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Article abstract

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Codes of Professional Conduct and Ethics Education for Future Teachers

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Abstract: This paper argues that the way future teachers are being initiated into the ethical dimensions of their future profession is largely out of step with the movement to professionalize teaching. After recalling the role that codes of professional conduct play in the ecology of professional self-regulation, and arguing that familiarizing students with their local code of ethics should be considered as the bare minimum of an adequate ethics education for professionals, the paper presents research findings indicating that education students are not leaving colleges and universities with a clear understanding of what is expected of them by society, their peers and the profession. The paper concludes with three suggestions about how to begin bringing ethics education for teachers more into line with teaching's aspiration to professional status.

Introduction

This paper's central theme is the relationship between how educators are initiated into the ethical dimensions of teaching in preservice teacher formation and the movement to professionalize teaching. There is evidence that education students are not leaving colleges and universities with a clear understanding of what is expected of them by society, their peers and the profession. This situation, I will argue, is not in the interest of trust between the public and the teaching profession and is a missed opportunity to promote quality teaching and professionalism in initial teacher education. Not least, it is unfair to students and arguably neglectful.

My plan for the paper is to begin by recalling the role that a publicly promulgated code of professional conduct plays in the ecology of professional self-regulation, which includes standing as the basis of the education of the next generation of practitioners. Taking these observations as grounds, I then argue that familiarizing students with the collective norms of the teaching profession as articulated in the local code of ethics that they will be held accountable to when they assume their professional function is the bare minimum of an adequate ethics education for future teachers. Recognizing that this suggestion may be controversial, the paper then defends the notion of a code of ethics against one of the charges that codes of ethics routinely face—namely, that they represent a crass, reductionist view of professionals' ethical obligations towards the people they help and serve. With that objection out of the way, I turn to the evidence from a small body of empirical research—some of which I gathered in a survey of ethics education for future teachers in collaboration with teacher educators in Australia, England, the Netherlands, and the USA—which suggests that even this bare threshold is rarely being achieved. The paper concludes with three suggestions about how to begin bringing ethics education for

teachers more into line with teaching's aspiration to professional status. These are: consciousness-raising about how codes of ethics are used to judge allegations of teacher misconduct, appreciating that ethics education is part of the core work of professional formation rather than a frill, and working towards a more cohesive and less divisive scholarly discourse about what matters most in teaching and learning about the ethical dimensions of teaching.

Before proceeding, let me underline the conditional character of this paper's argumentative approach. The claim is that *if* one is committed to the movement to professionalize teaching and *if* one accepts that an essential strategy for professionalizing teaching is to change the institutional framework of teaching and teacher education so that it comes to resemble more closely that of legally recognized professions like law, medicine, dentistry and accounting, *then* it is imperative to be rigorous and explicit about introducing future educators to the ethical norms of teaching as they are formalized in existing codes of professional conduct. Clearly, there are large underlying normative, sociological and even ideological questions about whether teaching is a profession and whether it should aspire to professional status. While I have addressed some of these more fundamental issues elsewhere (see Maxwell, 2015), in the interest of economy of space, I have strategically avoided them here. For the same reason, I will also have little to say in this paper about the various hypothetical explanations that one may advance to account for why teacher education tends to take a somewhat improvised approach to socializing successive generations of teachers into the ethical norms of practice. As I point out below, speculating about this question is something of a cottage industry in the academic writings on ethics content in teacher education. Explanations vary, and one could go so far as to suggest that it is symptomatic of a general cultural mood of distrust towards teachers. Teachers are to passively adhere to curricular guidelines, unquestionably obey ever-shifting educational policy, and blithely work towards achieving performance targets they have little or no say in defining. On this view, the neglect of ethics education—which, among other things, should invite teachers to reflect on the wider purposes of education and develop autonomous judgement—dovetails neatly with this disdainful ideal of the teacher. In this paper, however, I am interested less in dwelling on such contextual explanatory factors, however plausible they may be, than in developing a normative case. Teacher educators tend to take a favorable view of the movement to professionalize teaching (Tardif & Gauthier, 1999). It may be naïve, but I genuinely believe that, if these same people appreciated just how incompatible a muddling-through approach to ethics education is with the project to elevate teaching's professional status, they would be much less inclined to accept the status quo.

Professional Status and Codes of Conduct

Be it in teaching or any other profession, codes of ethics exist for at least two interrelated reasons: to reinforce public trust in the profession and guide professional conduct (Abbott, 1988; Banks, 2003; Sockett, 1990).

The way that codes of ethics reinforce public trust is by setting forth publicly and explicitly the ethical standards that people can expect a group of professionals to adhere to in their relations with them. In this sense, a code of professional conduct acts as a kind of pact between a group of professionals who, by their very nature, provide a particularly important public service like health care, education, or legal advice (Carr, 2000) and those who rely on their services. In exchange for the right to

professional autonomy—that is, the right to exercise the expert skills and specialized knowledge that define competent professional practice with a minimum of interference from outsiders (Carr, 2000; Legault, 2006)—professionals promise to put their professional skills to use in the best interest of the public and in respect of high standards of ethical conduct (Dunbar, 2000). The code of ethics is the key public statement of that promise.

Of course, for a code of professional conduct to provide reliable assurances to the public about the trustworthiness of a profession, the conduct of professionals must be more or less consistent with the code. It is in this sense that codes of ethics are meant to guide or regulate professional conduct. The trustee institution that oversees a code of professional conduct provides guarantees that members of the profession will be held accountable to the standards laid out in the code. Measures to assure accountability to the code are taken upstream of contact between professionals and the public, in the form of education provided to new members about the collective ethical norms of the profession, but also downstream in the event of allegations of professional misconduct (Abbott, 1988; Banks, 2003). The standard legal requirement for professional bodies to put a code of ethics into place, educate members in the content of the code, and establish a mechanism for disciplining members found in breach of it is a way that the law creates space for professional autonomy (Abbott, 1988). Society can require publicly recognized professions to hold its members to high ethical standards but the profession itself must establish the ethical norms that govern their work and form the basis of the relationship of trust with society (Legault, 2006).

The positive and constructive roles that a code of professional conduct is meant to play in professional life are clear: inspire public confidence, guide professional conduct, introduce new members to the ethical norms of the profession, and operate as a standard to assess the legitimacy of allegations of professional misconduct.

