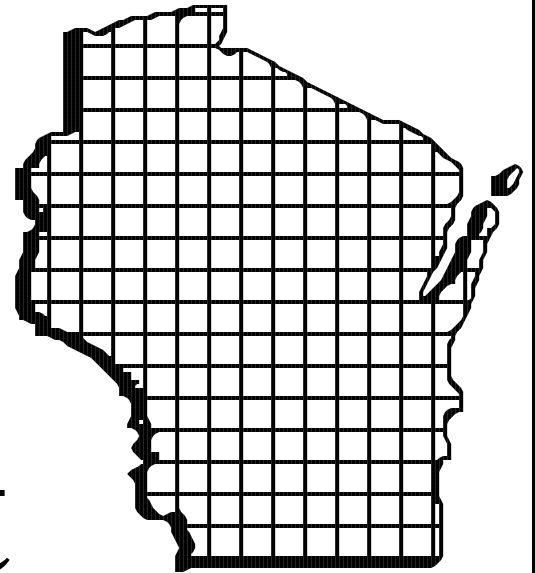


Wisconsin

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Report



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**DEREGULATING
TEACHER
TRAINING IN
WISCONSIN**

REPORT FROM THE PRESIDENT:

As Wisconsin grapples with the question of educational reform, one area that has not been explored is the role of the schools of education and the certification of our teachers.

We commissioned Professors Mark Schug and Richard Western from the School of Education at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee to examine current teacher licensure and training in Wisconsin. Both have extensive experience in dealing with the state's bureaucratic Department of Public Instruction and various schools of education, and they currently supervise student teachers in a number of school districts.

Their research paints a picture of a highly bureaucratic, regulation-bound system that is very long on "pushing paper" and very short on examining the skills of teachers. They present data showing that students at schools of education in the University of Wisconsin System spend approximately \$165 million dollars a year of their own and taxpayers' money to become teachers. Yet only one out of three actually takes an initial teaching position in the state. This raises a serious question as to how much Wisconsin taxpayers should subsidize professional schools where the graduates may have no chance of obtaining employment in their field.

Schug's and Western's recommendations to change teacher training are dramatic and extremely important ones. Rather than staying with the *status quo* system, their research strongly suggests that we begin to have school districts play a much more important role in training teachers. Certification should be based on performance standards, in contrast to the current system — which certifies students who have passed exams, but have not demonstrated an ability to actually teach our children.

As with most things in education, this report will not be well-received by Wisconsin's bureaucrats. That is always an indication that its substance makes sense and that it should be seriously examined by our elected officials in Madison.



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DEREGULATING TEACHER TRAINING IN WISCONSIN

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Wisconsin's system of teacher licensure and university-based teacher training provides a costly, outmoded, and unreliable means of securing high-quality teachers for the state's kindergarten through 12th-grade (K-12) schools. The public's interest in quality education would be served better if state policy permitted school districts to devise and implement teacher-training programs of their own, consistent with a general set of state standards.

Costly. Teacher-education costs include the cost of services provided to students enrolled in teacher-training programs in the state's public universities. Students pay some of these costs themselves, but their programs of study are subsidized by taxpayer support. This support flows to all students enrolled in teacher-education programs, including the majority who do not seek or find teaching jobs in Wisconsin. For every three teachers produced by state universities in any given year, less than one is hired by a school district in the state. Wisconsin taxpayers spend an estimated \$44.3 million annually to train this portion of new teachers that will not (not immediately, at least) teach in Wisconsin. Other costs include the annual operating costs of the state Department of Public Instruction (DPI). Taken together, costs associated with these activities look high, but the real costs would look higher still if it were possible to compare present practices with an alternative. If teacher training were shifted over to K-12 school districts, training costs would decline because districts would train only those people that they hired and they would focus sharply on their specific training objectives.

Outmoded. The present system of teacher licensure and training is governed by a bureaucratic agency, the DPI. Operating under the authority of an administrative code, the DPI issues licenses and monitors training programs. The code becomes increasingly complex as educators and other groups seek to elaborate on it by the inclusion of provisions reflecting their interests. As the code becomes more complex and elaborate, compliance costs (for teacher-training students and teacher-training programs) go up. As licensure rules restrict entry into teaching, staffing problems increase for school districts initiating program innovations requiring real flexibility. The regulatory culture of the licensure and training system fosters compliance, not innovation and district-level problem-solving.

Unreliable. Despite its costs and its orientation toward compliance, the present system might seem worthwhile on balance if it served to safeguard quality standards — but it does not. University-based training does not derive from reliable knowledge of program effects on teaching competence. Licensure rules and rules governing teacher training specify program inputs, not results. No performance standards — referenced to the attainment of program objectives or K-12 learning outcomes — exist. Specified program inputs, therefore, tell us nothing about what a new teacher knows or knows how to do. New teachers, for the most part, learn to teach on the job, as untrained (emergency-licensure) teachers do.

Conclusion and recommendations. Given the problems in question, one response might be to seek reform of the present system by investment in tougher licensure rules and more extensive, university-based training programs. That has been the direction reform activity has taken since early in this century. The effect of that activity has been to increase producer domination of the system, with no corresponding guarantee of improved results for the public. In recognition of this, school districts and governance bodies around the country have begun to turn in the other direction — developing programs whereby school districts recruit, hire, and train their own teachers. Some programs of this sort have begun to operate in Wisconsin. The time has come for a general policy initiative aimed at fostering widespread development of this alternative. Toward that end, we make the following seven recommendations.

Recommendation 1: The Wisconsin state legislature should authorize K-12 school districts — acting singly or in consortia with other districts — to recruit and hire teacher trainees, to assign teacher trainees to regular teaching duties, to train their trainees according to preservice and apprenticeship training programs of their own design, and to certify trainees to the state for teacher licensure upon trainees' successful completion of a training program.

Recommendation 2: The Wisconsin state legislature should establish minimum eligibility criteria for people seeking appointment as teacher trainees. Minimum criteria should include successful completion of a baccalaureate degree granted by an accredited college or university, plus clearance on a criminal-background check.

Recommendation 3: For K-12 districts electing to hire and train teacher trainees, the Wisconsin state legislature should provide a readily accessible exemption from the *Wisconsin Administrative Code* PI 3 and PI 4, permitting districts instead to engage in training governed by the 10 performance standards recommended to the DPI in 1995 in a task force report, *Restructuring Teacher Education and Licensure in Wisconsin* (WDPI, 1995). Certification of successful trainees — by a K-12 school principal, to the state — should reflect an internal determination that the trainees in question have met the 10 performance standards.

Recommendation 4: In considering its conditions for granting school districts exemptions from PI 3 and PI 4, the state board charged with this responsibility should require that participating districts commit themselves to *building-specific hiring and training procedures* as a necessary condition.

Recommendation 5: To fund school district-sponsored teacher-training programs, the state legislature should establish a teacher-training voucher program.

Recommendation 6: To assist school districts as they begin to assume responsibility for teacher training, the DPI should shift its emphasis away from regulations and compliance-monitoring, toward leadership and assistance aimed at helping districts with tasks of program development, instructional supervision, and assessment.

Recommendation 7: Concurrently with its authorization of school districts to assume responsibility for teacher training, the state legislature should authorize an appropriate body to contract for the services of an independent evaluator, in order to obtain information about the effects of the new efforts.

INTRODUCTION

The report that follows represents our effort to participate in an ongoing discussion of education reform in Wisconsin. It is a discussion one may join at many different points of entry. Our point of entry is Wisconsin's teacher licensure system and its relationship to college- and university-based programs of teacher education.

We contend that this interlocking system of licensure and training provides a costly, outmoded, and unreliable means of securing high-quality teachers for Wisconsin's K-12 classrooms. The public's interest in quality education would be served better if state policy permitted school districts to devise and implement teacher-education programs of their own, consistent with a general set of state standards. A shift of this sort would enable K-12 educators to provide on-site, professional training focused specifically on the norms and practices currently deemed important in the respective districts, thus mitigating the age-old problem of rifts between theory and practice in teacher education. Other benefits also would follow in a ripple effect set in motion as school districts reviewed their hiring practices, their academic programs, and their procedures for instructional supervision in light of new incentives created by their new responsibility. To the extent that district-based training did come into play, moreover, the state would pay training costs only for those people actually hired in Wisconsin's schools as new teacher trainees. This would produce — compared to current practice, by which the state subsidizes tuition for all students enrolled in teacher training programs in the state university system, including those who do not seek or find teaching jobs — a net savings in training costs.

