

Preparing student teachers for curriculum-making

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1. INTRODUCTION

During the last decade, a process of decentralization and deregulation has occurred in the Nordic countries influencing different sectors of society. Within the educational system this change has affected the steering system by offering the local school new possibilities of acting autonomously. An essential part of the process of decentralization is connected with a change in the curricular system. The change can partly be seen as a response to the criticism of the earlier national curriculum, which has tended towards over-emphasizing the cognitive activity among students, the growth of school bureaucracy, and the irrelevance of the national curriculum to teachers' everyday work (cf. Syrjäläinen, 1995, pp. 46-47).

The aim of the reforms is radical because it implies far-reaching implications for teachers' daily work and for the pre-service and in-service education of teachers. In other countries, such as Britain, teachers have a long tradition of relatively autonomous curriculum work, compared with teachers in many other European countries, used to national curricula (cf. Skilbeck, 1990). The main direction of the ongoing change in the curriculum is related to a shift in decision-making from the national to the local level, which will empower teachers to control the message. The focal point of the reform ambitions is the school-based curriculum. The reform includes new opportunities for teachers to participate individually and collectively in decision-making concerning the educational

context within which they work. The reform is thus aimed at extending teachers' professional autonomy (cf. Carr & Kemmis, 1994).

From the perspective of teacher education, the new situation raises questions about the responsibility for and manner of preparing student teachers for remarkable changes in the educational system. How should teacher education in general interact with changes of this kind stemming primarily from the outside political and administrative educational context? To what extent should internally developed scientific criteria decide the development of teacher education?

The aim of my presentation is thus to highlight characteristic features of the ongoing process of change and to focus on possible measures to be taken in teacher education in order to face a reform which might result in a restructuring of the occupation. My illustrative example of the move from a centralized to a decentralized curriculum-making system will be the curricular reform of 1994 and its implication for teacher education in Finland.

2. DECENTRALIZATION

Before proceeding further in the discussion it is necessary to touch upon the notion of decentralization, which is central to the ongoing process of change. Obviously the notion offers positive connotations among teachers. It suggests to increased participation, for instance in economic and curricular decision-making, thus opening new options for shaping a distinct school-specific policy. Karlsen (1993, pp. 20-23) identifies three aspects of decentralization which fit well into the Nordic educational context. First, the notion includes physical and geographical *deconcentration*. Second, the notion can be interpreted as a transition of *functions* from the center to the periphery. This implies that decisions made on one hierarchical level have been moved to a lower level, closer to the level of manifest action. Finally the notion means a transition of *power* from the center to the periphery, usually also including a deregulation of the earlier administrative framework (figure 1).

Although the process of decentralization and deregulation is linked to a broader societal trend it also reflects an acknowledgement of the increasing status of the teacher as an independent professional. Teachers are considered to carry an essential part of the responsibility for the curriculum-making process, which has previously rested on the central school authorities. The increase in status is, as far as class teachers are concerned, to a great extent the result of a university-based teacher education (Hansén, 1995). The growing professionalization of teachers has thus progressed hand in hand with a scientifically oriented teacher education, accentuating, among other issues, the 'making' of the reflective practitioner.

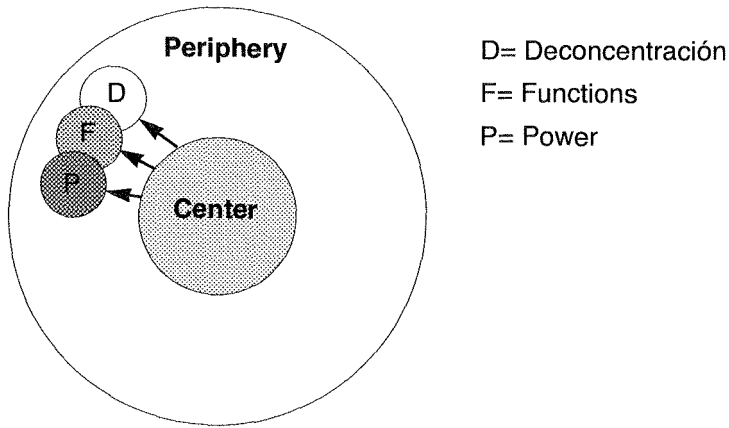


Figure 1. Three aspects of decentralization.