Codes of Ethics and Teacher Education

With the international movement towards the professionalization of teaching, codes of ethics have become increasingly common. In more than fifty countries, teacher associations and federations, unions and, in the rare cases where they exist, professional orders of teachers have put in place official codes of teacher ethics (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2010). Canada is no exception. Created and implemented by the principal local trustee institutions representing public sector teachers, a code of ethics (or a cognate document) is in place in all of Canada's provinces and territories except Quebec.¹

Bearing in mind the roles that codes of ethics play in the ecology of professional self-regulation, in the context of the international movement to professionalize teaching, it should come as no surprise that one widespread view in the scholarly literature is that a central role of ethics education in teacher

¹ Codes of ethics may exist at the school board level in Quebec, but the absence of a provincial code of ethics seems to be primarily attributable to the way in which teachers' unions are grouped together that province. In Quebec, there are several teachers' unions which are in turn represented by at least four distinct teachers' federations. As far as I have been able to discern, none of these federations has a code of ethics that is binding on its members in their capacity as teachers. Articles 19 to 22 of Quebec's Education Act (2016), however, do outline the basic rights and duties of teachers in the course of their work. That said, educational law in Quebec is not

preparation is to introduce prospective educators to the collective norms of teaching (see for example Campbell, 2013; Coombs 1998; Nash, 1991; Soltis, 1986; Strike, 1990; Ungaretti, Dorsey, Freeman, & Bologna, 1997). This view, which is a compelling one in my opinion, draws on the idea that teaching, like other professions, has its own unique set of ethical concepts and professional values which define and frame ethically responsible conduct—due process, respect for privacy and dignity, intellectual honesty, integrity, personal achievement—and which are expressed through a range of broadly accepted professional obligations and norms. Codes of ethics are of particular educational interest in this regard, Banks (2003) points out, because they tend to be rich in both general ethical terms as well as ethical notions and concepts that are specific to a professional field. Hence, for Banks, the educational value of a code of ethics lies not only in informing students about the collective norms of their future professions, but also in initiating them into the vocabulary that professionals in a particular field use to discuss and debate ethical issues that arise in the workplace.

Another convincing argument that recurs in the scholarly writings that supports the idea of making sure that students are made familiar with the local code of ethics in initial teacher education turns on the internal relation, discussed in the previous section, between adhering to a set of publicly promulgated ethical norms and occupying the position of a professional in society. For professionals, respecting the collective norms of their profession is not an optional extra but part of the definition of what it means to be a professional. For teachers, then, as for any other professional group, familiarity with collective ethical norms, and the ability to apply them judiciously in practice, necessarily enhance the quality of their work because possessing this knowledge and capacity is part of what it means to conduct oneself “professionally” (for discussions of this issue, see Boon, 2011; Campbell, 2008a; Nash, 1991; Strike, 1990; Terhart, 1998; Vongalis-Macrow, 2007).

To my mind, however, the duty to look out for the interests of education students as future practitioners is the most decisive consideration in favour of making the study of the code of ethical conduct an indispensable part of ethics education for educators in the course of their professional preparation. Wherever teachers are held accountable to standards articulated in a code of professional conduct—and this is just about everywhere, as indicated above—it is only fair to novice teachers that they be informed about those ethical standards and that steps be taken to ensure that they are adequately understood. One place where this can and should occur, as it does in many professions, is in initial university-based professional formation, well before students have direct contact with the public in a professional capacity (Abbott, 1988).

For these reasons, then, I join my voice to the small chorus of teacher educators who have been arguing, in some cases for decades, that familiarizing students with the collective norms of the teaching profession is a *sine qua non* of an adequate ethics education for future teachers and that the local code of ethics is the primary material to work with in this regard.

In anticipation of a foreseeable objection, note that holding the view that a central objective of ethics education for future teachers should be acquainting students with the ethical standards that will apply to them in their professional capacity does not commit one to the view that this is the only legitimate objective of ethics education for future teachers. On the contrary, and as has been pointed out by many commentators, the ability to understand the ethical language used by codes and the ability to judiciously apply the abstract obligations outlined in a code to particular practice situations presupposes the exercise of ethical judgement (Bruneau, 1998; Howe, 1986; Nash, 1991; Oser & Althof, 1993; Soltis, 1986; Strike, 1990; Warnick & Silverman, 2011; Watras, 1986) and a certain degree

of ethical sensitivity (Bricker, 1993; Coombs, 1998; Stengel, 2013; Vokey, 2005). Hence, helping students develop these capacities is important too. Further, prioritizing deontology is not equivalent to denying the educational value of studying professional exemplars (see Biesta, 2015) or ideals of professionalism (see de Ruyter & Kole, 2010). If anything, a focus on regulatory codes makes drawing students' attention to other, possibly richer ways of conceptualizing how professionals can and should negotiate the ethical demands and complexity of professional life all the more necessary. Three examples of such alternative conceptions of ethical professionalism are care ethics (Noddings, 1994; Katz, Noddings, & Strike, 1999), the ethics of hospitality (Ruitenberg, 2015), and Higgins' (2011) image of the teacher as the self-cultivated individual. All three ideals go well beyond deontology to explore the complex ways of seeing, feeling, and responding to others that give life to teacher professionalism and inform the serious work of developing a professional ethics of teaching. Providing students with a basic understanding of the collective norms of their future profession, then, is only a minimum criterion of adequate ethics education for future professionals in any field, not the only one that should be pursued.

In Defense of Codes of Ethics

At this juncture, it would be remiss of me not to acknowledge at least some of the worst of the bad press that codes of ethics get in the scholarly literature, not just in teaching but in the professions generally. They do get a lot of it. Three main objections to codes of ethics recur: that codes of ethics present a grossly simplified view of professionals' ethical obligations towards those they serve; that codes of ethics are used by influential parties within professions to impose an arbitrary ideal of "professionalism" on the unwilling majority of practitioners; and that the setting-out of ethical requirements that all members of a professional group must adhere to stifles ethical thinking—that is, independent, reflective, rights-respecting and creative problem-solving—about difficult issues encountered in the workplace (see Cigman, 2000; Dawson, 1994; Harris, 1994; Ladd, 1998; Shortt, Hallett, Spendlove, Hardy, & Barton, 2012; Terhart, 1998).

There is a grain of truth in all of these objections insofar as it is possible to find codes of ethics (or passages from codes of ethics) that could be reasonably interpreted as lending support to them. Seen as reasons for categorically rejecting the use value of codes of ethics in regulating professional conduct and initiating new members into the ethical norms of the profession, however, a case could be made that all three of these critiques involve either a basic misunderstanding of what a code of ethics is, a lack of familiarity with the variety of forms codes of ethics take, or hasty generalizations about codes of ethics on the basis of examples of badly written codes of ethics (for an analysis of existing codes of ethics in light of these criticisms, see Schwimmer & Maxwell, 2017).

Here, I will address only the first of these standard objections to codes of ethics because I think it is the one that most people, including myself, find the most compelling: Since codes articulate the standards of ethical professionalism in terms of a list of behavioral prescriptions, they inevitably constitute a simplistic view of ethical professionalism that could never do justice to the ethical richness and intricacy of the relationships that exist between professionals and the people they help and serve. Worse, by reducing ethical professionalism to a set of obligations, codes of ethics send the wrong message to professionals. The message is that ethical practice is simply a matter of doing what the code prescribes and avoiding the behaviors it forbids. This risks leading professionals to falsely conclude

that, if they obey the code to the letter, then they will have done all that ethical professionalism requires of them.