BACKGROUND AND CURRENT CONTEXT

Neither of our two focal points amounts to a newly discovered problem. The drive to professionalize teacher education by institutionalizing it in training sites increasingly remote from K-12 classrooms has generated dissatisfaction and resistance since the middle of the 19th century, when state normal schools and teachers' colleges began to supplant county training schools (Herbst, 1989). State licensure systems, intended by professional educators to serve as linchpins in a rational system of quality control, have similarly generated widespread discontent (Roth, 1996, p. 248). Observers note that within these systems, ill-defined, unfounded requirements and superficial program-evaluation procedures prevail behind the facade of elaborate state codes (see, e.g., Watts, 1982, and Wise, 1994).

Over and above these general considerations, recent developments in Wisconsin suggest reasons of a more immediate sort for taking a new look at old licensure and training practices.

The trend toward diversity in K-12 programs and practices. One of these developments has to do with a trend toward increased diversity in K-12 schooling. “Diversity” here refers not merely to racial and ethnic heterogeneity in student populations — although a sense of urgency about the difficulties many traditionally trained teachers experience in working with minority students has already prompted some Wisconsin educators to develop alternative teacher education programs, emphasizing on-site professional training specifically geared to the needs of urban schools.¹ “Diversity” refers also to an array of programmatic and institutional variations now emerging in K-12 schools. These include variations fostered, for example, by continuing efforts of the Milwaukee Public Schools to implement site-based management within its system of specialty schools. More variation of this sort will appear as the charter-school movement continues to develop. Still more will follow as choice-school options expand beyond the small beginning that the state legislature has to date been able to authorize.

As this trend toward diversity develops, old governance and staffing policies will seem increasingly outmoded. Consider an example. The *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* reported on March 3, 1997, that a Milwaukee School Board member has begun exploring a project aimed at opening two technology academies to train high-school students for high-paying, high-skilled jobs for which area employers cannot find enough workers (Rohde, 1997). These technology academies would grow out of a cooperative effort of the Milwaukee Public Schools, suburban schools participating in the Chapter 220 program, the Milwaukee Area Technical College, and area businesses and unions. Academic teachers working in the academies would be drawn from area schools, but teachers working on the technical side of the academy programs would come from private industry. The administrator of the entire project also might be recruited from the private sector — e.g., an executive officer nearing retirement and seeking a career change.

Innovations of the sort envisioned in the technology-academies proposal will require an institutional environment in which autonomy is prized and special responsibilities are assigned on the basis of competence, not credentials reflecting time served in tightly specified programs. State policy regarding licensure and training requirements can foster the emergence of such an environment or impede it, depending upon the willingness of policymakers to reformulate rules in order to remove barriers and create incentives for change.

The question of costs. The importance of reconsidering current licensure and training policy also is underscored by recent changes in state funding for K-12 education. As the state has increased its local-assistance payments for K-12 education, state budgetmakers have had to struggle to find new revenue. The search for new revenue for transfer to local districts puts K-12 education in competition with state agencies funded out of the state budget; the latter include the University of Wisconsin (UW) System (Haveman & Huddleston, 1990, pp. 25-26).

In this context, it is especially important for legislators and the voting public to approach allocation decisions with a clear sense of the costs associated with both expenditure categories. The costs of teacher education, however, are obscured by the placement of teacher education within the state-university system. The problem is not one of access to teacher-education budget data; those data are public information. The problem is that we cannot assess the opportunity cost of assigning teacher education to the state universities, since we do not know what the training costs would be if training were carried out in a different fashion — e.g., by K-12 professionals, in local districts. It seems clear, however, that if teacher-training costs were shifted over to K-12 education, they would decrease markedly, in part because of a sharp decrease in the number of people to be trained and in part because training costs would no longer be mingled, as they are now, with the costs of other activities — including research and university service — that university-based teacher educators carry out in addition to their direct involvement in teacher training.²

TEACHER LICENSURE IN WISCONSIN

It may seem odd, given the history of dissatisfaction and the present climate of concern about rigidity and costs, that anybody ever would have devised the current system of licensure and university-based teacher education in the first place. Just the opposite is true, however. The current system evolved because some such system seemed crucial, given the public’s vital interest in quality education.

Goals. Parents and other citizens want competent teachers to be employed in K-12 classrooms, but they do not have the time or the inclination to participate directly in training or hiring practices. Nor can they be satisfied to shop around for competent teachers on a trial-and-error basis. Their exit options are limited, and trial-and-error shopping might well be damaging to the children on whose behalf such searches would be carried out.

Instead, people support public agencies staffed by specialists, charged with the legal responsibility to determine who is eligible to be hired for K-12 teaching positions. The agency charged with this responsibility in Wisconsin is the Department of Public Instruction. It operates in tandem with colleges and universities, approving (or not approving) their teacher-education programs. College and university graduates from DPI-approved teacher-education programs qualify for licensure to teach in Wisconsin. Completion of an approved program is the proxy measure of fitness to teach.

The services provided by the DPI assist school districts, as well as parents and children. They do so by simplifying the task of screening and selecting candidates for teaching positions. Hiring officials need consider only candidates holding a license, and they may presume that these candidates meet state standards.

Why not cast a wider net and consider anybody who presents a plausible case for competence? Inefficiency and transaction costs involved in unbounded searches might be considerable. Some districts hire many teachers each year (350-400 in the Milwaukee Public Schools), often with little lead time. The difficulty of knowing what makes for a good teacher complicates the hiring problem. The concept of good teaching is hotly contested within the profession, and applicants for a teaching position cannot be ranked in any reliable fashion against performance standards, since no such standards have been developed. Even within a given district, therefore, hiring officials work in a complex environment within which it may be difficult to obtain reliable information about the relative strengths and weaknesses of individual applicants. For the state as a whole, where more than 65,000 full-time education professionals are employed in public-school districts, the aggregate problem is large indeed. In such a context, where information of the sort that employers rely on in other labor markets is not readily available at a reasonable cost, it is convenient to be able to rely on government rules and on public agencies to apply them, as in the case of licensure rules administered by the DPI.

Practices. Regulating teacher education by means of licensure and program-approval rules requires a bureaucratic structure to ensure compliance. The Department of Public Instruction is charged by the legislature with the promulgation of administrative rules for the licensing and preparation of education professionals. It is responsible for the review, renewal, issuance, and revocation of licenses and permits. There are currently more than 186,000 licensed school and library professionals in Wisconsin (not all of them employed, or employed full-time), and approximately 24,000 licenses are issued or renewed annually.

This daunting task is carried out in the following manner. Wisconsin has 33 colleges and universities with teacher-education programs. Unless exempted by special action, these programs must meet state rules. The *Wisconsin Administrative Code* for the Department of Public Instruction lists the regulations for teacher education in Chapters PI 3 and PI 4. These two chapters contain more than 24 subchapters, each of which in turn is developed with subpoints. The 64 pages of rules printed in Chapters PI 3 and PI 4 include more than 2,000 separate subchapters and subpoints. (An appendix to this report displays the list of DPI licenses and license codes for education.)

General requirements (PI 3.05) for a teaching license include university or field-based coursework specified by 15 main points:

1. Special Education (at least three semester credits).
2. Preparation in Human Relations. (This requirement alone includes seven subpoints that require preparation in the "history, culture, social institutions, values, life-styles, and contributions of women and various racial, cultural, and economic groups in the United States, with specific attention to the history, culture and tribal sovereignty of the federally recognized American Indian tribes and bands in Wisconsin.)
3. Reading (requires 12 credits in the teaching of reading and language arts for early childhood and elemen-

tary-education teacher candidates and six credits in the teaching of reading for middle- and secondary-education teacher candidates).

4. Environmental Education.
5. Cooperative Marketing and Consumer Cooperatives (required by state statute since 1937).
6. Student Teaching (required by state statute; includes student teaching full days for one full school semester).
7. Proficiency in Mathematics, Reading, Writing and in each Major, Minor, and Area of Concentration.
8. Children at Risk.
9. History, Philosophy and Social Foundations of Education.
10. Legal, Political, Economic and Governmental Foundations of Education.
11. Minimum Grade Point Average.
12. General Education.
13. Education for Employment.
14. Gifted and Talented Children.
15. Conflict Resolution.

