

ENHANCING STUDENT LEARNING BY ENHANCING THE TEACHER'S TEACHING

Bruce A Jeans

Deakin University: Victoria, Australia

Abstract: The literature on education and schooling abounds with advice and prescription on how to improve the quality of student learning in the classroom. Much of this advice assumes that we have detailed knowledge of how teacher-student interactions result in student learning. The paper examines the models underlying school and teacher effectiveness research and considers the generalisations drawn from this research. It is argued that effective teachers need to have a balance of textual knowledge and pedagogical knowledge. These forms of teacher knowledge and teacher behaviour are discussed and their implications for the initial education of teachers is examined.

The school as a metasystem

Schools are systems of systems, or metasystems, in which teachers teach and students learn.

Although this has a commonsense ring to it, there is a considerable literature indicating that what is taught is not what is learnt by every student and that what students learn is not always what the teacher has taught. As societies have become more complex the role of the teacher in student-learning has become more obscure. The teacher is only one of a wide range of information sources (Allen & Christensen, 1974). The two activities, teaching and learning, are not in one-to-one correspondence and it may often be quite difficult to make specific causal attributions. We can get so absorbed in the details of a particular problem that we sometimes lose sight of more general issues. School effectiveness belongs to a class of purposeful social interaction problems. The class includes social relationships in groups, social services such as health and relationships between nations. I am not a systems theorist but it seems that these problems share some or all of the following characteristics. They:

- (metasystems) i are probably best analysed as a system of systems
- ii are organic or fuzzy rather than mechanistic systems

- iii have low definition but not are not chaotic in the mathematical sense
- iv have state and process or transformational components
- v have unknown state-process relationships
- vi have great difficulty in establishing initial and final states
- vii have no clear zero point
- viii do not allow one to predict how a change in one part of the system will effect any other part of the system
- ix have uncertain part-whole relationships - we don't know if the whole is greater than the sum of the parts, equal to the sum of the parts, or less than the sum of the parts
- x are always scalar and sometimes vector, in form - we can usually recognise when change has taken place even though we are not always sure of the direction of the change
- xi do not have cause and effect relationships - any relationships are associative or correlative - if they exist at all
- xii are interactive and non-linear
- xiii are of uncertain temporal stability
- xiv tend to the lowest energy level
- xv consist of cases that are difficult to compare
- xvi are high in indeterminacy

I will not go through these points in detail but I do want to say something about xiv. Like all functioning systems, schools use energy and much of this energy comes from the teachers. These teachers are human beings and have a variety of life interests to attend to. There will be husbands, wives and family to care for - these don't cease to exist during school hours. So teachers adapt to their complex circumstances and the amount of energy they give to teaching-learning is not the maximum that they can give but rather it is an optimal amount that they can keep putting in over a long period of time. Under certain circumstances such as when an educational researcher comes to the school with a new idea the energy level can be raised but it will only stay at the new, higher level if there is active and specific management. So when we are thinking about school effectiveness we need to keep in mind that the internal energy of the system is finite and tends to

a minimum. Of course the relationship between energy used and the effectiveness achieved with that energy is an interesting research question. These commonsense observations help one to understand a little about why innovation in schools can be difficult.

Much of the literature relates to the effectiveness of schools - an aspect of schooling that was largely taken for granted until Coleman and his colleagues produced their report on the equality of educational opportunity in 1966. Around this time (1960s and 1970s) American sociologists, in particular, were sceptical that the influence of schools on student achievement was in fact greater than that of the home and community environment. This general air of scepticism led Sanders (1978) to propose a null hypothesis. It was not that schools had no effect at all but rather that major differences in teacher performance did not seem to be matched by major, correlated differences in student achievement. One might have expected that such a provocative view would be immediately challenged but there doesn't seem to have been any substantial rebuttal of the hypothesis. Barrow (1984) did examine the Sander's argument but concluded that the existing research evidence was too weak to test the null hypothesis. Barrow assumed there is a discernable teacher-effect but that we have been unable to establish its magnitude. Whether or not the evidence is clearer in 1990s there is still the inherent assumption that the dominant variable is school-effect (Partington, 1991). Research into the effects of home and family environment continues and it is interesting to see that studies such as that of Vulliamy (1987) and Ridell (1989) suggest that schooling effectiveness in third world countries is less related to school-based factors than to student-background variables. One concludes therefore that our understanding of school effectiveness is still largely situation-specific.