To appreciate the limitations of this objection, the first thing to note is that not all codes of ethics consist of a list of straightforward ethical dos and don'ts. Content analyses of codes of professional ethics have shown them to come in two main styles: regulatory and aspirational (Banks, 2003; Forster, 2012; Van Nuland, 2009). Regulatory codes are meant to provide clear guidance to members of a professional community by promulgating a set of shared expectations about ethical behavior (Banks, 2003). Codes that fall into this category also characteristically state explicitly that members can face disciplinary action if the standards outlined in the code of ethics are breached (Banks, 2003). By contrast, aspirational codes express ethical expectations through broad references to the ideals and values of the profession, values like fairness, equality and integrity. As the label suggests, codes of ethics written in an aspirational style are meant to positively inspire professionals to try to achieve a certain ideal of professional conduct and do not position themselves as having a disciplinary function.

We can see, then, that the thought that codes of ethics are necessarily minimalistic and behavior-focussed takes regulatory codes as paradigmatic of codes of ethics. That said, it is safe to assume that most codes of teacher ethics are regulatory. Among the twelve codes of ethics covering teachers' work at the provincial and territorial levels in Canada, for example, only one code, Ontario's, fits the description of an aspirational code (Maxwell & Schwimmer, 2016a). Roughly the same balance of regulatory to aspirational codes can be found in codes of teacher ethics in Australia (Forster, 2012). The objection that codes of ethics are essentially and necessarily non-expansive and behavior-oriented does not generally apply to aspirational codes which, again, are intentionally designed to articulate an abstract, values-based ideal of professionalism that practitioners are invited to internalize, reflectively adhere to, and strive to embody in practice.

Even so, it seems to me that condemning regulatory codes of ethics for articulating a set of minimal standards of ethical behavior is comparable to finding fault with a ball for being round. If aspirational codes have the advantage of stimulating reflection, inspiring an ideal of professionalism, and leaving plenty of room open for different conceptualizations of what it means to be an ethical practitioner, they have distinct disadvantages as tools for guiding behavior, professional sanction, and educating future members of the profession. It is all well and good to state that teacher professionalism is guided by a "vision" of ethical practice defined by the values of, say, care, respect, trust and integrity (as Ontario's code does), but such broad guidelines are likely to be cold comfort for teachers trying to get their bearings in work environments that are ethically complex, politically charged and under constant public scrutiny. Values, be they professional, national, or personal are notoriously open to interpretation. So much so, I would argue, that any number of well-intentioned but *prima facie* ethically questionable decisions made by teachers in the course of their work could be defended by appealing to values that virtually all could agree are central to teaching. A publicly available and widely known consensus statement on the norms that define professional conduct reassures the public that professionals are expected to adhere to certain standards of behavior and provides professionals with a sense of what constitutes professional conduct that goes beyond individual practitioners' personal ethical intuitions. Just as importantly, in the adjudication of allegations of professional misconduct, the code of ethics is meant to stand as a non-arbitrary measure that offers professionals some protection from the vagaries of public opinion and interpersonal vendettas. Regulatory codes of ethics are simple,

prescriptive and behavior-focussed. They must be if they are to serve the purpose they are intended to serve.

Shortly and as promised, I will go over some of the evidence from research on ethics education for future teachers which suggests that even the minimal threshold of adequacy for ethics education for future professionals that I outlined in the previous section is rarely being met in preservice teacher education. Since I collected some of this evidence myself, allow me the liberty of first explaining how the publication record on the ethics of teaching led me straight to the idea of conducting a survey on ethics content and curriculum in preservice teacher education.

A Research Problem

Any historian of teacher education will readily confirm that preparing future teachers to assume the role of moral models for their students was a primary concern of teacher education in Europe and North America from the beginning of formalized teacher education. Early teacher educators were very much preoccupied with impressing on prospective teachers the need to adhere to strict moral standards for their behavior—and this, of course, as much in their private lives as in their work with children and young people in schools. This aspect of teacher education began to recede as teacher education was brought under the auspices of the university through the early and middle decades of the twentieth century (Labaree, 2008). In the 1980s, however, two discourses in teacher education appeared to converge, making it clear to many that a renewed prioritization of the ethical and moral dimensions of teaching in teacher education was on the horizon.

The first discourse, widely associated with Alan Tom's (1984) book *Teaching as a Moral Craft*, centered on the idea that "the act of teaching is moral" in the sense that education inevitably involves attempting to transform people in ways that are considered to be good or worthwhile (see Peters, 1966). What incited Tom (1984) and subsequent scholars (e.g., Fenstermacher, 2001; Goodlad, Soder, & Sirotnik, 1990; Hansen 2001; Hare, 1993; Sanger & Osguthorpe, 2011, 2013) to explore in this direction was a concern about the future of teacher education. In a critique that still seems fresh today, Tom (1980) argued that the increasingly dominant "applied-science metaphor" of teaching highlighted the technical and analytic aspects of teaching while obscuring the fact that teaching is no less about transmitting values and social ideals as it is about transmitting knowledge and skills.

The second discourse, which emanated from the reform movement in teacher education launched by *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983), was concerned with aligning teacher education with broader trends in ethics education in the professions. In the wake of *A Nation at Risk*, two major commissions on teacher education were struck in 1986: the Holmes Group initiative and the Carnegie Task Force. Both groups' critical analyses of the state of teacher education in the United States took as a touchstone the model of professional education that had emerged in medicine over the course of the first half of the twentieth century (Wiggins, 1986). The reports of both groups, for instance, advocated the abolition of undergraduate degrees in education to be replaced by "clinical schools" managed by local school districts, and both reports urged trustee institutions responsible for overseeing teacher education to work towards a field-wide consensus on the "knowledge base of teacher professionalism." The impact of these reports was to lend a great deal of credence to the idea that teacher education in the future would look more and more like medical

education. Hence, a new idea began to be taken very seriously by a number of high-profile educationalists: that the basic conception of professional ethics education that had emerged with the modernization of medical education—focusing on familiarizing students with codes of ethics, the ethical concepts embedded in practice, the inherent ethical complexity of professionals’ work and the attendant ethical dilemmas—would now begin to find its way into in teacher education.

Against the background of this concerted drive to professionalize teaching, only spurred on by the introduction of the National Education Association’s code of ethics in 1975, there was, in the 1980s, a period of apparent confidence that it was simply a matter of time before professional ethics would have a central place in teacher education programs, either in the form of a dedicated course or as integrated curriculum (Bull, 1993; Goodlad, 1990; Howe, 1986; Sichel, 1983; Soltis, 1986; Strike, 1990; Strike & Soltis, 1985; Watras, 1986).² Already by the early 1990s, however, skeptical statements began to appear in the publication record about the progress being made in this direction (see Bruneau, 1998; Bull, 1993; Coombs, 1998; Campbell, 2008b; Maruyaman & Ueno, 2010; Nash, 1991).

Hypothetical explanations for the perceived neglect of ethics curriculum in pre-service teacher education are scattered throughout the literature.³ The most common explanation, perhaps, is that direct instruction in ethics runs counter to a cherished notion, as widespread among teacher candidates as teacher educators, that there is little more to being an ethical professional than simply being a “nice person” (Bruneau, 1998; Campbell, 2008c; Maruyaman & Ueno, 2010; Nash, 1991). As critics of this view point out, it is of course entirely possible to be a nice person yet misunderstand or be unaware of the ethical standards that one is expected to meet in a particular professional role. Other explanations put forward in the literature are: compared with medicine, ethical challenges emerging from rapid technological advances are rare in teaching (Coombs, 1998); unlike in business, it is uncommon for ethical scandals in education to reach the national public stage (Coombs, 1998); offering a mandatory ethics course would require a faculty-wide agreement about the ethical obligations and responsibilities of teachers, and it is unrealistic to think that such an agreement could be reached (Bull, 1993); and ethical issues are routinely dealt with as integrated curriculum in mandatory courses on social foundations of education, so an ethics course would simply be redundant (Bruneau, 1998).

