Constructing Teachers’ Professional Identities

Philippa Cordingley, Bart Crisp, Paige Johns, Thomas Perry, Carol Campbell, Miranda Bell and Megan Bradbury

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Foreword from David Edwards

This new research on teachers’ professional identities is ground breaking in its focus on teachers’ professional standing and what really matters to them. It is clear from the study that teachers put the wellbeing of students and their learning at the centre of their practice and above all else, including their own careers. They also see their ongoing self-development and professional learning as the single most important influence on their professional identity. From the study it becomes apparent that teachers are most interested in student progress, not in a narrow way focussing only on student success in formal exams, but in a holistic way attending to the overall quality of students’ learning experiences. They do this in the face of many challenges.

Education systems are very diverse when it comes to their approaches to enabling a teacher led system. A teacher led system has to include teacher unions at the centre of decision making on teacher policy. This is happening to varying degrees. Teacher supply continues to be a considerable issue which is heavily influenced by teacher status, high levels of participation in continuous professional learning and development, good opportunities to progress within the profession and competitive salaries that are appropriate to the nature of the work. Teacher status is consistently influenced by teachers’ working conditions.

The analysis of the seven jurisdictions contained in this study shows that teacher status is closely linked to the performance of the whole system. When the former increases, the latter does so too.
An education system is only as good as its teachers and their well-being. This should be a stark reminder to policy makers that looking after teachers’ working conditions and the public’s perception of them is not just good for the profession but is essential for a high-quality public education system.

The twenty-first century is well under way, and the challenges ahead increase with the growing complexity that we are witnessing unfold. The main takeaway from this new study is that the complexity of today’s educational environment can only be understood when the perspective of teachers is taken into account. Teachers care about their students the most and want to continue to learn how best to do this throughout their careers. All education systems need to take note of this and make sure it happens.

In solidarity,

David Edwards
General Secretary
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Introduction

Education International (EI) is the world’s largest federation of unions, representing 32.5 million teachers and education workers, with 401 affiliates operating in 174 jurisdictions and territories across the globe. EI maintains that states’ primary responsibility should be the provision of free quality education to all and must ensure the protection of labour rights of, and decent working conditions for, teachers’ and education support personnel (ESP).

EI commissioned this project with the aim of examining how teachers’ professional identities are constructed in seven contrasting education systems. CUREE, in partnership with EI, identified jurisdictions where local studies might reveal broader patterns in the way different education systems operate to construct teachers’ professional identities. The jurisdictions - Berlin, Chile, Kenya, Ontario, Scotland, Singapore and Sweden - were selected to achieve an economic and geographical balance and a range of contexts in relation to educational performance and teacher supply and working conditions.

The study was designed to focus the research on the goals of Education International. It was shaped by an interpretive literature review to enable the identification and definitions of key concepts and a series of research questions and sub questions.

Key findings from this review highlighted a number of complex and overlapping factors, which coalesce into four broad issues and processes that are key to the construction of teachers’ professional identities:
Individual and contextual factors, within which teachers adopt, adapt and integrate professional characteristics to their working contexts in unique ways. The professional behaviours underpinning such adaptation and integration are embodied in expectations that teachers will think and behave professionally, by

- adopting professional characteristics, knowledge and attitudes, that are prescribed nationally, regionally and at school level and integrating these into their practice; and

- developing a personal professional pathway through these expectations and the demands of their roles.

Involvement in a constantly evolving, ongoing process of interpretation and re-interpretation of experiences (e.g. Day 1999).

The integration of a number of sub-identities flowing from different working contexts and professional relationships (and their implications for collective efficacy). These important professional contexts often include networks, partnerships and collaborative activities within and across schools, communities and across the system.

Agency, which requires teachers to be active in the process of developing professional knowledge and skills so that individual and collaborative learning is realised through the activity of the learner (Coldron & Smith 1999) and, in turn, to individual and collective efficacy.

These factors were translated into detailed sub questions and minor refinements to e’s overarching research questions. The questions are set out in full in appendix B. Broadly, they explore how teachers in the different case education systems believe they conceptualise and operation-alise their individual identities and collective identities at various levels, and how these factors compare across the different systems and the broader evidence base about quality in teacher learning and teacher professionalism.

The research project took a mixed-methods approach to identifying the key features of the way different jurisdictions and the teaching personnel within them construct teachers’ professional identities. To achieve this the project draws on views of over 4,500 teachers and policy makers across the seven case education systems.
Through both the teacher surveys and semi-structured interviews, the research gives an overview both of what the policies say and the views 'on the ground'. The project also explores over 100 relevant policy and professional development documents, alongside existing research materials. A full description of the methods and methodology appears in section 3 of this report.

Here we provide a short introductory summary to set the findings in context. They were based on interviews, surveys, international focus groups, illustrative case studies and extensive, locally validated documentary analysis. It should be noted that we originally set out to work with a different country in South America but significant reforms and political change made it necessary for that country to withdraw.

Colleagues in Chile very kindly stepped into the breach but had a shorter timescale for participating and were, as a result, able to provide significantly less evidence. In particular the sample size for the survey was too small to be used for thematic comparisons. So Chile features less prominently than other countries in the comparative analysis.

We worked in ways that enabled participation by local stakeholders. For example, the key building blocks for the construction of teachers’ professional identities and the characteristics of the experiences, perceptions and practices of teachers in each jurisdiction were identified and encapsulated in poster summaries of documentary analyses. The posters and the survey data were then synthesised into Highlight Reports for each jurisdiction which, together with the posters, could be readily checked with and used by unions and the government officials who had supported the research in each jurisdiction to review current practices and identify ways forward. The posters and highlight reports can be found in appendices D and E respectively. In the main report jurisdiction portraits provided an introductory narrative to, and overview of, the posters and Highlight Reports which can be found in sections 2a-g.
In the concluding phase of the research, data for each jurisdiction were synthesised against the research questions to identify additional patterns arising from them. This report sets out the findings from this cross-jurisdiction comparison.

Identities at all levels are necessarily context and culturally specific, as are education systems. So, unsurprisingly our research reveals significant variations between jurisdictions and, in some cases, problems in identifying any patterns between key factors. For example, the decisions that teachers are able to make in different systems varies significantly across the seven in relation to many factors including the size of the system, its broad historical and cultural values and its democratic approach to centralisation/decentralisation.

There are few areas where there are patterns in the data about teacher decision making that do not relate to these aspects of the local education policy ecology. Teaching on the other hand is a distinctive profession with a number of core characteristics. The analysis of approaches to continuous professional development highlights, for example the near universality of pedagogy as its core focus; the exceptions are in jurisdictions where the focus has moved on, for example, to teacher leadership as the means through which developments in pedagogy and the curriculum are realised, as is the case in the teacher leadership programme in Ontario.
The effects of the PISA rankings also seem to be generating increasing similarities across jurisdictions in relation to new directions of travel. For example, there were aspirations to develop an increasingly teacher-led system in all the jurisdictions we studied, although this meant different things in different jurisdictions as the example of disparity in the decisions teachers are able to make shows.

Finally, we identify a number of areas where different variables interact in interesting ways. For example, there seem to be strong and relatively linear links between teacher pay and working conditions and system performance as figure 1, which is described in more detail in the full report, illustrates. Higher performing jurisdictions such as Singapore and Ontario tend to have high levels of perceived status and working conditions. Whereas, Scotland and Chile both have lower reported system performance and perceived teacher status and working conditions. The variables we have explored in detail within the report and more specifically within the graphics were selected on the basis of significant patterns emerging from the data in response to our questions. Those questions were rooted in both the research literature and the project specification. The final factor deciding the areas for exploration was the identification of those which emerged as being prominent and shared aspects of jurisdiction policies from the initial poster summaries of the local documentation.
The exploration of identities set out in this report is concerned with the intersection between what it means to teach and be a teacher and national/state education policies and actions. It focuses on tease out those patterns which can be acted upon in positive ways by unions and those who lead education in different jurisdictions, and some of the key factors that may be helpful in informing such actions. Our concluding section sets out recommendations based on these findings.
Literature Review

This review of reviews aims to develop evidence-informed definitions of teacher identity, aligning the research with the wider literature. It also identifies key variables to be explored and tested against jurisdiction summaries and case studies.

What is teacher identity?

Teacher identity is a complex and changing concept, which varies across individuals and cultures. Despite this complexity, researchers have identified several aspects of teacher identity which have wide applicability when investigating teacher identities.

Teacher identity is held to be a dynamic process, constantly evolving over time (Beauchamp & Thomas 2009). Beauchamp and Thomas also cite Sachs (2005) in their review, who helps us understand the concept of identity as an ‘ongoing process’ through the lens of experience, which bestows a more practical aspect when unions or others seek to influence those experiences:

“Teacher professional identity then stands at the core of the teaching profession. It provides a framework for teachers to construct their own ideas of ‘how to be’, ‘how to act’ and ‘how to understand’ their work and their place in society. Importantly, teacher identity is not something that is fixed nor is it imposed; rather it is negotiated through experience and the sense that is made of that experience.”

(Sachs, 2005, p. 15)

Moreover, as Akkerman and Meijer (2011) explain:

“‘Being someone who teaches’, or ‘teacher identity’, cannot be seen as an end point, but instead should be defined as an ongoing process of negotiating and interrelating multiple I-positions in such a way that a more or less coherent and consistent sense of self is maintained throughout various participations and self-investments in one’s (working) life.”

(Akkerman & Meijer 2011, pp.317–318)
One key aspect of this and other conceptions of teacher identity is the idea of multiple competing and complementary identities. Consistent with the view of Michel Foucault, Sachs (2001) describes teachers as inhabiting “multiple professional identities”.

They explain that, for example, a primary teacher’s identities may include a general category of primary teacher, but that this identity will encompass further identities related to the age of their students, the subject(s) they teach and whether they have a specialism, responsibility or role, such as being a teacher of pupils with special educational needs or a subject-leader. Within these multiple sub and overarching identities there may be one or more that is ‘more or less central to the overall identity’ and identities ‘must be balanced to avoid conflict between them’ (Beauchamp & Thomas 2009, p.177).

Another aspect of teacher identity identified in the literature is the importance of context. It is the interaction between individuals and their professional and cultural contexts which leads to the ongoing development of their identities (Beauchamp & Thomas 2009). As Beauchamp and Thomas note, teachers will adopt professional characteristics from their context in unique ways.

**Agency and teacher identity**

Researchers have examined the common concepts and components of teachers’ identities. ‘Wellbeing’, ‘self-efficacy’ and ‘resilience’ are all terms commonly found in the literature. There is also evidence from the reviews we consulted of direct correlation between these facets of teacher identity and student achievement and progress.

Given the overlaps in the concepts of wellbeing, self-efficacy and resilience (although the notion of teacher resilience is more controversial, see below), for the purposes of this project we have used the term ‘agency’, both active and effective, to incorporate all of these qualities in our definition of teacher identity.

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1 See full reference list below
In a study of research on teacher professional identity, Beijaard et al. (2004), while noting the absence of a definition in many studies, argue that professional identity comprises the notion of agency, or the active pursuit of professional development and learning in accordance with a teacher’s goals.

Coldron & Smith (1999) also highlight the importance of a ‘sense of individual agency’, with teachers being active in the process of developing professional knowledge and skills so that individual and collaborative learning is realised. Beijaard et al. (2004) define agency rather narrowly as ‘the active pursuit of professional development and learning in accordance with a teacher’s goals’. However, given the incorporation of wellbeing, self-efficacy and resilience, the project has expanded the concept of agency to include distributed leadership, effectiveness in relation to student learning and the ability to influence the school curriculum and organisation.

The PISA findings in relation to autonomy will also be explored at the level of the system as well as the school. Benton (2014) challenged the PISA 2009 findings that school performance tends to be highest where autonomy is combined with accountability, once he had examined the data separately for public and private schools. However, PISA 2012 expanded this finding to suggest that schools with more autonomy over curricula and assessments tend to perform better than schools with less autonomy when they are part of school systems with more accountability arrangements and/or greater teacher-principal collaboration in school management practice. This latter is an important variable and one which will be explored in relation to the degree of autonomy experienced and or perceived by teachers at school level.

In their 2014 analysis of TALIS, Burns and Darling-Hammond cite research which shows that teachers tend to feel better prepared and more efficacious when they have had higher quality preparation and induction, and that feelings of self-efficacy are related to teachers’ measured effectiveness in promoting student learning gains. They found that:
"Perhaps the strongest set of findings in TALIS were those associated with teacher collaboration, which appeared as an important element of learning, influence on practice, and influence on job satisfaction and self-efficacy, which are in turn related to teacher retention and effectiveness. More than any other policy area, actions that support collaborative learning among teachers appear to hold promise for improving the quality of teaching and the long-term commitment of teachers... Teachers were significantly more likely to indicate the existence of a collaborative school culture in jurisdictions where they also reported that staff had opportunities to participate in decision-making, suggesting a positive association between distributed leadership and a collaborative school climate."

(Burns & Darling-Hammond 2014, p.v, 17)

Bangs and Frost (2012, p.10) cite two different perspectives linking teacher efficacy and wellbeing. One (Leithwood 2006) ‘argues that the way teachers feel affects their motivation to do a good job. The study identified the importance of ‘internal states’ that may shape the extent to which teachers are committed, enthusiastic and willing to perform’.

Another, Bascia (2010) ‘argues that the link between teacher satisfaction and their effectiveness is more interesting than feelings and motivation; she argues that it is about ways in which the nature of teachers’ working conditions shape conditions for student learning. Perhaps the most significant way in which this link is manifest is in the extent to which the teachers’ working environment, in terms of the organisational context and the nature of the professional culture, enable teachers to develop positive belief in their own efficacy.’ One other element of teacher identity that has been examined in relation to teacher well-being is resilience.

Although, Margolis et al. (2014) argue that the recent “hyperfocus” on resilience within international teacher education research and practice is detrimental to both individual teachers and the teaching profession as a whole. They contend that the concept of resilience may be dangerous because ‘it now excessively frames teacher professionalism as the ability to remain in one’s job’; accepts adversity as the ‘new normal’ of teaching’ and ‘frequently masquerades as a set of coping mechanisms to promote teacher well-being, when it primarily benefits educational institutions at the expense of the individual teacher, leading to unsustainable professional circumstances.’
Collaboration, professionalism and collective identity

Teachers’ sphere of operations extends beyond their own subjects and roles so the project will examine how teacher identities shape and are shaped by the system and society in which they operate. This includes consideration of school climate which, according to Dou et al (2016), is effective if it has three dimensions: formal collaboration, decision-making participation and innovation. Similarly, studies such as Boonen et al. (2013) find that school collective efficacy, faculty trust and an academic emphasis are linked to student achievement and to each other, in a construct they call school ‘academic optimism’. This highlights the importance of seeing aspects of teacher identity such as efficacy with both individual and collective characteristics.

In many school systems, teacher networks extend out from single schools to link, for example, with external experts and to engage in collaborative projects and professional development activities (see National College for School Leadership (NCSL) 2006; Cordingley & Bell 2012), including, more recently, networks founded through emerging social networking technologies, rather than geography or organisation (Luehmann & Tinelli 2008; Chapman & Hadfield 2010). Such links are likely to form part of the context which frames teachers’ collective identities in relation to groups of schools, their local area and the system at large.

There are also important links at system and social level. For example, one of the most “surprising” findings from TALIS was that, on average, less than a third of teachers (31%) indicated that the teaching profession is valued in their society (Burns & Darling-Hammond 2014, p.11). Societal value placed on teaching was not only positively correlated with student achievement on PISA but is also related to the amount of time teachers have for collaboration.
Summary

The research will explore the nature of teachers’ experiences in different jurisdictions and teacher perceptions of those experiences. We will investigate teacher identity, shaped by several key findings arising from this literature review:

- **Teacher Identity is constantly evolving in an ongoing process of interpretation and re-interpretation of experiences (e.g. Day 1999).**

- **Teacher identity is formed through integrating a number of sub-identities flowing from different working contexts and professional relationships (and their implications for collective efficacy). Professional contexts often extend to include networks, partnerships and collaborative activities within and across schools, communities and across the system.**

- **It is dependent on both person and context, with teachers adopting and adapting professional characteristics from their context in unique ways. Teachers are expected to think and behave professionally, by**
  - adopting professional characteristics, knowledge and attitudes, that are prescribed nationally, regionally and at school level and
  - developing a personal professional pathway through these expectations and the demands of their roles.

- **There are important links between teacher identity and agency, which requires teachers to be active in the process of developing professional knowledge and skills so that individual and collaborative learning is realised through the activity of the learner (Coldron & Smith 1999). Agency is linked with individual and collective efficacy as well as teacher wellbeing.**
Key Concepts

A glossary of frequently used acronyms, with their definitions, can be found in Appendix A. Below we define the concepts that feature within the report.

**Continuous Professional Development (CPD):** The sustained support offered to teachers to develop their skills, knowledge and experience, beyond their initial teacher training.

**Continuous Professional Learning and Development (CPLD):** The processes and activities teachers undertake as they participate in and respond to CPD.

**Subject-specific CPD:** Programmes and activities focused on updating and enhancing teachers’ understanding of their own subject areas and how to teach them or on how to develop a teacher’s ability in a subject in which they are less confident but may be expected to teach. This includes CPD with an exclusive focus on specific areas of subject content and teachers’ subject or pedagogic content knowledge, as well as the development of teaching and learning in ways that are contextualised for specific subjects.

**School leader:** This term incorporates any colleague who holds a leadership position within a school.

**Collaboration:** This refers to shared development, learning and/or support between at least two colleagues on a sustained basis.

**Centralisation:** This refers to a tendency to hold authority and decision-making powers at the centre of the governance of the education system. When decision-making is kept at the top level, the organisation is centralised; when it is delegated to lower organisations e.g. local authorities, it is decentralised.

**Agency:** The way a person acts to produce a particular, intentional result. Teacher agency in the context of this report is directly linked with arrangements for distributing leadership, and the ability to influence the school curriculum and organisation.

**Autonomy:** The extent of control available to and exerted by an actor over their professional decisions and choices. For example, the extent of monetary control afforded to teachers in leadership positions over the spending of the school budget.

