

Initial teacher education for social justice and teaching work in urban schools: An (im)pertinent reflection

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This paper presents conceptions and reflections on initial teacher education for social justice based on a study that sought to identify the discourses produced in the initial education of teachers of the first and second cycles of basic education on the concept of social justice and to understand the effects of those discourses on the educational practices of teachers beginning their careers in urban schools. The study was developed in Portugal and was based on an analysis of programs offered in the curriculum for the bachelor's degree in elementary education and the master's degree in teaching of the first cycle of basic education (CEB) (first four years of schooling) and the second CEB (fifth and sixth school grades) and on biographical interviews with teachers of the first and second CEB who trained in the last five years and a teacher educator. The results show the inadequacy of initial teacher education in relation to the educational mandates that some of the urban schools apply to teachers' work and that the ideology of inclusion characterizes the discourses analysed. The results also reveal that the ethical dimension of the profession is not yet seen as integrating the core curriculum, being more dependent on human sensitivity, on teachers' initial education and on educators' professional ideology.

Cet article présente des conceptions et des réflexions sur la formation initiale des enseignants pour la justice sociale à partir d'une étude visant à identifier les discours produits lors de cette formation. Nous avons examiné les premier et deuxième cycles de la formation de base portant sur le concept de la justice sociale pour comprendre les effets de ces discours sur les pratiques pédagogiques des enseignants qui débutent leur carrière dans des écoles en milieu urbain. Développée au Portugal, l'étude est basée, d'une part, sur une analyse des programmes offerts dans le cadre du baccalauréat en éducation au primaire et de la maîtrise en éducation du premier cycle (quatre premières années de scolarité) et du deuxième cycle (5^e et 6^e années) et, d'autre part, sur des entrevues biographiques auprès d'enseignants formés dans les cinq dernières années et auprès d'un formateur. Les résultats démontrent l'insuffisance de la formation initiale des enseignants par rapport aux mandats éducatifs de certaines écoles en milieu urbain. L'analyse des discours révèle que l'idéologie de l'inclusion les caractérise. Finalement, les conclusions indiquent également que l'intégration du curriculum de base n'est toujours pas accomplie dans l'éthique de la profession, celle-ci s'appuyant davantage sur la sensibilité humaine, la formation initiale des enseignants et l'idéologie professionnelle des enseignants.

Teacher education has been the subject of several studies since the 1980s. The reason for its centrality in research in educational sciences relates to its importance in the construction of

professional identities, shaping teaching work and the construction of responses to the challenges that school education is currently confronted with (Pereira, 2001, 2009a, 2010a,; Popkewitz & Pereyra, 1992; Schön, 1992; Zeichner, 2008). Indeed, schools have for decades been in crisis, prompting reflection on school education and a desire to understand the phenomena associated with it. The extension of compulsory education to all children confronted the school institution with challenges that it has not yet been able to meet satisfactorily. The human heterogeneity and the cultural complexity that characterize today's educational contexts require a mastery of professional knowledge and skills that teacher education has not been able to develop so far.

The notion of social justice in education evokes respect for differences between groups and between individuals and the dialectical overcoming of conditions of oppression and inequalities. As stated by Estêvão (2004, p. 33), the concept of social justice in education “closely articulates with other concepts such as equality, equity, freedom, merit, power and authority, among others, that will condition, in particular, the way we think about education and how schools should be organised in order to fulfil their purposes.” Teacher education cannot ignore its responsibility for the construction of professional identities attentive to issues of social justice and professional sensibilities that are ethically fair and pedagogically competent in responding to diversity, difference, and social-educational inequality.

This paper presents some conceptions and reflections on initial teacher education and social justice, focusing on an exploratory study based on the analysis of programs of the bachelor's degree curriculum in elementary education and the master's degree in teaching of the first cycle of basic education (CEB) (first four years of schooling) and second CEB (fifth and sixth school grades) and biographical interviews of a teacher educator and teachers of the first and second CEB who trained in the last five years. The study highlights factors that may help in identifying the professional profile necessary to educate students in order to promote fairer school education.

From the Concept of Social Justice to the Problem of Justice in Education

The concept of social justice is a complex concept, defined according to the different theoretical and philosophical perspectives of the authors who have developed it. Rawls deepened a universalist perspective, arguing that it is “possible to find basic principles of justice from an agreement between reasonable and free people placed in a position of impartiality with regard to possible benefits or advantages that they could withdraw due to their social position” (cited in Esquith, 2002, p. 108). Rawl's universalist perspective considers individuals regardless of their history, culture, social status, and psychological condition. For that reason, it has been the subject of criticism, particularly by Walzer, who claims that it is not possible to define a theory of justice according to universal and socio-culturally unbiased principles. Walzer posits that justice and pluralism “are linked by the recognition of the multiplicity of social identities and ethnic cultures present in contemporary society, by recognising the specificities of each social environment, and so, by community values,” and defends a principle of distributive justice (cited in Tavares, 2009, p. 7217). The distributive perspective of justice has also been criticised, insofar as it, “besides reducing justice to an equal distribution of rights, as if they were mere material goods that are owned and distributed, imposes an equal standard that requires that difference becomes uniformity” (Estêvão, 2004, p. 25). In the wake of criticism of the distributive perspective, Young (2000) develops the concept of justice, links it with the concepts of

oppression and domination, and ascribes to it a dimension that “recognises individuals as members of social groups, whose opportunities and experiences are informed but not determined by their affiliations; and demands attending to social group differences rather than negating them” (McDonald, 2005, p. 421).