Each of the 15 points is elaborated, some in considerable detail. The Environmental Education entry, for example, is as follows:

ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION. ... Adequate preparation in conservation of natural resources is required for a license to teach agriculture; early childhood, elementary, and elementary/middle level education; and for middle, middle/secondary, and secondary level education licenses in science and social science, except psychology. An applicant who completes an initial professional education program for these licenses ... shall have completed an approved program which provides students with all of the following:

- a) Knowledge of the wide variety of natural resources and methods [sic].
- b) Knowledge of interactions between the living and non-living elements of the natural environment.
- c) Knowledge of the concept of energy and its various transformations in physical and biological systems.
- d) Knowledge of local, national, and global interactions among people and the natural and built environments including all of the following:
 1. Historic and philosophic review of the interaction between people and the environment.
 2. The social, economic, and political implications of continued growth of the human population.
 3. The concept of renewable and non-renewable resources and the principles of resource management.
 4. The impact of technology on the environment.

5. The manner in which physical and mental well-being are affected by interaction among people and their environments.
- e) Ability to use affective education methods to examine attitudes and values inherent in environmental problems.
 - f) Ability to incorporate the study of environmental problems in whatever subjects or grade levels the teacher is licensed to teach through the use of all the following methodologies:
 1. Outdoor teaching strategies.
 2. Simulation.
 3. Case studies.
 4. Community resource use.
 5. Environmental issue investigation, evaluation, and action planning.
 - g) Knowledge of ways in which citizens can actively participate in the resolution of environmental problems.

The 15 general requirements and subpoints are followed by additional specifications pertaining to professional coursework by level of schooling (elementary, middle, secondary) and by subject fields. Requirements for teaching dance include, for example, the study of dance history and philosophy, including geographic and cultural influences (PI 4.23[3]).

Colleges and universities develop their teacher-education programs in conformity with these requirements, and they submit reports to the DPI every five years explaining how their programs and the various courses required in them meet the rules. The reports list course titles and descriptions, in order to signal compliance with specific state-code points. If the course titles and descriptions are insufficient, recent course syllabi are also submitted for DPI inspection. DPI staff members responsible for teacher education visit state colleges and universities to conduct first-hand inspections of documents, to examine the university's relationships with local schools, and to conduct interviews with students, faculty members, and those K-12 teachers who share in the supervision of university students enrolled in field experience and student-teaching courses.

Typically, a UW campus offers several different teacher-education programs, including elementary education, middle-school, and secondary-school programs for teaching fields such as foreign languages, mathematics, English, science, social studies, and one or more areas in exceptional education. The DPI inspects reports related to the operation of these programs, approves program areas it finds to be in compliance with state rules, and disapproves program areas it finds not to be in compliance. For areas found not to be in compliance, the colleges and universities take corrective action and submit reports of program changes (a three-credit course might be added to the program's list of required courses, for example, to show compliance with a code point) until both sides are satisfied. Once a given program has been approved, students who successfully complete it are endorsed by a certification officer in the college or university. Endorsed candidates then apply to the DPI for licensure, and licenses are issued to them.

This elaborate process leads, in practice, to formal and informal negotiation for waivers, substitutions, and other forms of special dispensation, since strict enforcement often would cause severe hardships. In at least four respects, rules stated in the *Administrative Code* sometimes get short-circuited.

First, the DPI is empowered to issue emergency licenses. A school district may request an emergency license by reporting that a licensed educator is not available for a position it needs urgently to fill, or when special circumstances, such as staff needs in areas such as bilingual education, justify such a request. The DPI also issues emergency licenses to teachers requesting licenses outside their fields. In most cases, emergency licenses are granted for a one-year period. Most are issued in exceptional education, for people who will teach students with emotional and learning disabilities (Lauritzen, 1996). In 1995-96, the Wisconsin DPI issued 1,871 emergency licenses:

123 in nursery K-8 education, 641 in middle and secondary education, 1,033 in special education, and 74 in school-related services. In many cases, emergency licenses are issued on the condition that certain credits must be completed in approved teacher-education programs in one- to three-year periods.

Second, not all certification rules are treated equally, by the DPI or by the universities. In the real world of scarce resources, the DPI cannot focus with equal intensity on all of its hundreds of rules. Higher- and lower-order priorities emerge. Code points pertaining to education for employment may be monitored more closely, for example, than code points pertaining to education about Wisconsin's Indian tribes. On the university side, teacher educators do seek to comply — they do not want the DPI to withhold approval of their programs — but they also seek to protect their students from the costs students incur when program requirements become prolix. In the climate engendered by this mix of interests, parties on both sides handle some issues of compliance with a wink and a nod.

Third, university-based teacher-education programs may apply for exemption from DPI rules in order to launch program innovations. Since the exemption option first appeared in PI 4.025, however, it has been used little. In fact, education-faculty members on one UW campus circulated petitions admonishing others who had shown signs of wavering in their support of the DPI-rules structure. While faculty members do care about costs imposed on students, they also care about the benefits that DPI rules confer on them — when, for example, a given rule ensures that certain courses will always be in high demand.

Finally, the program-approval system governed by DPI rules is for the most part built on paper. The DPI sets forth its rules; colleges and universities write reports, addressing key words made salient by the rules. Follow-up discussions focus mainly on course descriptions, syllabi, advising sheets, and other printed material from program files. A missing document amounts to a problem, but the problem is corrected when the document is supplied. It is a system focused on inputs, not results. Little *performance* information is sought or provided. Do courses reflect course descriptions? Do students learn the skills enumerated in program documents? These questions do not loom large in the conference rooms where associate deans, professors, and DPI visitors sit down together, once every five years, over coffee, pastry, and neatly collated stacks of paper.

Missing parts. As described above (and elsewhere: see Cibulka, 1996), teacher-education and licensure practices in Wisconsin reflect a regulatory culture. The regulations get at quality questions by specifying training inputs and by checking paper trails for compliance. They provide Wisconsin's citizens with assurance that a newly licensed teacher will have taken certain courses and passed a student-teaching requirement. They can, however, provide no assurance about what teachers know or know how to do. They do not require new teachers of mathematics or Spanish, for example, to pass externally administered examinations in mathematics or Spanish. (Examinations of this sort are envisioned in PI 3.05(7)(b), but the requirements stated there have not been implemented.) Nor do they require demonstrated levels of teaching skill according to any set of performance standards. (A shift toward performance-based licensure has been recommended to the DPI in a task-force report (WDPI, 1995), but these recommendations, to date, have not been implemented.)

This input-driven approach to quality assurance in teacher education and licensure is not an aberration in Wisconsin's education-policy environment. In the matter of K-12 academic programs, Wisconsin policy also relies heavily on input standards and compliance audits (PI 8.01 and 8.02), rather than assessment of learning linked to curricular standards and performance standards for students (Cibulka, 1996, pp. 10-13).

The DPI, to date, has resisted development of K-12 curricular standards that would describe varying levels of attainment in core academic subjects, and the state legislature in 1995 defunded a K-12 performance-assessment program then under development. The governor and state superintendent have continued to spar over both issues, and a new policy direction may yet emerge. In the meantime, however, we cannot point to K-12 achievement results as an alternate source of evidence suggesting that the current teacher-education and licensure system might be working, notwithstanding its bureaucratic character. The requisite evidence about performance is not available.

WHAT DOES IT COST?

Education costs are notoriously difficult to assess. To obtain an estimate of what it costs to educate a teacher in Wisconsin's public-university system, we selected certain data from the University of Wisconsin System *Fact Book* (1995-96). The UW System estimates that total educational costs for one resident, undergraduate, dependent student living on campus were \$11,992 per year (as of 1994-95). Of this amount, students pay 62%, via tuition and fees for meals, board, and so forth; Wisconsin taxpayers pay the other 38%. Assume that a student will complete his or her program in four years (here we make a conservative assumption; many teacher-education students in Wisconsin take five years or more to complete their programs). In that case, the combined cost for the student and the taxpayers is \$47,968 ($\$11,992 \times 4$ years) to produce one teacher.