**Professionalism:** Expected behaviours amongst colleagues qualified to practice
as teachers and employed to do so that express and operationalise the values espoused by the (in this case teaching) profession. Often associated with the taking of holistic responsibility for the full range of duties demanded by the role as opposed to an orientation to limit responsibility to those prescribed by written rules.

**Values:** Core beliefs and assumptions that seem to the person in question to be self-evidently important or self-justifying. For teachers these are the assumptions and beliefs that drive them towards upholding particular professional practices and eschewing others.

**Leadership:** The act of making decisions and influencing others to enable things to happen across a group of stakeholders. In this report this encompasses positional and non-positional leadership:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positional leadership</th>
<th>based on authority conferred through an official position e.g. as a head of subject/department/phase, deputy or assistant head or head teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-positional leadership</td>
<td>occurring when teachers make decisions and enable things to happen across groups of stakeholders based on their expertise, experience and personal professional goals and values</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Networking:** Collaboration between multiple professionals to engage in joint projects and professional development activities in order to explore and develop practice. It makes a significant contribution to formation of a collective teacher identity in amalgamating shared experiences and grouping together to try and find linked solutions.

**Professional Standards:** A national set of regulations offering a framework of statements and requirements defining expectations of teacher practice and development. Whilst professionalism is the manner in which teachers believe that they are expected to act, standards are the official guidelines and define minimum standards expected of teachers to conform to the expected behaviours of the profession.

**Self-efficacy (individual):** The belief in one’s own capacity to make a difference.

**Self-efficacy (collective):** The belief in a shared capacity of groups of teachers or the profession as a whole to make a difference.
Structure of the report

The main purpose of this report is to explore the construction of teachers’ professional identities from seven different lenses: Berlin (Germany), Chile, Kenya, Ontario (Canada), Scotland, Singapore and Sweden. This report comprises four broad sections:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Findings – thematic: thematic analysis of the evidence from across the programme, organised around four key areas which make up the construction of teacher identity.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Teacher role and values – what activities and influences do teachers regard as most significant in shaping their professional identities?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Teacher Autonomy, Leadership and Collaboration – who and what shapes what teachers do?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Professional Learning and Development – how do teachers get better at what they do?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• System Context and Priorities – what other features of jurisdiction systems impact on what teachers do?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jurisdiction Portraits: short summaries of how teachers’ professional identity is constructed within each of the seven systems, including role and values, autonomy, CPLD and system context, highlighting what appears to work within the system and areas of development.

Methodology: the methods employed by CUREE for collecting and analysing the evidence.

Recommendations and implications: Implications of the above findings for EI and the jurisdictions involved.
Note for reader

The Teacher Identities and Professionalism study was a mixed-methods study conducted over a period of approximately two years. As such, the study has collected and analysed a range of complementary evidence over time to produce a detailed picture of the case study jurisdictions and which addresses the numerous research questions in focus.

A large proportion of the data derived from a survey of 4850 teachers. The distribution of the survey was, in each jurisdiction, based on a pragmatic consideration of the best way to maximise the representativeness and quantity of the responses. The survey windows varied, due to delays in some of the jurisdictions and the need to align the survey completion window within school term time. Survey response rates varied considerably. In some jurisdictions, where responses were high, we could be more confident that the range of teacher perspectives was represented. Where response rates were low, caution was taken to avoid over-claiming or generalisation from the results, which were triangulated against other sources of evidence within the analysis.

Given the nature of the study and its resource constraints, there are some limitations in the available evidence and the strength of the conclusions which can be reached. This is explored further both in the methodology section and throughout the report.
1. Comparative Analysis

a. System Context and Priorities

Definition

Before diving in depth into a comparative analysis of the elements which make up a teacher’s identity in our seven case study jurisdictions, we first examine the key characteristics of the systems in which they operate. In doing so, we aim to surface how teachers’ identities are shaped by system-level factors including:

- teacher supply;
- the priorities and performance of the education system;
- changing pupil populations, and the construction of teacher roles as part of this; and
- the level at which key decisions affecting teachers’ everyday practices and experiences are decided.
Governance of education

Education is governed centrally, often by one central ministry of education in five of the seven case jurisdictions explored within this report. In most of these cases education is generally consistent across each of the jurisdictions, with small variations observed within local authorities. For example, Sweden, which is relatively decentralised but is still steered at a national level. However, both the German and Canadian systems differ from this, with governance of education falling to each province or in the case of Germany ‘Länder’, which has led to educational policy differing across each of the provinces. As a consequence of this, the report focuses on specific systems within the two jurisdictions: Berlin and Ontario.

Teacher supply and associated factors

Overview of teacher supply in our seven case study systems

Within our seven case study systems, only two, Ontario and Singapore, are currently experiencing an oversupply of qualified teachers. A 2015 survey suggested that only one in five newly qualified teachers in Ontario secured a permanent position within their first year of teaching, whilst in Singapore, it is estimated that there are on average eight applicants for every one teaching position which becomes available. By contrast, in Scotland, Chile, Berlin, Sweden and Kenya, not only teacher recruitment but also teacher retention are areas for concern. This has been associated with a range of factors (as covered in more depth later in this section), of which, the attractiveness of the profession in relation to teachers’ working conditions and the level of respect they are afforded emerged as the most significant.

This is most acute in Sweden, where, according to the OECD (2015), teaching is considered a low status and unattractive profession, with only 12% of teachers who responded to CUREE’s survey reporting that teachers in Sweden are respected. This is attributed to the heavy workload, relatively low salary, limited opportunities for feedback and a lack of clarity around the working relationships between teachers and school leaders. However, there are also other factors at play, including changes to the demographics of the profession, leading to high retirement rates, and changes in school numbers. These factors are further discussed through comparisons across the seven systems below.
What are the factors which influence teacher supply in these seven systems?

In the seven case study systems, the following factors were strongly, positively linked with high levels of teacher supply:

- **Teaching being regarded as a high-status profession and valued by society** – as exemplification of this, in CUREE’s survey, 94% of practitioners agreed that education is valued in Singapore, in contrast to a TALIS survey where only 34% of Chilean teachers and 22% of Scottish teachers reported feeling valued by society.

- **High levels of participation in CPD** – this was especially prevalent in Singapore, where according to TALIS, 93% of teachers reported participating in professional development workshops or courses, compared to the TALIS average of 71%.

- **Good opportunities for progression or promotion within the profession** – for example, recent policy reviews in Kenya have highlighted that limited opportunities for promotion and budgetary constraints have led to low morale among teachers and low levels of teacher recruitment and retention.

- **Competitive salaries that are appropriate for the nature of the work** – this is the case in both Singapore and Ontario. In Singapore, teachers earn on average S$56,699 per annum, compared to a median national average wage of S$45,240 – whilst in Ontario, teachers’ salaries range from $45,000 - $95,000 (Canadian dollars) dependent on their qualifications and years of experience.

At the other end of the scale, the following factors and characteristics were frequently linked with difficulties in teacher supply as can be seen from these illustrations:

- **Poor working conditions, stemming from a high workload and long working hours** – for example in Chile, one of the jurisdictions currently struggling with teacher supply, primary and secondary teachers report working on average 1103 hours per year, significantly more than the OECD average ranging from 694 hours for lower secondary school teachers to 782 hours for primary teachers. Our survey supports this, with few Chilean teachers agreeing with the statement “Teachers work in good conditions” across the jurisdictions.

- **Financial constraints** – this formed a significant barrier in Kenya to strengthening teacher recruitment, in particular relating to the imbalance in school resources between regions (and in particular between urban and rurally situated schools) and between phases. This is also the case within the Scottish education system in which budget cuts have resulted in challenging funding climates.

- **Difficulties recruiting in certain subjects** – in Kenya, the difficulties with sustaining the teacher workforce were especially noticeable in hard-to-staff subjects such as Physics or Computer Studies, where there is a pattern of teachers moving to better paid jobs.
For some factors, however, our research has shown the relationship with teacher supply is more complex, such as the initial qualifications required for entry into the teaching profession. For example, whilst setting the bar higher for entry into the profession can reduce the supply of new teachers, this also tended to be linked with the profession being seen as having a higher status. Commonly, the relationship between the requirements for initial qualifications and under- or over-supply of teachers is interconnected with other factors which play more of a role than the entry bar itself. For example, in Berlin, teaching is a Masters profession, requiring the completion of a five-year course and eighteen months preparation. The number of students who complete their Masters is high, but close to half who pass do not go on to become NQTs, attributing their choice not to pursue a career in teaching to high stress levels and workload, thus resulting in teacher shortages.
System performance and improvement priorities

System performance, and the system-level school improvement priorities which result from perceived performance levels, play a key role in shaping teachers’ professional working contexts. Perceptions about system wide performance levels are heavily influenced by PISA scores. In Sweden, for example, declining PISA scores from 2000-2012 have shaped government policy around educational reforms, whilst in Scotland, where there has also been a recent decline in results, the system is explicitly responding to the issues identified. Germany, meanwhile, which suffered a similar decline in results some years previously, is now an above-average performer in PISA. The most recent PISA results from 2015 for our seven case countries is reproduced in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: PISA scores and rankings for science, reading and maths, 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jurisdictions</th>
<th>PISA Science Score</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>PISA Reading Score</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>PISA Maths score</th>
<th>Rank</th>
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<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>493</td>
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<td>490</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>524</td>
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<td>527</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>Singapore</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
constructing teachers’ professional identities – learning from 7 jurisdictions

NB Scotland is not given an individual rank as it is part of the United Kingdom rating, this is also the case for Ontario which is part of the Canadian rating.

**PISA scores and rankings for science, reading and maths, 2015**

System improvement priorities vary in kind, but there may be a pattern that is significant where system performance is a concern. Very often improvement priorities and frameworks tend to be specific in relation to goals, inputs and operational challenges. This was shown to be most frequent in relation to:

- **pupil outcomes**, including higher performance in specific subjects, or closing gaps between sub-groups of students such as socio-economic status gaps;

- **inputs and resourcing** – for example, increasing CPD resourcing is a priority in both Sweden and Kenya, where previously teachers would have to fund their own development, with the only government support being for unpaid study leave; and

- **operational challenges** – for example, around teacher supply or workload, as addressed in the Scottish National Improvement Framework.

Figure 3 illustrates a strong alignment between teacher supply and teachers’ perceptions of their professional status and working conditions – with higher levels in the one being reflected in higher levels of the other. The exception to this pattern is Chile, where teachers had the lowest perceived professional status and working conditions of the seven systems but had average levels of teacher supply.

This can probably be attributed to indicators of teacher status having a complicated relationship which is explored further in subsequent sections.
Where educational progress is less of a concern, by contrast, there is room for system priorities to develop more holistically, such as in Ontario, where the priorities of the education system are expressed as: Achieving Excellence, Ensuring Equity, Promoting Wellbeing and Enhancing Public Confidence. In Singapore there has been significant long-term investment in the teaching profession in relation to professional development, teacher recognition and pay, which has been attributed as key to its high performance. As a result, Singapore currently spends approximately 20% of its annual budget on education, compared to, for example, 11% in the UK. Education funds in Ontario are similarly long-term and CPD orientated.

As noted earlier in this section, there is a link between teachers’ perceived status and working conditions, and teacher supply. As seen in Figure 4, the same link can be observed when measuring teachers’ perceptions of status and working conditions against system performance. Higher performing jurisdictions such as Singapore and Ontario tend to have high levels of perceived status and working condition. Whereas, Scotland and Chile both have lower reported system performance and perceived teacher status and working conditions.
Figure 4: System performance measured against teacher status and working conditions

Pupil population and its influence on education systems

In viewing teacher identity and the education systems in which teachers operate in context, changes in the total population of the jurisdiction, and as a result, student populations, are influencing teachers and schools in some jurisdictions. In both Berlin and Sweden immigration is a significant factor in this. The arrival of a large number of refugees has presented schools in Berlin with challenges around integration, leading to structural reforms to accommodate for the large groups of non-German speakers. $3m in emergency aid has been provided for VHS (Volkshochschule) language courses, reinforcements in school psychology and social services, and cultural and sports offers. The Berlin system is also making active efforts to recruit higher numbers of teachers of migrant heritage and encouraging schools to work towards gaining an ‘inclusive status’, with funding rewards, by working to accommodate SEND and bilingual pupils. Sweden is another jurisdiction becoming increasingly culturally diverse. However, in contrast to the investment in Berlin, survey respondents did not feel that they had been given support to step into a quasi-parental or ‘mentor’ role; something they had not hitherto regarded as part of their professional identity.
Support for integration is also an important priority in Chile, this time in relation to socio-economic segregation. Chile's historical, predominantly flat, per-student public subsidy or school voucher-based system is thought to have led to an increase in schools selecting students from more socio-economically affluent backgrounds. The inclusion law, passed in 2017, outlawed this selective practice as a first move in combating socio-economic segregation.

Increasing school enrolment can equally create pressures on an education system. This is currently being experienced in Kenya, where the introduction of free primary and secondary education in 2003 and 2008 respectively has led to skyrocketing enrolment levels, thus placing further burdens on an under-resourced system.

**System centralisation**

The extent to which decision-making is centralised and decentralised is self-evidently an important factor in the extent to which teachers experience decision making and autonomy as core to their professional identities, so much so that we have analysed evidence about this as a theme in its own right in the next section of this report.

b. **Teacher Autonomy, Leadership and Collaboration**

**Definition**

For the purposes of this report, we have defined teacher autonomy as the extent of control available to and exerted by a teacher/classroom practitioner over important/significant elements of their teaching practice and career development. This includes elements such as the degree of monetary control afforded to teachers in leadership positions with regards to spending school budgets, lesson content, timing and focus of promotions, salary issues, and access to continuous professional learning and development.

In this section, we explore a number of key elements of how decision-making is centralised/distributed in each of the seven education systems, in relation to:
System centralisation and decentralisation

There is considerable variation across the seven case study systems as to where the locus of decision-making and funding is located. This ranges from:

- Singapore, where the education system is designed to be centrally-led – 53% of funding is allocated by the national authority, compared to an OECD average of 23.1%, and 27.6% is allocated by teachers and principals; to

- Sweden, where, by contrast, 76.2% of education funding is allocated by teachers and principals, and only 0.4% by a national authority. There is a long tradition of teamwork in Swedish schools, and Sweden’s decentralised steering of the school systems affords opportunities for teachers to take the lead on initiatives and practices in their school, including in relation to curriculum and assessment. However, there is a question about the extent to which reducing the degree of responsibility centralised systems have for strands of education actually leads to increased leadership and autonomy for individual teachers. This is still very much a live question in need of further and more detailed research including in Sweden.
A jurisdiction-by-jurisdiction breakdown of these statistics can be seen in Figure 5 below.

**Figure 5: School Autonomy Index, PISA 2015**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jurisdiction</th>
<th>% of resources allocated by Principal + teachers</th>
<th>% of resources allocated by School board</th>
<th>% of resources allocated by Local/regional authority</th>
<th>% of resources allocated by National Authority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OECD Average</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>76.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK (inclusive of Scotland)</td>
<td>59.9</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**School Autonomy Index, PISA 2015**

- % of resources allocated by Principal + teachers
- % of resources allocated by School board
- % of resources allocated by Local/regional authority
- % of resources allocated by National Authority
Aspiration for a teacher led system

The aspiration for a teacher- or school-led system is common to all of the case study jurisdictions.

This is notable in Scotland, where the government explicitly aspires to create a “genuinely school- and teacher-led system which is centred on the child” – built in through structures such as the Curriculum for Excellence, which is designed to provide support and structure to teachers whilst allowing them the flexibility to design local curricula.

In spite of this, the level of centralisation or de-centralisation in the design of a system is not always fully aligned with how teachers perceive this on the ground. Scottish teachers reported higher levels of control over how they teach in their classrooms and student welfare, yet when it came to the direction of policies and decisions at national-, local- or even school-level, teachers were far more equivocal about their influence. Another obvious indicator that education systems are genuinely teacher-led would be that teachers felt they and their colleagues had a significant voice in national policy making. Across the seven jurisdictions, relatively few teachers felt they could meaningfully affect national policy, despite often feeling high levels of autonomy in their own classrooms. For example:

- Teachers in Chile did not seem to feel at all connected with educational policy in their jurisdiction, particularly regarding their pay and how they were assessed. These were also rated as areas where teachers felt they had lower levels of control in Kenya, with the recently introduced performance appraisal system having met with resistance from trade unions due to perceptions of it being “disciplinary”.

- In Berlin, teachers’ views of leadership were largely limited to their direct teaching and teachers participating in the survey did not seem to want actively to pursue leadership roles at a local or national level.

- Many teachers reported feeling alienated about decision-making in Ontario too, believing themselves to have very little input into what happens in education and around the curriculum in particular.
So broadly, teachers’ views about autonomy and their contributions to policy making seem not to be fully aligned with national commitments to a teacher led system. This may be because national policies have yet to feed through into teachers’ experiences. A commitment to a teacher led system was certainly a relatively recent change of direction in many, though not all, of these jurisdictions. There is some evidence in this study to suggest that this may also arise because policy makers equate a commitment to a teacher-led system with decentralised policy making which is operationalised through delegation to school leaders and/or local trusts or boards - who may or may not then involve teachers in local policy making.

**Where are decisions about what teachers do made?**

We also explored teacher autonomy through the lens of the decisions that teachers are able to make in different systems. This varies significantly across the seven systems explored in this project, in relation to many factors. These include the size of the system and its broad historical and cultural values in relation to democracy and centralisation/decentralisation. There are few areas where there are patterns in the data that do not relate to these aspects of the local education policy ecology.

The authors wondered whether an historical analysis of questions such as “how far can and do teachers’ initial teacher education and continuous professional development reinforce or move beyond existing national cultural values about the role of elected governments or democracies in education policy?” - a question which lies beyond the scope of this research. But we were able to identify two broad patterns in relation to how much trust is placed in teachers and teaching in particular pertaining to decision making possibilities open to them in relation to the curriculum.