Be that as it may, by the late 1990s the belief that teacher education had not kept up with other professional fields in requiring ethics to be a core part of the curriculum had emerged as something of a received idea among authors writing on ethics in teaching (Maxwell & Schwimmer, 2016b). The confidence with which authors make this assertion is striking given that it was based almost entirely on anecdotal reports and personal experience. How did we know that teaching compares unfavorably with other professions in requiring that students receive formal instruction in the ethical dimensions of professionalism?

Of course, educationalists were not alone in wondering about the uptake of the ethics movement that had long been sweeping higher education. And so it was that in the early 2000s, survey work that aimed to assess the extent of ethics education implementation was well underway in several

² There is a general agreement among commentators on this issue that, considering the fundamentally moral nature of teaching, ethics content would ideally be taught as integrated curriculum. At the same time, many scholars hold that it is nevertheless preferable for teacher candidates to take courses that are specifically dedicated to professional ethics (see Watras, 1986; Howe, 1986; Bruneau, 1998; Campbell, 2013). Unless they do, these authors argue, there is a danger that the topic of ethics will become diluted within teacher education programs or taught by instructors who lack the necessary familiarity with professional ethics in teaching.

³ The most detailed treatments of the question are to be found in papers by Bull (1993) and Coombs (1998).

professional fields. Today, a considerable cross-professional literature documents the state of ethics education in fields as diverse as medicine (DuBois & Burkemper, 2002; Eckles, Meslin, Gaffney, & Helft, 2005; Musick, 1999; Lehmann, Kasoff, Koch, & Federman, 2004), business (Christensen, Pierce, Hartman, Hoffman, & Carrier, 2007; Swanson & Fisher 2008), dentistry (Berk, 2001; Lantz, Bebeau, & Zarkowski, 2011), occupational therapy and physiotherapy (Hudon et al., 2013), neuroscience (Walther, 2013), and engineering (Stephan, 1999).

In this sizeable body of literature, there was only one comparable article on teaching, rarely cited in teacher education scholarship and buried in an obscure journal, *Christian Higher Education*. Glanzer and Ream (2007) collected information on patterns of ethics education in pre-service teacher education and found that a relatively small percentage of programs contained a required ethics course. To determine how common a dedicated ethics course is in different professional programs offered by 156 Christian colleges and universities in the United States, the authors gathered comparative data on ethics education in nursing, business, social work, journalism, engineering, computer science and teaching. They found that, as a general rule, one third to one half of professional majors included at least one course concerned primarily with ethics. Teaching stood out in their findings because, with an ethics-related course being mandatory in only 6 percent of the teacher education programs surveyed, teaching was way at the bottom of the list.

Glanzer and Ream's findings, then, supported the anecdotal reports that teacher education had "missed out on the ethics boom" (2007, p. 271), but the methodological limitations of their survey suggested that the actual proportion of teacher education programs requiring a mandatory ethics-related course in North America was even lower than 6 percent. The Christian colleges and universities that made up Glanzer and Ream's sample explicitly market themselves as schools that are particularly concerned with students' ethical and moral development. The authors of the survey knew from previous research (i.e., Glanzer, Ream, Villarreal, & Davis, 2004) that this nominal commitment to ethics education is reflected in the tendency of a significant portion of these institutions to require an ethics course in all programs of study. What's more, Glanzer and Ream's definition of "ethics course" was broad. It encompassed not just ethics-related courses dealing with professional ethics, professional values and ethical issues that arise in practice—the sense in which "ethics course" has generally tended to be understood in past surveys on ethics education in the professions—but also courses focusing on the moral education of children and on how to teach and promote community values and character in classroom teaching. For these reasons, it seemed reasonable to assume that there were even fewer opportunities for formal teaching and learning about ethical issues in education in the large non-denominational state and regional public colleges and universities where the majority of North American teachers are trained (Bull, 1993; Godland 1990; Lanier & Little, 1986) than there were in the denominational institutions of higher education surveyed by Glanzer and Ream. Luckily, a grant proposal to study this question was accepted, which allowed me to try and find out.

Research Findings on Ethics Education for Teachers

The results of the survey—which, as we will see, tell a good news/bad news story to some extent—lined up with the findings of a small corpus of research on ethics education in teaching published prior

to or shortly after Glanzer and Ream's (2007) work. Together, they suggest that education students are generally not being adequately prepared to face the ethical challenges of teaching.

An Early Survey and Qualitative Work

Also motivated by the concern that initial teacher preparation might be lagging behind other fields of professional formation with respect to ethics instruction, a survey by Freeman and Brown (1996) questioned a sample of early childhood educators about the how they integrated ethics-related themes into their courses. This survey found that, even though teacher educators commonly named teaching and learning about professional ethics as a course objective, in actual practice they dedicated very few class hours to the ethics component of their courses.

The only other substantial research that I have been able to find that sought to better understand how ethics-related themes and issues are handled in teacher education is two studies conducted at roughly the same time by Campbell (2008a, 2011) and Boon (2011). Campbell's project combined an analysis of documentary evidence describing courses and programs in teacher education at several Canadian universities with interviews with approximately 60 teaching students and teacher educators. For its part, Boon's research, which involved approximately 100 participants enrolled in a pre-service teaching degree at an Australian university, pursued very similar research questions and adopted a methodology similar to Campbell's. In addition, it included a set of paper and pencil survey questions to probe how well student teachers felt prepared to deal with difficult ethical situations arising in schools and how good a job they thought their teacher education programs did in addressing issues related to professional ethics. Campbell's and Boon's findings neatly converge: pre-service teachers felt a need for training in ethics that was not being adequately met by their education programs; moreover, students are on the whole keenly aware of the teacher's role as a model of morality and responsible citizenship and generally accept that society imposes on them moral standards that are higher than average. Far from being the dominant mode of delivering ethics content, courses dedicated to ethics in teaching are rare; when ethics is taught as integrated curriculum, its delivery is patchy and unequal across programs.

With the survey work on ethics content in initial teacher education, I wanted to accomplish four main goals. As mentioned above, first and foremost I wanted to take a second look at Glanzer and Ream's (2007) finding about the percentage of teacher education programs that include at least one mandatory ethics course by surveying a more generalizable sample to see whether it would turn out to be lower than 6 percent, as expected. Second, to answer the question of whether teacher education had "missed out on the ethics boom" in higher education, I wanted to compare the results on the commonness of an ethics-related course in teacher education generated by the survey with the result of the most recent survey work on professional ethics in other professions. In a different vein, the third objective of the survey was to subject the discourse on ethics education for future teachers to a reality check. That is to say, I wanted to get a sense of the answers that the survey participants would give to questions that are central to scholarly debates: How does learning about ethics contribute to teacher development and professionalism? What are the most important objectives of a course on the ethics of teaching? What are the main institutional obstacles to implementing and maintaining a dedicated ethics course at the program level? For reasons I will get to below, in retrospect, the plan was naïve but I also wanted to see whether there would be positive correlations between the commonness of a required

ethics course in a particular jurisdiction and either the existence of a professional order of teachers, a set of local professional standards that includes a section explicitly dealing with ethical standards, a code of ethics, or other factors that might conceivably give program committees a reason to think that adding or maintaining an ethics course might be a good idea.

