of preservice teacher cohort diversity. International student statistics did vary by institution. Higher percentages of international preservice teachers were identified at Institutions 1 & 2. PL1 & 2 indicated that 50 percent of their preservice teachers were born overseas. International students from America, Canada, Britain, and Germany were amongst the largest international student populations in my study. The third type of response is arguably the most revealing. With further prompting, PLs provided the most honest and open responses that identify lower number of male candidates (Institutions 1 & 3 in particular), Pasifika candidates (Institutions 1,2,3,4), and Asian candidates (Institution 2,4,5). The comment, "maybe we are overlooking some groups" (PL institution 4) indicates a general awareness of the limited diversity of preservice teacher candidates.

International students were highly regarded for diversifying the preservice teacher cohort in two ways. First, international students add to the cultural and ethnic diversity of New Zealand. Secondly, international students were highly regarded for their ability to "broaden [the] thinking of some New Zealand students" (Institution 2). As PL1 observes, international preservice teachers offer New Zealanders the opportunity to "work with others who are different. And sometimes they find this a weeny bit challenging because people may be presenting views which cause - you know a healthy debate". PLs 2, 3, 4, & 5 discretely signalled their concern for New Zealand preservice teachers, who are predominantly European/Pākehā, middle class women, who "haven't had much worldly experience" (PL2). PL comments about international students expose two discomforting truths about the diversity of preservice teacher cohorts involved in my study. First, these PL remarks signal programme awareness of the relative homogeneity of Pākehā preservice teachers' ethnic, cultural, and experiential backgrounds. The second discomforting truth is that international preservice teachers add 'diversity' to the otherwise relatively homogenous New Zealand Pākehā preservice teacher population. Discomforting truths about the diversity or relative homogeneity of New Zealand preservice teachers raises numerous questions. To what degree do New Zealand preservice teachers reflect the diversity of New Zealand society? In what ways do programmes present international and/or different perspectives on educational issues? Finally, and perhaps the most discomforting question: to what degree can some preservice teachers' minimal cultural, ethnic, and experiential knowledge be addressed within New Zealand preservice teacher education programmes? The following sections offer insights into the origins or reasons for limited preservice teacher diversity.

PL interview data identify how a range of institutional and external association policies negatively impact the diversity of preservice teacher populations. PLs discussed how English language requirements, such as the NZTC International English Language Testing System (IELTS) exam, and similar institutional language requirements, curtail the diversity of university student populations (Institutions 1, 4 & 5). PL5 spoke frankly about how IELTS requirements are "working against getting a population of teachers that reflects the population confronted with in the classroom". She contends that "we [New Zealand] have a less diverse population not through choice but in recognition of the need to carry out the Teachers Council requirement". Most New Zealand university admission policies require specific English language requirements to be met by all international students, regardless of their country of origin. Two issues arise from multiple English language competency tests. First, some applicants are unable to afford the exam fee for IELTS, and similar proficiency tests (PL1 & 5). Secondly, while both international and university English language competency tests are required, they often operate in isolation to each other. This division between

English language standards creates the potential for applicants to pass only one exam that makes them ineligible to enter preservice teacher education programmes.

Three discomforting truths are revealed in relation to English language requirements. The first is, as PL5 argues, that external NZTC policies are preventing some international applicants from entering preservice teacher education programmes. The second is that New Zealand "need[s] the skills of these people and many of them have the potential to be fine teachers" (PL5). This statement suggests that language requirements are prioritised over other teaching qualities. The third discomforting truth confronts institutions and programmes about their support mechanisms for applicants. PLs 1, 4 & 5 discuss the need for universities to offer greater English language support for preservice teacher candidates. PL5 argues that "there needs to be something intensive that really helps fine tune pronunciation and build the language of the secondary curriculum - secondary classroom". She goes on to describe former English language summer programmes to support preservice teacher education candidates and calls for the revival of similar support mechanisms. PL4 described a similar need for English language support that was raised by Māori and Pasifika students in recent years. The outcome was the development of a weekly academic support group. PL 4 concluded the conversation about language support with the following honest statement: "so [we are] always doing what we think is effective for students [but] we've got a lot more to do that's for sure". While English language requirements can have limiting effects on preservice teacher education programmes, other policies may be useful in integrating diversity concepts into the preservice teacher education curriculum. The next section explores NZTC practicum policy's capacity to promote greater inclusion of socioeconomic diversity issues in preservice teacher education programmes.

NZTC practicum policy offers a balanced view of policy's influence on preservice teacher education programmes. NZTC Initial Teacher Education Programme requirements states that "there must be a minimum of 14 weeks of practicum across the one academic year of the programme" (New Zealand Teachers Council, 2010a). NZTC requirements also stipulate that "student teachers will have the opportunity for practicum placements across a range of socioeconomic, cultural and (ECE/school) learner age settings" (New Zealand Teachers Council, 2010a). The inclusion of "socioeconomic settings" in the second NZTC policy statement is significant. It suggests that programmes have some responsibility to provide preservice teachers with low decile school placements. However survey data, discussed in the previous chapter, indicate an arguably low (17 percent) completion rate of low decile fieldwork placements by preservice teacher study participants. Programme attempts to provide

preservice teachers with a diverse range of experiences are congruent with NZTC standards; however, arguments in favour of greater numbers of preservice teachers engaging in low decile fieldwork can draw on NZTC policy to support their claim. The discomforting truth here is that preservice teacher education programmes, in line with NZTC practicum policy, have the responsibility to more evenly distribute practicum experiences across school deciles. Overall, survey and interview data indicate the influential role of professional and institutional policies on preservice teacher education programmes. The next section examines some preservice teacher education practices that complement policy findings. Again, additional reviews of the data identify areas for further consideration in relation to best practices for preparing teachers to teach in low decile schools.

