Framing Teacher Education: Conceptions of Teaching, Teacher Education, and Justice in Chilean National Policies

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Abstract: Chile shows high inequity and socioeconomic stratification in both K-12 education and teacher preparation. Drawing on the notion of frames, this critical policy analysis examines how teaching, teacher education, and justice were conceptualized in Chile's teacher preparation policies between 2008-2015. It also analyzes the narrative stories implicit in these policy documents. Analysis of the documents shows that national policies emphasize a content knowledge for teaching and teacher education and conceptualize justice as an issue of access to quality teachers. These approaches to teaching, teacher education, and justice are similar to predominant discourses in countries like the US. However, Chilean national policies are promoted using a narrative of development instead of the narrative of decline or crisis usually used in developed countries. These

findings contribute to the understanding of national teacher education policies and their connection to the process of *policy borrowing*. The paper shows both the particularities of frames and narratives used in teacher education policies in developing countries like Chile and their similarities to those in countries that implement neoliberal policies in teacher education.

Keywords: Educational Policy; Preservice Teacher Education; Social Justice; Neoliberalism; Frame analysis

Enmarcando la formación inicial docente: Concepciones sobre enseñanza, formación docente y justicia en las políticas nacionales de Chile

Resumen: Chile muestra altos niveles de desigualdad y estratificación socioeconómica tanto en la educación escolar como en la formación inicial docente. A partir de la noción de marcos interpretativos, este análisis crítico políticas estudia cómo la enseñanza, la formación docente y la justicia son conceptualizadas en las políticas de formación inicial docente en Chile entre los años 2008-2015. También analiza los relatos o narrativas implícitos en estos documentos de política. El análisis de estos documentos muestra que las políticas nacionales enfatizan el conocimiento del contenido para la enseñanza y la formación docente, y conceptualizan la justicia como un problema de acceso a profesores de calidad. Estas aproximaciones a la enseñanza, formación docente y justicia son similares a los discursos predominantes en países como Estados Unidos. Sin embargo, las políticas nacionales en Chile son promovidas usando una narrativa de desarrollo en vez de una narrativa de decadencia o crisis usualmente usada en los países desarrollados. Estos resultados contribuyen a comprender las políticas nacionales de formación inicial docente y su conexión con el proceso de "préstamos de políticas". Este trabajo muestra tanto las particularidades de los marcos interpretativos y narrativas usadas en las políticas de formación inicial docente en países en desarrollo como Chile y sus similitudes con aquellos países que implementan políticas neoliberales en formación inicial docente.

Palabras-clave: Política Educativa; Formación Inicial Docente; Justicia Social; Neoliberalismo; Análisis de Marcos Interpretativos

Enquadramento da formação inicial de professores: conceitos sobre ensino, formação de professores e justiça nas políticas nacionais do Chile

Resumo: O Chile mostra altos níveis de desigualdade e estratificação socioeconômica tanto na educação escolar como na formação inicial de professores. A partir da noção de quadros interpretativos, esta análise crítica das políticas estuda como o ensino, a formação de professores e a justiça são conceitualizadas nas políticas de formação inicial docente no Chile, entre 2008-2015. Também analisa os relatos ou narrativas implícitas nesses documentos de políticas. A análise desses documentos mostra que as políticas nacionais enfatizam o conhecimento do conteúdo para o ensino e a formação de professores, e conceitualizam a justiça como um problema de acesso à professores de qualidade. Essas abordagens para o ensino, formação de professores e justiça são similares aos discursos predominantes em países como os Estados Unidos. No entanto, as políticas nacionais no Chile são promovidas usando uma narrativa de desenvolvimento em vez de uma narrativa de decadência ou de crise geralmente usada em países desenvolvidos. Esses resultados ajudam a compreender as políticas nacionais de formação inicial de professores e sua conexão com o processo de "empréstimos de políticas". Este trabalho mostra tanto as peculiaridades dos quadros interpretativos e narrativas utilizados nas políticas de formação inicial de professores em países em desenvolvimento, como o Chile, como suas semelhanças com os países que implementam políticas neoliberais na formação inicial de professores.

Palavras-chave: Política Educacional; Formação inicial de Professores; Justiça Social; Neoliberalismo; Análise de Quadros Interpretativos

Introduction & Background Literature[1]

Teacher education has been at the center of international debates on teaching quality framed as a problem of preparation, learning, and in the last 20 years, as an issue of educational policy (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2005; Darling-Hammond & Lieberman, 2012). Many Western countries have attempted to regulate teacher preparation using accountability mechanisms and policies as a lever for reform (Cochran-Smith et al., 2018; Cohen-Vogel, 2005; Early, 2000; Stephens, Tønnessen, & Kyriacou, 2004). This trend is reflected in the implementation of standards, accreditation procedures, and certification policies in countries such as the US, Norway, and England.

These policies have been promoted claiming the relevance of quality teacher education for student learning and the need to guarantee a qualified teacher for every student (Barber & Mourshed, 2008; OECD, 2005). However, using standards and accountability policies to boost teacher preparation quality has been accompanied by a great deal of controversy. Some scholars argue the definition of standards and more rigorous accreditation/certification processes for teacher preparation programs and teachers will increase the number of qualified teachers and the status of the profession (Darling-Hammond & Lieberman, 2012; Hickok, 1998). Critics of standards and accountability policies argue that they concentrate inappropriately on basic skills and establish procedures for the continual surveillance of teachers and teacher educators (Lerman, 2014). Other detractors claim that tighter accountability policies have narrowed the curriculum, omitted critical and moral debates from teacher preparation, reduced local control, and resulted in the overall deprofessionalization of teaching (Butin, 2005; Conway, 2013; Earley, 2000; Stephens et al., 2004). Additionally, many accountability policies, although aimed at increasing equity, have not attended to larger issues of justice (Cochran-Smith, Piazza, & Power, 2013).

This research can be located in studies on teacher preparation that Cochran-Smith and Villegas (2016) categorize as "policy responses and trends." Policy studies in teacher education tend to focus on the implications for teacher professionalism or the teacher preparation curriculum without analyzing these aspects from a social justice perspective (See Bell & Youngs, 2011; Chandler, 1990; Early, 2000; Fuchs, Fahsl, & James, 2014; Hickok, 1998; Lerman, 2014; Scannell & Metcalf, 2000; Sears, 2002). Some exceptions to this trend are studies such as Barnes-Johnson (2008) and Butin (2005). Additionally, empirical research on teacher preparation and social justice has focused primarily on specific teacher preparation courses, assignments, workshops, partnerships, or whole programs without analyzing their relationship to teacher preparation policies (See Anderson & Stillman, 2013; Butcher et al. 2003; Ensign, 2009; Gazeley & Dunne, 2013; Kuthy & Broadwater, 2014; Lynch, 2013; Mills, 2013; Naidoo, 2010; Wasserman, 2010).

This study is a critical policy analysis of Chilean national policies implemented between 2008-2015 by the Ministry of Education (MOE) in order to strengthen the curriculum and practices of teacher education programs (Cox, Meckes, & Bascopé, 2010; García-Huidobro, 2010; Manzi, 2010). Policies analyzed include common standards and a national written exit test for student teachers (INICIA test), competitive grants for improving teacher education programs, and university

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tuition scholarships for prospective teachers who had high achievement scores on the national university admissions test, called PSU[2] (MINEDUC, 2011, 2012, 2013).

The purpose of this study is to explore how teacher education is constructed in national teacher education policies in Chile by unpacking their assumptions about teaching, learning, and justice using Frame Analysis (Bustelo & Verloo, 2006; Entman, 1993; Oliver & Johnston, 2000). The paper examines policies implemented between 2008-2015 by analyzing policy documents and tools, related to their construction and implementation, issued between 2006-2014. This analysis allows to answer: 1) How are teaching, learning, and justice framed in national teacher preparation policy documents in Chile? 2) What are the narrative stories used to promote these frames? 3) What are the commonalities and differences between Chilean national policies and international trends?

These policies are an example of the complex process of policy borrowing. The increase in student teacher selectiveness and financial aid, the implementation of standards, and accountability mechanisms have been used to strengthen teacher education in diverse countries, including Singapore, Finland, Canada, Holland, Australia, and the US (Cochran-Smith et al., 2018; Darling-Hammond & Lieberman, 2012). Chilean policies borrow these aspects and combine them. International policy trends have been adopted and at the same time adapted. They have been framed and promoted according to the national context of educational inequity and the history of implementation of neoliberal policies that combined regulation and deregulation. Policy documents use a narrative of development to promote Chilean policies instead of the narrative of decline or crisis usually used in developed countries.