During the 1995-96 academic year, 3,452 individuals completed teacher-education programs in elementary, secondary, and exceptional education in Wisconsin state universities (Lauritzen, 1997). Multiplying this number by the estimated per-person cost of a four-year university program, we calculate that Wisconsin taxpayers and students pay \$165,585,536.00 (at 1995-96 rates) to produce one year's supply of new teachers. Of the total cost of producing a teacher, \$4,521 (per student) comes directly from the state general fund. Thus, Wisconsin taxpayers contribute \$62,425,968 to produce each year's supply of new teachers ($\$4,521 \times 4$ years \times 3,452 teachers).

This estimate understates actual costs in certain respects. Many undergraduates require five or six years to complete teacher-education programs. Also, our estimate does not include annual operating costs of the DPI. It does not include public-university costs associated with training programs for school administrators and counselors. Nor does it tell us anything about the opportunity cost of the university-based system, for students in particular and taxpayers in general. The opportunity cost cannot be calculated except by reference to an alternative that does not, for the most part, exist yet in Wisconsin.

At the same time, the estimate may overstate some costs. Post-baccalaureate students who are admitted to certification programs do not require a full four years for completion. While all students require room and board accommodations of some sort, these accommodations may cost less than the UW System estimates. Finally, our estimate is based on a weighted average provided by the UW System. This average includes higher-cost professional programs (e.g., for engineers) as well as lower-cost programs (for history majors). Real costs in education may be less than this weighted average.

OUTCOMES

The estimated cost of producing one year's output of new teachers in public-university training programs looks high on the face of it, but this *prima facie* appearance by itself is no embarrassment to the current licensure and training system. If the expenditure goes to purchase valuable outcomes that otherwise could not be attained, it is money well spent. Is this so? What do citizens of Wisconsin get for the money they spend on teacher education?

Training teachers who will not teach. Any analysis of outcomes must begin by taking into account the fact that Wisconsin's public universities produce many more new teachers every year than all of the state's school districts hire in the corresponding year. Of 3,452 new teachers produced in 1995-96 by Wisconsin's public universities, 972 (29%) were hired to teach in the state (Lauritzen, 1996). The hiring rate, accordingly, is less than one new teacher hired per three produced, on average (new teachers in some teaching fields find teaching jobs more easily than those in other fields). At the 38% rate at which the public subsidizes the university studies in question, then, taxpayers spend more than \$44 million for each annual supply of new teachers who will not (not immediately, at least) teach in Wisconsin (total state subsidy per annual supply = \$62,425,968; total subsidy multiplied by .71, to reflect the percentage of teachers not teaching = \$44,322,437).

We wish to make two qualifying remarks about these calculations. The first is that in emphasizing the substantial public subsidy of teacher education, we do not mean to imply that the state has somehow singled teacher education out for special treatment. All undergraduates in public universities enjoy such subsidies, and one could — for purposes that differ from ours — look to see what the effects of other subsidies might be on, say, producing “surpluses” of English or psychology majors. We highlight the teacher-education subsidy because it enters into the

analysis of present costs as against the costs we would incur if we shifted the teacher-training task to other agencies. Second, we have used a four-year multiplier in calculating our cost figures because it takes university undergraduates at least four years (most take more) to complete a baccalaureate degree in education. Of those four years, however, undergraduates ordinarily spend only two or three years enrolled specifically in schools of education; in their first two years of study, they typically enroll as pre-education students. Education students do work toward satisfaction of education-school requirements even during their pre-education years, and that is part of our justification for using the four-year multiplier. Still, if we factor the pre-education years out of the calculation, using a two-year multiplier instead, we find that the subsidy total (just more than \$22 million) remains substantial.

Reviewing the supply and demand numbers, Lauritzen (1996, p. 37) states that a “large surplus of educators in most subject areas continues to exist in Wisconsin.” Moreover, most new licenses continue to be issued in fields where large surpluses of educators already exist — in elementary education, social studies, physical education, and English (Lauritzen, 1996, p. 1). Lauritzen suggests that it might be feasible to reallocate funding within university-based, teacher-education programs and thus reduce surpluses and ameliorate shortages where they do exist — e.g., in the supply of teachers for emotionally disturbed children. This apparent need for new allocation rules, however, illustrates something about the unintended effects of incentives created by market-insensitive subsidies for tuition in teacher-education programs. The subsidies beget surpluses, and in a system insulated from market forces, the only corrective available for those surpluses is additional manipulation of the subsidy system. The alternative, of course, would be to get rid of the market-insensitive subsidies and to redirect training expenditures, linking them to new hires in Wisconsin’s school districts.

Weak training effects. The history of teacher education amounts in part to a history of complaint about college and university courses in education. Critics claim that these courses tend to be shallow, at best, and that they provide a sheltered arena in which faculty members can, with harmful effects, engage their students in time-wasting activity governed by fads, ideology, or personal preoccupations rather than knowledge about how to teach, say, mathematics or English or art. Reviewing main themes in the published work of people who teach education courses, E. D. Hirsch (1996), for example, describes what he calls a “thoughtworld” (pp. 69-126) — an orthodox, institutional view of teaching and learning within which academic disciplines and instructional skills are routinely denigrated.

For our purposes, however, a slightly different criticism is more to the point. It is this: education courses aggregated in university-based teacher education programs³ apparently have little effect of any sort on the practice of classroom teachers. The problem, according to this criticism, is not that university-based training leads new teachers astray; it is that it leads them nowhere, so that they must learn their job virtually from scratch when they begin full-time work.

Three sorts of evidence bear on this criticism. First, when student teachers or new teachers are asked to rank their preservice training experiences in order of usefulness, they ordinarily say that their most-important learning occurs during student teaching, after their other education courses have been completed, and that in the student teaching experience, it is their cooperating teacher, not someone from the university, from whom they learn most (see, e.g., Griffin et al., 1983). Second, when people look to see what teachers actually do in their classrooms and compare observed practice with prevailing views advocated by teacher educators, the comparisons show over and over that teaching practice is informed very little by teacher educators or other leaders in the profession (see Cuban, 1993). Teacher educators deplore the use of textbooks in social-studies classes, for example, but social-studies teachers put textbooks at the center of their work (Schug, Western, & Enochs, 1997). Teacher educators publish research showing that when English teachers mark students’ compositions, the time they spend on their annotations produces no gains in students’ writing ability (Hillocks, 1982), but English teachers continue to see paper marking as crucial to their work.

Third, when people look to see how new teachers cope with the demands of their first year on the job, they find that the specific contents of preservice training programs fade quickly from new teachers’ minds — washed out, in effect, by the rush of events in which new teachers find themselves engulfed. This washing-out effect has been vividly described in an observational study of five new teachers working in Wisconsin high schools during the

1987-88 academic year (Ganser, 1989). After having followed the five beginners through their first year, conducting 20-23 classroom observations of each of them, and discussing the first-year experience with each of them in seven in-depth interviews, the researcher (Ganser, 1989, pp. 338-345) concludes, in part, as follows:

The subjects stress the importance of knowing subject matter, but they pay little attention to how a teacher uses this knowledge ... in designing ... lessons. The subjects discuss the importance of being prepared for teaching, yet they do not describe stages in preparing for a specific lesson ... or teaching unit The subjects emphasize using a variety of strategies in teaching, but they do not discuss the advantages and disadvantages of various strategies, or how a teacher decides which strategy ... to use in a given ... situation.

The subjects ... pay little attention to procedures ... useful in determining students' knowledge ... before beginning to teach. They endorse adapting ... instruction to meet the needs of individual students, but say little about how to accomplish this goal

What the subjects have to say about good teaching is generally ... a-technical. That is, with some exceptions, much of what these subjects have to say ... could have been said just as readily by someone moderately articulate, educated, but *not* trained to be a teacher

The subjects' comments about good teaching appear to be more related to their own experiences ... and to commonly held notions ... than to any ... course of study

This ... bias is reflected in their idea that good teaching comes with experience In short, it is doubtful whether their characterization of good teaching and good teachers would be significantly different if they had never completed any courses in educational psychology, methods of teaching, the cultural foundations of education, or any other [courses] associated with ... teacher education.