# **Practices**

Practices can differ from intended policy. PL interview data identifies the one-year GradDip secondary programme timeframe as a limiting factor for addressing preservice teachers' assumptions and preconceptions. PLs are critical of the possibility of bringing greater awareness to complex issues of diversity, including disadvantage and teaching in low decile schools. PL3 explains:

If you really are setting out to change people's assumptions it really takes a long time. And sometimes it's uncomfortable and they won't like it at first so you've got to actually re-visit and re-visit and really give people the time they need to get their head around it and be open to thinking of other possibilities.

While PL3 identified time as a barrier to "changing people's assumptions", PL5 shared her doubt about the possibility of altering preservice teachers' views. She shares her perspective on this topic:

What is coming out for me is confirmation of the fact that we are a weak influence on student beliefs. We...I don't know we have them for such a short period of time; we see so little of them. We have so little time and [the] dialogue that we [have is] a weak influence. The beliefs they come in with at the beginning are fixed often and challenging them or just even airing them or discussing them you know let alone starting to challenge takes time.

This statement calls current preservice teacher education strategies for developing preservice teachers' awareness of diversity and difference into question. Commenting on this process PL3 asks, "can you ever prepare somebody for something that is so unlike their own lives and experiences?" Underlying this question is a similar critique of preservice teacher education programmes, and an undertone of defeat. The discomforting truth revealed in PL5 and PL3's statements is some acknowledgement of preservice teacher education programme's limited influence on addressing diversity issues.

A second challenge identified by PLs is the potential damaging effects of negative practicum experiences. Some PLs recognize the difficulties that can arise when preservice teacher education and school philosophies and pedagogies are in opposition to one another. PL4 describes this philosophical and pedagogical mismatch:

So it's hard you know they learn the theory. They are very interested in culturally responsive practice um but being actually put into action, going into a school that actually doesn't reflect that is quite hard for them to sustain these ideas.

Several discomforting truths are revealed in this statement. First, this comment emphasises several divisions within the teaching profession: theory vs. practice; university preservice teacher education programmes and inservice teachers; and individual teaching philosophies. These divisions present contrasting messages to preservice teachers. The second discomforting truth is that some preservice teachers are placed in schools with different philosophies for logistical reasons. As PL5 explains, the process of arranging practicum placements requires the "language of grovel". She argues that simply "getting them into schools" is a challenge. In other words, logistics can take priority over securing placements at schools sharing similar preservice teacher education programme philosophy. While this may be true in some cases, it is arguably possible, and important, to find schools that support preservice teacher learning.

Fieldwork discussions also reveal a discomforting truth about New Zealand society's awareness and willingness to acknowledge difference. This discomforting truth integrates a range of findings regarding practicum placements, the diversity aims of preservice teacher education

programmes, and preservice teacher education ethical responsibilities to preservice teachers. PL interview conversations suggest that New Zealand society also has a limited awareness, understanding, and willingness to engage with issues of difference and diversity. The following comment illustrates this point: "I suppose you know a lot of New Zealanders have come from a dominant cultural environment that mightn't have been really inclusive" (PL4). This statement discretely signals potential social difficulties associated with challenging dominant cultural assumptions. The most honest comments about New Zealand society came from PL5 who openly critiqued society's lack of readiness and willingness to accept difference. She framed the issue of admitting international students as a moral and ethical dilemma. She states:

I would say about five years ago we had a very diverse population of student teachers and as we've had to apply as we've realized that we're actually not doing them a service, particularly Chinese um, students, taking them in for maths for example. Brilliant degrees in many cases but English language not clear enough. In the end, we're not helping them because they're not getting work ok? So they're hitting the schools and people will people will bend their ears to decode a Scottish accent but they are not at all willing to do so for other accents.

While the primary issue is language, the underlying message being conveyed is a xenophobic undercurrent existent within New Zealand society. As this example suggests, the tolerance for some ethnic and cultural differences is arguably low. PL5 connects the issue of xenophobia back to admission policies in the following statement:

I mean I have really close association with the profile of the student body is with the involvement in the oversight in selection and I really believe that we have become - we have become - we have a less diverse population not through choice but in recognition of the need to carry out the Teachers Council requirement and the recognition that schools are not appointing these people anyway.

In the previous chapter such comments were discussed as racism. In this section, this observation can also be explained as competing diversity goals between teacher education programmes and society. On one hand, preservice teacher education programmes are attempting to increase the diversity of preservice teachers. On the other some PLs and programmes are aware of the employment realities

for teachers from some ethnic groups. The discomforting truth is, as this quote suggests, that some teachers representing different ethnic backgrounds are not hired. PL5's ethical dilemma was shared during her interview:

We have a real commitment to wanting to have a diverse - I really believe that the population of a school should reflect who's coming to that school. And it doesn't. And, and, and now we're feeling complicit in making and ensuring that continues but ...it's... but at what point? At what point do you persevere when you have students come to you and say "I've tried all over New Zealand and I cannot get work" and Immigration has told me that there was a shortage of maths teachers. I've got a PhD in maths and re-trained here. I've taught X number of years and I cannot get work. It is...it's really difficult.

Knowledge of this mismatch between preservice teacher education diversity aims and outcomes, and the readiness of some members of society to accept them is disheartening for PL5. In addition to raising ethical issues for individuals (PLs), a dominant society with xenophobic views raises ethical issues for universities. International student recruitment and enrolment goals are attached to government mandated pastoral care responsibilities for them. To some extent universities find themselves in a difficult position. Universities have a relatively small sphere of influence yet their students (preservice teachers) engage in the school system and live in wider New Zealand society in which universities have some, yet arguably less influence. This conversation about practices highlights specific internal and external misalignment of diversity goals.