The concept of justice in education relates to the ideals of equal opportunity and democratisation of education that have sought to organise schools since the early twentieth century. This had a major influence on educational policies after World War II in Western societies. Since the 1980s, however, socio-economic change has shifted the focus on the equality and cohesion of society to its competitive ability and produced new organising discourses of school education and its forms of justice. The ideal of equal opportunity is in itself part of a broader social project, the sharing of benefits promised by the welfare state. Currently, that project is at risk because of the hegemony of neo-liberal ideals that emphasize individualism in a perspective of lifelong education (cf. Derouet, 2005).

The changes we have made reference to are integrated into a broader global context which may be termed late modernity (cf. Giddens, 1992). In late modernity, the universality of the principle of equal opportunity, which ensured the consistency of educational systems, became inadequate for the ethical and discursive justification of the schooling dynamics of modern states. We have witnessed the emergence and re-emergence of multiple and conflicting principles competing in the legitimisation of school justice and of ways to organise formal education, which placed schools in a complex universe of conflicting rationalities and justices (Derouet, 1992), each claiming for itself the legitimacy of an educational ethic and a social and practical rationale.

Dubet (2004), asking the question, *What is a fair school?*, refers to the fact that schools did not become more just by reducing the difference in academic results between social categories, but because it allowed all students to compete in the same contest. The author stresses the limits of the principle of equal opportunity that has been legitimised by the ideology of meritocracy. The meritocratic conception of school justice has proved incapable of promoting a true *school for all*. “The meritocratic model of equal opportunity presupposes, in order to be fair, a perfectly equal and objective school offering, ignoring the students’ social inequalities. However, Dubet’s research shows that school treats less well disadvantaged students” (Dubet, 2004, p. 542). Insofar as it presupposes an ideal of fair and formal competition, the meritocratic model holds students accountable for their own failure given that, supposedly, school gave them, like everyone else, every opportunity to succeed.

Teacher Education for Social Justice

Previous studies (Pereira, 2009a; Pereira, 2009b; Pereira, 2010b; Pereira, Carolino, & Lopes, 2007), have emphasized that teachers consider initial teacher education inappropriate for the professional problems and dilemmas that schools face today. The current school crisis places teachers before new social mandates and the unity of principles and values that characterized schools’ institution has been replaced by a variety of cognitive and pragmatic frameworks for action and standards of justice. This creates a space of tension and conflict that requires constant effort by teachers to produce meaning and justification in terms of their work, which interferes with the relationship they develop with children and young people and with the ethical dimension of school education, translating into new forms of school justice. The universal principles of social justice tend, therefore, to be replaced by mediation between

irreconcilable principles of justice. The logics of institutional action are dependent on local arrangements based on standards that do not always converge or lead to stability and create uncertainty, fracturing the unity of school education and school governance.

The imperatives of work justification (cf. Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991) are one of the factors that cause teachers' professional crisis. Education is faced with a tension between equality and hierarchy that defines the founding principles of the city (cf. Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002) in the political space and which are translated into the need to create a community of values, feelings, and representations, simultaneously selecting and differentiating.

The concept of work justification developed by Boltanski and Thévenot (1991) helps to understand that the crisis of modern institutions are imposing to professional teachers the imperative of legitimising their work due to the absence of generically acceptable institutional justifications and generic social contestation. In the case of school education, part of the contestation is about its incapacity of promoting social development and social justice. This scenario brings more issues to be dealt in terms of teacher education. For example, the education work justifications and its relations with the teachers' identity need explicit engagement in initial teacher education to reveal ways that influence pedagogical practices in challenging school contexts.

Initial teacher education cannot fail to consider the shifts that are experienced in the school context and the conditions under which teachers build their professionalism. On the other hand, as mentioned by Popkewitz and Pereyra (1992, p. 20), the knowledge that constitutes initial teacher education and its organisation is critical to state policies in the modernisation of educational institutions, and the transformations that they give rise to reveal "the change in patterns of regulation and power"; hence, changes in initial teacher education produce new social regulations.

Teacher education sets and transmits the permissible limits in which the teaching and styles of thinking and action that ought to be incorporated in the pedagogical practice should take place. . . . Styles of reasoning, explanatory categories and practices 'admitted' in teacher education, all that legitimates interests and specific social actions, while other possibilities are omitted. (Popkewitz & Pereyra, 1992, p. 20)

A considerable number of studies since the 1990s have focused on the topic of teacher education for social justice (Clarke & Drudy, 2006; Clay & George, 2000; Cochran-Smith, Gleeson, & Mitchell, 2010; Cook-Sather & Youens, 2007; Enterline, Cochran-Smith, Ludlow, & Mitescu, 2008; Goodwin, 1997; Grant, 1994; Pereira, 2001; Reynolds & Brown, 2010; Zeichner & Diniz-Pereira, 2005).