Whatever simplifying assumptions we make for research purposes we need to keep in mind that schools are complex social organizations. Even among service organizations they stand out for their complexity. They have compound goals (Broudy, 1988), complex

internal

processes (Bremer, 1974), and very great difficulty establishing whether or not their effect is commensurate with the resources committed to them (Averch et al., 1972). It is not even possible to identify, and concentrate on, a single client because there are multiple clients; students, parents, various levels of government and society as a whole (Connors, 1991; Ramsay, 1991). All of these interact and do so in different ways at different times.

Effectiveness and school improvement research has been a large scale activity. Powell and Beard (1984) report over 3,000 studies related to conditions for effective teaching and learning. When these are examined one can see that they tend to be based on quite simple models, if indeed the researcher makes any mention of underlying models and assumptions. The simplest of these is the linear or statistical-industrial model in which relatively uniform input is treated with standard processes to produce a high proportion of marketable product. There are some ideological problems with the model. The idea of discarding children, of having rejects, is unacceptable to many people and so there is a variant of the model that postulates equality of outcomes. To achieve this it may be necessary to alter the process or to have more than one process. Even with a variety of processes the output of the first cycle may not meet the quality control requirement and hence some recycling through the system will be necessary. The cost of the process or processes becomes the efficiency index.

A more complex model assumes that the processes of schooling are, or ought to be, value-adding processes. This model doesn't assume equality of input and it recognises that the processes will not have the same effects on each unit of input. The nature of the processing, and recycling, is manipulated - usually for a fixed period of time or a standard number of cycles. Market forces then act to sort the output on the basis of the level of value that has been added to the input units. One can construct many models using this simple industrial processing theory.

Another kind of model is based on the assumption that the school's prime task is that of cognitive development and that there are processes known to bring about this development. This model recognises that children entering the system will vary widely in their entry behaviours, and it does not postulate standard processes. It does however suggest that the process is systematic. The model uses the idea that cognitive development is a process of modality-shifting. That is that there are things that the school can do that facilitate a shift from a less powerful to a more powerful modality. These modalities might be Piagetian stages, Brunerian modes or some other general enhancement of the individual's competence to process information and to arrive at rational outcomes.

Another version of this model assumes that cognitive development is a generalised competence that can be estimated by logico-mathematical tasks such as the multiple choice questions that appear in mathematics and science tests and examinations. Assessment of school effectiveness in this case is quite straightforward. One uses standardised examinations of some kind and then compares results either from year to year within one school or between schools in any one year.

Those who focus on the development of student potential, rather than on cognitive development, see the school as a powerful shaping environment that can affect all the dimensions of personal growth and development. This humanistic theory of schooling always has a social dimension and, often, a moral dimension. The school is seen as a liberating environment in which the teacher's role is to help and guide each individual's movement toward self-realisation and moral autonomy. The teacher is a major influence and always acts in the learner's best interests. Humanistic models focus on the life-enhancing or personal growth effects of schooling. This form of the model values the diversity of input and is very concerned with the effects of the processes that are used, not because of their value-adding function, but rather for their enhancing effects on each

individual. No standard process is assumed, indeed proponents of such models expect that the processes will be as varied as the children entering the school. A variant of this model emphasises the role of the school in maintaining or reforming the culture in which the school is embedded. There are many models of this type according to whether one emphasises societal stability or societal reform or reconstruction and whether or not one sees the school as an disempowering structure controlled by a powerful elite group. These models focus on personal empowerment and cultural or societal reformation. This kind of model is of interest to sociologists, some of whom believe that schools have been a very effective means of legitimizing economic inequality (Moody, 1988). Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Howley (1990) argue that, in American schools at least, cultural considerations such as instilling an appreciation of the nation's cultural legacy and an awareness of the fundamental concerns of the human heart and mind, have been superseded by political and economic considerations. From this perspective, schools are driven by techno-economic principles rather than cultural considerations. Schools have become institutions that narrow and specialize the human intellect to meet the requirements of the capitalist or techno-economy. Schools belong to a set of manipulative institutions which maintain existing inequalities.

