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# Embracing Complexity: understanding the experiences of university-based teacher educators in England.

la Velle, Linda

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# Diversity in Teacher Education



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## Perspectives on a school-led system

Edited by Nick Sorensen



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# List of abbreviations

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| AO    | Assessment Only                                    |
| BA    | Bachelor of Arts                                   |
| BEd   | Bachelor of Education                              |
| BERA  | British Educational Research Association           |
| BSc   | Bachelor of Science                                |
| BST   | Bath Spa Teacher                                   |
| BSU   | Bath Spa University                                |
| CAS   | complex adaptive system                            |
| CATE  | Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education |
| CHE   | college of higher education                        |
| CTC   | City Technology College                            |
| DES   | Department of Education and Science                |
| DfE   | Department for Education                           |
| DiTE  | Diversity in Teacher Education                     |
| EBITT | employment-based initial teacher training          |
| EBT   | evidence-based teaching                            |
| EEF   | Education Endowment Foundation                     |
| EYITT | early years initial teacher training               |
| FE    | further education                                  |
| GPK   | general pedagogical knowledge                      |
| GTCE  | General Teaching Council for England               |
| GTCNI | General Teaching Council for Northern Ireland      |
| GTP   | Graduate Teacher Programme                         |
| HEFCE | Higher Education Funding Council for England       |
| HEI   | higher education institution                       |
| HMC   | Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Conference        |
| ICT   | information and communication technology           |
| IfE   | Institute for Education                            |
| INSET | in-service education and training                  |
| IRN   | international research network                     |
| ITE   | initial teacher education                          |
| ITT   | initial teacher training                           |
| KEF   | Knowledge Exchange Framework                       |
| LEA   | local education authority                          |
| LMS   | local management of schools                        |
| MAT   | multi-academy trust                                |

## *List of abbreviations*

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| MCK    | mathematical content knowledge                                       |
| MOTE   | Modes of Teacher Education   |
| NAO    | National Audit Office  |
| NCTL   | National College for Teaching and Leadership                         |
| NQT    | newly qualified teacher  |
| NSC    | National Schools Commissioner  |
| OECD   | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development               |
| Ofsted | Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services<br>and Skills |
| ORF    | official recontextualization field                                   |
| OTTP   | Overseas Trained Teacher Programme                                   |
| PGCE   | Postgraduate Certificate in Education                                |
| PGDE   | Postgraduate Diploma in Education                                    |
| PIRLS  | Progress in International Reading Literacy Study                     |
| PISA   | Programme for International Student Assessment                       |
| PRF    | pedagogic recontextualization field                                  |
| QTS    | qualified teacher status   |
| REF    | Research Excellence Framework  |
| RSA    | Royal Society for the Arts   |
| SCITT  | school-centred initial teacher training                              |
| SD     | School Direct  |
| SEND   | special educational needs and disability                             |
| SLE    | school leaders in education  |
| STCC   | school training centre co-ordinator                                  |
| TALIS  | Teaching and Learning International Survey                           |
| TDA    | Training and Development Agency for Schools                          |
| TEDS-M | Teacher Education and Development Study in Mathematics               |
| TEF    | Teaching Excellence Framework  |
| TEI    | teacher education institution  |
| TF     | Teach First  |
| TIMSS  | Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study                |
| TKAT   | The Kemnal Academies Trust   |
| TSA    | teaching school alliances  |
| TSM    | teacher supply model   |
| TTA    | Teacher Training Agency  |
| TtT    | Troops to Teachers   |
| UCAS   | Universities and Colleges Admissions Service                         |
| UCET   | Universities Council for the Education of Teachers                   |
| UoB    | University of Bristol  |
| WoTE   | Work of Teacher Education  |

# Dedication

This book is dedicated to the life, work and legacy of Geoff Whitty (1946–2018). Geoff was a friend, inspiration, mentor and source of wisdom to many and especially to those who worked alongside him on the Diversity in Teacher Education project. We are proud to count him as an associate and feel honoured that this book contains his last piece of writing. He was determined to contribute a Foreword and the final edits were made with his daughter Natalie while they were watching the World Cup.

A brilliant and generous mind lost far too soon.

# Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge all those that have contributed to the Diversity in Teacher Education research programme since its inception. Particular credit must be given to three individuals: Professor Christina Slade who, as Vice-Chancellor of Bath Spa University, instigated this enquiry into teacher education, Research Professor Geoff Whitty for the wisdom, experience and critical acumen that helped to shape and direct this project, and Professor Kate Reynolds, Executive Dean of the Institute for Education, whose commitment and support guaranteed its successful completion. Thanks are also due to Christine Eden for her support and for providing feedback on the early drafts of this work.

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*Geoff Whitty* (1946–2018) was Director of the London Institute of Education from 2000 to 2010. He was a Research Professor at Bath Spa University and a Global Innovation Chair at the University of Newcastle in Australia.

# Foreword

*Geoff Whitty*

When I left school in the mid-1960s there were two main routes to becoming a qualified teacher – an undergraduate route of two to three years leading to a teaching certificate, or later a BEd degree, and a postgraduate route through which holders of degrees in subjects other than education could qualify as teachers by taking a one-year postgraduate certificate in education course (the PGCE). Even though all I wanted to do was teach, I was advised to take the second route – to complete a degree in my specialist subject and then add on the postgraduate certificate if I still wanted to do that. Even today, this remains the most popular and most prestigious route into teaching, especially for prospective secondary school subject teachers.

By the time I myself was a teacher trainer a decade later, the picture was becoming a little more complicated. Changes were driven partly by dissatisfaction among lecturers at the content and status of their subject, but also by concerns among politicians that teachers in England were not of high enough academic calibre compared with their international competitors, and that what they learnt on teacher training courses was not very relevant to the needs of teachers and students in classrooms. At the extreme, it was alleged by some right-wing politicians that teacher training courses had become hotbeds of Marxist indoctrination (Whitty, 1991).

The neo-conservatives among them regarded most of the taught curriculum of teacher training as dispensable, so in their ideal world the prescribed curriculum would consist only of ‘proper subject knowledge’ in the subjects they would teach. The neo-liberals would allow schools to go into the market and recruit whoever they wanted as teachers but anticipated that they would in practice favour ‘pure’ graduates over those who had ‘suffered’ from teacher training in colleges and university departments of education which had contributed to the failure of education to provide a labour force able to compete in a global marketplace. There was general agreement between the two groups that, say, two or three years of subject study in a conventional vein was sufficient academic preparation for would-be teachers and any additional training necessary could be done on an apprenticeship basis in schools (Whitty, 1991: 5). Within the profession, on the other hand, it was felt by some that more attention ought to be given to the explicit teaching of pedagogy and pedagogic subject knowledge. These developments, and others, are discussed in more detail and from a different perspective in chapter 3 of this book.

In the mid-1980s some of these concerns were addressed through the creation by Margaret Thatcher's government of a Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) to review all initial teacher training providers in England and recommend whether they should receive accreditation to provide courses leading to qualified teacher status (QTS). Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools (subsequently Ofsted) was charged with reporting to CATE on the quality of provision, a role that has been significantly expanded over the subsequent 30 years under successive governments. From 1992 onwards, a succession of competences and standards that courses should develop in their trainees were drawn up by governments and the Teacher Training Agency (and successor bodies), and these were accompanied by an increase in the time trainees were required to spend in school.

With regard to leadership in teacher training, there was a growing focus on equal 'partnership' between higher education institutions (universities and other HEIs) and schools in the planning and provision of accredited courses leading to QTS. This evolved into an even more significant change, the introduction of 'school-centred' initial teacher education, in which a group of schools took over much of the work of HEIs, and universities were largely restricted to academic validation of the course. This provision came to be known as school-centred initial teacher training (SCITT). While small in terms of the proportion of teachers it trained, SCITT provision was important in challenging the hitherto dominant role of HEIs in teacher education.

Even by this stage the future and shape of initial teacher education in England had gained much more policy prominence than I would ever have anticipated when I became a PGCE student back in 1968. When I think about my own experience of teacher education from the early 1970s, I can see that governments certainly moved away from trusting the teacher trainers to providing increasingly detailed central prescription. As far as I can remember, when I took up my first job as a teacher educator at the University of Bath in 1973, I was left to my own devices in deciding what I should teach my students on the PGCE course. Although we had an Area Training Organisation and associate tutors in schools, the course content was entirely determined by university staff and we were definitely in the lead.

It was the changes that took place in the 1980s and 1990s that became the focus of a research project that I was involved in at the London Institute of Education in the 1990s, in collaboration with colleagues at the Universities of Sheffield and Bristol and Homerton College, Cambridge (Furlong *et al.*, 2000). This research project, known as the Modes of Teacher Education

study (MOTE), was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (Project no. R000234185, ‘Changing modes of professionalism? A case study of teacher education in transition’; <https://www.researchcatalogue.esrc.ac.uk/grants/R000234185/read>); it enabled us to monitor the changes in the conventional routes and the introduction of the innovative routes at a number of teacher education providers around the country. Through that work we were able to attempt some generalizations about the direction of travel of initial teacher education in England (which we characterized as a combination of state control and market forces (Gamble, 1988)), which in turn had implications for modes of professionalism, particularly in the public sector. While England was at the extreme end of such developments, some similar trends were in evidence elsewhere, alongside some contrary developments in other countries, as discussed in the afterword of this book.

The direction of travel that had been set in train in England in the 1990s and reflected in our report on the MOTE research was modified under New Labour not only by greater emphasis on managerialism by school leaders, but also in the context of competition and choice between them (Furlong *et al.*, 2000).

By the time the New Labour government left office in 2010, there were three main routes into school teaching in England. All led to QTS, which (with some limited exceptions) remained a requirement for anyone teaching in a publicly maintained school, including most academies. The routes were partnerships led by HEI, providing both under- and postgraduate programmes, SCITTs, and new routes involving ‘on-the-job’ training, known as employment-based initial teacher training (EBITT). These new routes included the Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP), the Overseas Trained Teacher Programme (OTTP) – for those who already had some teacher training – and Teach First (TF), a scheme to bring high-flying new graduates into teaching in challenging schools.

At this stage 234 providers offered routes into teaching, including 75 HEI-led partnerships, 59 SCITTs and 100 EBITTs. HEIs were still responsible for the great majority of trainees; in 2009–10 they trained 78.7% of the recruits to teacher training programmes, compared with 16.7% in EBITTs and 5.6% in SCITTs.

Meanwhile, there had been an additional development. This is what I have termed ‘branded’ professionalisms (Whitty, 2014), drawing upon a literature that explores how knowledge-intensive firms like Deloitte use their brand as a platform for a common identity and consistent expectations. In education, autonomous schools, or academies in the English case, are increasingly being linked into chains such as the Ark and

Harris networks, and these are seeking also to take on more responsibilities for teacher training, either by becoming accredited providers themselves or by franchising other providers, including universities, to train the particular sorts of teachers they want. So we will have distinctive Ark teachers or Harris teachers, alongside an existing example of ‘branded professionalism’ in the case of Teach First teachers.

These trends would intensify under the new Conservative–Liberal Democrat coalition government. Its White Paper of 2010, *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE, 2010), encouraged a more explicit shift towards school-led initial teacher training in England, including the creation of around 500 teaching schools – schools rated by Ofsted as outstanding in teaching and learning that could potentially take over leadership of teacher training from the universities. The extent to which, the scale on which, and the speed at which this was likely to happen remained unclear but there was no doubt that this was the direction of travel favoured by the government and that some Conservative ministers would have liked – and would still like – to see more than half of new teachers trained under school-led routes.

The key policy for realizing this change was School Direct, a scheme which, in simple terms, involved the allocation of training places to schools, which cashed them in with a university or another accredited training provider to deliver a training package for a teacher whom the school was expected to employ subsequently (although that requirement has since been watered down). Trainees filling a vacancy could be paid a salary as under the earlier EBITT arrangements, though most were to be funded by loans and bursaries as in conventional HEI-led provision.

When the School Direct policy was announced, it was going to be restricted to about 500 places and was designed to meet teacher supply needs that were not being met through existing mechanisms. Subsequently, it has been reinvented as the main vehicle for putting schools in the lead in teacher training and making HEIs more responsive to the needs of schools. Its projected share of postgraduate trainee numbers was increased to over 9,000 for 2013–14, rising to over 17,000 for 2015–16, as shown in table 1.

**Table 1:** Comparison of School Direct and HE provider trainee numbers

|               | 2011–12 | 2012–13 | 2013–14 | 2014–15 | 2015–16 |
|---------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| HE provider   | 28,669  | 28,841  | 26,790  | 23,095  | 22,224  |
| School Direct | 0       | 772     | 9,586   | 15,254  | 17,609  |

Source: Roberts and Foster (2015).

As a result of all these changes, the landscape of initial teacher education has become even more varied than it was in 2010. Although there is some dispute about what constitutes a ‘route’, a ‘course’, a ‘qualification’, and what is merely a ‘funding mechanism’, in 2015 the Association of School and College Leaders identified what it called ‘Routes into Teaching’:

**SCITT**

Led by a network of schools that have been given powers to run their own training independently.

Course generally lasts a year.

**School Direct (Unsalariated)**

Designed by a group of schools in partnership with a University or SCITT with the schools themselves recruiting.

Generally lasts a year.

**School Direct (Salaried)**

As above.

Earn a salary while training and school covers the cost of achieving QTS.

**Teach First**

Earn while you train and work in a challenging school in a low-income community.

Minimum 2.1 degree. Two-year course.

**Troops to Teachers**

For Service Leavers in the two years before or the two years after leaving the Armed Forces.

With a degree – one-year course through SD Unsalariated, Salaried or university-led PGCE.

Without a degree – two-year, school-based, salaried teacher training programme.

**Researchers in Schools**

For researchers who have completed or are finishing their doctorate.

Two-year salaried programme in six regions.

**Undergraduate route**

Study for a degree and teacher training at the same time. Minimum C at GCSE in English and maths plus science for primary or Key Stage 3 and two A levels (check with individual universities).

Full time three–four years, part time four–six years.

**Postgraduate route (PGCE)**

If you already have a degree, one-year course at a university or college with school placements.

(adapted from Routes into Teaching Map, annex to ASCL, 2015)

As it happened, Bath Spa University was involved, or planned to become involved, in many of these routes. In 2013, its then Vice-Chancellor, Professor Christina Slade, and its acting Dean of Education, Professor Christine Eden, asked me to consider helping them with a research project that compared the nature and outcome of the different routes with a view to providing an evidence base for future government policy on the funding and provision of initial teacher education. This became the Diversity in Teacher Education (DiTE) project.

My initial thoughts involved replicating and extending the MOTE research, perhaps by undertaking fieldwork in the same sites and courses we had studied in the 1990s. But this made little sense, given the changes that had taken place in the intervening period, although it might have been helpful and interesting to conduct a full-scale comparison of teacher training in 1998 and 2018! Other institutions had other priorities, while some new players were undertaking similar studies of their own. So, Bath Spa – which had two members of the MOTE research team – did the closest thing it could to replicating the MOTE study, by creating a new topography of initial teacher education and partnership, to compare with those created by MOTE, which forms the common backdrop for the studies reported in this book. This includes an exploration by Nick Sorensen (chapter 4) of how the concept of partnership had now developed.

The other studies within the DiTE programme reported in this book are different from those within MOTE, though they do share some characteristics. For example, an important concern of MOTE had been to understand the experience of trainees on different routes. The use of the term ‘diversity’ signifies both a shift to greater differences in the ways recruitment to teaching took place and an interest – which was less evident in MOTE – in differences between the sorts of students they recruited.

All this adds up to a rich diet of theory and practice in the initiation of new teachers in their new roles that is in keeping with Stephen Ball’s

characterization of post-modern educational systems (Pol and Švaříček, 2011). While he did not specifically refer to teacher education, it will be clear from my analysis above that teacher education may itself be moving towards a system of small systems of the sort Bell (2012) envisages.

However, there is an even more extreme scenario, which might be the endpoint of the developments described by Bell. As part of its autonomy agenda, the coalition government decided that its new free schools would not have to employ qualified teachers and could instead employ whoever headteachers regard as most suitable. It subsequently made a similar change for academies, which now constitute a majority of secondary schools in England and an increasing proportion of primary schools. Thus, the officially prescribed training routes and requirements discussed above will apply to a diminishing number of schools in future, as will the national curriculum. Alongside, there has been a significant deregulation of training requirements in the FE sector. So this could be just the start of a deregulation of teacher education, effectively ending even the core national professionalism associated with the pre-service award of QTS, and leaving teacher supply and teacher quality to market forces. At the time of writing, most schools still employ trained teachers, and the DfE is working on new standards for professional development and career progression, possibly prompted by a crisis in teacher recruitment, which has resulted in some rolling back of market forces, although direction of travel remains in place.

As is clear from some of the contributions to this book, the risk is that current policies lose from the system some of the best HEI practice that has developed in recent years. Cuts in secondary training numbers have already impacted on many HEIs and most institutions are likely to face cuts in core numbers in the future as a result of the new and more demanding Ofsted inspection framework and the increasing emphasis on school-led training routes, although current recruitment challenges may reduce these pressures to some extent. The biggest impact is likely to come from the rapid roll-out of School Direct. Even if overall numbers allocated to HEIs by one means or another are retained, under this model those providers not identified as ‘the best’ face a volatility of funding from year to year and between different subjects and universities which could be considerable. The implementation of School Direct has also been problematic, as has been clear from a number of reports in the *Times Educational Supplement* (e.g., Maddern, 2013).

Nevertheless, it seems to me unlikely that extreme deregulation will prevail, particularly when current ministers move on. My own expectation is that the future of teacher education in England will fall closer to that

implied in a question that Graham Stuart, the then Conservative Chair of the Education Select Committee, put to a witness who appeared before his Committee in 2011. He asked:

[M]ight we not see a concentration of fewer, higher-quality, more assured HEIs? Aren't there rather a lot at the moment, and some of them are pretty dubious on economics, viability and other issues? May we not see a consolidation at one level, HEIs, while a spreading of engagement at schools? That is the Government vision, isn't it?

(House of Commons Education Committee, 2011)

Certainly, the chances of initial teacher education being maintained in all current higher education institutions are remote. Some will leave the scene as a result of judgements about their quality or the impact of competition, but this is unlikely to be the only consequence of current policies. It is likely that some research-intensive universities will decide, as one witness hinted at that same Select Committee hearing, that the new arrangements for university involvement in initial teacher education are just too onerous to justify their remaining in that area of work. The transaction and opportunity costs entailed may put at risk other elements of their work, including high-quality research. The University of Bath was the first research-led university with an 'outstanding' Ofsted grade for its teacher training provision to announce its withdrawal – against my own advice to its then Vice-Chancellor, as it happens – and it was closely followed by the Open University. Meanwhile, Warwick University separated its teacher training work from other aspects of educational studies. Other universities are monitoring the situation carefully, while some providers, such as Anglia Ruskin University, have withdrawn for other reasons.

In January 2013, I predicted that, as a result of the developments discussed here, some English higher education institutions would abandon teacher education, some would embrace School Direct with enthusiasm, private 'for profit' providers as well as academy chains would enter the field and compete nationally, some education research and education studies degrees would move to social science departments, some key 'full service' education departments would remain in universities, and new institutional, regional, national and international partnerships would develop (Whitty, 2013). Most of these things have since happened, including the entry of Hibernia College Dublin into the online teacher training market in England, albeit with limited success.

Beyond that, there is certainly a major policy debate to be had nationally – and indeed internationally – about the efficacy of different approaches to teacher education in the light of the challenges of preparing teachers for twenty-first-century schools. In its crudest terms this has often been reduced to a binary opposition of university-led versus school-led approaches to the training of teachers. Yet, within this apparent binary are important ethical, conceptual and empirical questions about the nature of professional formation, the governance of the sector, the balance between theoretical and practical knowledge, and arguments about the best ways to ensure teacher supply, teacher quality, and the achievement of desired outcomes.

In England, as we have seen, the teacher education sector now embraces a wide range of routes into teaching, which may have differential implications for teacher selection, the structure of professional learning, the leadership of the sector, the efficiency of the system and its outcomes for schools and their students. It is important that these implications can be explored empirically and understood. However, advocacy of the different models of teacher education is too often driven by ideological commitments or market forces rather than by evidence of their effects, so there is an urgent need to bring robust research to bear on the issues identified here. Among other things, we at Bath Spa are seeking to do just that, as are related projects at the University of Birmingham and the UCL Institute of Education and Institute of Fiscal Studies (the latter project has already produced one report, Allen *et al.*, 2014). Even in the absence of a national study, there is so much that can be done locally. This book contains but a small glimpse of it, which will feed into our future work at Bath Spa as well as our collaborations with others.

Geoff Whitty  
Research Professor, Bath Spa University  
July 2018

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## Chapter 1

# Introduction: Diversity in teacher education: a study of a school-led system

*Nick Sorensen*

The year 1066, as is pointed out in that classic humorous history of England *1066 and All That*, is one of only two truly ‘historical’ dates, because of it being memorable. It is a date that is perceived as a watershed, a crucial moment of change and transformation. The history of education can make claim to a number of ‘1066 moments’, watersheds that initiated significant changes in policy. An obvious example is 1944, the year of the ‘Butler’ Education Act. A more recent watershed took place in 1976 when James Callaghan, as Labour Prime Minister, redefined the relationship between the teaching profession and other stakeholders (including businesses, parents and politicians), accusing schools of failing to equip young people for industry (Ward, 2013). It can be argued that this speech paved the way for another watershed, the 1988 Education Act, which introduced the marketization of education as a consequence of the neo-liberal turn in economic policy. All of the above are memorable dates for educationalists as points of transformation, especially since 1976, which witnessed the beginning of the belief that the education system had failed in what should be its primary purpose: equipping young people to help make us a competitive economical power in the global marketplace. This ongoing narrative has seen greater political involvement in education, and a challenge to hitherto long-held assumptions as to what was meant by a state education system.

Another undoubted contender for a ‘1066 moment’ is 2010, the year the coalition government produced for England the White Paper *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE, 2010). The impact of this document was not that it heralded a new direction for education reform – in fact its intent is fully aligned with the purpose of the 1988 Education Reform Act – but that it accelerated the marketization of the education system in England through giving greater autonomy to schools and headteachers and dismantling local authorities, the ‘middle tier’ that had been responsible for education within its jurisdiction. The academization of schools was encouraged, along with

the establishment of networks of schools as multi-academy trusts (MATs), and the national curriculum was revised to preference traditional academic subjects and knowledge gained through rote learning.

This White Paper also gave significant attention to the recruitment of teachers and the nature of initial teacher education (ITE). Earlier reforms of ITE in the 1990s had emphasized the importance of partnership between schools and higher education institutions (HEIs), challenging the dominant role that HEIs had played in teacher education in the 1970s and 1980s. The view of teaching promoted in *The Importance of Teaching* was that it was a craft best learnt from other professionals, the aim being to ‘reform teacher education so that more training takes place on the job’ (DfE, 2010). In short, *The Importance of Teaching* ushered in the era of school-led approaches to school improvement and teacher education.

These proposed reforms did not escape criticism. Indeed, in 2013, a letter, signed by 100 academics, was sent to the *Independent* newspaper arguing that new curriculum reforms, which emphasized endless lists of spellings, facts and rules, would not support a child’s ability to solve problems, develop critical understanding and act creatively. Michael Gove’s response to this letter, published in the *Daily Mail* (Gove, 2013), was to brand the academics who signed the letter ‘enemies of promise’:

But who is responsible for this failure? Who are the guilty men and women who have deprived a generation of the knowledge they need? Who are the modern Enemies Of Promise?

Well, helpfully, 100 of them put their name to a letter to The Independent newspaper this week.

They are all academics who have helped run the university departments of education responsible for developing curricula and teacher training courses.

You would expect such people to value learning, revere knowledge and dedicate themselves to fighting ignorance. Sadly, they seem more interested in valuing Marxism, revering jargon and fighting excellence.

(Gove, 2013)

Gove’s reply is a textbook example of a wider discourse which attempts to create a rhetoric of exclusion around certain groups (the ‘enemies of promise’ in this instance), outlining the threat that they pose (depriving a generation of the knowledge they need). Ruth Wodak in *The Politics of Fear*

(2015) outlines how this process has become a common practice of right-wing populist parties to attract (uncritical) support for their policies. The aim is to create a scapegoat in order to fuel a sense of fear and then to offer a solution in the form of hope. Arguments appeal to common sense, through calling on emotions and being located within an anti-intellectual position that is perceived as being ‘authentic’. The normalization of a rhetoric of exclusion means that there is no longer a need to apologize for what you want to say: it becomes permissible to say what you like.

Consequently Michael Gove sees no need to provide a counterargument that supports his curriculum proposals. Instead he can take the opportunity to provide an exclusionary narrative for those that challenge his ideas. It is possible to see the process of creating a ‘politics of fear’ in the following extract:

The fight against the Enemies Of Promise is a fight for our children’s future. It’s a fight against ideology, ignorance and poverty of aspiration, a struggle to make opportunity more equal for all our children.