**Trust in teachers and teaching**

The cross-case jurisdiction analysis pointed to a common picture of delegating substantial authority to schools and to the profession, to enable local judgements about the types of activities that they should be creating for pupils and about adding their voice to discussions about broader educational decision-making in
their jurisdiction. However, while there was a discernible common core of in-principle trust in teachers it was not universal, and the researchers observed a number of variations in the fine details of how this trust was operationalised, communicated and embedded in systems, especially when moving beyond the classroom and school levels. The systems analysed in this research can thus be broadly placed on a spectrum, ranging from those which place control over lesson content with teachers in all areas at one end, to those which seek to shape teachers’ decisions around a detailed central framework or plan at the other.

Figure 6 illustrates an alignment between autonomy over teaching approaches and curriculum content – with high levels in one generally being reflected in higher levels in the other. This relationship is not entirely linear in comparison to other relationships explored. In the case of Kenya, although autonomy over teaching approaches appear to be at a ‘system level’, decision-making relating to curriculum content appear to be average in comparison to the seven systems. The opposite trend is demonstrated in Ontario, which appears to be system led in relation to autonomy over curriculum content.

Figure 6: Decision-making relating to teaching approaches in the context of decision-making relating to curriculum content
As can be seen in Figure 6 above, teachers in Sweden are reported to have a high degree of autonomy; the highest in all our case jurisdictions in relation to curriculum. National education goals in **Sweden** are set and evaluated by the Ministry of Education and Research, but decisions about how best to achieve these goals are made at the municipal and school levels. This is supported by an explicit commitment among policy-makers to “Trust In Teachers”. Teachers in Sweden who responded to our survey felt that they had the most control, relative to those in other systems, over how they teach, the schemes of learning they use in their class, the content of the subjects they teach, and how their students are assessed.

**Singapore** represents, in some respects at least, the other extreme. It is a small, centrally planned system where decision-making is strategic, long term and encompasses all the key building blocks of the education system including teacher recruitment, training, career pathways, the curriculum, and longer-term goals for the education system’s contribution to national success and well-being. So individual teacher decision-making is focussed on how to implement centralised policies. But the career structure involves progress along three complementary pathways – classroom teaching, organisational leadership, and technical specialisms around areas such as assessment for learning and curriculum design. Leaders from each pathway are specialists who are both able and asked to make contributions to policies as they are developed. In this context the profession has a respected voice in the setting of policy.

**Ontario** is another jurisdiction where education system planning operates to long term time horizons where all policy stakeholders may feel their capacity to influence decision making is attenuated by time, if nothing else. Teachers in Ontario do not believe that they have a great deal of autonomy in general. But the survey suggests that they do believe they have been given sufficient freedoms within school, especially in how they wished to teach. Fifty percent of teachers agreed or strongly agreed that their school allowed them to make decisions as educators about the content of the lessons they taught. Teachers also felt they had opportunities to lead and were encouraged to do so in the context of a range of national development projects but were less sure about their control over the direction of the school and their own dealings with local school boards.
In Berlin, the picture is more complex. Respondents to our survey largely believed that they had a great deal of autonomy over how they taught and assessed students, as well as having control of how they pursued their own professional development and learning. However, increased levels of government engagement with schools in the aftermath of a mediocre PISA performance in 2000 led to the creation of the National Conference of the Ministers for Education (KMK), whose goal was to provide coordinated support and direction for school improvement across Germany. This has been noted by teachers, as more than 50% believed that they had little to no control over national and classroom learning schemes, their own assessment, or management of their working conditions.

Large scale policy changes, especially those responding to OECD PISA data, have generated significant policy churn in the rest of our case jurisdictions which makes the picture in relation to the locus of decision making complex and transitional. As part of its response to concern about performance in PISA tests, the Scottish government now aspires to create a “genuinely school- and teacher-led system which is centred on the child” and is committed to shifting more responsibilities from local authorities to schools. So, decisions about teachers are made increasingly in schools, generally by leaders with some kind of current or past teaching responsibility. This certainly creates greater opportunities for incorporating a degree of deference to teaching expertise into decision-making. But, as we have seen, school led decision-making does not yet equate in teachers’ minds to increased teacher autonomy or decision-making.

In Kenya, the majority of teachers who responded to our survey felt there were opportunities for them to be involved with shaping the policies and direction of their school – 94% of teachers said they were given leadership responsibilities in their school, 77% felt they had a significant influence on the direction their school was taking, and 91% had taken the lead on new activities and practices within their school. However, only 39% of respondents felt that there were opportunities for them to contribute to decisions about education in Kenya as a whole.

Education in Chile is highly decentralised, with many decisions about education made at a municipality or school-owner level. The many private schools within the system have full autonomy. 69% of teachers believed they mostly decided how they taught. A new national framework is being developed in order to try to bring in local authority control, to allow for the Ministry of Education to forge
greater connections between schools. While teachers reported relative autonomy on new teaching activities and practices within the school, decisions about the overall school and wider educational direction were seen to be out of reach.

**Decision freedom around the curriculum**

The curriculum is a particularly important area for decision-making for teachers. It is a place where they can express and operationalise both their love of learning and that of their subjects. Few of our respondents had difficulties with the existence of national curricula. Their interest was more in having the power to make decisions about how to bring it to life for their students. Increased decision-making which leads to a greater sense of autonomy for teachers does seem to be connected, though not in a linear fashion, with the extent to which the national curriculum is prescriptive.

In Sweden, teachers are required to work within the confines of the National Curriculum for compulsory schooling. Local planning seeks to give practical expression to national goals, and thanks to Sweden’s decentralised schools model, the choice of tools and methods used to achieve this are left to schools to determine.

In Singapore, the National Curriculum is in place for all schools to follow, but it too is designed sparingly to enable schools and teachers to shape how it is accessed, encouraging teachers to be active leaders of and guides to learning.

The Scottish Curriculum for Excellence is also now intended to be less prescriptive than previous curricular models and is designed to give teachers control of curriculum realisation and implementation; providing structure and support while allowing for the flexibility to design local curricula. And for some teachers this is effective. But for almost half of the participants in our surveys, the extent to which this design intent translates to an effect which is felt by teachers is open to question. Only 47% of teachers in Scotland reported having the opportunity to make decisions for themselves about the schemes of learning they used in class. Education in Chile is highly decentralised. The curriculum for state schools is set by the Ministry for Education, but decisions about the organisation of instruction, programmes of study, and learning resources are being made by schools or school owners (within the basic framework set by the ministry).
In our survey for example, 84% of teachers believed they had control over schemes of learning used in their classrooms.

By contrast the Ontario Ministry of Education oversees all aspects of the public education system in the province, and teachers are given a standardised Ontario curriculum. Teachers in Ontario participating in this survey did not believe they had a great deal of autonomy about their own appraisal and the curriculum.

**How much control do teachers have over their careers and career progression?**

In terms of teachers’ degree of autonomy in relation to career progression the picture is somewhat polarised. The systems divide into two rough categories – those whose teachers believe they have a significant amount of control, and those where the picture is more complex, but generally teachers see fewer rather than more opportunities for taking control of their career pathway.

At the positive end, Kenya saw the highest proportion of respondents agreeing that they have control over their career progression, with 68% of respondents stating that they have either a substantial amount or effectively complete control over their career progression. English-speaking Ontario teachers were the second most likely group to agree that they have control over their career progression (55% agreeing most or complete control). However, French-speaking teachers in Ontario were substantially less likely to agree that they had significant control over their career progression (34% agreeing most or complete control), although this is still a relatively high proportion by comparison to some of the other systems in this analysis.

In Scotland too, a relatively high proportion of respondents agreed that they had control over their career progression (45%), but this still suggests that the majority did not feel they had a large amount of control. The picture is similar in Chile, with around one third of respondents agreeing they had a lot of control – in terms of this research, this puts Chile in the middle - but in absolute terms still indicates that most teachers do not feel empowered to take control of their career development and progression.
For the remaining systems, the picture is complicated, but in general teachers feel career progression is within their control, despite a number of cases in which career progression is constrained. For example:

In Sweden, the tendency for flat organisational structures muddies the picture somewhat, but in absolute terms only 14% of respondents agreed that they have lots of control over their career progression. In Berlin, respondents reported having ample opportunities in their school, but only 36% believed they could access leadership programmes to improve their career profile, only 13% believed they had a large amount of control over their career progression, and 81% of respondents did not feel that collective action through union power had given them extra opportunities for career progression.

Perhaps the most distinctive picture in this area is Singapore – on the one hand, the Singapore system is arguably the best set up to empower teachers to take charge of their own development. The existence of the three track progression structure, in which teachers can choose to focus on teaching, leadership or senior specialisation (and to choose a sub-specialism within that such as curriculum design or testing and measurement), more or less at will, and the fact that each step in each of these tracks is parallel to the others and equivalent in terms of pay and prestige, ought to be a powerful lever for according teachers control of their career progression. But Singaporean teachers were the least likely group in our research to agree that they had substantial control over their development, with only 10% of teachers responding to our survey agreeing they had much control over it. For example, it may be that the more control teachers have over their own development, the more they can see the value of such self-determination. But our evidence doesn’t help us to work out why. More detailed and focused research is required to unpick why this may occur. One avenue which may shed some light on this intriguing dichotomy emerges when considering the distinctions which may exist in teachers’ minds between making choices over what responsibilities they acquire and making choices over what their daily workload entails.
How are teachers seen and represented in the public eye?

While the system level orientation to the role of unions in constructing teacher identity has a significant impact on teacher autonomy, the patterns within our seven research systems are radically different, so it is hard to discern patterns across them. Furthermore, in some jurisdictions the role of unions is very focused on basic aspects of teachers’ identities, such as pay, conditions, survival and professional relationships. So, this section can only really provide a high-level map or description of contours system by system.

In Berlin, teachers had mixed views about the importance of collaboration through teacher unions in supporting professional and leadership development. But whilst 86% of teachers believed that unions were important in giving them a way of expressing their collective views in this arena, 81% also contended that such collaboration and engagement had not in fact given them extra opportunities in, for example, career progression.

In Ontario, there were mixed views on the importance of gaining relevant experience through union collaboration, with 30% disagreeing that it provided opportunities, and 31% believing that it did provide help. In Chile, the current state of affairs is potentially illustrated by the survey, in which one third of (the very small number of) teachers who responded suggested that they were not part of any professional network.

In Sweden, a number of elements are interesting in relation to questions about teachers’ professional representation and profile. First, 66% of teachers and 71% of school leaders surveyed felt that teaching unions are important for them in allowing teachers to express their view. However, only 27% said that being a member of a union had given them opportunities for teacher leadership, and 26% said it had given them opportunities for CPLD. It is also worth noting that teachers in Sweden do not enjoy a high degree of respect or prestige in the eyes of the general public. One explanation for this suggested by a few respondents is the limited number of opportunities for appraisal and feedback, which, they suggest risks positioning teachers as part of a profession which is not organised structurally around high quality job performance in the Swedish context. The lack of clarity around relationships between teachers and principals, because of the relatively flat organisational structure, was also identified as a potential constrainer of leadership opportunities for teachers.
In Kenya, there are several indicators that participation in the teachers’ union has an important role in developing their sense of autonomy. For example, 58% of teachers who responded to our survey said they had taken part in activities as part of a teaching union, such as the KNUT, and 52% had taken part in activities through other non-professional bodies. 77% of survey respondents also said they felt unions were important in enabling them to express their views, and 58% said being part of a union had given them leadership opportunities they would not otherwise have had.

**How good, and how organised, is teacher leadership?**

The factors affecting how well access to leadership opportunities is organised break down into three broad groups: whether systems are organised for teacher leadership through career pathways and/or specific training programmes; whether there are systemic issues which get in the way such as administrative overload, over-burdened workloads, teacher evaluation or assessment, and the role of specific development projects in creating opportunities for teacher leadership.

**Teacher perceptions about the extent to which they have leadership opportunities**

Looking across the seven systems on the basis of the availability and visibility of leadership opportunities for classroom practitioners, we can observe a rough spectrum running from systems with a comparatively high degree of organisation to a comparatively low one. The systems are organised in this section on this basis, starting with the greatest degree of systematisation of leadership development and ending with the lowest level of systematisation.

This range is shown below in Figure 7:
Figure 7: Teacher leadership and the extent to which it features as part of the teaching role.

To what extent does leadership feature as part of the teaching role? (where 1=strongly disagree and 5=strongly agree)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher Leadership</th>
<th>Ontario (English)</th>
<th>Ontario (French)</th>
<th>Singapore</th>
<th>Berlin</th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Kenya</th>
<th>Chile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am given leadership responsibilities within my school</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>3.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a significant influence in the direction the school is taking</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have taken the lead on new teaching activities &amp; practices within our school</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>3.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have taken the lead on new teaching activities and practices at a local level</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>2.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have taken the lead on new teaching activities and practices at a national/international level</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of my teacher leadership is through my official teaching position (for example, as a subject coordinator)</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of my teacher leadership happens outside of the specifications of my official role</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>3.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Sweden, 69% of teachers say they are given leadership responsibilities in their school, and 60% reported having taken the lead on new practices in their school, compared to 77% and 89% of school leaders respectively. About half of the teachers who responded to the survey agreed that most of their teacher leadership was through their official role, compared to only 22% who said their leadership activities fell outside the specifications of their role.

In Singapore, school leaders who responded to our survey felt that they had higher levels of control over how they and their colleagues were assessed in comparison to teachers. 58% of teachers and 80% of school leaders report having taken the lead on new activities and practices in their school; 28% and 57% having taken the lead at a local level; and 17% and 24% at a national level. However, only 26% of teachers felt they had a significant influence in the direction their school is taking, compared to more than three quarters of leaders.

In Chile, as it stands, our illustrative, rather small survey suggests that teachers see themselves with extensive leadership abilities within their own school but regard educational leadership on a wider level as lacking, with only 28% of teachers believing that they had a say in the overall direction of the school and only 10.5% that they had any form of say on practice at a national or international level, suggesting a disconnect between teachers and the teaching authorities. Indeed, in 2013, more than 20% of school leadership positions remained vacant.

In Scotland, 54% of classroom teachers and 89% of school leaders (not including head teachers) surveyed said they were given leadership responsibilities in their school, and 59% of leaders felt they had a significant influence on the direction their school is taking. However, only 21% of teachers reported having taken the lead on new teaching activities or practices at a local level (although this was slightly higher for school leaders at 52%), and only 7% of teachers and 17% of school leaders reported having taken the lead at national level. On the whole, teachers and school leaders both felt more of their leadership activities fell under their official role – in particular for head teachers, of whom 92% agreed with this whilst only 24% felt most of their leadership came from outside the specifications of their role.
In Ontario, teachers agreed that pursuing positions in leadership was largely down to themselves; 68% of teachers across Ontario believed that they were responsible for their own pathway to advancement. This view is broadly consistent across both French (62.5%) and English (69%) speaking teachers.

Factors inhibiting the facilitation of teacher leadership vary significantly, and the issues which have emerged in our research encompass the risk of distraction from administration, relative control over assessment, and design of career pathways. For example, in Sweden, principals report facing a challenging workload which limits their ability to prioritise pedagogical leadership. This workload involves large amounts of administrative duties and school management (especially compared to responses from Swedish teachers) – 78% of leaders report general administrative duties as a major/substantial part of their role, compared to 60% of teachers.

**Whether systems are organised for teacher leadership through career pathways and/or specific training programmes**

In Sweden, there have been a number of opportunities for teacher leadership in recent years. In the context of declining PISA scores from 2000-2012, a consensus-based approach to school improvement has been taken through a schools’ commission of teachers, researchers and representatives from unions and organisational bodies who were tasked with making proposals for a systematic approach to system improvement.

In Singapore, through the three career tracks, teachers have broader opportunities to move into leadership roles than is the case in other jurisdictions. For example, through the Senior Specialist Track, teachers have the opportunity to get involved with part- or full-time curriculum development, at school levels or at levels all the way up to national curricular. Alternately, through the Leadership Track, teachers have opportunities to take on roles as school, district, regional or national leaders in the education system. In addition, officials at all levels will themselves have been serving teachers.

The Ontario Ministry of Education aims to provide opportunities for collaborative learning and improving teaching leadership. In 2007, the Teacher Learning and Leadership Plan (TLLP) was launched to support teachers who wished to advance their professional development and to improve their leadership abilities in order to attempt to facilitate knowledge exchange.
In Chile, as education is largely decentralised, school leadership is traditionally more administrative than pedagogical in practice, playing a very limited role in teacher evaluation. As a further result of decentralisation, leadership has predominantly been developed through in-school training (learning through experience) rather than professional development. In order to improve skills and competencies in leadership, curriculum management and management of the school environment and of resources, in 2005 the Good School Leadership Framework was introduced. Furthermore, the Ley de Calidad y Equidad de la Educacion, introduced in 2011, means that school principals are now selected through examination, paid a larger salary, given more autonomy over teaching decisions, and are given more information about the possibility of financial development.

In Kenya, school principals report struggling to get beyond a compliance role, and only recently having access to training, so teacher leadership exists in a relative vacuum.

**Whether there are systematic issues which inhibit teacher autonomy**

In Ontario, Singapore and Scotland more teachers feel they work in good conditions than feel they have a good work life balance. In Berlin, and to a lesser extent Chile, more teachers feel they have a good work life balance than work in good conditions. In Sweden and Kenya the differences between the two are marginal. The lowest combined rating for these positives occurs in Sweden and
There are a few specific examples of interference in teacher leadership development from factors such as administrative overload, over-heavy workloads, and the need to oversee teacher evaluation and assessment across the participating jurisdictions.

In Sweden, school principals have reported that their challenging workloads limit their ability to prioritise pedagogical leadership and cause stress and an unhealthy work-life balance. Principals are also required to devote large amounts of their time to administration. Of the small number of school leaders who responded to our survey, 78% and 44% respectively described general administrative duties and participating in school management as a major or substantial part of their role, compared to 60% and 22% of teachers. None of the SLs who responded to our survey felt they worked in good conditions or were able to have a good work-life balance; this was also low for teachers, at 12% and 7%.

In Kenya, the lack of any training in leadership being available on a systematic basis until very recently, and the need to focus on survival and compliance, have had a similar impact.
Role of specific development projects in creating opportunities for teacher leadership

We have observed a number of examples of teacher leadership development conducted through specific, deliberate projects or initiatives.