3. THE CURRICULAR REFORM IN FINLAND IN THE 90S

One central aim of the curricular reform in Finland has, as mentioned above, been to change the process of decision-making. The innovation of the curriculum started in 1992 and led to new curricular guidelines in 1994 (*Grunderna för grundskolans läroplan*). The former centralized system of regulation has in the educational system been dismantled as far as curriculum design is concerned. Power over the decision-making process has been moved to the local level, particularly to the schools. The teaching staff has been given more responsibility for developing and deciding the curricular content on the basis of given guidelines. It has been considered an advantage to give schools opportunities to develop distinctive identities for themselves, by giving emphasis to various elements in the curriculum.

The curricular reform aims at contributing to changing the schools from being institutions primarily implementing and mediating curricula produced elsewhere, to becoming institutions responsible for producing their own curriculum programme. The number of stockholders in the curriculum company has consequently increased drastically from an expert group in the center to all teachers. The national curricular guidelines for the comprehensive school emphasize the idea of schools as centers of learning (*lärocenter/oppimiskeskus*) with the school-based curriculum development as the focal-point. In the official rhetoric (e.g. *Grunderna för grundskolans läroplan*, 1994) the curriculum work is regarded as an instrument for teachers' work and professional growth.

Parallel to the process of moving more power over curriculum planning to tea-

chers, another, more or less contradictory process is going on. While the curriculum planning has been decentralized, the process of evaluation has, on the contrary, been centralized. Schools are increasingly made accountable for the outcomes they are expected to produce. The same institution that is responsible for carrying out the decentralization of the curriculum planning, i.e. The National Board of Education, has recently started a project of national evaluation. Different subjects on different levels of the educational system have been evaluated. Experience gained for instance from the national matriculation examination shows clearly that teaching will be more effectively controlled by instruments evaluating the cognitive results than by a nationally controlled curriculum. (cf. Kansanen & Uljens, 1995, pp. 58-59) The change in the ideology of control from making the programme to steering by results thus poses a risk that easily measurable results will be over-emphasized at the expense of the curriculum.

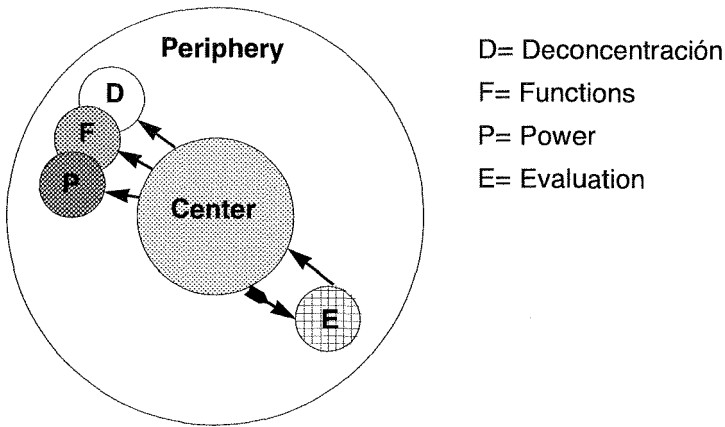


Figure 2. The change of ideology of control from the programme (D, F, P) to steering by results (E).

4. TEACHERS' EXTENDED COMPETENCE

The curriculum reform combined with university-based education for class teachers (elementary school teachers), implies, in the Finnish context, an extended competence when we compare it with what could be called teachers' traditional competence. Roughly speaking, teachers' competence, i.e. the formally defined areas of responsibility assigned teachers, can be divided into four levels:

Competence level 1 (C1): The first level represents teaching activity, i.e. teachers' interaction with their students, usually in a classroom setting (cf. Dale, 1989). On this level, the type of interaction is expressed through the chosen method, of which one part is visible, another part invisible. It is for example possible to visibly distinguish between group work and a typical knowledge-transmission situation where the teacher is the dominant actor. On the other hand, the psychological side of the interaction, i.e., how the method will affect students' thinking, understanding, and capturing of the reality, is invisible and partly beyond the teacher's control.

Competence level 2 (C2): The second level involves the teacher's continuous planning of his/her own teaching (cf. Dale, 1989). Several phases can be identified (cf. Shulman, 1987). The teacher is not in direct contact with the teaching situation. He/she is confronted with conceptions of teaching, which are constituted of intentions concerning the objectives, the content, the sequencing, the use of time etc., which will be materialized in the day-by-day plans.