Five-Country Survey

The survey was designed for two participant groups: administrative heads of academic units offering programs leading to teacher certification, and faculty members or sessional instructors who had taught ethics-related courses in preservice teacher education over the previous five years. From September 2013 to April 2015, surveys were conducted of teacher educators in five member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development: Australia, Canada, England, the Netherlands and the United States.⁴ To make sure that the language and wording of the survey was adapted to the respective national contexts, the questions were checked by at least one expert on ethics and teacher education in each of the countries involved. To reach the survey's target sample of academic unit heads, the main strategy was to request the contact lists of unit representatives from umbrella groups overseeing teacher education in each of the five countries surveyed. To reach teacher educators directly involved in ethics education for future teachers, snowball sampling (Goodman, 1961) was used.⁵

Participant-reported survey responses on the commonness of a required ethics-related course were double-checked using a manual search of academic calendars. For the manual calendar search, as well as in the introduction letter received by all participants, "ethics course" was defined as any course that has as its central focus ethics, morality or values in teaching. Detailed course information was accessed through institutional websites where this information was publicly available. We were able to obtain institution-provided course information for Australia, Canada and the United States. In England and the Netherlands, access to detailed course information is restricted to prospective and registered students, and staff.

In terms of participants, we gathered 217 individual participant responses, distributed over the five countries. The proportionally highest number of respondents was from the United States (61), followed in descending order by the Netherlands (50), England (47), Canada (33), and Australia (26). Even though, overall, academic unit heads and ethics instructors were close to being equally represented in the total sample (academic unit heads comprised 48 percent of the total respondents, or 105 of 217), there was considerable variability in the balance between ethics instructors and academic unit heads making up the samples within each country.

The best of the "good news" about the state of ethics education for future teachers that came out of the survey was that, in non-confessional or "mainstream" preservice teacher education, dedicated ethics courses do not appear to be anywhere near as rare as Glanzer and Ream's (2007) study would have predicted.

⁴ Full details of the methodology and findings can be found in Maxwell, Tremblay-Laprise, and Filion (2015) and Maxwell et al. (2016).

⁵ Owing to the well-known methodological drawbacks of online surveys (Fowler, 2002), the results of the survey are based on a non-probabilistic sample thus limiting their generalizability to the overall population of teacher educators and teacher education programs.

Participants were asked whether some, none or all their academic programs leading to teacher certification included at least one mandatory ethics-related course. According to the overall participant-reported results, 30 percent (52/175) of academic units included at least one ethics-related course in all their initial teacher education programs, 26 percent of academic units required an ethics course in some of their programs, whereas 44 percent of academic units had no ethics requirement in any teacher education programs offered. It is noteworthy that a considerable percentage of respondents, 20 percent (44/291), did not provide an answer to this question. With respect to country-to-country results, a mandatory ethics-related course in all initial teacher education programs was reported to be highest in Australia (50 percent, or 7/14) and lowest in England (18 percent, or 7/40). At 37 percent, the participant-reported figure for Canada sat in about the middle of this range.⁶

What participants reported about the commonness of an ethics course differed quite significantly from the results of the manual calendar search. In the case of some countries, the difference was shocking. The general findings of the manual search were that 22 percent of units had at least one required course in ethics in either all (26/115) or some (25/115) of their programs, and that 56 percent (64/115) of units did not require teacher candidates to study ethics in a stand-alone course. Dramatic differences between the participant-reported results and the results of the manual calendar search were recorded for the Australian and U.S. participant groups. While the U.S. participant-reported results showed that 33 percent (19/57) of academic units required an ethics-related course in all their programs, the manual calendar search showed that this figure was closer to 6 percent (3/51). For Australia, only 8 percent (2/24) of programs had an ethics requirement in all programs compared with 50 percent (7/14) according to participant reported numbers.⁷

In the manual calendar search, we sought another more nuanced perspective on the frequency of a required ethics course in initial teacher education by analysing frequency in terms of program blocks. Working with four analytic categories—primary or elementary education, secondary education, special education and master's in teaching—we collected data on how many programs had a stand-alone ethics course on their lists of core courses. For the three countries for which this information was available, we found this to be the case in 30 percent (44/146) of primary or elementary programs, 26 percent (38/148) of secondary education programs, 31 percent (9/29) of special education programs and 8 percent (6/78) for the master's in teaching program block. In total, 24 percent (97/401) of the programs surveyed included at least one mandatory ethics-related course. Comparatively by country, initial teacher education programs in Canada were the most likely to contain an obligatory stand-alone ethics course, with 42 percent (52/124) meeting this criterion. In both Australia and the United States, 16 percent (14/88 and 31/189, respectively) of all initial teacher education programs were found to have a required dedicated ethics-related course.⁸

When the results of the manual calendar search are compared with the findings of research on the commonness of an ethics requirement in other areas of professional formation, it is hard to affirm confidently that teacher education has missed out on the ethics boom in higher education. The degree

⁶ To avoid double-counting, if more than one representative from a single institution was found in the data base, duplicates were removed when these calculations were performed.

⁷ A detailed breakdown of the results on the frequency of a required ethics-related course by academic unit, including a comparison between participant-reported and manual calendar search results, can be found in Figure 1 which appears in Appendix A.

⁸ Table 1, which is available in Appendix B, presents the details of the frequency results by program block.

of methodological variability found in the survey work on ethics education in the professions poses a challenge for establishing comparable figures on how common it is for professional programs to include at least one mandatory ethics-related course. According to the findings of the most recent North American research, however, at least one ethics-related course is a requirement of 50 percent of doctoral programs in medicine (Lehmann et al., 2004), 17 percent of undergraduate programs in engineering (Stephan, 1999), 80 percent of doctoral programs in dentistry (Lantz, Bebeau, & Zarkowski, 2011), and about one-third of business programs both at the master's (Christensen et al., 2007) and undergraduate levels (Swanson & Fisher, 2008). Although teacher education is far from the top of the league tables in regard to the structured teaching and learning of ethics in the form of a discrete course, the finding that 22 percent of academic units offering programs leading to teaching certification had at least one required dedicated ethics course in all their programs, and that 24 percent of programs surveyed contained a mandatory ethics-related course, places teacher education above engineering (Stephan, 1999) but still well below the 50 percent frequency figure found in medicine, the field often considered as being at the vanguard of the ethics education movement (Davis, 1999).