It’s a battle in which you have to take sides. Now that Labour seem to be siding with the militants, it’s even more important that we support the great teachers and heads fighting for higher standards for the sake of our children.

(*ibid.*)

Against the background of this toxic discourse Bath Spa University, along with other HEIs providing ITE, continued to work with schools to create innovative partnerships in response to the opportunities that were being offered by what was being called a ‘school-led’ system of teacher education. This involved engaging in a rapid succession of changes and new initiatives as HEIs worked with schools to support the increasing number of pathways into teacher education: School Direct, school-centred initial teacher training (SCITT), Teach First, Troops to Teachers, as well as the traditional PGCE route. Emerging from this activity was evidence of a kind of dialogue very different from the alleged ‘fight’ between the ‘enemies of promise’ and the headteachers who were exploring the emerging opportunities to engage more actively in teacher education.

In 2013 Professor Christina Slade, then Vice-Chancellor of Bath Spa University, instigated a research project, Diversity in Teacher Education (DiTE), that was tasked to look at the emerging routes and pathways to becoming a teacher. The initial purpose was to determine what the

variations were between these different routes and whether they had different outcomes for pupils.

The appointment of Geoff Whitty as a Research Professor at Bath Spa University brought about a change in the focus of DiTE, aligning it with the earlier Modes of Teacher Education (MOTE) project, which engaged in a similar enquiry to monitor the policy changes introduced in the 1990s (Furlong *et al.*, 2000). Besides Geoff Whitty, the DiTE team benefited from having a second researcher who worked on the MOTE project, Caroline Whiting, a Senior Lecturer on our Primary and Early Years PGCE programme.

The first output produced by the DiTE project was a topography of the different routes to qualified teacher status (QTS) in England for the academic year 2015 (Whiting, Black, Hordern *et al.*, 2016; Whiting, Whitty, Menter *et al.*, 2018). This topography updated and added to the one produced for the MOTE project and it clearly illustrated that the landscape of teacher education had undergone significant transformations. ‘Perhaps the clearest message from generating this topography is the complexity of provision and the failure of published data to reflect this’ (Whiting, Black, Hordern *et al.*, 2016: 38). The pace of policy change and the consequent fluidity of initial teacher training (ITT) provision illuminated how rapidly the landscape of teacher education changed from one year to the next, with many providers seeing that their continued existence depended on taking advantage of opportunities where they could. There was little chance of any route to QTS having a distinct identity as was initially suggested. Furthermore, the increased fragmentation of the provision of teacher education, through individual contractual arrangements, reduced the opportunities for sustainability through longer-term planning across partnerships of schools.

The findings that arose from the topography provided a challenge to realizing the initial intention of the DiTE project, which was to articulate the differences between the different pathways. Following much discussion we revised our approach and established a research programme in which individuals or teams of researchers explored different themes, an approach that drew upon the existing skills and interests of the research team. We described these themes as four strands. The first strand was focused on the topography, which required updating as a consequence of the continuing changes within teacher education. This work on the topography informed strand 2, which was concerned with undertaking empirical work. Four case studies were undertaken in the 2016–17 academic year to explore in depth the characteristics of a sample of the different types of provision: School

Direct, a SCITT, a local cluster alliance of schools, and a conventional PGCE route. A third strand aimed to consider the longer-term implications of initial teacher education and the impact that choice of ITE route had on retention. Finally, a fourth strand engaged in a more theoretically derived debate on the nature of teacher professionalism and the impact that the policy changes in England since 2010 have had on the process of professional formation. An additional empirical study was undertaken to explore the lived experiences of teacher educators in three higher education institutions.

This book draws together the research that has been undertaken by the members of the DiTE research programme to date from strands 1, 2 and 4 and which is focused on the provision that we have been directly involved in at Bath Spa University. Strand 3, designed around a longitudinal study, is still ongoing at the time of writing.

Given the fragmented, complex and dynamic nature of the changes that are impacting on initial teacher education, it is impossible to offer an objective view of what is happening across the entire field of teacher education in England. The DiTE research programme does not harbour ambitions in this direction but instead offers a collection of insights from specific perspectives in an attempt to make sense of the practice of school-led teacher education. The experience of collecting data and analysing the process of implementing policy change provides a rich picture that will, hopefully, furnish insights and understanding for other practitioners and policy makers.

As school-led approaches for teacher education have developed, so has the complexity of the provision. While the government has argued that this diversity is a strength, it did bring to the fore the difficulty of developing any real understanding of either the process or the outcomes associated with these different modes of provision. Another important consideration is the blend of multiple factors that impact on any particular route. These points shaped the qualitative part of the DiTE research programme.

The intention of the empirical work was to capture as much detail as possible about four routes that Bath Spa University was involved in. These routes, as mentioned above, were a SCITT, a School Direct alliance, a local 'cluster' partnership and the conventional PGCE route. The aim was to build a database that contains rich information about activities, people and places. Given the limited resources that were available in terms of the research team's capacity to collect and analyse the data, and in order to offer opportunities for comparability, the sample concentrated on secondary pathways. A pilot study was carried out in May 2016 with participants taken from a real 'cluster' partnership. Semi-structured interviews were

undertaken with beginner teachers, lead teachers and assistant principals, and a focus group was held with the university faculty members. The interview schedules were then refined and further fieldwork was carried out in the 2016–17 academic year in the SCITT, a School Direct partnership and the conventional PGCE route.

No predetermined defined theoretical purism was applied to the process of collecting the data. Having contributed to the database, each member of the research team was able to bring their own theoretical perspective to bear on their analysis. This has resulted in the utilization of a range of analytical approaches, although there are many congruencies in the approaches taken. The breadth of the multiple approaches – socio-historical analysis, narrative case study, complexity theory and Bernsteinian analysis – provides a richness to the findings offered by the DiTE research programme. These different perspectives provide unique insights into contemporary trends in teacher education.

## **The structure of the book**

The book begins by outlining the context of teacher education with particular reference to the changes that have occurred since the 2010 government White Paper *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE, 2010).

Chapter 2 provides a detailed historical overview of policy developments in teacher education in England, acknowledging that *The Importance of Teaching* introduced some of the most radical changes to the education system in England since the 1944 Education Act. It examines the move towards the marketization of teacher education, and outlines the policies that have been introduced since the 1980s. The chapter concludes with an examination of the tensions and key issues that have arisen with respect to recruitment and retention, defining teacher professionalism and the role and purpose of teacher education providers.

Chapter 3 reports on the topographical survey undertaken as strand 1 of the DiTE research programme and is in two parts. The first part provides a summary of the topography based on a single cohort in the 2015–16 academic year. In contrast to the simple classification of routes outlined in the MOTE study, the growing range of routes, set within the new lexicon of ‘HE-led’ and ‘school-led’, and an inconsistent categorization within the data, made a concise presentation of provision considerably more difficult. The second part explores the problems and challenges concerning terminology and the ways in which official education statistics are unhelpful for achieving a clear perspective. It draws attention to the ways in which the

categorization of data from government and its agencies presents a limited description of initial teacher training.

Chapters 4 to 6 draw upon the empirical work undertaken by the DiTE research programme. Case studies have been chosen to represent the diversity of current provision in order to provide narrative accounts of the characteristics and experiences that have arisen from school-led approaches to teacher education. The introduction of what has been called a 'school-led system' has drawn critical attention to what constitutes a partnership approach to initial teacher education. Chapter 4 considers how notions of partnership have changed in relation to earlier notions of the two 'ideal-typical' models of partnership ('collaborative' and 'complementary') that were identified in the earlier MOTE study (Furlong *et al.*, 2000). The partnership arrangements that have been established within a SCITT pathway are used to illustrate the complexities inherent in a school-led system. The chapter concludes that partnership arrangements within a school-led system comprise fluid and negotiated arrangements between schools and HEIs that are aimed at protecting the interests of both and which enable schools to secure an advantageous position within a complex system.

Chapters 5 and 6 look at the impact of marketization on education for teachers working in higher education and how it has generated a raft of tensions, complexities and constraints. Chapter 5 is an interview with Pat Black, head of primary teacher education at Bath Spa University, which explores the impact policy has had on practice since 2010. The early history of teacher education at Bath Spa University is seen to provide foundational vision and values that have informed the response to contemporary challenges. This theme is developed further in chapter 6, which draws on research into the lived experiences of university-based teacher educators in three different HEIs. It argues that the imperative to respond competitively and creatively to a constantly changing ITT landscape can create the conditions for rich organizational learning, the nature of which not only disrupts stagnation and complacency but also enables innovative and creative thinking and practice to take place.

Chapters 7 and 8 adopt a more theoretical position in order to offer insights into the way the diversity of routes into teacher education is impacting professional formation. Chapter 7 looks at the varying dynamics of power and control found in different teacher education pathways, and at what they suggest about the professional formation of teachers. Drawing on Bernsteinian concepts of classification and framing, and on the sociologies of pedagogy and knowledge that have stemmed from Bernstein's work, the chapter models varied forms of organizational and pedagogic relation.

The resultant analytical frame is used to develop insight into changing forms of teacher education in England, and into issues relating to teacher professionalism, knowledge and identity.

Chapter 8 examines contrasting models of teacher education from an international perspective. The findings of the Teacher Education and Development Study in Mathematics (TEDS-M) study, a international comparative study of mathematics teacher education, provide a starting point for the illumination of some developments in teacher education in England. The chapter looks at the differentiation of forms of knowledge, and the recontextualization processes that relate subject curricula and educational knowledge to planned and implemented forms of teacher education. This leads to the identification of differing rationales that underpin various models found internationally and to a discussion of how these may relate to the socio-political contexts of the participating countries. The comparative work results in an analytical lens that allows some brief deliberation on the developing forms of teacher education in England and on some of the emerging findings of the DiTE project.

Chapter 9 concludes the book with an overview of what has been revealed in the previous chapters and a commentary on what has been established about teacher education in England. It sets these findings within both UK (drawing on and building upon Teacher Education Group, 2016) and international contexts. Reference is made to other contemporary research in ITE, as well as to wider social, cultural, technological and political processes that are under way. Finally, suggestions will be made about future directions for teacher education research (drawing on Tatto and Menter, forthcoming) and the implications for practitioners and policy makers.

*Diversity in Teacher Education: Perspectives on a school-led system* offers multiple perspectives on the dynamic policy landscape of teacher education, providing insights into the lived experiences of beginner teachers and teacher educators alongside emerging theoretical perspectives. These different approaches aim to provide some understanding of the complex landscape of teacher education in England, a landscape that is an outlier in comparison with other countries. Our intention in writing this book is to provide insights for practitioners and policy makers alike which might assist in resolving the tensions inherent in such a complex and dynamic system of teacher preparation. We also hope that it stimulates further research into the related fields of teacher education, development and work.

In conclusion, it is evident that the introduction of school-led, or perhaps more accurately schools-led, approaches to teacher education has

seen a confusing proliferation of choices for those who wish to become teachers. At the same time, there has been a confirmation of the principle of partnership, between schools, multi-academy trusts and higher education institutions. This suggests that the ideological intent to create conflict between, on the one hand, teachers and headteachers and, on the other, the ‘enemies of promise’ has failed, and that a more pragmatic view has prevailed that values the different contributions that can be brought to bear on the education of teachers.

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# Diversity in teacher education: Policy contexts

*Catherine A. Simon*

## Introduction

In policy discourse, both nationally and internationally, teachers and teaching have been utilized as one of the most important factors in improving education (Trippstad *et al.*, 2017). The reform of teacher education is therefore at the forefront of education policy making in most neo-liberal Western democracies, and increasingly in the non-Western world. Policy reform does not happen in a vacuum but is tied to historical, economic and social struggles from a number of perspectives, values and disciplines. Whereas, once, teacher education may have been a primarily national concern, comparative study, new stakeholders in education and transnational influences have made the education landscape more complex. The role of teachers and teacher educators has been thrown into sharp relief. Trippstad *et al.* (2017: 6) identify three waves of teacher education reforms over time. The first wave, from 1960 to 1980, was concerned with the internal processes of teacher education, making it more coherent and effective in relation to its functions, namely the needs of mass education related to the reproduction of the nation state. Issues concerned content and methods of teaching. The second wave, from 1980 to 2000, was triggered by the American publication *A Nation at Risk* (Gardner, 1983), which opened up a new discourse on pupil underperformance, underpinned by international comparisons of pupil performance data. The third wave, however, which was to emerge after 2000, located the policy problem in the failure of teacher education itself. Traditional methods were no longer considered fit for purpose. While the first two reform waves were oriented nationally and were concerned with the building or reconceptualizing of teacher professionalism, the present wave is global and addresses issues of accountability, standardization and increasing government centralization of control.

*The Importance of Teaching* (DfE, 2010a) and its accompanying document 'The case for change' (DfE, 2010b) exemplify this trend. Together

they provided the rationale for what has been the most radical reform of the education system in England since the 1944 Butler Education Act. The overall narrative began with the assertion that [English] schools could ‘be better’. Evidence for this was drawn from information contained in international comparison tables such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) and the Trends in Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS). These positioned English pupils behind their contemporaries in Finland, Hong Kong and Canada. Furthermore, the nation’s economic competitiveness depended on the nature and quality of its teachers, considered ‘the most important feature of a successful education system’ (DfE, 2010b: 6).

According to the Conservative-led coalition government at the time, three key issues defined the English ‘problem’: the recruitment and quality of teachers, limited school and teacher autonomy, and the persistence of the attainment gap between the highest- and lowest-performing pupils, all of which signalled a need for school improvement. In order to improve England’s ranking, an immediate raising of educational standards, coupled with a drive to narrow the attainment gap, was called for, not only as a means of tackling economic inequality (better-educated pupils will get better jobs), but also because such a strategy would address changes in the types of employment and skills base created by new technologies and the wider global economy. Better-educated pupils will fit the new employment profiles demanded by such technologies. It was argued, therefore, that schools required greater professional autonomy so as to promote the innovation necessitated by these changes. Teachers and teaching were to take centre stage in the ensuing reforms. To this end, three key strategies underpinned the comprehensive changes to state education outlined in *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE, 2010a) and validated in the Education Act 2011: a focus on the recruitment of ‘high-quality’ candidates for teaching, ‘improvement’ to initial teacher training and induction, and the enhancement of systems for continuing professional development.

Thus the primacy of policy and the ‘politicisation’ of teacher education (Trippstad *et al.*, 2017) pervades both national and international contexts and is framed in terms of teacher practice and learning outcomes. Yet in spite of the pervading forces of globalization there is some obvious differentiation in teacher education policy between the four jurisdictions of the UK: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The drivers for education policy change, particularly in England, have been the advocacy of consumer choice and a push towards greater diversity of ‘providers’ of teacher education. Teaching is perceived as a ‘craft’ to be learnt through an

apprenticeship model and defined as teacher *training* rather than teacher *education*. Diversification of routes into teaching has not happened in Scotland and is less evident in Wales. Scotland's Donaldson Report of 2011, *Teaching Scotland's Future* (Donaldson, 2011), regarded teaching as a complex and intellectual profession to be learned through the course of a teacher's working life in conjunction with high-level research and scholarship (Menter, 2016). Northern Ireland similarly maintained its commitment to university-led provision. Such drivers are at odds with the policy imperatives in other European countries. Here the impetus was aligned with the Bologna Process, introduced in 1999, which brought broad consistency to initial teacher education across Europe (Brown, 2017: 4) and permitted shared accreditation and mobility across Europe. It was motivated by the sharing of good practice and by mutual trust in teaching qualifications across Europe. This model feeds into the wider United Nations sustainable goals (United Nations, 2017), which look to maintain a supply of trained teachers to service the poorest nations of the globe.

### Policy contexts: the 'second wave'

According to Trippstad *et al.* (2017), the second wave of teacher education reform was marked by an international discourse on pupil underperformance dominated by the highly influential PISA reports on the quality of national education systems.

The national reports in the wake of PISA diagnosed and 'detected' problems in the state-supported school systems. Narratives of insufficient academic qualifications for teachers and poor quality of teacher educators emerged in many nation states

(Trippstad *et al.*, 2017: 7)

Thus the last forty years have demonstrated increasing political interest in education and schooling. Such interest was also driven by the assumption that education should be linked to economic wellbeing. Government control has become more centralized and bureaucratic as a result. Until the mid-1980s, the model of teacher education advanced by higher education institutions (HEIs) was based on the traditional conception of teacher professionalism, namely that prospective teachers were to be educated in a way that would prepare them for entry into an autonomous profession. This involved the construction of courses that permitted prospective teachers to develop particular (public-service) educational values, to be theoretically informed and so to understand current education practice as to make independent, informed judgements about what constituted good practice (Furlong *et al.*,

2000). By the late 1980s, however, this traditional view of professionalism was no longer considered fit for purpose.

This view was reflected in two government circulars on teacher education published during the 1980s (DES, 1984, 1989), which set out two interrelated purposes for teacher training. The first was to establish a national system of accountability in initial teacher education (ITE) and the second was to introduce a more practically focused professionalism by opening up training courses to the 'market' of schools (i.e. classroom practice), and thereby to marginalize the academic study of education (Furlong *et al.*, 2000: 25). Under these regulations a new Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) was created to have specific oversight of ITE on behalf of the Secretary of State. University tutors were to return to school to undertake 'recent and relevant' classroom experience. Teachers were to be involved in the interviewing of prospective students and the number of days to be spent in school during training was defined for the first time.

The circular of 1989 continued this trend towards a more practically focused professional formation, further increasing the time trainees were to spend in school: 75 days for courses of up to three years and 100 days for four-year courses. The postgraduate certificate of education (PGCE) was similarly extended from 34 to 36 weeks. The practicalities of implementing these new arrangements meant that closer partnerships had to be forged between HEIs and schools in order that course planning, student selection and assessment could be co-constructed. Intended learning outcomes for trainees on the new programmes were defined and were later to be developed into teacher 'competencies'. HEI autonomy, in respect of teacher training and defining teacher professionalism, was thereby curtailed, and the move towards greater accountability to government established.

These changes did not occur in isolation. Interest in the twin concepts of autonomy and accountability had grown over time, albeit in response to different underlying forces that have bridged the three dominant political parties in England (Glatter and Young, 2013). Local management of schools (LMS), introduced in the Conservative government's 1988 Education Reform Act, gave individual schools (headteachers and governors), rather than local authorities, enhanced budgetary responsibilities. The Act also offered further opportunities for autonomy from local-authority control through the creation of City Technology Colleges (CTCs) and grant-maintained schools funded directly from Whitehall. Yet such autonomy for schools came at a cost, for in reality, together with the introduction of a closely prescribed national curriculum, it amounted to greater centralization.

The Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), introduced in 1993 with responsibility for measuring school standards, further underlined the assumed link between enhanced autonomy and school improvement. In the new marketized system, schools became accountable to a number of stakeholders: governors, parents, government and, in the case of CTCs, private funders. Glatter and Young (2013: 563) said that this array of reforms amounted to the nationalization of schooling, making schools more uniform rather than encouraging greater diversity.

Central to this neo-liberal position was a belief that market forces were an efficient and fair means of allocating resources while at the same time being responsive to the needs of individuals. Market forces were thus considered to ‘create the conditions and relationships necessary for freedom of consumers, for allocating scarce resources, generating diversity and providing the form of flexibility the changing world order requires’ (Furlong *et al.*, 2000: 10). The experiment of introducing a two-year PGCE (the Articled Teacher Scheme) in 1991 was indicative of this approach. This was considered to be the pioneer of school-based training, where 80 per cent of trainee time was spent in school. The Government’s aim here was to provide a diversity of routes into teaching that would meet the needs of ‘people with different skills, knowledge, backgrounds and family circumstances’ (Furlong *et al.*, 2000: 48, citing DES, 1991).

Far more radical, however, was the Licensed Teacher Scheme, which permitted unqualified teachers (with a minimum of two years’ higher education) to be provided with training while employed in post. In both the articulated and the licensed teacher schemes, experience was prioritized over training and the other forms of professional knowledge traditionally espoused through higher education. What was implied, therefore, was a different vision of professionalism, highly pragmatic and rooted in classroom practices. This approach was endorsed through further reforms: the introduction in 1992 of the Teacher Training Agency (TTA), the transfer of funding for teacher training away from the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) to the TTA, and the abolition of CATE. The Articled Teacher Scheme was replaced by school-centred initial teacher training (SCITT). It was at this time that the Open University introduced the first distance-learning course for teacher training.

These reforms were continued under the New Labour government, from 1997 to 2010. New and more effective ‘technologies of control’ (Furlong *et al.*, 2000: 144) were developed as Ofsted and the TTA became more assertive. These developments were to have far-reaching consequences

for the schooling system generally and for the training of teachers in particular.

Once control had been taken, it was no longer necessary for those in power to accept that ‘the market’ should determine the content of professionalism; that students should learn what it is to be a teacher of English or science or mathematics simply through enculturation in *current* practice in schools.

(*ibid.*)

In other words, initial teacher education was now used to define the content of professional knowledge and even teacher pedagogy. Such developments were mirrored in the National Strategies for teaching literacy and numeracy (DfEE, 1998a, 1999 respectively), which similarly set out not only what teachers should teach, but how they were to teach it. These were the first of a number of directives that extended the reach of government into areas that were previously the sole domain of teachers and their educators. This included the introduction of the Key Stage 3 Strategy (for 11- to 14-year-olds) and the Early Years Foundation Stage.

These developments culminated in the remit of the National Strategies extending to all core subjects, to Key Stage 4 as well as Key Stage 3, and to Early Years, Behaviour and Attendance, the School Improvement Partner programme and Special Educational Needs.

(DfE, 2011a: 2)

Firmly linked to school improvement and teacher professional development, the strategies represented a systematic attempt at national level to ‘improve standards’. The impact of these changes in policy was investigated by the Modes of Teacher Education (MOTE) project (Furlong *et al.*, 2000), and the findings of this study demonstrated how the structure and content of ITE were altered through central government reforms:

- students had to spend more time in schools during their training
- schools’ involvement in training was significantly increased
- HEIs had to pay schools for their contribution to the training process
- the content of training was to a significant degree defined through a series of government-prescribed competencies or standards, and later through a national curriculum for beginning teachers
- there was a growing emphasis on subject-based knowledge and the ‘basics’ of literacy, numeracy and ICT.

(Furlong *et al.*, 2000: 164)

Additionally, more rigorous forms of quality control were exerted on HEIs that linked assessed quality with funding. As a result there was a narrowing and weakening of university and college contribution to the training process, which adopted a more practical orientation over time.

These findings, however, were indicative of wider globalizing trends. While being cautious of attributing reform to the broader economic, cultural and political processes of globalization, the MOTE study certainly acknowledged the easy transmission of policies and discourse across international boundaries, not only through the work of international agencies such as the OECD but through international academic conferences and publishing. Significant among policies that gained traction on an international scale were those linked to post-Fordism and to post-modern theories that looked to the establishment of differentiated markets and new forms of differentiated consumption and accumulation. New Public Management, for example, introduced market mechanisms and management objectives into areas such as health, education and housing. These included the use of explicit standards in the measurement of performance, greater emphasis on control via measures of output, increased sector competition and a favouring of private-sector styles of management (Furlong *et al.*, 2000).

Such mechanisms, however, produced an enhanced role for the state. In terms of teacher education this was evidenced by the opening up of the training market through school-based training, quality control and funding mechanisms and a new national curriculum for teacher education. The state was therefore able to define more closely what teachers were to teach and what constituted professional knowledge, and ultimately to redefine teacher professionalism. These trends were to continue following the general election of 2010 and the formation of the Conservative-led coalition government.

### Policy contexts: the ‘third wave’

The education policies that were initiated by the Conservative-led coalition government from 2010 to 2015 reflected the characteristics of Trippestad *et al.*’s notion of a third wave of teacher education reform that located the policy problem as the failure of teacher education itself.

The market orientation of education and schooling charted thus far reflects the wider changes in civil society in line with neo-liberal policies. Teachers, like other public servants, were to be subjected to the rigours of the market and to greater control and surveillance on the part of the re-formed state (Whitty, 2000). International perspectives also suggested that even those nations at the top of league tables were susceptible to an international education market, with an increased expectation that quality

and efficiency should be improved (Solbrekke and Sugrue, 2014: 11). Fuelled by Beck's (2008) notion of global 'risk' (or manufactured uncertainty) and budgetary constraints following the financial crash of 2008, politicians responded swiftly, looking to external agencies such as the OECD to define benchmarks and quality indicators.

Thus a change of government in England in 2010 did not alter the market orientation of schooling. Under the guise of the Big Society, responsibility and accountability were shifted from the state to the individual as a 'right of choice'. By removing the bureaucratic hand of big government, civil society was to find local solutions to local, and national problems (Simon, 2017).