In Scotland, this has been conducted through structures and initiatives for teachers such as the Tapestry ‘Great Teaching – Great Learning’ Programme, which focuses on developing “leaders of learning” through master-classes, support sessions and the establishment and support of School Learning Communities. The belief that teaching is centred in the classroom can be seen in Berlin through views about teacher leadership. Both school leaders (92% with limited or no involvement) and teachers (95.75% with limited or no involvement) suggested that they had not taken the lead on new teaching activities at either a local or an international level.

Leaders in some systems have reported through our surveys being presented with considerable, frequent opportunities for taking the lead on developmental activities (52% of leaders in Scotland, 80% of leaders in Singapore, and 89% of leaders in Sweden.) However, the information on other systems is limited, so it is hard to gauge if this is part of a consistent broader trend or a set of outliers.

C. Teacher Role and Values

Overview

For this section, we focus on teachers’ day-to-day roles in our seven jurisdictions, the values they operationalise in performing these roles, and the crucial contribution of values to teachers’ conceptions of their professional identities. We examine this in relation to:

- the comparative status of teachers and of education in our seven-case study jurisdictions;
- the key characteristics and contours of teachers’ roles; and
- how system-level professional standards (where these are in place), along with the performance characteristics valued by individual teachers, map onto how teachers realise their role.
The status of education and educators

Our seven case study systems offered a mixed picture with regards to the relative status of education. This ranges from 60% of teachers surveyed in Singapore who felt that ‘Education is valued in my country’, to only 4% of teachers in Sweden. In Chile only 5% of surveyed teachers felt that ‘Education is valued in my country’. There was a similarly wide range in the extent to which teachers felt that they were respected, ranging from 50% of teachers in Singapore who agreed with this statement to only 9% of teachers in Chile.

Status versus working conditions

One way in which we sought to understand the impact of status on teachers’ day-to-day roles was to compare the metrics of teacher status (responses to survey questions about whether teachers feel education is valued and teaching is respected in their jurisdictions) to how teachers felt about their working conditions (including their work-life balance and the salary they receive for the job they do).

Comparing these two composite measures, as represented in Figure 9, revealed that in six out of the eight systems (where the English and French Ontarian systems are separated), more teachers felt that education was respected and valued in their country than felt that they worked in good conditions – demonstrating that high levels of respect were not sufficient to guarantee good working conditions.
Status versus system performance

Figure 10, on the other hand, illustrates strong alignment between teachers’ perceptions of their professional status and the performance of the system they are operating in – with higher levels in the one being reflected in higher levels for the other. Concepts such as status are culturally specific and relate to both how the profession in general is esteemed and to historical appreciation of the value of education. But the broad coherence in the responses is nonetheless striking.

The exception to this pattern is Kenya, where the system performance was judged to be the lowest of the seven systems, but where more teachers felt they were respected and worked in good conditions than in Chile, Scotland or Sweden. This can probably be attributed to the high levels of decentralisation and variance (for example, between urban and rural schools) present in Kenya, compared to the comparatively more homogenous systems in Scotland and Sweden.

Figure 10: Teacher status and working conditions measured against system performance

Characteristics of teachers’ day-to-day role

As part of the CUREE’s International Teacher Professional Identity Survey, teachers from across the seven case study systems were asked to reflect on which of the activities and tasks they completed as part of their job represented the most significant part of their role. This revealed that:

Unsurprisingly, in four out of the seven systems, independent teaching in the classroom (as distinct from collaborative or team-teaching) was rated as the most substantial element of being a teacher, with more than 70% of teachers in Ontario, Berlin, Sweden and Scotland rating this as a major part of their role.

Rather more surprisingly, within the other three systems, there was significant variation – with Chilean teachers rating student welfare as the major part of their role, compared to day-to-day assessment of students’ work in Singapore and lesson planning in Kenya.

By contrast, the activity which teachers in all but one system felt was the least significant part of their role was contributing to the development of curricula or shared learning materials at local and national levels (this question was not addressed to teachers in Ontario). This attitude was especially prevalent in Berlin, where 89% did not feel this was part of their role at all (differs for in school development3). Kenyan teachers, by exception, rated contributions to the curriculum at roughly the same level as their contributions to all other forms of activity. There, the teachers identified interactions and activities as part of teaching unions as the least significant element of their role. But the difference between categories was marginal. It is also important to note that the sample was much smaller in Kenya and the teachers participating did so in the midst of a flurry of government led reforms.

Figure 11 below lists the activities which teachers were asked to rate and provides the weighted average for the extent to which they felt this represented a major part of their role (where a score of 1 represents a small part of their role, and a score of 4 represents a major part of their role). From this, we can see that:

There is a general pattern across the seven jurisdictions of independent teaching in the classroom, lesson planning, assessing students’ work and student welfare being rated as more significant aspects of a teachers’ day-to-day role – and contributing to the curriculum development, at school, local and national levels as being less significant.

Day-to-day assessment of students’ work was rated as playing a more significant role than more formal forms of assessment, although only very slightly in most systems – with the exceptions of Scotland, Singapore and Sweden, where this difference was a little larger.

Teachers also rated taking part in collaborative learning as a more major part of their role than participating in formal taught CPD, with the difference between the two being highest in Sweden.

Participating in activities through a teaching union was a medium-low significance activity for teachers in all systems, but was lowest of all in Scotland, with a weighted average of only 1.59.

Whilst curriculum development was rated as less significant in all systems, in the considerably less centralised system of Kenya, teachers felt this played significantly more of a role in their day-to-day activities than in other systems (for example, giving a weighted average of 3 for national and international curriculum development, compared to an average of 1.14 for Berlin at the other end of the scale).

Figure 11: Activities completed as a teacher and the extent to which teachers regard them as a major part of their role
Teacher working patterns and workload

According to TALIS, the average number of working hours for a teacher is 47 hours per week – divided between in-class working time (which came to an average of 19 hours) and out-of-class working time (with an average of 28 hours). Of our seven case study systems, three reported above average overall working hours, and five reported above average in-class working hours. Singapore was the system most distinct from the TALIS norm, as the only jurisdiction where teachers were spending a below average amount of time on classroom teaching (17 hours) but spending well above the average amount of time (39 hours) on out-of-class activities, resulting in the highest number of total working hours across the seven, at 56 hours per week, of which 5 hours are spent completing administrative work (above TALIS average). By contrast, teachers from the other systems all reported spending less than the average amount of time on out-of-class activities (with the exception of Kenya, where no time is officially allocated to teacher work outside of lessons), and all except Sweden (which was in line with the TALIS average) were spending above the average amount of time on in-class teaching.

Figure 12 below maps teachers’ working hours in the seven systems against the extent to which teachers felt they were able to achieve a good work-life balance. It is difficult to trace any clear pattern between the two, suggesting that this is something which is inexorably coloured by the context teachers are operating in (e.g. the comparative work-life balance in other professions), limiting the extent to which clear comparisons can be made.
When asked to rate what the most important influences were on their professional identities, teachers in six out of the seven systems (where the Ontarian English and French systems are defined separately) responded that their ongoing self-development and professional learning was the single most important influence. This is closely linked to well-established, widely accepted system-level professional standards for teachers across a number of the systems⁴ – such as the National Improvement Framework in Scotland, with its focus on building a “highly professional, skilled workforce who can exploit the potential of the new curriculum”.

For teachers in Berlin and French language teachers in Ontario, collaboration with other teachers in their own or nearby schools was rated as a more significant influence. In Ontario, it is likely that this links with the emphasis on collaboration built in to the TLLP and in the Ontario College of Teachers’

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professional standards. In Berlin, this appears to be consistent with the nature of the CPD provision such as regional conferences, school-based workshops and working groups - and with the emphasis on peer collaboration by the Berlin Senate, the Education Association and the Education and Science Union.

With regards to what teachers felt was their least important influence, there was more of a mixed picture, with the range encompassing:

- teachers in Ontario, Kenya and Chile, who felt that online blogs, networks and social media had played the least significant role in shaping their skills and attitudes;

- teachers in Singapore, Sweden and Scotland, who rated collaboration with other teachers internationally as the least important, implying less of a push on international collaboration at a system level due to priorities in other areas; and

- teachers in Berlin who rated research accessed on the teaching union website as their least important influence, with 37% of teachers surveyed saying that this was “not at all important”.

Figure 13 below shows the full range from across the systems.

**Figure 13: Teacher influences and how important teachers felt these were in shaping their professional identity**
Which of their own characteristics do teachers most value?

When asked what they felt was their most important aim as a teacher, the most popular responses from surveyed teachers were:

- Promoting student interest and enjoyment in education, in Ontario, Scotland and Chile; and
- Educating students to be good citizens in Singapore, Berlin and Kenya. For Kenya in particular, this aligns with the current policy reforms which aim to ensure students are leaving schools equipped with the skills they need to live and work in the twenty-first century, and able to co-exist as a responsible citizen in the jurisdiction.
- In Sweden, meanwhile, communicating subject knowledge to students was reported as the most important teaching aim, aligning with a system-level focus on fostering knowledge.

Across all seven systems, ensuring student success in formal examinations was felt to be the least important teaching aim, although in Kenya, in the context of extensive reforms designed to stimulate system improvement, 25% of teachers did regard this to be “of highest importance”.

A similar variation was present in what teachers regarded as the most important characteristic in being a good teacher, with:

- Teachers in Ontario, Singapore and Scotland most valuing their ability to build positive working relationships with students and colleagues;
- Teachers in Sweden and Kenya regarding having good subject knowledge as their most important characteristic;
- Teachers from Berlin rating most highly good behaviour management skills; and
- Teachers in Chile most valuing the practice of being reflective in your own teaching practice.

At the other end of the scale, the characteristics which teachers felt were least important in being a good teacher were contributing to the ongoing and wider development of the teaching community (in Ontario, Berlin, Scotland and Kenya), professional qualifications (in Singapore and Chile) and organisational and administrative skills (in Sweden).
d. Professional Development and Learning

Definition

For the purposes of this report, we have defined continuous professional development (CPD) as the sustained support offered to teachers to develop their skills, knowledge and experiences, beyond their initial teacher training (ITT); and continuous professional development and learning (CPLD) as the processes and activities which teachers undertake as they participate in and respond to CPD. In this section, we compare the experiences of teachers from across the seven jurisdictions in relation to CPLD, and the impact this has on their professional identities, in relation to:

- the extent to which CPD is an area of focus for education policymakers, and the impact this has on teacher participation;
- within this, what the CPLD priorities are for different jurisdictions;
- the links made between performance appraisal, career progression and CPLD; and
- the common characteristics of CPLD provision and process.

To what extent is CPLD a specific concern of education policymakers?

Within our seven case study jurisdictions, the extent to which teacher CPLD is centrally led and resourced ranged from the embedded and well-resourced practice in Singapore, Ontario and Berlin to lower levels of centralisation and resourcing in Scotland and Sweden. For both Chile and Kenya, the picture is more complex, with both systems currently in the process of national reforms to their education policies around CPLD, although what is clear is that teacher perceptions in these jurisdictions were not always reflective of the policy environment.
In CUREE's International Teacher Professional Identity Survey, an average of only 14% of teachers in both jurisdictions reported that they got to do as much CPLD as they would like to\(^5\). This suggests that whilst the demand for development is high, it is not yet being replicated in its provision.

The explicit focus by policymakers on teacher development is especially prevalent in Singapore, where teachers receive a substantial amount of CPLD throughout their careers. This is driven by government policy, with ministerial guidelines stipulating that teachers should aim to participate in 100 hours of CPLD per year, 60% of which should be focused on developing their teaching and learning. This forms a significant contrast with Kenya, where all CPLD is required to take place in the teachers' own time. Ontario is another system whose education strategy places heavy emphasis on the importance of CPD.

The Teacher Learning and Leadership Programme (TLLP) is a prime example of this – an annual, project-based professional learning opportunity, designed to facilitate classroom teachers seeking peer leadership roles in curriculum, instructional practice or supporting other teachers. Berlin, too, provides central access to CPD resources through the state institutions such as the Institute for School and Media, the Berlin Senate, the Education Association and the Education and Science Union. Through these organisations, teachers are afforded access to regional conferences, school-based workshops, working groups and online resources.

Unlike Singapore and Ontario, however, more than half of teachers surveyed in Berlin did not feel they were given sufficient time or incentives to participate in CPD; as a result, only 39% reported participation in long-term professional development schemes. This suggests that access to resources alone is not sufficient to ensure participation in CPD; as in Singapore, both sufficient time and resources are required for teachers to be able to take up on the development opportunities they are offered. Time and resourcing are similarly a problem in Sweden. Although not a legal requirement, teachers are currently entitled to 104 working hours per year to take part in CPLD. Responsibility for CPLD is divided between the government and municipalities, with the government responsible for ensuring that in-service training is available in all parts of the jurisdiction.

while school organisers are required to ensure that their staff are adequately trained. In spite of this, only 20% of surveyed teachers reported being given time and resources for CPLD, and only 17% felt they were offered incentives to take part. In Scotland, the system and initiative for CPD is perhaps the least centralised, with the evidence suggesting that much of the drive towards increasing teacher CPD comes from teachers themselves, and that resources are not always consistently provided to support and encourage this.

**How does this affect teacher participation?**

The ways in which teachers experience and participate in centralised policy initiatives around CPLD varied greatly between the seven systems. It is possible to trace some correlation between a centralised, policy-driven focus on CPLD and the levels of teacher participation at the extreme ends of the scale, in the range between Singapore, where the vast majority of teachers surveyed said that they got to do as much CPLD as they would like to, and Sweden, where this figure was less than a third. In the middle of the scale, however, asserting this link becomes more complicated. For example, 74% of surveyed teachers in Kenya reported that they were able to do as much CPLD as they would like to (although it is worth noting that this was largely linked to pursuing specific qualifications or certifications), compared to only 44% of teachers in Ontario, despite Ontario having a much stronger policy commitment to CPLD. Similarly, in Scotland, in spite of inconsistent centralised resourcing for CPLD, nearly all surveyed teachers said that they actively sought to develop their teaching, and over three quarters reported participating in development activities on an ongoing basis. It is also important to note that the strong commitment to CPLD in Singapore is not without its problems, having given rise to an element of ‘professional development fatigue’ within the system. Other factors which play a role in influencing how and the extent to which teachers participate in CPLD are further explored later in this section.
Figure 14 below maps teachers’ participation in CPLD in the seven jurisdictions against system performance. It is difficult to trace any clear pattern between the two, however, the position of several of the jurisdictions is intriguing. Although teachers within Kenya and Chile have reported participating in the highest levels of CPLD, they also have the lowest system performance. Whilst the two highest performing jurisdictions, Singapore and Ontario, have reported average levels of CPLD participation in comparison to the others.

Figure 14: System performance and the quantity of CPLD undertaken by teachers within each of the jurisdictions
What are the priorities for CPLD and how are these experienced by teachers?

For the seven case study systems, pedagogy and pupil progress were at the forefront of their CPLD initiatives to a greater or lesser extent, and more or less explicitly in relation to policy directives. For example:

- In Singapore, the focus of CPLD at policy level is centred around five key areas: professional ethics, competence, collaboration, transformational leadership and community building. However, much of the in-school CPLD which takes place is more directly focused on pedagogic strategies and supporting pupil progress. In exemplification of this, targets for teacher progress are rooted both in process aspirations and outcomes measures, with student exam performance also being taken into account.

- In Berlin, meanwhile, the policy focus is more specifically on pedagogy and imbued with the German tradition of ‘Bildung’, which conceives the role of education as promoting students’ efforts to understand through reflective, and experiential activities, and is central to school development and curriculum design along with CPLD.

- In Kenya, the focus on pedagogy in CPLD is a relatively new development. Until recently, CPLD more commonly focused on skills development including in financial skills and digital literacy. In Scotland, too, extensive change and reform in the education system requires teachers to keep up to date and engage with professional learning. As a result of this, teachers feel that CPLD is more relevant to their needs, and hence there is an increased focus on pupil impact.

Are performance appraisal and career progression linked to CPLD?

The extent to which performance appraisal and career progression are formally linked to CPLD opportunities, including coaching, varied across the seven systems. In Singapore and Ontario, the systems where CPLD is arguably the most centralised and prioritised by education policy makers, CPLD was linked to performance review in terms of the ongoing support for needs identified as part of the review process, but was not a formal requisite for career progression (and subsequent pay progression). The performance review process in both cases is designed to foster teacher development and identify opportunities for additional support where required. By contrast in Berlin, another system with centralised CPLD resourcing, there is little to no evidence of performance related appraisal structures linked to CPLD attendance and/or certification. This may be linked to the relatively high number of teachers who believe they are not given sufficient incentives to pursue CPD by their employers.
In both Sweden and Kenya, recent reforms to the system have sought to create links between CPD and career progression. In Sweden, this link has been formalised in the creation of two new career posts for teachers who demonstrate “high quality teaching”. In spite of this, as reported by the OECD in 2015, teachers still feel there are limited opportunities for them to receive feedback on their practice. In Kenya, meanwhile, in spite of the limited support and resources for CPLD, teachers may be required to take part in particular training, mostly in pursuit of specific qualifications, before they can move into a higher role, which likely accounts for the 79% of Kenyan teachers who reported having gained additional qualifications as part of the professional development.

**What are the characteristics of CPLD provision and processes?**

**Collaboration and networking**

Collaboration and networking featured in the CPLD provision of six out of the seven jurisdictions – the exception being Chile, where the newness of the current CPLD initiative means that it is not yet clear the extent to which collaboration will play a role. In Singapore, where CPLD is nationally embedded, collaboration is built into CPD provision, including as part of the evaluation system, and through development activities such as Research Lesson Study and taking part in professional learning communities. In Berlin and Kenya, unions were reported to play a specific role in developing peer-to-peer collaboration as part of CPD. For Berlin, where the commonest forms of CPLD were regional conferences, school-based workshops, working groups and online resources, the Education and Science Union also provided online resources and the organisation of networks for peer collaboration; whilst in Kenya, 68% of teachers rated networking, typically through employer- or union-organised networks, as a major part of their role. This was the case too in Sweden. By contrast, whilst 71% of teachers in Scotland reported taking part in face-to-face networking and collaboration, the majority saw this as a relatively insignificant aspect of their professional development. On the whole, teachers in Scotland reported engaging more in individual than collaborative CPLD although there is some evidence of collaborative activity - for example the online National Improvement Hub, or the support provided for inter-authority improvement partnerships.
**A focus on evidence-based practice**

In three out of the seven systems, Scotland, Berlin and Chile, evidence-based practice was strongly emphasised by teachers. In Scotland in particular, this aligns with a strong policy emphasis on using evidence to inform practice. Nearly two thirds of Scottish teachers said they access research from academic sources, such as journals, to improve their practice and a third reported individual research on a topic of personal interest as a major or substantial part of their role.