Competence level 3 (C3): The planning is in focus on this level as well as on the previous one. While the planning on the previous level was mainly individual and characterized as a continuous day-by-day planning, the curriculum work is a collective and long-term project. Activities will bring individual teachers' intentions, students' intentions, and the intentions expressed in curricular guidelines together in the process of creating a programme for action on the two described levels (C1-C2). The activities create consciousness of the agreed collective intentions with regard to the teaching and involve series of choices and priorities concerning, for instance, the goals, the content, the didactical advises, and the evaluation.

Competence level 4 (C4a,b): The notion of reflection in teacher education is one of the frequently used and trendy ones. The notion is used in a wide variety of ways and causes a lot of confusion. I will limit my comments to a few characteristics of the notion. Reflection is in general regarded as an individually and collectively practised activity oriented towards expanding understanding of motives and principles guiding action. The basic idea of the notion, in the context of teacher education, usually points to promoting intellectual inquiries aiming at improving and deepening individual student teachers' understanding of the teaching profession, with particular emphasis on the relation between theory and practice. Reflection can thus be regarded as a subcategory of theorizing in general (cf. McIntyre, 1993, pp. 42-43).

Schön's (1987) often used distinction between '*reflection-in-action*' and '*reflection-on-action*' offers a useful frame for discussing the notion in relation to teachers' action. The '*reflection-in-action*' (C4a) is inseparably connected with situations where specific actions are going on, and occur on the other competence levels (C1-C3). 'Reflection in action', according to Griffiths and Tann (1992), consists of the rapid reac-

tion mechanism of action and reaction, immediately followed by reflection for repair purposes (cf. Edwards, 1995, p. 600). The notion *reflection-in-action*' has been questioned by certain scholars (e.g. Molander, 1993, pp. 145-152), who claim that reflection always implies some kind of distance taking to the action. To reflect in action will thus interrupt or at least disturb the action.

'*Reflection-on-action*' (C4b) is directed to the other levels of competence (C1-C3) and can, according to Schön on the one hand be regarded as a separate process (C4b), and on the other hand as a part of reflection in action. In this context Schön uses the expression '*reflection-on-reflection-in-action*' (C4ab). 'Reflection on action' connects experiences and anticipated future actions, thus capturing the past, the present, and the future. The reflection or critical thinking on action may lead to restructuring the strategies of action, ways of understanding phenomena, or of framing problems (cf. Schön, 1987, p. 28). Reflection is thus learning- and comprehension-oriented. (e.g. Jank & Meyer, 1991; Dale, 1989)

The kind of reflective thinking Finnish teacher education is trying to promote starts from a scientific point of view (cf. Kansanen, 1991, p. 251). The writing of Master Theses, which forms an essential part of the student teachers' programme, is directed towards qualifying students for critical thinking and for capability of autonomous decision-making, thus developing a general reflective conception including a continuous restructuring of one's own thoughts (Myrskog, 1993; Niemi, 1995a; Kohonen, 1995).

The aim of creating reflective practitioners involves making the students familiar with ideas and skills which connect teaching, learning, and curriculum making. Collective reflection is a verbal activity. This process implies interaction and the internalizing of a specific language which will enable student teachers to integrate developing knowledge with scientific discourse and to perform in practice (cf. Tann, 1993, p. 68; Edwards, 1995, p. 601).

There is, however, still little evidence suggesting that the aim stated in teacher education programmes to create a reflective practitioner in reality provides thematized opportunities for student teachers to connect theory and practice, i.e., in this context teaching and learning with curriculum-making. This is a problem that seems to be quite common, according to a recently published report on teacher education in Europe and mirrors the well-known problem of integrating theory and practice (Sander, 1995; Hansén, 1995; Edwards, 1995, p. 600).

By identifying the four described levels (C1-C4) of teachers' teaching activities, I want to underline two aspects. Traditional teacher competence has been focused on the level of the teaching process and the level of individually dominated day- by-day planning (C1-C2). The 'new' prescribed competence has been extended with the level of programme development (C3) and with a vague interpretation of the notion of reflection

(C4). The demand for teacher education involves the question of how to develop student teachers' capacity for a reflective curriculum-making process in which opportunities of ongoing interaction form the basis. The discussion concerning teachers' competence is schematically illustrated and summarized in the figure below.