To interpret these results, it is not necessary to assume that education courses are vacuous or that the people who teach them teach poorly. A simpler explanation emphasizes the great distance — sometimes in miles, more often in priorities — that separates colleges and universities from the K-12 schools.⁴ University work is influenced strongly by norms that encourage faculty members to carry out research, to publish books and articles, to teach graduate-level courses, to consult with external agencies, and to rise to leadership positions within higher education and in scholarly and professional associations. These norms influence hiring decisions, and they influence the day-to-day decisions of people who get hired. As a result, career paths are centrifugal. One does well by moving *on*, away from the local and the particular, in pursuit of what is called national and international visibility.

In contrast, K-12 educators work day in and day out on situation-specific problems arising from their immediate classroom circumstances. They do well by *mastering* the local and the particular, not by moving away from it or transcending it via activity carried out at a different level.

Student teachers and new teachers feel unprepared precisely because the local, particular problems they face in their classrooms did not rise to prominence — concretely, immediately, and urgently — in the university world from which they entered teaching. The problems — including classroom management and discipline, record keeping, knowing how and when to use special school services, relations with parents, and procurement of instructional materials — are not unknown to university-based teacher educators, of course, nor are they ignored altogether in education courses. But they belong decidedly to the K-12 world, not the university world. It is K-12 teachers, not university professors, who wake up nights worrying about them. It is K-12 teachers who develop rich repertoires of craft knowledge to deal with them. No wonder beginning teachers say that they learn to handle these crucial matters on-site.

Teacher educators by and large do not dispute the weak-effects criticism or the analysis given above to explain it. They argue, correctly, that the question of effects is to some degree situation-specific, with certain teacher-education programs showing stronger effects than others. Many of them concede the general point, often as a point of departure for a reform proposal of their own. B. O. Smith, for example, sought early in the 1980s to refocus teacher education sharply on training in the use of effective-teaching practices, imparted in highly organized clinical settings. His award-winning publication, *A Design for a School of Pedagogy* (Smith et al., 1980), sought a way to save university-based teacher education from what seemed to him then an impending loss of legitimacy:

If ... we can get over our hangup with graduate studies; if we can end our love affair with ideologies and put them in proper perspective; if we can ... exalt teachers and the schools rather than treat them as objects of wholesale criticism; if we can provide practitioners with workable procedures, techniques, and materials rather than ... grandiose formulas for the correction of all educational ills; ... there is hope that genuine professional schools of pedagogy can become a reality. (p. 14, emphasis added)

Smith's work, notwithstanding the honors bestowed upon it, had no distinct effect on teacher education. As the decade of the 1980s unfolded, teacher educators as a group did not pick up on it. No influential movement emerged, for example, to devise training programs informed by the line of research then being carried out by people who described relationships between teaching practices and achievement results. Nor were teacher educators galvanized subsequently by Lee Shulman's (1987) proposal to develop a repertoire of pedagogical content knowledge, to serve as a basis for training. Instead, teacher educators were drawn increasingly to a set of themes — constructivism, multiculturalism, multiple intelligences, authentic teaching, integrated thematic learning, education for caring, and self-esteem — remote from anything on the order of the procedures, techniques, and pedagogical knowledge that Smith and Shulman had proposed to emphasize. These themes have gained ascendancy throughout the 1990s.

From the vantage point of teacher educators working within this set of themes, it is true but trivial to note that teacher education has, to date, affected practice only weakly. On the one hand, the very idea of measuring effects is off-putting to people suspicious of all the outcome variables in question. On the other, even if past efforts to make a difference had come to nothing, new university-based programs informed by ascendant scholarship and carried out via new, genuinely collaborative efforts between universities and school districts would succeed where the others had failed. State governments should, therefore (the argument runs), invest in extended teacher-education programs, governed by tough, new licensure and program-approval rules. This remains the hope of teacher educators committed to the defense of university-based teacher education (see, e.g., The Holmes Group, 1995). It is not present practices they defend, but present practices sufficiently revised and elaborated. The defense rests on a tautology, of course, since *any* program, *sufficiently* revised and elaborated, would suffice to meet anybody's reform goals.

THE UNINTENDED EFFECTS OF LICENSURE

Against the possibility that a bootstrap operation might succeed within the current licensure and training system, we suggest that the system itself impedes reform and that it should be a target of reform efforts.

State licensure of teachers has an aura of high importance about it. Even if we do not affirm its value directly, we are apt to take it for granted. Even when we notice defects in the licensure system, therefore, we may feel biased against proposals to deregulate it.

We can gain perspective on licensing, however, if we notice that practically every occupational group in existence seeks state licensure for its members. As of 1996, 93 groups were licensed in Wisconsin, including manicurists and interior designers, and other groups, including locksmiths and tattoo artists, were pressing their licensure cases before the legislature (Walters, 1996). Nationally, nearly 500 occupations are licensed in at least one state (Young, 1993, p. 409).

Why do so many groups seek licensure? Each group claims that licensure for its members will protect the public. Evidence supports some of these claims — e.g., with respect to licensure standards for pharmacists. Other evidence undercuts licensure claims — e.g., with respect to television repairmen (Young, 1987, p. 53). Licensure does not guarantee benefits to the public.

Licensure does restrict entry and reduce competition in the licensed occupation (Young, 1993, p. 409). That is why licensure bills are known as “fence-me-in” measures. Entry is restricted by entry costs created by licensure requirements. Tuition costs paid by post-baccalaureate students enrolled in teacher-training programs at universities are an example. These costs do not always produce shortages (surpluses in many teaching fields prove this to be so) — but they increase the price we pay, collectively, for professional training. Under certain conditions, moreover (where consumer demand is inelastic), higher prices translate into higher practitioner incomes (Young,

1987, p. 49). Finally, licensing requirements give licensed groups leverage for resisting innovation, thus restricting consumer choice. In recent years, the organized medical profession has used licensing requirements to inhibit pre-paid health care plans, and lawyers have used their requirements to block establishment of low-cost legal clinics (Young, 1993, p. 412). Organized teachers similarly have begun to use teacher-licensure requirements in their efforts to oppose charter schooling.

Because licensure systems can confer important benefits on licensed groups, those in line to receive the benefits seek to preserve licensure and extend its reach, not to scale it back. Inservice teachers who acknowledge freely that certain licensure requirements are pointless do not take up cudgels on behalf of preservice students affected adversely by them. University faculty members and administrators who grumble and make jokes as licensure rules multiply also notice that the rules create demand for new courses in their programs, thus sustaining or perhaps increasing the generation of student credit-hours. Student credit-hours are sometimes used in campus-funding formulas; they are used generally in internal assessments of program vitality. Robust demand for education courses counts for much, therefore, especially during times of declining enrollments.

Given the important interests at stake, potential beneficiaries do more than stand by hopefully as useful developments unfold in Madison. They engage in political activity to shape the developments (Cibulka, 1996, pp. 9-10). This activity includes straightforward lobbying, but it also takes the form of service on task-force groups, advisory councils, and committees established to recommend changes in licensure rules. By these means, educators seek to capture the licensure system and the program-approval rules it generates, just as utility companies and railroads have sought historically to capture the federal agencies set up to regulate them.

Do we know that high-school students in Wisconsin have made gains in reading ability or subject matter knowledge thanks to PI 4.095(6)(i), which requires all preservice secondary education teachers to complete clinical experiences (“prior to and independent of student teaching”) in using reading and writing in the content areas? No, but we do know that that mandate requires a teacher-education program to allocate resources for a reading practicum experience, to be designed and staffed by faculty members hired for that purpose or assigned to do it rather than the work they otherwise would do. Do we have a knowledge base enabling us, in fact, to comply with PI 4.11(2)(a), which requires preservice teachers to demonstrate competence for resolving conflicts between pupils? No, but we do have open-ended lists of nostrums loosely associated with the general topic — and PI 4.11(2)(a) says it is somebody’s job to build such lists into credit-bearing (sometimes graduate-level) university coursework.

That is the heart of the matter. The rules do not merely shelter licensed educators; they also make work. They create a relationship in which the DPI officials who administer rules, the university officials who develop courses and programs in response to them, and the eager consultants who advise both groups all find employment. The rules burden preservice teacher-education students and provide no identifiable benefit for K-12 students; but of all the parties involved, students are the least well-positioned to object. Moreover, the preservice students’ loss is the universities’ gain — except when prospective students look at lists of education requirements and walk away. Their inclination to do that is diminished, however, by a lack of training options and by tuition subsidies that decrease their direct dollar costs.