This study is relevant to the field of teacher preparation because it explores accountability policies prevalent in many parts of the world in the context of Chile where accountability and deregulation work together. Furthermore, this research generates evidence regarding whether, and if so how, national teacher preparation policies address issues related to the high levels of socioeconomic stratification and inequity that are integral parts of the Chilean education system.

Chilean Teacher Education History and Context

Combining Deregulation and Regulatory Policies in a Neoliberal Context

Neoliberal policies were implemented in Latin America as promoted by international organizations, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (López Guerra & Flores 2006; Torres, 2002). Chile was the first country to implement neoliberalism in a "pure" form under the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990). Neoliberal ideas were used to restructure Chilean services, such as health, social security, and education based on principles of efficiency and competition (Inzulza, Assaél, & Scherping, 2011; Pastrana, 2007; 2009). During the dictatorship, military authorities intervened in teacher preparation programs and universities (Contreras-Sanzana & Villalobos-Clavería, 2010; Inzunza et al., 2011). This intervention resulted in an ideological and political "clean-up" of these programs' curricula because discussion of controversial issues was considered dangerous for the government's agenda (Pastrana, 2007, 2010). Teachers were considered suspicious political actors, and the status of the teaching profession was undermined through various strategies (Cox, 2003). Teachers lost their rights as public servants and their salaries were reduced (Ávalos, 2010). In 1974, the preparation of teachers became the exclusive responsibility of universities and "institutos" (similar to colleges), most of them controlled by military authorities (Cornejo & Reyes, 2008; Inzunza et al., 2011). In 1981, the creation of private

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[2] In March 2016, the "Teaching Career Law" was approved. Because this policy was approved recently, it is not included in this research.

universities and "institutos" with complete autonomy was authorized by the government while public funding to public universities was reduced by 50% (Inzunza et al., 2011). These reforms resulted in a weakening of teacher quality and an erosion of the democratic goals of education (Ávalos, 2010; Cox, 2003).

Since 1990, democratic governments have introduced changes in order to strengthen teacher education without challenging its neoliberal foundation (Ávalos, 2014; Inzunza et al., 2011). Before 2016, reforms maintained low governmental intervention in the market of higher education, introducing few and gradual changes. This has resulted in an increase in the number of private universities and little public funding for public universities, which has had serious consequences for equity. Before 2016, most of the funding for universities came from family contributions, leading to high levels of socioeconomic stratification at the higher education level[3].

Between 2000 and 2008, there was a large increase in the enrollment of student teachers and the number of teacher preparation programs offered in universities and "institutos" in Chile (Cox et al., 2010). The total number of undergraduate programs related to teacher education (elementary, high school, special education, early education) increased 196.4%—from 249 programs in 2000 to 738 programs in 2008. The number of institutions that offered these programs also increased by 53.8%—from 39 institutions in 2000 to 60 in 2008. There was also a rapid increase in the number of enrolled student teachers—from 35,708 student teachers in 2000 to 92,164 in 2002—a 158.1% increase. According to Cox et al. (2010), this trend can be explained by a number of factors: the MOE's approval of full autonomy for private universities to open programs and campuses in 2002, the need to hire more teachers after school hours were increased, and increases in the number of students who graduated from high school. This increase in the number of teacher preparation programs and student enrollment was particularly large at institutions with low or no selectivity and that granted more student loans (Cox et al., 2010; García-Huidobro, 2010; Manzi, 2010). The number of programs offered by universities with low or no selectivity increased by 593%, while their student enrollments increased by 566% between 2000 and 2008 (Cox et al., 2010).

Democratic governments have introduced some policies to regulate the teacher preparation market, closing distance programs in 2005, promoting mandatory program accreditation since 2006 (Fernández, 2016), and implementing the standards and exit test analyzed in this paper. Montecinos (2014) points out that these policies focused on control and accountability instead of on improving the conditions of teacher preparation programs. She also expresses concern about the possible negative effects of the exit test on standardized teacher preparation curriculum and practice. Ávalos (2014) argues that teacher preparation policies during the last couple of decades have focused on providing funding only to programs that show concrete outcomes, such as students' performance on tests.

Chile is an interesting case because regulation and deregulation co-exist in teacher education. Chile differs from other countries, such as the US, because it neither certifies teachers nor has a national register of teachers. The exit test is not required to enter the profession. Furthermore, most universities offering teacher preparation programs are private, and the academic requirements and rules for graduation vary (Botzakis & Malloy, 2006; Sotomayor & Gysling, 2011). While there was a mandatory accreditation process for teacher preparation programs, this accreditation only affected funding for institutions before 2016[4]. Minimal regulation of teacher preparation programs is a

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[3] This situation has partially changed since 2016, when the "Free Higher Education Law" was enacted. This benefit was available only to students who fall into the lower 50% of the poorest population that year (MINEDUC, 2016b).

[4] Accreditation of teacher preparation programs became mandatory to be able to enroll students in 2016 under the "Teachering Career Law."

consequence of neoliberal policies implemented in the Chilean educational system starting in the 1970s.

Inequity and Socioeconomic Stratification in Education

Previous studies have reported that regulations and accountability policies in teacher education have been implemented in the context of high levels of inequity and socioeconomic stratification in Chile (Cavieres, 2011; García-Huidobro, 2007; Torche, 2005; Valenzuela, Bellei, & De los Ríos, 2010). Different types of schools—private, voucher, and public schools—enroll students from different socioeconomic populations (García-Huidobro, 2007)[5]. The Chilean educational system is highly stratified, and the quality of education accessible depends upon socioeconomic background (Torche, 2005).

These issues are also reflected in teacher education. Ruffinelli and Guerrero (2009) pointed out that the Chilean educational system creates a cycle of inequity that segregates and privileges or disadvantages K-12 students and teachers based on socioeconomic status. They conducted a study of the academic backgrounds and career paths of 246 teachers who graduated from 17 different universities[6]. The authors found that most teachers who attended selective universities also attended private high schools. In contrast, teachers who attended universities with low levels of selectivity came primarily from public municipal schools or voucher schools. This highly segregated system was reproduced in the schools that employed them. Most teachers found employment in the same type of school they had attended as primary students. Additionally, different teacher preparation programs were associated with different career paths for teachers. Eighty percent of teachers who graduated from selective public universities and more than 97% of teachers who graduated from selective private universities worked in voucher or private schools.

Many claim that teacher education has the potential to play an important role in challenging an unequal and stratified educational system. Since teaching and teacher education are not neutral activities, teacher education policies can promote knowledge and practices that challenge or maintain systems of power and privilege (Cochran-Smith, 2010). Few studies have analyzed Chilean teacher education policies and the conceptions of justice they promote (Fernández, 2016).

Theoretical Framework

Two complementary theoretical frameworks informed my analysis: policy as discourse and a theory of teacher education for social justice.

Policy as Discourse

The critical policy analysis developed for this study takes the perspective of social deconstructionists who focus on the discursive aspects of policy (Bacchi, 2000). This perspective assumes that policies are not created simply to resolve already identified and clear problems. Rather, the assumption is that problems are constructed in policy debates and policy documents in order to promote desired perspectives on how policy problems should be understood and to promote desired strategies intended to address those problems (Bacchi, 2000; Edelman, 1998; Stone, 2012). From this perspective, we cannot assume that policies simply identify objective problems and offer the best possible strategy to solve these problems based on a rational process of decision-making.

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[5] Private schools enroll students from high-income families. Voucher schools receive students primarily from families of medium-low to medium-high socioeconomic status. Public schools enroll students from families of medium-low to low socioeconomic status (García-Huidobro, 2007).

[6] Their sample represented 14.5% of students who graduated from Chilean universities in 2009.

Rather, policies are the result of debates based on actors' worldviews, values, and agendas. Policies are "assemblages" that combine elements from competing actors and "are constructed in a context of existing and emerging dominant discourse frames" (Bustelo & Verloo, 2006, p. 8). Policies are based on and at the same time construct forms of understanding or "framing" of problems and solutions.

Researchers who have delved into the concept of frames point out that frames set the parameters for understanding the actions and words of others within a context of interaction (Bateson, 1954; Oliver & Johnston, 2000). According to Entman (1993) and others (Davies, 2002; Rein & Schön, 1996), the process of "framing" includes selecting some aspects of a situation, event, context or problem to make them more salient, noticeable, meaningful or memorable for others. Frames usually involve four functions: defining problems, diagnosing their causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting solutions to remedy these problems (Rein & Schön, 1996). This approach to policy is relevant because frames have an impact on how people understand and respond to policy. Entman (1993) argued that frames are defined by what they include and exclude; all of these have the capacity to have an impact on the reader and audience member. Similarly, Ball (1993) recognized that policy, understood as discourse, creates some possibilities of thought and practice but limits others.