There are varied focuses on the way to deal with education and social justice issues, such as: culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2000; Villegas & Lucas, 2002); cultural relevant teaching (Ladson-Billings, 1995); teaching for social justice (Ayers, Quinn, & Hunt, 1998; Cochran-Smith, 2004); and critical pedagogy (Freire, 1987; Giroux, 1988; Shor, 1992) and this article will stress a few studies that are relevant for our results discussion.

Regarding the complexity of the social justice concept and, therefore, to the difficulties in its operationalization in terms of school policies and practices, Cochran-Smith et al. (2010) consider that the main social mandate that is currently required of teachers' work is the improvement of students' life opportunities and the challenging of inequalities in school and in society.

Educating teachers for social justice means enabling them to “teach different profile students so that everyone can attain behaviours and abilities to transform society,” as Reynolds and Brown argued (2010, p. 408). These authors studied the role of education in the fight against social injustice, focusing on an innovative program of initial teacher education in that area and the difficulties encountered in its implementation. Aware of the fact that the idea of educating for social justice is frequently accused of having little practical value, Reynolds and Brown (2010) identified four vital aspects and six key factors of initial teacher education programs that made it possible for teachers to fight against social inequality in their schools. The vital aspects considered: the articulation of curriculum and pedagogy; the understanding that social justice requires short- and long-term strategies; the idea that initial teacher education programs must bridge the gap between what is taught in classes on social justice and what actually takes place in schools and communities; and the fact that teachers must belong to the same type of population as the students they teach, and the student population in the initial teacher education should represent the diversity of the population in general. Concerning the six key factors that must be included in a program of initial teacher education, the authors explain that:

professional experience must be an integral part of the teacher education program; that an overall philosophy for social justice is adhered to by all staff; that the program would provide varied experiences with different groups within the society; that the program would encourage students from varied backgrounds; that the program would focus on classroom strategies plus consider school, community and institutional issues; and finally the program would incorporate experience with education in the school as well as in the wider community. (Reynolds & Brown, 2010, p. 417)

These considerations show the importance not only of the relationships between theory and practice concerning social-educational justice in initial teacher education but also the complexity of factors that should be considered and which are not confined to the specific dimension of education, implying an ecological and socio-community perspective (cf. Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Educating for social justice should be a fundamental dimension of teacher education programs and needs to be strengthened in such a way that it helps prospective teachers to develop empathetic and social sensitivity skills for the understanding of the diversity of contexts of education and students’ socio-cultural origins. This is essential to promote differentiated teaching-learning processes, meaning, and motivation of success (Cook-Sather & Youens, 2007). In this regard, Enterline et al. (2008, p. 270) defined the act of teaching as

[a]n activity that integrates and mixes knowledge, interpretive grids, methods, and teaching and advocacy skills this means that teaching for social justice includes pedagogical strategies and methods that teachers use, but also involves what they believe, how they think about their work, the guidelines through which they interpret what is happening in schools and classrooms and how they identify and challenge inequities.

In most of the literature in the field of teacher education, the concept of social justice is assumed, implicitly or explicitly, according to a distributive perspective of justice. That is, it is assumed that the ultimate purpose of teaching is to promote students’ learning and improve their life chances, challenging inequalities in school and society (Enterline et al., 2008). The issue of social-educational justice must, however, consider the complexity of teaching practice and its relationship with aspects that are not limited to the work of teaching and learning.

Teachers' professional practice involves not only teaching methods and pedagogical strategies, but also teachers' beliefs and representations about their work, their perspectives on the social world and the socio-cultural and human diversity, and their ethical commitment and attitude towards educational and social inequalities.

Teachers' perceptions and conceptions about social justice are fundamental to the configuration of attitudes towards the diversity and difference that make up the basis of discretionary and discriminatory processes in school education (see Cochran-Smith et al., 1999). Because of that, teacher education should focus not only on approaches and methodologies, but should also establish how teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and dispositions interact with their knowledge, skills, and behaviours in the context of the classroom (Clarke & Drudy, 2006).

Urban Teacher Education and Social Justice

Urban schools are educational settings where the issues of social justice operate in a particularly complex way and which are difficult to translate into the educational dynamics promoting school justice. For example, in Portugal the urban context is where the phenomena of dropout and school failure frequently turn into the phenomena of exclusion and social inequality. In the last two decades, policies introduced to deal with these phenomena have mainly focused on fighting against school dropout and failure in urban schools (Barroso, 2006). These phenomena not only disturb the rationalities of the democratisation of school education but also jeopardise the democracy and the ethics of equality that underlie it. In the last few years, the educational policies in Portugal highlight social exclusion as an aspect that implies the School and its educational practices, when not overcome, are associated with school dropout rates and academic failure (Canário, 2004). As a consequence, measures of priority intervention took place in 1996, embodied in the program Educational Territories for Priority Intervention (TEIP), which aimed to promote equality in terms of educational access and the success of the school population, especially children and young people at risk of social and educational exclusion. This program provided greater autonomy in school management, providing schools with resource materials suitable for educational projects designed to promote academic success, and prevented early dropout from compulsory education. Those schools were chosen because of the dropout rates that placed them in a position of priority. The program was reinstated in 2006 and is currently on-going (cf. Ferreira & Teixeira, 2010). Most schools covered by the TEIP program are located in the urban context. Many studies criticized the implementation of the TEIP policies because of its tendency to focus on children and their families as the main problem of school exclusion and for not considering the main relationship in the social exclusion or the work world (Canário, 2004; Correia & Caramelo, 2012).