The last piece of “good news” to report from the survey is that there seems to exist within teacher education internationally a will to expand ethics education in pre-service teaching programs and possibly to better integrate the stand-alone course model. What we found was that the amount and quality of instruction in ethics currently being offered in teacher education is to some extent out of step with teacher educators’ beliefs about the potential contribution of ethics content and curriculum to the university-based education of future teachers. Over 90 percent (168/184) of participants said that they consider ethics to be an important aspect of the initial teacher education curriculum, independently of whether or not the topic is taught as either integrated curriculum or in a dedicated course. Although participants were generally neutral about whether the level of instruction that their students currently receive in ethics is adequate, nearly 75 percent (134/183) of respondents expressed support for increasing ethics education in their academic unit’s initial teacher education programs, and nearly two-thirds (110/184) agreed that at least one introductory ethics course should be mandatory in all initial teacher education programs.

One could of course object that percentage figures for obligatory stand-alone ethics courses don’t tell us much about the deeper question that animated this and the other research on ethics content in initial teacher education: How well-prepared are students to successfully face the ethical challenges of contemporary teaching when they leave their preservice teaching programs? There is, after all, a long tradition in teacher education of handling ethics content as integrated curriculum (Bruneau, 1998; Campbell, 2013; Goodlad, 1990). Thus, even if dedicated ethics courses are relatively rare in preservice teacher education—as indeed the survey found—integrated ethics curriculum may be compensating. Indeed, when asked whether the topic of ethics in teaching is integrated into other mandatory pre-service courses or required to be taught in combination with another topic, a strong majority of survey participants considered that ethics was being taught in initial teacher education their programs whether or not students were required to take a stand-alone ethics course (76 percent, or 139/184).⁹

This brings us to the bad news about the survey results. They give reason to believe that the preparation that education students are receiving in connection with the ethical dimensions of teaching

⁹ Administrators were more inclined to respond positively to this question (86 percent, or 76/88) than ethics instructors were (66 percent, or 62/94; $p = .01$) suggesting that this question is difficult to answer, a matter of perception, or more likely both.

often fails to meet the minimal criterion of adequacy that I argued for in the first part of the paper. Indeed, the manual calendar search revealed that stand-alone ethics courses rarely introduce students to the local code of ethics. Corroborating this finding, the online survey showed that teacher educators consistently rank acquainting students with the regulatory guidelines on teacher ethics among the least important teaching and learning objectives in ethics education for teachers. More broadly, other outcomes of the survey indicated that teaching and learning about ethics in preservice teacher preparation is taking place against a background of general disagreement about what an ethics course in teaching is supposed to be about and a state of confusion about the collective norms teachers work under as articulated in ethics code. I begin with the issue of the content and objectives of courses on the ethics of teaching. In short, if course-based ethics education has these important limitations, that does not give reason to be optimistic about the effectiveness of integrated ethics curriculum.

The results of the survey cohere with one of the key conclusions of Campbell's (2008b) major review of the literature on the ethics of teaching. Campbell found that, despite decades of extensive research on the ethical dimensions of teaching, scholars do not appear to be any closer to agreement on "the moral essence of teacher professionalism" (p. 358). Consistent with this observation, the survey revealed a great deal of variability in the content of mandatory ethics-related courses for future teachers in the three OECD countries for which we have data (i.e., Australia, Canada and the United States). Recall that there was a considerable gap between the participant-reported information about the commonness of a dedicated ethics course and the results of the manual calendar search. The most plausible explanation for this result, I believe, is that it is very difficult for teacher educators to know whether the students enrolled in the teacher education programs offered by their units are even taking an ethics-related course.¹⁰ Also, in the academic calendar search, we expected to find ethics courses easily identifiable as such by the course title. While some ethics-related courses did use such explicit labelling, at least half the courses that met our definitional criteria did not.¹¹ A case in point is that it was not unusual to find that required courses labelled "Philosophy of Education" focussed centrally on ethical issues in education—at least as far as could be discerned from the course descriptions available from university calendars. The unsystematic labelling and the great diversity of ethics-related themes that are addressed in ethics-related courses in initial teacher education, as the results of the manual calendar search suggested, cannot but make the question of whether one's academic unit requires students to take an ethics course hard to answer.

One indicator that the local code of ethics, its embedded ethical and legal concepts, and the application of its obligations in practice are not standard fare in ethics courses is that the keyword "code of ethics" appeared in the course description of only 10 percent of the 64 course descriptions we collected. Needless to say, course descriptions published in university calendars do not necessarily accurately reflect what is actually taught in a class, but other evidence gathered in the course of conducting the survey supported the hypothesis.

¹⁰ An alternative but less convincing explanation is subject-expectancy effect. That is, some participants may have felt that stating that all their programs required an ethics-related course was the desired answer on the survey and this perception influenced the answer they provided. However, results of the Canadian survey raise doubts about this interpretation. The participant-reported information on frequency in the Canadian sample represented an *underestimation* of the figure derived from the manual calendar search.

¹¹ Some examples of common ethics course titles are "Teacher as Leader: The Professional Role," "School and Society," "Critical Issues and Policies," and "The Self as Professional."

One such piece of evidence came from respondents' answers to the survey question about teaching and learning objectives of ethics education for future teachers. The ethics instructor participants were presented with a matrix listing 15 possible teaching and learning objectives in a course on the ethics of teaching and asked them to rate the importance of each item.¹² Answers given by about 60 ethics instructors in the five countries surveyed suggested a broad consensus at the top end of the scale, the 3 or 4 objectives that were viewed as being the most important—these included “developing ethical sensitivity” and “promoting the professional values of teaching”—and at the low end of the scale, those considered least important. Down near the bottom of the list, in 12th place of 15, was “acquaint students with the local legal and regulatory context (e.g., law, ethics codes).”¹³

Even more telling was a stunning discovery about the participants' lack of familiarity with their own local codes of ethics. As I mentioned earlier, the survey was designed so that we could test for correlations between factors that should predict the presence of an ethics course—for example, a code of ethics being in place in a particular jurisdiction—and the findings about the commonness of an ethics course in teacher education programs in that jurisdiction. Going into the survey, I didn't know that I would never have the number of participants needed to generate statistically significant correlations, but while trying I stumbled upon something even more interesting. Because I already knew that the participant-reported information about the presence of ethics courses in programs was inaccurate, I decided to double-check respondents' assertions about the existence of a code of ethics in their jurisdiction. Almost all respondents, easily 90 percent, said that no code of ethics applied to teachers in their state, province or territory. After going through the entire Canadian sample and about a third of the U.S. responses I stopped because the answer was clear: the respondents had no idea. A code of ethics for teachers is currently in place in nearly every state, province and territory in North America. At risk of stating the obvious, if the people who teach future teachers don't even know that a code of ethics exists in the region where they work, we can be pretty sure that they are not covering it in their classes.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that it is essential that students leave teacher education programs equipped with a basic understanding of the code of ethics that will apply to them as professionals, and I have presented evidence gathered in research on ethics education for future teachers that this is not generally occurring. Teaching may not have missed out on the ethics boom altogether, but what the research does suggest is that the kind of education being offered about the ethical dimensions of the profession is out of step with broader efforts to professionalize teaching. According to the most elementary conception of what a profession is, the exercise of the expert skills needed to intervene effectively in a

¹² The items in this question were derived from discussions of this issue in the scholarly literature on the teaching and learning of ethics and professional values in pre-service teacher education (e.g., Bruneau, 1998; Bull, 1993; Campbell, 2008a, 2008b, 2011; Carr, 2000; Coombs, 1998; Goodlad, Doder, & Sirotnik, 1990; Howe, 1986; Maruyama & Ueno, 2010; Nash, 1991; Soltis, 1986; Strike & Soltis, 1998; Strike & Ternasky, 1993; Warnick & Silverman, 2011).