# Conclusion

This chapter has presented and discussed two new conceptual models: the Continuum of Engagement and the Politics of Discomfort. The first two sections of the chapter discussed and analysed the data within the Continuum of Engagement. The new conceptual frame highlighted the diversity of responses, acknowledgement, and engagement with disadvantage. However, the key argument of this thesis is that teacher education programmes offer limited engagement with issues of socioeconomic disadvantage and poverty. The third and final section of the chapter presented the second original model entitled the Politics of Discomfort. The application of the Politics of

Discomfort model reveals the complexity of preparing individuals to be teachers. Analysis of structures reveals wider pressures of globalization, school management, and school influence on the process of teaching and learning. The discomforting truths revealed in each element of the Politics of Discomfort model signals that limiting factors originate from external sources like NZTC teaching requirements, schools, and some members of society. The data however indicate that institution and preservice teacher education programme policies, practices, and actions substantially inform and limit the extent to which socioeconomic disadvantage is integrated into preservice teacher education programmes. Thus, the greatest discomforting truth revealed through the Politics of Discomfort framework is that preservice teacher education programmes have the potential and capability to place greater priority on addressing issues of socioeconomic disadvantage within GradDip secondary programmes. The next chapter provides some recommendations of how to accomplish this goal.

# **Chapter seven: Concluding thoughts**

"...some people don't want to be challenged in that very personal way that unsettles their own sense of who they are."

PL2

"It's just too hard." Preservice teacher

"An important focus for the school is to establish and maintain programmes of study that address the changing needs of our community of learners."

Institution 4

#### Introduction

The three statements above speak directly to the study's overarching purpose of understanding how preservice teachers engage with socioeconomic disadvantage during their preservice teacher education programmes. The insights of preservice teachers, PLs, and institutions clearly illustrate the range of different levels of engagement with disadvantage found in this study. Additionally, the selection of quotes hint at the complexity of personal, social, economic, and political factors that impinge upon the process of teaching individuals how to work with students from diverse backgrounds in New Zealand low decile schools. This concluding chapter draws together the key concepts identified in the previous chapters that respond to the research question, and connects this thesis back to the literature and theoretical frameworks that support it. The chapter then draws to a close with the researcher's recommendations and final reflections.

# Inequality negatively impacts on students, schools, and teachers

International and national data offer conclusive evidence of a highly unequal New Zealand society. As indicated in chapter two, of particular concern are statistics that identify concentrated levels of income, poverty, and well-being disparities that specifically disadvantage poor children, and New Zealand's Māori and Pasifika populations (Children's Commissioner's Expert Advisory Group on Solutions to Child Poverty, 2012; Fletcher et al., 2008; Statistics New Zealand, 2008b). In this thesis, it is maintained that the large structural inequalities in income, health, housing, and employment that polarise New Zealand society present equally large social, economic and political costs.

Analysis of New Zealand's education system, also found in chapter two, reveals how socioeconomic inequities are replicated in schools. The disadvantaged school profile offers a framework from which to understand the impact of inequality in schools. Low decile schools contend with the consequences of wider social disparities or 'non-learning' challenges described above (Darling-Hammond, 2010). These non-learning challenges paint a stark picture of the significant impact of inequality on children's educational opportunities. They include access to fewer school and home learning resources, less challenging and limited curricula, health and safety concerns, increased student and family mobility (Thrupp, 2008b; Wylie, 2013). Preservice teachers' comments about low decile schools in chapter five confirm their recognition of disadvantaged students' additional life and learning challenges, fears for their own personal safety, 'bad' behaviour, and fewer school resources. Additionally, chapter five reported that just 15 percent of graduating preservice teachers consider employment in low decile schools upon programme completion. Two conclusions can be drawn from the data. First, socioeconomic disparities influence disadvantaged students' life and learning opportunities. Secondly, socioeconomic inequalities mirrored in schools negatively influence the distribution of teachers to low decile schools, thereby contributing to an unequal education system for disadvantaged students.

# Preservice teacher preparation for teaching in low decile schools is minimal and

# inconsistent

A second major finding of this research is that preservice teacher education programmes pay minimal attention to the topic of disadvantage. As revealed in chapter five, socioeconomic disadvantage is rarely mentioned in university communication, prospectuses, and course material. Yet, limited references to disadvantage are problematic for several reasons. First, the variety of terms is inconsistent. Analysis of documents identified how terminology such as economic origins, economic background, class, deciles and economics are used to refer to disadvantage and socioeconomic inequality. Multiple terms arguably send unclear messages to preservice teachers about disadvantage. The second concern is that disadvantage is often messaged to preservice teachers as part of wider diversity debates. Situated amidst a variety of diversity topics, ethnicity and culture were prioritised over other topics such as socioeconomic disadvantage. Third, the provision of fieldwork in low decile schools is also inadequate. Study findings drawn from survey and interview data indicate that only 17 percent of all preservice teacher study participants completed a practicum in a low decile school. Chapter five suggests that New Zealand preservice teacher education programmes pay limited attention to disadvantage and poverty. A second related conclusion that can be drawn is that New Zealand preservice teacher education programmes contribute towards the persistence of preservice teachers' myths and misconceptions about disadvantaged students in low decile schools by minimising and/or not addressing the issue in their curriculum and practicum placement practices.

# Preservice teachers' views of low decile schools and disadvantage are polarised

Another significant finding is the wide spectrum of preservice teachers' understandings of the decile system, disadvantage, and socioeconomic inequality. On average, there were minimal shifts in preservice teachers' understandings of the decile system from programme entry to completion. There is significant evidence of polarised, fixed views of all school deciles in the survey data. The findings indicate the presence of 'decile profiles'. For example, inadequate resources, perceived 'bad' student behaviour, and negative perceptions of parent support for student learning were cited as reasons for negative views of low decile schools. Preservice teachers interested in teaching in low decile schools most often had personal experience in disadvantaged schools — either in fieldwork, or through their

own attendance at a low decile school. Of concern is the strength and depth of some preservice teachers' negative views of low decile schools. For instance, the data provide ample evidence of the prevalence of low decile school myths and deficit thinking. In contrast, fewer preservice teacher participants regarded disadvantaged students' backgrounds as a resource, despite research promoting culturally relevant teaching practices (Bishop et al., 2003; G. Gay, 2010; Zeichner, 2011). On a more positive note, findings presented in chapter five suggest that first-hand experience in low decile schools is the key to shifting preservice teachers' understandings of the disadvantaged school context. PLs confirmed this conclusion in their interviews. PLs unanimously described how preservice teachers return from low decile school fieldwork with positive views of disadvantaged students and schools. This finding is significant as it signals the potential for movement between the three Continuum of Engagement categories.