### **The importance of teaching**

Centre stage among the Conservative-led coalition reforms was a reconceptualization of the significance and quality of teachers in the transformation of the English state education system. The preamble to the 'Teachers' Standards' stated:

Teachers make the education of their pupils their first concern, and are accountable for achieving the highest possible standards in work and conduct. Teachers act with honesty and integrity; have strong subject knowledge, keep their knowledge and skills as teachers up-to-date and are self-critical; forge positive professional relationships; and work with parents in the best interests of their pupils.

(DfE, 2011a: 10)

Policy changes, intended to improve the quality and status of teachers, and outlined in the Education White Paper *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE, 2010a), required:

- that new entrants to teacher training have a minimum of a 2:2 degree;
- a re-orientation of teacher training to focus more on classroom skills;
- that trainees spend more time in schools;
- the development of teaching schools to lead the training and professional development of teachers in a similar manner to teaching hospitals;
- an expansion of Teach First (initial teacher training based on the Teach America model offered through private providers); and
- the development of new and compressed routes into teaching for career changers and persons leaving the armed forces.

(Morris, 2012: 98)

Furthermore, *The Case for Change* (DfE, 2010b) set out identifiable, pre-professional characteristics of the ‘good teacher’. These were:

- a high overall level of literacy and numeracy
- strong interpersonal and communication skills
- a willingness to learn; and
- the motivation to teach.

(Allington and Johnston (2000), cited in DfE 2010b: 7)

It was argued that such prerequisites allowed the widening of teacher recruitment beyond what had become an accepted focus on successful graduates or personnel from industry and commerce. Troops to Teaching, for example, was a flagship policy which aimed to recruit to the teaching profession newly retired or redundant servicemen and -women, who would bring with them strong traditions of teamwork, discipline and commitment, along with high levels of technical expertise in priority subjects such as mathematics, the sciences and information technology.

‘Teachers’ Standards’ (DfE, 2011a) described the minimum requirements of all members of the teaching profession, from trainee to experienced teacher. These were professional values and behaviours, standards for teaching, and standards for professional and personal conduct. They included statements that teachers should ‘demonstrate good subject and curriculum knowledge’ (p. 11), ‘uphold public trust in the profession and maintain high standards of ethos and behaviour, within and outside school’ (ibid.: 14), ‘maintain high standards in their own attendance and punctuality’ (ibid.). The assumption was that these values and behaviours would be gained by exposure to professional practice in school.

Significant amongst the changes to initial teacher training was the opening up of its delivery to *private* providers, including Teach First, with the aim of producing a model of training that was more classroom-based and less theoretical (DfE, 2010b: 9). The development of SCITTs and the introduction of ‘School Direct’ in 2012–13 are examples of this. A paid internship scheme was also introduced around this time (DfE, 2015). The purpose was that school-led partnerships would design and provide paid internships for undergraduate students in their penultimate year at university with the specific aim of increasing the number of mathematics and physics teachers.

Each of these models still involved collaboration with a partner university but in essence the new arrangements served, principally, to end the monopoly of higher education in teacher training provision. The teaching schools programme was established in 2013 to operate in a similar

manner to teaching hospitals in the National Health Service and to establish ‘alliances’ of such schools that would ‘take a structured and proactive role in leading, managing and taking responsibility for a school-led ITT system’ (NCTL, 2014a). Furthermore, teaching school alliances and their ‘strategic partners’, including universities, academy chains, the private sector, dioceses and local authorities, were to take a lead in the continuing professional development of the school workforce, from headteacher to teaching assistant (NCTL, 2014b). Thus, the advisory role of local authorities was all but removed. Expertise was to rest with a system of school-to-school support (based on system leadership models) and private providers, overseen by the National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL).

Given the wide diversity of routes into teaching that appeared in response to these policy changes, the Carter Review of initial teacher training sought to:

identify which core elements of high quality ITT across phases and subject disciplines are key to equipping trainees with the required skills and knowledge to become outstanding teachers.

(Carter, 2015)

While there was acknowledgement of strengths across all routes in the review, areas for improvement were also identified. These included the lack of an agreed ITT curriculum and of agreed expectations of school-based mentors. Curriculum content was also thought to vary, with ‘significant gaps’ noted in areas such as subject knowledge development, subject-specific pedagogy, behaviour management, assessment and special educational needs and disability (SEND).

Furthermore, the Carter Review also called for a focus on evidence-based teaching, stating that trainees should engage with research, see teaching as an evidence-based profession and be equipped with the skills to access, interpret and use research in classroom practice. This focus, while welcomed by teacher educators in HEIs, has raised questions about how such academic skills can be transferred to school-based provision (Golding, 2017).

## **Tensions and issues**

A number of key issues emerge from this historical overview. They include concerns over teacher recruitment and retention, (re-)defining teacher professionalism, and the nature and role of training providers.

### *Recruitment and retention*

Evidence from research (Furlong *et al.*, 2000; Whiting *et al.*, 2018) indicates that maintaining a sufficient supply of adequately trained teachers is a key government concern. Over time there have been considerable shortages in teacher recruitment, including during the late 1980s, the 1990s and the current era. A factor routinely recognized as impacting upon recruitment is the buoyancy or depression of the general labour market. In broad terms, when the labour market is expanding and there is increased demand for graduates elsewhere, recruitment into teaching tends to dip. However, when the market slows down and there is reduced competition from other sectors, applications to teacher training improve. Making sense of recruitment and retention trends is complex, particularly given the large numbers involved.

A House of Commons Briefing Paper published in 2017 argued that although teacher recruitment had, by and large, kept pace with the rising number of pupils in maintained schools, there were ‘growing signs of shortages’ (Foster, 2017: 3), particularly within certain geographical areas and subjects. Government responses to shortages included the introduction of new routes into teaching, and the offer of incentives to those already in work. Other responses included training and up-skilling strategies, sourcing an additional 17,000 maths and physics teachers, offering financial incentives such as bursaries and scholarships to trainees in certain subjects and, finally, returning teachers initiatives. Plans for a National Teaching Service to place teachers in underperforming schools in hard-to-recruit areas were dropped after a pilot.

Significantly, the incentives outlined above reward *training*, not entry into the profession. For Brown (2017), government fails to acknowledge that new systems of recruitment in England, namely the opening up of ITE to a range of school-based providers, do not result in sufficient numbers.

The government fails to acknowledge that the new systems simply do not provide enough teachers in their current form. Universit[y] and College Union, in its parliamentary briefing (May 2016)[,] noted that the National Audit Office recorded that universities filled 85% of their places, School-Centred Training Initiative Providers (SCITTs) 65% and School Direct 58%. Though overall targets for recruitment have been missed for four years, the Department for Education and its political masters fail to accept that shortfalls occur in the school-based programmes.

(Brown, 2017: xvi)

Furthermore, a schools-based approach has changed the requirements of potential trainees in so far as classroom experience and ‘survival techniques’ have been prioritized over customary academic theory. Expectations of university tutors have similarly changed, challenging traditional forms of teacher education and leading to ‘a substantial impact upon the basis upon which universities can defend a distinctive contribution to teacher training’ (ibid.: 13). The tension here is between regarding pre-service teachers as *student teachers* engaged in an *educative* process and seeing them as *trainees* fulfilling the requirements of *professional training* (ibid.: 6).

New routes such as School Direct have failed to meet government targets for recruitment, in spite of the indication that trainees would be employed at the end of their training. The School Teachers’ Review Body (Rice, 2015) noted that only 61 per cent of ITE places allocated to School Direct had been taken up. This shortfall was far greater than expected (Davies *et al.*, 2016: 293). There were also repeated shifts and readjustments in the rules concerning the quality and number of trainee places to manage the shortfall. The Universities Council for the Education of Teachers (UCET) was particularly concerned about the School Direct programme in this regard:

To impose ultimate responsibility and accountability for the commissioning and quality assurance of entry to the profession on 23,000 schools would destabilize a teacher supply and training structure that has demonstrated capacity for continuous improvement and development.

(UCET, 2011: 1, cited in Brown *et al.*, 2015: 12)

Indeed, Foster (2017) records that overall changes to recruitment and the allocations processes, with particular emphasis on school-based routes, has the potential to cause local mismatches in supply and demand of teacher training places and to raise questions about the sustainability of some university-centred provision.

### ***Defining teacher professionalism***

Our understanding of teacher professionalism has change significantly over time. It is a fluid and dynamic concept that is socially constructed and defined and redefined through educational theory, practice and policy. Hargreaves (2000) outlines four phases in the development of teacher professionalism from an international perspective:

- the **pre-professional age**, in which ‘teaching was seen as managerially demanding but technically simple’

- the age of the **autonomous professional**, ‘marked by a challenge to the singularity of teaching and the unquestioned traditions on which it is based’
- the age of the **collegial professional**, characterized by the building of ‘strong professional cultures of collaboration to develop common purpose, to cope with uncertainty and complexity, to respond effectively to rapid change and reform, to create a climate which values risk-taking and continuous improvement, to develop stronger senses of teacher efficacy, and to create ongoing professional learning cultures for teachers that replace patterns of staff development, which are individualized, episodic and weakly connected to the priorities of the school’
- **the post-professional or postmodern age**, where ‘teachers deal with a diverse and complex clientele, in conditions of increasing moral uncertainty, where many methods of approach are possible, and where more and more social groups have an influence and a say’.

(Hargreaves, 2000: 156, 161, 165–6, 175)

By the late 1990s government discourse expounded a ‘new professionalism’. *Teachers: Meeting the challenge of change* called for teachers to exhibit certain characteristics:

Teachers in a modern teaching profession need:

- to have high expectations of themselves and of all pupils;
- to accept accountability;
- to take personal and collective responsibility for improving their skills and subject knowledge;
- to seek to base decisions on evidence of what works in schools in this country and internationally;
- to work in partnership with other staff in schools;
- to welcome the contribution that parents, business and others outside a school can make to its success; and
- to anticipate change and promote innovation.

(DfEE, 1998b: 14)

The emphasis here is on the collaborative nature of teaching and has resonance with Sachs’s (2001) notion of democratic professionalism:

which seeks to demystify professional work and build alliances between teachers and excluded constituencies of students, parts

and members of the community on whose behalf decisions have traditionally been made either by professions or by the state.

(Sachs, 2001: 152)

It is considered democratic in so far as it recognizes difference, professional judgements and autonomy, drawing on values such as collegiality, negotiation, collaboration and partnership.

As teacher workload increased in response to the proliferation of bureaucracy and technologies of control, so, Hargreaves argued, teachers were being ‘de-professionalized’. In other words they had become objects of *governmental professionalism*. Teachers were encouraged to be ‘responsible’, ‘modern’ professionals, while at the same time the deployment of the resources of the central state increasingly prescribed the forms that this ‘legitimate’ professionalism was allowed to take (Beck, 2008). Perhaps what is key here is that a professionalism which is imposed needs to be accepted and adopted by the professionals to whom it is directed, in order to become ‘real’ (Evans, 2008: 28–9). In enacting professionalism, teachers have the capacity to shape and change it. Such professionalism is seen as new or transformative (Sachs, 2003: 14). Whitty (2000), for example, considered such reforms to be part of a *re-professionalization* of teachers, adapting the profession to make it fit for the new era.

According to this analysis, one of the key shifts in recent years has been the imposition of standards and accountability measures that serve to define a teacher’s professional work and attitudes. However, the link between standards of teacher professionalism and school standards is assumed rather than evidenced in practice. Making explicit the expected standards for teaching was by necessity part of the drive towards a new professionalism. Such standards (TDA, 2008; DfE, 2011a) demanded a particular professional disposition and commitment to work but they were unable, by their very nature, to capture those implicit behaviours, attitudes, characteristics and values which, when expressed, make up the essence of professional practice (Goepel, 2012). In actuality the standards were to be ‘fully assessable’ (DfE, 2011b: 23) and thereby reduced teacher professionalism to something that could be readily measured rather than a disposition driven by professional values and beliefs.

The trend towards measurability and performativity is further evidenced in the debates around whether teaching is a craft-based technical occupation determined by the aims and objectives of the national curriculum:

Within this context, conceptions of the relationship between theory and practice have been progressively replaced by

conceptions of practice that integrate situated conceptions of theory responsive to the needs of practice.

(Brown, 2017: 13)

This suggests that teacher training is conceived by government as an apprenticeship, best located within the workplace and in which more ‘practice’ correlates with better and more relevant learning. According to this model, trainees must spend their time observing and mimicking the ‘master craftsman/woman’. By necessity, this approach limits a student teacher’s exposure both to different models of practice and school diversification and to the teacher educators’ relationship with theory and research. For Brown this is particularly the case for university teacher educators. Drawing on research among academic teacher educators, he reported that:

Many felt ... that the research valued in the academy was not consistent with that deemed useful to schools, whilst more broadly they were perceived by other academics as the ‘rejects of the university, the people that don’t do real research’. Such fears were also compounded by demands to make university sessions more practice-focused and by prevalent discourses that conceptualised teaching as a craft. It was also common for university staff to feel like they did not have time to do research whilst maintaining their primary identity as an expert practitioner with ‘recent school experience’, which was needed to gain and maintain kudos in the eyes of school-based colleagues.

(ibid.: 42)

This, of course, raises questions about the role and contexts of diverse training provision, subject as they are to local market conditions and dominant educational principles, and models that will vary even within a particular training route’s content and structure.

### ***Role and purpose of teacher training providers***

This overview of training provision in England provides evidence of a growing fragmentation of the process, particularly in terms of responsibility and accountability for the next generation of teachers. Brant and Vincent (2017: 180–1) suggest six principles that should underlie any effective teacher education programme, which in turn should be supported by universities, schools and policy makers.

1. *Coherence*: greater clarity is called for in terms of the differences between the various models of teacher training, for example the School Direct salaried and unsalaried routes, requirements, fees and bursaries.
2. *Stability*: after a rapid period of change, the balance of stability and change, innovation and conservation has been lost. The focus for those working in both HE and schools should be on high-quality provision and staff development rather than reaction to the latest shift in policy.
3. *Responsiveness*: the call here is for teacher education to respond appropriately to the changing needs of key stakeholders within the system – young people, their parents and their employers – recognizing the needs and demands of the ‘real world’ beyond the university walls.
4. *Critical engagement*: the ability of teachers to interrogate and challenge the status quo on the basis of their understanding of theory and practice, thus emphasizing the continued engagement of universities in the teacher training process.
5. *Development*: the long-term development of teachers throughout their careers, from teacher training through to professional development and teacher learning. The argument here is that entrants into teaching should be qualified at master’s level, in alignment with common practice across Europe.
6. *Research-informed*: using research not only to support the ongoing development of teacher education programmes but, more pressingly, utilizing research to provide ‘credible evidence’ of practice.

This approach acknowledges teaching as a complex activity, requiring an understanding of classroom management, learning and pedagogy. Furthermore, teaching may reflect a moral disposition. The role of teacher educators and school-based mentors is similarly complex. The redistribution of teacher education to an open market of ITE provision raises a number of questions. How sustainable are the structural reforms that rely on successful recruitment year after year and a pressurized school system that is only as good as its last Ofsted report? Questions of provider context, the tensions between universal and context-specific preparation and the cost–benefits of training versus long-term commitment to the profession are worthy of research. How far this policy change in England meets the government aims of the recruitment and retention of ‘high-quality’ teachers who will become ‘society’s most valuable asset’, the enhanced autonomy of the profession and teachers’ ability to narrow the attainment gap are some of the areas we explore in the chapters that follow.

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# Towards a new topography of ITT: A profile of initial teacher training in England, 2015–16

*Caroline Whiting*

One of the outputs sought by the Diversity in Teacher Education (DiTE) project was a current profile or ‘topography’ of initial teacher training (ITT) (Whiting, Whitty, Menter *et al.*, 2018). The availability on the internet of a rich array of published data made the creation of such a profile through a largely desktop exercise a practical proposition, but the challenges of making sense of what was available soon became clear. In contrast with the simple classification of routes to qualified teacher status (QTS) outlined in the Modes of Teacher Education (MOTE) project of the later 1990s (Barrett *et al.*, 1993; Whiting *et al.*, 1996; Furlong *et al.*, 2000), the growing range of routes for training (set within the new lexicon of ‘HE-led’ and ‘school-led’), and pre-analysed but inconsistent categorization within the data, made the concise presentation of provision considerably more difficult. To make the job easier, this chapter is in two parts. Part 1 provides a summary of the topography based on a single cohort of 2015–16 and updates the picture with some comparative data from more recent cohorts. Part 2 outlines some of the challenges around terminology and the ways in which data is presented. It offers a commentary on the challenges inherent in the attempt to unravel the complexities of the provision of initial teacher education.

## Part 1: The topography

As Catherine Simon outlines in chapter 2, there were considerable developments in ITT provision after the UK coalition government came to power in 2010, and the situation had not stabilized by 2015, when the topography was constructed. Before this, QTS could be gained via one of three pathways:

- a degree or a postgraduate qualification from a university or other higher education institution (HEI)

## *Caroline Whiting*

- a school-centred initial teacher training (SCITT) provider, with or without an academic postgraduate qualification
- a salaried route.

This last was either with an employment-based ITT (EBITT) provider through the Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP), or through Teach First (TF), a charitable enterprise originally set up to operate in London to tackle the specific needs of schools there. There were also arrangements for overseas-trained teachers to gain their QTS and a small number of candidates took an Assessment Only (AO) route.

As the analysis was to be carried out during a time of such instability in how provision was distributed, the exercise focused on one particular training cohort, that of 2015–16, in order to contain the data in a manageable form, while acknowledging that this could only produce a snapshot of the situation in that particular academic year. Even as the work was being conducted, changes for the following year were announced, and there have been further changes annually since. For example, in 2017 a new apprenticeship route was announced (NCTL, 2017a). The salaried School Direct route, new at the time of the topography, could potentially be subsumed within this development (Whittaker, 2017).

### *The expansion of ‘school-led’ routes*

When the topography was constructed in 2015, the National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL) – an executive agency of the government Department for Education – was responsible for managing places across provision (it was absorbed into the DfE in April 2018).

The situation in 2010–11 already reflected the growth of ‘school-based’, or ‘school-centred’ routes, begun in the 1990s, but the balance of these with the HEI routes was challenged by the new government, and by the time provision for 2015–16 was being planned a raft of new options had been established.

Government had made clear in its ‘reform of ITT implementation’ plan, published by the Department for Education (DfE, 2011) following a White Paper (DfE, 2010), that its focus was to prioritize what it now labelled ‘school-led’ routes. There would be encouragement for more schools to take this opportunity, which would ‘lead to a significant increase in school-led teacher training’ (DfE, 2011: 13). To facilitate this, proposals in the implementation plan included:

- an expansion of Teach First
- a new ‘Troops to Teachers’ route

## *Towards a new topography of ITT*

- a new ‘school direct’ route designed to allow ‘schools to control access to funding for ITT’ (ibid.: 12).

Schools offering these programmes would still, however, have to identify an accredited provider. Originally salaried, School Direct later expanded to include those paying a fee.

In 2014 Researchers in Schools (2019), a route designed for post-doctorate candidates, took up its first school placements. Our research also identified an independent schools route through the Headmasters’ and Headmistresses’ Conference (HMC, 2014).

In 2015–16, 12 discrete routes to QTS were identified. There were five options for candidates paying a fee:

- Undergraduate
  - HE-led
- Postgraduate
  - HE-led
  - School Direct with SCITT as the provider
  - School Direct with HE as the provider
  - SCITT

and there were seven for those taking a salary:

- Undergraduate
  - Troops to Teachers
- Postgraduate
  - School Direct with SCITT as the provider
  - School Direct with HE as the provider
  - Teach First
  - HMC ITT
  - Assessment Only
- Post-doctorate
  - Researchers in Schools

### ***Providers***

All routes to QTS to which allocations were assigned had to identify an accredited ITT provider, meeting the criteria set down by NCTL (NCTL, 2012 and updates). A total of 218 providers were listed in the NCTL allocations database for 2015–16. NCTL distinguished two categories of provider: HEI and SCITT. Most HEI providers are universities, establishments which are able to make academic awards. The key focus of the topography was QTS, but in addition to undergraduate routes that lead to a first degree many

postgraduate programmes offer an academic qualification as part of the training, usually the Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE), and often confer credits towards a master's degree. Although internet searches of specific programmes found an indication of whether this was the case for their entry in the databases, no systematic analysis of this aspect was undertaken. Three institutions recognized as providing academic education but which did not themselves make the awards were included within the classification HEI. They were grouped separately for the purpose of the analysis.

SCITT courses are described in a parliamentary briefing paper as being 'run by networks of schools that have been approved for this purpose' (Roberts and Foster, 2015: 14).

In practice, and arguably not quite in alignment with the original concept of 'school-centred', SCITT providers included a range of organizations whose origins, leadership and management may be external to individual, or clusters of, schools that take a lead in ITT. Because of this, we felt it necessary to attempt to classify this disparate group so as to distinguish between providers rather than to treat SCITT providers as a homogeneous group.

To address these distinctions, and to classify providers more precisely, we established the following categories:

1. universities
2. other HEIs (Bradford College (an FE institution), Hibernia College, and the Royal Academy of Dance)
3. school-originated SCITT consortia
4. academy chains or multi-academy trusts (MATs)
5. non-exempt charities, and not-for-profit and private organizations
6. provider to be confirmed.

These categories are not completely discrete; there are providers that could slot into alternative, or multiple, categories. For example, Hibernia College and the Royal Academy of Dance could have been categorized as 5, but they were included in the databases as HEIs. Some SCITTs assigned to categories 4 and 5 may have their origins in early SCITTs or local providers of education services, but the intention of including SCITTs in category 3 was that they are identified as being within a defined geographical area and remaining committed to a small group of schools that work together without the direct influence of external agencies such as those in categories 4 and 5.

### *Lead schools*

SD routes had to identify a 'lead school'. Lead schools had to satisfy NCTL criteria (NCTL, 2012 and updates) in order to apply for allocated places. They had to make a formal agreement with their identified provider on how recruitment, training and funding were to be distributed. Candidates applied direct to these schools, rather than to the provider. In the allocations database, 773 lead schools were listed for 2015–16.

### *Estimating the need for places and their allocation*

The DfE based its estimates of the need for new teachers on a number of statistical assumptions, and NCTL based its allocations to places on this estimate. In May 2014, NCTL published a guide for those intending to request an allocation for places for the academic year 2015–16 (NCTL, 2014a, 2014b). The request period lasted from May to July. Places were allocated in time for recruitment to begin in late October.

### *Data sources*

NCTL published online the two main sources of data used to populate the topography: their allocations to courses a year before they start (NCTL, 2014a, 2014b), and the census in the autumn following (DfE and NCTL, 2015) which records the numbers of those trainees actually registered on programmes that lead to QTS. Other information was gleaned from additional NCTL documents, including an Ad-Hoc notice concerning census data 2014–15 and its annual reports and accounts (NCTL, 2015a, 2015b), a House of Commons Library briefing paper (Roberts and Foster, 2018) and the DfE's 'Get into Teaching' website (<https://getintoteaching.education.gov.uk/>). Online content pertaining to providers of ITT, and information for applicants to ITT from the Universities and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS; <https://www.ucas.com>), provided some of the detail that was missing from the NCTL databases. AO data was obtainable by request from NCTL and reported briefly within the topography text. Neither of the two salaried routes, Researchers in Schools and the Troops programme, was discretely recorded in the NCTL-published databases, and they were not easily obtainable elsewhere, so the numbers of candidates offered or taking up these routes were not recorded as a separate group in the topography summary tables.

NCTL listed the allocations for 2015–16 by provider, location, route (HE- or SCITT-led, or SD), primary/secondary by subject, lead school for SD routes, and number of places allocated. However, a number of SD

allocations were listed for which the provider was still to be confirmed. These were assigned to a sixth category of provider: 'Provider to be confirmed'.

The limitations of the databases meant that we had to adopt the embedded pre-classification of training into the main body of our descriptive statistics. This meant summarizing the data, not into the twelve identified routes, but into these:

- Provider-led
  - HE
    - Undergraduate
    - Postgraduate
  - Other HE
    - Postgraduate
  - SCITT
- School Direct
  - Salaried
    - HE partner
    - SCITT partner
  - Fee-paying
    - HE partner
    - SCITT partner
- Teach First

### *Dispersal of places*

The dispersal of ITT was clear from the extent of the allocations database. Allocations were made by NCTL to discrete units of provision, or course options, which could be assigned to a lead school or an accredited provider. As a result, these allocations ranged from single SD places given to a school in a specific secondary subject, to large allocations to a primary programme in an HEI. In all, the database listed 8,292 allocations. Figure 3.1 shows that over half of these allocations were for just one or two places; 90 per cent were allocated ten or fewer. SD routes accounted for most of this small-group provision. In all, 3,570 places were allocated to a programme when it was proposed that a successful candidate would be the only trainee in that subject within that SD cluster.