¹³ A complete list of the teaching and learning objectives participants were asked to rank and the results (including ranked order by country) appears in Table 2 in Appendix B.

fundamentally important domain of life—health, learning, finances, justice, *etcetera*—and a set of standards of ethical conduct are two sides of the same coin. Society entrusts a relatively wide margin of autonomy to professionals, and recognizes the right for self-regulation, in exchange for a promise that they will work under publicly promulgated and internally enforced standards of ethical conduct. Decades after Alan Tom’s (1980) landmark critique, and with countless reiterations since, teacher education seems still to be putting all its eggs in the applied science basket. In better-established professions like accounting, law, engineering, and dentistry, it is considered to be a question of basic public accountability and simple responsibility to students to make sure that those entering the profession have some direct exposure to the set of standards that they will be judged by in the eyes of their public, their clients and their peers—even if that exposure amounts to nothing more than a one-day crash course. Yet in teacher education, more often than not, codes of ethics are little-known, derided as “reductionist,” or simply ignored. In this concluding section, I make three suggestions about how to work towards changing this.

Consciousness-raising and more knowledge about how codes of ethics are used in the assessment of allegations of professional misconduct would be a good start. Take for example the case of Lynden Dorval, the teacher at the centre of the public controversy over “no-zero policies” in Alberta in 2012. In a move that some decried as a gross violation of the professional autonomy of teachers, the Edmonton Public School Board dismissed Dorval from his position as a secondary math teacher because he refused to implement school board guidelines that prevented teachers from giving the mark of zero in cases of poor student performance on an assignment or for failing to submit work. The school board’s position was that Dorval was guilty of insubordination. As an employee of the school board, Dorval was under a contractual obligation to follow the direction of the principal of the school where he worked. By insisting on the no-zero rule, the principal was merely implementing school board policy. Dorval’s case was subsequently investigated by a disciplinary committee within the Alberta Teacher’s Association, which came to the conclusion that the teacher had acted contrary to the association’s Code of Professional Conduct. The details of the tribunal’s deliberation process are not publicly available, but one can assume that the members of the committee decided that Dorval’s actions fell afoul of Article 9 of the Code. It states, “The teacher fulfills contractual obligation to the employer until released by mutual consent or according to the law.” Even though the legality of Dorval’s firing was subsequently rejected on administrative grounds,¹⁴ we can all agree, I think, that no teacher should discover what standards they are judged against only once they find themselves accused of professional misconduct—as Dorval almost certainly did. I think that if teacher educators in general were more aware of the role that codes of ethics play in cases like Dorval’s, they would appreciate that teacher education programs have an ethical responsibility ensure their students acquire a basic mastery of the local code of ethics. This document states the ethical obligations that they will be expected to adhere to and called upon to apply judiciously the moment they enter a school in a professional capacity.

Such greater awareness on the part of teacher educators would, I hope, be favorable to a necessary change of attitude about the value and contribution of ethics content in preservice teacher education. Teaching and learning about the ethical dimensions of education seems to be perceived as a frill rather than part of the core business of teacher preparation. I pointed out above that the survey found fairly strong support among teacher educators to increase ethics education and a sizeable majority felt that at

¹⁴ As it happens, a higher court found that the school board had failed to follow proper procedures in informing Dorval of his dismissal.

least one course dedicated to the ethics of teaching should be mandatory. When asked to identify the obstacles standing in the way of progress in this direction, ethics instructors and academic unit heads were of one mind: the key obstacles to increasing ethics content were, far and away, competition with other teaching and learning content for space on program schedules. When this response is considered in light of other findings from the survey, we are led towards the possibility that normative assumptions in decision-making about what content should be prioritized in teacher education are at play. The survey found a sizeable difference between frequency rates of a required ethics course in the master's in teaching programs versus the concurrent bachelor of education and the post-graduate certificate in secondary teaching (8 percent as opposed to 26 percent), a finding that is difficult to account for in terms of scheduling constraints.¹⁵ Taking into consideration that, as a general rule, master's in teaching programs tend to be a relatively new addition to institutions' palate of program offerings—coupled with the perception that, in recent years, the “practice” camp has been gaining the upper hand in the longstanding struggle between theory and practice in teacher education—ethics appears to be getting squeezed out in more recent decision-making about program content for reasons other than merely time and space on the schedule.

Finally, the spirit of divisiveness that characterizes the scholarly discourse on the ethics of teaching is un conducive to open-mindedness about making codes of ethics an essential part of future teachers' preparation. A superficial analysis of the course descriptions we gathered for the survey project leads me to the conclusion that the way ethics is being taught in preservice teacher education reflects the three rival camps that dominate the scholarly discourse on the ethics of teaching. The social justice camp (see Ayers 2004; Boler, 2004; Buzzeli & Johnston, 2002; Slattery & Rapp, 2003) prioritizes raising future teachers' awareness about social exclusion and the public school as a potential motor of social justice, and preparing them to act as agents of social justice and equality. The “moral work of teaching” camp, to borrow a label coined by Sanger and Osguthorpe (2011), prioritizes preparing teachers to help foster character, virtues or values in young people, often through promoting virtues, values and ideals among future teachers themselves (e.g., Biesta, 2015; Higgins, 2011; Noddings, 1994; Ruitenberg, 2015; Sanger & Osguthorpe, 2016). Finally, the professional ethics camp (see Bebeau & Monson, 2008; Boon, 2011; Campbell, 2008c, 2000; Nash, 1991; Strike & Soltis, 1985) prioritizes initiating future professionals into a community of practice defined by a shared conception of what it means to act ethically and responsibly in the provision of educational services. In theory, the way these agendas articulate with one another is bound to generate normative friction. The professionalism agenda in ethics education, for instance, is routinely and rightly critiqued for obscuring crucial macro-ethical issues in professional practice because it focusses narrowly on teachers as individual actors responsible for their own conduct and the immediate well-being of their clients (see Ladd, 1998; MacKay, Sutherland, & Pochini, 2013). In practice, of course, these distinctions are complementary. To give a simplistic example, when teachers treat their pupils fairly they are respecting norms of ethical professionalism *and* promoting equality as a moral and social value through modeling *and* acting to

¹⁵ This finding confirms some teacher educators' reservations about the master's route to teacher certification and the teaching profession (e.g., Tardif, 2013). That is, because of the tendency for master's programs to prioritize courses that deal with the more “technical” aspects of teaching (class management, evaluation, pedagogical practices, etc.) at the expense of general foundational courses like sociology of education, multicultural education, philosophy of education and professional ethics, students coming to teaching via the master's in teaching are missing out on the crucial opportunities for professional socialization that such courses can provide.

minimize discrimination in the school. The practice context, then, contains this important lesson for those responsible for teaching and learning about ethics in preservice teacher education. A more cohesive discourse in teacher ethics does not mean that one of these camps comes to dominate the others. Instead, cohesion should be sought by turning the collective gaze away from what *we* as teacher educators, citizens and public intellectuals personally think should be prioritized in teaching and learning about ethics in preservice teacher education and towards the real ethical standards by which those real teachers will be measured when they go out into the world of work.