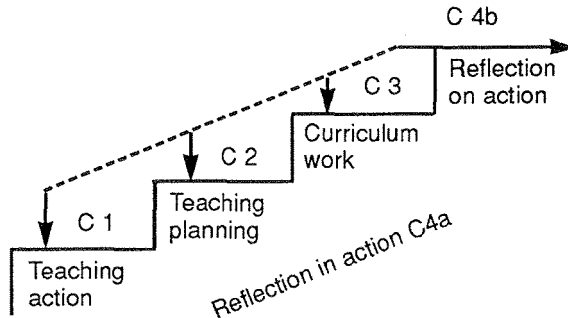


Figure 3. A schematic illustration of different levels of competence (C1-C4).

5. INTERACTION — OBSTACLES AND POSSIBILITIES

What kind of readiness for curriculum work do teachers have? Of course teachers represent various levels of readiness. Curriculum work is not only or even mainly drawing up a formal document to be followed. A school-based curriculum-making is above all intended to be a verbal activity, a discursive interaction between professionals. The dominant part of the curriculum development consists of a continuous discourse which will be only faintly reflected in the written curriculum. For that reason training in verbal interaction forms an essential part of qualifying student teachers for curriculum work. I want to illustrate this by giving short examples from research findings on this topic.

In a study in progress (Hansén), I interviewed 70 class teachers (elementary school teachers) between 1992 and 1994 and my focus of interest was on the characteristics of teachers and teaching against the background of the described change from a centralized to a decentralized system of decision-making. Understanding the subjective world of teachers during a period of restructuring their work will illuminate the nature of this world, thus offering genuine insights and providing a useful basis for developing teacher education further. I have distinguished three characteristics which signify a dominant pattern of interaction between teachers: *freedom*, *unity*, and *collaboration*.

Freedom — which was the teachers' own word — involves either a more or less imperative hands-off attitude or a confirmation of a positively perceived existing situa-

tion, verbalized in expressions like: "*I do my business and you do your business*". Many studies during the last few decades have shown that teachers work pre-dominantly in isolation (e.g. Jackson, 1968; Lortie, 1975; Sarason, 1982; Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986; Flinders, 1988; Fullan, 1990).

Valuing freedom, i.e. above all freedom from interference, did not, however, prevent teachers from appreciating a spirit of *unity*, a friendly atmosphere, which brings about a kind of mental support from colleagues. A dominant component constituting unity could, in accordance with Hargreaves (1995, p. 150), be designated by the notion of care. Teachers experienced a moral boosting of solidarity from their colleagues and caring was defined in different ways, for instance as encouraging experiments, as forgiving mistakes or as showing personal concern for colleagues.

Sometimes the unity was extended to different kinds of *collaborative activities* within subgroups, for example with teachers working in the same grade, teaching the same subjects, representing the same age group, etc. Some of the teachers thought that they would benefit from more systematic collegial interaction than is currently practised and available in most schools. Unity can be regarded as a less robust aspect of joint action than collaboration, which, according to Hargreaves, can be regarded "*...as an articulating and integrating principle of action, planning, culture, development, organization and research*" (1995, p. 150). Collaboration embodies many ways of facing the social world and is thus a productive response to problems, demands and expectations (cf. Hargreaves, 1995, pp. 150-151).

The preliminary findings show the same patterns as have been found in other studies (e.g. Lortie, 1975; Sarason, 1982). The norm of interaction among teachers is not primarily an interaction consisting of systematized collaboration and discourse, but is limited to what could be called a lazy social get-together. This finding does not mean that unity, characterized by care and moral support, should be regarded as inferior to collaboration. As Hargreaves (1995, p. 151) has pointed out care and support are themselves of central human and educational value. But the curriculum enterprise cannot be carried out appropriately only by relying on a nice atmosphere of unity. It calls for a stronger impact of collegiality imprinted by an ongoing process of systematized joint actions which increase the capacity for reflection, offer opportunities to learn and continuously will improve the professional development. Studies following the changing curriculum process in Finland (cf. Syrjäläinen, 1995, pp. 50-51) have already indicated that teachers felt insecure and had not been prepared for the described kind of collaborative work. On the other hand the studies showed need and willingness among teachers to ask for help from experts in managing the new responsibility for producing a school-based curriculum.