# Minimal engagement with disadvantage

The primary focus of chapter six (discussion) is the critical analysis of how preservice teachers conceptualise and engage with disadvantage during their preservice teacher education programmes. Through the development and application of the Continuum of Engagement theoretical model, this thesis locates the majority of preservice teachers in the 'Awareness' category. This placement on the continuum informs us of preservice teachers' ability to identify examples of cultural misrecognition and socioeconomic maldistribution yet lack of initiative to remedy these injustices. Preservice teachers who did take 'Action' were most likely to endorse affirmative measures — most often in the form of respect for different cultures. As argued in chapter six, this thesis concludes that teacher education is a complex process, and is influenced by a variety of external and internal factors. In chapter five, PLs expressed frustration with institutional policies and requirements, and relationships with schools, that limit their ability to make changes to current curriculum and fieldwork practices. Stringent NZTC professional accreditation requirements were also noted as having a significant impact on preservice teacher education curriculum and assessment choices. The strength of societal misperceptions of low decile schools were a third source of frustration for PLs. Most PLs identified how shifting negative views of low decile schools is, in reality, a battle on two fronts: within preservice teacher education programmes and in wider New Zealand society.

# Implications and recommendations

This study sought to examine how preservice teachers engage with the concept of disadvantage during their preservice teacher education programme. Drawing on Fraser's theory of justice, the analysis of data along the Continuum of Engagement framework suggests that transformative change related to disadvantage and low decile schooling is unlikely. While the majority of preservice teachers graduate with an awareness of disadvantage and equity issues, this thesis contends that they are not personally or professionally prepared to address issues of disadvantage. Furthermore, as the Politics of Discomfort model suggests, shifting preservice teachers' engagements with disadvantage will require input and action at multiple policy, institution, programme, school, and social levels.

#### **Implications and Recommendations for Teacher Education**

For the field of teacher education, this research offers a new conceptual starting point from which to develop practices for greater inclusion of disadvantage and equity concerns in preservice teacher education programmes. This research offers an alternative approach to examining teacher preparation for teaching in disadvantaged schools. In contrast to other studies that share the same goal, this research looks back, rather than forward. It identifies the starting point prior to making any suggestions for improvement. In this case, the starting point is preservice teachers' current understandings of disadvantage and equity issues, and how they engage with these concepts.

Subsequently, the main recommendation of this study is for New Zealand preservice teacher education programmes to urgently place greater emphasis on disadvantage and equity issues in order to better prepare teachers for teaching in disadvantaged schools. In the same vein, a second recommendation is for all preservice teachers to have an opportunity to complete a low decile school practicum. If this is not possible, the researcher supports other studies recommending other forms of field experience in disadvantaged communities and schools — perhaps in the form of volunteering or service-learning (Catapano & Huisman, 2010; J. Conner, 2010). The third recommendation relates to the selection of Associate Teachers (ATs) or school mentors. As study findings indicate, 60 percent of preservice teachers gained their knowledge of low decile schools from individuals within the teaching profession. ATs, and teaching colleagues were the most commonly identified informants

about disadvantage and teaching in low decile schools. This finding suggests a need for purposeful and careful AT and school partner selection to offer preservice teachers a supportive environment that aligns with preservice teacher education views of disadvantage and equity issues. The fourth and final recommendation is for preservice teacher education programmes to develop closer relationships with external organizations like the NZTC and the public. The inclusion of other interest groups in the preservice teacher education process will likely assist in the development of robust, comprehensive strategies of preparing teachers to teach in low decile schools.

#### **Recommendations for Further Research**

This research illuminates the need for further investigations of preservice teachers' engagements with disadvantage. It is hoped that similar studies will extend our knowledge of how best to address equity concerns through preservice teacher education programmes. The number of preservice teacher research participants was a limitation of this study. A larger number of participants would provide data for comparative analysis, and add to an emergent database of New Zealand teacher education research. A second recommendation is for similar investigations of public perceptions of disadvantage and poverty. As this study has conclusively shown, public perceptions of disadvantaged children and low decile schools influence preservice teachers' engagements with disadvantage and their willingness to teach in low decile schools.

This research prompts us to ask more questions about the ways in which we prepare teachers for teaching in disadvantaged decile 1-3 schools. These questions include questions about preservice teacher education candidate selection. For example, is there an ideal preservice teacher candidate for low decile schools? And, should we require additional low decile experience as a preservice teacher education entry requirement? Picking up on a question already raised in international research on this issue (L. Anderson & Stillman, 2011; Burnett & Lampert, 2011), this study questions the need for specialised low decile preparation programmes. Additional research responding to any of these questions would add valuable knowledge to the field of teacher education.

# Contribution to the field

This study has clearly identified a spectrum of preservice teachers' engagements with disadvantage and teaching in low decile schools ranging from discursive avoidance strategies to engagement with affirmative remedies to address issues of socioeconomic inequality. Above all else, this study contributes valuable knowledge to international and New Zealand discussions about preparing teachers for working with diverse groups of students in disadvantaged schools. There are currently few New Zealand studies that examine how we prepare teachers for working in low decile schools. This research, grounded in empirical data, offers insight into teacher education's role in addressing issues of socioeconomic inequality within preservice teacher education programmes.

A second valuable contribution to the field of educational research is the development of two original conceptual models. The Continuum of Engagement was born out of the need to understand and explain how my preservice teacher participants engage with disadvantage. However, there is great potential for the model to be employed by scholars inside and outside the field of educational research. For example, educational researchers in educational psychology interested in teacher beliefs might use the Continuum of Engagement to understand teachers' expectations of student achievement, beliefs about ethnicity or culture, and dispositions towards the inclusion of students with disabilities. More broadly, the Continuum of Engagement holds potential to be used to understand people's perceptions, beliefs, and dispositions. For instance, the three categories of avoidance, awareness and action might be employed to explain how individuals respond to child poverty. The Continuum of Engagement is also more broadly applicable to other social science disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, and political science. Similarly, the second model, the Politics of Discomfort, may be a useful research tool across different disciplines and policy contexts to understand the contextual and political factors implicit in discussing discomforting topics such as socioeconomic disadvantage.