Social Justice Frameworks in Teacher Education

The concept of social justice has been used extensively in the educational field; however, its meaning has been highly varied and contested (McDonald & Zeichner, 2009; North, 2008). The analysis in this article is informed by three different but consistent conceptualizations that suggest a way to consider the characteristics of teacher education from a social justice approach: Sleeter's (2009) concept of *teacher education for social justice*, Cochran-Smith's (2010) *theory of teacher education for social justice*, and McDonald and Zeichner's (2009) discussion of *social justice teacher education*. Cochran-Smith (2010) defined teacher education for social justice as an intellectual approach and warned against reducing it to a method or specific actions without acknowledging particular social, historical, and political contexts.

According to Cochran-Smith (2010) and McDonald and Zeichner (2009), teacher education programs oriented to social justice should have a clear definition of their theories of justice, as this has consequences for the programs' aims, goals, and strategies. Both Cochran-Smith and McDonald and Zeichner refer to the distinction between *distributive justice* and the *justice of recognition* (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Young, 1990). Cochran-Smith states that a theory of justice for teacher education should articulate a notion of distributive justice, based on autonomy and equity, as well as a notion of the justice of recognition, which recognizes and challenges the structural oppression of diverse social groups. In contrast, McDonald and Zeichner argue that a distributive notion of justice does not challenge structural inequalities and that teacher education programs with a social justice approach should move to a justice of recognition.

Cochran-Smith (2010) argued that a theory of teacher education for social justice must also include a theory of teacher education (how teachers learn). This implies that a social justice perspective should be present in the selection and recruitment of student teachers, the curriculum and pedagogy of the program, the structure and collaborators, and the program outcomes. Sleeter (2009) and McDonald and Zeichner (2009) also mention these aspects as important. However, McDonald and Zeichner emphasize that teacher preparation programs should be connected to social movements through social organizations. This connection would allow student teachers to better understand their students' lives, to expand their role as teachers, and to become politically active.

Finally, Cochran-Smith (2010) states that a theory of teacher education for social justice must include a theory of practice (the relationship between teaching and learning). However, McDonald and Zeichner (2009) show concern that teacher education programs usually place issues of social justice in the foundational courses, omitting them in courses more directly associated with teaching practice. According to Cochran-Smith, a theory of practice should consider teaching practice as theoretical and practical, and include aspects of advocacy and activism. She states: "In order to support justice, teaching practice must be theorized as an amalgam of the following: knowledge; interpretative frameworks; teaching strategies; methods, and skills; and advocacy with and for students, parents, colleagues, and communities" (Cochran-Smith, 2010, p. 454). Similarly, Sleeter (2009) and McDonald and Zeichner (2009) emphasize teacher advocacy.

Synthesizing these ideas, teacher education guided by a social justice approach should include a definition of justice, a theory about how student teachers learn, and a conception of the relationship between teaching and learning. These three aspects guide the present research questions.

Methodology and Data Sources

This critical policy analysis uses a frame analysis methodology to identify, analyze, and report patterns among the Chilean national teacher preparation policies (Bustelo & Verloo, 2006; Entman, 1993; Oliver & Johnson, 2000; Snow & Bedford, 1998; Stone, 2012). A policy frame analysis seeks to identify the dominant frames present in policy, their connections with ideologies, and the actions that are legitimized and delegitimized through these policies (Viesca, 2013). This methodology assumes that policies do not describe found reality but rather construct problems and solutions.

My analysis of Chilean teacher preparation policies emphasizes three kinds of frames that are present in policy documents (Snow & Bedford, 1998). Diagnostic framing includes the identification of problems and the attribution of causes. Prognostic framing involves the suggested solution to the problem as well as the strategies used and targets. Motivational framing includes inducements to take actions. This research identifies the symbolic devices (Stone, 2012) used in the documents analyzed by policymakers and authorities in Chile. Symbolic devices are used in policies to influence and control others' thinking and feelings. Across frames, attention was placed on *narrative stories* constructed in these policies (Stone, 2012). These stories linked frames and built coherence in policy discourses. Stone stated, "Problem definitions are stories with a beginning, a middle, and an end, involving some change or transformation" (p. 158). Narrative stories are used to define problems and to provide resolutions for them through the policies proposed. Stone suggested that some common stories implicit in policy discourse are stories of change and power, often expressed as the dichotomy of decline/rise or control/helplessness.

This analysis used as major data sources 23 documents and policy tools related to teacher education in Chile that were published between 2006 and 2014. These data sources encompass all publically available official documents that express the rationale of national teacher education policies and documents used to disseminate the policies. As Table 1 indicates, the data include: two reports issued by national educational committees commissioned by Chilean presidents that evaluated and made proposals for teacher education; ten documents used to disseminate and explain teacher education policies; three normative documents, which contain instructions, guidelines, or standards to be used by teacher education programs; two President's messages and proposals submitted to the Congress; and six congressional meetings reports in which the President, Minister of Education, or similar authority presented the perspective of the government related to teacher education. When these documents mentioned specific diagnostic information, strategies, or results for different teacher specializations (elementary, secondary, early childhood, or other), I focused my

analysis on the information provided for elementary teacher specialization, because policy guidelines and tools were created for and implemented in this specialization first.

Table 1
Official National Policy Documents Analyzed (Based on Fernández, 2016, p. 116-119)

Type of Document	Doc ID	Author	Title in English
Committees' reports	1	Expert Educational Panel (2010)	Final report: First stage. Proposals to strength teaching profession in the Chilean educational system.
	2	Presidential Advisory Council (2006)	Final report by the presidential advisory council for the educational quality
Dissemination and explanatory documents	3	Manzi, J. (2009)	INICIA program: Foundations and first advances
	4	Manzi, J. (2010)	INICIA program: Foundations and first advances
	5	MINEDUC (2010)	Teacher initial education
	6	MINEDUC (2012a)	Dissemination seminar of initial teacher education policies
	7	MINEDUC (2013a)	Background of INICIA tests
	8	CPEIP (2012a)	Informative meeting INICIA evaluation 2012
	9	MINEDUC (2011a)	Policies for improving initial education quality in Chile
	10	CPEIP (2012b)	INICIA evaluation 2012, dissemination of collection of themes meeting
	11	MINEDUC (2012d)	INICIA evaluation, presentation of results 2011
	12	MINEDUC (2013b)	INICIA evaluation, presentation of results 2012
Normative Documents	13	MINEDUC (2011b)	Guidelines standards for teachers graduates in elementary education: Pedagogical and content knowledge standards
	14	MINEDUC (2012b, April 23)	Approves bidding conditions forms (administrative and technical), and agreements for competition of performance agreements (convenios de desempeño) in initial teacher education, academic innovation, and professional strengthening
	15	MINEDUC (2012c)	Guide performance agreements application call 2012 field initial teacher education

Table 1 (Cont'd.)
Official National Policy Documents Analyzed

Type of Document	Doc ID	Author	Title in English
President's messages	16	President (2011)	President of the republic´s message that start a bill which create the professional excellence examination and the initial pedagogical excellence incentive allocation
	17	President (2013)	States substitutional text to the bill which establishes the teacher advancement and professional development system in the public sector (Official Bulletin N° 8189-04)
Congressional meetings reports	18	House of Deputies (2012a)	House of deputies 359st legislature, 141st session on Wednesday March 7th, 2012
	19	House of Deputies (2012b)	Financial report: Bill that creates the professional excellence examination and the initial pedagogical excellence incentive allocation
	20	House of Deputies (2013a)	House of deputies 361st legislature, 80th session on Tuesday October 8th, 2013
	21	House of Deputies (2013b)	Official letter N° 10,951 (Bill sent by the House of Deputies)
	22	Senate (2014a)	Report by the education, culture, science, and technology committee, passed to the bill, in the second constitutional process which establishes the teaching advancement and professional development in the public sector. Official Bulletin N° 8,189-04
	23	Senate (2014b)	Official publication journal of senate's sessions 361st legislature, 89th session in Wednesday January 22th, 2014

Note: All the translation of the title of the national policy documents are provided by the author.

In order to assure validity and trustworthiness, strategies commonly used in qualitative research and frame analysis studies were applied (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Dombos, 2012; King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994; Maxwell, 1992; Triandafyllidou & Fotiou, 1998). The analysis of diverse policy documents and tools allowed for the triangulation of data sources and provided different information from the predominant discourse promoted by the MOE. For example, committee's reports and presidents' messages provide more information about the diagnostic frames and the concepts of justice underlying the policies, while normative and dissemination documents provide more abundant information about prognostic frames and the concepts of teaching and teacher education.

The analysis of how teacher education is framed in national teacher education policies was guided by the research questions and the key dimensions of my theoretical framework (theory of practice, theory of teacher education, and theory of justice) and methodology (diagnostic,

prognostic, motivational frames, and symbolic devices). These dimensions were used to create and define code families, which were piloted and adjusted analyzing one document. During the process of analysis, I identified emergent codes and code families related to my research questions, and I organized these codes based on the previously defined code families (see final code list in Appendix A). Across the process, I wrote analytic memos regarding the more salient characteristics of the national policies across documents.