Both novice and experienced teachers criticized their own teacher education for

being too much concerned with individual teachers' behavior and for being one-sided and too theory-laden, not open enough to ongoing societal changes and the reality in schools. Teachers' feeling was that teacher education followed one track and the daily work in schools another (Hansén, study in progress).

Niemi (1995a,b) in her study of teachers' professional development in Finland found that novice teachers (with about three years of experience) felt that they had learnt quite well to plan and evaluate their work, to vary teaching methods, to master their subjects, to act in the local community, and to cope with administrative tasks. On the other hand, teachers considered that they had not acquired sufficient skills in mastering interaction with different actors and actor groups.

What kind of reasons are there behind the revealed patterns of interaction among teachers in the studies mentioned? One reason for the prevailing norm of interaction between colleagues in the schools is the structure of the school day, with 5-7 daily, lessons each of which is 45 minutes followed by a 15 minutes' break. Teachers' weekly working load is mainly established on the basis of the calculated number of scheduled lessons. The attitude has therefore developed among teachers that duties 'outside' the classroom, individual planning, and occasional staff meetings are more or less extra-curricular activities not belonging to the normal duties. The rigid structure will effectively prevent teachers from a thematized, continuous, and professional discourse.

Another obstacle to collaboration is connected with the perceived traditional role of the teacher. The pattern 'one-group-one-teacher' forms the basis of structuring the work. Among teachers there exists an established not to ask for help because such a request would suggest failure (cf. Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986, pp. 508-509).

Furthermore, teachers are faced with personal obstacles, stemming from a perceived deficit of appropriate knowledge, poorly developed habits of interaction, and difficulties in establishing a functioning dynamic interaction between the theoretical basis, offered by teacher education, and practical activities. Because teachers are working apart from each other they often have not articulated and formulated a body of shared practical knowledge.

Finally, teachers might also deliberately choose to work alone. We cannot assume that lack of collaboration is bad and collaboration automatically good. The pattern is more complicated. "*One person's isolation is another person's autonomy; one person's collaboration is another person's conspiracy*", as Fullan (1990, p. 14) has expressed the problem of autonomy and collaboration of teachers. Some of the teachers I interviewed not only accepted their relative loneliness but expressed satisfaction with this state of affairs. According to Flinders (1988, p. 23) isolation is for many teachers a strategy for getting work done. Isolation secures the time and energy required to meet immediate demands. Despite ongoing restructuring of their professional roles, teachers are not

necessarily concerned with professional growth or any changes at all. They might have developed a career outside teaching which satisfies their personal growth needs and compensates for the lack of movement in the job, and they might give priority to stability over dynamism. The teaching practice itself is by some teachers regarded as a natural and sufficient means of life-long learning (cf. Montané, 1994, p. 122). For some teachers the work ambitions accepted do not cause any special need for engagement in school improvement projects, while for others the practice itself combined with an ongoing, informal, thematized discussion with colleagues is considered to be enough for maintaining and elaborating professionalism.

Together factors of this kind are condensed in the prevailing school culture discouraging teachers from changing the norms for interaction. The curriculum reform is thus launched into a collegial reality characterized by a freedom which stresses freedom from interference, by a unity which seldom turns into regular collaboration among teachers, and by deficiencies caused by lack of training and practice.

6. PREPARING STUDENT TEACHERS FOR CURRICULUM-MAKING

How should teacher education respond to the demand for expanded competence and to the teaching reality in schools? In this section I will touch upon two issues aiming at qualifying future teachers for curricular work. The first issue concentrates on the need for developing a collaborative practitioner in general, and the second issue is concerned with preparing student teachers for curriculum-making.