According to Lalas (2007, p. 18), the concept of "urban" may be defined as "the environment of a city, a complex place with diverse population density, one of the most contradictory environments where the extremes of our civilisation co-exist." In that sense, urban public schools are characterized by complexity and diversity in the type of population they serve, and there are deep socio-economic disparities and cultural and ethnic diversity. Urban schools are "the favourite victim' of mandates and sanctions, reforms that monitor carefully in order to regulate curricula, results, exams and rankings" (Lalas, 2007, p. 18), as observed in TEIP schools in Portugal.

The idea that teacher education develops or will develop teachers' work in urban schools requires some specificity that considers the socio-educational challenges these schools are faced

with and is widely documented in scientific literature (Anderson & Stillman, 2011; Katsarou, Picower, & Stovall, 2010; Lalas, 2007; Peterman, 2005; Peterman & Nordgren, 2008; among others).

The neo-liberal tension which currently affects teachers' work demands substantial accountability of the urban schools that develop practices which are more concerned with showing success patterns than comprehending the issues of teaching and education. Consequently, it is becoming harder for "educators raising critical questions about teaching, learning, and schooling and with teaching in socially just ways by focusing teaching, learning, and assessing on content and outcomes" (Peterman & Nordgren, 2008, p. 175).

The tension that teachers are subject to in this neo-liberal logic of accountability (which is becoming mainstream in Western countries and associated with the intensity and complexity that characterize today's school education in urban schools) does not allow the creation of professional conditions for reflection and collaborative work, particularly with regard to teaching's ethical dimension, which would place social justice at its heart.

In Portugal, the ideology of inclusion (Correia, 2000) has been incorporated in political discourses on education as means of social utility, highlighting the contributions of education to the managing of social issues, especially, the one of social exclusion. This political reconstruction on education is supported by organizational notions of the educational field, which determine patterns of pedagogical standardization that ignore the sociocultural differences and aspects of domination that make up the socioeconomic inequalities. In fact, the inclusion of ideology does not favor the differentiation and the pedagogical reframing, which are capable of transforming the curricular normality into truly meaningful learning experiences to the students.

Methodology

The study presented here corresponds to the first stage of a research project that aims to: identify the discourses produced in the initial education of teachers from the first cycle of basic education (CEB) (first four years of schooling) and second CEB (fifth and sixth school grades) regarding the concept of social justice; understand the effects of those discourses in the educational practices of beginning teachers, teaching in urban schools; map studies carried out in teacher education for social justice, since the 1990s; and make recommendations regarding curricular organisation and dynamics of initial teacher education aiming at social justice. For that purpose, semi-directive biographical interviews were carried out with first and second CEB teachers who taught in a school grouping¹ within the Educational Territories for Priority Intervention (TEIP) program in an urban area, and of one teacher educator from a school of education in the same geographical area. We collected study plans from the syllabi of the bachelor's degree in elementary education and the master's degree in first and second CEB teaching. All the information was subjected to content analysis. The study focused on the discursive approach and assumed that the teachers and teacher educator's discourses not only represented their perceptions, but also configured their possible actions. The work was based on the language pragmatics concept, i.e., we considered that discourses depicted and transformed knowledge, identities, and social relationships (Wittgenstein, 1994).

The research procedures considered the methodological assumptions of qualitative research in education. In the light of the work of diverse authors (De Bruyne, Herman, & Schoutheete, 1991; Lessard-Hébert, Goyette, & Boutin, 1994), this study considered the methodology in a

broad sense, and characterized it as a social practice that intended to be a praxeology of the production of scientific objects, integrating the following scientific dimensions: epistemological, theoretical, technical, and morphological. By praxeology I mean a social practice ethically significant and theoretically informed, rejecting the Aristotelian sense that encloses it in itself (and in its intrinsic purposes) and emphasizing the cognitive and transformative nature of the situations on which its action is focused and of the actors who carry them out. This praxeological perspective considers the implication of the researcher in the construction of the research object (Berger, 1992). In this case, the analysis took into account the limitations of interpretation, and not only recognized the discourses as singular discourses and not representative of a reality that is both complex and plural, but also as interpretative mediation of our own biography as a TEIP schools consultant, teacher educator, and researcher. Therefore, when it is highlighted the inadequacy of initial teacher education regarding the challenges TEIP schools pose to the teachers' work, the interpretation is mediated by our implication in the research object. These are challenges that stress the demand for reframing and pedagogical diversification, measures that if not taken may risk the rise in the number of students who failure and leave school earlier.