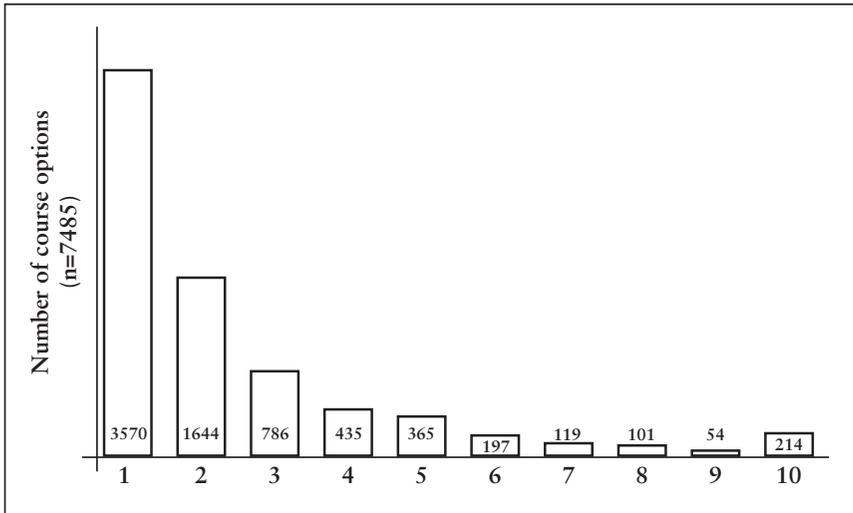


Figure 3.1: Number of course options with ten or fewer places allocated

Figure 3.2 shows the distribution of the larger allocations. The providers within this group are on the whole HEIs; one SCITT, EM Direct (now Educate), fell into the 100+ category, with 100 places allocated to primary provision and 20 to secondary PE. Other secondary subject allocations were in single figures. There were just 4 more SCITTs with 50 or more.

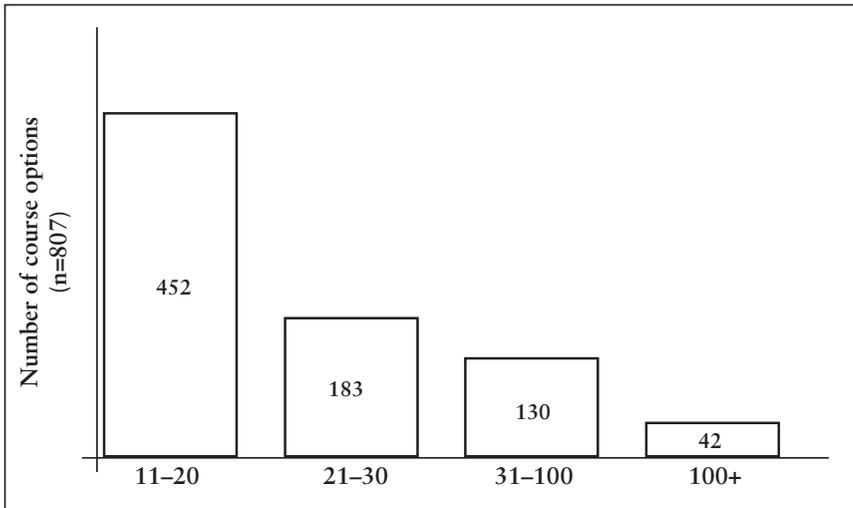


Figure 3.2: Number of course options with 11 or more places allocated

*Distribution between routes and providers*

The census tables presented data differently from that in the allocations. This meant it was not always possible to map the allocations directly to the registrations. Even within the census publication, the different pre-classification of the presented data in each table meant it was not possible to cross-reference them. The first table, for example, listed the places registered by provider and route, and the next by provider and primary or secondary subject. It was not possible to link these two tables to establish a link between routes and subjects for each provider, or to link to the SD lead school allocations in the allocations database. This meant further analysis was limited to a focus on providers, and their registered places on the different routes.

Using the classification of the databases, with the exception of distinguishing between fee-paying and salaried SD, Figure 3.3 shows an overview of the number of places allocated, and subsequently translated into registrations. ‘Other HEI’ comprises Bradford and Hibernia Colleges and the Royal Academy of Dance which, unlike other HEIs, cannot award the PGCE. (The databases include these three in the HEI category.) It will be noted that the totals in rows 3 and 4 of the figure do not add up to the totals in row 2: this is because the totals for the three routes include provider-led places and SD places whose provider is ‘to be confirmed’.

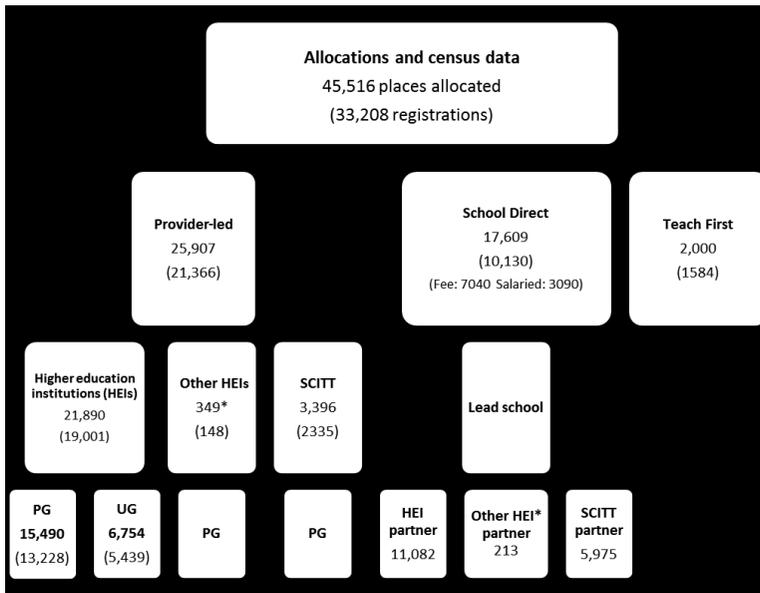


Figure 3.3: Allocations and registrations

The census main text emphasized the fact that over half (51%) of postgraduate courses were ‘school-led’. (This pre-framing of data, and the prevailing labelling of routes within published documentation as ‘HE-led’ or ‘school-led’, is discussed further in part 2 of this chapter.) However, those courses varied greatly in size. NCTL’s choice of data presentation, with its focus on the *number* of courses, perhaps best served the preferred approach put forward in the implementation plan. Figure 3.4, taken from the topography, shows, rather than the percentage of courses, the percentage of *trainees* registered on each route, including the undergraduate route. This reverses the published proportion. More trainees were registered on HE-led routes than on school-led routes.

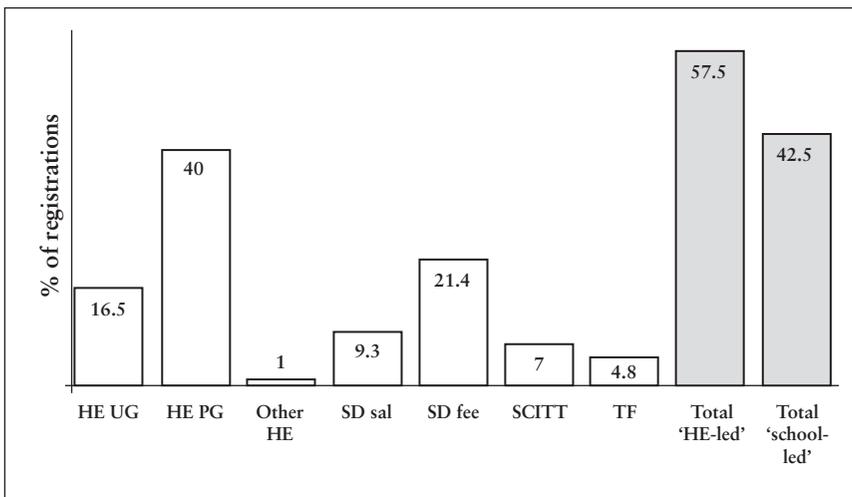


Figure 3.4: Percentage of trainees registered on ‘HE-led’ or ‘school-led’ routes

The influence of HE is underestimated even in figure 3.4. Figures 3.5 and 3.6 illustrate the continuing role of HE in provision, even in the new routes. Where an academic award is made, HE’s possible involvement (indicated by bold italics and outline) is indicated even in specifically SCITT-led routes. Information about this aspect of provision was missing from the databases. The option of a PGCE award in addition to QTS is not recorded, and any HE partner is unidentified. In both figures, SD routes are outlined in black.

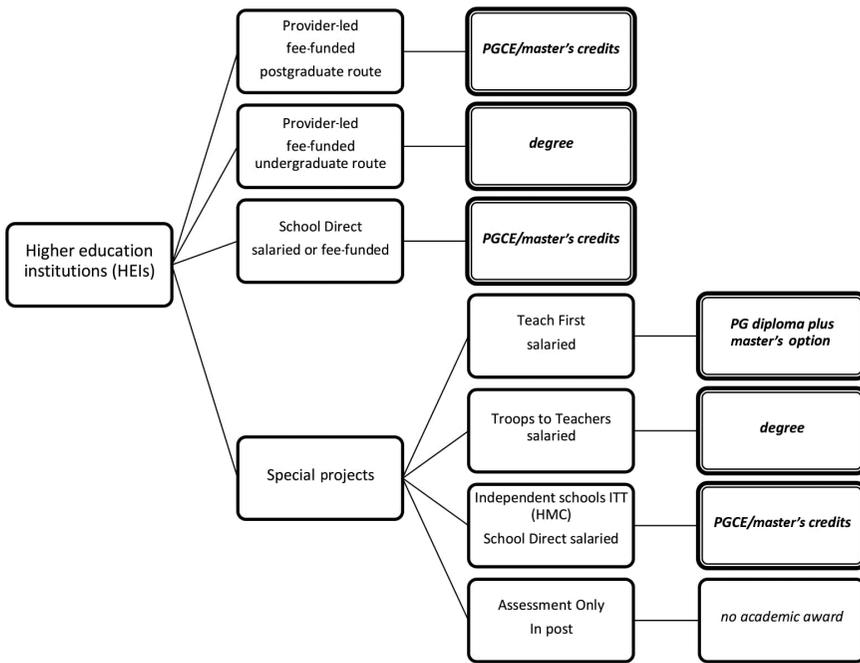


Figure 3.5: HE provision showing academic award

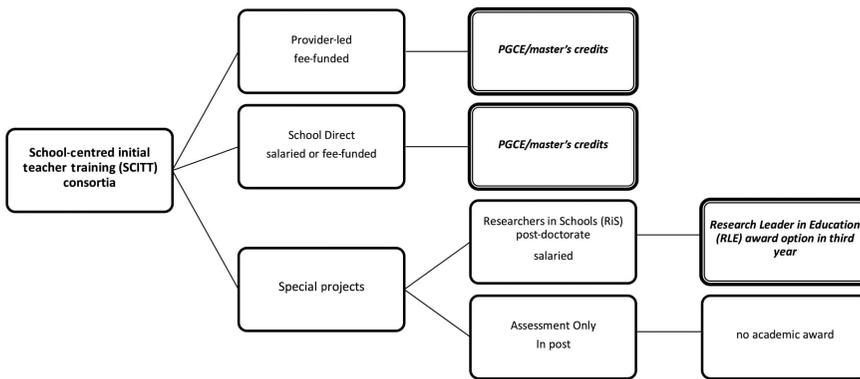


Figure 3.6: SCITT provision showing possible HE academic award

The topography explored this ‘hidden data’ a little further by providing an exemplification from the author’s own institution in the primary phase, which suggests that differences between providers and the ways in which they work with schools may be more significant than differences between routes. Discussions with colleagues in HE and schools suggest that this picture could be far from unique. This example, instead of focusing on

structural arrangements based on the direction of funds, shows what actually happens when courses are planned and delivered. It illustrates a neglect, in the prevailing classification of provision, of the ways in which partnerships between schools and HE have developed since those early years of ‘school-centred’ or ‘school-based’ courses of the 1990s (Furlong *et al.*, 2000; Mutton *et al.*, 2017). Part 2 of this chapter discusses how this pre-classification limits description and analysis of ITT; in later chapters, case studies reveal how partnerships with other schools or institutions within secondary provision, sometimes oft-changing and conflicting, are also brought to bear on the leadership and management of provision across the different routes offered by schools and their school clusters.

***Applying the categorization***

While it was not possible to deduce some aspects of HE’s role in ‘school-led’ routes, it was clear how the places were distributed between the finer-tuned classification providers and the routes they were offering. In table 3.1, cells show the number of allocations, the number of registrations and the percentage of allocations that were realized (allocations for primary and secondary phases are also given separately in the topography). Teach First also recruited 1584 (79% of allocation); 65 missing data in the census (where five or fewer are registered and thus are uncounted, the total is marked \*) may account for a further discrepancy of 159 with a total reported figure of 33209. The TSM was 29787.

**Table 3.1:** Distribution of places against finer categorization

|                             | All allocations <sup>1</sup><br>(registrations) % of places filled |                             |  | Totals                  |
|-----------------------------|--|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------|
|                             | School Direct<br>salaried  | School Direct<br>fee funded | Provider led   |                         |
| Category 1:<br>Universities | 2357<br>(1495) 63%   | 8725<br>(4605) 53%          | 21890<br>(18853) 86%<br>PG 15136<br>(13199) 87%<br>UG 6754<br>(5439) 81% | 32972<br>(24953)<br>76% |
| Category 2: Other<br>HEI    | 32<br>(21) 66%   | 181<br>(89*) 49%            | 349<br>(148) 42%   | 562<br>(258) 46%        |
| Bradford College            | 5<br>(11)  | 102<br>(34)                 | 113<br>(119)   | 220<br>(144)            |

|  | All allocations <sup>1</sup><br>(registrations) % of places filled |                               |                                | Totals                             |
|--|--|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
|  | School Direct<br>salaried  | School Direct<br>fee funded   | Provider led                   |                                    |
| Hibernia College<br>(NCTL-coded as<br>HEI)                                   | 27<br>(10)   | 76<br>(55)                    | 215<br>(10)                    | 318<br>(75)                        |
| Royal Academy of<br>Dance (NCTL-coded<br>as HEI)                             | 0  | 3<br>(*)                      | 21<br>(19)                     | 24<br>(19*)                        |
| <b>Category 3: School<br/>originated SCITT<br/>consortia</b>                 | <b>1,632<br/>(1,213) 74%</b>                                       | <b>3,527<br/>(2,173) 62%</b>  | <b>3,095<br/>(2,183) 71%</b>   | <b>8,254<br/>(5,569) 67%</b>       |
| <b>Category 4: Academy<br/>chains, trusts</b>                                | <b>305<br/>(214) 70%</b>   | <b>288<br/>(149) 52%</b>      | <b>64<br/>(46) 72%</b>         | <b>657<br/>(409) 62%</b>           |
| Ark  | 68<br>(42)   | 65<br>(28)                    | 0                              | 133<br>(70)                        |
| CfBT   | 48<br>(28)   | 85<br>(33)                    | 42<br>(34)                     | 175<br>(95)                        |
| Harris   | 46<br>(63)   | 27<br>(27)                    | 0                              | 73<br>(90)                         |
| Kemnal   | 28<br>(20)   | 29<br>(15)                    | 22<br>(5)                      | 79<br>(40)                         |
| United Teaching<br>National SCITT  | 115<br>(44)  | 68<br>(38)                    | 0                              | 183<br>(82)                        |
| Pimlico  | 0<br>(17)  | 14<br>(8)                     | 0<br>(7)                       | 14<br>(32)                         |
| <b>Category 5: Non-<br/>exempt charities, not<br/>for profit and private</b> | <b>149<br/>(147) 99%</b>   | <b>78<br/>(24) 31%</b>        | <b>237<br/>(106) 45%</b>       | <b>464<br/>(277) 60%</b>           |
| EM direct (Educate)  | 62<br>(48)   | 5<br>(*)                      | 156<br>(71)                    | 223<br>(119*)                      |
| E-Qualitas   | 73<br>(89)   | 49<br>(18)                    | 58<br>(24)                     | 180<br>(131)                       |
| Titan  | 4<br>(*)   | 18<br>(6)                     | 23<br>(11)                     | 45<br>(17*)                        |
| Services for<br>Education  | 10<br>(10)   | 6<br>(*)                      | 0                              | 16<br>(10*)                        |
| <b>Category 6: Provider<br/>to be confirmed</b>                              | <b>75</b>  | <b>260</b>                    | <b>272</b>                     | <b>607</b>                         |
| <b>Totals</b>  | <b>4,550<br/>(3,090) 68%</b>                                       | <b>13,059<br/>(7,040) 54%</b> | <b>25,907<br/>(21,336) 82%</b> | <b>43,516<br/>(31,466)<br/>72%</b> |

Note: 1. Numbers for primary and secondary phases separately are included in the topography.

It is clear from these figures that the very large majority of trainee places were being allocated, and filled, by courses that had an HEI as the provider. These courses, and in particular the provider-led options, were also the most successful at filling allocations. SCITTs were providing a substantial number of places, but the pattern of successful registrations and the course options they offered are inconsistent across the sector. The detail of individual providers was not explored across the category 3 SCITTs, and coverage between provider-led and SD was fairly equally balanced. However, of category 5 and 6 providers, it could be seen that academy trusts at this time were more often focusing on drawing funds from the SD routes. Only CfBT (which later withdrew from ITT altogether) and Kemnal (known as provider TKAT) had a substantial proportion of their registration on a provider-led route. Pimlico had no allocations initially, but did attract registrations.

It is worth noting that the multi-academy trusts (MATs) are given allocations in two ways – as lead schools on SD and as providers on provider-led courses. So, for example, Ark and United Learning (the latter as an ITT provider titled United Teaching) have SD allocations within their provider ‘family’ of schools, promoting the development of their own particular ‘brand’ of teacher through both theory and practice. Small at this time, provision was growing in these self-sufficient groups of schools, as can be seen in table 3.4.

### ***Moving on***

The topography mapped provision in a single academic year. Allocations methodology has changed since the 2015–16 cohort, but the direction of travel towards more ‘school-led’ provision has been to a large extent maintained, with what might be described as a slightly more pragmatic approach in the most recent period in view of the problem of under-recruitment.

The allocation guidance for 2015–16 courses had made clear that preference would be given to School Direct requests – ‘Our priority is to develop a school-led system for ITT’ – but that it was ‘important for lead schools to submit realistic and achievable place requests’ (NCTL, 2014a, 2014b: 16).

Two simple criteria would be applied for SD allocations: quality of lead school (as measured by the most recent Ofsted inspection), and size of partnership (as measured by the number of partner schools listed in the request). It was not planned to take into account previous recruitment performance or the quality of trainees, as this provision was ‘still evolving’.

There was a requirement to name the provider partner as places were requested; however, in the allocations database, a considerable number of places were assigned to SD routes with the provider still ‘to be confirmed’.

For provider-led routes (SCITTs and HE), allocation decisions would be influenced by previous success in recruiting to priority subjects and by engagement with SD, as well as by Ofsted inspection judgements, albeit against different frameworks. SCITTs would be guaranteed a match to the previous year’s allocation.

NCTL controls over the number of places for different routes and cohorts (NCTL, 2015c), and subsequent changes to the methodology for allocating places (NCTL, 2015c, 2016, 2017b), were designed to ensure recruitment sufficiency, with a continued prioritizing of ‘school-led’ routes. The NCTL annual report on the year 2016–17 (NCTL, 2018a: 14) continued with its positive ‘school-led’ message by stressing how these routes have grown ‘over the last few years’. Not only was the even larger number of accredited providers supporting SD routes reported (up 41 from 201 in 2015–16 to 242 in 2016–17), the document also demonstrated the apparent success in recruitment of these options for 2016–17 by making the point that 56% of all postgraduate entrants were on these ‘school-led’ courses, up from 51% in 2015–16 (see table 3.2).

**Table 3.2:** Trainee figures for 2016–17

| SCITT | SD fee-paying | SD salaried | Teach First | Total  |
|-------|---------------|-------------|-------------|--------|
| 3,057 | 7,470         | 3,159       | 1,375       | 15,061 |

These NCTL-reported figures omit registrations on undergraduate routes. Both postgraduate and undergraduate recruitment were slightly down in 2016–17 from the previous year (27,761 to 27,229 for postgraduate (*ibid.*: 5), and 5,195 to 5,500 for undergraduate). The undergraduate routes provided largely (but not exclusively) primary phase places, and nearly a third of primary registrations were to undergraduate courses in both 2015–16 and 2016–17. With these entrants included, we calculated for the topography that 43 per cent of registrations were to school-led options overall for the year 2015–16. In 2016–17, 46 per cent of those 32,424 entrants (a greater proportion than in the previous year but still less than half) started school-led courses.

However, despite changes in approach and the levels of control placed on recruitment, especially of ‘HE-led’ provision, government has not successfully tackled the issue of under-recruitment in key subjects or in areas of geographical need (Staufenberg, 2017; Hazell, 2018). The

control mechanisms introduced by NCTL for 2016–17 (NCTL, 2015c) in lieu of published allocations were not well received (Scott, 2015) and not repeated, and although the methodology for requesting places for 2017–18 was published in September of 2016 (NCTL, 2016), publication of the allocations data itself for 2017–18 was delayed well into the year of entry (NCTL, 2017c); providers and lead schools are in one list, with the identification of the provider for SD courses remaining undisclosed. Nor did the dataset reveal which providers had been awarded a three-year allocation – a concession that appeared designed to address providers’ concerns about long-term planning but was restricted to those that could meet certain criteria. Fifty-three of these were listed in the 2018–19 allocation, along with details of the methodology for selection.

At the time of writing, this cohort of 2017–18 is the latest for which census data is also available (DfE, 2017). Again, provider tables show recruitment against routes and against subjects in separate tables that cannot be cross-referenced. A summary of recruitment numbers in the broad categories of HE- or SCITT-led, and SD salaried or fee-paying is shown in table 3.3.

**Table 3.3:** Summary of registrations 2017–18

| HEI    | SCITT | Postgraduate  |             |       | Teach First | Total | Under-graduate | Total |
|--------|-------|---------------|-------------|-------|-------------|-------|----------------|-------|
|        |       | SD fee-paying | SD salaried |       |             |       |                |       |
| 13,040 | 3,310 | 7,280         | 2,790       | 1,300 | 27,720      | 4,815 | 32,535         |       |

However, it is possible from this dataset to show how some of the categorized providers from 2015–16, and the routes they offered, had fared after two years: this is shown in table 3.4 (asterisks again denote missing data where figures are smaller than 5).

Ark and Harris have grown their provision, and fill at least half of their allocations. Ark fills all its small number of provider-led places; Harris still does not offer this option. United Learning/Teaching (SD routes only) has shrunk a little and has continued to be over-allocated, filling less than a third of its allocated places. Pimlico remains a small provider, and by gaining SD registrations it balances under-recruitment on its provider-led route, filling all its places overall. CfBT is no longer providing ITT. Hibernia is now listed as a SCITT and is added on to the category 5 providers in table 3.4 for 2017–18. Along with Services for Education, all its registrations are through SD and it does not appear in the allocations data at all. Where other category 5 providers are not working with a specific group of schools

or a lead school (Services for Schools is an example which does), there are no identifiable SD allocations in the database, so the percentage of allocated places registered for category 5 is not included.

**Table 3.4: Two years on: allocations and registrations compared**

|   | Allocations<br>(registrations) % of places filled |             |                             |             |                            |             |  |                            |
|---|---|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------------------|-------------|--|----------------------------|
|   | School Direct<br>salaried                         |             | School Direct<br>fee-funded |             | Provider-led               |             | Totals                                 |                            |
|   | 2015–<br>16                                       | 2017–<br>18 | 2015–<br>16                 | 2017–<br>18 | 2015–<br>16                | 2017–<br>18 | 2015–<br>16                            | 2017–<br>18                |
| <b>Category 4:<br/>Academy<br/>chains, trusts</b>                                   | <b>305</b><br>(214)<br>70%                        |             | <b>288</b><br>(149)<br>52%  |             | <b>64</b><br>(46)<br>72%   |             | <b>657</b><br>(409)<br>62%             | <b>684</b><br>(396)<br>58% |
| Ark   | 68<br>(42)  | 87<br>(53)  | 65<br>(28)                  | 118<br>(60) | 0<br>(0)                   | 6<br>(6)    | 133<br>(70)                            | 211<br>(113)               |
| CfBT  | 48<br>(28)  | 0           | 85<br>(33)                  | 0           | 42<br>(34)                 | 0           | 175<br>(95)                            | 0                          |
| Harris  | 46<br>(63)  | 121<br>(76) | 27<br>(27)                  | 118<br>(79) | 0                          | 0           | 73<br>(90)                             | 239<br>(155)               |
| Kemnal/TKAT <sup>1</sup>  | 28<br>(20)  | 45<br>(27)  | 29<br>(15)                  | 62<br>(7)   | 22<br>(5)                  | 40<br>(13)  | 79<br>(40)                             | 147<br>(87)                |
| United Teaching<br>National SCITT   | 115<br>(44)                                       | 92<br>(27)  | 68<br>(38)                  | 72<br>(24)  | 0                          | 0           | 183<br>(82)                            | 164<br>(51)                |
| Pimlico   | 0<br>(17)   | 0<br>(8)    | 14<br>(8)                   | 0<br>(9)    | 0<br>(7)                   | 30<br>(14)  | 14<br>(32)                             | 30<br>(30)                 |
| <b>Category 5:<br/>Non-exempt<br/>charities, not<br/>for profit and<br/>private</b> | <b>149</b><br>(147)<br>99%                        |             | <b>78</b><br>(24)<br>31%    |             | <b>237</b><br>(106)<br>45% |             | <b>464<sup>2</sup></b><br>(277)<br>60% |                            |
| EM direct<br>(Educate)  | 62<br>(48)  | 0<br>(12)   | 5<br>(*)                    | 0<br>(12)   | 156<br>(71)                | 138<br>(50) | 223<br>(139*)                          | 138<br>(88)                |
| E-Qualitas  | 73<br>(89)  | 0<br>(57)   | 49<br>(18)                  | 0<br>(13)   | 58<br>(24)                 | 87<br>(18)  | 180<br>(131)                           | 87<br>(88)                 |
| Titan   | 4<br>(*)  | 0<br>(*)    | 18<br>(6)                   | 0<br>(3)    | 23<br>(11)                 | 41<br>(19)  | 45<br>(17*)                            | 41<br>(22)                 |
| Services for<br>Education   | 10<br>(10)  | 0<br>(*)    | 6<br>(*)                    | 9<br>(*)    | 0                          | 0           | 16<br>(10*)                            | 11<br>(10)                 |
| Hibernia  | 27<br>(10)  | 0<br>(41)   | 76<br>(55)                  | 0<br>(97)   | 215<br>(10)                | 0           | 318<br>(75)                            | 0<br>(138)                 |

Notes: 1. Assuming Kemnal Technology College has TKAT as provider.