The last couple of models 'feel' more like a school than the statistical-industrial model but any linear model is an over simplification of whole school functioning. There are linear elements, such as age-progression, in the schooling process but most of what happens is non-linear. It is also true that some individual teachers operate more or less in accord with one rather than another of these models but it is equally true that there is little agreement about which model best reflects their day to day work and their longer term aspirations for their students (Jeans, 1990). The reality is that there are variable inputs into variable processes controlled by variable teachers with diverse goals. This reality is so complex that no operational model will be an accurate reflection.

term

Since we can't yet quantify ET the quantity is indeterminate and, I say again, any function that one might devise is unlikely to be linear. If we then sum the ET terms we increase the indeterminacy. If one teacher is effective and another is not effective we cannot meaningfully say that the net effectiveness is zero. If we think of how the effectiveness variance might be partitioned out it is my view that all the evidence suggests that the error variance far outweighs the variance of any estimate of either teacher effectiveness or school effectiveness. However when we come to interpret research data we need to take account of the dynamic and interactive nature of schooling. It is clear for example that the processes we have been talking about involve people; policy makers, funding authorities, administrators, teachers and students. If we focus on the classroom the major players are the teachers and the students. These are not invariant elements in a cause and effect relationship such that action A produces effect B. They are humans beings with all the attendant variability that characterises the species. There is no all-purpose model that one can use to develop a school-effectiveness research program. Each research question will require its own model derived from the purpose of schooling under study.

Effective teacher behaviours

Effectiveness research has not produced a model or class of models that lead to operational definitions of effectiveness. The generalisations derived from the data have not advanced our understanding of how to alter the effectiveness of schooling a great deal. Typically, researchers have described and clarified the course and effects of particular effectiveness-improvement programs. The generalisations that they have derived would be seen, particularly by a competent teacher but probably even by an educated lay person, as desirable characteristics of any school. These variables include:

school culture and student-participation (Furtwengler, 1985)

staff attitudes, management policy and practice, organization, behaviour, school, climate, academic standards and instruction (McCormack, 1985)

schoolwide measurement and recognition of academic success, orderly environment, emphasis on curriculum articulation, instructional support, high expectations for student performance, collaborative staff planning, instructional leadership and parental involvement. (Russell et al., 1985)

Principal's expectations, teacher expectations, time on task, classroom organization, reinforcement and feedback, tutoring, recitation and parental involvement (Stevens, 1985)

academic focus, student participation in decision-making (Renihan, 1986)

strong educational leadership, high expectations of student achievement, academic goal consensus, emphasis on basic skills and a safe and orderly climate (Scheerens and Stoel, 1988)

instructional leadership, environment, expectations of student achievement, schoolwide instructional goals and objectives, classroom practices, monitoring of student progress and home-school relations (Bedford, 1988)

orderly environment, clear school mission, high expectations, opportunity to learn and frequent monitoring (Engman, 1989)

These generalisations appear in various guises throughout the effectiveness literature. Blair (1984) for example, discusses seven fundamentals of effective teaching; time-use, diagnosis, direct instruction, transfer of skills, flexible grouping, positive mind-set, and classroom management. Walker and Murphy (1986) consider eight such variables. A handbook prepared by the United States Department of Education (1987) gives a similar set. Not one of the generalisations is surprising. All of them would be reflected in undergraduate teacher education programs in some way. It may be that some are more important than others but commonsense suggests that if a school was positive on each of these dimensions it would be a better school than a school that was negative on one or more of these factors.

Averch et al. (1972) observed that the vast body of literature on educational effectiveness has still not provided a firm foundation for the formulation of educational

policy. Twenty years on this observation is still largely true but we have least realised that organisational and structural reforms do not guarantee improvement in the quality and effectiveness of schooling (Istance & Lowe, 1991). Attempts to make schools more effective and to estimate the degree of effectiveness have sensitized people to the complexities of schooling but there has been little advance in the construction of a theory that is detailed enough to underpin indices of school-effectiveness. Despite the lack of progress effectiveness is still a major concern to policy-makers, funding agencies and to researchers. Research into school effectiveness has other valuable outcomes. Frequently however, the effects are limited to those who have performed, or have been involved in, the research. The research has also helped refute any simplistic view of teacher and school effectiveness. In doing this it has developed the context and vocabulary of the debate and it has shown that there is a general consensus about what counts as good teaching. On the other hand the three elements, context, vocabulary and consensus do not in themselves guarantee effective teaching or, indeed, effective learning.

Teachers play a vital role in shaping the organisational climate of the school and the effectiveness generalisations recognise this fact. However few researchers explicitly recognise the importance of teacher knowledge. It is either assumed or considered less important than the organizational culture dimensions. The professional knowledge of teachers (pedagogical and text) is fundamental. Teachers need to know the basic structure of the subjects they teach and they need to have developed a personal pedagogic style that blends personality and technique. For example, an effective teacher will know, for each child, when to intervene in the learning process. This skill requires the teacher to have detailed knowledge of each student's learning competency and it requires the teacher to be an active decisions-maker. In particular, to make decisions as to when and how to intervene. Effective teaching seems to require even more than this. Some

level of

commitment and enthusiasm is necessary as is a capacity to get pleasure from one's personal learning and from the learning achievements of others.