**Designed to be sustained over time**

Few of the CPLD models and policy structures within the seven systems showed evidence of having been designed to be sustained over time, in order to support (via coaching and mentoring) meaningful changes in practice, although this is not to say that this was not taking place at the level of the practices of individual teachers, schools or organisations. In Berlin, Kenya and Sweden, most CPLD currently takes the form of workshops, seminars or conferences through which teachers access specialist expertise, where programmes do not explicitly include follow-up coaching or support to embed changes in practice. In Kenya, this is one of the most important innovations being brought in under the TSC’s current reforms, requiring teachers to cascade their learning and developing structures for CPD providers to follow in order to measure this and ensure sustainability. In Ontario, however, the nature and design of the TLLP ensures that CPLD is sustained over time. This is reflected in 70% of surveyed teachers reporting that they participated in some form of long-term scheme to develop their professional skills.

**Comparison with Developing Great Teaching**

We were not able to find much evidence about CPLD being organised in ways that create sustained opportunities for CPLD. This may simply be that the research was not sufficiently fine grained to discover this or that the considerable logistical and costs of organising and sustaining CPLD in a regular, longitudinal way are hard to manage at system level and are usually determined at school leader level. This may, however, be something that local systems should consider when developing national CPD and CPLD policies.
We did find considerable evidence of a decision to give priority to CPD centrally, and this was particularly true in the highest performing jurisdictions. With centralised support for CPLD comes a risk of over centralised provision. The particular challenge this can pose to the development of teachers’ individual and collective professional identities is the risk of developing a one size fits no one offer. Effective CPLD, according to a systematic review of systematic reviews of CPLD involve teachers and CPD facilitators aligning CPLD with specific aspirations for pupils and in doing so in ways that are differentiated for teachers’ individual starting points. Interestingly the approaches to central support for CPLD in Singapore and Ontario seem to be built around a strong model of teachers taking professional responsibility for and developing skills in managing their own professional learning. Similarly, both those systems are high performing systems so there is little risk of associating CPD with a deficit model designed to “correct poor practice”.

Finally, it is worth reiterating that effective CPLD takes time. As the experience of teachers in Berlin shows, offering courses and resources is insufficient if teachers are not given enough time to pursue them. As in Singapore, both time and resources are required for teacher participation in CPLD.
2. Jurisdiction Portraits

a. Ontario

System Context and Priorities

Each province within Canada has its own Ministry of Education, which is run by a Minister of Education appointed by an elected Prime Minister. The Ministry sets standards, determines curricula and allots funding to the state schools in their province (NCEE, 2018).

The Ontarian system unlike a number of other jurisdictions in the study is currently experiencing an oversupply of qualified teachers, with a 2015 survey suggesting that only a fifth of newly qualified teachers secured a permanent position in their first year of teaching. Teacher pay is higher than the average, with salaries ranging from $48k to $96k per year, dependent on experience and qualifications.

Ontario also has a highly diverse system, which currently has over a quarter of students attending school coming from outside of Canada. This has resulted in English, French, Punjabi, Urdu, Spanish and Arabic being the most spoken languages at home for students aged between 15-19 years old. Despite the challenges this offers, Ontario, in the context of Canadian education performance, is achieving above the national average in PISA. The teaching profession is highly regarded in Ontario, with parent satisfaction ratings of teachers at around 80%, suggesting Ontario is one of the higher performers out of the jurisdictions featured in the report. The priorities of the education system in Canada include: achieving excellence; ensuring equity; promoting wellbeing; and enhancing public confidence, all of which influence the construction of teacher identity.
Teacher Role and Values

Teachers in Ontario are estimated to spend 25 hours a week teaching and another 25 hours a week in non-teaching time, which is above the TALIS average. Only 24% of teachers believe they have a good work-life balance, 42% feel they work in good conditions and 40% believe their pay is adequate for the work they do. Although teachers spend an equivalent time on teaching and non-teaching, in CUREE’s survey independent teaching in the classroom was regarded as the substantial part of their role alongside day to day classroom activity, student welfare, lesson planning and general administration. Contribution to the curriculum was seen as a lesser part of the teacher role.

The Ontario College of Teachers (OCT) established professional standards of practice for teachers in 1997, which for the most part align with system wide priorities. These include: commitment to students and student learning; professional knowledge; professional practice; and leadership in learning communities. In relation to this, there were large levels of consensus surrounding the key values that teachers in Ontario rated as important, which align with both the professional teaching standards and jurisdiction priorities of promoting student learning and wellbeing.

When asked in CUREE’s survey the aim of teaching seen as most valuable was that of the promotion of student interest and enjoyment in education, with 54% rating it as ‘of highest importance’ and a further 36% as ‘very important’. As is the case for many of the other jurisdictions in this study, ensuring success in formal examinations was seen as of least importance. Teachers also seem to value the importance of ongoing self-development, personal professional learning and collaboration with teachers within their school; which all align with the professional standards set out by the OCT.
Teacher Autonomy, Leadership and Collaboration

In the education system in Ontario, the Ministry of Education oversees all aspects of the public education system and teachers are given a standardised Ontario school curriculum. Teachers felt they had a fair degree of autonomy and opportunities to lead within their school but were less sure about their control over the direction of the school and their influence outside of school-level. The same can be said in relation to perceived autonomy over teachers’ assessments and the curriculum, but, within the curriculum, teachers believed they were given sufficient freedoms in how they wished to teach, with 50% agreeing that it allowed them to pursue what they wished as educators.

As well as encouraging autonomy over in-class teaching, the Ministry of Education aims to provide opportunities for collaborative learning and improving teaching leadership. In 2007, the Teacher Learning and Leadership Plan (TLLP) was launched to support teachers who wished to advance their professional development, to improve their leadership abilities and to facilitate knowledge exchange. In what seems to have been a successful venture, teachers strongly believe they have a great deal of autonomy and scope to seek professional learning and development although they appear to be largely unclear regarding the efficacy of the leadership tools and opportunities provided within the training.

There were mixed responses to the notion that teachers could progress easily to higher rates of pay through professional development with just under half of teachers agreeing they had the opportunities to do so. There was a consensus suggesting that pursuing positions in leadership was largely down to teachers themselves, with 68% believing that they were responsible for their own pathway to advancement, rather than receiving relevant support.

Linking to the aims of promoting collaboration amongst schools, unions are seen as an important collaborative tool in Ontario, with 68% of teachers believing they are an important means of expressing their views to the Ministry of Education. Teachers do not feel that they are given opportunities to contribute collaboratively to decisions about education.
Professional Development and Learning

Ontario’s education strategy is very much focused on the importance of continued professional development through the introduction of the TLLP programme. The programme is designed to facilitate knowledge exchange and support teachers by creating a nurturing and welcoming environment for those seeking professional development. In order to achieve this, around 100 hours of TLLP projects are funded each year by the Ministry of Education. Similarly, the Ministry is also in the process of funding the New Teacher Induction Programme for NQTs to continue professional development through mentoring from experienced teachers.

The emphasis on professional development within the policy and frameworks is consistent with teacher participation. When surveyed 88% of teachers reported that they were actively seeking to develop their teaching practice, 87% are participating in online courses to do this and 70% said they were participating in some form of long-term scheme which is developing them as educators. In spite of this, only 44% of teachers surveyed suggested that they were able to do as much CPLD as they desired, with 36% actively suggesting that they would like to participate in more. There was also a discrepancy between teaching phases and use of CPLD with 60% of elementary teachers involved in long-term CPLD but only 49% of secondary teachers.

Analysis

Overall the Ontarian education system appears to have a key focus on encouraging the development of teacher identity through professional development whilst promoting student engagement. This can be seen through the values demonstrated by teachers who appear to be highly motivated and engaged in CPLD, with 80% either believing it to be sufficiently provided or wishing to do more. This aligns with system priorities and newly introduced schemes. In spite of this, teachers do not seem to be able to access as many CPLD resources as some would like.

Teachers have a strong belief in the importance of rewarding and curating student knowledge within the classroom and report that they have sufficient autonomy to pursue what they wish to as educators within their classroom.
Consistent with a number of other jurisdictions featured in this study, teachers often feel alienated about decision-making in Ontario, believing that they have very little input into what happens in education outside of their classroom - more specifically the curriculum.

In summary, our evidence suggests that teachers are positively engaging with efforts from the Ontario Teaching Federation to improve their own professional development, both sides recognising the importance of collaboration and development to improve.

b. Scotland

System Context and Priorities

Education policy and national frameworks for improvement are set at a national level by the Scottish Government and a number of other national agencies. However, through new reforms some autonomy is now given to the local authorities (Scottish Government, 2017).

The teaching system within Scotland is in a state of flux, with current challenges surrounding teacher recruitment and retention. In 2017 there were 730 unfilled vacancies across 27 of Scotland’s local authority areas. This is reported to be a result of poor perception of teaching in Scotland – and around the world⁶. In CUREE’s survey only 34% of surveyed teachers feel they work in good conditions, and only 22% feel they are respected. The government in Scotland is targeting career-long professional learning and teacher workload which have both been reported as needing improvement. Alongside this, key priorities within the National Improvement Framework (NIF) include: improvements in attainment, particularly in literacy and numeracy; closing the attainment gap; improvement in students’ health and well-being; and improvement in employability skills.

Despite the stated priorities, there are currently large UK-wide budget cuts, which mean Scotland is working in a challenging funding climate. This has led to issues relating to teacher pay, which is set nationally, and whilst 87% of teachers surveyed agreed that rates of pay are important for the status of the profession, only 11% felt the salary they receive is appropriate for the amount of work they do.

**Teacher Role and Values**

Teachers in Scotland have a maximum of 22.5 hours devoted to class contact time per week, which is slightly above the TALIS average. However, they are only required to take part in 13.5 hours outside of the classroom, which means they have the lowest working hours out of the seven jurisdictions in the study. Within the expected working hours, 77% of teachers surveyed reported “independent teaching in the classroom” as the activity which played the most substantial part of their teaching role. However, the in-class teaching time does not include activities such as lesson planning and day-to-day assessment of students’ work, which over half of teachers described as being a major part of their role. As a result of this 77% of teachers said they did not feel they were able to have a good work life balance.

The NIF is an assessment, evaluation and improvement framework, which focuses on reforms. It aims to ensure that Scotland has a “highly professional, skilled workforce who can exploit fully the potential of the new curriculum.” Teachers in Scotland hold strong professional values, and their ideas for education cluster around a series of principles. Teachers see promoting student interest and enjoyment in education as the most important teaching aim, followed by educating students to be good citizens. Similarly to other jurisdictions in the study, teachers value student success in examinations as their least important aim. Teachers and policy within Scotland have a consensus on ensuring student wellbeing, which is illustrated by a primary teacher - “My identity as a teacher is very much based on my personal knowledge that I am doing the best I can for every pupil.” Alongside ensuring student wellbeing, teachers in Scotland also regard their ongoing personal and professional learning as the most important influence on their professional identity and have suggested that they are strongly influenced by the wider context and collective, collaborative identity of where they teach.
Teacher Autonomy, Leadership and Collaboration

The previous Scottish government aspired to create a “genuinely school-and teacher-led system which is centred on the child” and is committed to shifting more responsibility from local authorities to schools. With this in mind, they introduced the Curriculum for Excellence (CfE), which has been described as less prescriptive than previous models and designed to give teachers control of pedagogy and implementation, providing structure and support while allowing for the flexibility to design local curricula. This is especially important in the face of challenges faced by remote rural areas with small schools and composite mixed-aged classes. In spite of the aspirations, however, evidence suggests there is currently some way to go for these aims to be achieved. In CUREE’s survey teachers reported that they feel they have higher levels of autonomy over their individual teaching and professional development, but significantly less input into decisions around their pay, how they are assessed and national schemes of learning. Alongside this, 61% of teachers surveyed did not feel they were given opportunities to contribute to decisions about education as a whole in Scotland.

Through the Scottish Government policies such as the NIF, there is a large push for leadership “at all levels”, which has been identified as a key driver for improvement. As part of this the Government is currently in the process of supporting greater collaboration and leadership “from the middle”. They aim to do this through structures and initiatives for teachers such as the Tapestry ‘Great Teaching – Great Learning’ Programme, which focuses on developing “leaders of learning” through master-classes, support sessions and the establishment and support of School Learning Communities. This push for leadership within schools appears to be reflected in teachers’ experiences, with over half of classroom teachers and 89% of school leaders surveyed agreeing that they were given leadership responsibilities in their school, and a further 59% of leaders reporting that they had significant influence in the direction their school is taking. However, there seems to be a disconnect between leadership at a school-level and at a local-level. When surveyed, only 21% of teachers reported taking the lead on new activities or practices at a local level; this was slightly higher for school leaders at 52%. Only 7% of teachers and 17% of school leaders reported having taken any lead at a national level. On the whole, teachers and school leaders both feel more of their leadership activities fall within their official role. This is particularly the case for head teachers, of whom 92% agreed with this.
Professional Development and Learning

Scotland currently has many structures in place for professional learning, e.g. the General Teacher Council Scotland (GTCS) standards for Career-Long Professional Learning, which feeds a strong appetite on the part of teachers to develop their practice. In the evaluation of the implementation of Teaching Scotland’s future, teachers reported a greater focus, increased engagement and ownership of CPLD and a greater awareness of the range of opportunities. As part of the introduction of new policy documents such as, the CfE and NIF, there are a number of current priorities for professional learning at a system-level, these include:

- Collaborative learning, leadership and mobilising knowledge
- Keeping up to date – due to extensive reforms in the system
- Use of evidence to inform practice and share innovation
- Teacher professionalism – linked to key drivers for school improvement identified by NIF, such as increase in masters level professional learning

There is evidence to suggest teachers are engaging with the priorities within their professional development, for example, in CUREE’s survey 72% of teachers reported that evidence-based practice was important to them. In relation to this, 60% of teachers said they access research from academic sources to improve their practice, and 34% described individual research on a topic of personal interest as a ‘major’ or ‘substantial’ part of their role. 92% of teachers report actively seeking to develop their teaching and 76% report that they participate in development activities on an ongoing basis.

In spite of a system-level focus on embedding professional learning and creating “a culture of openness and evaluation”, on the whole, teachers reported engaging more in individual CPLD than collaborative CPLD. There is some evidence of collaborative activity taking place within the system, for example, the online National Improvement Hub was set up to mobilise knowledge in the system and there is support for inter-authority improvement partnerships on Glow – the digital learning platform. However, when asked, only a third of teachers felt that online networks were an important source of learning and only 40% took part in any online networking as part of their role. Whilst online CPLD appears not
to be a substantial part of teachers’ roles, 71% of teachers reported taking part in face-to-face networking, either formal or informal, although for the majority, this was only a small part of their role. The evidence also suggests that although there is a large government push, much of the drive towards increasing teacher CPLD comes from the teachers themselves, with resources not always being commonly provided to support and encourage this. This is evidenced in CUREE’s survey, with less than half of teachers receiving as much CPLD as they would like, and less than a quarter of teachers receiving the time, resources and incentives for CPLD. Although there is a policy focus on improving the amount and quality of teacher professional development, this is yet to be felt by teachers themselves.

### Analysis

The education system in Scotland appears to be heavily focused on improving the perception of the teaching profession due to challenges in relation to teacher recruitment and retention. There has been a focus on improving teachers’ working environment including increasing opportunities for professional development, both independently and collaboratively. Teachers report a high level of commitment and capacity to engage with professional learning and regard their ongoing personal and professional learning as the most important influence on their professional identity. Teachers also value the use of evidence as part of professional learning, including evidencing impact on pupil learning and carrying out individual research to improve their practice - which aligns with NIF priorities. Teachers also hold principled ideas around their own role as being centred around ensuring student interest and enjoyment in education, and value their ability to build positive relationships with students and peers, including in some instances as part of collaborative professional learning. In spite of the system-level focus on embedding professional learning, teachers report much of the drive towards increasing CPLD as coming from teachers themselves, with resources commonly not being regarded as readily available.

The Scottish Government aspires to create “a genuinely school-and teacher-led system which is centred on the child”, allowing a sense of autonomy as part of teachers’ professional identity. It aims to achieve this through structures such as the CfE, which is designed to provide support and structure to the teachers, while allowing the flexibility to design local curricula. Evidence however, does
suggest there is still some way for the system to go before achieving this aspiration, with many teachers feeling they have little to no control over areas which have a significant impact on their professional identity, including their pay, how they are assessed and national schemes of learning.

In summary, evidence suggests that teachers in Scotland have a high-commitment to and capacity for professionalism, and consensus building is a key feature of the approach to designing central policy. Both policy-makers and teachers recognise the role of teacher unions in allowing teachers to express their views.

Despite these intentions and channels for teacher voice, our data also raises questions about whether voice always translates to impact and the perceptions of teachers that they can influence education at both school – and national-level. Teachers reported high control over how they teach and promote student welfare; yet when it came to the direction being taken by national policy- and even to some extent school-level policies, teachers were far more equivocal about their influence.

C. Singapore

System Context and Priorities

In Singapore, authority is centred in the Ministry of Education (for the whole of Singapore), which is responsible for education from Kindergarten through higher education. The Ministry is accountable to the government for the outcomes of the system and controls all aspects of policy (NCEE, 2018).

The Singaporean education system has been the object of significant investment over the past 30-40 years, as teaching methodology has evolved from a previous reliance on textbook and instruction to a system that draws heavily on professional development and recognition of the importance of well treated and trained teachers. It spends a larger proportion of its budget on education than other developed nations - 20% on education compared to the 11% spent by the United Kingdom.
Consistent with the clear spending focus on education, large numbers of surveyed teachers reported that education is valued in the jurisdiction, though only around half believed that this respect was extended to the teachers themselves. Singapore has become renowned for educational success and topped the mean PISA 2015 scores for performance in Maths, Reading and Science.