It is not a system intended to preserve the status quo or frustrate the public. The people who work in it do not seek either of those goals. As policy issues arise, however, educators and DPI officials do seek to resolve them according to their interests — and licensure and program approval rules strengthen their hand in these cases. The unintended consequence, then, may be preservation of the status quo, or worse. The steepest cost of producer domination here, as in other places, proves to be its displacement of the public interest.

COULD IT BE OTHERWISE?

The turn toward deregulation. Wisconsin policymakers eager to support education reform need not suppose that increased investment in the current teacher licensure and training system is their only option. They may turn instead toward deregulation, seeking a simplified licensure system and other policy changes aimed at freeing school districts to recruit, hire, and train their own teachers.

The proposed turn toward deregulation will strike some as unnerving, but that response reflects absorption in the regulatory culture that has come to be taken for granted in Wisconsin. There is nothing exotic or reckless about the idea that teachers might be trained by teachers and administrators, in and around school settings. Many teachers in the United States were trained that way, through field-based normal-school programs conducted by urban school districts, until early in the 20th century. Now, university-based teacher education programs hire many K-12 teachers and administrators to work part-time, teaching methods courses and supervising field placements as substitutes for education professors occupied in other ways. Alternative certification for vocational-school teachers has been the norm since 1917; it is still available, under certain conditions, to Wisconsin teachers (PI 3.22). We have, moreover, the example of independent and religious private schools, many of which do not rely on state licensure or university-based professional training for their teachers. And we have the example of teacher training in other countries, where teachers' university studies generally are given over to the liberal arts and sciences, with pedagogical training carried out through internship and mentoring programs (Cummings, 1993). This is the case in Germany, for example — a country known historically for its leadership in developing pedagogy as an object of academic study.

Site-based teacher training. Interest in alternative teacher training and certification has grown steadily during the past several years — though not, for the most part, in Wisconsin — and alternative-program initiatives are now proliferating rapidly. Between 1983 and 1991, the number of states reporting some form of alternative teacher training rose from 8 to 39 (Dill, 1996, p. 947). As of 1991, the number of states offering “true alternatives” (Feistritzer & Chester, 1991) rose from two (New Jersey and Texas) to 11. By 1992, about 40,000 individuals had attained certification to teach through alternative programs (Feistritzer, 1992). By 1993, 32 states had dropped the approved program requirement for teacher licensure (Stoddart & Floden, 1996, p. 83). About 1,900 of the projected 30,000 new-teacher hires for California (for fall, 1997) will come from California's three-year-old alternative-certification system. In New Jersey, about 40% of new teachers to enter the system each year do so without completing an education degree (Buckley, 1997).

Alternative programs arise for various reasons, and they differ from one another in their purposes, contents, and structures. Programs in California and Texas were driven by a need to recruit teachers for work in multicultural-school settings, for example, while Connecticut's program arose in a time of teacher surpluses and focused on improving the quality of the teaching force. In New Jersey, university faculty members retain an important place in the state's alternative program, while California's alternative programs are designed and staffed largely by K-12 teachers and administrators (Stoddart & Floden, 1996, pp. 90-91)

Amid the variety, however, observers have described an emerging pattern exemplified by the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) and the New Jersey programs (Stoddart & Floden, 1996, p. 91). These programs select teacher candidates who have completed a baccalaureate degree and demonstrated subject-matter competence in the areas in which they seek licensure. The candidates receive a short period of preservice training (in the LAUSD case it is a 15-day program focused on the district's policies and practices) and then are assigned to teaching responsibilities. As they begin to teach, they continue to receive professional training — over a two-year period in Los Angeles, for twenty weeks in New Jersey. Those who receive a favorable recommendation from their school principal, after a specified period of training and teaching, are eligible for a regular teaching credential. The alternative programs recently initiated in Milwaukee follow this pattern (see Garza, 1996, Klink, 1997, and Milwaukee Teacher Education Center, 1996).

Because the preservice component in these programs is brief, compared to the total time period preservice undergraduate students spend enrolled in the university-based programs, alternative programs have come in for criticism from university-based teacher educators. The criticism is that the alternative programs amount to a shortcut and have the regrettable effect of putting untrained or not fully prepared teachers into classrooms — at a time when we desperately need fully qualified teachers instead (see, e.g., Darling-Hammond, 1996).

This criticism overlooks two crucial points. First, in the university-based programs we have now, what counts is not the total two- or three-year period in which undergraduates enroll as education students. Students during that time do many things — e.g., completing general education requirements and courses in their academic majors — that are not part of their professional training. Their professional training, moreover, includes introductory

courses and foundations courses that are remote (temporally and otherwise) from their actual engagement in the practice of teaching. *Engaged* time in university-based training comes down, typically, to a few high-stakes field- and student-teaching experiences. It is misleading, therefore, to contrast university-based training with alternative training by reference to large disparities in training time.

Second, the essential difference between alternative and university-based programs “lies not in the presence or absence of a professional training program but in the content and focus of such programs” (Stoddart & Floden, 1996, p. 92). Nobody proposes to dispense with training — although that happens frequently now, via emergency licensure, under existing rules. Instead, alternative programs seek to train teachers differently: with instruction focused on task demands, not distributed according to a task-irrelevant schedule; with instruction grounded in concrete situations, not abstracted from them; and with instruction constituted of practitioners’ craft knowledge, not knowledge refracted through more remote formulations (cf. Haberman, 1996). It is reasonable to question the adequacy of this outlook on training, and to question the capacity of alternative programs to make good on delivering it. To disparage the idea in advance by alleging that it would do away with training is to beg all the questions at issue.

Effects of site-based training. How well does alternative teacher education work? The question itself is complex, and the evidence associated with it is incomplete and mixed in its suggestions. Most research comparing alternative and university-based programs has focused on program requirements and the demographic characteristics of the teacher candidates, not on program effects (Stoddart & Floden, 1996, p. 83).

Demographic findings (from studies of alternative programs in California, New Jersey, and Texas) show that alternative programs attract candidates who differ, in the aggregate, from those attracted to traditional university-based programs. Compared to the latter group, alternative-program candidates are on average older, more likely to be males, more likely to be from minority groups, more likely to be career-switchers transferring into teaching from other occupations, and more likely to want to teach in inner-city schools (Stoddart & Floden, 1996, p. 97; see also Buckley, 1997). Perhaps because alternative-program candidates reflect considerable diversity, ethnically and in occupational backgrounds, they have been especially welcome in urban school districts beset by teaching vacancies in such high-need recruitment areas as mathematics, science, and bilingual education (Stoddart & Floden, 1996, p. 98).

The evidence about program effects is less easily summarized. It consists of a potpourri of results from studies of diverse programs carried out for diverse reasons and by diverse means. Some studies have focused on career satisfaction and retention in the teaching profession, for example. By reference to these outcomes, alternatively-trained teachers are comparable to or better than their traditionally-trained colleagues (Dill, 1996, p. 939). Some studies have compared new teachers from university-based and alternative programs by reference to subject-matter knowledge and instructional practices. Ball and Wilson (1990), focusing on secondary school mathematics teachers, found that new teachers from both groups looked alike in their mathematical knowledge, their ideas about effective teaching, and their teaching practices. A Texas study yielded similar results: new teachers from three backgrounds — alternative certification programs, traditional programs, and emergency licensure — performed similarly on measures of classroom teaching, as assessed by the Texas Teacher Appraisal System (Brown et al., 1989, p. 23).

Little to nothing is known about the most important outcome of all: effects on K-12 student achievement. We have been able to locate only one bit of evidence, from a study of a school district-based teacher training program in Houston. This study compared achievement scores of students whose teachers were (1) experienced, (2) alternatively certified, and (3) traditionally-trained first-year teachers, in 1988-89. Results showed slightly higher achievement scores for students assigned to experienced teachers and alternatively-certified intern teachers with experience; students assigned to first-year teachers and alternatively-certified interns with little or no experience did less well (Goebel & Ronacher, 1989, pp. 5-6). It was apparently experience, more than training programs, that mattered.

Interpreting program effects. The unexamined question about K-12 achievement effects serves well as a reminder that we should not allow side issues to distract us as we assess the potential merits of alternative teacher training programs. If somebody presents evidence showing that new teachers from an alternative program know

less about such-and-such than new teachers from a university-based program, we should not assume that any fault has been disclosed in the alternative program, or any strength in the traditional program, unless we also know that such-and-such is linked to improved K-12 achievement.