Teacher education

Despite sustained interest in the quality of teaching the effectiveness of different models of teacher education has yet to be established (Tisher, 1987; Tisher et al., 1990). One might ask whether this is the Sander's null hypothesis revisited. There is no unanimity on broad design parameters such as the role and balance of professional study and experience versus academic discipline study. In a study of professional versus discipline-oriented teacher preparation for physical education teachers Paese (1986) found no overall difference in teaching effectiveness between the two groups. Interns in the profession-oriented course who had been involved in at least two field experiences were no more effective than the discipline-oriented group who were involved in their first field experience.

Even the quality and quantity of pedagogic knowledge needed by the elementary teacher is problematic. Just how significant the pedagogical knowledge is, what is included in it, and what its distinctive methods of proof might be is a matter of some contention. The disciplines and the professions are based on various combinations of knowing that, knowing how, and knowing why. The three kinds of knowing may not be fully developed in every teacher but every teacher must have access to all three to meet the threshold criterion for effective teaching. A teacher without a good understanding of them cannot be considered to be an educator. Teachers also need to distinguish knowing and doing (Gitlin & Smyth, 1990). The same argument can be made about most of the pedagogic content of teacher education and it is partly this applied component that distinguishes professional programs from academic programs. It has proven difficult to construct a definitive body of pedagogic knowledge that uniquely identifies teaching, although a renowned scholar in the field argues that there are pedagogical ways of knowing (Schulman, 1991). Stones

(1989), however, is rather more optimistic and is inclined to the view that there is a body of practical pedagogic knowledge based on educational psychology. Most of our pedagogical knowledge about teaching is derivative and/or would be characteristic of purposeful behaviour in many kinds of groups.

It is common for teachers educators to argue that the practicum is central to any program of teacher education, and there is a significant literature asserting why this should be so.

Turney et al. (1985) for example, suggest that the practicum is so important that there ought to be a comprehensive practicum curriculum combining classroom experience with community experience. These views are based on the assumption that the development of technical teaching competence is an essential part of a teacher education program. It is certainly the case that many students share this assumption. The students' emphasis on practical competence is not surprising because classroom teaching is the most obvious and practical part of the act of teaching and learning. However, as Logan, (1987) points out there is little evidence associating professional learning with experience in a school. In his opinion at least, locating the study and practice of teacher education within a broad theoretical framework such as experiential learning may be more productive than concentrating on the practicum. Northfield's (1989) paper illustrates the point that whatever potential the practicum has got it is seldom achieved. Academic staff seem to be divided in their commitment to the practicum. Although many academic staff have had a teaching background it does not mean that views about the practicum can be correlated with whether or not one has been a teacher. Those who support the centrality of the practicum argue that:

- i it brings together theory and practice
- ii it is a direct and relevant source of experience for immediate and later reflection
- iii it is motivating for the student
- iv the students bring new ideas to the school and hence the

practicum is a major source of in-service teacher development for the schools
v it provides the student with personal experience of the realities of classroom life
vi teaching is a practical activity that requires real knowledge about real children and real families
vii it has considerable public relations value for the university
viii it illustrates social inequality and inequity

If the practicum also includes community experience it is argued that this experience gives students a better understanding of how community resources can be used in the service of the school and that it helps the student to develop skill in arranging and conducting public and private consultative meetings, organising informal education activities, and developing a perspective of education as a life-long process (Dobson et al., 1981).

Many school teachers also support the centrality of the practicum because:

i they believe that teaching hasn't got much to do with formal theories and models
ii they are often sceptical about the practical competence of teacher educators (whether or not they have been teachers)
iii the changes that researchers have had implemented in schools have sometimes had limited success and hence academic staff are suspect
iv some, perhaps many, of them fail to understand that a theory is not a reflection of reality as much as an abstraction from it.

Most students also have a strong commitment to the practicum because:

i they tend to value the practical knowledge of the classroom teacher above the theoretical knowledge of the academic
ii they have difficulty in reconciling competing theories
iii it is action-oriented and is seen as a real world activity
iv they have a degree of autonomy in the classroom that they may not experience in the university

v they are seldom required to manipulate complex ideas

There is some truth in all of these views but the question is not really an either/or one as much as it is a matter of balance. Are these beliefs and assertions necessary and sufficient to justify a key role for the practicum?