2. Figures do not include Hibernia, which NCTL listed as an HEI in 2015–16.

***Three years on: allocations 2018–19***

Despite the emphasis in the NCTL annual report for 2016–17 (NCTL, 2018a), by the time allocations were being made for 2018–19 the methodology underpinning them revealed a change of direction. The latter year brought a relaxation of recruitment controls; the methodology used to set the allocations sought to meet the needs of harder-to-recruit subjects: ‘we are adopting a permissive approach that removes recruitment constraints on School Direct lead schools and ITT providers in almost all subjects’ (NCTL, 2017b: 5).

Only undergraduate, Teach First, postgraduate physical education and primary School Direct (salaried) courses were given restricted allocations. Other programmes were now able to recruit beyond the allocation request. As a House of Commons briefing paper explained, providers were given ‘automatic permission to recruit above the number of training places they initially requested, with no cap’ (Foster, 2018: 8).

In the 2017–18 database (DfE and NCTL, 2017d), routes are no longer described as ‘-led’ but simply as ‘HEI’, ‘SCITT’ and ‘SD’. A lead school is now called the ITT ‘owner’. This does seem to herald a relaxation of control over the balance of ‘school-led’ and ‘HEI-led’ routes, and a pulling back of the emphasis on School Direct, since all provider-led routes are now at liberty to recruit freely. Although it had been envisaged that providers and lead schools would ask for places that they anticipated were likely to be filled, summary data provided in the topography and here are an illustration of how requests and allocations were an indication of intent, or perhaps hope, more than of actuality. Providers have not always been successful in meeting recruitment aspirations in the past; whether these new freedoms in 2018–19, for both SD and provider-led courses, will improve matters is yet to be seen.

Multiple year allocations are also shown in the database. Only those providers scoring highly on NCTL’s four indicators fall into the category of ‘the best providers’. The four indicators are:

- provider Ofsted rating (latest year)
- degree class of trainees recruited by the provider (latest 3 years)
- proportion of allocated places filled (latest 3 years)
- proportion of trainees by provider who were awarded QTS and were reported as teachers in state-funded schools in England in the School Workforce Census within two academic years of being awarded QTS (latest 3 years).

Although welcome (at least to those who benefit), this label ‘rewards’ just those providers with the scope to develop ‘stability and help with planning’ (DfE and NCTL, 2017a: ‘Details’ tab). The methodology for selection, however, is open to challenge. There is no evidence that degree class is related to teacher quality; Ofsted inspections have taken place at different times, and against different frameworks; and many qualified teachers take on roles in non-state-funded schools.

Not only has the management of allocations changed for 2018–19, but the database itself is more enlightening than those of earlier years, bringing some detail of SCITT and HE balance and a promise of a clear link from allocations to registrations and beyond. It reveals some data identified as missing from the topography cohort and subsequent allocations, and potentially, by adding identifiers to providers, it will make it easier to link any analysis to the census data which will be released in the autumn of 2018.

Table 3.5 summarizes the balance between HE and SCITT providers and Teach First.

**Table 3.5: Allocations 2018–19**

| Allocations                  |               | Provider PG | SD fee-paying | SD salary | Total PG | UG    | Total no. of places | Total % of places |
|------------------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|----------|-------|---------------------|-------------------|
| HE                           | No. of places | 20,112      | 18,075        | 3,121     | 41,308   | 6,928 | 48,236              | 67                |
|                              | % of places   | 69          | 66            | 47        | 65       | 98    |                     |                   |
| SCITT                        | No. of places | 8,851       | 9,516         | 3,599     | 21,966   | 148   | 22,114              | 31                |
|                              | % of places   | 31          | 34            | 53        | 35       | 2     |                     |                   |
| Total no. of places HE+SCITT |               | 28,963      | 27,591        | 6,720     | 63,274   | 7,076 | 70,350              |                   |
| Total % of places HE+SCITT   |               | 40          | 38            | 9         | 88       | 10    |                     | 98                |
| Teach First                  |               | 1,750       |               |           | 1,750    |       | 1,750               | 2                 |
| Grand total                  |               |             |               |           |          |       | 72,100              |                   |

A coherent government strategy over this period to produce a long-term solution to problems in teacher recruitment, however, is hard to discern, and the DfE was looking to extend the range of options even further through a request for innovative ways to QTS (DfE and NCTL, 2017b).

If 2018–19 allocations to SCITT provider-led courses, SD and Teach First are combined, then 62% of allocated places can be labelled ‘school-led’. This gives a clue as to how the funds are being controlled and reinforces the trajectory of balance between schools and HE in the provision of ITT over the last 40 years. If, however, just routes with SCITT as the provider are assigned the category, only 31% meet this criterion, and while HE continues to pay a major role, how schools and HE work together fits no standard model.

Part 1 of this chapter has outlined the diversity within ITT provision and the lack of stability in approach. Government committees, the Audit Office, the Institute of Fiscal Studies and providers themselves have on a number of occasions criticized government for its lack of a discernible long-term strategy built on a solid evidence base. Problems with teacher recruitment are set alongside problems with teacher retention to create the wider, looming prospect of insufficiency (Hazell, 2018). A clear characterization of this interpretation was offered in a comment from Meg Hillier, the chair of the Public Accounts Committee, as its report on teacher development and retention (House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts, 2018) was published: ‘A crisis is brewing in English classrooms but Government action to address it has been sluggish and incoherent’.

However, perhaps a hint of deliberate design and purpose in the creation of such a system of ITT can be found in a letter of 29 January 2018 to providers from Nick Gibb, the schools minister, a link to which can be found in the *Teacher Recruitment Bulletin* of February 2018. The *Bulletin* (NCTL, 2018b) makes the following points:

- ‘open allocations/recruitment’ will be continued into 2019–20
- providers should seek to maximize marketing strength
- there will be scrutiny of providers’ rejection rates in priority subjects, which suggest providers are focusing insufficiently on potential
- an extension is given to the closing date for providers to seek approval for provision of the apprenticeship route.

Thus, it emphasizes the role of providers and lead schools in effectively attracting applications to their programmes within a diverse array of provision and it encourages them to accept more of those who apply, mechanisms which could be argued to be shifting the balance of control towards candidates as customers. This does nothing to simplify matters but it could be argued that it is actually a manifestation of a clear and continued strategy towards the increased marketization of ITT.

## **Part 2: Unravelling the data**

Part 2 of this chapter explores some of the problems arising from the pre-categorization of data and the ways in which official education statistics are unhelpful for achieving a clear perspective and understanding of initial teacher education in England. It focuses on how data from government and its agencies has presented a limited and simplistic description of initial teacher training through two pairs of structural dichotomies. First, it looks at the pervading focus on courses being discretely categorized as ‘HE-led’ or ‘school-led’. Second, it considers the way the data reflects the view that all non-HE providers can be grouped together in the single category of ‘school-centred initial teacher training’ (SCITT).

When the Diversity in Teacher Education (DiTE) research programme was set up, a key question was ‘Do different routes lead to different outcomes?’ A topography of those ‘different routes’ was initially envisaged, similar to those produced as part of the Modes of Teacher Education (MOTE) project in the 1990s (Barrett *et al.*, 1993; Whiting *et al.*, 1996). A key aim of the MOTE project was to get into the detail of the implications for course ethos and the ways in which schools and HE were working in partnership at a time of change. A range of partnership models was mooted in an attempt to characterize the different ways in which schools and HE were working together. For the purpose of descriptive analysis, courses were grouped according to the range of programmes run almost exclusively by higher education institutions (HEIs): the categories applied were: undergraduate or postgraduate; full or part time; delivered by university, polytechnic or college of higher education (CHE).

At that time, a small number of trainees were offered courses within the new school-centred initial teacher training (SCITT) scheme. This scheme was a feature of one of three parallel developments – then in their infancy and symptomatic of the direction of travel across education more widely – that would refocus categorization of the ways to gain QTS: a competency-based approach to the assessment of teacher performance; a shift towards extending the role and influence of schools (and lessening those of HE); and a national inspection programme through the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). These three developments laid the foundations of significant change in ITT over the following three decades, marking the beginning of a process through which a market in education could be established (more recently bolstered by the academization of schools). It broadened the opportunity to become an ITT ‘provider’ beyond HEIs to school groups (or organizations using front-facing schools as their eligibility

criterion) and generated measurable criteria for success in training teachers to standards set by central government.

As a result, and as described in Part 1 of this chapter, a wide and often confusing choice was offered to the prospective trainee; by the time of the DiTE project, it represented a range of provision of such a disparate and ephemeral nature that those who wish to describe, analyse or evaluate it are forced to synthesize it into something neater and more organized. We found, when constructing the new topography, that in order to facilitate descriptive statistics, and a way of talking about ITT, we needed to group data categorically, as the MOTE project had done. There is a wealth of data available online and to use it seemed a straightforward and practical way in. However, data provision was framed by a wholesale acceptance of the notion that there are two clear and definable dichotomies: ITT routes were either ‘school-led’ or ‘HE-led’ (or ‘based in’) and providers were either HEIs or SCITTs.

A full account of the developments in the period 2009–16, set within the wider context of broader school sector reforms, can be found in the McNamara report (McNamara *et al.*, 2017), published after the DiTE topography. It demonstrates the continued conflation of the term ‘school-led’ with the amount of time spent in school and reflects on the fluidity of government policy, which makes it difficult to provide an up-to-date picture in published research. Also, by referencing a BERA-RSA (2014) report it raises the issue of the false dichotomy between school- and HE-led ITT.

For the purpose of the DiTE topography, the allocations data provided the fullest coverage of provision in the chosen cohort year, 2015–16. The NCTL was responsible for managing this process, designed to ensure an adequate supply of teachers (NCTL, 2014a, 2014b). Working through the data, and enriching it through additional documentation, we found that simple categorization provided an incomplete and, importantly, often misleading characterization of how programmes actually operate, meaning that whole analyses are based on sometimes erroneous and largely unacknowledged assumptions embedded in their starting point.

Two very clear problems arose. First, the two-way HE-led or school-led categorization failed to consider the presence of bodies outside of what was implied by the term ‘school’ in the origins of the SCITT approach. This brings into question the very notion of ‘school-led’. Originally proposed as providing the opportunity for a consortium of schools to develop their own programmes of ITT, within a system-wide, collaborative school environment, it has, through the development of multi-academy trusts and the involvement of other private or charitable bodies, facilitated the

marketization of ITT and the development of ‘branded’ and idiosyncratic programmes. These are often devised to promote, and even expand, a distinct and often exclusive group of schools. This characterization is still promoted in government: a parliamentary briefing in June 2017 and updated in January 2018 states that ‘School-centred initial teacher training (SCITT) courses are designed and delivered by groups of schools that have been given government approval to run their own ITT’ (Roberts and Foster, 2017: 8, 2018: 8).

The topography began to explore the range of organizations that have taken on the mantle of ‘accredited provider’ and noted how they, with government encouragement, have developed their powers of marketing in order to gain influence in the field, for a variety of reasons. So the original notion of small school consortia taking on fewer than five or six trainees a year has expanded to include large organizations like E-Qualitas, United National SCITT and Educate, with their multi-regional provision for hundreds of trainees, and academy chains (like Ark and Harris) working exclusively within their own schools to build a staff which will commit to their particular model of the teacher.

Second, looking closely at the programmes involving one HEI (developed through other strands of the DiTE project) made it clear that elements of joint leadership operate outside and across the prevailing school-led/HE-led dichotomy. To set analyses within this dichotomy as the primary grouping favours the basis through which these categories are assigned rather than any actual notion of leadership. There is, however, little, if any, challenge to the blunt categorization implicit in these prevailing labels or to the criteria according to which these labels are assigned.

This ‘school-led’ or ‘HE-led’ route terminology remains widespread not only in government or government-agency documentation, for example from the DfE and NCTL, and in parliamentary briefings and reports (Roberts and Foster, 2015; House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts, 2016; House of Commons Education Select Committee, 2017; Foster, 2018; Roberts and Foster, 2018), but also in reports from official agencies and others trying to make sense of the current scenario: the Institute for Fiscal Studies (Allen *et al.*, 2014, 2016) and the National Audit Office (NAO, 2016) also apply this taxonomy. It is repeated in the media (Hazell, 2017), and academia also makes use of this categorization and terminology (Gorard, 2017).

Although there is some acknowledgement of the limitations of basing discussion on this premise, there is little scope to reject the blunt categorization implicit in these labels or the criteria which lead to them. In

fact, clarity begins to dissipate as soon as there is an attempt to grasp an agreed meaning of these terms.

In allowing this categorization to shape all discourse, not just in government and the media but in wider commentary and academic research, there is a failure to consider a wider range of cross-route variables that could be linked to outcomes and may in fact have more impact than whether the programme fits one or other of these categories. We find that funding mechanisms, and the consequential identification of provision as ‘led’ by one camp or the other, are easy distinctions. Often, the only layer added to the analysis is whether trainees are part of a salaried scheme. Further, inconsistencies in the use of the terms ‘school-led’ and ‘HE-led’ appear in official documentation, which sometimes applies associated terms such as ‘school-centred’ and ‘school-based’.

It is possible to demonstrate this by working through the range of the three most substantial, apparently discrete routes. The first (‘provider-led’) is specifically categorized as school- or HE-led according to the choice of provider, and the second exclusively as school-led (School Direct). The third (Teach First) appears to fall neatly into neither category. It is certainly, as a salaried route, ‘school-based’, but has significant roles for both schools and HE, and, crucially, for a third, external agency. The scope for variation even within supposedly discrete routes reveals not only the lack of distinct and exclusive characteristics relating to the roles of, and the relationship between, schools and HE, but also how wide-ranging diversity, resistant to categorization, is the key feature of the system.

### *School and HE: the three main routes*

The main census text for the 2016–17 cohort provides a simple summary of routes to QTS, labelling Teach First, SD and SCITT as provider ‘school-led’, and characterizing this provision thus:

At HEIs, the university or college delivers the pedagogy of teaching ... supplemented by at least two placements in schools, where trainees put theory into practice. ... On a school-led route, trainees are placed within a school from the first day of training, receiving practical, hands-on teacher training delivered by experienced, practicing [sic] teachers.

(DfE and NCTL, 2017e: 3)

Putting aside the disputable claim that so called ‘school-led’ routes always start in school, this presentation of the diversity of provision falls down when we looked at it more closely.

PROVIDER-LED

The allocation of places and the funding that follows successful recruitment and registrations are channelled through ‘providers’. A provider is one of just two types – an HEI or a SCITT. So, this seems straightforward where the provision is along those traditional lines (often such provision has been referred to as ‘core’): HE is the provider, so this must be HE-led; with a SCITT or (‘school-centred’) provider it must be school-led. Two categories, clear and discrete. But there are two key problems in assuming a two-way categorical approach here. Often the assumption fails to acknowledge even the presence of one or other of these. It ignores the role of the HEI for the SCITT route, especially through the academic qualification usually offered (the PGCE), and the school role (long since simply a location for classroom ‘practice’) within the HEI-led route. The use of the verb ‘to lead’ emphasizes a definitive and unequal role between the two distinct providers in these routes; it does not take account of any sort of partnership or shared leadership element, previously highlighted in the MOTE research.

Second, the presentation of routes as ‘SCITT-led’ suggests that SCITT providers share some other key quality beyond the fact that they are not HEIs. We understand the criterion by which an institution is granted the title of HEI – it has the power to make academic awards – but ‘school-centred’ is far more open to interpretation. At the scheme’s inception, it was consortia of schools that accepted funding to develop training which took place in school, the content of which would be in their control as long as it met certain criteria. But with the involvement of a range of other bodies in public education, the scope of the term ‘SCITT’ has widened, and the influence of external institutions has grown. While there are still local clusters of schools that collaborate in training teachers, the roots of some given the accreditation of ITT provider lie outside those original small groups of school leaders who first took up the challenge of taking the lead in ITT.

SCHOOL DIRECT

School Direct places, both salaried and fee-paying, are allocated to lead schools, rather than to the provider. So, this seems straightforward again in terms of our two-way categorization: School Direct provision is clearly school-led. Indeed, it seems that government sees little difference between SCITT courses and School Direct: ‘SCITT courses ... are similar to the School Direct (tuition fee) route’ (Foster, 2017: 8).

However, looking just a little deeper, those schools have to identify a provider, which can be an HEI or a SCITT. The complications inherent

within the SCITT-led category described above remain, but a school/HE distinction arises as an extra layer in the choice of provider for SD. How should we acknowledge the additional layer – the choice between SCITT or HE as the provider? Table 3.6 lays out possible different configurations of provider-led and SD. Added to what has already been noted, the choice to confer an academic award along with QTS produces a further variable in the school/HE balancing act.

**Table 3.6:** HE and SCITT configurations

| Route                                | Provider | Described as 'school-led'? | Academic award? | HE role? |
|--------------------------------------|----------|----------------------------|-----------------|----------|
| Provider-led<br>SCITT with no PGCE   | SCITT    | ✓                          | ☐               | ☐        |
| SD<br>SCITT as provider with no PGCE | SCITT    | ✓                          | ☐               | ☐        |
| Provider-led<br>SCITT with PGCE      | SCITT    | ✓                          | ✓               | ✓        |
| SD<br>SCITT as provider with PGCE    | SCITT    | ✓                          | ✓               | ✓        |
| SD<br>HE as provider with PGCE       | HE       | ✓                          | ✓               | ✓        |
| Provider-led<br>HE as provider       | HE       | ☐                          | ✓               | ✓        |

In particular, SD with HE as the provider seems to have the potential to tip the balance towards HE. In the 2017 parliamentary briefing, a new category emerged: ‘HEI-led School Direct’ (Roberts and Foster, 2017: 11) This seems a contradiction in the terms so often applied: there seems to be an ‘HE-led school-led’ route. The route isn’t new, but an acknowledgment of the simplistic categorization is, and this apparent oxymoron shows up the paucity of the conceptualization most clearly.

#### TEACH FIRST

Teach First makes the third substantial contribution to ITT provision. The latest parliamentary briefing (Roberts and Foster, 2018), and the DfE’s Get Into Teaching website, describe this route, together with Troops to Teachers, Researchers in Schools and Assessment Only as a ‘specialist route’. It is led by a national charitable organization, with universities in a number of regions providing additional training, support and monitoring (in 2017–18 the universities were Birmingham City, Canterbury Christ Church, Sheffield Hallam, University College London, Manchester and Northumbria). Schools wishing to take Teach First ‘participants’ become ‘partner schools’.

It could be described as ‘external agency-led’, but the contribution of HE, to delivery and management at least, is not inconsiderable.

### *New ‘school-led’ routes*

Two new initiatives are added features of school-led provision by 2018, as well as a reconfiguration of the Troops to Teachers route, now offering a £40,000 bursary over years 2 and 3 of a secondary undergraduate programme. The briefing to government in January re-labels the options offered to candidates from ‘routes’ to pathways (Roberts and Foster, 2018). Postgraduate apprenticeships (NCTL, 2017a) were already on offer through UCAS, although there remains a lack of clarity about whether these will actually replace the SD salaried route. There is no detail about any successful responses to a call from NCTL in July 2017 for proposals to provide ‘innovative teacher training models’ (NCTL, 2017b: ‘Overview’). Providers were promised three-year allocations for a small number of pilots, to begin in 2018, but no further information about these pilots could be found in the January of the year of proposed delivery.

### *School-led or partnership-led?*

A case study for the DiTE project suggests that individual schools may in practice be managing conflicting loyalties, not only to a variety of providers, but also to a variety of local collaborations. These can change from year to year, which puts leadership into a constant state of flux.

We could consider this example. A school which is part of a SCITT consortium works with one or more HEIs on three different routes: its own SCITT course, for which the HEI provides the PGCE content; the HEI’s core course; and a School Direct course (with salaried and fee-paying options) for which the HEI is the provider. Their HEI core course can mirror their School Direct course because the HEI promotes a cluster model in which trainees are based in school and follow the same pattern. This school could also have Teach First participants (a partnership between Teach First and the HEI, and collaboration with other HEIs), or Troops to Teachers trainees (run by the HEI in collaboration with other HEIs), or unqualified teachers seeking Assessment Only accreditation (through this HEI or another SCITT or HEI provider). They could even have a holder of a PhD following the Researcher in Schools route (run in partnership between a number of HEIs, industry and the organization itself). This school is also part of a MAT. A number of questions arise. Which of these routes are distinctly school- or HE-led? How are the partners involved in finance, design, management and delivery? In what ways are the programmes different, similar, or the same?

And what are the implications for leadership and, crucially, for the trainees themselves?

### ***Broadening the question***

So, in allowing this categorization to shape all discourse, not just in government and the media but within the wider commentary and in academic research too, what is missed is a wider range of cross-route variables which could be linked to outcomes and may be found to have more impact than whether the programme fits one or other of these categories. In line with the prevailing political direction, which tends to see teaching as a practical craft best learnt on the job, in which quality in provision will be best served by adopting a market-led approach, and in which the influence of the university is to be moderated, we find that the direction of money, and the identification of provision as ‘led’ by one camp or the other, are easy distinctions. But the DiTE research programme was interested in a much broader, and more open-ended, question: what is it about any ITT programme that makes a difference to outcomes for any stakeholder? Rather than the simplistic characterization of ITT as ‘school-led’ or ‘HE-led’ forming the basis of enquiry, perhaps the contribution of, and the relationship between, all the partners at all levels of leadership and delivery would provide more valid conclusions, and a truer view of the diverse pathways to QTS. Many have commented on the complexity of current provision and the challenges to scrutiny that produces. The system is now so complex that it impedes investigation and quality analysis.

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## *Towards a new topography of ITT*

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## *Towards a new topography of ITT*

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## Chapter 4

# Partnerships: The changing relationships between schools and HEIs

*Nick Sorensen*

The introduction in 2010 of a ‘school-led’ approach to teacher education has brought about a sea change in the provision of teacher education in England. This has seen a proliferation of routes into teacher education, and the topography generated by the DiTE research programme (Whiting *et al.*, 2018) identified the complexity of provision that is a consequence of these changes. In spite of all this there is one feature that appears to be habitually present:

All these routes, or courses, or pathways, have one quality in common: something that these catch-all labels of school- and HE-led diminish; and that is partnership.

(Whiting *et al.*, 2018: 89)

This chapter is concerned with the impact that a ‘school-led’ system has had upon our understanding of partnership within the context of initial teacher education. As Mutton (2016) points out, partnership working has been at the heart of teacher education, both in the United Kingdom and in many other contexts, for the past three decades. Over this period a number of different working relationships have developed, primarily those between providers of initial teacher education in higher education institutions (HEI) and the schools with which they work.

A key aim of the empirical research undertaken by the DiTE programme was to focus on the concept of partnership, asking the question ‘How do the relationships between schools and HEIs differ according to the different pathways?’. The aim was to explore the relations between schools within the different routes, as well as their relationships with HEIs. This approach was informed by Hordern’s (2014: 234) view that ‘analysis of teacher formation arguably needs to examine both relations *between* the school and the TEI [HEI] and the nature of the teaching or learning discourse *within* each site of formation’. The earlier Modes of Teacher Education

(MOTE) study (Furlong *et al.*, 2000) uses the Weberian concept of the ‘ideal-typical’ as a heuristic to make the characteristic features of partnership pragmatically clear. We wanted to find out if the two ‘ideal-typical’ models of partnership – ‘collaborative’ and ‘complementary’ partnerships that were identified in the MOTE study – were still appropriate.