Monetarily, teaching is an attractive profession with teachers earning an average of $56,699/year, compared to the overall national average of Singapore of $45,240/year. In the CUREE survey, pay was clearly seen as linked to the status of the profession by teachers but only around one third of teachers believed that pay was appropriate to the amount of work done.

Teacher Role and Values

The Ministry of Education’s vision for teachers in Singapore is of highly competent professionals who are able to work both independently and interdependently, in order to bring both resources and expertise to the classroom. The metaphor used by the ministry suggests each teacher should be a gem with face facets, being: an ethical educator, a competent professional, a collaborative learner, a transformative leader and a community builder.

This corresponds directly with what teachers in CUREE’s survey valued as important elements in the profession, with teachers and school leaders heavily valuing the importance of reflective learning and professional development. They also valued the importance of strong subject knowledge, the ability to build effective relationships and their ability to collaborate, all of which are factors that can be directly linked to the gem metaphor.

CPLD is a significant priority within Singapore, though it is seen as something that should largely be self-directed and informed by one’s own interest in the practice. Indeed, over half of those surveyed by CUREE suggested that they used evidence-based practice to try and improve their own teaching.
In terms of the official expectations of the role, TALIS suggests that teachers spend an average of 17 hours a week teaching, marginally less than the TALIS average of 19 hours a week. It is suggested also that they are expected to complete 39 hours of non-teaching time each week, much higher than the TALIS average of 28 hours. Teachers in Singapore in CUREE’s survey suggested that lesson planning and student assessment form a major part of their role.

The aim of the system is to produce students who possess deep academic subject knowledge, but also a skillset of critical thinking, persistence, adaptability and honesty. Wider than pure educational achievement, it also aims to foster creativity, recognising this as an important value.

Teacher Autonomy, Leadership and Collaboration

Regarding staffing control, all schools, unless they are independent, and their staffing appointments, fall under the direct control of the Ministry of Education. By international standards, teachers in Singapore are seemingly afforded high levels of autonomy over career progression, following a three-track path. The first path is the Teaching Track, for teachers who wish to remain in the classroom, who can advance through the levels of Senior Teacher and Lead Teacher to Master and Principal Master Teacher, and who, in addition to teaching themselves, will have opportunities to develop teaching practice in their school. The leadership track allows for the development of leadership skills for positions within both the school and the ministry. The third track, the senior specialist track, specifically develops skills in one of four areas: curriculum design, educational psychology, educational testing and research and statistics for work within the ministry headquarters. Despite this, very few teachers in CUREE’s survey felt that they had control over career progression paths in national frameworks. A similar lack of control was also reported by teachers in the survey about their rates of pay.

Teacher evaluation is controlled by the EPMS (Enhanced Performance Management System), which is a set of guidelines distributed from the ministry that are intended to be interpreted by the school, affording them some level of autonomy over the assessment process. The aim is to try and emphasise the importance of collaboration both generally and within evaluation, though teachers themselves did not report feeling high levels of control of the process.
A similar interpretive mechanism is employed in the National Curriculum - although it is centrally prescribed, it is intended to be shaped by the schools within it. Each school also usually has a school practice model for teachers to follow. The vision is that teachers and school leaders will work collectively to define how the approach for learners in their school is constructed. Correspondingly, teachers in the survey suggested that they felt they had a good degree of autonomy over how they taught. Teacher confidence in autonomy over national learning schemes did not match the government’s intended aim of it being prescribed only loosely.

Due to the small size of the jurisdiction, national and local leadership in education are designed to be teacher driven, including the three-track’s capacity to move teachers into the ministry leadership spheres. More than half of teachers and large numbers of senior leaders report having control over leadership schemes within their own schools, though smaller numbers have been involved in larger scale local or national projects.

Collaboration, in the form of union activity, is largely concerned with the issues of teacher wellness (for example, there are currently concerns of PD fatigue due to the large levels of CPLD expected), stress levels, encouraging professional growth and giving teachers autonomy. However, a smaller number of teachers than in the majority of other nations saw unions as important in giving them a professional voice and small numbers saw unions as important mechanisms in career development or useful for CPLD.

**Professional Development and Learning**

As described above, the Singaporean system puts a large degree of emphasis on CPLD, with the ministry expecting teachers to participate in 100 hours of CPLD a year, 60% of which should be focused on teacher development and learning. Teachers are given support for 40 hours of this by the school and are given agency over how they decide to allocate the time, with the other 20 hours provided by the Head of Department. CPLD takes various forms, from professional learning communities and networks, to research-led study trials. Such collaborative mechanisms are structured into the CPLD framework in Singapore, as they are seen as key to developing skills of peer and self-evaluation. A teacher’s ‘Currently Estimated Potential’ is assessed
by a panel of supervisors (including the principal, vice-principal and heads of departments), who collectively rank a group of teachers. This assessment is conducted on an annual basis, and teachers are required to take part in three review meetings with their supervisor as part of this. Teachers are also encouraged to meet with their supervisors on a regular basis to review their progress and targets, and for supervisors to offer encouragement, support and coaching.

Singapore is currently experiencing issues with PD fatigue, where the high level of participation expected in the profession around CPLD has led to some teachers lacking enthusiasm in its continuation. Within CUREE's own survey this seemed to be reflected as only 16% of teachers and 21% of Senior Leaders felt they were able to have a good work-life balance. This is an issue that Unions are attempting to address.

**Analysis**

The system has evolved to support the significant impetus given to professional development and recognition of its teachers, as is shown by the clear prioritisation of CPLD within the educational system. Likewise, the educational system is designed to be centrally framed, though teacher led and driven. This is reflected in the opportunities for teachers to shape the curriculum in their schools and in the emphasis on collaboration around teacher appraisal.

Singapore is widely regarded as a very successful and respected educational system with highly competent and professional teachers who are well trained to work both independently and collaboratively. Teacher CPLD is also very consistently invested in, which has allowed for a well-entrenched culture of professional development. Furthermore, compared to other nations, Singapore affords clear leadership opportunities both within schools and the education ministry itself.

There is some evidence that the high levels of CPLD entrenched into the system are potentially creating the problem of ‘CPLD fatigue’, which could counteract some of the heavy investment to inculcate it into Singaporean educational culture. There is also an apparent disconnect between ministry intentions and teacher perceptions. Leadership opportunities and autonomy over teachers' careers are designed to be within teachers' purview, but survey data suggests that many teachers do not seem to feel a significant degree of control in these spheres.
**d. Sweden**

**System Context and Priorities**

The education system in Sweden is quite decentralised but is still steered nationally. The Ministry of Education and Research is responsible for the government’s education, research and youth policy (OECD, 2017). The Swedish education system is one which is currently undergoing a variety of challenges, such as, system performance, teacher recruitment and population diversity.

There are currently recruitment problems within the Swedish system, due to a low take-up of teacher training courses and a large number of teachers considering retirement or a career change. OECD data in 2015 also suggested that teaching was viewed as an unattractive profession with perceptions of a heavy workload and low pay. OECD recommended increasing the attractiveness by improving the salary given to teachers.

There was also a perceived deficit within the system in terms of its ability to deal with problems of student truancy and behaviour, issues with low pupil expectations and a general feeling of complacency. In the same report the OECD recommended improving the ITE admissions process to raise standards and increasing levels of CPLD provision in order to tackle current teaching issues.

As a result of declining PISA scores between 2000 and 2012, a plan was developed to tackle this with three main priorities: improving the attractiveness of the teaching profession, early intervention to address low reading, writing and arithmetic scores and improving equality between students where results show a wide attainment gap. A further issue in Sweden is currently that of the inclusion of an increasingly diverse population, with 15% of the Swedish population born abroad according to 2013 census data. There is evidence of teachers having to step into a quasi-parental or ‘mentor’ role, providing support for issues in which they have not been trained or hitherto regarded as part of their professional role.
**Teacher Role and Values**

The key goals of the Swedish education system are to inspire in students a set of fundamental societal values to foster knowledge and value development; prepare students to live and work in society; and develop students to become creative, active, responsible and competent citizens. Teachers in the CUREE survey rated the imparting of subject knowledge and the creation of good citizens as key to their role. Also, highly valued are teachers’ ability to collaborate with members of staff, to build positive relationships and be reflective in their learning practice. Teachers suggested also that they highly valued evidence-based practice.

There is a perception, as mentioned in the OECD report earlier referenced, that teaching is not a valued profession in society, with a 2015 NAE report suggesting also that teachers do not feel they have the working conditions to carry out high quality teaching.

TALIS data suggests that the average time spent teaching in the classroom was 19 hours in Sweden, the same as the TALIS average. There was also an expectation of teachers to complete 27 hours of non-teaching time, slightly lower than the TALIS average. Independent teaching was reported as the most important aspect of their role, but assessment of student work was also afforded high importance by teachers. In spite of the importance teachers afforded assessment in the survey, the Swedish Schools Inspectorate suggested that many teachers’ assessment skills were underdeveloped. Leadership is an area which has been negatively affected by a heavy workload, with both teachers and school leaders suggesting that their workload had restricted their ability to develop pedagogical leadership.

**Teacher Autonomy, Leadership and Collaboration**

National education goals in Sweden are set and evaluated by the Ministry of Education and Research, while decisions on how to achieve these goals are left to municipal and school level. A collaborative, multi-school approach has been encouraged as one of the means to improve school performance after the poor PISA scores of 2000-2012. There is a longstanding tradition of teamwork in Swedish schools, where teachers are typically organised into small groups to organise their work and are also required to contribute to local strategies as part of a wider
collaborative strategy. As it is organised by school, about half of the teachers who responded to the survey agreed that most of their teacher leadership was through their official role, compared to only 22% who said their leadership activities fell outside the specifications of their role, suggesting that teamwork is seen as a key part of the role and is not viewed as some form of additional work.

Nearly 70% of surveyed teachers suggested that they were given leadership responsibilities within their school. Very few feel involved with the national decision-making process despite Unions being seen to form a valuable part of teacher voice within the system.

Teachers are reported to have high levels of autonomy, mixed with a long and established tradition of teamwork in order to decide upon teaching methods. 82% said they mostly decide themselves and/or with some input from colleagues on the schemes of learning they used in their class, 44% for schemes of learning used locally and 27% for schemes of learning used nationally. This would seem to confirm that teachers do collaborate on school issues, though less on regional and national teaching schemes, suggesting teamwork is quite localised.

Areas where teachers do not feel that they are given sufficient control include pay, management systems in their school and the ways in which they are assessed. Teachers negotiate salaries with principals within their school, so teacher earnings are slightly above OECD salary averages at the start, but slightly below the average at the top of the scale. A lack of consistent appraisal and feedback regarding teacher assessment has been attributed to the perceived low status of the profession within the jurisdiction. A flat organisational structure between teachers and principals has also been cited as a problem in that it has caused an unclear relationship between teachers and principals.

Teachers report that they do not feel they are presented with good enough conditions to carry out quality teaching. Leadership was identified as a key means of addressing this - by teaching leaders to be more aware of how to help members of staff and by providing conditions and support that allow them to teach to the best of their ability.
Professional Development and Learning

Inadequately resourced CPLD and a lack of structured career paths have for many years hindered CPLD in Sweden. In relation to this, according to the OECD (2015), there are also limited opportunities for teachers to receive feedback on their practice and appraisal. This is illustrated, by a study in 2013, in which one third of lower secondary school teachers reported that they had not received any feedback at all; and those who did, typically received it from their principal, who they felt was poorly equipped for the task. Two statutes have recently been added to develop teachers’ career paths. These include, ‘First Teachers’ who hold additional responsibilities and a higher salary; and ‘Senior Subject Teachers’, who must demonstrate at least four years of high-quality teaching.

Responsibility for CPLD in Sweden resides in the government and the municipalities. Governments must ensure that in-service training is available across the jurisdiction, whilst school organisers must ensure all staff are adequately trained. Though not a legal requirement, teachers within Sweden are currently entitled to 104 hours per year for CPLD during working hours. Recent CPLD provision has included: several state-supported education programmes to enhance teachers’ skills in specific areas; pilot projects to enhance teachers’ professional development in reading and writing; and ‘collaboration for better schools’. Despite this reported provision, only 32% of teachers felt they got to do as much CPLD as they would like, and 91% said they actively seek to develop their practice. In 2013, Swedish teachers reported that they needed more professional development focused on: student evaluation and assessment practices; ICT skills for teaching; and knowledge of the curriculum. However, only 17% of teachers felt they were offered incentives to participate in CPLD by their employer, and only 20% said they were given time and resources for CPLD, despite the entitlement set out by the government.

Consistent with the strong policy emphasis on collaboration, Swedish teachers regard face-to-face networking, such as meetings with other teachers or experts as a major part of their professional development. Online networking was regarded as a lesser part of their CPLD.
Analysis

Swedish teachers are committed to building on their knowledge, collectively and individually, in order to enhance and improve their practice. They regard evidence-based practice and their own subject knowledge as an important part of being a good teacher. There is also a long tradition of teamwork in Swedish schools, and Sweden’s decentralised steering of the school system offers opportunities for teachers to take the lead on initiatives and practices in their school, including around curriculum and assessment.

However, teaching is considered a low status and unattractive profession, due to the heavy workload, relatively low salaries, limited opportunities for appraisal and feedback and unclear relationships between principals and teachers – only 12% of teachers who responded to our survey felt that teachers in Sweden are respected. Added to this, many teachers believe they do not have the conditions they need to carry out good quality teaching, and improvements in leadership have been identified as key to addressing this, but principals have reported that their challenging workloads limit their ability to prioritise pedagogical leadership and causes stress and an unhealthy work-life balance.

In summary, there is currently a critical shortage of teachers in Sweden and the system is prioritising making teaching a more attractive profession by, for example, providing structure to professional development through more structured career paths. Improving the attractiveness of the profession and adequately resourcing CPLD are also part of government priorities in response to declining PISA scores and other challenges.
Berlin

System Context and Priorities

The responsibility for the education system in Germany lies primarily with the states (Länder), while the federal government plays a minor role. Optional Kindergarten (nursery school) education is provided for all children between one and six years old, after which school attendance is compulsory (OECD, 2013).

Teaching in Berlin is a masters level profession that requires the completion of a five-year course and 18 months of preparation, which has resulted in a number of challenges within the education system. Berlin is currently struggling with a teacher shortage, as seen in recent research, which revealed that nearly half of students passing their masters are choosing not to become NQTs as a result of high stress and an increased workload associated with the profession. This is illustrated in CUREE’s 2017 survey probing teacher identity, where only a quarter of teachers and school leaders reported the belief that teachers work in good conditions. A key priority within the system, therefore, is to entice new teachers into the role, which has been attempted through pay increases for primary school teachers and a new route into teaching for those previously employed in other professions.

Alongside low teacher recruitment and retention levels, there are also large numbers of refugee communities in Berlin. There have been large integration challenges within schools in Berlin, which have led to structural reforms to accommodate for large groups of non-German speakers. As well as looking to hire more teachers in general, active efforts are being made to tempt those of migrant heritage into teaching as part of a wider effort to recruit teachers who can teach ‘welcome’ classes or bilingual students to deal with the influx of non-native speakers. Likewise, there are incentives, such as ‘inclusive’ status and funding given to schools which make an effort to accommodate SEND and bilingual students.
Teacher Role and Values

The German Education system is built around the concept of Selbstbildung (‘Self Education’). The aims of education within the system are centred around an individual’s acquisition of cultural knowledge, personal growth and self-development. In accordance with this, teachers in Berlin value themselves largely on the basis of this concept, believing that educating students to be good citizens and promoting student enjoyment and interest in education are the most important aspects of their teaching role. Ensuring student success in formal assessments was believed to be the least important aspect of teaching.

In the Berlin education system teachers are currently expected to teach between 26 and 28 hours a week, with an expected 20.5 hours of out of class work, for example, marking, and lesson planning. In comparison to the TALIS average, overall, Berlin teachers are slightly above the average, in that they are expected to undertake significantly higher levels of in class teacher time compared to the other five jurisdictions in the study. The Education Union - the GEW-Berlin - is campaigning to reduce these hours. Additionally, fewer than 50% of teachers believe that their salary is appropriate for the amount of work that they do. They also view their role as heavily classroom centric, believing that the most central parts of their role are independent teaching in the classroom, and student welfare. They view out of classroom tasks as playing a much smaller part of their role. School leaders in the survey believed out of classroom activities to be marginally more important, e.g. 10% of school leaders saw national collaboration as an important task for them. They also contended that the most important aspect of the role revolved around their own school and other local schools, with 73% believing that local collaboration was at least a ‘very significant’ part of their role.

In terms of their own professional identity, teachers suggested that the most important factors shaping their teaching skills and attitudes were collaboration with other teachers in their own school or local ones. They also believed in the importance of in-school decisions in shaping this attitude, rather than the wider system. Consistent with this, teachers did not see collaboration with international, union or other professional bodies as important to their development and they are unsure about the importance of research-based evidence or online activities that looked to improve education.
Teacher Autonomy, Leadership and Collaboration

Teachers in Berlin largely believed that they had a great deal of autonomy over how they teach and assess students, as well as having control of how they pursue their own professional development. There have been significantly higher levels of government engagement with schools following the aftermath of the jurisdiction’s overall mediocre PISA performance in 2000 - but which has since risen in subsequent PISA tests after the National Conference of the Ministry for Education (KMK) was created. Their goal was to provide coordinated support and direction for school improvement across Germany, since when levels of teacher autonomy felt by teachers in Berlin has decreased significantly. In CUREE’s survey, more than half of teachers felt they had little to no control over national and classroom learning schemes, their own assessment and management of their working conditions - 96% of teachers agreed with the sentiment that they have little or no control over their own pay and 12% believed that they had little input in their own career progression.