COLLABORATION

If we claim that it is important for teacher education to pay more attention to preparing students for collaboration in general and for a collective curriculum-making process in particular, definite measures have to be taken. We have carefully to investigate the widespread tendency among teachers to perceive projects that require substantial change in behavior as negative. The examples from Finnish and other studies mentioned above show that teacher education seems to have been narrowly classroom-oriented with the teacher as a single actor. Processes by which interaction between teachers and a symmetric interaction between teacher and students would be promoted have been weighted less heavily. Student teachers' subject knowledge, its implication in classrooms, and theory-based general pedagogical knowledge have been given priority, with the emphasis on an input-output view of the transmission of subject knowledge. (cf. Edwards, 1995, p. 598)

Obviously the current curriculum reform in Finland, including advocated changes

in teachers' work, does not seem to remain a short-lived mayfly in the pedagogical fauna. It has, however, to be noted that there are already clear signs indicating that the pendulum for instance in Norway, another Nordic country, is changing back to more centralized curriculum decision-making. The right of working out their own curricula, which has been granted local Finnish schools, requires teachers able to understand students' thinking, the societal needs and the necessity of developing systematically those key concepts that constitute the curriculum. A recognition of the importance of a form of pedagogical knowledge which ties together an understanding of learning, teaching, and curriculum needs to be made more explicit when describing student teachers' understanding of how to operate in the development of school-based curricula (Edwards, 1995, p. 598). The question is how teacher education can contribute to creating cooperative, innovative and flexible instructional environments.

STAGES IN PREPARING STUDENTS FOR CURRICULUM-MAKING

Another connected area relates to the problem of how to promote pedagogically oriented collaboration in which student teachers from whatever setting are able to work together and which involves an interplay of learning and teaching processes on the one hand and curriculum work on the other hand. Teacher education needs to provide practical experience to help teachers to act in a continuous renewal of schools by deepening their understanding of the interplay of teaching activities on different levels. In addition to analysing curricular guidelines and school-based curricula, as well as practising curriculum-making, student teachers could get actively involved in developing programmes for teacher education. Thus the form of teacher education will also serve as a model for student teachers' own future practice. As Smith (1994, p. 26) has pointed out it is unreasonable to expect student teachers to create teaching contexts of their own which are very different from those dominating their personal educational experiences.

It may appear that an increase in the responsibility of schools for involving student teachers in school-based curriculum work can be legitimized as the logical outcome of an emphasis on interaction between theory and practice. An increased emphasis on the school as a training base for curriculum work would provide opportunities to translate formal pedagogical knowledge into practical knowledge. This will avoid creating a framework of practice simply on the basis of an analysis of practice (cf. Edwards, 1995, p. 597).

Edwards and Brunton have identified five steps in student teachers' acquisition of professional knowledge (1993, pp. 156-158, also Edwards, 1995, p. 599).

1. Creating a preliminary conception of the action
2. Taking practical action steps

3. Talking about the action and its implications
4. Internalizing the routine and potential implications of the actions
5. Consolidating and understanding through incorporating ideas into practice

I have, drawing on my study (in progress), adapted these stages for use in preparing student teachers for curriculum work as a specific area of teachers' pedagogical knowledge. Adapting the stages to prepare student teachers for competence level C3, combined with promoting a reflective practice C4, with curriculum-making as the focal point, could consist of at least the following four components:

At *stage 1*, different ways of *conceptualizing* curricular work are introduced, explored and shared. Student teachers will be confronted with the complexity of the curriculum and offered opportunities to examine how different conceptions of curriculum research convey different images of teaching (cf. Carr & Kemmis, 1994). Depending on the local context, e.g. the size of the school, the language situation, the local school-administration etc., the form of curricular work can be carried out in different ways.

At *stage 2*, students are confronted with expert-led *exercises* in various fields of practical curriculum work. At this stage the reflective concern is with the assumptions, predispositions, values and consequences with which practical exercises are linked (cf. McIntyre, 1993)

At *stage 3*, the routine of curriculum work will be *internalized* by practice, combined with considering potential implications of the actions in focus. The reflective concern comprises the comprehensiveness of what are considered problems and how to solve them.

Stage 4 implies the establishing of a *consolidated* and an internalized understanding of the curriculum work through incorporating the ideas into practice. The reflective concern which, referring to McIntyre, could be called critical or emancipatory, "...includes wider ethical, social and political issues, including crucially the institutional and societal forces which may constrain the individual's freedom of action or limit the efficacy of his or her actions" (1993, p. 44). When teachers enter their induction phase, they are capable of getting engaged in curricular work by discussing, analysing and reflecting upon curricular matters. Reflection in this context is productive when it leads to a thorough understanding of the curriculum work and when ability to communicate the curriculum-making process is the aim of this stage. The notion "thorough understanding" comprises a reflection in and on action leading to an ongoing retheorising and reformulating of the curricular reality. Thorough as opposed to superficial understanding, occurs as a result of the opportunity to take practical action and to be involved in a continuous curricular discourse.