Semi-structured interviews were undertaken with staff who had leadership responsibilities for partnership. These included school headteachers and principals, assistant heads and senior staff with specific responsibilities for initial teacher education (ITE), and professional tutors. Data was collected from four routes: School Direct, a school-centred initial teacher training (SCITT) route, a local cluster alliance and a conventional PGCE route. However, given that Whiting *et al.* (2018) noted greater variation *within* the different routes than *between* them, attention will be given to the SCITT route in order to draw out some of the main factors that determine partnership arrangements.

This chapter is in three parts. First there is an outline of how notions of partnership have changed with the introduction of a ‘school-led’ system, with reference to the possible ideal-typical partnerships between HEIs and schools that were identified in the earlier MOTE study. Second, we present the findings of a case study of a SCITT in order to identify the characteristics of partnership. Finally we present some conclusions as to what can be said about the different forms of partnership that have emerged within a ‘school-led’ system. We ask the questions, ‘Has this changed our understanding of what partnership means?’ and ‘If so, how?’

### **Changing notions of partnership within a ‘school-led’ system?**

Partnership has always been at the heart of teacher education, the preparation of entrants to the teaching profession being seen as a shared enterprise between HEIs and schools. Since the 1980s there has been a continuous shift in this relationship as a consequence of changes in education policy. To understand fully the nature of the changes introduced since the White Paper *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE: 2010), an essential first step is to articulate the assumptions we hold with respect to the concept of partnership in order to see how these assumptions have changed.

‘Partnership’ is not, by any means, used exclusively to describe the relationships between organizations. ‘Collaboration’, ‘alliance’, ‘network’, ‘confederation’ and ‘association’ are familiar words often used in educational contexts, with little distinction between them. As Connolly and James (2006) point out, ‘collaboration’ and ‘partnership’ are terms that are used

extensively, in varied ways and often interchangeably, within a broad range of educational policies and practice. These policies and practices include, but go beyond, teacher education. Connolly and James (2006) cite Huxham's loose description of 'collaboration' as 'a very positive form of working in association with others for some form of mutual benefit' (Huxham, 1996: 7, cited in Connolly and James, 2006: 71). 'Partnership', on the other hand, 'is frequently used to describe formal, perhaps contractual, inter-organizational arrangements engaged in over a period of time' (Connolly and James, 2006: 71) and is characterized by collaboration, mutual accountability, voluntary commitment and equality in pursuit of shared goals (Connolly and James, 2006: 71, citing Bennett *et al.*, 2004).

While recognizing that the two concepts are complex, ill defined and often used interchangeably, Connolly and James address partnership as a relationship subsumed within the notion of collaboration, where a partnership is defined by formal contractual arrangements. They identify the positive aspects of collaboration as flexible working arrangements – a positive form of working for mutual benefit – and partnership as requiring voluntary commitment and equality in pursuit of shared goals. However, as Alexander pointed out as early as 1984, 'the comfortable language of "partnership" conceals more intractable issues' (Alexander, 1984: 142, cited in Mutton, 2016: 201).

Some of these 'intractable' issues can be traced to the policy changes to teacher education introduced in the 1990s, specifically circulars 9/92 and 14/93, which were designed to shift the balance of power away from higher education in order to promote a more pragmatic form of professional development. As circular 14/93 states, 'Schools should play a much larger and more influential role in course design and delivery, in partnership as appropriate with higher education institutions' (DfE, 1993: 5). This is a clear reminder that partnership arrangements within the specific context of ITE cannot be seen either in terms of 'voluntary commitment' or as being based on principles of equality between the parties. Subsequent government intervention in ITE has promoted this unequal relationship between HEIs and schools, giving the latter much greater power and responsibility in the process of professional formation.

The gradual shift in the relationship between HEIs and schools in relation to the training of teachers was the focus of the two MOTE projects which ran from 1991–92 and then 1993–96 (Furlong *et al.*, 2000). In the early 1990s there was a shift in the notion of the HEI being the 'lead partner' in ITE schemes as new routes were introduced alongside the well-established HE-led undergraduate and the one-year postgraduate routes.

The most significant of these was the school-centred initial teacher training (SCITT), which:

heralded a change in emphasis from ‘active participation’ by teachers to a significant role for schools in not only the provision but also the leadership of ITT. Consortia of schools were encouraged to set up their own programmes through their accreditation as ITT ‘providers’, seeking their own links to HE to provide the academic underpinning, and validation of the ... PGCE.

(Whiting *et al.*, 2018: 71)

The outcomes of the fieldwork undertaken by the MOTE project suggested that by 1995 it was possible to identify three ‘ideal-typical’ models of partnership: an ‘HEI-led partnership’, a ‘collaborative partnership’, and a ‘complementary partnership’. The different partnerships can be represented as being in a continuum with HEI-based schemes, arranged around integration, at one end and SCITT schemes, based on the notion of complementarity, at the other. The shift away from HEI-led partnerships to SCITT-based schemes reflects the growing influence that schools have on initial teacher education. This shift can be seen in Table 4.1.

**Table 4.1:** Summary of the ‘ideal-typical’ partnerships identified in the MOTE project

| HEI-based schemes  | Collaborative  | Complementary   |
|--|--|---|
| HEI determines content.<br>School used as a resource for setting up learning opportunities | HEI determines some content.<br>Teachers perceived as having legitimate body of professional knowledge.<br>HEI and school staff plan and work together | HEI and schools have complementary responsibilities but no systematic attempt made to bring these two dimensions together |
| HEI-led  | Shared leadership  | School-led  |

*Collaborative partnerships* were based on a commitment to develop a training programme in which students are exposed to different forms of educational knowledge, some of which comes from school, some from HE or elsewhere. Teachers are seen as having an equally legitimate but perhaps different body of professional knowledge from those in higher education, and the success of the model relies on teachers and lecturers having opportunities to work together and plan on a regular basis. In an

*HEI-led partnership* the university determined what the trainee teachers would learn, using schools as resources for setting up learning opportunities for students. *Complementary partnerships* positioned schools and the HEI as having complementary responsibilities, but no systematic attempt was made to bring these two dimensions into dialogue. The integration of the two inputs was something that the students themselves would have to achieve. This latter model of partnership was the one put forward in Government circulars 9/92 and 16/93.

The introduction of a ‘school-led’ system has brought about a radical change in the ecology of teacher education, although partnership is still seen as a common characteristic of all the different routes and pathways. This raises questions regarding the extent to which the ‘comfortable language of partnership’ has changed and, if it has, what factors have caused the change. Furthermore, to what extent do the ‘ideal-typical’ models of partnership outlined in the MOTE study apply to the current landscape of teacher education? The next section explores how these changes have impacted upon the nature of partnership, through a case study of a SCITT.

### **The SCITT: a case study**

The SCITT that forms the case study began its provision of this route into teacher education in 2015–16, offering two routes into training: primary (5–11) and secondary (11–19). In November 2017 the partnership consisted of 26 primary schools, 22 secondary schools and eight special schools, situated across several local authorities. The focus of the case study was the partnership arrangements within the secondary route. Semi-structured interviews took place with key personnel with a leadership responsibility in the lead school and in two partnership schools: principals, assistant heads, the directors or leaders of school-based training, professional tutors and mentors (n=10). Transcripts were made of the interviews and a thematic analysis of the data was undertaken. Four themes were explored: (1) the preconditions and determinants of the partnership arrangements, and the perspectives of partnership held by (2) the lead school, (3) the partner schools and (4) the HEI. The narratives of the participants are used to illuminate each theme.

#### ***Preconditions and determinants of partnership arrangements***

The narrative analysis of the data highlighted multiple views of the preconditions and determinants of the partnership arrangements. They can be grouped under three headings: altruism, pragmatism and opportunism. The orientations draw on the interview data; they are outlined below.

The altruistic motive for engaging in teacher education was expressed as a commitment to bring new teachers into the profession. This was stated, in different ways, by nearly all of the respondents within the SCITT, in both the lead schools and the partnership schools. Training new teachers and supporting their entry into the profession were deemed to be of great importance, and to bring with them a high level of job satisfaction. This point was often made by mentors and, given that they often receive minimal remuneration in either money or time to undertake this responsibility, it underlines their altruism. When they were asked what they found enjoyable about the mentor role, one replied:

I think it's seeing how completely terrified the trainees are in September and then being able to have an input into their teaching and then ... by Easter, it's really nice to see that progression, yes, I really like that.

Another said, 'It's something I don't actually want to give up, the perks of the job, one of the things I enjoy.' One professional tutor commented:

When you actually look and think, well, what are we actually doing for our money, it's pocket money [really] ... It's not [well paid] but, yes, it's nice, I really enjoy it. I like seeing the progress of the trainees and I like seeing other departments, I like interacting with departments, so I very much enjoy the job I'm doing, but I don't think any of us are doing it for the money, it's all done for ... giving something back and getting different experiences.

Another professional tutor made this point:

I love the job actually, I love the job. I have been head of maths in a couple of schools, including here, but this is definitely my favourite [job]. I think it is because I like working with people and I want people to do well and, umm, I want people in the profession who are good so I am willing to put in the time and effort.

However, a counterpoint to these altruistic motives is the pragmatic need to address the problem of teacher recruitment. This was particularly the case for those schools in the SCITT partnership that acknowledged that their school was geographically isolated and that this presented challenges when recruiting staff. They also acknowledged that the partnership with teaching schools carried many advantages for them. A specific benefit enjoyed by

their existing staff, many of whom had been at the school for some years, was that they were able to profit from new ideas brought in by the trainees.

The pragmatic need to recruit suitable teachers has led individual schools to be opportunistic and to capitalize on the multiplicity of routes made available by the introduction of a school-led system. All the schools included in the case study were involved in a number of different partnerships. The number of partnerships any individual school was involved with varied from year to year, being determined principally by the availability of suitable mentors in the partner schools or the subject specialisms that the lead school could offer. One professional tutor highlighted the need to attract teachers in shortage subjects:

It depends on who has which type of students. Some places don't have, for example, history, and we have worked with [an HEI] a lot, and that's worked very well with history. We have had a mixture from the SCITT, which is nice, it just depends. To be perfectly honest we favour obviously mathematicians and scientists, especially physicists, only because it is very difficult out there, but also we want them even if they don't stay to do their NQT year and are employed here. We want them to be the best because we know there's a big shortage.

### *Partnership: the lead school's perspective*

The lead school in the SCITT chose to be involved in this particular route as a consequence of its experiences of other pathways within teacher education. The principal of the lead school explained this in the following way:

We became a teaching school and we set up our teaching alliance and then we started doing School Direct ... so the natural progression from that was to set up a SCITT. I absolutely love it and I think it is one of the most exciting things that I do.

The 'natural progression' is the move towards having greater control over the nature and process of teacher education, a point that was explained by the SCITT programme manager:

We felt that we were quite restricted [within] the [School Direct] programme that [the HEI] were doing and we almost felt that there was no distinction between School Direct and the PGCE. ... I think it's really about having a bit more autonomy and a bit more control over what we felt was important for our teachers.

The principal gave further examples of the advantages that, he felt, came with becoming a SCITT, advantages that conferred greater authority, control and power:

We've been able to develop more and more things and I like the idea of teaching schools and alliances and furrowing your own way if you like and not relying on people to do things for you. ... We will be the awarding body and therefore we can take far more control.

The control they feel they gain by becoming a SCITT comes from the ability to determine the knowledge they feel it is important for trainees to have. The programme manager identified this as the ability to respond to perceived gaps in teachers' knowledge:

Being in schools you're very aware of what teachers' areas of development are and what their strengths are ... so if we look historically at our NQTs and our recently qualified teachers you can almost identify the things that are missing and that becoming a SCITT meant that we could fill those gaps, I suppose, and meet our local needs.

The SCITT route places an emphasis on a practical approach to training, an approach that is close to an apprenticeship model. The programme manager explained that the trainees are in school from day one, attending INSET, observing the expectations that are set for new classes and receiving training from practising teachers – 'experts in their field'; 'it's the best route for preparing them for NQT life.'

The governance arrangements established by the lead school provide a further way to have power and control over the SCITT route. The overall assemblage of the SCITT includes the lead school, the partnership schools, a university, a management board and the Operational Board.

The management board is very powerful, very strong voice. We have governors from here, this school is a big part of it obviously because the SCITT is officially part of the school.

Principal of lead school

### *The perspective of the partnership schools*

How is the SCITT perceived by the partnership schools, and how do they view the partnership with the lead school and the HEI? Interviews took place in two of the partnership schools, referred to as Partner School A

(PSA) and Partner School B (PSB). Both similarities and differences in their relationships with the SCITT were found.

Both schools saw the importance of being involved in teacher education as a way of resolving the challenges of recruitment, and both felt that they were geographically out on a limb:

It feels like we're in a black spot for recruitment ... but also a lot of people, even locally, don't know we are here, right, so when we are trying to recruit, people actually don't realize we are in this area.

Assistant head, PSB

However, the benefits of being able to recruit the teachers that the school had trained were not perceived as being equal across the whole of the partnership. A school might expect that if a teacher trained with them they would want to stay, but this was not necessarily so. On more than one occasion they found that 'as soon as we mentioned jobs the lead school scooped them up'. The assistant head (PSA) explained this predicament:

For schools that work with the SCITT, the feeling [is] that they [the lead school] take the best students, and even though the other schools are working with them, they are not getting those people coming through, so in some ways the SCITTs are fine if you're the central school but then I think there's a feeling on the periphery that the talents [are] not being shared around.

This view suggests that within school-led partnerships some schools have greater influence than others when it comes to teacher recruitment.

As we have seen, the SCITT places a great emphasis on practice-based training: having the trainees 'in from day one' is seen as a significant benefit. The partnership with the HEI is 'contracted in' to provide academic input and support for the PGCE assignments. However, some schools see a benefit in having a closer partnership with an HEI, appreciating the contribution university-based teacher educators can offer in the form of engagement with theory and exposure to wider perspectives on educational practice. Consequently, PSA is also taking the 'natural progression' route, following the example of the SCITT lead school by achieving teaching school status. From September 2017 PSA offered a School Direct route.

The assistant head of PSA has been appointed director of the new teaching school; she explained the implications of this development:

We will be moving away from the SCITT because we've obviously got our on students to place. ... We will kind of accommodate them but initially, obviously, our own School Direct students are our main priority.

This decision contributes to the dynamic nature of a school-led system of teacher education and is an example of the significant changes that can occur from year to year. These may include churn in the availability of mentors, which will have implications for the number of placements that can be offered. The progression, or drift, as schools change the route or routes they are involved in also contributes to this instability: the nature of partnership arrangements is that they are in a constant state of flux.

The proliferation of school-based providers has implications for the financial sustainability of some school-led approaches to teacher education, and these contribute to a level of instability that providers are unable to control. The SCITT programme manager described the challenges:

There are so many changes going around here with [schools forming] multi-academy trusts. The ability to offer placements is trainee-dependent. ... Organizing placements, if you've ever had anything to do with it, is hugely challenging. Yes, hugely challenging. It's not my favourite job.

I think, as you said, the landscape changes as well. We have schools who have historically always worked in the SCITT, and then they've gone and joined a sort of federation and therefore moved to other SCITTs in theory, so there's often changes like that and that can be quite challenging.

The consequence of this increase in school-led providers is that the supply of potential placements exceeds the demand from applicants wanting to enter the teaching profession:

I think the biggest challenge really in terms of placements and things is that it's being saturated by so many people being awarded teaching school [status], SCITTs, etc. It seems slightly insane, to be honest. But it would make more sense that you kind of merge and become a slightly bigger SCITT ... but it's issues of viability. ... It's just saturating the markets and it's very difficult ... for them to be financially viable. I think eventually somebody needs to have the big picture and really think about if you want all these SCITTs to survive, especially with obviously reduced

*Nick Sorensen*

numbers of teachers and all the rest. ... It's kind of getting quite difficult, isn't it?

The financial viability of engagement in teacher education was a key issue for schools that face the challenge of continuing to train teachers at a time when fewer people are entering the profession.

### *Partnership with the HEI*

As is to be expected, the SCITT route into teacher education has a minimal relationship with the HEI. The earlier MOTE study characterized this relationship as a partnership in which schools and HEIs have *complementary* responsibilities but in which there is no systematic attempt to bring these two dimensions into dialogue. Bearing in mind that the MOTE taxonomy of partnerships was 'ideal-typical' in nature, to what extent does the SCITT in our case study fit this description? The provision from the HEI for the PGCE master's-level assignments is organized on a contractual basis, with the academic tutor from the HEI coming to the SCITT training centre to lead the sessions. Although the beginner teachers on this route were able to access the PGCE element of the training they did not visit the university site.

While the partnership arrangements do appear to reflect the ideal-typical characteristics of complementarity, there was evidence that there needed to be a closer relationship between the two forms of provision. A senior staff member stated that this particular SCITT 'might not have the same focus as some more academic SCITTs'. However, it was acknowledged that the PGCE assignments needed to be related to the practical experience of the trainees. The SCITT programme manager commented:

I think that there is still some disconnect and that's something that we need to work [on] alongside the university. ... This kind of feels, here, quite separate. ... I think, potentially, that assignments maybe should be sort of more connected with the stuff that would benefit them.

The PGCE component of the course was acknowledged to be valuable by respondents across all levels of leadership within the SCITT:

From a partnership point of view, I think, as the headteachers in our schools, they would consider the PGCE to be the gold standard.

(SCITT programme manager)

I suppose having a PGCE accreditation or PGCE qualification gives it [the SCITT route] the same gravitas as doing it the traditional way.

(SCITT mentor PSB)

However, it was also noted that for some trainees the PGCE was not appropriate, and there was no pressure on them to complete this part of the training. When the principal of the SCITT was asked if he felt that the training could be offered without the PGCE he replied: ‘We could, yes, yes, and the odd one does. I’d rather not. I think it’s good for them to have to do it.’ The benefits of the PGCE, it was felt, were that it provided a way to ‘test them academically. ... [It] pushes their knowledge and makes them understand the theory’.

For some partners a balance between the HEI and the schools is not fully achieved by the SCITT route:

I think the PGCE, I think getting the balance right – it’s the right way to do [it], but I don’t necessarily think SCITT is the right way to go about it. I think a balance between what the university can offer and what a school can offer is a perfect partnership.

(Assistant principal, PSA)

## Conclusions

What conclusions can be drawn about the different forms of partnerships that have emerged within a ‘school-led’ system, and how, if at all, do they change our understanding of what partnership means? One of the main findings from this case study of the SCITT route was that there was continual and complex change within the system at every level. This is the consequence of the pressing challenge to recruit sufficient teachers, the proliferation of pathways and the changing dynamics within partnership arrangements as schools respond to the opportunity to have greater control over initial teacher education. The characteristics of partnership outlined by Connolly and James (2006) – premised on positive forms of working for mutual benefit and partnership, and requiring voluntary commitment and equality in pursuit of shared goals – are difficult to find. As they point out, ‘The tensions inherent in effective collaboration are further complicated in education given the apparent paradox in education that schools are expected both to compete in the “education market place” and to collaborate’ (p. 75). Whiting *et al.* (2018: 89) point out that the change in the flow of the funding of initial teacher education from providers to individual schools

has generated a market-style model ‘in which not only the individuals who seek QTS, but also individual schools, are the customer’. They argue that this contributes to a ‘schools-led’ rather than a ‘school-led’ approach.

A further important finding from our research is that teacher education has become an area in which these tensions are explicitly manifest, and that this is due to a number of factors. Connolly and James’s perspective of partnership is appropriate to the case study of the SCITT in the sense that it is characterized by ‘formal, ... contractual inter-organizational arrangements’ (p. 71). However, it is idealistic to hold on to notions of ‘mutual accountability, voluntary commitment and equality in pursuit of shared goals’ (ibid.). The empirical research that we have undertaken suggests that partnership arrangements, within the specific context of a school-led system of teacher education, operate in a state that is far from being based on benign, neutral and egalitarian principles. They also represent a significant shift from the ‘ideal-typical’ partnership arrangements outlined by the MOTE study.

The empirical fieldwork undertaken by the Diversity in Teacher Education (DiTE) research programme suggests that the continuum articulated in the MOTE project showing the ideal-typical models of partnership between HEIs and schools (Furlong *et al.*, 2000: 77) is no longer sufficiently comprehensive to deal with the range of partnerships that exists within a school-led system. The HEI-based schemes no longer exist: they disappeared following the introduction of Government circulars 9/92 and 16/93. However, at the other end of the continuum there are new possibilities for gaining QTS on salaried routes that involve no formal input from HEIs. Furthermore, academies and free schools have the power to employ unqualified teachers. The School Direct route has also been introduced. The range of partnerships post 2010 is shown in table 4.2.

**Table 4.2:** Range of partnerships post-2010

| HEI-based schemes | HEI-led partnerships | Teaching school, School Direct | SCITT unsalaried | Salaried and QTS only    | Unqualified teachers in academies and free schools |
|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Discontinued      | Collaborative        | Collaborative                  | Complementary    | No formal input from HEI | No formal input from HEI                           |

The view of partnership that emerges from this empirical research is of a fluid set of arrangements driven partly by altruism, partly by pragmatism and partly by opportunism, according to the needs and contexts of specific schools and/or universities. In a fragmented education system, in which some schools have greater power and status than others, we cannot hold on

to notions of ‘equal partnership’. This leads us to understand partnership, within a school-led (or perhaps more accurately a schools-led) system of teacher education, as comprising fluid and negotiated arrangements between schools and HEIs in which each institution aims to protect its interests and secure an advantageous position within a complex and continually changing system. In any single institution (and this applies to schools and HEIs equally) there will be multiple partners, all of which may be subject to different contractual and financial arrangements. Conclusions about partnership in the context of teacher education need to take into account that partnership is a paradoxical arrangement, in which collaborative and competitive interests are in dynamic conflict. An account of partnership arrangements therefore needs to explain how these tensions are played out. Our research has identified five main factors, which are outlined below.

### *Policy*

The drive towards partnership in teacher education since 1992 has been led by a government policy designed to reduce the influence of the HEIs and increase that of schools. Since 2010 the intention has been to reduce the role of HEIs further through the introduction of a ‘school-led’ system that offers multiple pathways into teaching, which has led to fragmented provision subject to constant change and flux.

### *Fragmentation and stratification*

It was also clear from our findings that the changes now occurring in the field of teacher education bring about an ongoing fragmentation of the system. This is manifest in an emerging hierarchy of schools in which the position of an individual school depends on the degree of power and control it has over the education of teachers. Clearly, some schools are not engaged, or are only minimally engaged, in any teaching partnership arrangements, and so these schools did not feature in our research. However, in the schools we did engage with, there was a perception of clear differences in status. This was most apparent in the view that the lead school was in a position to ‘pick the best students’ and consequently to appoint them if it wished to. The marketization and atomization of teacher education could be seen as encouraging what Whitty *et al.* (2016) describe as ‘a system of small systems’.

### *‘Natural progression’*

The relationship between the different routes suggests a ‘natural progression’: as schools gain experience and expertise in teacher education they ‘progress’ from one route to another in order to exercise greater control over the

knowledge and content of teacher education. That was evident from this case study of the SCITT, in the experience of both the lead school and a partner school. Our research found another example of this in the case study of a School Direct route that was based around an alliance of schools. The principal of one of the schools explained that the alliance had originally been ‘sort of a branch of [another] teaching school arrangement, but we are about to go solo’. This school had previously been involved in a range of teacher education partnerships, and had many years of experience of conventional PGCE routes, working with at least three different universities. This broad experience enabled this school, and presumably the other schools in the alliance, to make informed comparisons of the different pathways, and this intelligence informs their decision-making.

### ***Recruitment***

The main determinant of involvement in ITT is the challenge of teacher recruitment. The principal of one school acknowledged that their response to this challenge was to want to ‘take our destiny in our own hands’. This means that the alliance is in a position to select the best recruits, especially in shortage subjects, and to feel that the schools have already invested in those teachers through the teacher education process.

You could call it opportunism, but you know we have good teachers coming through School Direct, and we kind of do have first dibs in terms of being able to recruit them. And I think that was the main reason, to be honest.

(The principal)

### **DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ROUTES**

Given the complex nature of partnership, it appears that many of the differences between the routes into teacher education are minimal. This is possibly brought about by the fact that one school may be involved in several routes, and be more concerned with focusing on its cohort of beginner teachers generally than with adapting its approach to the route they are on. Furthermore, there appears to be an acknowledgement of the value of the university as a partner for giving credibility and academic status to teacher education.

Partnership, while being an element that all pathways to teacher education share, is continually becoming more complex as individual organizations respond to the tensions between collaboration and competition within a fragmenting system. The marketization of teacher education can

only exacerbate this situation and confirm England's continued position as an outlier in its approach to the education of the teaching profession.