Gomez and Stoddart (1991), for example, assessed new English teachers from alternative and university-based training programs, comparing their knowledge about the teaching of writing. The university-trained teachers knew more than the others did about the “process approach” to teaching writing, which had been emphasized in their university programs. Commenting on this finding, Stoddart and Floden (1996, p. 99) imply that the university-trained English teachers were therefore better trained than the others. The result itself, however, shows merely that the university-trained people learned what they were taught. It does not show that K-12 students benefited, becoming better writers as a result of some teachers’ efforts to implement process-oriented teaching. This is significant because other research about the teaching of writing shows that process-oriented teaching has only weak effects on students’ achievement, despite its favored status generally within English education leadership circles (Hillocks, 1995, pp. 219-223). It is no commendation of university-based training to show that it exceeds alternative training in helping beginners to learn practices that are popular, but ineffective.

We wish to make one final point about the training effects of alternative teacher-education programs. Support for existing, university-based training programs never has derived from reliable knowledge about program effects. If existing programs were held now to exacting standards linked to achievement effects — on preservice or K-12 students — many of them would face immediate cancellation. When university-based teacher educators speak ominously, therefore, about the dangers of embarking on “a radical educational reform” being “rushed into place without thoughtful research and analysis” (Stoddart & Floden, p. 93), they rely transparently on a double standard: existing programs should continue to operate indefinitely, despite their shortcomings, while the people who work in them pursue the reform that is always just around the corner; alternative programs, however, should be held in check until all possible problems have been anticipated and neutralized in a perfect program plan.

This surely amounts to an effort to pit the perfect against the good. Enough is known about the defects of the present system and the potential of the alternative to warrant extension by Wisconsin of new opportunities for action.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Education policy in Wisconsin provides for a system of teacher education and licensure governed by an elaborate set of regulations. The regulatory culture associated with this system assumes that quality standards must be imposed, not that people will seek them if they have opportunities and incentives to do so.

Acting in compliance with the regulatory culture, colleges and universities devise teacher-education programs. These programs seem to be costly, because they provide market-insensitive subsidies that generate surpluses in some teaching areas while failing to ameliorate shortages in other areas. Real costs cannot be assessed, however, because the monopoly status of university-based programs prevents us from making comparisons with alternative ways of training teachers.

Whatever the costs, the university-based programs have weak training effects. It is difficult to be precise about these effects, however, because we do not have performance standards indicating what new teachers should know and be able to do. Nor do we have K-12 curricular standards or achievement measures that could inform our specification of outcome variables in any serious evaluation of teacher training program effects.

One response to this state of affairs would be to seek reform by elaboration of the licensure and university-based system. The effect of such an effort would be to strengthen producer-domination of the system, however, with no guarantee of improved results from the public’s point of view.

Wisconsin, therefore, should move in the other direction, simplifying the licensure system and enabling K-12 school districts to recruit, hire, and train their own teachers. Toward this end, we offer the following seven recommendations.

Recommendation 1: The Wisconsin state legislature should authorize K-12 school districts — acting singly or in consortia with other districts — to recruit and hire teacher trainees, to assign teacher trainees to regular teaching duties, to train their trainees according to preservice and apprenticeship training programs of their own design, and to certify trainees to the state for teacher licensure upon trainees' successful completion of a training program.

The rationale for this recommendation is implicit in the analysis, provided earlier in our report, of problems inherent in placing training programs in university settings, where training costs get mingled with the costs of other university activities, where university faculty members are influenced by incentives that draw their attention and effort away from teacher training responsibilities, and where internal scheduling and program design requirements make it difficult to achieve focus and coherence in training linked to K-12 school practice.

Recommendation 2: The Wisconsin state legislature should establish minimum eligibility criteria for people seeking appointment as teacher trainees. Minimum criteria should include successful completion of a baccalaureate degree granted by an accredited college or university, plus clearance on a criminal-background check.

Meeting minimum requirements would not guarantee any individual an appointment as a teacher trainee. Such an appointment would also require applying to and being hired for a trainee position in a given district. Districts could specify additional qualifications, consistent with their needs, just as employers elsewhere do. A district generally might prefer candidates holding baccalaureate degrees in the arts or sciences, for example, because those backgrounds seem especially relevant to the K-12 curriculum. For particular staffing needs, a district might seek candidates holding appropriate professional degrees — in engineering or nursing, for example — or prior professional or occupational experience. Nothing in the minimum criteria should discourage districts from exercising their judgment in these matters. (All school district actions, of course, would remain subject to state and federal civil-rights laws.)

Recommendation 3: For K-12 districts electing to hire and train teacher trainees, the Wisconsin state legislature should provide a readily accessible exemption from the *Wisconsin Administrative Code* PI 3 and PI 4, permitting districts instead to engage in training governed by the 10 performance standards recommended to the DPI in 1995 in a task force report, *Restructuring Teacher Education and Licensure in Wisconsin* (WDPI, 1995). Certification of successful trainees — by a K-12 school principal, to the state — should reflect an internal determination that the trainees in question have met the 10 performance standards.

“Readily accessible” is a key condition in this recommendation. The deregulatory goal would be frustrated if DPI officials or interest groups outside the DPI were to find ways of conditioning the exemption upon a district's creation of a training program so elaborate and costly that no district would choose to establish it. The authority to grant exemptions should, therefore, be taken out of the DPI's hands and assigned to a newly created state board, analogous to the Board of Regents, which would operate according to a legislative charter emphasizing the goals of initiative and innovation in district-level training programs. Such a board might include representation from teachers' organizations, administrative organizations, the DPI, Cooperative Educational Service Agencies (CESAs), and citizens at large.

Recommendation 4: In considering its conditions for granting school districts exemptions from PI 3 and PI 4, the state board charged with this responsibility should require that participating districts commit themselves to *building-specific hiring and training procedures* as a necessary condition.

Many shortcomings in existing school practices and in teacher-training programs reflect misaligned incentives. The human-resources officials that hire new teachers in some school districts do not themselves have to work

with the new people they hire, nor are they called upon to be responsible for new hires that turn out to be weak. Similarly, university professors, university supervisors of student teachers, and classroom teachers who serve as cooperating teachers in student-teaching programs all are able to pass weak preservice students along without having to assume firm responsibility for the decision. Each may argue, with some plausibility, that he or she is not uniquely responsible for a preservice student's competence, because each preservice student will have passed through several courses and training components before reaching student teaching. Moreover, performance standards for teaching are vague, reflecting widespread views that good teaching cannot be described adequately by any general statements. The weak preservice student who does get passed along may well disappear from the world of the university supervisor and the cooperating teacher — graduated and gone, at least to another school, perhaps to another city or state, where he or she will be no embarrassment.

If school principals and teachers had a strong say in the hiring of people for work in their respective schools, they would have a clear incentive to be very careful about their hires. If school principals and teachers knew that they and their colleagues would be directly involved in training the people they hired, they would have a clear incentive to attend carefully to the training programs and to the academic programs serving as their source of training objectives. Initiative and innovation could amount to empty slogans if they became somebody else's responsibility — somebody in a remote central office. A new system of site-based training should in fact be site-based; if that condition cannot be attained, the idea in question will never even be tested.

The emphasis on site-based training means that some teachers and administrators in a given school building would assume paid responsibility for participation in training activity. They would be among those conducting preservice sessions and ongoing training sessions during the school year. They would visit the classrooms of trainees and confer with them about lessons and units of instruction. They might engage in team planning and team teaching with trainees, and so on. The staff in a given school, however, would not need to shoulder sole responsibility for training. Schools within a district or schools working in a consortium arrangement might bring trainees together for common sessions, to draw on the expertise of staff specialists or to take advantage of centrally located instructional technology. Some training objectives might warrant contracting with individuals employed outside the district, including university-faculty members, for special-training services.

Recommendation 5: To fund school district-sponsored teacher-training programs, the state legislature should establish a teacher-training voucher program.