In the sketch outlined the language plays a central role in elaborating students' understanding of the language in action. At the first two stages the dialogue is asymmetric in favour of the expert. In stage 3 the dialogue becomes more symmetric, and in stage 4 the student teachers are expected to be able to use the language learnt as their own. Communication functions as a means to convert experience into discourse thus providing terms for reconstructing curricular practice (cf. Carr & Kemmis, 1994, p. 40). Promoting the development of the language of the curriculum and of education in general is not only an instrumental matter. The language itself contributes to creating distinctions, differences and categories that define and form student teachers' concepts of education (cf. Hursh, 1995). Stage by stage student teachers appear to move through a process in which they are gradually introduced to ideas commonly and publicly shared in scientific discourse (Edwards, 1995, p. 599). The stages presented can be illustrated by the following model:

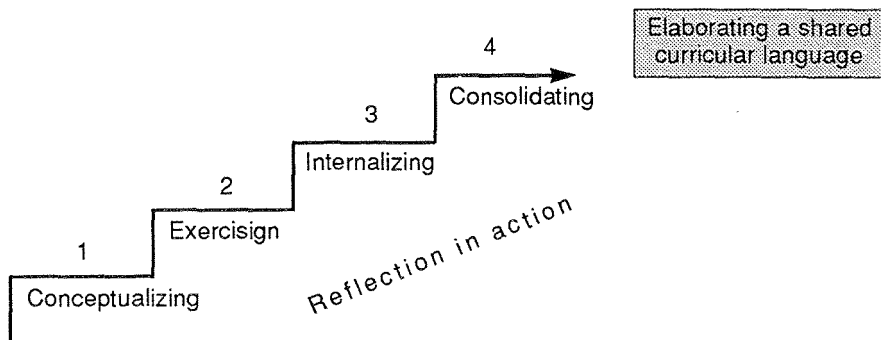


Figure 4. Stages in preparing student teachers for curriculum making.

7. SUMMARY

Teacher education has been firmly concentrated on qualifying student teachers for teaching (C1) and for individual planning (C2) of their teaching. Teacher education has in general been slow to respond to current changes in the teachers' work despite the flourishing rhetoric during the last decade accentuating the need for a reflective (C4) practitioner. However, qualifying student teachers for curriculum-making (C3) represents in the perspective of the last half century a new component of teachers' competence.

How teacher education should react to new trends is in general a controversial issue. Teacher education needs to have long-term orientation and thus it cannot be exp-

ted to react and adjust its programme to satisfy trends which might be of short duration. The problematic issue is how to distinguish between the pressure from trendy, superficial changes and from profound qualitative changes which will contribute to the reconstruction of the teachers' work.

Teacher education has in this respect a complicated double role. On the one hand it has, like any other educational enterprise, to serve the society which is maintaining the activities. Teacher education has consequently to act and to react sensitively to needs formulated in the political and administrative educational context. On the other hand, teacher education has, as a scientifically based enterprise, to force borders and to tread new paths for the development of schools. Sometimes the two types of effort can be integrated. The critical point is, however, the question of how to find the balance between the pressure to adapt teacher education to societal changes and the need for changes and development related to scientific criteria.

The dignity of the curriculum reform described demands, as far as the situation in Finland is concerned, consideration of whether more emphasis should be laid on school-based curriculum work in teacher education. Many central educational ideas are, as has been illustrated, expressed in the curricular game, and teachers have become first-division players. The concept of a school-based curriculum development is the concept of teachers as learners. The curriculum is more for teachers than it is for students, but if teachers improve from this learning process, the students will also benefit (cf. Clandinin & Connelly, 1992, p. 366).

My intention has not been to pursue the discussion in order to provide any detailed suggestions on how a teacher education programme for the topic discussed could be constructed or how the integration between theory and practice in general could be carried out. Hopefully the sketch outlined could contribute to a further discussion of how to achieve a reasonable balance between the ideal, expressed in policy-making directives, and habitual practice and how to rein forces trying to overstress centralized evaluation at the cost of a school-based curriculum. My overall effort has been to highlight the question of how to qualify student teachers to act on the required competence levels C3 and C4, i.e., in process-focused and reflective curriculum-making.

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