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# Reclaiming teacher education: A conversational journey of realization, innovation and determination through imposed national policies

*Pat Black and Nick Sorensen*

## Introduction

Teacher education has always been subject to political and economic policy changes that reflect local, national and global agendas. These policies result in changes to the training and education of pre-service and in-service teachers, as well as changes to the environments in which they play out their professional roles and responsibilities. In England the 2010 and 2016 White Papers and the 2011 Implementation Plan are key policy documents that heralded radical change to all aspects of education in England, including initial teacher education (ITE).

Some of the political and economic factors that have influenced policy can be seen as a consequence of neo-liberalism having become the dominant ideology across the developed world. As Menter *et al.* (2006) suggest, the marketization of education and other social provision is a means through which the broadly capitalist economic system is being maintained. Alexander (2012) suggests that, when faced with a perceived national or international crisis, politicians can respond as if to a ‘moral panic’, and as a result new policies attain the status of ‘miracle cures’ that will lessen or remove the offending ‘problems’.

The impact of policy changes on the provision and practices of one ITE provider, Bath Spa University (BSU), are explored in this chapter in the form of a conversation between the Institute for Education’s (IfE) assistant dean, Nick Sorensen, and the head of teacher education, Pat Black, on 24 January 2018. The contemporary state of teacher education is viewed within the historical context of teacher education at Bath Spa University.

The vision and values established by Mary Dawson, who pioneered teacher training at Newton Park Training College (now incorporated as the Institute for Education at Bath Spa University) in the 1940s, are seen to be as relevant in today's policy context as they were when teacher training first started in Bath at Newton Park.

*Nick Sorensen (NS): Over the past 20 years there has been an acceleration in the marketization of education. What are your views on this?*

**Pat Black (PB):** I think we have to take a step back and look at the national and international context in which the marketization of education in England has taken place. Education is always subject to political and economic change, and national and global factors influence political and economic decisions, and directions that governments take. The government of the day establishes policies, including those relating to pre-service teacher training, and providers of initial teacher education, such as Bath Spa University, have to respond to these.

Neo-liberalism is currently the dominant ideology across the developed world, and this has resulted in the marketization of education and other social provisions such as health and social services. A key aspect of neo-liberalism is that it transfers the control of economic responsibility from the public sector into the private sector, so that society and all aspects of society, including education, start to be shaped by a free-market agenda of competition and consumer choice.

From the coalition government in 2010 to the present day, politicians shaping education policy have advanced the 'free market' in education. As a result, organizations that were once publicly funded, such as schools, are now being transferred to private companies, for example, academies, free schools and multi-academy trusts. Marketization is also impacting on health and welfare, as well as education. Look at the recent changes to the National Health Service and the benefit system, moving public provision to trusts and private companies. This is what we are now experiencing in education. In relation to pre-service teacher training this has resulted in the proliferation of ITE providers, which we have been analysing through our DiTE research.

Looking back to the 1944 Education Act, when teacher training was first established at Newton Park, the dominant economic policy was Keynesian. This model encouraged government to intervene in the economy with state funding used to build schools, hospitals, housing, roads, etc., and to train teachers. In contrast to this the 2010 White Paper can be seen as a policy driven by free-market thinking and marketization.

To summarize, I think we need to understand how the economic and political policies that are influencing the marketization of education are impacting on how trainee teachers are trained, as well as the environments in which, as teachers, they will carry out their professional responsibilities. Neo-liberalism requires the creation of markets, and markets in education are now being developed.

*NS: What has been the impact of government education policies for teacher training since 2010?*

**PB:** Key policy documents are the 2010 White Paper, *The Importance of Teaching* [DfE, 2010], and the subsequent implementation plan, *Training Our Next Generation of Outstanding Teachers* [DfE, 2011], both of which have very positive titles in relation to the teaching profession. These brought about radical changes to the provision and practices of teacher education. There was an increase in the number of routes into teaching and a staggering increase in providers of teacher education and, initially, confusion all round for applicants, schools and providers.

For applicants, this brought about confusion, with terminology such as school-led, university-led, salaried and training, lead providers and training schools. For schools, there was confusion around who the provider was, what was the training they were offering and who was paying for it. For providers such as BSU, new partnerships and contracts were negotiated and developed, and clarity around compliance regulations regarding entry, training and management had to be firmly established. Funding replaced training as the main focus for negotiation, with differences in what was on offer and what would it cost being high on the agenda, rather than entitlement and experience of the trainees.

*NS: But why do you think there has been so much change to teacher training? Were we underperforming in teacher training? Were we producing poor-quality teachers?*

**PB:** The predominant narrative has been all about failure and problems that need to be fixed. The policy documents from 2010 certainly talk about the aim of developing a world-class system to compete in global markets, and the necessity to address the underperformance of our children and young people in our schools.

The then Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove, certainly espoused the belief that HEI teacher training providers were partly to blame for the perceived failures in the education system. In his 'enemies of promise' speech to headteachers, he directly blamed failure of children's performance

and test results in schools on how teachers were trained in universities. His solution was to create a 'school-led' system of teacher training, which is very clear in the 2011 implementation plan, where the term 'school-led' is introduced. Routes such as School Direct, salaried and training, were heralded as the solution to teacher training problems and to improving the test results of children and young people.

The term 'school-led' suggested that an HEI provider trained teachers without including schools, but we have always successfully trained teachers in partnership with our schools, especially since the 1990s. Our schools have been influential in creating, managing and evaluating our programmes and have been key to our success as a provider, which is recognized in our outstanding grade in BSU's 2015–16 Ofsted report. In working with schools, we consistently monitor and assess the quality of the trainees we train, including the impact they have on children and young people's learning. The training offered by our partnerships results in high-quality teachers who are employed in schools locally, regionally, nationally and internationally.

All university ITT providers work in partnership with schools. We cannot train teachers without schools – we have always been a 'schools-led' provision. What Mr Gove was initiating was the 'allocation' of training places being transferred from HEIs to school-accredited partners such as SCITTs, and School Direct providers. At the same time as Gove's speech, the House of Commons Education Committee took a very different view of the quality of new teachers and recognized that the strong partnership between schools and universities resulted in high-quality initial teacher education.

*NS: How radical were the changes proposed in The Importance of Teaching?*

**PB:** Very radical, and they had a lasting impact. To bring about such change, existing structures had to be dismantled, and new structures and agents introduced. For instance, under the 1944 Education Act, local education authorities [LEAs] held the responsibility to deliver an education system on behalf of the state. Education was part of the wider settlement of the welfare state, which was to build a country 'fit for heroes' following World War II. Responsibility and funding, through taxation, for the new education system, was directed from central government to LEAs under the 1944 Act, and LEAs were responsible for education within their regional authorities. The 1944 Education Act gave local authorities the power to establish and maintain primary and secondary schools.

What we are experiencing now is responsibility and funding being directed away from local authorities and directed towards academies, free schools, multi-academy trusts [MATs] and teaching school alliances [TSAs]. Overseeing these changes are the Secretary of State for Education, the National Schools Commissioner [NSC] and the regional schools commissioners [RSCs]. This is the new structure, a school-led system, and new agents, as directed through the 2010 and 2016 White Papers.

*NS: Do you think that headteachers and school governing bodies were fully aware of the impact of these structural and agential changes?*

**PB:** No, not all of them. I think it came as a surprise to many of them, including the headteachers of schools that became academies. The local authorities were blamed for not supporting schools, but the connection between the dismantling of funding streams away from the old structure, the LEA, and directing them towards the new structures of MATs and TSAs has not always been made by headteachers.

There are many changes in the agents operating within the new structures too. Up to 2010, LEA Advisors and Advanced Skills Teachers [ASTs] supported and offered training to in-service teachers, which was negotiated across schools. Schools can still buy in-service training from LAs through new ‘traded services’. Alternatively, training for in-service teachers can now be bought through the network of TSAs and MATs, and delivered by specialist and national leaders in education [SLEs, NLEs], or from the many new private training organizations that have emerged in this new environment. In the new marketplace of education, the consumer, i.e. the school leaders, can purchase their choice of training from a range of providers.

*NS: Are we moving towards a craft-based, apprenticeship-style of training?*

**PB:** That appeared to be the message from government with regard to the education policies at the time. The 2011 implementation plan included aspects that reflected this: a move to a school-led system of ITT, new Teachers’ Standards, the abolition of the General Teaching Council for England [GTCE, the teaching professional body in England], an expansion of Teach First, and the introduction of a Troops to Teachers programme.

ITT programmes had to be designed for trainees to spend at least 120 days or 24 weeks of training in schools. It could be argued that with these new programmes and the increased amount of training time within the classroom, teaching was being defined as a craft that was to be learned

in school. Mr Gove, at the time, made direct reference to trainee teachers learning at the foot of a master craftsman.

*NS: But surely you would agree that teaching skills do have to be learned in the classroom?*

**PB:** Yes, absolutely, I do agree, hence our long-established partnerships, spanning 70 years, with schools. But teaching is so much more than a craft, and these were changes that were happening in England, not in other parts of the UK. The Donaldson review of teacher training in Scotland [Donaldson, 2011] for example, took a very different approach. Donaldson acknowledged that classroom skills have to be mastered by trainee teachers, but strongly promoted teaching as a complex activity that required more than learned skills. Donaldson recommended strong links between providers and schools – the integration of theory and practice. His vision of a teacher was more than just being a skilled apprentice, he saw them as being a reflective, accomplished and enquiring professional.

I do not underestimate the necessity for the mastery of classroom and craft skills, as this is an essential aspect of teaching. As a teacher you need to know how to plan for learning, how to teach and engage children, how to assess their learning and ensure they're making good progress, how to manage behaviour, etc. You also need to understand the everyday challenges such as: why is the child behaving in this way? why are some children not learning? how do I support them in their conceptual understanding? There are also factors such as new school policies and practices – for example the introduction of a new maths programme – and how these may be impacting on learning. You also need to take into consideration and overcome possible issues in relation to family, society, religion and culture, disability. There are so many factors that may present as a barrier to learning and impact on practice in the classroom.

*NS: And what impact do you think the 2016 White Paper had on teacher training?*

**PB:** *Education Excellence Everywhere* [DfE, 2016] embedded the structural and agential changes, firmly moving away from the old system of LA organization. I believe that this policy document is a clear instruction to academies and schools to organize themselves into MAT governance structures, as well as to have pre- and in-service teacher training and support through SCITTs and TSAs. The language of this policy document moves from 'autonomy' to 'supported autonomy' and from 'school-led' to 'systems-led'.

## *Pat Black and Nick Sorensen*

There is a focus on teacher training in this White Paper. The proportion of teacher training allocation is to be increased for ‘the best schools’, but there is also recognition that ‘the best HEIs’ will also deliver training. ITT content is still to have a craft focus, but there is an acknowledgement of the importance of ‘evidence-based research’ as a necessary part of teacher training.

*NS: In what ways have your responses to recent policy regarding teacher training been informed by Mary Dawson’s vision for teacher education?*

**PB:** A key principle is our ongoing commitment to training high-quality teachers. The values we have today are rooted in our past, and drive us towards an optimistic future and our response to policy. It’s astounding to review the vision from our 1940s archives and see the response to the then policies and note how closely it mirrors our present-day vision for the future of education and teacher training.

Mary Dawson describes the teachers needed for a successful new education system for the twentieth century as being open-minded, engaged in critical thinking. She also talks about being secure and confident, having the courage to make and learn from mistakes, being creative, and most of all how they will affect children’s futures. This is so similar to the vision of teachers we have for today and how they will respond to the challenges of this new system of education as well as wider global challenges of the twenty-first century. She talks about training as ‘cultivating attitudes of minds’ and of ‘stimulating, not inhibiting creativity’, so that her teachers would embody these dispositions and model them in the classroom.

We too believe that our trainee teachers are creative and adventurous, passionate and committed, but that they also understand their wider responsibilities to families and communities and that they support children to understanding and respecting diversity, social cohesion, democracy and the environment. Teachers do so much more than impart knowledge to children and then test to see if they have remembered it.

*NS: Have other national and international models of teacher training influenced your response to recent policies?*

**PB:** We also look to other systems of education in the UK and beyond to explore their perspectives and drivers and to evaluate and inform our thinking and practice in training teachers. England appears to be an outlier in recent years with policies that reflect a very different view of the teacher.

For example, in the UK, the General Teaching Council for Northern Ireland [GTCNI] describes teachers as ‘not only educators but also as

moral agents'. To be this the GTCNI suggests that teachers must adopt a reflective and activist approach [to] their responsibilities as a professional. In Scotland, Donaldson [2011] describes teachers as agents of change rather [than] passive recipients of imposed prescriptions. He describes twenty-first-century teachers as professionals who can apply learned approaches as well as evaluating the impact they have on children's learning. More recently in Wales there is the view that high-quality teachers need to understand the 'why' and 'how' of teaching as well as the 'what' (Furlong, 2015).

Finland is always held up as a model of good practice in education, by both educationalist and politicians. The National Education Agency in Finland describes teachers as having pedagogical autonomy, and that they must decide on the methods, textbooks and materials they use in their teaching [Paronen and Lappi, 2018]. It is our belief that our clear and secure vision of teaching and teacher education allows us to work within policy and to question and help shape it for the future.

*NS: Looking forward, how do you prepare teachers for the profession?*

**PB:** We start with their entitlement to be both trained and educated. They are on a professional journey to become a professional teacher, which will be recognized through meeting the QTS standards for England at the end of their training programme. The teaching standards define the minimum level of practice expected of trainees and teachers from the point of being awarded QTS. They will require further training and support as they progress in their journey as a new professional.

The programme expectations are that trainees reflect on their thinking and practice in relation to their development as a teacher and on the impact they have on children's learning. We ask them to evaluate and reflect on their practice in the classroom in relation to theories of learning and pedagogy they have researched through their academic study, thus embedding their teaching in theory and research.

We are committed to teaching being a master's profession, so during their training year they are also undertaking a PGCE, through which they will be awarded 60 level-7 credits towards their master's. We do all of this in partnership with our schools and settings. Partnership is, and has always been, central to our training of teachers.

*NS: What changes in partnership arrangements have you noticed?*

**PB:** Going back to the early days of training at Newton Park with Miss Dawson, partnership with schools has always been a key element of training. However, we continually adapt our relationship with schools in the light of

policy changes. Following our last inspection in 2015, Ofsted recognized that our partnerships move with the changing landscape of initial teacher education. As an outstanding provider of teacher training, our grade and practice reflects that we have strong partnerships with schools.

Since 2010, our partnerships have expanded beyond that of partnerships with individual schools to partnership contracts with organizations, such as the Teach First charity and the Troops to Teachers university consortium, of which we were one, to clusters of schools, School Direct lead schools and SCITT providers. Each partnership contract has to reflect and clarify the roles and responsibilities of each partner and to hold them accountable for high-quality training.

You might suggest that we embraced marketization through responding to the new direction of policy and that we did this through becoming involved with the new opportunities and routes in teacher training.

*NS: One key characteristic of all the different routes into teaching is partnership. Can you tell me more about how you go about establishing partnerships?*

**PB:** The 2011 implementation plan set out the direction of policy for providers of teacher training, and opportunities for different kinds of partnership became apparent. We wanted to be involved in shaping the new teacher training routes, so we immediately started to investigate how to go about this. We knew that dialogue and respectful negotiations would be central to the success of new partnerships. Our focus would be developing a community of teacher trainers through acting with and not acting on partners. We also knew that we would learn from our new partners and new programmes and that in turn our own teacher training provision would develop and improve as a result.

We talked to trusted colleagues about submitting partnership bids for Teach First [TF] and Troops to Teachers [TtT]. The 2011 policy document stated that there was to be an expansion of the TF programme to the South West, and the introduction of a TtT route to teaching for ex-service personnel in England.

TF was already a well-respected route into teaching, placing top graduates as teachers, on a salaried training route, in the most challenging schools and deprived areas of the country. We worked closely with the University of Bristol [UoB] and submitted a successful bid proposal to bring TF to the South West (TF SW), with the UoB focusing on training secondary participants and BSU focusing on training primary participants.

This successful partnership was graded outstanding by Ofsted in 2015, although subsequently UoB declined from bidding for the new TF PGDE/QTS programme in 2017, due to an internal university policy decision. BSU is now the lead HEI provider for TF SW and is supporting Cardiff Metropolitan University in establishing TF Cymru in Wales.

With TtT, we formed a consortium of seven universities with the University of Brighton as the lead HEI in submitting a successful bid for this contract. This was a new, salaried, undergraduate BA/QTS, BSc/QTS route for those leaving the services and returning to civil life. This route was closely associated, in Mr Gove's eyes, with restoring discipline in challenging schools, and was not initially welcomed by the teaching profession. However, the highly professional and disciplined trainees were soon recognized by the HEIs and schools involved in their training.

There was also an expansion of school-centred initial teacher training [SCITT] and the introduction of School Direct [SD] salaried and training routes, and we developed new partnerships within these provisions too. SCITTs partnered with us to deliver the academic award of PGCE only, whilst they delivered the training for QTS. As stated previously, discussions with some new partners began to focus on funding and bargaining, rather than on quality of training. We recognized that we were now firmly involved in a market of education and provision and that money needed to be agreed, but we also wanted to ensure the quality of training and experience for the trainee remained central to discussions.

*NS: Did this present you with challenges?*

**PB:** Yes, in a minority of partnerships. Although the TF and TtT partnerships were new to us and involved many new ways of delivery, the values and practices were so closely aligned with ours that the partnerships worked well from the beginning.

The partnerships with the vast majority of SC partners set up in those early days still continue today. However, with a very small minority of SD partners, numerous negotiations took place to resolve dilemmas regarding entitlement to training and mentoring. Where the practices within these partnerships became unacceptable dilemmas that could not be resolved, the partnership was discontinued at the first end-of-year review.

*NS: A characteristic of partnership arrangements that we discovered when undertaking fieldwork for the DiTE programme was that an individual school might have multiple partners and collaborative arrangements. Is this something new?*

**PB:** Schools have always taken trainees from different HEI providers. We believe that it is good for trainees from BSU to meet trainees from other providers as this can promote discussion around professional expectations and what it means to be a professional teacher. All trainees have to meet the same set of Teachers' Standards for QTS and they are also likely to be undertaking a PGCE academic award too, so it is good to engage in professional dialogue around both theory and practice.

Some schools find it easier to work with only one HEI provider and some do not work with any. In Scotland, for example, an individual teacher has a contractual responsibility to train new teachers and in Northern Ireland it is a teacher's moral responsibility to train those entering the profession, whereas in England it would appear to be a matter of a teacher's and school's choice.

*NS: To what extent do you think we are seeing evidence of 'branded professionalism'?*

**PB:** Prior to 2010, and in collaboration with partnership headteachers, we had started to think about what were the distinctive qualities of teacher trainees from Bath Spa University and our partnership of schools. We asked, was there a recognizable 'Bath Spa Teacher'? One distinctive feature was that our partnership colleagues have always been fully involved in the recruitment, training and assessment of our trainees. Through this, we had developed a shared understanding of what it means to be a professional teacher and, therefore, what training should be undertaken.

We want trainees to recognize that they are on a professional journey from day one of their teacher education programme. We want all those involved in their training to recognize them as fellow professionals, albeit with limited knowledge and skills. We have also been developing new training models such as 'cluster' training, where schools working together took a number of Bath Spa trainees to be trained across their group of schools.

The Bath Spa Teacher (BST) became our partnership brand. We contend that it embodies roles and responsibilities, as well as expectations and assurances, from all involved with training with the IfE, as well as the characteristics and practices of the BST. It is a trusted and well-respected brand and one that is immediately associated with quality.

*NS: Do you think that we will see other forms of branded professionalism? A SCITT brand or a School Direct brand for example?*

**PB:** I firmly believe that the different routes attract applicants who are attracted to the values and practices of particular programmes. For example, Teach First promotes a very strong message that ‘no child will be left behind’ and shows a commitment to the belief that teachers make a difference to the life chances of children in deprived socio-economic circumstances. The Troops to Teachers scheme was designed specifically for service leavers and drew on their disciplined lifestyles and commitment to public service as having a positive impact in schools. School Direct and SCITTs allow applicants to select training associated with particular lead and participating schools.

I believe that different routes have particular differences in some aspects of training. Teach First is a two-year, salaried, leadership programme that includes an intensive summer school, call-back conference days and a Postgraduate Diploma of Education. The Troops to Teachers programme, another salaried route, is a two-year undergraduate degree programme. It has online webinar training one day each week, and several intensive training days across England. So the nature of the route trainees have selected is very likely to impact on some kind of professional brand. Brand is an essential part of identifying a product in a marketplace, and after 2010 providers were asked to place their product in a shop window of training. If we are in an era of marketization of education then brand will be part of teacher training. However, the brand must be one of high-quality training and professionalism that will impact positively on children’s learning and progress as well as their futures and lives.

*NS: We are currently facing a crisis in both the recruitment and retention of teachers. How are you addressing these challenges?*

**PB:** With regards to recruitment, when we talk to potential applicants about why they want to be teachers their overwhelming responses are that they want to make a difference, to shape the future, to give something back, to work with children, they have a love of their subject or a particular age phase, they have had an inspiring teacher themselves. They have made a decision to shape the citizens of the future. However, they are very confused about the many routes into teaching and what this will mean to their training experience. I am chair of the primary forum of the Universities Council for the Education of Teachers [UCET]. UCET has strongly suggested to government that routes into teaching can be simplified and clarified as three routes – undergraduate, PGCE and salaried. This would help applicants researching routes into teaching, schools and all providers to market and define the training they are offering and may also address recruitment.

With regards to retention, once we attract high-quality applicants to the profession we need to offer them ongoing support and training opportunities, including achieving academic qualifications through opportunities to reflect on and research their practice. The Institute for Education [IfE] at Bath Spa aims to offer a professional education community that can nurture co-operation rather than competition throughout a teacher's professional career, from pre-service training to retirement.

I think there is currently a disruption in the social and psychological contract that brings people into the profession. This is made up of a few factors: the disruption caused by policies such as the massive changes to the restructuring of education, economic issues such as fees and unpredictable changes to bursaries, the predominantly negative narrative surrounding problems in schools and schooling as well as teachers' pay and conditions. Much of this has been caused by the marketization of education and ongoing and radical policies.

Our policy makers should perhaps heed the words of the OECD report in 2013 instead of obsessing on the league tables. It states that countries need to offer potential teachers a well-respected profession and a more attractive career, which includes both financial and intellectual rewards.

*NS: To what extent has the DiTE research programme had an impact on how you go about preparing teachers to join the profession?*

**PB:** Researching your own practice and that of others allows you to step back and reflect and review provision as well as gaining an understanding of the wider landscape of education. Just as we want teachers to be open-minded, reflective, analytical, we as providers of ITT also need to be the same. We have learned from the TF and TtT programmes and have adapted our practices, such as the importance of a clear vision and explicit expectations of training, support and assessment. From our research and working with school clusters, SD lead schools and SCITT partners, we have learned the necessity of clarity of roles and responsibilities and the ongoing need for good communication. It is a privilege to be part of an academic profession that undertakes research of that profession.

*NS: What direction do you see teacher education policy taking us in the next few years?*

**PB:** I am very certain that political and economic policies will continue to impact on teacher training and education in general. What is less certain is the direction of travel and the detail of the many policies and resulting changes that may take place along that journey. The Labour Party are

planning a National Education Service [NES], so what might that be and how will changes manifest in regards to teacher education?

We can clearly see the development of policy from the coalition government's 2010 White Paper to the Conservative government's 2016 White Paper. The focus has developed from autonomy and school-led to supported autonomy and systems-led education. We are currently seeing the emergence of new policies relating to the apprenticeship levy and apprenticeship routes into teaching, and with the strengthening of QTS.

How will future policies address new regional, national and international challenges? And what about Brexit? Will this impact positively or negatively on education and the teaching profession? I have no doubt that whatever comes our way, we will respond appropriately to it.

*NS: Thank you so much. Have you a final comment you would like to make?*

**PB:** My final message would be to potential applicants to the profession. Teaching is a fantastic profession. As a teacher, you will make a difference to children's learning and their lives. As teachers, we have a moral responsibility to promote respect, justice and equity. I believe that investing in teachers can transform education as well as the quality of life we experience as citizens.

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# Embracing complexity: Understanding the experiences of university- based teacher educators in England

*Martine Duggan and Linda la Velle*

## Introduction

This chapter acknowledges the raft of tensions, complexities and constraints faced by university-based teacher educators trying to balance the challenges of working within an increasingly competitive initial teacher education (ITE) arena with their identity as higher education academics. Using complexity theory as an analytical frame, we challenge the perspective that university-based teacher educators face an uncertain future by presenting a more optimistic narrative for this professional group. Drawing on research into the lived experiences of university-based teacher educators, we argue that the imperative to respond competitively and creatively to a constantly changing ITE landscape can give rise to conditions for rich professional and organizational learning, the nature of which not only disrupts stagnation and complacency but also facilitates innovations in creative thinking and practice. The chapter highlights the unique contribution that universities can make to teacher education through working in partnership with schools. We report on the findings of a study of the experiences of a sample of 15 teacher educators based in three different English universities. New data is presented that encapsulates individual and institutional responses to the challenge of educating new teachers in the current complex and challenging ITE climate.