# **Conclusion and final reflections**

This thesis challenges current methods and practices of preparing teachers for working in New Zealand low decile schools. It sets in motion a line of enquiry that asks us to critically evaluate the purpose of preservice teacher education, intended preservice teacher education outcomes related to the preparation of teachers for working with students from diverse backgrounds in low decile schools, and the role of teaching in addressing social equity concerns. This study tackles the contentious issues of disadvantage and poverty to reveal 'discomforting' findings about how teacher education engages with these equity concerns. As the PL quote at the beginning of the chapter suggests, this thesis may 'unsettle' us. While difficult issues have been raised throughout this thesis, the intention is not to blame or point fingers at teacher educators or university preservice teacher education providers. While it does identify current shortfalls in the ways we address disadvantage in New Zealand preservice teacher education programmes, it is acknowledged that resolutions to these discomforting findings will require deep structural and institutional change.

Instead, this research has confirmed that there are deeply passionate teacher educators across the country who fiercely support new teachers in their educational journeys. Furthermore, these passionate individuals want the best for students in low decile schools. From a personal perspective, the ultimate reward of completing this research would be for study findings to present arguments for reviewing current teacher preparation practices for preparing teachers for teaching in low decile schools. It is hoped that the findings of this thesis provide further impetus to take transformative action to current practices to ensure teachers are more prepared to teach in all New Zealand schools.

In the words of Bowles and Gintis (1976), "the evident potential for revolutionary reforms in education presents a great opportunity for progressive social change" (p. 263). From my perspective, teacher education can avoid the issue of disadvantage, be aware yet remain complacent, or decide to take action. For this reason, my thesis ends with a challenge: is the preparation of teachers for teaching all students *really* "just too hard?"

# **Appendix A: Request for Site Access**



# REQUEST FOR SITE ACCESS: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET FOR DEANS

Title of Project: New Zealand preservice teachers' attitudes towards diversity and

teaching in low socioeconomic settings

**Researcher:** Jennifer Tatebe (PhD Candidate)

**Supervisors:** Dr. Vicki M. Carpenter and Dr. Airini

### Introduction

My name is Jennifer Tatebe and I am a PhD candidate in the Faculty of Education at the University of Auckland. I am interested in preservice teachers' knowledge, understandings and attitudes towards diversity and low socioeconomic (SES) school contexts. My doctoral research will investigate this issue as it relates to the future of teaching and learning in New Zealand classrooms. My research question is "What are New Zealand preservice secondary school teachers' attitudes towards teaching diverse students in low SES settings?" I will address this question by conducting two national surveys and an online forum with the 2011 Graduate Diploma in Teaching (Secondary) university cohort.

The purpose of this letter is to ask for your permission to access and invite your Graduate Diploma in Teaching (Secondary) students to participate in this study. To enable this, I am requesting your permission to contact and interview your secondary Programme Leader or Course Lecturer (whoever leads the Secondary programme). A *Programme Leader or Course Lecturer Information Sheet* will inform staff of the study and ask for their participation and support in this research project.

Programme Leader or Course Lecturer involvement will be minimal. Programme Leader or Course Lecturer involvement (whoever coordinates the programme) will include an interview and assistance with accessing programme documents relating to diversity. Programme Leader or Course Lecturer support in relation to encouraging preservice teacher participation will involve: sending secondary Graduate Diploma in Teaching preservice teachers the recruitment email, a follow up announcement to the recruitment email and brief reminders for participants to complete the online surveys and forum in February, July and November 2011. Copies of the recruitment email and the information sheet for Programme Leaders and Course Lecturers are attached for your information. The total anticipated time required for preservice teachers to participate in this study is 60 minutes (3 X 20 minutes) over the course of the Graduate Diploma in Teaching (Secondary) programme. The forum will be open for a period of two- three weeks. During this time participants will be able to post as many responses to the forum discussion questions as they choose. Therefore, the total amount of time that participants will spend participating in the online forum may vary per participant. The timeline for the data collection is listed on the following page.

# 2011 projected data collection time line

Time	Measure
February 14-25	Online survey (S1)
July 25- August 5	Online forum
November 1-15	Online survey (S2)

# Request for your support of this study

If you give your permission, and Programme Leaders or Course Lecturers are agreeable, preservice teachers will be sent a recruitment email and a *Participant Information email* inviting their participation in this study. Participants will have the opportunity to discuss their involvement before completing two online surveys and the online forum. Similarly, the Programme Leader or Course Lecturer will be interviewed and contacted regarding accessing programme documents related to diversity.

Participant and university privacy and confidentiality will be protected at all times. The information provided will be used for the purpose of this study and may be reported in conferences, academic journals and other academic publications. The reporting of findings will protect the anonymity of participants and pseudonyms will be used to refer to the university. All data will be securely stored on University of Auckland premises. Electronic data will be stored on a secure server and hard copy data will be stored in a locked cabinet in a secure office. Electronic data will be deleted and hard copies will be shredded and destroyed after a period of six years. A summary of findings related to your university will be prepared for your interest. The research results may serve as useful information related to planning decisions in your secondary Graduate Diploma in Teaching (Secondary) programme.

#### Conclusion

I look forward to conducting this study and hope that you will support this research. Should you wish to review the approved University of Auckland ethics application a copy will be made available to you. If you agree to provide access, please confirm this by completing a Consent Form and returning it to me. The Consent Form will be kept in separate and secure place at the university for six years, after which, it will be destroyed. You are welcome to ask questions about the project before signing the Consent Form. Academic relationships will not be affected by either refusal or agreement to participate. Participation is voluntary. Thank you very much for your time and for considering your institution's assistance in making this study possible.

# **Project contacts**

Please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisors if you have any questions about this study.