School districts granted authority to train their own teachers would apply for and receive funding through a voucher system, with a voucher awarded for each trainee hired and admitted to a district and a building-specific teaching assignment. The costs of training might be offset by a special trainees' salary schedule, according to which some percentage of a regular first-year teacher's salary would be deducted from the salary of trainees and deposited, in effect, in a training fund. A teacher's salary decreased by, say, 15% would look attractive to trainees whose other option would be to forgo a salary, while paying tuition for enrollment in a university-based program. Other revenues might be reallocated to district-based training programs if cost-savings materialized as a result of decreased compliance-monitoring by the DPI and decreased reliance by the state on university-based baccalaureate programs in teacher education. It is essential, in any case, that a move toward district-based teacher training be adequately supported. Just as the underlying idea will not receive a trial unless the site-based condition can be realized, it is also the case that a window of opportunity for school districts to engage in professional training will attract nobody unless it is accompanied by incentives that make the choice to train a rational one.

Recommendation 6: To assist school districts as they begin to assume responsibility for teacher training, the DPI should shift its emphasis away from regulations and compliance-monitoring, toward leadership and assistance aimed at helping districts with tasks of program development, instructional supervision, and assessment.

In a deregulated teacher-training system, the state need not withdraw into passivity. Acting through a redirected DPI, it could assist school districts by developing exemplary curricula in core academic areas, by developing

state-of-the-art instructional packages to teach teachers how to use exemplary curricula, and by providing technical assistance in response to requests for help with development of instructional supervision and assessment programs. In providing services of this sort, it could model uses of instructional technology, including distance-education technology.

Recommendation 7: Concurrently with its authorization of school districts to assume responsibility for teacher training, the state legislature should authorize an appropriate body to contract for the services of an independent evaluator, in order to obtain information about the effects of the new efforts.

One evaluative task would be to describe new training efforts as they emerge and to issue interim reports presenting descriptions to educators, state officials, and the public generally. The evaluator also would provide, after a designated time, an assessment of effects associated with the deregulatory initiative. The legislature would take account of this assessment in its subsequent decisions concerning the initiative. Faculty members in state universities also might take an assessment of effects into account as they review their education baccalaureate-degree programs in light of the new alternatives.

NOTES

- 1 One of these is the Dorothy Danforth Compton Program, intended to recruit and provide a new mode of training for minority middle-school teachers in the Milwaukee Public Schools. Launched in 1996, the program placed 25 liberal-arts graduates as teachers of record in Milwaukee middle schools; training for the new teachers is to be provided in special summer training sessions and in on-the-job coaching, as part of an overall training package jointly developed by MPS and five area colleges, including Marquette (Garza, 1996; Klink, 1997). A similar program, jointly developed by a group including representatives from UW-Milwaukee, MPS, and the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association, is intended to provide a new form of teacher preparation geared specifically to needs within MPS for teachers able to work effectively with multi-cultural school communities and the MPS School to Work curriculum (Milwaukee Teacher Education Center, 1996).
- 2 For an extended discussion, see Lieberman (1993), pp. 249-272.
- 3 These courses constitute at least one-third of the total credits required in most undergraduate teacher-education programs in Wisconsin; in some programs, the proportion is close to one-half.
- 4 Here we touch only briefly on this large topic. Compare Herbst (1989), generally, and Barone et al. (1996), especially pp. 1108-1117, on the problems associated with university-based education courses.

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APPENDIX: WISCONSIN LICENSES AND LICENSE CODES

| License Type | License Code No. |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| Administrative Assistant | 90 |
| Agriculture | 200 |
| Anthropology | 702 |
| Art | 550 |
| Audio-Visual Coordinator and Director | 905, 904 |
| Bilingual/Bicultural Teacher | 28, 33, 44 |
| Biology/Life Science | 605 |
| Business Education | 250-251 |
| Business — Vocational | 281 |
| Chemistry | 610 |
| Coaching Athletics | 540 |
| Computer Science | 405 |
| Dance | 536 |
| Driver Education | 450 |
| Early Childhood Education | 080, 100 |
| Earth and Space Science | 635 |
| Economics | 710 |
| Elementary Education | 42 |
| English | 300 |
| English as a Second Language | 395 |
| Foreign Language — Other | 390 |
| French | 355 |
| Geography | 715 |
| German | 370 |
| Health | 910 |
| Health Occupations — Vocational | 911 |
| History | 725 |
| Home Economics Education | 210 |

| (License Type) | (License Code No.) |
|---|--------------------|
| Home Economics — Related Occupations | 211-216 |
| Indian History and Culture | 927 |
| Indian Home School Coordinator | 924 |
| Indian Language and Culture Aide | 925 |
| Indian Language | 926 |
| Industrial Arts — see Technology Education | 33 |
| Industrial Arts — Vocational — see Technology Related Occupations | 35 |
| Instructional Library Media Specialist | 901, 902 |
| Instructional Technology Specialist | 903 |
| Journalism | 310 |
| Latin | 350 |
| Local Vocational Education Coordinator | 65 |
| Marketing Education | 285 |
| Mathematics | 400 |
| Music Education | 506, 511, 515 |
| Philosophy | 730 |
| Physical Education | 530 |
| Physical Science | 637 |
| Physics | 625 |
| Political Science | 735 |
| Psychology | 740 |
| Reading Teacher and Reading Specialist | 316, 317 |
| Recreation | 535 |
| Religious Studies | 755 |
| Resource Management | 615 |
| Russian | 385 |
| Safety Education | 455 |
| School Administrators | 04, 24, 34 |
| School Business Manager | 08 |
| School Counselor | 966 |
| School Counselor — Bilingual | 967 |
| School Counselor — Indian Language & Culture | 963 |
| School Librarian | 900 |
| School Nurse | 75 |
| School Psychologist | 61, 62 |
| School Social Worker | 50 |
| Science, Broad Field | 601 |
| Science, Grades 6-9 | 621 |
| Social Science, Broad Field | 701 |
| Social Science, Grades 6-9 | 703 |
| Social Science, Other | 760 |
| Sociology | 745 |
| Spanish | 365 |
| Special Education — Adaptive Education | 859 |
| Special Education — Adaptive Physical Education | 860 |
| Special Education — Early Childhood-Exceptional Educational Needs | 808 |

| (License Type) | (License Code No.) |
|---|---------------------------|
| Special Education — Emotional disturbance | 830 |
| Special Education — Hearing Impaired | 805 |
| Special Education — Learning Disabilities | 811 |
| Special Education — Mild or Moderate Mental Retardation | 806 |
| Special Education — Occupational Therapist | 812 |
| Special Education — Orientation and Mobility | 826 |
| Special Education — Orthopedic Disability | 815 |
| Special Education — Physical Therapist | 817 |
| Special Education — Severely Handicapped | 807 |
| Special Education — Speech and Language Pathology | 820 |
| Special Education — Visually Impaired | 825 |
| Special Education Program Aide | 883 |
| Speech Communication | 320 |
| Substitute Teachers | 43 |
| Supervisor, Coordinator, Director of Instruction | 10, 15, 20 |
| Supervisor, Counseling and Guidance | 968 |
| Supervisor, Counseling and Guidance — Bilingual | 969 |
| Supervisor, Instructional Library Media | 91 |
| Supervisor, Special Education | 81, 82 |
| Technology Education | 220 |
| Theater | 325 |
| Technology Related Occupations | 291-299 |

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

The **Wisconsin Policy Research Institute** is a not-for-profit institute established to study public-policy issues affecting the state of Wisconsin.

Under the new federalism, government policy increasingly is made at the state and local levels. These public-policy decisions affect the lives of every citizen in the state. Our goal is to provide nonpartisan research on key issues that affect citizens living in Wisconsin, so that their elected representatives are able to make informed decisions to improve the quality of life and future of the state.

Our major priority is to improve the accountability of Wisconsin's government. State and local governments must be responsive to the citizenry, in terms of the programs they devise and the tax money they spend to implement them. Accountability should apply in every area to which the state devotes the public's funds.

The agenda for the Institute's activities directs attention and resources to the study of the following issues: education, welfare and social services, criminal justice, taxes and spending, and economic development.

We believe that the views of the citizens of Wisconsin should guide the decisions of government officials. To help accomplish this, we also conduct semiannual public-opinion polls that are structured to enable the citizens to inform these officials about how they view major statewide issues. These polls are disseminated through the media and made available to the general public and the legislative and executive branches of state government. It is essential that elected officials remember that all of the programs established and all of the money spent comes from the citizens of Wisconsin and is made available through their taxes. Public policy should reflect the real needs and concerns of all of the citizens of the state and not those of specific special-interest groups.