The biographical interview carried out with teachers sought to identify their conceptions about social justice and perceptions about their relationship with school education, placing them in a biographical dimension that focuses on initial teacher education and socio-academic practices. The teacher educator's biographical interview aimed to find out his conceptions about teacher education and how they related to conceptions of social justice and school education. Interviews intended to identify whether aspects of initial teacher education were perceived as catalysts or obstacles to initial teacher education for social justice, especially when considering the biographical dimension of the formation of these perceptions and conceptions. The choice of the biographical interview was justified by the understanding that teacher education for social justice relates to the ethical and identity factors that fall within the biography of both prospective teachers and teacher educators. The biographical interviews proceeded in an interactional context created from the subjectivities of the interviewer and the people interviewed, liable to tensions and conflicts, (pre)conceived and implicit in different ways, which influenced how the interviews unfolded. The biographical interview was at the clinical heart of human sciences; it therefore sought to open the way to understanding via a hermeneutics of reciprocal interaction between the observer and the observed.

The analysis required a "horizontal and vertical reading of the biography and the social system, a heuristic shuttle movement from the biography to the social system and the social system to the biography" (Ferrarotti, 1988, p. 30). Content analysis was carried out according to Amado (2000) and Vala (1986), and, in the case of interviews, a process of mediation was developed between deductive and inductive procedures. In the case of study plans, an inductive procedure was developed to organize the contents according to their characteristics.

After an initial exploratory and interpretative approach to the interviews, we developed two analytical models. One concerned the interviews of first and second CEB teachers, and considered the following categories and subcategories: Conceptions of the teaching profession (Motivations for choosing the profession, Perceptions of what it is to be a teacher, Importance of the career path); Professional performance (Professional experience and conceptions of social justice in school, School-family relationship, Pedagogical strategies and devices, Impediments and constraints regarding professional action); Perceptions on initial education (Education usefulness, Influence of the initial education in the definition of conceptions of social justice in school, Relationship of the education with the professional reality, Role and importance of

internship); and Social and educational justice (Conceptions of social and educational justice, Translation of the conceptions in educational practices, Expectations regarding students' learning).

The analytical model of the interview with the teacher educator considered the following categories and subcategories: Perspectives about the teacher profile to form (Conceptions on teaching, Perspectives on education); Professional Practice (Motivations for the profession, Professional autonomy and ability to influence, Professional experience); Perceptions on initial teacher education (Usefulness of education, Role of education, Function and importance of internship); Education and social justice (Syllabus, Impact on prospective teachers' perceptions of social justice, Impact on educational practices); and External influences on initial teacher education (Labour market, Social and educational policy).

The study plans were initially analyzed to identify the most relevant syllabi in terms of information on the problem under study, and they were subsequently analysed with a model composed of the following five categories: Education for citizenship, Inclusion, Specialist teaching skills, Methods and techniques for academic success, Education for reflective practice, and Relationships with the community.

Initial Teacher Education and Social Justice: Biographical and Curricular Discourses

Interviews with Teachers

Motivations for choosing the profession: the love of children. The interviewed teachers revealed different motivations for choosing the profession, which included the idealization of working with children, prospects for access to the labour market, and the acquisition of social status (or even the intention of changing the educational reality). The teacher's role was perceived as complex and multidimensional, focusing on the pedagogical relationship and on the broader relationship of teachers' work and highlighting the ethical, political, and affective components of the profession.

I think so. As much as we like it or not, there are always students who are special to us. (Maria)²

I was very fond of children; but because my kindergarten teacher crossed my mind, I always wanted more to be a first CEB teacher and I try to be that, not to be what my teacher was! I think it's more like that, I remember that very often and this is the first thing I say when I think about it, I want to be a teacher that is fair. (Ana)

Perceptions on initial teacher education: from good to bad personal experience. Initial education was described as a stage of personal transformation and was of great importance in teachers' development because of the possibility of contact with diverse professional realities, access to concepts of education and the profession, and experiencing teaching practice.

Reality is changing every day and we must adapt, and I think that the School of Education also helped us to adapt, and I confess I was a very shy person and usually came to a group and could not, at the outset, be very sociable and make friends immediately, and now, little by little, with so many experiences and having to adapt to so many places, I managed to shape my attitude and today I can go

to a group and get acquainted easily and try to fend for myself, as it were, and it helped me a lot on this. (Ana)

Nevertheless, there were signs of a “clash” with reality and the perception that initial teacher education was incompatible with real educational contexts. Teachers’ discourses also referred to the lack of curricular content relating to social justice and the lack of consideration of that component as an integrated part of the teacher profile.

No, we did not really go that way. I think there is no relationship! From what I remember, there were no subjects that examined this aspect, it was really normal children, the so-called normal children, we were never aware of the other situations that we are now faced with and we sometimes do not know what to do with them, especially in a TEIP school, where these situations are the norm! We were not prepared for that in initial education, where they give us a picture of a pink school, we are shown the pink school with normal students, with normal colleagues, with a normal management, all very normal and we act on the basis of normalcy, and when we are confronted with an adverse situation, we do not know what to do. (Maria)

Conceptions about social justice: the ideology of inclusion. Teachers’ conceptions about social justice were simultaneously naive, inasmuch as they did not consider the social and educational factors that produced conditions of domination and injustice in school. Conceptions were also shaped by the ideological inclusion and principle of equal opportunities, as can be seen in the following discourses:

I became a teacher because of my elementary school teacher, because I thought she was not fair! Because I remember very well that, in elementary school, the teacher had favourite students and excluded the others, even if they were good students, and I never forgot that! (Maria)

Therefore in justice to myself, although the educational system claims it is fair, it is not fair and there is no equal opportunity! Because they say that everyone has access to education and that it is free, but it is not free. And then, those children who have more economic difficulties, I see, for example, although my class is mostly middle-class, I have four students who come from the lower class, who have no computer or internet at home! How can I ask for research work on the internet when they do not have access to it, hence it is not fair! They have or had Magalhães,³ but then they wouldn’t have internet access! (Joana)

I think so, changing everything . . . does not change in the way I thought we could change, but it can help a lot . . . because if it includes, if it helps including, it is already a turning point, for example my gypsy [students are] well integrated into the class, and that also reflects on society because yesterday a sister-in-law came to receive the [student’s] evaluation, because no one in the family can read. (Maria)

I told you I do not want him to become a doctor, but I want him to read and write, to fend for himself and I know he will not have a great profession but at least know the basic, to succeed even if it is working in the fairground, right? (Ana)

Still in the context of initial teacher education, although teachers’ discourses indicated that the issue of social justice in education is not adequately addressed, and virtually absent at the level of theoretical content. As mentioned, it should be highlighted that teacher education has

developed an attitude of lifelong education, which may bridge the gaps in that area, and help to deal with the problem of indiscipline, by continuing education processes. The initial education of teachers interviewed seemed to focus mainly on instrumental aspects of managing differences in terms of behaviours, not developing the ability to critically reflect on conditions and practices that were created in education to promote the academic success of all students. Also apparently lacking was the development of specific skills for pedagogical differentiation, as teachers continued to be trained to educate and teach so-called “average students.”

No, of ethnicities, did not. . . . We talked a little bit about indiscipline and behaviour problems, but what do we do when a student never comes to class, a student whose culture is not to come to school? But it is mandatory! And it is free. (Joana)

Yes, without a doubt, the practice had much more influence on how I see justice, in practice it was more developed, even because of situations that I encounter in everyday life, and my initial education, as I said, not directly, all that I learned is here and this information is what helps me in practice. In this aspect of education, I said I did not learn anything, I wanted to say I did not learn to teach, I did not learn class practice, a more tangible component! (Maria)

Professional practice in TEIP: the inadequacy of teacher education. Professional experience in TEIP schools encompassed specific educational outlines that were difficult to manage professionally, and which were not considered in initial teacher education.

The question of professional authority.

It was a battle every day in this school, it was educating pupils, teaching them rules, and an essential factor for socialisation, group spirit, they are not familiar with being in a group, I think they do not even know how to be in a class, let alone when they leave school and join society. They are at a loss. I think our biggest goal, I speak for myself, my biggest goal, especially in the first months of the academic year, is to teach them these rules, teach them that things can go wrong and they have to be prepared for that and the spirit of mutual help, which is lacking in this school. Everyone does things their own way, and above all there is no respect, respect for others, for colleagues and especially for teachers and staff! This is a daily struggle, they talk to us like we were cousins, uncles, family friends. . . they do not understand the concept of teachers. (Joana)

The question of professional knowledge.

When I finished my degree, I felt I knew nothing! I often say this because the first time I found myself alone in a classroom with 20 or so first cycle students, I felt: how will I act? What will I do? And I think I learned, I learned a lot in the School of Education, but I think there was not enough practice! We had teaching practice from the first year but it was observation and only in the third year did we have intervention, but I still think it was too little, it was not enough for us to realise what reality was like. (Ana)

The question of the theory-practice gap.

With practice I was alone, all alone! I came to realise it, I did not learn [strategies of educational integration] in the degree, it does not come in books and, if it does, I have never read them! The practice in the internship was very sparse and I would rather that my degree had been a year longer so I could have left well-prepared and with well-defined and wide-open horizons for what I really had to

do. (Maria)

Interviews with the Teacher Educator

The teacher educator started his professional career as a professor of philosophy in secondary education. He was a member of governing bodies on that level before being appointed to his current post in initial teacher education.

Bologna process: changes in the teacher profile and neo-liberalism. The analysis presented here emphasizes the perception of some changes, not well defined, in the profile of the teacher to train, as a result of the curricular reorganisation because of the Bologna process.

Today, that is a very complex issue, as the curricular reorganisation resulting from the Bologna process points towards a generalist teacher for six years, but I do not see that this transformation is being made, in particular regarding the re-composition of the so-called teaching groups. The truth is that we have a degree in elementary education that is just a bit broadband, which provides them with the basic knowledge and skills to become educators in general.

In addition to that instability, the effects of a neo-liberal trend mark the path of prospective teachers' education, as they tend to choose the educational specialties that offer more possibilities for placement in the labour market.

It turns out that there is an effect of the so-called market influence that means the students' choices are never only pre-school, only first cycle or only second cycle. Thus, they have a two-in-one resume because job opportunities are very unlikely.

Social justice issues: more dependent on individual perspectives than institutional ones. Teaching course contents relating to social justice, according to the teacher educator, depended more on teachers' sensitivity and perspectives than on an explicit educational policy or on integrating dimensions of the formal curriculum.