I analyzed all policy documents in two phases using Atlas.ti. This multiphase analysis allowed for exploring the corpus emphasizing different aspects. First, I organized all documents and analyzed them chronologically, emphasizing (but not restricting the analysis to) the identification of the dimensions of my theoretical framework. In this stage, I paid close attention to how concepts of teaching, teacher education, and justice were defined. Then, I coded documents a second time organizing them by type, as presented in Table 1 (e.g. Committees' reports, normative documents). In this second stage, I delved into the identification of more abstract dimensions of diagnostic and prognostic frames (dimensions related to the methodology) across documents. After I completed the coding process, I read through my analytic memos and revisited the codes across documents.

Findings

In this section, I present the diagnostic and prognostic frames identified in documents produced by the MOE, focusing on the conception of teacher education, teaching, and social justice presented along these aspects. After that, I identified the narrative stories across these conceptions.

Diagnostic Frame: The Problem of Education and Teacher Education

Across policy documents, the MOE constructed the problem of the overall education system in Chile as a problem of injustice. Injustice was understood as the achievement gap between high- and low-income K-12 students and associated with the low quality of teachers. The MOE used national and international students' achievement tests and examples from foreign countries to promote their vision of problem construction and to make their case.

At the national level, injustice was reduced to the achievement gap as measured by the national standardized test (SIMCE). As it was stated in the policy documents, only 5 out of 40 students in low socioeconomic groups learned what was expected; in contrast, 26 out of 40 students in high socioeconomic groups met benchmarks (Document 9, 2011a). At the international level, the documents claimed that Chile was behind the OECD countries' average in quality and equity of education using the 2006 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) results as evidence (Document 1, 2010; Document 5, 2010). This statement was based on the assumptions that educational quality was adequately captured by student performance on the PISA test and that inequity can be defined as the variance between the test performance of low-income and high-income students.

The MOE attributed the achievement gap between students from high and low socioeconomic groups on national and international evaluations largely to low teacher quality. Most often, inequity was not described using multi-causal explanations and social factors. The MOE wrote across documents that better teachers were the main factor necessary in order to improve student achievement and reduce the achievement gap. This statement was supported using international evidence, such as the 2005 OECD report *Teachers Matter* (OECD, 2005) (Document 4, 2010). A quotation from a 2007 McKinsey report (Barber & Mourshed, 2008) was also used in several documents: "The quality of an educational system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers" (Document 8, 2012a, p. 42). Most of the time when this argument was made in the documents it was

supported with facts and figures from that same 2007 McKinsey report, which focused on the impact of high- and low-performance teachers on student test results (Barber & Mourshed, 2008). One figure showed that after three years, teachers situated at the bottom 20th percentile of performance evaluation produced a gap of 53 percentile points in achievement between their students and that of students taught by teachers who performed at the top 20th percentile (Document 6, 2012a).

International evidence worked as a symbolic device (Stone, 2012). Stone stated, "A symbol is anything that stands for something else" (p. 160) and that symbolic devices are used to support claims and to persuade people. The use of international organizations reports, such as McKinsey and OECD, could be interpreted as an effort to give more credibility and objectivity to the MOE statements. The reports were strategically used in order to validate and legitimate the problem constructed in policy documents. International evidence was also utilized as a symbol to signify that the MOE was not ideologically influenced but rather was acting in response to an objective or scientific diagnosis. In fact, international data were used to claim that the importance of teachers in student achievement could not only be stated but also quantified even after a short time of teaching, as this excerpt by the President of Chile exemplifies:

> A key factor to achieve a better education is teachers' effectiveness in the teaching process. Both international and national evidence point out that this aspect helps explain to a significant degree differences in children and youth's learning. Thus, it has been proven that an ineffective teacher can hold up a child's learning each year even six months in comparison to students who faced appropriate teachers. At the same time, the most effective teachers can make their students' progress in a similar period of time up to an equivalent of 1.5 academic years (Document 18, 2012a, p. 67).

As this excerpt shows, the international evidence also provided motivation for change and a sense of urgency that justified interventions that would impact teacher quality.

It was stated in policy documents that one of the main causes of low-quality teachers was low-quality teacher preparation. The problem of teacher education was defined as the inability of preparation programs to attract and select strong students and to offer a high quality curriculum. The MOE established a causal relationship between strong teacher candidates and high quality teachers by referencing the 2005 OECD report *Teachers Matter* (OECD, 2005). The policy documents pointed out that teaching was not an attractive career for "talented" high school Chilean students who obtained high scores on the national university admission test. The MOE claimed that low interest in teaching was related to the low status of the profession as well as the lack of economic incentives (Document 1, 2010).

Policy documents also stated that an increase in student teacher enrollment has been coupled with a lack of selectiveness. The MOE showed that between 1996 and 2008 the enrollment in teacher preparation programs, especially in elementary programs, radically increased. This argument was made in diverse documents using a number of graphs and tables, as well as language exemplified by this excerpt: "Explosive increase of enrollment. The enrollment is multiplied by 5.4 in 12 years" (Document 5, 2010, p. 15). According to the MOE, however, the selectiveness of the teacher preparation programs remained low. As it is illustrated in the below quotation, university cut off scores on the national admission test for those entering teaching programs were very low or there was no minimum score necessary to apply:

> The 73% of the graduates from education programs in 2011 neither they did not take the [national] university admission test nor obtained less than 500 points on it. In our higher educational system, the number of graduates from educational programs has

quadrupled in the last ten years. The requests to achieve that condition are in practice nonexistent (Document 23, 2014b, p. 157).

When the MOE referred to problems with teacher education curriculum, it stated that teacher preparation failed to provide student teachers with adequate content knowledge. This claim was supported using quantitative data, such as student teachers' performance on national or international tests. For example, the MOE expressed concern about the low achievement of student teachers on the results on the international test TEDS-M (Teacher Study in Mathematics), which evaluated mathematical knowledge (Document 22, 2014a). Deficiencies in mastery of content knowledge by student teachers were mentioned not only as a problem of teacher preparation outcomes but also as a problem of teacher preparation inputs—student teachers' capacities and qualifications before entering the programs. The MOE stated teacher preparation programs had low selectiveness based on the low scores achieved by student teachers on the admission tests. This test measured mathematics, language arts, social science, and science knowledge at the end of 12th grade.

In addition, the MOE used examples from foreign countries to construct the problem of teacher education. The policy documents stated that the Chilean educational system was not doing what successful educational systems elsewhere do to address problems related to the selection, recruitment, and preparation of student teachers. Description of successful educational systems was used as a comparison model to diagnose the problems of teacher education in Chile. For example, discrepancies between selection processes in teacher preparation programs in Chile and other countries were framed as part of the problem that had to be overcome. At the same time, other countries' policies and strategies were used as part of a motivational framing; they were presented as desirable and necessary in order to improve the quality of teaching and to catch up with other countries. The use of foreign countries' examples in the construction of the problem in policy documents is exemplified in the following quotation:

> She [the national minister of education] emphasized that in other countries to obtain these results, 30% of the best [high school] graduates are selected to pursue the teacher career. In this context, she pointed out that the reality of the country is far from this aspiration. In 2011, 73% of graduates from educational programs had not taken the PSU [national admission test] or had obtained less than 500 points in the test. In that sense, she said that in some higher education institutions candidates are automatically selected to study pedagogy just providing their RUT (national identification number) (Document 22, 2014a, p. 8).

Prognostic Frames: Conceptions of Teacher Education, Teaching, and Justice

In this section, I explain the conceptions of teacher education, teaching, and justice that were explicit and implicit in the solutions (prognostic frames) proposed in national policy documents.

Conceptions of teacher education. The solutions to the problems constructed regarding teacher education were associated with economic incentives, standards, and a national exit test for student teachers. All of these strategies focused on improving the student teachers' content knowledge using market and regulatory approaches.

The solutions highlighted by the MOE included an increase in the selectiveness of teacher education programs, along with scholarships and economic incentives in the first year of teaching to attract talented students (Document 1, 2010). Examples of the high degree of selectiveness of teacher education programs in educationally successful countries were used to support the proposed changes. The MOE stated that the best educational systems worldwide selected student teachers from the top of the college-going population, and teaching was a valued and attractive profession. In

the Chilean policy documents, talented students were defined as students who scored high on the standardized national university admission test that measured disciplinary knowledge. Therefore, this was one of the main requirements to obtain a MOE scholarship (Document 18, 2012a).