Almost all of the school leaders and teachers in CUREE’s survey suggested they have limited or no involvement in teaching activities at either a local or an international level. Teachers seem to feel they have a fair degree of leadership within their own schools - with 55% of teachers and 82% of school leaders agreeing that they had helped leadership efforts in their school. In spite of this, teachers suggest that opportunities to progress to a leadership role are not easily accessed with only 36% of teachers agreeing they could access leadership programs that would enable them to gain higher rates of pay. This suggests that although there is a sense of autonomy at a school-level, opportunities to formalise this are rare, leading to potential discrepancies in relation to pay.

In-school collaboration is seen as an important element of the system priorities within Berlin (see system context and priorities), however teachers appear to have mixed views in relation to this; particularly in regard to the importance of collaboration in helping professional and leadership development. Whilst 86% of teachers believed that unions were important in giving them a national voice, 81% also contended that such collaboration had not given them extra opportunities for career progression.
Professional Development and Learning

Professional development within Berlin is centrally led, with access to resources being controlled by the State Institute for School and Media Berlin-Brandenburg (LISUM). CPLD can be accessed by teachers through the medium of regional conferences, school-based workshops, working groups and online resources. The Berlin Senate, the Education Association and the Education and Science Union also provide resources for professional development through online resources and the organisation of networks which encourage peer collaboration. The conferences and workshops delivered by LISUM, which aim to develop pedagogy, are described by teachers as their most significant networking activities, with 48% describing networking as a small part of their role and 29.5% as a substantial part. The role of networking appears to vary, with face-to-face networking for improvement being regarded as an essential part of the job by 24%, but online networking by only 6.5%.

Although CPLD is controlled centrally, there is a clear desire for teachers in Berlin to professionally improve, with 91% actively seeking to develop their own teaching and 80% agreeing with the importance of continuous professional development throughout their career. Whilst resources are officially provided, teachers do not appear to believe that they are provided with enough time to access the means to develop their own professional development, which they believe adds stress to an already high workload. Over half of teachers surveyed believe that they are not given sufficient incentive or time to pursue professional development by their employer. Only 39% of teachers surveyed suggested that they had partaken in long-term professional development schemes. Furthermore, in spite of union support of CPLD through the Berlin Education Association and the Education and Science Union resources, only 22% believe that being a member of a union has provided them with professional development opportunities and less than a quarter have accessed union web-based resources.
Analysis

There are a number of strengths identified within the education system in Berlin in relation to the construction of teacher identity. The values held by teachers align with those expected of the education policy e.g. Selbstbildung. Both stress the importance of educating students to be good citizens and promote enjoyment, whilst ensuring success in examinations is seen as less important. Teachers also feel they have a sense of leadership at a school-level, and that their role is influenced by school-level decisions. Teachers do believe in the importance of professional development, although only a small percentage of teachers have taken part in long-term professional development due to lack of time and resources to pursue this. Teachers’ views of leadership are largely limited to within their own school. They are not actively pursuing or perceive themselves to have a leadership role to play on a local or national level and they do not perceive that they have opportunities to move into leadership positions within their profession. The system in Berlin and Germany as a whole is facing a challenging period in attempting to adjust to new social realities amid a teacher shortage arising from a perception of high stress levels and heavy workload.

In summary, our evidence suggests that although there is a commitment from both teachers and policy-makers to ensure professional development, the demands of the education system have left teachers feeling that they do not have enough time to professionally develop. Similarly, although union voices are clearly included in policy, evidenced by the commitment to professional development resources online, many teachers seem to view their voice as only of significant relevance within their own school, not believing in the efficacy of union efforts to boost leadership potential and in their own ability to influence through leadership on a local or national scale.
Chile

**System Context and Priorities**

In Chile, governance of the education system is shared between central and local authorities. The Ministry of Education sets the central framework and policy agenda, providing schools with a high level of autonomy (OECD, 2015). The education system in Chile is currently facing a number of challenges as a result of system reform and the challenges of a socio-economically segregated climate.

The existence of privately subsidised schools, which have autonomy to select their students, has led to schools selecting students from more advantaged socio-economic backgrounds, to increase funding, attract more students and improve results. This has led to ‘unfair’ competition with public schools, which in general do not select students. In 2017, the ‘Inclusion Law’ was passed which banned selective practice in an attempt to combat the socio-economic segregation. More schools are also being brought under centralised control to ensure the education received by Chileans has a higher level of standardisation. There are also attempts being made to streamline teacher workloads to produce a more effective system and improve teacher perception, as only 34% of teachers asked in a TALIS survey suggest that they felt valued by society. These new reforms have been accompanied by a 30% increase in salary.

**Teacher Role and Values**

Chilean teachers are reported to spend 27 hours per week teaching, which is higher than the TALIS average, and second highest out of the jurisdictions featured in the report, although expected out-of-class time is significantly lower and is well below the TALIS average.

This is consistent with teacher responses in a survey conducted by CUREE, which asked teachers about their role. They reported that 73% of teaching time was spent on teaching and learning. The TALIS survey also indicated that teachers spent the least amount of time on administrative tasks. This was reflected in CUREE’s survey as teachers listed participation in school management, and participation in activities through teacher unions as least important.
Although, according to TALIS data, 95% of teachers report overall job satisfaction, due to the introduction of new methods of teacher assessment, both teachers and students are reporting high levels of stress within a culture that places a strong emphasis upon evaluation.

The Ministry of Education in Chile is the state governing body responsible for setting the framework and for guiding national policy within the jurisdiction. Educational policy is also shaped by The National Education Council (CND), and teacher and student unions including the Superintendencia de Educación Escolar (teacher union). An example of this is the Good Teacher Framework, which provides the framework of what teaching roles are expected to encompass and focuses primarily on good preparation, the creation of an effective and inclusive learning environment and the competent knowledge of professional responsibilities.

CUREE’s survey suggested that teachers hold the belief that student welfare is the most important aspect of their teaching, with most of their focus being orientated around students. Teachers’ values appear to be aligned with the frameworks in the Chilean education system, with teachers suggesting in CUREE’s survey that inspiring students to follow their interests and educating students to be good citizens are the most important aims that a teacher should hold. Success in formal examinations is seen as of least importance, in spite of current evaluation changes.

**Teacher Autonomy, Leadership and Collaboration**

Within the national frameworks, educational decision making in Chile is generally decentralised, with many decisions about education being made at a municipality or school-owner level as private schools within the system have full autonomy. There are currently moves at policy level to make some of the system centralised in order to address the socio-economic segregation challenges. The curriculum is set centrally by the Ministry of Education, with decisions regarding the organisation of instruction, programmes of study and learning resources being made at a school-level in line with centrally set frameworks. Teachers feel they have relative autonomy over new teaching activities within the school, but reported no/little control over decisions regarding the overall school and wider educational direction. In CUREE’s illustrative survey, for example, teachers
believed that they had very little control over their pay and their assessment, but 84% believed they had control over schemes of learning used in their classrooms. Only 28% of teachers believed that they had a say in the overall direction of the school and only 10.5% reported they had any form of input into teaching practice on a national level. In 2013, more than 20% of school leadership positions remained vacant.

School leaders in Chile are also traditionally more administrative than pedagogical in practice. Leadership is predominantly developed through in-school training rather than through external professional development. The Good School Leadership Framework was introduced in 2005 as a means to improve skills and competencies in leadership, curriculum management, management of the school environment and of resources. Furthermore, the Ley de Calidad y Equidad de la Educacion was introduced in 2011, which means principals are now selected through examination, paid a larger salary, given more autonomy over teaching decisions and are given more information about the possibility of financial development. In addition to this, the Plan de Formacion de Directores de Excelencia (The Director Training Plan) was designed to further encourage leadership within the system, by encouraging the development of knowledge, skills and management practices. The training programmes are fully funded by the Ministry of Education. Alongside promoting leadership, a key aim within the Chilean education system is to encourage networks of collaboration to counteract the segregated nature of the current system, which had hindered strong connections being made between schools. This is illustrated by CUREE’s survey, which suggests that one third of teachers are not part of any professional network.

Professional Development and Learning

Professional development within Chile is currently under substantial reform. In the 2013 TALIS survey 71.3% of teachers reported having undertaken professional development in the last 12 months, which is lower than most TALIS jurisdictions. However, in spite of the relative lack of formal involvement, 96% of teachers reported that they actively sought to develop their teaching. Teachers in particular reported a need for greater professional development in learning to teach children with special educational needs and teaching in a multilingual and multicultural setting. Research has further identified that teacher evaluation needs to be more systematically used in informing teacher development.
Professional development has hitherto been largely unsupported by the education system. 75% of teachers in CUREE’s survey suggested that they had almost complete control over their own professional development and 25% of elementary and 42% of secondary teachers reported that they had not taken part in any form of collaboration. The Teacher Professional Development System was launched in 2007, as part of a 1b Chilean Peso (equiv. £1.7m) investment in education reform which aimed to improve teaching. Funding was provided for early teacher training consisting of 38-hour week induction periods (12 hours teaching, 26 hours continued study). There was also funding to provide free CPLD opportunities, a 30% increase in teacher salaries, and increased non-classroom preparation time for teachers. The reforms aim to improve teacher standards and are intended to increase academic performance.

Analysis

There are a number of elements in the education system in Chile which are pertinent to the construction of teacher identity. Teachers have demonstrated a very clear focus on student welfare and development, which aligns with the values set out by the education frameworks. This coherence is also present in relation to professional development. Teachers in CUREE’s illustrative survey reported that they were actively seeking to develop within their profession, which, given the ambitious CPLD plans from the Ministry points to a desire to improve that matches with government aims. While there is a sense of autonomy present among teachers, this appears to be limited to the level of the classroom. Although teachers feel they have control over schemes of work, they do not see themselves involved in school and education policy. An additional area of development identified within the Chilean system is in relation to the implementation and means of accessing professional development, which is below the TALIS average. There is also a lack of collaboration between schools and school leaders, which is linked to the socio-economic segregation present within Chile.

In summary, Chile has prioritised a number of areas in an attempt to overhaul the current socio-economically segregated education system. In particular this focuses on: the creation of a more inclusive school system through the means of improving public schooling and removing selection; professional development through more rigorous selection and evaluation as well as the provision of free CPLD; and increasing attempts to promote leadership development.
Kenya

System Context and Priorities

Education within Kenya is governed centrally by the Ministry of Education and derives its policy from the Constitution of Kenya (Ogutu, 2017). Kenya is currently experiencing skyrocketing enrolment levels within schools, as a result of the introduction of universal free primary education in 2003 and secondary education in 2008. However, Kenya is currently also facing teacher shortages as a result of financial constraints on the education system, particularly in subjects where teachers are able to get work in better paid jobs, such as in Physics or Computer Science. CUREE’s survey suggested that very few teaching staff felt they were paid appropriately for the workload they face, though it was recognised by over half of teachers that the system offered an opportunity for career progression. There is also a current challenge in relation to the standardisation of the quality of education within the jurisdiction. Currently primary school teaching requires less qualification in Kenya than secondary schools, meaning that ensuring standards in primary school teaching is a more challenging task for the system. Likewise, there has been some discrepancy between rural and urban educational quality, which has led to the introduction of hardship allowances to teachers in difficult to staff schools to act as an encouragement.

To improve upon challenges identified within the system, the government has introduced Kenya’s Vision 2030 project, which is a reform policy aiming to reinvigorate various parts of the Kenyan state. One aspect of this is a focus on education reform and as a result the system is currently prioritising widespread curriculum change, increased levels of initial teacher training and further implementation of CPLD practices. Attempts were also made in July 2017 to overhaul the current salary system to improve it and make it more competitive. No moves have yet been made to combat high vacancies in specific areas.
Teacher Role and Values

Vision 2030 also looks to clearly establish new roles for teachers and new values for them to acquire, in order to ‘equip students with skills for the 21st century’. The National Policy on Curriculum Reform emphasises building character, patriotism and the ability to co-exist as a responsible citizen as the key values to be emphasised to those being taught. A clear majority of teachers in CUREE’s survey seem very much on board with this idea, emphasising the importance of teaching students ‘to be responsible citizens’, whilst also highly valuing good subject knowledge and the ability to effectively build relationships with staff and students. The continuation of individual professional learning was seen to be the most important part of the teaching role in the CUREE survey. School leaders in particular emphasise the importance of local collaboration for professional learning. Union activity and online networking were not viewed by Kenyan teachers as important aspects of their role.

Regarding the official stipulations of the role, teachers in Kenya are expected to perform 22 hours of teaching a week but according to SABER 2014, unlike the other jurisdictions involved in this study, there is no time allocated for non-teaching activities. However, although no time is allocated, teachers in the CUREE survey suggested that non-teaching activities such as lesson planning, staff meetings and student assessment were very important parts of their role, implying a high workload outside of the classroom.

Teacher Autonomy, Leadership and Collaboration

Previously, practice in Kenya was often to promote teachers already in positions at the school into leadership roles without any focus on particular leadership training. There have recently been new reforms initiated by the Teacher Services Commission, (TSC) which require teachers to attend a minimum of two development courses a year to improve and instil good leadership practice. Leaders are expected to provide instructional improvement to teachers in order to help them develop. A 2014 survey found that principals were primarily focused on survival and compliance with ministry expectations related to the managerial aspects of the role, rather than leadership experience. Despite this, Kenyan teachers report significant leadership experience, with a large number suggesting that they had leadership experience through being
afforded such experiences within their schools. On a wider level, however, a much smaller number of teachers believed that they were afforded similar leadership experiences in steering the direction of education in the jurisdiction as a whole.

In terms of the levels of autonomy afforded to teachers by the education system, teachers felt that they had the most control over their own professional development, the aims of that professional development and how they taught. Teachers do not feel that they have much control over their pay and their assessment and have resisted recent new teacher appraisal systems implemented from January 2016 because they are perceived as disciplinary.

More than half of the teachers surveyed by CUREE suggested that they had taken part in collaborative union activity or through non-professional bodies, with general agreement about the importance of collaboration in providing a key professional voice and a lesser, but still majority, agreement that collaboration also provided important leadership opportunities.

**Professional Development and Learning**

The Director of Quality Assurance in the Ministry of Education is responsible for the control and management of CPLD. The TSC in 2018 released seven standards for CPLD in order to try and improve its efficacy. CPLD is not required as standard to continue in the profession but it may be required in performance evaluation, in particular types of training or in order to qualify for particular positions and roles. 79% of teachers surveyed by CUREE had taken part in courses in order to attain new qualifications. Furthermore, there is widespread interest in teachers’ attempts to better their own teaching, with 96% of teachers in the CUREE survey suggesting that they actively wished to develop teacher practice.

Previously, teachers were required to fund their own CPLD but the government is now looking into changing this and providing funding for CPLD. Currently professional development tends to take the form of local or regional courses that are specialised and tailored. Traditionally the courses have focused on the learning of new financial skills, core competencies and digital literacy. However, recently there has been a shift to include new teaching and learning approaches within CPLD provision.
There are a number of complications with the implementation of such new courses as prolonged CPLD is clashing with strict government regulations about the amount of teaching time that teachers can miss, with teachers still expected to take part in CPLD outside of teaching time, which in most cases is during weekends.

**Analysis**

As part of Vision 2030, teachers are being given a level of autonomy over their teaching and development, which has been recognised by the majority of teachers who responded to the survey. They felt there were opportunities for them to be involved in shaping the policies and direction of their school as well as their professional development. Despite this, fewer teachers felt there were opportunities to contribute to decisions about education in Kenya as a whole and noted a lack of control in particular around their pay and how they and other teachers are assessed – the recently introduced performance appraisal system has also met with resistance from trade unions due to perceptions of it as “disciplinary”. Elements of the government’s plan for educational improvement have certainly been taken on by teaching staff.

A large number suggested that they actively sought to further develop their teaching and that they value their ongoing professional learning, suggesting that government plans to implement CPLD on a wider scale are likely to be met with enthusiasm. However, there is still a problem to be solved in that whilst enthusiasm for CPLD is high, it is still currently only funded by the teachers themselves, which limits professional development to those who can are financially afford it.

On top of this, it is also afforded no time within teaching contracts, placing it under further constraints as it can only be done in accordance with tight time restrictions, which often results in teachers taking part in professional development during weekends. Limited opportunities for promotion and budgetary constraints have led to low morale and some evidence of poor-quality teaching and absenteeism (only 16% of surveyed teachers felt the salary they received was appropriate for the amount of work they do).
As a result of this and skyrocketing enrolment levels and financial constraints, there is currently a shortage of teachers, with particular difficulties recruiting in particular subjects. The education reforms involve investing in teacher training, recruitment and continuous development. In summary, Kenya is currently undertaking a large system wide reform – Kenya Vision 2030.

The project aims to overhaul the curriculum to prioritise equipping students with skills needed for the 21st century and focusing on character, patriotism and citizenship. The reforms also aim to improve teacher training in order to address challenges previously identified, such as recruiting high quality primary school teachers and improving access to quality CPLD. Although the Kenya system suggests potential in supporting teachers, this is not yet reflected at a teacher level.
3. Methodology

a. Research methods and data collection

Overview

The Teacher Identities and Professionalism study was a mixed-methods study conducted over a period of approximately 2 years. As such, the study has collected and analysed a range of complementary evidence over time to produce a detailed picture of the case study jurisdictions and which addresses the numerous research questions in focus.

Given the nature of the study and its resource constraints, there are some limitations in the available evidence and the strength of the conclusions which can be reached. These limitations are discussed in the respective sections for each area of research activity below.

Case Study Jurisdiction Selection Process

A list of possible case studies on every continent was compiled and discussed with staff and affiliate officials. CUREE and Education International worked closely together to identify as balanced a sample of countries as possible bearing in mind the willingness and capacity of colleagues in unions and governments in host countries to participate and the resource/language demands on the project alongside the wide range of geographical, cultural and socio-economic issues that needed to be explored across just seven nations.

Achieving a balance also required attention to political and pragmatic considerations: notably, the wish to include jurisdictions in different continents; pre-existing connections in jurisdictions with unions (e.g. Sweden, Canada) and/or teacher support agencies; and practical considerations relating to whether selected jurisdictions had well-developed electronic infrastructures and reliable
communications systems and internet access. The final jurisdiction selection allowed for contrasts between: alignment of continuous support for development of teacher craft knowledge, pedagogy and identities; the maturity of practices in relation to CPLD and use of research and evidence; cultural drivers; developing versus developed world examples; federal versus single nation approaches; degrees of central prescription; approaches to accountability.