Doctoral Research Candidate

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For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 3737599 extn. 8371

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on December 8<sup>th</sup> for a period of 3 years, from 2010 Reference 2010/



# **Appendix B: Preservice Teacher Participant Information Sheet (PIS)**

Title of Project: New Zealand preservice teachers' attitudes towards diversity and

teaching in low socioeconomic settings

**Researcher:** Jennifer Tatebe (PhD Candidate)

**Supervisors:** Dr. Vicki M. Carpenter and Dr. Airini

#### Introduction

My name is Jennifer Tatebe and I am a PhD candidate in the Faculty of Education at the University of Auckland. I would like to invite education you to participate in my research study. This research will investigate New Zealand preservice secondary school teachers' attitudes towards teaching diverse students in low socioeconomic settings as it relates to the future of teaching and learning in New Zealand classrooms.

# **Participation**

This study will be open to all preservice teachers enrolled in secondary, Postgraduate Diploma (PgDip) of Teaching programmes at New Zealand universities. You are invited to participate in two online census surveys: upon entry and completion of your PgDip programme. This research will also involve optional participation in an online forum at the beginning of semester two in July 2011.

The online environment means that you can complete the online surveys and respond to online forum discussion questions at your convenience. The identity code and URL link below will bring you to the main research web page containing a consent form. Choosing to accept and move to the next screen will indicate your consent to participate in the study.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. Your decision to accept or decline the offer to participate in the study will not affect your grades or academic relationships.

### Participation time frame

The research calendar and the approximate time associated with participating in the study are listed below.

Dates	Measure	Approximate time commitment
February	Online survey (S1)	20 minutes
July	Online forum (F1)	20 minutes
November	Online survey (S2)	20 minutes

The total amount of time required to participate in this study is 60 minutes (3 X 20 minutes) during your nine month GradDip programme.

# **Confidentiality**

While 100% anonymity cannot be guaranteed, online security measures will be in place to protect participant privacy. A randomly generated code will grant you access to the online survey and online forum. You will be asked to register to participate in the online forum by creating a non-identifiable username pseudonym and confidential password. Only your username pseudonym will be displayed on your forum posts so that you can freely express your views while your identity remains confidential.

The online forum will be hosted by the University of Auckland's secure servers and therefore protected by university IT security mechanisms. While it is common for secure servers to log visitor IP addresses, this study will not track IP addresses or link them to randomly generated access codes or any personally identifiable information. This means that participants' identities will remain confidential. Personally identifiable information will not be linked directly to data or stored with it to protect your anonymity and privacy.

Choosing to contribute identifying information in your forum posts, however, may compromise your anonymity. It is recommended that including identifying information in online forum posts is kept to a minimum. The information and responses to the online survey and forum questions may be used in future academic publications and conferences but your identity will remain anonymous.

Access to research data will only be available to myself and my supervisors. The research web page will be password protected and all data will be securely stored at the University of Auckland. Electronic data will be stored on a secure server and hard copies of data files will be stored in a locked cabinet in a secure office. The data will kept for a maximum of six years at which time electronic data will be deleted and hard copy files will be shredded.

#### Research aims

This research study aims to provide a comprehensive illustration of preservice teachers' attitudes towards teaching diverse students in low SES settings. It is likely that as a future teacher you will be teaching increasingly diverse student populations in varying socioeconomic settings. Understanding preservice teacher attitudes towards this school context is therefore an important issue within the field of Education and the teaching profession. Your contribution will be valuable and important.

Thank you for your time and interest in reading about this study. I hope that you consider participating in this research project. Please feel free to contact me or my supervisors if you wish to know more about the study or if you have any queries.

Please use the following URL link XXXX and user code XXXXX to access the Consent Form and initial online survey.

# Doctoral Research Candidate

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For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 3737599 extn. 83711

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on December 8<sup>th</sup> for a period of 3 years, from 2010 Reference 2010/576



# **Appendix C: Preservice Teacher Consent Form**

# CONSENT FORM FOR ONLINE PARTICIPANTS THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

Title of Project: New Zealand preservice teachers' attitudes towards diversity and

teaching in low socioeconomic settings

**Researcher:** Jennifer Tatebe (PhD Candidate)

**Supervisors:** Dr. Vicki Carpenter and Dr. Airini

I have been given and understand the explanation of this research project as detailed in the *Participant Information Sheet*.

I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project and have them answered. I understand the nature of the research that is focused on understanding what New Zealand preservice secondary school teacher attitudes are towards teaching diverse students in low socioeconomic settings. The research will require me to participate in two online surveys and an online forum for a total of 60 minutes during my nine month Postgraduate Diploma of Teaching Programme.

I understand that I am a voluntary participant in this research

- I agree to participate in this research.
- I understand that I will complete two online surveys and have the option of participating in an online forum.
- I understand that online survey and forum data will be stored securely for six years and may be used for conference presentations, papers and other publications of an academic nature.
- I understand that in the reporting of this research, my identity will be strictly confidential and all information will only be used for the purpose of this research.
- I understand that my academic grades and relationships with professors and staff will not be affected by either refusal or agreement to participate.

I understand that by selecting the "accept" button, I am consenting to participate in this research study.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on December 8<sup>th</sup> for a period of 3 years, from 2010 Reference 2010/576



# **Appendix D: Preservice Teacher Exit Survey**

Title of Project:	New Zealand preservice teachers' attitudes towards diversity and		
	teaching in low socioeconomic settings		
Researcher:	Jennifer Tatebe (PhD Candidate)		
Supervisors:	Dr. Vicki M. Carpenter and Dr. Airini		
Kia ora, Talofa la	ava, Mālō ē lelei, Fakaalofa lahi atu, Bula, Malo e lelei. Greetings.		
Thank you for accessing this survey. You will already have completed Survey 1 in March and you may have participated in the online forum. This is the second survey that was mentioned at that time. You will perhaps notice some overlap in the questions from both surveys. The Preservice Teachers and Low SES Settings survey is available to all New Zealand preservice secondary school teachers enrolled in a Postgraduate Diploma (GradDip secondary) programme in 2011. The findings will contribute to my PhD research on this subject.			
The purpose of the research is to understand what preservice teachers' attitudes are towards teaching diverse students in low SES settings. The findings may identify issues for Teacher Education Programme providers to consider in relation to preparing students for this context.			
-	e survey is optional. This survey will take approximately 20 minutes to complete. In indication of your consent to be involved in this research project.		
Please be assured that participants will remain anonymous and you will not be identifiable in any publications. Any mention of names will be removed. Findings related to your university will be sent to Programme Leaders, but you will not be identifiable in what I send. The survey will close on XXXX and you will be sent a reminder email closer to this time.			
Thank you for yo worthwhile.	our time and interest in this research, your contributions will be valued and		
Jennifer Tatebe-	PhD candidate		
Email: j.tatebe@a	auckland.ac.nz		
Personal informat	ion- please remember all your answers are confidential.		
1. Are you male	or female?   Male   Female		