The proposed solution for recruiting and selecting "better" students was a policy based on market logic. This solution assumes that economic incentives for teacher candidates in the form of scholarships will increase the selectiveness of the programs. This economic incentive is a targeted policy that, consistent with the problem constructed in policy documents, focuses on rewarding only "talented" students. In this way, the MOE made the decision to affect recruitment and selection in an indirect way. Instead of regulating program requirements, such as a minimum cutoff score for student teacher selection in all programs, the MOE chose to try to influence the market of university programs using scholarships. If higher education institutions wanted to enroll students with these scholarships, the MOE required a program cutoff of 500 points on the national admission test (Document 18, 2012a). It was assumed that these scholarships, which were provided only to study education, would induce students to choose teaching over other undergraduate majors. It was also assumed that student teachers would choose to study at the universities that qualified for scholarships over those that did not. In this way, the MOE assumed that teacher education recruitment and selectiveness could be based on and fixed by market incentives.

To address the low quality of teacher preparation programs, the solutions proposed in policy documents focused on controlling student teachers' outcomes. The main strategies proposed were related to defining minimum criteria for teaching, which would be stated as standards and evaluated using the exit test. These criteria encompassed the minimum knowledge that student teachers should have, according to the MOE, at the end of their preparation and beginning of their teaching career. The quotation below showed the objective defined by the MOE for standards:

> The objective of these standards is to clarify, on the one hand, what every teacher must know and know to do in the classroom, and on the other hand, the professional attitudes that the teacher must develop as a result of his/her preparation as an elementary teacher. In this sense, the standards are a useful and needed reference for teacher preparation institutions, because [the standards] reveal the knowledge, skills, and competences that these institutions must be able to teach to their students in the course of their studies (Document 13, 2011b, Presentation section, para. 5).

The MOE emphasized that national standards and the exit test were not intended to control individual programs' curricula, which could include different pathways to foster the expected outcomes in student teachers. Despite the standards not being mandatory, they made explicit the aspects of teacher preparation curricula that were valued and promoted by the MOE: content and pedagogical knowledge. The standards were organized into five areas. Four areas were related to content knowledge, including 49 standards, and one area was related to pedagogical knowledge, including 10 standards (Document 13, 2011b). The emphasis on content knowledge was consistent with the construction of the problem in policy documents. One of the most frequent sets of knowledge and skills defined by these standards was knowledge and understanding of the content of the subject matter to be taught (Document 13, 2011b).

The national exit test was based on the national standards and evaluated teacher candidates according to content knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and basic skills (writing skills)[7]. The MOE's analysis of the exit test for elementary education student teachers and this study agreed that the national exit test focused on evaluating content knowledge. The MOE stated that the test

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[7] Between 2009 and 2011, a test for ICT skills (information and communications technology) was applied.

evaluated three topics related to pedagogical knowledge, including knowledge of student learning and development as well as design and implementation of teaching (Document 10, 2012b). In contrast, the test evaluated 19 topics related to content knowledge, including knowledge of grammar, geometry, and the earth and universe. Only four of these topics related to content knowledge included some pedagogical content knowledge, such as "Scientific knowledge and its learning" (Document 10, 2012b, p. 26).

Even though it was not required that teacher preparation programs align their curricula with the standards, the MOE indirectly promoted the incorporation of the standards into the curriculum through the publication of the results achieved by student teachers on the national exit test. Policy documents pointed out that the exit test results would be public. This proposal was based on the argument the educational system should provide information to student teachers, teacher preparation programs, and the public in general about the quality of teacher preparation programs. According to the policy documents, making exit test results public information also would prompt the improvement of programs and guide prospective student teachers' decisions:

> These tests have important effects even if they only were used to provide information and without high stakes. Particularly, because they mean important information for the educational organizations, but especially for the student teachers and future student teachers, as far as the [tests] allow them to make informed decisions. In that sense, it is key that the results [on the test] be made transparent to the public, especially at the level of the program or the higher education institution (Document 1, 2010, p. 46).

The assumption here is that the exit test would provide an objective measure of quality that would allow universities (providers) and student teachers (consumers) to make better decisions. Student teachers' decisions would include choosing universities whose students had the highest scores on the exit test. It was expected that the result of the exit test would allow teacher preparation programs to make changes to align their programs to standards based on student teachers' consumer decisions and demands.

The MOE promoted national standards for student teachers indirectly by publicly releasing student teachers' test results from all programs. Also, the MOE promoted directly its standards with the small group of teacher preparation programs that earned grants for improvement. The general objective of the grant program was to improve the professional competences of student teachers. One of the two main indicators used to evaluate the achievement of this objective was students' scores on the exit test[8] (Document 14, 2012b). Therefore, universities that received Ministry grants were accountable for their students' results on the exit test, which was a direct way to promote the alignment of teacher preparation programs' curriculum with the standards and the content of the exit test.

Conceptions of teaching. Consistent with aspects of teacher education valued by the MOE, the aspects of teaching that were more valued were content knowledge. First, content knowledge was mentioned in the construction of the problem as the knowledge for teaching lacking in teachers or student teachers. This information was supported by the MOE's use of student teachers' poor results on international tests measuring content knowledge and evidence of the low achievement of student teachers on the exit test during the first years of its implementation (Document 11, 2012d). Second, the MOE's conception of good teaching was implicit in national

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[8] Another indicator of quality of the program's graduates was evaluation of the learning of their K-12 students as indicated by value-added assessment measures. However, this indicator had not yet been required.

standards for student teachers and the national exit test, which emphasized content knowledge. The aspects included on the standards and evaluated on the exit test were presented in the policy documents as the minimum criteria for teaching for graduate student teachers, or what is sometimes referred to as "the floor" of requirements for teachers. "The standards have the purpose of communicating to the society, and especially to the field of the professions, a vision of which are the competences that teaching professionals must have when entering elementary education teaching" (Document 13, 2011b, p. 8). Therefore, for the MOE, the minimum condition for teaching was to have mastered content knowledge and, to a much lesser extent, pedagogical knowledge.

Conceptions of justice. Across the national policy documents, justice/injustice were constructed in three ways and usually presented together. First, injustice was constructed as part of the diagnostic frame, portrayed as the largest level problem that could be overcome by improvements in the educational system. The policy documents stated that there was a student achievement gap based on socioeconomic status, and teachers were constructed as the most important factor in solving this problem. As the excerpt exemplifies, a narrative of common knowledge and consensus was used to claim that this was the most important issue to solve at this historical moment.

> The [Presidential Advisory] Council has achieved large agreements… They are supported by a shared ascertainment: the education of our country has progressed, but it is far from having the quality needed and required in the present world, nor is it able to reduce the noticeable beginning inequalities which children start their educational experience with (Document 2, 2006, p. 14).

Quantitative data were used to construct and validate injustice as a problem. Data from students' performance on national and international tests were used as a symbolic device indicating that the student achievement gap had been well documented scientifically. These data were used to provide an "objective" measure of inequity amongst students based on their socioeconomic status. For example, a graph in one of the dissemination documents showed an increase in the achievement gap between low income and high income students after four years of school, using as two time points the fourth and eighth grades (Document 5, 2010). Pointing to that graph, the document stated that the gap between low and high income students on the national standardized test, SIMCE, had increased 27 points after four years. These data were complemented with international evidence about the effect of teachers on students' achievements. With this coupling, the attribution of responsibility for this problem was implicitly located in teachers.

Second, justice was framed as the moral inducement to persuade the public and educational leaders to implement the solutions proposed by policies. It was argued that the proposed solutions, which focused on teacher variables, should be supported because they would have an effect on the achievement of students, and it was a matter of morality and ethics to provide better opportunities to students in disadvantage. This idea is illustrated in the following quotation:

> To this [Expert Educational] Panel was assigned to contribute ideas to strengthen teacher capacities in the country… In this task [the panel] have had in sight the general interest of the country. [The panel] is convinced that these are essential reforms to achieve a more equitable and quality education (Document 1, 2010, p. 73).

Additionally, justice was constructed as an expected outcome of policy implementation. As it was explicitly mentioned in the documents, the final goal of the changes proposed in teacher education was to improve the quality of the education system available to all students, regardless of

socioeconomic background (Document 13, 2011b). Therefore, new teacher educational policies should be implemented to improve the quality of teachers, but this objective was subordinated to the larger goal of improving educational equity. As previously stated, for MOE, equity was understood in a limited way: it meant reducing the gap between low- and high-income students on national and international standardized tests.

Stories that Shaped the Conceptions of Teaching, Teacher Education, and Justice

Across the conceptions of teaching, teacher education, and justice and the diagnostic and prognostic frames, I uncovered two prevalent *narrative stories* (Stone, 2012). These stories linked frames and built coherence in policy discourses. Two of the most prominent stories in policy discourse are what Stone calls *stories of change* and *stories of power*. Across the Chilean policy documents, the implicit story of change was what I am referring as a *story of development*. The MOE recognized important achievements as a result of the implementation of educational policies and, at the same time, pointed to current national challenges. This story of development overlapped with the *story of control*, which emphasized the current capacities of the country to make changes and overcome the challenges constructed as problems.