They are neither transversal, nor teach a subject on those issues; I think that, at the formal level, they do not have it. In my sociology and education curriculum, I talk about it and teach in the justice area, but I think that is more the teachers' level; some are more sensitive to those issues and alert and discuss it more, not so much at the curriculum level.

This aspect was linked to shorter internship on a specific educational level, which was an obstacle to the questioning of professional practices in a perspective of school education for social justice. Nevertheless, the teacher educator stated that his formative action was part of the dimension of social justice and that his graduates reflected that concern in their internship practices.

Yes, they always learn strategies to deal with students with difficulties or particularities; they have done work on several different strategies and methods posted in the school. For example, I do not know if, at other levels, that is envisaged or attained, but for example, in the study visits, one gets left behind if there is no money to pay for the study visit. My students, when they go to an internship, they do everything to get the money so that those that have economic difficulties can go too. When they show me the design curriculum, they are aware of and refer to strategies to deal with this or that

student, even if they are not learning problems but rather relate to cultural diversity.

Nevertheless, he considers that initial teacher education was not seminal for a professionalism that is ethically engaged in the contributions of school education for social justice.

I do not think so. I think that if you do not come here with minimal sensitivity to the issue of social justice, it is not the training that will do that, it does not have that much influence. Those that already have that can develop it much more, but it does not develop by itself. . . . I think it is the profession that gives them that, and not so much the degree. I think if they have an initial sensitivity to issues of justice that refines their observation in the classroom to see the links between what is going on in the classroom and the social context, and that is what I always say, it is not so much the education.

Curriculum

The ideology of inclusion despite the absence of explicit forms of teacher education for social-educational justice. Neither teachers' or curricular discourses suggested that the existence of a teacher education can develop skills of debate around the issue of social justice in school, or allow critical analysis of the practices and policies on education, which aim at possibly unmasking the factors involved in school injustice. The analysis of the study plans revealed that for the bachelor's degree in elementary education, which comprised a total of 30 curricular units, only three of them were deemed relevant to the issue of social justice in education identified, and in the master's degree in first and second CEB teaching, it only happened in two of 12 units. Those terms referred predominantly to inter-multiculturalism and education of children with special educational needs (SEN). There was also semantic evidence, with possible connections to the issue of social-educational justice, such as meaningful learning, pedagogical differentiation, the school-family relationship, and personal and social education, among others. However, we did not find, at least in explicit terms, references to forms of social-educational justice as a core aspect of the teaching profession.

The ideology of inclusion emerged as the most significant aspect of the analysis of the study plans, which were visible in terms of the regular curriculum, the special curriculum, and the area and type of curricular adaptation. Seeking to identify the intention to develop special skills to deal with diversity, findings suggested that, overall, teacher education considered some relevant aspects, particularly in terms of the learning outcomes of the curricular units, such as: "To develop and implement intervention strategies for pupils with SEN" (master's degree in first and second cycle of basic education – special educational needs); and "To analyse the problems and difficulties in learning mathematics that are more common in students" (master's degree in first and second cycle of basic education – didactics of mathematics in elementary education). However, study plans did not explain the type of skills needed to respond, in educational terms, to such diversity. The analysis also revealed that, apart from the fact that there was no perception of an approach to the political reference of school education, no content focused on the reflection of prospective teachers on their own conceptions and beliefs concerning social justice and its relevance in professional practice. Moreover, it should be noted that it was in programs of curricular units relating to disciplinary didactics that the absence of social justice was most apparent. That seems highly significant in terms of the marginality of the topic in initial teacher education, since didactics were the *core curriculum* of this training.

Interpretative Synthesis

The biographical and curricular discourses analysed emphasize the incompatibility of initial teacher education with the mandates that some urban schools (TEIP schools) apply to teachers' work, converging with the idea of the complexity of the teaching act referred to in Enterline et al. (2008), i.e., that initial education has difficulty in helping to clarify and build appropriate systems of action. If we consider that, then the issue of social-educational justice in schools is related in a particularly pertinent way to the social construction of school education that considers the democratisation of academic success and full access for all to cultural and social goods, the inadequacy referred to appears to be specific to teachers' professional identity and to the education of the children who attend those schools.

In fact, social justice in urban schools does not seem to be considered in teacher education programs in either the study cycles of the teachers interviewed or in the study plans analysed. The teacher educator's discourse, however, highlights a clear concern with issues relating to social-educational justice that is perceived to be related to the particular biographical path of philosophy teachers in secondary education and is part of a professional subculture concerned with the ethical and political components of the teaching profession. This finding suggests that the ethical dimension of the profession is still not regarded as part of the *core curriculum*, and is more dependent on human sensitivity, professional training of origin, and educators' professional ideology. The teacher educator also believed that certain vocationalism was associated with the ethical dimensions of the profession that "you either have or do not have," and to which initial teacher education may contributed only slightly. This belief, which may be shared by other teacher educators, could be the cause of the non-formal expression of the education ethical components of the study plans analysed.