**Planning and Scoping Work**

The starting point for the study was an initial literature review focused on teacher identity, its key elements and how it develops. This review examined systematic reviews and other cornerstone studies relevant to national and international conceptions of teacher identity, including TALIS, PISA, Bangs & Frost (2012), and Burns & Darling-Hammond (2014). The review gave a clear understanding of the evidence base regarding the formation of and support structures underpinning teacher identities.

**Interviews and Document Analysis**

Using web and scholarly literature searches as well as discussions with union representatives based in the focus jurisdictions, we identified key documents relevant to education policy and the education system in each jurisdiction. We also liaised with the union contacts to organise telephone interviews with government officials or policy experts. A semi-structured interview schedule was produced, based on the research questions, for use in the interviews with government officials.

Combined, interviews and discussions verified that the key policy documents and reports which we had identified were relevant and the collection of documents was comprehensive. These interviews also ensured that our analysis of the identified pertinent aspects of policy and practice in each jurisdiction were informed by expert perspectives on ‘the ground’.

Research posters summarised key policies, contextual details and characteristics of each education system using a common analytical framework. The framework also allowed the evidence for each jurisdiction to be mapped onto programme-wide evidence and form the basis of a comparative analysis at a later stage in the study.
International Teacher Professional Identity Survey

The survey questions were systematically aligned to the research questions and previous documentary analysis, which we needed to operationalise in terms of language and focus to be relevant for teachers. The questionnaire was designed to work across all jurisdictions and languages (e.g. the Ontario version required both English and French versions). Our union and other contacts supported us to tailor the wording to ensure it was suitable for each context while remaining comparable across settings.

The distribution of the survey was, in each jurisdiction, based on a pragmatic consideration of the best way to maximise the representativeness and quantity of the responses. The survey windows varied, due to delays in some of the jurisdictions and the need to align the survey completion window within school term time. Survey response rates varied considerably. In some jurisdictions, where responses were high, we could be more confident that the range of teacher perspectives was represented. Where response rates were low, caution was taken to avoid over-claiming or generalisation from the results, which were triangulated against other sources of evidence within the analysis.

For each jurisdiction’s survey results, we produced a ‘survey highlights’ sheet, which identified the key jurisdiction-specific figures and findings. The survey results were also compared with findings from documentary analysis to surface key patterns and inconsistencies.
Primary and Secondary Case Studies

Following the jurisdiction-by-jurisdiction findings from the surveys and research posters, in consultation with representatives, we identified focus areas for two primary and three secondary case studies. These case studies were designed to explore in more depth, key issues which had been identified in the preliminary jurisdiction and comparative analyses, providing a detailed picture of practice relevant to key findings. The two primary case studies were as follows:

- Ontario - Teacher Identity, Professional Learning and Leadership
- Sweden – The Integration of Refugees and Migrants

Details of the data collected for these are included in the case study reports. The secondary case studies were based on policy documents, academic publications and pre-existing case studies identified in collaboration with jurisdiction contacts. These were focused on the following jurisdictions and topics:

- Kenya – Continuous Professional Learning and Development
- Singapore – Teacher Evaluation
- Scotland – Teacher Voice in Policy-Making

It is hoped the study will provide contrasting examples of how teacher professional identity is constructed over the case study systems. It is important to note; teacher identity is an abstract concept and therefore making comparisons across the jurisdictions has in some cases proven difficult. The study has taken a light touch approach to understanding the construction of teachers’ professional identity.
4. Recommendations

This is a relatively small-scale study addressing very complex issues and our evidence base is both wide and shallow. Its strength lies in the bird’s eye view of teachers’ professional identities it creates. Furthermore, as we have remarked, many differences between jurisdictions relate to national economic, historical, cultural and social differences as much as to the specific architecture of teachers’ professional identities. Nonetheless there are a number of areas where we have identified issues which education systems and teacher unions exploring or preparing for system reform should consider if they are to create positive conditions for reform that harness the full power and potential of teachers’ professional identities.

System Context

Positive links to career paths and teacher supply

Teacher supply across our focus jurisdictions was associated with a range of factors. The relationship between these factors and teacher supply was complex, and it is likely that many of the features observed are the effect rather than the cause of strong supply. The clearest factors for a plentiful teacher supply situation were positive indicators of the status of teachers and their working conditions. These factors appeared to act upon both recruitment and retention.

Other features of systems with strong teacher supply were high-levels of CPD participation, and strong models of and structures for career progression and promotion linked with good career prospects. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the evidence suggests that when teachers are valued by society, enjoy good working conditions and have opportunities for progression, promotion and CPD, teacher supply is strong and so is the quality of teachers within the profession.
These benefits interact to create a virtuous circle of continuous development and success, which in turn enables the reputation of teachers and teaching to grow within the system.

Other factors such as changing demographics (of teachers and pupils) and variation in supply by subject were important too but less marked in their impact. In terms of factors which policy-makers and other system actors have influence over, the authors believe this evidence suggests that the presence of clear career stages and CPD as building blocks of teachers’ professional identities are the policy areas that are most strongly supportive of ensuring a sufficient and effective teacher supply.

**The interaction between system level improvement and teachers’ professional identities**

Our evidence supports the view that international testing such as PISA is an overriding influence on perceptions of system performance, with far-reaching consequences for educational policy and reform and for teachers’ professional identities.

Many policy responses to PISA data which poses challenges to previous policy initiatives involve highly specific interventions in teacher recruitment, practice and development. As we have seen CPD is a crucial factor here. But there is a knife-edge to travel in ensuring that such interventions are generative of, rather than inhibitors of, development. The difference is how far teachers collectively are either positioned in reforms as practitioners who want and need to learn professionally on a continuous basis, or professionals whose work needs to be corrected.

Our evidence suggests that the converse is probably also true. Where system performance is less of a concern, jurisdictions are able to consider reform more holistically and with a more long-term and CPD-orientated focus. They do not need more short-term policies directed towards particular pupil outcome indicators, inputs and resources, or operational challenges faced by the system; approaches which can all too easily be experienced as interventions designed to correct deficits. When planning reforms and/or preparing teacher union contributions to them it is important to ensure that plans for CPD position teachers as professionals who want and need to learn on a continuous basis not as practitioners whose work needs to be corrected.
Explicit policies for raising the status of the profession

The links between teacher status and working conditions and teacher supply also extend to system performance. The strong associations between these three factors, suggests that the perception of teacher status and working conditions are contributing factors for system performance. With evidence suggesting that teachers who are demonstrably valued contribute positively to high system performance, it is the view of the authors that, policies to enhance the status of the teaching profession and the conditions, while not sufficient alone, support and enable high system performance.

Teacher Autonomy

Teacher led education systems

The strong sense of a growing aspiration for a teacher led education system across the case jurisdictions is interesting and encouraging. It is important for jurisdictions seeking to move in this direction to explore how far teachers themselves are noticing this movement and the extent to which the measures they are taking stop at the door of school leaders. Greater teacher-principal collaboration obviously has a role to play in ensuring that goals for building a teacher led system realise their potential. But understanding how teachers and principals experience increased delegation is an obvious starting point. Other jurisdictions may wish to use a research process such as this one commissioned by EI to explore those issues to explore the current lie of the land and to signal an interest in increasing teacher-principal collaboration.

Trust

The role of trust is clearly a two-way issue. Teachers need to be trusted to take professional initiatives if they are to have the opportunity to improve their skills in doing so and if education systems are to experience the benefits that accrue. But if trust is to be earned, teachers need opportunities to demonstrate their professionalism.
A lack of trust can all too easily establish a vicious circle of low expectation leading to over-direction and prescription and restriction of opportunities.

In participating jurisdictions recruitment challenges sometimes created valuable opportunities for teachers to demonstrate their trustworthiness by stepping in to fill gaps and contributing to or by taking a strategic role in the midst of curriculum reform. Both represent important opportunities to solve practical problems whilst creating opportunities to enhance and advance teachers’ professional identities in the midst of reforms.

Teachers’ ability and willingness to commit to life-long learning about how better to meet the needs of their students acts as both a strong incentive to trust them and good evidence about their right to be trusted. So, investing in not just CPD offered to teachers, but also in supporting and recognising the way they apply that learning in their practice, represents an important arena for developing increasing trust between policy makers and teachers.

**Teacher leadership**

Teacher leadership is the third, significant arena to emerge through this analysis of the role that autonomy plays in constructing teachers’ professional identities. There is a very wide span of approaches to this between jurisdictions for whom teacher leadership is not on the radar to jurisdictions where it is seen as a driving force for system improvement. It is notable that it is in the very high performing jurisdictions that teacher leadership has most prominence and where the development of teachers’ leadership skills is supported extensively and substantively. It is also, unsurprisingly, the case that where school leadership is given little prominence or support, teacher leadership also lags behind. The authors believe that there is evidence here to suggest that focussing on teacher leadership and explicitly developing teachers’ leadership skills can pay dividends in increasing education capacity and enhancing system vitality and that both unions and policy makers would be well advised to consider ways of promoting teacher leadership.
Teacher Role and Values

**Respect for education and respect for teachers and teaching**

The evidence in this study underlines the dynamic relationship between how education is perceived and momentum for improvement. Low levels of respect for education bleed into low levels of respect for teachers and teaching which in turn affects recruitment and retention; a cycle that is not easily resolved. Conversely when education is respected and seen as an important building block for a nation’s future, teachers and teaching are given greater priority, respected more and attract and retain talented teachers. Even where substantive progress is being made in jurisdictions facing significant education challenges, public perceptions may lag behind them, sapping the energy and confidence which improvements should bring. Reforms take time to feed through into public consciousness and active steps need to be taken to build public awareness of teacher successes. This evidence suggests that, encouragingly, a number of the systems with lower performance and expectations are currently targeting the public perception of teaching through efforts to improve their working conditions. It also suggests that pupils’ achievement and system performance can be enhanced by a range of measures. These include, explicit measures to improve:

- the wider public perceptions of teaching and teachers; and
- teachers’ own.

*Developing both areas simultaneously and ensuring that there are links between the strategies could also contribute to enhancing teacher self-esteem.*
Expectations about time and work life balance

Care needs to be taken in understanding the relationship between specific time requirements, expectations made about their duties and work life balance. Within the case jurisdictions there appears to be a link between expected working hours and perceived work life balance, such that systems which seem to have low formal working hours in turn have poor perceived work life balance. Timescales matter too; the reforms in jurisdictions where teachers report the best work life balance have, by and large, been introduced steadily over a long period (15 years). The surprising connection between low formal working hours and poor work life balance seems to be influenced by a number of other factors; professional identity is significantly constrained by workload but is also a much broader and deeper matter.

In some jurisdictions, behind this surprising finding lies the fact that formally regulated hours touch on only a very small aspect of what teachers are in reality asked to do. There are also links in a number of jurisdictions between the restricted nature and quality of decision making available to teachers, the conditions in which they make those decisions and work life balance. Although it is also true that teachers in jurisdictions where they are required to work very long hours often report better work life balance the link is not a linear one. Teacher work life balance is a complex dynamic made up of many variables and self-esteem and self-efficacy with their powerful connections with system self-efficacy play an important role too.

*Jurisdictions considering teacher work-life balance and well-being, and the time-expectations placed on teachers, need to design reforms on the basis of good evidence about all the constraints under which teachers are working so that, for example, teachers have the time to grasp new responsibilities effectively. They need to attend to timescales as well as the quantum of time in addressing teachers’ work life balance too. The requirements made of teachers, including those that help them develop the things they prize such as their practice and their confidence in their ability to make a difference for their students, must be commensurate with the resources given to them. Over the long haul, reforms that leave teachers trying to fill the gap between allocated time and new responsibilities without more resource or support change little; in other words without support and time, reforms put teachers in the position of having to talk the talk of reforms without being in a position to walk the walk.*
Positioning professionalism and teachers’ orientation to students within reform

The need for ongoing development and professional learning in the construction of teachers’ professional identities is both self-evident and reflected in many contexts in this study. Similarly, this evidence (see especially figure 13) points to the centrality to teachers of students’ enjoyment of learning; teachers’ values and commitment to their students in the round emphasise the way they are prepared to fulfil effective roles in society. These factors, more than examination performance, are the things teachers prioritised as central to their identities in most jurisdictions. It is not that they did not see their role as enabling academic performance; it is that they see academic performance as only one of a number of important building blocks in supporting learner success. This links closely with the number of teachers expressing the desire for professional development which helps them build positive relationships with both their students and colleagues. It is important for policy makers, and unions working with them, aiming to have a positive impact on both students and teachers, to work in ways which take into account the deep strength of teachers’ commitment to their students as people first and their success in examinations second, when seeking to support the development of their professional identities and to avoid positioning these two deeply interdependent factors as a zero sum game.

Prioritisation of and support for CPD

Although the size of the gap varied from system to system, a consistent picture emerging from our research was that teachers in the majority of education systems explored through this research felt they would like to receive more continuous professional development than they were currently receiving (with the exception of Singapore). Although the data are not incontrovertible, we note the apparent correlation between a high degree of central policy focus on CPD within a system and levels and depth of teacher participation in CPD.
We suggest that systems which want to effect a significant increase in uptake of CPD by teachers should explore whether there is scope to introduce greater systematic focus on and support for teacher CPD side by side. However, we also note that the relationship between level of prioritisation and uptake does not appear to be linear, so it is important for systems wishing to make changes in this area to first conduct a thorough exploration of how their current policy environment is functioning when it comes to promoting teacher CPLD – it is important to avoid falling into the trap of thinking that either more or less is necessarily better. What matters is that the offer represents a genuine and high-quality way forward for that context. Unions can play a crucial role in ensuring policy makers start with an in depth understanding of how CPD is experienced by teachers on the ground and the conditions for enhancing not just the quantity of CPD but also its quality, its fitness for purpose and the time allocated to it so that teachers feel that CPLD is more relevant to their needs, and characterised by an increased focus on their aspirations for their students and time and timescales that enable them to achieve them.

**Approaches to CPD and alignment with aspirations for student success**

There was a wide array of differences in how policy systems designed and prioritised CPD. There was a similarly wide array of outcomes of CPD in terms of teacher identity, recruitment, retention and overall system performance. The researchers note that the policy priorities across the education systems involved in this study emphasised both pedagogy and pupil progress at the heart of both. This is encouraging about the extent to which different systems with different historical backgrounds and cultures converge on seeing teacher professional learning as being connected to pupil outcomes. But it also suggests that these foci are necessary, but not sufficient. We would suggest therefore that systems looking to improve their educational success through CPD should be sure to look deeply at how they link professional learning, pedagogy and pupil progress, and in particular to make sure that other elements of the education system (such as teacher appraisal and other accountability approaches, and initial teacher education) are effectively reinforcing these priorities in a consistent fashion. Unions have a crucial role to play in helping policy makers understand how these key intersections work on the ground and policy makers have a key role in ensuring their policies interact coherently.
Sustaining professional learning

A systematic review by Timperley et al of reviews of effective (meaning having a positive impact on pupils’ learning) CPLD found that it is important that CPLD interventions be sustained over time. However, our research found little evidence that education systems, the policies that shape them and, or the expectations of teachers focus on sustained engagement with professional learning. This may simply be that the research was not sufficiently fine grained to discover this or that the considerable logistical and costs of organising and sustaining CPLD in a regular, longitudinal way are hard to manage at system level and are usually determined at school leader level.

But short term CPD is not effective so we would recommend that unions and policymakers explore mechanisms for ensuring that as much as possible of the CPD which teachers in their system experience is sustained over an extended period of time. Exactly how this is best achieved will vary significantly depending on local contextual factors and on approaches to school leadership in particular, since sustained engagement with CPD has to happen within the day to day working context.
In addition to creating high level country portraits and a cross country, thematic analysis, the evaluation team created case studies of five of the seven jurisdictions participating in the project examining teachers’ professional identities. The case studies selected provide illustrative texture to the themes emerging from the cross-country analysis and to the, necessarily bare bones, country portraits across the full student age range from K1 to K12. Resources were constrained and so we used a mix of primary case studies involving on the ground fieldwork and secondary case studies based on existing evidence (described in more detail below). The choices were also circumscribed by the willingness and ability of colleagues on the ground to participate within the quite tight timescales following the primary research, which crossed many different school year cycles. We are very grateful indeed to all those who contributed. The resulting range and balance encompass:

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<td>a case study that reflects the findings about the importance of relating to students in the round and, in the context of some of the bigger equity challenges, in the context of refugee education (Sweden);</td>
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<td>one that helps to illustrate successful and systemic approaches to developing teacher leadership (Ontario);</td>
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<td>one that helps tease out and illustrate the inevitable tensions encountered by systems which set out to achieve national level curriculum driven changes at the same time as increasing delegation from the centre and teacher autonomy (Scotland);</td>
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<td>one that illustrates some of the issues involved in developing Continuous Professional Development and Learning when this is not an established part of how a country constructs teachers’ professional identity (Kenya); and</td>
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<td>another illustrates the links between teacher evaluation and progression models, and how it shapes and is shaped by teachers’ roles, professional learning and leadership (Singapore).</td>
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The case studies draw upon the jurisdiction-by-jurisdiction findings from the surveys and research posters. In consultation with EI representatives, we identified focus areas for two primary and three secondary case studies. These case studies were designed to explore in more depth, key issues which had been identified in the preliminary jurisdiction and comparative analyses, providing a detailed picture of practice relevant to key findings. The two primary case studies were as follows:

- **Ontario - Teacher Identity, Professional Learning and Leadership**
- **Sweden – The Integration of Refugees and Migrants**

Details of the data collected for these are included in the case study reports. The secondary case studies were based on policy documents, academic publications and pre-existing case studies identified in collaboration with jurisdiction contacts. These were focused on the following countries and topics:

- **Kenya – Continuous Professional Learning and Development**
- **Singapore – Teacher Evaluation**
- **Scotland – Teacher Voice in Policy-Making**


Head office
5 bd du Roi Albert II
1210 Brussels, Belgium
Tel +32-2 224 0611
headoffice@ei-ie.org
www.ei-ie.org
#unite4ed

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