In short, the story of development and control in teacher education policies in Chile goes something like this: 1) At the present time, Chile shows a gap in student achievement based on socioeconomic status and overall student achievement falls behind that in developed countries; 2) If Chile is to become a developed country, it must improve the equity of its educational system, reducing the achievement gap between low- and high-income students; 3) Chile is now in a developing stage wherein it is possible to reduce the achievement gap among students as well as the achievement gap between Chile and developed countries; 4) However, the Chilean educational system is not doing what successful educational systems around the world are doing to improve teacher preparation; 5) Following the example of successful countries and based on international evidence, the MOE decides to implement efficient tools to reform teacher education; this means creating incentives, standards, and consequences.

The "setting" of this story was frequently portrayed across documents in the diagnostic frame. The main problem of the Chilean educational system was constructed as a problem of inequity, conceptualized as the achievement gap between low- and high-income students as measured by the national standardized test (SIMCE) as well as the achievement gap between Chilean students and students from developed countries, as measured by PISA. In the construction of this problem, the connection between an equitable educational system and future national development was expressed as a causal relationship. As the following excerpt exemplified, it was assumed that access to quality education would provide access to better opportunities for each person, allowing for personal development and ultimately an equitable society:

> There is a consensus regarding the importance of education to improve the quality of people's lives, not only because this allows access to better opportunities, but because it allows a more comprehensive development and a fuller personal fulfillment. Furthermore, this results in more progress for the country and in the advance toward a more free and equitable society. Despite the improvements that Chile has accomplished reflected, for example, in international tests such as PISA… the country is still far from assuring quality, effectiveness, and equity in the educational system (Document 18, 2012a, p. 67).

As this quotation suggests, promoting equity was not only a moral task but also a strategic one that would allow the country to make progress and overcome underdevelopment.

Despite the previously defined problems related to quality and equity, the narrative used in the policy documents avoided a narrative of crisis; instead, it emphasized development. This story recognized the existence of previous educational policies aimed at improving coverage, quality, and equity in education and acknowledged their resulting progress and pitfalls. Thus, policies that had been in place previously in Chile were not portrayed as entirely negative but as strategies that had situated the country in a position from which it could pursue more ambitious challenges, as this excerpt suggests:

> Precisely, because the country has resolved the historical deficiencies and has achieved a reasonable performance standard, the [Expert] Panel considers that the Chilean education situation is far from being characterized as a crisis…. However, the Panel acknowledges with the same strength that our education has great challenges ahead. There is, then, a historical opportunity to advance in reforms which will allow the country during the next decades to achieve educational performances similar to those of more developed countries, in terms of the average mean of learning as well as in [achievement] gaps amongst students from different socioeconomic background (Document 1, 2010, p. 16).

Underlying this story of development was a conception of improvement as a developmental process in which prior stages were the basis for new changes and future improvements. This conception was evidenced by the fact that early policy documents often cautioned that new policies should be implemented gradually.

An additional factor related to the national developmental stage reflected in the policy documents was the country's willingness to pursue greater challenges. The policy documents cited agreement among different social actors about the relevance of making changes in teacher education. These actors included policymakers, teacher educators, and the community in general.

This background—the progress made by previous policies and agreement across actors— allowed for the affirmation that Chile was in a developmental stage in which it was possible to pursue greater changes in teacher education. The country was technically and socially ready to face new challenges. However, here lies the main conflict in Chile's story. Chile was not doing what successful education systems were doing in teaching and teacher education. The MOE used reports by international organizations to construct this conflict. According to the MOE, OECD (2005) and McKinsey and Company reports (Barber & Mourshed, 2008) claimed and demonstrated with quantitative evidence that teachers were the main factor contributing to the improvement of student achievements. However, Chile was not doing what successful countries and the international evidence considered relevant to do in teacher education—in recruitment, selection, and preparation—to improve teaching.

The MOE stated that in educationally successful countries, top academic high school students entered teacher education programs. In contrast, as mentioned in the diagnostic frame, for the MOE, the teaching profession was not attractive to "talented" high school students (Document 4, 2010). Additionally, the quality of teacher preparation in Chile in general was considered deficient, especially when it came to preparing student teachers with adequate content knowledge. In contrast, the policy documents mentioned that successful countries applied mechanisms to ensure a common level of quality among teachers entering the profession. These mechanisms included the implementation of a common examination for all teacher candidates, such as the exit test proposed in the policy documents. These tests could take a variety of forms, according to the MOE, but each case required an agreement about the knowledge needed to enter the teaching profession (Document 1, 2010).

        The MOE decided to reform teacher education following the example of successful countries using international evidence provided primarily by the OECD and McKinsey & Company. These changes included the incorporation of incentives and national standards for student teachers, and consequences in the form of allocation of funding for institutions and publication of exit test results. Throughout this story, the MOE was portrayed as in charge of policy decisions about how to reform teacher education. Even though the MOE acknowledged that the country faced challenges, these were perceived as possible to overcome if the right policies, designed by the MOE and influenced by international narratives, were implemented.

Discussion

    Based on my critical analysis, I show that national policy documents framed "the problem" of teacher education (diagnostic frame) as a problem of teacher quality and low-quality teacher preparation programs, defined as the lack of content knowledge in student teachers. The MOE constructed the solution to this problem (prognostic frame) as the creation of standards, the implementation of a national exit test, and economic incentives (scholarships) for student teachers who achieved high scores on the national university admission test.
    All these strategies highlighted the importance of content knowledge for teachers, which represent a limited understanding of teaching knowledge. Other types of knowledge relevant to a theory of practice from a social justice perspective were not emphasized by national policy discourses (Cochran-Smith, 2010; McDonald & Zeichner, 2009; Sleeter, 2009). Theoretical frameworks and methods that could facilitate the development of teaching practices relevant to students and their local contexts were not highlighted in policy documents. Additionally, the standards and exit test placed excessive focus on content knowledge over practical skills and did not include aspects of teacher activism.
    The theory of teacher education underlying the policy discourses is also problematic from a social justice perspective (Cochran-Smith, 2010; McDonald & Zeichner, 2009; Sleeter, 2009). The solutions proposed to address the lack of selectiveness in teacher preparation programs could work against diversity. The idea of raising student teachers' admission requirements, which heavily rely on admission tests, has been questioned by scholars because of the negative effects on the recruitment of marginalized populations (Montecinos, 2014; Rogers, 2009). Policy strategies that address the reform of field experiences and the relationship between universities and schools were also not included as proposed solutions.
    Across policy documents, the explicit and implicit theory of justice was aligned with a distributive notion of justice (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Young, 1990). Justice was understood as a matter of achieving equity within the existing educational system by reducing the achievement gap between low- and high-income students. Specifically, the discourse deployed in policy documents focused on providing quality education to K-12 students regardless of their backgrounds. Teachers were considered the most important factor in improving student achievement and reducing the achievement gap. In this way, it was assumed that injustices could be overcome by providing a quality teacher for each student. Scholarships for high achieving students who want to be teachers, new national standards, and an exit test for teacher candidates are the primary means being established in Chile to guarantee that each student has access to a high quality teacher.
    This conception of justice is relevant in a country like Chile, where there is a clear and direct relationship between students' socioeconomic status, the type of school they attend, and their academic achievement (Cisterna, 2007; Torche, 2005). However, some teacher education scholars, such as Sleeter (2008) and Cochran-Smith and Fries (2011a), are critical of discussions about equity

that are reduced to how teachers can raise students' scores on standardized tests without consideration and attention to the larger systemic and structural inequalities that created the achievement gap in the first place. For example, absent in the discussions of equity in Chilean policy documents was recognition of the impact of the socioeconomic stratification of students identified by previous scholars (Ruffinelli, 2009; Ruffinelli & Guerrero, 2009). This conception of justice neither questioned whether the current educational system goals, teaching strategies, teacher knowledge, and standardized tests responded to the culture and needs of students from low-income backgrounds or other marginalized groups (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2011a).

Different from the distributive notion of justice, Fraser and Honneth (2003) defined justice as parity of participation, arguing that not only objective but also intersubjective conditions are necessary to achieve justice. This intersubjective dimension is related to the cultural patterns that affect opportunities to achieve social esteem, status, and learning and is referred to as the justice of recognition (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Young, 1990). In the policy documents, there were no proposals or strategies that sought to question the dominant culture and the existing relationships of power that marginalize some groups. The standards and tests for student teachers promoted a single definition of what it means to be a good teacher, which does not account for aspects of multiculturalism or the particularities of teaching in diverse local contexts. Also, the content of the standards and the exit test did not include aspects related to advocacy and activism as part of teaching. These aspects are considered relevant in a teacher education program oriented toward social justice (Cochran-Smith, 2010).