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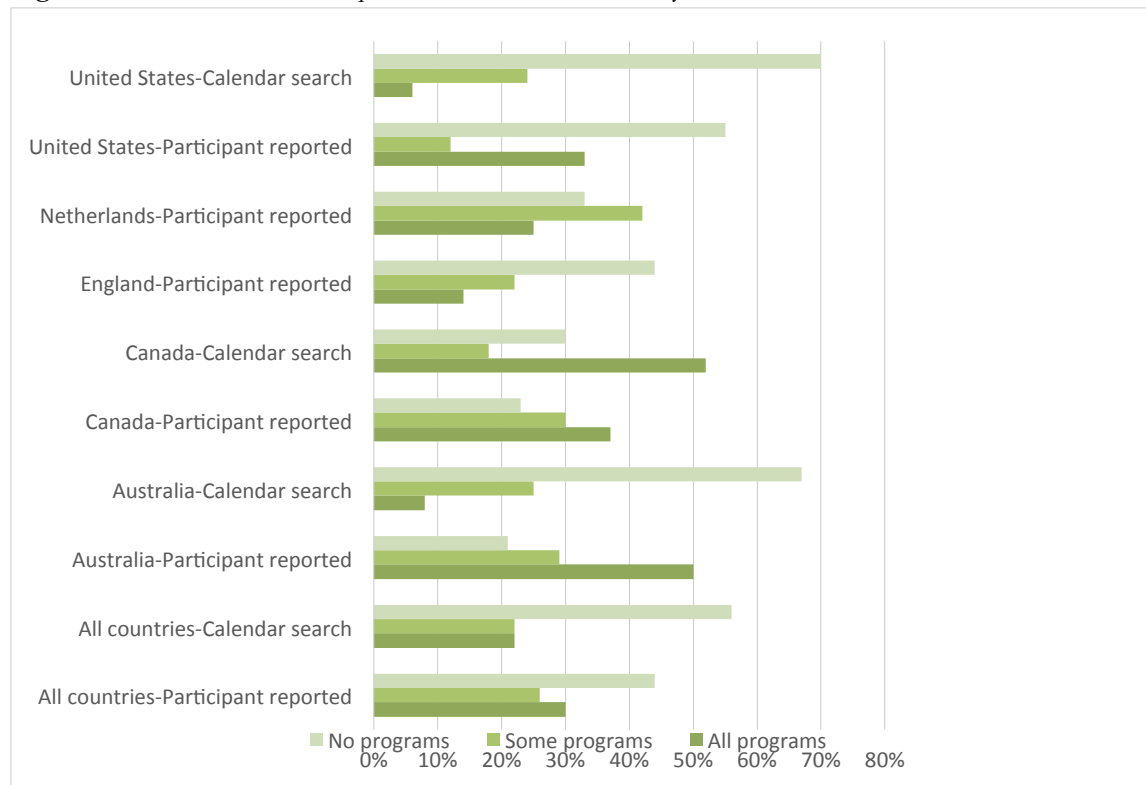
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About the Author

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Appendix A

Figure 1. Commonness of a required ethics-related course by academic unit



Appendix B

Table 1. Commonness of a required ethics-related course by program

Program block	Examples of constitutive programs	Australia	Canada	United States	Total
Primary, elementary or early years education	- B.Ed. primary, elementary or early years (3 or 4 years/90-120 credits)	20% (5/25)	44% (25/57)	22% (14/64)	30% (44/146)
	- B.A., B.Sc., M.Mus, or similar /B.Ed. primary, elementary or early years concurrent (3 or 4 years/90-120 credits)				
	- B.Ed. post undergraduate professional degree in primary, elementary or early years teaching (1 to 2 years/30-60 credits)				
Secondary education	- B.Ed. secondary (3 or 4 years/90-120 credits)	18% (6/33)	40% (22/54)	16% (10/61)	26% (38/148)
	- B.A., B.Sc., M.Mus, or similar/B.Ed. secondary concurrent (3 or 4 years/90-120 credits)				
	- B.Ed. post undergraduate professional degree in secondary teaching (1 to 2 years/30-60 credits)				
Special education	- B.Ed. special education (3 or 4 years/90-120 credits)	NA	50% (3/6)	26% (6/23)	31% (9/29)
Master's in teaching	- Master's degree in primary, elementary or early years teaching (1 to 2 years/30-60 credits)	10% (3/30)	29% (2/7)	2% (1/41)	8% (6/78)
	- Master's degree in secondary teaching (1 to 2 years/30-60 credits)				
Combined results		16% (14/88)	42% (52/124)	16% (31/189)	24% (97/401)

Table 2. Teaching and learning objectives in ethics-related courses

	Mean ^{a, b}	% (No.) Agree	Ranked order by country ^a				
			AUS	CAN	ENG	NLD	USA
Develop sensitivity to ethical issues in context	1.17	100% (58)	4	3	2	3	2
Raise students' awareness about teacher professionalism	1.32	97% (56)	8	4	6	2	5
Promote the professional values of teaching (e.g., human development, getting a fair chance)	1.36	98% (57)	7	2	5	5	6
Help students clarify their values	1.39	93% (53)	2	8	3	1	8
Help students develop their own personal philosophy of education	1.39	93% (52)	1	9	1	4	9
Develop professional qualities (e.g., honesty, fairness, empathy)	1.41	97% (55)	10	7	4	6	4
Understand teachers' professional obligations (e.g., to evaluate fairly)	1.48	90% (52)	3	1	8	11	7
Develop ethical reasoning skills	1.53 ^b	91% (50)	6	5	10	12	1
Familiarize students with ethically-relevant concepts in teaching (e.g., in loco parentis)	1.61	80% (45)	12	6	7	10	12
Provide ethically meaningful experiences (e.g., watching a film or reading literature)	1.70 ^b	81% (46)	11	11	12	9	3
Encourage students to become ethically better people	1.70	84% (48)	9	10	11	7	10
Acquaint students with the local legal and regulatory context (e.g., laws, ethics codes)	1.78	78% (45)	5	12	9	13	13
Improve communication skills	1.93	79% (45)	13	14	13	8	11
Learn about the literature on the ethics of teaching	2.27 ^b	61% (34)	14	13	14	14	14
Learn about theories of normative ethics (e.g., deontologism, consequentialism)	2.66 ^b	45% (25)	15	15	15	15	15

^a Means and rankings based on 5-point Likert scale ratings (1 = "very important" to 5 = "not important")

^b A one-way ANOVA test revealed a value of less than .05 indicating a statistically significant difference between the country groups' responses