2. How old are you?

	<ul> <li>25-29</li> <li>30-34</li> <li>35-39</li> <li>40-44</li> <li>45-49</li> <li>50 or older</li> </ul>
3.	Which country where you born in?
4.	What ethnic group do you identify with? Please mark the category or categories that apply to you  Māori  New Zealand European or Pākehā  Samoan  Tongan  Niuean  Fijian  Tokelauan  Chinese  Indian  Other (please specify)
5.	Please mark as many spaces you need to answer this question. In which language(s) could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things? Please remember to mark English if you can have a conversation in English.  O English O Māori O New Zealand sign language O Samoan O Tongan O Chinese O Other (please specify)
6.	What is the highest level of education you have completed?  O Bachelor degree  O Masters degree  O Doctorate degree  Other. Please specify
7.	What was the approximate decile ranking of the primary school you attended? (If more than one, the one you attended most)
8.	What was the approximate decile ranking of the secondary school you attended? (If more than one, the one you attended most)
9.	I had close friends of a different ethnicity at school. Y/N.

0 21-24

- 10. When I attended school my family's income came mainly from
  - o full time employment
  - o part time employment
  - o unemployment benefit or other government assistance
  - o other-please specify
- 11. If your parent (s) were employed, please state his/her/their occupation (s).
- 12. When I was attending school, my family
  - Owned a house
  - o Rented a house
  - o Rented an apartment
  - o Lived in state housing accommodation

#### Part Two

This research aims to provide a comprehensive illustration of preservice teachers' attitudes towards teaching diverse students in low SES settings. The following questions will focus on issues related to low SES school settings.

- 13. You may select multiple responses to complete this statement. The decile system is...
  - o An indicator of school quality
  - o New Zealand's educational funding scheme
  - o An indicator of school reputation
  - o A predictor of student achievement
  - o A measure of socioeconomic disadvantage
  - o Other: please specify
  - o All of the above
- 14. Upon programme completion, I am looking forward to teaching in a decile (8-10) school. Why? Please explain
- 15. Upon programme completion, I am looking forward to teaching in a decile (4-7) school. Why? Please explain
- 16. Upon programme completion, I am looking forward to teaching in a decile (1-3) school. Why? Please explain
- 17. Please rank, in order of preference, which type of school you anticipate teaching in upon completion of your GradDip Programme. Place a "1" next to the option you prefer the most, a "2"

In my teacher preparation, it is important for me to learn about	Not at all important	Not very important	Very important	Extremely important	Unknown
Encouraging family/whānau involvement in schools/centres					
Addressing diversity in the classroom					

22. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with the following statements

I believe that	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
an important part of learning to be a teacher is examining one's own attitudes and beliefs about race ,class, gender,					

disabilities, and sexual orientation					
issues related to inequity should be openly discussed in the classroom					
for the most part, covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subject areas, such as social studies and literature					
the most important goal in working with immigrant children and English as a second language learners is that they assimilate into New Zealand society					
it's reasonable for teachers to have lower classroom expectations for students who don't speak English as their first language					
part of the responsibilities of the teacher is to challenge school arrangements that maintain societal inequities					
economically disadvantaged learners have more to gain in schools because they bring less into the classroom					
although teachers have to appreciate diversity, it's not their job to change society					
it is important to know how to develop thinking process strategies of diverse learners					
it is important to have an understanding of the complex influences that personal, social, and cultural factors may have on learners.					
it is important to recognize how differing cultural values and beliefs may impact on learners and their learning					
I believe that	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
under present conditions it is almost					

impossible for teachers of low SES students to utilize the backgrounds of these students in the teaching-learning process			
in general, teachers could do a better job if the socio-economic diversity in schools and classrooms could be reduced			
most teachers of low SES students have an inadequate picture of the positive elements in the cultural heritage of low SES students			
most low SES families do not really know what they want out of life			
teachers in low SES schools can expect little parent co-operation in school problems			

#### **Part Three**

23.	. Have you travelled independently outside of New Zealand to a country in which the dominant culture
	and language were different to your own? Y/N. Where?

24. Please signal, if you agree (Yes) or not (No) with the following statements about characteristics of parental involvement in decile 1-3 schools.

	Yes	No
Parents of decile 1-3 students often do not speak English or cannot understand written or verbal school communication		
Parents of decile 1-3 students are concerned with the academic success of their children		
Parents of decile 1-3 students take time off work to attend school activities		
Parents of decile 1-3 students believe that schooling is the job of teachers		
Parents of decile 1-3 students should have more to say about the kind of education available to them		

25. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with the following statements

	Agree	Disagree
Students should be encouraged to speak their first language in school classrooms		
Teachers are more likely to be effective if they teach students of the same or similar cultural and ethnic background to themselves		
Students of the same culture and ethnic background are more likely to achieve academic success when grouped together in classroom activities		