Concluding Thoughts

This study contributes to our understanding of national teacher education policies and the process of *policy borrowing*. This concept refers to the "conscious adoption in one context of policy observed in another… [B]orrowing is, strictly speaking, a deliberate, purposive phenomenon" (Phillips & Ochs, 2004, p. 774). This process has been reported across institutions, states, countries, and fields and has been applied to general educational approaches, objectives, strategies, methods, and organizational aspects (Phillips & Ochs 2004; Winstanley, 2012). The process of policy borrowing is currently a common phenomenon across countries, as suggested by Lingard and Rawolle in Winstanley (2012): "Neo-liberal globalization has changed the face of policy making and 'challenged the assumed reality of sovereign policy formation as territorially bound within nation-states' (p. 517). My study shows that this has happened not just in general ways but in very specific approaches to teacher education reform in Chile.

Similar to what Semela (2014) and Conway (2013) found in the context of Ethiopia and Ireland respectively, the national educational policies in Chile reveal the complex interaction between national debates and international discourses. Semela stated that international players in Ethiopia not only indirectly affected national decisions, but also in some periods of the country's history, they directly intervened in national policies. Semela (2014) described international organizations as "the movers and shakers of educational policies and practices in developing countries" (p. 118). Clearly, the construction of the Chilean MOE as fully in charge of the policy decisions is different from the history of policy construction in Ethiopia. However, like Semela's and Conway's studies, this study shows the influence of frames and narratives of international organizations on national debates and policies. The problems and solutions promoted by the MOE were also promoted by the discourses of international organizations, such as OECD and McKinsey and Company. The influence of international organizations in Chilean policies exposes the complexities embedded in the process of policy construction when it transcends national borders.

In Chilean national policies, international trends that are imported are presented as evidence-based and used in educationally successful countries. Auld and Morris (2014) argued that the process of "policy borrowing" is usually coupled with the rhetoric of "what works" to validate the policy proposals. Similarly, Sung (2011) argued that *externalized references* were used by policymakers in Japan to introduce changes in educational policies reducing contestation. In Chile, international references, examples, and discourses have played an important role in how teacher education policies have been constructed and validated.

The diagnostic frames used in national policies in Chile reflected the idea that teachers were central to improving the achievement of students. The prognostic frames used in national policy documents suggested that teacher quality required strong professional preparation and certification before teachers are ready to teach. This construction of the problem and the proposed solutions were very similar to the discourses about *teacher quality and teacher education* identified in the context of the U.S. (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2011b). In both Chile and the US, teachers were identified as the main determinant of students' learning, and strategies proposed were designed to strengthen teacher preparation programs by defining and measuring progress toward common standards.

Similarities between the Chilean and the U.S. construction of problems and solutions are partly explained by global trends in education, in particular in countries that have adopted neoliberal education reform approaches. Neoliberal ideas have become the predominant discourse in education policies around the world (Apple, 2006), and they have been implemented in many countries in keeping with recommendations by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (Stern, 2013; Torres, 2002). In Chile, teacher education policies combine regulation—through standards and a national exit test for student teachers—with market solutions, such as providing information about program and institutional quality to prospective teacher candidates and assuring their access to services. The assumption is that more information based on collected and publicized data will lead to consumers (student teachers) voting with their feet and will thus prompt changes in institutions. It is expected that low-performing teacher preparation programs that do not adjust to consumer demand will disappear (Inzunza et al., 2011).

The combination of market approaches that champion both deregulation and regulation through more accountability seems incompatible at first glance. But Apple (2009) and others (e.g., Bottery, 2009) argued that this combination actually allows neoliberal reforms to determine the value of each institution in the market and at the same time provides choices to consumers. However, Sergiovanni (2005) argued that this kind of reform usually leads to superficial and short-term changes in organizations. Under these policies, organizations change enough to avoid sanctions or enough to win in the market; however, the change discontinues when the sanctions are removed.

The policies' conception of justice, as distributive justice, has been reported as the predominant approach in teacher education policies in other countries, such as the US (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2011b). These policies focused on the idea of injustice in terms of the problem of a teacher quality gap and linked this gap to the alleged decline of the US as a global competitor. The authors describe the influence of the McKinsey and Company report issued in 2010 on the construction of this predominant discourse.

Despite these similarities, I also suggest that the prominent *narrative story* (Stone, 2012) used across the policy documents in Chile was different from those often used in other countries. This Chilean story emphasized the current capacities of the country to make changes and overcome the challenges constructed as problems. This *story of development* stood in sharp contrast with the *stories of decline*, or crisis, usually deployed in discourses in developed countries to promote policies (Stone, 2012). The story of decline paints a picture of crisis and warns the nation that educational quality is in direct trouble unless drastic measures are taken (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2011b; Mehta, 2013).

This trend has been observed by other scholarly critical analyses of policy documents in countries such as the U.S., England, and Ireland (Conway, 2013; Early, 2000; Stephens et al., 2004). The Chilean *story of development* also contrasts with the *stories of rising* often identified in developing countries (Stone, 2012). These are inspirational stories that highlight the achievement of the country, and they could be observed, for example, in the policies of Poland in 2009 (Stone, 2012).

Chile's story reflects how the process of policy borrowing is shaped by the particularities of the context and history of each country. The *story of development* in Chilean teacher education policies could be related to the fact that the country does not have a history of previous success or global leadership in education. One of the challenges that democratic governments have faced in Chile, after almost two decades of dictatorship, is the lack of quality of education provided to students who are in disadvantaged situations (Ávalos, 2001). Therefore, even though the international and national reports pointed to the low performance of Chilean students, especially low-income students, in the last decade this fact has not been interpreted as a decline in the educational system but as an inherited problem that democratic governments have tried to overcome by making some progress in spite of some pitfalls. During the period when the first documents were issued, Chile was still trying to become an OECD member, a status not achieved until 2010. This could explain the emphasis of the national policy documents on creating a narrative about the need for change while avoiding statements about crisis.

Forthcoming studies could build on this research by analyzing the relationship of international discourses to teacher education policies in other places. It would be relevant, for example, to explore the predominant national frames in countries that do not share the Chilean history of neoliberal policies and educational inequity. Also, in order to build a more complete understanding of the process of policy construction, it is important to study teacher education policies in countries that have used alternative frames or have resisted the predominant discourses promoted by international organizations. Additionally, assuming that national policy frames limit the possibilities of people's understandings and practices, but do not void people's agency, future studies could explore how teacher educators and teachers reframe and enact teacher education policies in the context of practice (Ball, 1993). Along these lines, it would be important to examine the commonalities and differences between the discourses promoted by international and national organizations with the discourses of local teachers and teacher educators. It would be also relevant to explore the discourses of teacher educators' associations, teacher unions, and advocacy groups and to consider their responses to international trends in teacher education at the national or transnational level.

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Appendix A

National Policy Documents Categories, Code Families and Codes

Theory of Practice

1. Teachers Knowledge & Characteristics valued

Basic Skills
Disciplinary knowledge
Pedagogical knowledge
Skills for using TICs
Commitment with students
Commitment with professional
learning/reflection/research
Knowledge of teaching and/and evaluation strategies
Theories of learning
Knowledge of the students & community
Professional attitudes (team work, leadership, flexibility, ethical behavior)
Knowledge about community/school culture
Respond to diversity & promote integration
Work with community
Classroom management
Strategies to promote students' social & personal development

Theory of Teacher Education

1. Aspects evaluated in grants program

Main indicator: exit test achiv. & value added by new teachers
Increase level of achievement of K-12 students
Increase of levels of performance in admission test
Increase number & quality of collaboration with external institutions
Implement systems of retention, "nivelacion" & support
Increase student teachers' employability
Increase research

2. What all programs should have/do

Adapt programs to standards
Adapt programs to exit Test
Analyze staff needs & define institutional objectives
Articulate disciplinary and pedagogical knowledge
Articulate program with k-12
Articulate program with international demands
Articulate program with national priorities
Timely graduate new teachers
"Nivelar" student teachers
Prepare teachers for evaluation & curriculum
Prepare teachers for "habilidades transversales"

Prepare teachers for research
Implement new evaluation and methodology strategies
Focalize on students' learning achievement & their means
Provide a comprehensive education to student teachers
Modify specializations
Implement practices for quality insurance
Promote professional development for teacher educators
Promote high achievement in student teachers
Promote research and its use among its staff
Improve practicum
Renew staff
Support/develop institutional change
Review national and international good practices
Guaranty teaching competences in graduates
Respond to diversity in Ted
Develop capacity of management