The discourses also emphasize the importance of considering prospective teachers' conceptions of justice as an integral part of educational work, enhancing the perspectives discussed in Cochran-Smith et al. (1999), and indicate that clarification and reflection on the students' conceptions of social justice allow the design and implementation of new curriculum practices in initial teacher education. Associated with this perspective is the need to integrate action research practices to raise awareness about the factors of social change associated with the teaching profession (cf. Zeichner & Diniz-Pereira, 2005). Action research, as a training device in initial teacher education in professional internships, may facilitate the necessary mediation for the questioning of educational practices that in urban schools do not allow the management of diversity and the promotion of social-educational justice. It is necessary to develop new knowledge based on concrete scholarly problems in order to identify barriers and positive pedagogical conditions regarding educational justice. Action research constitutes a primary device for developing this kind of knowledge and is capable of composing processes of mediation and epistemological synergies between the initial and continuing education of teachers in the context of professional internships (see Pereira, 2011).

Educational justice is an issue intrinsically related to professional practice. It deals with the possibility of a teacher being able to implement processes of differentiated pedagogy and contextualization of knowledge that can support the educational success (in a wide sense) of all children. This is also a dimension infiltrated by ideological options and conceptions about the world and society that are not the subject of initial education curricula. Although the discourses of the interviewed teachers are not clear regarding their educational ideology, the teacher

educator discourse is ethically concerned with the social change.

Social transformation was identified by Reynolds and Brown (2010) in the role of school education in fighting against social-educational injustice. In Portugal, this dimension was considered in the curriculum of the first cycle of CEB teachers' initial education after the democratic revolution of 1975, but it was gradually abandoned in favour of the academisation (focused on theoretical issues) of education⁴ (cf. Pereira, Carolino, & Lopes, 2007). The ethical and political dimension of initial teacher education is intrinsically linked with education for social justice, and in Portugal it has been gradually undervalued compared with the academic dimension, leaving a gap which has not been filled by professional practice and requires urgent consideration and discussion.

Conclusion

Reflecting on social justice in education involves a critical analysis of the production of injustice in school: the origins, policies, and practices that underlie and give rise to it, the power relations that sustain it, the rationales that justify it, and its consequences for children, young people, and society at large. Initial teacher education cannot, however, confine itself to developing skills of reflection on social justice in school. It also has to build basic professional identities which, extending beyond a critical consciousness that is theoretically grounded, politically formed, and incorporated into a set of professional skills. These skills are not limited to the celebration of difference, but rather are able to build the pedagogical devices and the social and institutional conditions that are necessary for each particular situation, so that children and young people, regardless of their social and cultural background or subjective condition, may benefit from school education.

The conceptions of how initial teacher education may meet this challenge are not consensual in the literature (cf. Enterline et al., 2008; Kelly & Brandes, 2010; Ukpokodu, 2007). There is, however, agreement that there is an intrinsic relationship between teacher education and social justice, and that teaching is part of a social responsibility to challenge the power and domination of established relationships. The teaching profession has an unavoidable political dimension that initial teacher education cannot remain detached from or it will promote professionalities that are aseptic and unable to respond to the challenges of democratisation of school and society. The ethical commitment (cf. Imbert, 1987) is, therefore, an essential dimension of teaching. The studies that we have been carrying out for nearly two decades in the field of teacher education lead us to believe that the answers to the challenges that education for social justice faces today must not fail to consider forms of institutional, cognitive and pragmatic mediation between initial teacher education and the educational settings where teacher identity is built, work in education is experienced, and diverse forms of school and social (in)justice are produced.

Urban schools, especially the TEIP schools, pose particular problems in terms of the management of differentiated pedagogy and in the process of giving meaning to the educational learning by the children and young students from disadvantaged socio-economic contexts. As initial teachers' education produces representations about professional action that does not correspond to the challenges posed by socio-educational justice to teachers in schools, it constitutes an obstacle rather than a resource. The excessive reality shock, for which initial education is responsible, generates anxieties and professional difficulties that can only be overcome through the dynamics of continuing education to increase cooperative work in schools

and to develop ethical and pedagogically effective action systems adjusted to the cultural and subjective diversity of the students of these schools. At the same time, it is encouraged to develop a professional identity that is more aware of social justice realities, more confident, and better able to promote pedagogical provision of education for everyone. Initial teachers' education has even more responsibilities in these dynamics, but it can only be pertinent if it promotes the development of knowledge and action systems concerned with the problems and challenges that schools face and if it focuses on the advance of cooperative work abilities and competences of research action.

The second half of the twentieth century represents without doubt a huge achievement in terms of the democratization of school education and access for all children and young people. The questions which now arise and imply the reconceptualising of teacher education relate to students' learning and training; that is, to effectively access school education, not just basic knowledge and skills, but more complex knowledge, attitudes, and values that are required for participation in a democratic society, which have been historically reserved for a privileged group.

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Notes

¹ In Portugal, school management is carried out by the schools' grouping of the diverse school levels that share the same geographical area.

² The names are fictitious.

³ Title of the laptop funded by the Ministry of Education and sold to students at a nominal price.

⁴ In Portugal, first CEB teachers' initial education was of a middling academic standard until 1986, then equated to the upper level of a bachelor's degree, and in 1997 became a degree in its own right. Since the mid-2000s, first CEB teachers' initial education has been a master's degree (second study cycle, according to the Bologna designation).

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