- 26. Did you complete a practicum in a decile 1-3 school? Y/N
- 27. If you completed a practicum in a decile 1-3 school, was it a positive experience? Y/N/ Not applicable. Please explain.
- 28. Which experiences do you feel have been most helpful in preparing you to teach diverse students in low socioeconomic schools?
  - o GradDip Coursework
  - o Practicum
  - o Previous personal experience
  - Other (please explain)
- 29. My understanding of the decile ranking system has changed during my GradDip programme. Agree/Disagree. How has this changed? Please explain
- 30. Which sources or people have informed your understanding of the school decile system?
  - o GradDip course material
  - GradDip Course Lecturers
  - o Media
  - o Research reports
  - o Teaching colleagues
  - Associate teachers/school mentors
  - o Other. Please explain
  - o None of the above- my understandings have not changed
- 31.If you were to overhear misguided and/or incorrect comments about decile (1-3) schools, what would your response be? E.g. Decile 1-3 school students are rough schools, you would...
  - o Ignore the comments
  - o Feel uncomfortable but say nothing

- o Make a light and almost joking comment (signalling disapproval)
- o Discuss and seek guidance from a friend or colleague
- 32. Teaching strategies need to be adapted to meet the needs of culturally, ethnically and socioeconomically diverse students. Y/N. Please comment:
- 33. Poverty impacts on educational outcomes.

Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree. Please comment:

34. The current New Zealand curriculum has a focus on diversity. This is a good thing.

Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, Strongly Disagree. Please comment:

35. What are your thoughts about teaching diverse pupils in low SES settings?

---End of Survey---Thank you for completing the survey



### **Appendix E: Interview Questions**

Graduate Diploma (secondary) Programme Leader Indicative interview Questions

Title of the project: New Zealand preservice teachers' attitudes towards diversity and teaching in low SES settings

**Researcher:** Jennifer Tatebe (PhD candidate)

Supervisors: Dr. Vicki M. Carpenter and Dr. Airini

Indicative questions for use during the interview with Programme Leaders:

- How is diversity defined in your Graduate Diploma in Teaching (Secondary) programme?
- Can you describe how your programme approaches the issue of diversity?
- Does your programme include a practicum in a decile (1-3) school?
- In your experience, what types of questions do preservice teachers raise in relation to diversity and teaching in low SES settings? What are your perceptions of student attitudes in general?
- Discuss the influence you feel your Graduate Diploma in Teaching (Secondary) programme is having on preservice teacher attitudes towards teaching in decile (1-3) schools.
- Based on your experience, what recommendations would you make to prepare preservice teachers to address issues of diversity and/or teaching in low SES settings?
- What criteria are used to select Graduate Diploma in Teaching (Secondary) programme candidates? Are attitudes to diversity included? How?
- Does your programme attempt to select Graduate Diploma in Teaching (Secondary) programme candidates who reflect the growing diversity of New Zealand's student population? How? How effective are your selection methods?

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on January 13, 2011 for a period of 3 years, from January 13, 2011 Reference 2010/576

# **Appendix F: New Zealand Teachers' Council Graduating Teacher Standards**

### Graduating Teacher Standards: Aotearoa New Zealand

These standards recognise that the Treaty of Waitangi extends equal status and rights to Māori and Pākehā alike.

Graduates entering the profession will understand the critical role teachers play in enabling the educational achievement of all learners.

#### **Professional Knowledge**

#### Standard One: Graduating Teachers know what to teach

- a. have content knowledge appropriate to the learners and learning areas of their programme.
- b. have pedagogical content knowledge appropriate to the learners and learning areas of their programme.
- c. have knowledge of the relevant curriculum documents of Aotearoa New Zealand.
- d. have content and pedagogical content knowledge for supporting English as an Additional Language (EAL) learners to succeed in the curriculum.

#### Standard Two: Graduating Teachers know about learners and how they learn

- a. have knowledge of a range of relevant theories and research about pedagogy, human development and learning.
- b. have knowledge of a range of relevant theories, principles and purposes of assessment and evaluation.
- c. know how to develop metacognitive strategies of diverse learners.
- d. know how to select curriculum content appropriate to the learners and the learning context.

# Standard Three: Graduating Teachers understand how contextual factors influence teaching and learning

- a. have an understanding of the complex influences that personal, social, and cultural factors may have on teachers and learners.
- b. have knowledge of tikanga and te reo Māori to work effectively within the bicultural contexts of Aotearoa New Zealand.
- c. have an understanding of education within the bicultural, multicultural, social, political, economic and historical contexts of Aotearoa New Zealand.

#### **Professional Practice**

## Standard Four: Graduating Teachers use professional knowledge to plan for a safe, high quality teaching and learning environment

- a. draw upon content knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge when planning, teaching and evaluating.
- b. use and sequence a range of learning experiences to influence and promote learner achievement.
- c. demonstrate high expectations of all learners, focus on learning and recognise and value diversity.
- d. demonstrate proficiency in oral and written language (Māori and/or English), in numeracy and in ICT relevant to their professional role.
- e. use te reo Māori me ngā tikanga-a-iwi appropriately in their practice.
- demonstrate commitment to and strategies for promoting and nurturing the physical and emotional safety of learners.

#### Standard Five: Graduating Teachers use evidence to promote learning

- a. systematically and critically engage with evidence to reflect on and refine their practice.
- b. gather, analyse and use assessment information to improve learning and inform planning.
- c. know how to communicate assessment information appropriately to learners, their parents/caregivers and staff.

#### **Professional Values & Relationships**

### Standard Six: Graduating Teachers develop positive relationships with learners and the members of learning communities

- a. recognise how differing values and beliefs may impact on learners and their learning.
- b. have the knowledge and dispositions to work effectively with colleagues, parents/caregivers, families/whānau and communities.
- c. build effective relationships with their learners.
- d. promote a learning culture which engages diverse learners effectively.
- e. demonstrate respect for te reo Māori me ngā tikanga-a-iwi in their practice.

#### Standard Seven: Graduating Teachers are committed members of the profession

- a. uphold the New Zealand Teachers Council Code of Ethics/Ngā Tikanga Matatika.
- b. have knowledge and understanding of the ethical, professional and legal responsibilities of teachers.
- c. work co-operatively with those who share responsibility for the learning and wellbeing of learners.
- d. are able to articulate and justify an emerging personal, professional philosophy of teaching and learning.

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