Diagnostic Frames

1. Policy level

Nonexistence of exit test
Absence of guidelines for teacher education
Nonexistence cut-off in exit test
Nonexistence of standards
Insufficient/inefficient strategies
No systemic approach for policy

2. Student teachers & teachers

Lack of basic skills
Lack of disciplinary knowledge
Lack preparation for practice
Lack preparation for research in classroom
First generation in university/no from private schools
Low motivation to study education
Teachers/teachers candidates' low quality
Low performance in national admission university test
Low specialization of teachers

3. Teacher Preparation programs

Increase of student enrollment
Increase of teacher education programs
Bad infrastructure
Heterogeneity in programs quality
Lack of incentives for improvement
Lack of innovation in teacher education programs
Teacher preparation irresponsibility

Lack of quality of programs
Low status of teacher preparation institutions
Lack regulation/supervision/evaluation of teacher
education programs
Low selectiveness
Low preparation/specialization of teacher educators
Management problems in universities or programs
Scant production and use of research
Low number of programs accredited
Low impact of teacher preparation programs in student
teachers
Lack articulation with k-12

4. Curriculum of teacher preparation programs

Lack articulation disciplinary and pedagogical
knowledge in Ted preparation
Lack attention to diversity in TED
Lack of articulation with reform
Low articulation curriculum & student outcomes
Low articulation curriculum TED and K-12
Lack of pedagogical knowledge

5. Context

Teaching is a no attractive career
Distrust in teachers and t. educ.
Low status of profession
Low teachers' salaries
Increase of new teachers
6. Educational system results

Low student achievement
Low Quality & Inequity
Gap between Chile vs other countries

Prognostic Frame

1. Influence/impact process of teacher preparation

Control quality Ted programs
Create/give guidelines to teacher preparation programs
Design and implement Standards
Provide information about/to teacher preparation
programs
Grants/funding for teacher preparation programs
Establish sanctions/consequence for Ted programs
Create a new regulatory institution
Regulation with autonomy/Accountability
Improve accreditation
Articulate standards with professional standards
Articulate exit test with standards
Make exit test mandatory

2. Inputs/outputs

Create requirements to access to the profession
Define criteria for hiring teacher educators
Define cut-off levels of performance in exit test
Request minimum criteria for teaching/for st teachers
outcomes in exit test
Evaluate entry competences of student teachers
Establish Sanctions/consequences for st
teachers/teachers

3. Influence offer & demand

Increase requirements for Ted programs
Disincentive short programs or technical training
Provide economic incentives for student
teachers/teachers
Generate information about student teachers impact
Provide information for prospective students
Provide public information
Improve salaries

4. Changes in Ministry of Education

Create articulated strategies
Generate agreements/commitment

5. Changes in outcomes

Attract good teachers/candidates
Increase retention and selectiveness of student teachers
Increase student teachers performance in exit test
Improve student achievement
Increase autoregulation and improvement of programs
Increase quality student teachers/teachers
Improve status of the profession
Improve university-community relationship
Improve university-school relationships
Improve quality of teacher preparation
Improve teacher education policies
Improve disciplinary knowledge in teacher education

Symbolic devices & motivational frames

1. What good things we will get/benefits

Improve recruitment of teacher ed. programs
Strength teacher education quality
Improve effectivity of education
Improve teacher quality
Increase student achievement
Prepare teachers that Chile needs
Quality and equitable educational system
Ted programs' high performance, overcoming
challenges, & strategic positioning

2. Why this is important

Catch up other countries
Desire of equity/justice
Teacher effectiveness
Efficiency
Teaching excellence
Material incentives
Moral inducements
Status as incentive
Reward merit
Transparency

3. Why in this direction

Priority topic
Teachers as key factor for change & learning
They want/need/like to have information

4. Based on

Consensus/Common Knowledge
International evidence
Objectivity
National evidence
The best ed. system have/do it
Gradual changes
Previous strategies used for equity
Previous strategies used in Ted
Confidence

Appendix B
Quotations in Original Language (Spanish)

"La calidad de un sistema educativo no puede exceder la calidad de sus profesores" (document, document 8, p. 42)

Un factor clave en el logro de una mejor educación es la efectividad de los docentes en el proceso de enseñanza. Tanto la evidencia internacional como nacional indican que esta característica ayuda a explicar en una medida importante las diferencias en los aprendizajes de los niños y jóvenes. Así, se ha comprobado que un docente inefectivo puede retrasar los aprendizajes de un niño cada año hasta en seis meses respecto de estudiantes que enfrentaron profesores apropiados. Al mismo tiempo los docentes más efectivos pueden hacer avanzar a sus estudiantes en igual período hasta en el equivalente a 1,5 años escolares (document 18, p. 67)

El 73 por ciento de los egresados de pedagogía en 2011 o no dio la prueba de selección universitaria u obtuvo en ella menos de 500 puntos. En nuestro sistema de educación superior se ha cuadruplicado el número de estudiantes de pedagogía en los últimos diez años. Las exigencias para adquirir dicha condición prácticamente son inexistentes (document 23, p. 157).

Fruto de ese trabajo conjunto, dijo que se acordó una reforma al proyecto inicial de modo que se establecieran las bases para atraer y retener a los mejores talentos en la Educación. Así, destacó que en otros países para obtener estos resultados, se elige el 30% de los mejores egresados para seguir la carrera docente. Dentro de este contexto, señaló que la realidad del país dista mucho de lo expuesto, por cuanto del análisis de los egresados de las carreras de educación del año 2011, el 73% o no habían rendido la PSU o habían tenido menos de 500 puntos en ella. En este sentido, señaló que en algunas instituciones de educación superior basta con proporcionar el RUT para quedar seleccionado en forma automática para estudiar pedagogía (document 22, p. 8)

El objetivo de estos estándares es esclarecer, por un lado, lo que todo profesor debe saber y saber hacer en el aula, y por otro, las actitudes profesionales que debe desarrollar desde su formación como profesor de Educación Básica. En este sentido, los estándares son una referencia útil y necesaria para las instituciones formadoras de docentes, puesto que transparentan los conocimientos, habilidades y competencias que ellas deben ser capaces de enseñar a sus estudiantes durante el transcurso de la carrera (document 13, presentation section, para. 5)

"Conocimiento científico y su aprendizaje" (document 10, p. 26).

Estas pruebas tienen importantes efectos aunque solo se usen de manera informativa y sin altas consecuencias. En particular, porque son una importante información para las entidades formadoras, pero sobre todo para los estudiantes y futuros estudiantes, en cuanto les permite tomar decisiones informadas. En ese sentido, es clave que los resultados sean transparentados al público, sobre todo a nivel de carrera e institución de educación superior (document 1, p. 46).

Los estándares tienen la finalidad de comunicar a la sociedad, y en especial al campo de las profesiones, una visión de cuáles son las competencias que el profesional de la docencia debe poseer al ingresar a la enseñanza en la Educación Básica (document 13, p. 8)

El Consejo ha llegado a amplios acuerdos… Ellos se apoyan en una constatación compartida: la educación en nuestro país ha avanzado, pero dista mucho de poseer la calidad requerida y exigible en el mundo de hoy y tampoco logra aminorar las marcadas desigualdades de origen con que los niños inician su experiencia educativa (document 2, p.14)

A este Panel le fue encomendado aportar ideas para fortalecer las capacidades docentes en el país … En esta tarea [el panel] ha tenido como horizonte el interés general del país. [El panel] Está convencido que son reformas indispensables para lograr una educación más equitativa y de calidad (document 1, p. 73).

Existe consenso respecto de la importancia que tiene la educación para mejorar la calidad de vida de las personas, no sólo porque permite acceder a mejores oportunidades sino porque permite un desarrollo más integral y una mayor realización personal. A su vez, ello redunda en un mayor progreso del país y en el avance hacia una sociedad más libre y equitativa. A pesar de los progresos registrados en Chile reflejados, por ejemplo, en pruebas internacionales como PISA…, el país está aún lejos de asegurar calidad, efectividad y equidad del sistema escolar (document 18, p. 67)

Precisamente, porque el país ha resuelto las carencias históricas y ha alcanzado un estándar razonable de desempeños, el Panel estima que la situación de la educación chilena está lejos de ser caracterizada como de crisis…. Sin embargo, el Panel reconoce con la misma fuerza, que nuestra educación tiene grandes desafíos por delante. Hay, entonces, una oportunidad histórica para avanzar en reformas que permitan que en las próximas décadas el país pueda lograr desempeños educativos similares a los de países más desarrollados, tanto en términos del nivel promedio de aprendizaje como de brechas entre estudiantes de distinto origen socioeconómico (document 1, p. 16).

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Volume 26 Number 34   March 12, 2018   ISSN 1068-2341

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