There are theories about almost every facet of schooling and teaching-learning. Some of them are macro theories that postulate relationships between societal structures such as schooling and the labour market. Others deal with human interactions such as the teacher in the classroom and some deal with individual behaviours such as Piaget's genetic epistemology. But just what is a theory? This is not an easy question theory means different things in different disciplines (Barrow & Woods, 1990). It is certainly more than a simple description of past events. It might be a description of possible relationships. To count as a theory however any statement must postulate some non-trivial relationship, it must implicitly or explicitly account for the role of the observer and it must have some predictive power. When weighed against these criteria theories about schooling and teaching-learning tend to be adequate on the relationship criterion, somewhat less adequate on the matter of the role of the observer and highly variable in their predictive power. This doesn't mean that the process of theorising is not valuable or that we shouldn't teach our students about these theories. What it does mean is that we need to teach our students how to assess the usefulness of a theory. A theory that fails once or twice in practical situations is seen by students as having limited, if any, value. It is probably for this reason that the instructional decision-making of teachers is rarely, if ever, influenced by what they learnt in their undergraduate teacher education program (Goldstein, 1988; Sardo-Brown, 1990).

It is quite true that many of our theories are of low predictive power. This does not worry academic staff unduly because it is our business to develop, manipulate and discard theories and we do so as a normal part of our work. This does not seem to be the

case with students who often want to know the right theory to use. Our theories of human behaviour do not have the elegance, simplicity or specificity that are needed if they are to be applied, on the run, to practical situations. It is simply misleading to imply to students that most classroom teaching is theory-driven. We teach these theories because they represent our current thinking, not because they are known to work in all, or even most, teaching-learning situations.

Course design

The three kinds of knowing are the basis for the design of teacher education programs and they are indicative of the kind of person that might make an effective and efficient educator. There are many, many ways in which the forms of knowing can be realised in an undergraduate course. These range from concurrent courses with or without some form of internship to graduate-entry programs (Marsh, 1987; Irvin, 1990). The attraction of this latter option is that one could have some confidence in the intellectual achievement of the students. Teacher educators favour longer courses and undoubtedly a further year of study will help with the accumulation of content and this is desirable. But unless content accumulation is accompanied by significant, and qualitatively different, intellectual development the extra year is not justified.

Would school children be better served by teachers who have degree-level understanding and competence in, say, two curriculum areas than by the current generalist teachers who may not have completed a discipline major in an undergraduate degree? It is not an easy matter to determine and it very much depends on one's stance of the balance between nurture (care and concern for the individual) and nourishment (cognitive, physical and aesthetic development). There are many teachers who are committed to the primacy of social development and there are probably many teachers who emphasise the teaching of cognitive content. Both are necessary but the balance between them has a direct effect on the

competencies required of teachers. A person whose education is based on a discipline or substantive area of knowledge or creativity will know the criteria for considering something to be a fact or hypothesis in that discipline and will know why something is the case. In Victoria the elementary school teacher is seen as a generalist teacher competent in all curriculum areas. It is argued that elementary teachers should teach children and not subjects. Undoubtedly there is wisdom in this cliché; it serves as a reminder of the focus of teaching. The evidence, at least in Victoria, is that this notion of the generalist teacher has not been fully realized. The Victorian Ministry has tried various ways to support the generalist teacher. For example, it has long been the practice to have specialist teachers in music and in physical education. A system of school consultants was also implemented particularly for mathematics and language. The success of these initiatives has been varied but their existence suggests that the notion of the generalist teacher is far from a "pure" concept. The extensive use of specialist and consultant teachers is an indication that teachers do not equal confidence and competence across all the curriculum areas. If confidence and competence are a function of level of discipline knowledge then increasing discipline knowledge ought to increase confidence and competence. Clearly it would be unreasonable to expect this to occur in all areas but it might be achievable in say two or three curriculum areas. One alternative is to examine the consequences of conceptualising the teacher as a person who contributes specialist expertise to a teaching team; something akin to the "lead" teacher proposed by Berry and Ginsberg (1990) or the "advanced skills" teacher introduced in Victoria. Unlike the Victorian innovation the changes proposed in this paper emphasise advanced intellect rather than advanced skills.

Conclusion

Teacher-knowledge is a crucial determinant of student learning. It is not a sufficient condition for effective teaching but a balance of text and pedagogic knowledge is a necessary precondition. In the current climate of decreased demand for teachers and

of increased demand for higher education we have an opportunity to be more selective about those that we admit to initial teacher education programs. A teacher cannot be a repository of all human knowledge and achievement. However, a teacher who has not mastered any area of human intellectual or creative endeavour will not be able to understand the implications of facts, hypotheses or speculations in any other area.

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