## Contextual background

### *Accountability for teacher educators*

Developments in teacher education over the past 30 years have demanded that teacher educators in higher education institutions (HEIs) work in partnership with schools. As Whiting has described in chapter 3, policy direction since 2010 (DfE, 2010) has provided schools with greater autonomy and control over teacher education. The proliferation of routes into teaching has resulted in a complex and dynamic landscape.

The autonomy granted to schools and headteachers was balanced by accountability measures, and it is the case that all ITE providers are subject to frequent periodic inspection by the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted, 2018). Furthermore, for those academics in a typical university department of education who are providers of ITE there are additional, centrally imposed accountability measures. These include an approximately 5–6-yearly assessment of research quality through the Research Excellence Framework (REF), the newly inaugurated assessment of institutional teaching quality the Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF), and a potential third measure, the Knowledge Exchange Framework (KEF), which may assess a university's intellectual property income per research resource and the number of successful spin-off companies.

The outcome of the REF provides accountability for public investment in research and, crucially for English universities, determines the amount of income to the institution from Research England, the council inaugurated in 2018 to oversee research and knowledge exchange in English universities. In England, each university makes a submission to Research England consisting of a 'return' from academic subject units of assessment to demonstrate their research records. What this typically means for a member of the academic staff is that, within the assessment cycle, they must publish a number of research articles and book chapters (or other outputs) at an international level of excellence. Education as an academic discipline is an REF unit of assessment, and for university departments of education that also provide ITE, as acknowledged by Murray, McNamara and Jones (2014), the REF represents another significant challenge for staff. In the most recent (at the time of writing) exercise, REF 2014, a clear divide between ITE and non-ITE staff was identified in the education unit of assessment. The chair of the education REF sub-panel, Professor Andrew Pollard, said:

The activity required to compete successfully in social scientific terms is, in my opinion, becoming increasingly distinct from the activity required to flourish in the rapidly changing fields of teacher education. The pressure which this puts on staff working in Education is sometimes extremely acute.

(Pollard, 2014)

As university academics, teacher educators are expected to be ‘research-active’, engaging in the endeavour that marks the higher education phase as distinctive. However, the competing demands of Ofsted, and the need to meet the high expectations of the ‘student experience’ measures of the TEF and the research excellence measures of the REF, place the teacher educator in a position of some considerable professional tension. This, set in the context of the complex picture of ITE provision in England, forms the setting of the current enquiry, which explores the professional identity of teacher educators in a complex and changing policy landscape.

### *Teacher educator identity*

Empirical research on the identity of university-based teacher educators is relatively limited, although a growing number of researchers are now attending to this important matter (Davey, 2013; Izadinia, 2014). Murray (2017) argues that although policy makers and media have largely overlooked this professional group, such attention as they have given it has often been critical and dismissive. To date, most studies in this field have been undertaken and reported by the teacher educators themselves; although this is not problematic in itself, it is recognized that there may be limits to the ‘insider’s’ ability to make an impact on the field (Menter *et al.*, 2010). Dinkelman (2011) argued there was still much to learn about the mystery of university-based teacher education and what it means to be a university-based teacher educator, and it would appear that this lack of clarity remains today.

Some useful international studies have nonetheless attempted to demystify and deconstruct this complex phenomenon. For example, Ducharme’s (1993) study on the demographics of teacher educators working in US universities sheds some light on this diverse professional group. He analysed the major satisfactions derived through their work, which were found to be associated with their teaching role, specifically in relation to student learning. Ducharme found that for most teacher educators their prior experience as school teachers exerted the most influence on their identity. He foregrounds the ‘schizophrenic’ nature or multifaceted identities of teacher educators, which include that of school person, scholar, researcher,

methodologist, and visitor to a strange planet. He also uses his study to highlight the difficulty inherent in attempting to define and demarcate this 'broad and heterogeneous occupational group'. This representation of a far from homogeneous professional group is consistent with the work of Turney and Wright (1990), whose study of Australian teacher educators reveals a similarly disparate membership. The long-standing problem of definition is also acknowledged by Murray (2017), whose review of a range of international empirical research studies speaks to a wide variance in university-based teacher educators' identity. Murray argues that although they may initially appear relatively homogeneous, the challenge in defining this core group is complicated by the fact that they enter the field with varying qualifications, experiences and personal attributes, and have different roles and work patterns, in HEIs that also have distinct structural differences.

Building on their 'Work of Teacher Education' (WoTE) research (Ellis *et al.*, 2011), a mixed methods empirical study into the work of HEI-based teacher educators in England and Scotland, Ellis and McNicholl (2015) draw on Marxist concepts such as proletarianization to problematize the status of teacher educators in HEIs (the majority of whom they argue are female and without doctorates). The authors highlight how budget cuts lead these teacher educators to take on more diverse roles, such as covering for colleagues in different subjects and even age phases and, as a result, their expertise is unacknowledged, uncapitalized and underexploited in the education of teachers. Ellis and McNicholl argue that the lack of a sense of a future for these teacher educators restricts their agency and is not a basis for meaningful work.

Murray, Czerniawski and Barber's (2011) case study, which explores how the identities of teacher educators in two English universities are (re) constructed following entry into higher education, presents an equally complex and conflicted narrative for this professional group. Given the combined effects of the reportedly long working hours spent conducting complex pedagogical and organizational tasks and quality-assurance monitoring exercises, and the findings about resistances (in varying degrees) to the idea of research engagement, the authors question whether it is possible to address the needs of both school and higher education through research-informed practice. They attempt to predict the future for these teacher educators and present a number of possible scenarios, such as a growing divide between teaching and research, increasing imperatives to become research-active (while juggling a large workload), and even the prospect of unemployment for those who cannot, or do not wish to, meet

the demands of engaging in research. Calling for a reconceptualization of the place of research in induction and ongoing professional learning, the authors make the case for increased support for the development of research activities and scholarship, and a clearer articulation around the contestations of professional work and knowledge.

### ***Theoretical framework***

The aim of our research is to investigate the responses of teacher educators in England to the almost continuous policy churn of successive governments in recent decades. The primary research question is: how do the challenging and complex conditions in which university-based teacher educators operate influence the quality of their ITE provision? Given that the picture of current HEI-based teacher education in England is both nuanced and highly complex, it lends itself to being viewed through the lens of complexity theory (Davis and Sumara, 2006; Stacey, 1996).

In terms of human institutions and systems, this theoretical framing has its roots in the physical sciences, which traditionally sought to explain the behaviour of non-linear systems, such as weather fronts in which apparently insignificant events (such as the flap of a butterfly wing) have far-reaching consequences (Gleick, 1988). Increasingly, it has been drawn on as a theoretical frame with which to analyse and understand social contexts, practices and systems (Ramiah, 2014; Davis and Sumara, 2006; Karpiak, 2000; Fullan, 2001). However, its application to the social sciences is not without criticism, particularly from those working in positivistic parameters. For example, concerns have been raised over the relative infancy of the field and the somewhat casual way in which hard scientific models are imported to the social sciences, with limited attention to their scientific origin. To counter this critical stance it is helpful to frame key constructs within complexity thinking as metaphors or analogies, rather than to attempt to draw direct comparisons between the social phenomenon in question and hard scientific concepts.

By framing complexity theory as a source domain for analogy and metaphor with which to describe and understand human experience, we are better positioned fully to appreciate its potential for increasing our understanding of HEI-based ITE provision. Importantly, it has been chosen for this study primarily for its utility as a theory of change that illuminates organizational learning in complex circumstances. Although complexity theory comprises numerous elements, a central construct, which allows analogies to be drawn with human interaction, is that of a complex adaptive system (CAS) (Ray, 1992; Kauffman, 1993; Prigogine, 1997; Stacey, 2001).

The economy, ecosystems and human brains have all been described as examples of such systems. The premise of the current study is that the phenomenon of HEI-based ITE provision presents as another example of a complex adaptive system; framing or categorizing it in this way is considered advantageous to the sector. To increase one's understanding of the rationale for this premise it is helpful to be aware of the characteristics that complex adaptive systems share.

Typically, these systems learn and adapt. They welcome new connections actively, as the latter are seen as a source of new insights. In fact, they thrive on external influences, as these provide the impetus for new transformation. They learn to adapt by making continual adjustments, actively abandoning the comfort of the status quo in order to develop. They are not disturbed by disequilibrium, as it can lead to creative and innovative discoveries. In contrast to complex adaptive systems are equilibrium-oriented systems, whose goal is to control disequilibrium in order to maintain a balanced status quo. Unlike a complex adaptive system, in an attempt to return to a stable state an equilibrium-oriented system will apply negative feedback or dampening mechanisms when an external stimulus is introduced, and will naturally behave as a closed system to conserve energy (Gilstrap, 2005). A simple example of such a system is a thermostat that acts to maintain a predetermined temperature.

A key feature within a complex adaptive system is the structure of networks between the different composite agents: agents are not just people, but can also be ideas, perspectives and insights. Typically within complex adaptive systems, learning is distributed throughout the networks; the more decentralized and distributed they are, the more opportunities for learning take place (Kershner and McQuillan, 2016).

## **Research sites and participants**

Three higher education departments of education research sites were used, universities A, B and C, from which a total of 15 teacher educators (TEs) participated in the study.

University A is a large, well-established university which has delivered teacher education since 1841. The university has over 17,500 students, with just under 938 in the School of Education. Its ITE provision was rated outstanding in the last two Ofsted inspections, which took place in 2011 and 2013. The university offers several routes into teaching at both undergraduate and postgraduate level. The main three are BA (Hons) Primary Education with Qualified Teacher Status (QTS), PGCE Primary (with QTS) and PGCE Secondary (with QTS). Its primary partnership has

approximately 367 schools in 14 local authorities, organized into clusters of schools. Each cluster is based around a lead school, which is the school training centre. Trainees are allocated to a cluster, and the school training centre co-ordinator (STCC) organizes placements, training, assessment and support for each trainee. Its school of education comprises 75 staff, 46 of whom have a doctorate. In the 2014 REF assessment 24.5 per cent of the academic staff in the school of education submitted research inputs; of these submissions, 81 per cent were assessed as being of ‘internationally excellent quality or world leading’.

University B is one of the largest ITE providers in England and has been delivering ITE for over a hundred years. Formerly a college of education, it merged with a polytechnic in 1976 and achieved university status in 1992. The university has over 21,000 students based on five campuses, with over 1,200 registered in the school of education. Its ITE provision was rated outstanding in its last Ofsted inspection in 2010. The university provides a range of postgraduate and undergraduate pathways into teaching, including BA (Hons) Primary Education with QTS, and PGCE with QTS for Primary, Secondary and Further Education and Training. It also provides tuition for School Direct and offers an Assessment Only route to QTS. There are over 600 schools in its partnership. The school of education comprises 90 academic staff, 20 of whom have doctorates and are active researchers. In the 2014 REF assessment 27.3 per cent of the academic staff in the school of education submitted research inputs; of these submissions 35 per cent were assessed as being of ‘internationally excellent quality or world leading’.

University C was established as a women’s teacher training college in 1946. The current institution was formed in 1975 by a merger with a college of domestic science. In 1992, the college was granted degree-awarding powers, and in 2005 it was granted university status. The university has over 7,000 students, with over 900 enrolled in the school of education. It is the largest ITE provider in the region, with a partnership of over 500 schools, and its ITE provision was judged outstanding by Ofsted in 2011 and 2015. The institution offers different pathways into teaching, including BA (Hons) with a pathway onto the PGCE course, and PGCE with QTS in Primary and Early Years and Secondary. It also provides tuition for School Direct and offers an Assessment Only route to QTS. There are 78 FTE academic staff in the school of education, 30 per cent of whom have a doctorate. In the 2014 REF assessment, 13.2 per cent of the academic staff in the school of education submitted research outputs; of these, 30 per cent were assessed as being of ‘internationally excellent quality or world leading’.

The study received ethical approval from the research and ethics committee at the researchers' institution. A convenience sample of 15 participants was used (see table 6.1). Each participant was contacted initially by email and provided with details about the study's aims and an information sheet on the background to the project and the ethical considerations. Once the participants confirmed they were happy to take part, they received the interview schedule in advance, and each was interviewed over the phone for approximately 45 minutes to an hour. Each interview was recorded and then transcribed. The participants were asked the same set of questions about:

- their role and how long they had worked at the institution
- the challenges they faced and how they had responded to these
- their identity as teacher educators
- their relationship with their partnership schools
- their views on Ofsted and the impact of quality-assurance mechanisms on their practice.

The transcripts were analysed in three stages: reading and rereading, noting emerging themes, and categorizing emergent themes.

**Table 6.1:** The sample of teacher educators

| No. | Role  | Institution | Years at the university | Gender |
|-----|---|-------------|-------------------------|--------|
| 1   | Senior lecturer on PGCE and education undergraduate programme. Member of Primary English team                                       | A           | 1.5                     | Female |
| 2   | Senior lecturer in science education at undergraduate, PGCE and master's level. Cluster tutor and member of international PGCE team | A           | 1.5                     | Female |
| 3   | Director of undergraduate education programme   | A           | 21                      | Female |
| 4   | Senior lecturer. Subject leader for English PGCE  | A           | 7                       | Male   |
| 5   | Divisional director for ITE   | A           | 20                      | Female |
| 6   | Senior lecturer, undergraduate and PGCE; assistant course leader, Troops to Teachers  | B           | 5                       | Female |

| No. | Role  | Institution | Years at the university | Gender |
|-----|---|-------------|-------------------------|--------|
| 7   | Senior lecturer in primary maths undergraduate and PGCE   | B           | 12                      | Female |
| 8   | Primary PGCE programme leader   | B           | 17                      | Female |
| 9   | Deputy head of school of education, programme leader for Troops to Teachers, responsible for enterprise | B           | 8                       | Male   |
| 10  | Primary PGCE programme leader   | C           | 11                      | Female |
| 11  | Senior lecturer, primary undergraduate, and PGCE, maths team leader                                     | C           | 8                       | Female |
| 12  | Senior lecturer in primary English, undergraduate and PGCE  | C           | 7                       | Female |
| 13  | Senior lecturer in primary maths, undergraduate and PGCE  | C           | 1                       | Female |
| 14  | Senior lecturer, primary undergraduate, and PGCE English team leader                                    | C           | 10                      | Female |
| 15  | Senior lecturer, primary PGCE and EYITT   | C           | 25                      | Female |

## Findings

### *Distinctiveness of university-based teacher education*

Participants were asked what they considered to be distinctive in their provision as university-based ITE providers. A number of similar perspectives were shared on the nature of the key elements that ‘set them apart’ from non-HEI-based providers. For example, respondents across all three institutions gave concrete examples of how they encouraged trainees’ skills in critical reflection, along with the development of a set of personal values and principles which were seen as an equally important outcome for their trainees. With this solid foundation, they argued, trainees would be ‘empowered’ and better positioned ‘to navigate future changes in education policy’, and be more able to make critically informed and autonomous

decisions. There was a shared recognition that their course, rather than preparing the trainees to teach solely in the ‘local’, ‘known’ or ‘current’ context, prepared them for an ‘unknown future’ with all its concomitant challenges; trainees were not just taught to teach for the next year but for the next 40 years:

I suppose the more policies government ministers give about particular beliefs, ideas and ideology the more important it is that we keep saying the same things to students. ... You have to do what you believe to be right and what your principles are because policies will change and your career will see out many a government minister.

(TE 7, University B)

We want students who can make a difference in the future. We are not producing clones of what anyone thinks the ideal anything is, so they are critically informed through both practice and research so they have a really strong foundation in their head to cut through the crap to make their own autonomous decisions, based on research and arguments and not just following whims.

(TE 3, University A)

A number of respondents expressed strong ideological views on the complex nature of classroom teaching to explain the distinction between HEI- and non-HEI-based ITE providers. Problematizing ‘naive’ approaches that saw teaching as ‘a craft to copy’, respondents argued that learning to teach was not about ‘producing clones’, ‘coming out with the same old same old’ or ‘just going with what they’ve been given’. Reference was made to the fact that their provision allowed consideration of a range of multiple perspectives.

I think you have to have a strong belief that ... you’re giving them all the options to consider things, and they hopefully see that you, as a practitioner yourself, you had your way of doing something, but it wasn’t necessarily the only way. They see the bigger picture of teaching.

(TE 2, University A)

The majority of respondents highlighted how research lay at the heart of their ITE provision, impacting positively both on themselves as teacher educators and on their trainees. Engagement with research enhanced their practice as teacher educators, and, by practising what they preached,

research-active teacher educators ‘were sending an important message to the students about being credible as researchers’.

We have access to a wide range of journals and literature. We are constantly updating our understanding of context. We have to try to ensure that our provision is informed by relevant academic work. I think that is what sets us apart in many ways.

(TE 6, Institution B)

Individually we are very research-led; we have a very strong science team at X for many years that is very critical of practice and involved in curriculum developments.

(TE 3, University A)

### *Identity as university-based teacher educators*

Participants were asked to describe their professional identities as university-based teacher educators. A number of respondents initially struggled with the question because of what they considered to be the complexity of the construct of identity, and the fact that they felt they had multiple identities. Where they expressed difficulty in answering, additional questions were offered to scaffold their ability to respond. Apart from one, who felt conflicted by the highly pressured and bureaucratic nature of her role, the respondents spoke enthusiastically about their identity as university-based teacher educators. The following overwhelmingly positive terms were chosen to represent how they viewed themselves and how they thought they were viewed by others as teacher educators: ‘valued’, ‘positive’, ‘really proud’, ‘interested’, ‘excited’, ‘vital’, ‘privileged’, ‘lucky’, ‘credible’, ‘comfortable’, ‘secure’, ‘passionate’, ‘proud’, ‘happy’, ‘secure’, ‘see myself as a facilitator’, ‘helping others to learn and grow’, ‘take great pride in my identity’, ‘positive role’, ‘high status’.

The data reveals that most participants identified themselves foremost as classroom teachers, rather than as distant academics residing in ‘ivory towers’. They perceived their ‘professional expertise’ and their ‘heritage as former classroom teachers’ to be a key foundation for their current work, as this experience was valued by the students, who ‘wanted to know about best practice and how it looks in the classroom’. A number of respondents acknowledged the importance of maintaining credibility and the inherent need ‘to stay in touch’ with classroom practice. When visiting trainees in schools, they made it clear to training mentors that they were coming from a classroom background, so that ideas discussed were ‘grounded in the

reality of the teaching arena': 'I have always regarded myself as a teacher and regularly teach in schools – even after 28 years in ITE, I feel I need to feel and show I'm credible' (TE 4, University A).

However, as well as being expert practitioners, the majority acknowledged the centrality of the academic dimension of their role, making explicit how scholarly activity and the research element were closely allied to, and underpinned, their work and identity as 'research-informed' university-based teacher educators. Respondents talked about the importance of being credible as researchers themselves. One respondent encapsulated her rationale for carrying out research:

I think, right across my career, both my research publication and teaching ITE has always been at the heart of everything I do, even the master's modules I do, and the PhD students and the dissertation student. ... They tend to be things they are doing to positively impact on teacher education, teaching and learning in school, because that's who I am, that's very much my identity.

(TE 5, University A)

It is noteworthy that the data reveals considerable institutional variance in terms of the expectations (and pressures) placed on their teacher educators to be 'research-active'. The three institutions could be placed on a continuum: University A would be located at one end of the spectrum, with University B at the other end and University C somewhere in the middle, as demonstrated by the following comments in relation to the REF:

Being a research-intense Russell Group university, as academics we're all intended to be research-active and we have the REF; we're jumping through the hoops of the research assessment exercise and then more recently the REF, so it's all that – it kind of puts additional pressures on the university, we're jumping to a number of different tunes.

(TE 5, University A)

The amount of research people are doing, it's constantly adding to their body of knowledge, which they want to pass on to the students. So a lot of the staff research more than they used to. ... There is a pressure that has certainly changed in my ten years where it is now required that you be research-active. ... So that's been a shift, the culture's definitely changed. ... When I was first recruited, you had to have a master's and now you practically

have to be working towards a PhD or have a PhD to get a job here. So that culture's changed, in a good way.

(TE 10, University C)

Our teams don't feel that pressure; our teams don't largely know about that, to be honest with you. Strategically at the whole-school level we're aware of that as a management; we do have an education research centre. The pressure around REFs sits with that group, a relatively small number of professors and senior members of staff who contribute to research in that area. They feel the pressure about 'REFable' outputs but I would say that the majority of staff who work on our bulk of PGCEs and undergraduate provision don't feel that pressure at all.

(TE 9, University B)

Interestingly, teacher educators who experienced pressure to produce research outputs were more likely to report job insecurity (University A). This was in stark contrast to the positivity of the rest of their commentary:

I think, and this is where my positivity will go, I have a really strong feeling of instability, and obviously that's a different part to this. ... I'm on a three-year contract – in my last place I was on a two-year contract – and I just feel that that doesn't help you to feel the longevity of your position. ... And I think that's a real shame, and that's a totally different comment to everything else I've said. That is, my instinctive feeling is a feeling of instability. And I don't think that's just about me personally, I think that's about the system, really. With funding, with leaving the EU, with numbers of students, obviously the school-led approach to teacher education being considered very important now by the government, I think there's a real feeling of instability for many people.

(TE 2, University A)

There are quite a lot of teaching fellows, and University A has just made their jobs a lot less secure, which does rather concentrate the mind, meaning that we could be got rid of. So there's an impetus to fall into line – not that anyone in our department ever uses that kind of threat but people have said 'I need to do these things because I need to make myself invaluable and irreplaceable'.

(TE 4, University A)

Participants were asked to consider the impact of working in the current challenging and complex circumstances, and encouraged to provide illustrative examples of where these conditions exerted a positive influence on their professional practice and identity. All respondents were able to give examples of ‘how positive developments had been born out of adversity’. They described the creative outcomes achieved as a result of having to ‘think outside the box’. The challenges were seen to ‘drive problem solving and creativity’, ‘be a good force for change’ and ‘keep them on their toes’, and to offer ‘rewards as well, as they required innovation and creativity in the way the programme was run’. A number of respondents mentioned their natural ability to be adaptable, responsive and flexible; they recognized that these qualities had been developed in the classroom and were seen as an inherent part of their identity as educators.

I think there’s a certain type of person who is drawn to education and they are inevitably focused on ensuring the best results for children, and children are so varied and present so many different challenges; they naturally need to be flexible and adaptable in so many ways. The most successful teachers are the ones who are more flexible and adaptable and they hone and refine through their teaching practice and then, when they do come into higher education, they’re equipped.

(TE 13, University C)

The majority of participants recognized that the pressures they experienced, such as constraints on the amount of time trainees spent in university, had made them ‘focus more tightly on what needed to be done’; for example, ‘Instead of jumping through every hoop that keeps coming, we now take greater confidence in what we’re doing and the core principles behind that’. Although they saw working collaboratively with their school-based partners as complex to manage, they shared an understanding and acknowledgement of its benefits; the partners were encouraged to ‘shape the programme’, and their ‘perspectives were regularly sought’. Respondents acknowledged the expertise of schools: ‘It’s very much a two-way thing; ... always felt very much that the university really tries to take into account the expertise of the partnership schools’. The notion of schools as experts was also recognized by another respondent from University A, who described the practice of academic staff being trained by school staff, for example in the area of maths mastery. Another respondent explained that it was in their interest to work closely with schools, ‘who are in the front line and going through changes before they even come to us’.

*Demands for accountability*

Participants were asked to identify their biggest challenges as university-based teacher educators. All respondents acknowledged the significant pressures placed on them by Ofsted. A senior leader at University A highlighted the ‘cost’ of a poor Ofsted inspection and cited that some universities were withdrawing their ITE programmes to mitigate the risk of an adverse report. A colleague at the same institute expressed a similarly critical perspective, highlighting the consequences of not maintaining an ‘outstanding’ assessment from Ofsted: ‘the vagaries of Ofsted put university provision under great threat. ... If we don’t maintain Outstanding the university will close down ITE almost definitely’ (TE 3, University A).

The majority of the respondents appeared resentful towards and frustrated by ‘the ever demanding set of requirements from Ofsted’. This was seen by one respondent as representing a lack of professional trust: ‘the documentation you are required to have sits in opposition to the trust you would hope the government has in their ITE providers’ (TE 8, University B).

Another argued that the constant monitoring constrained their ability to ‘make a meaningful contribution to ITE’, while another asserted that the demands for accountability compromised their ITE programme. One respondent expressed frustration that evidence was required for Ofsted of ‘things they did implicitly’. Another highlighted the disproportionate amount of time spent getting ready for Ofsted:

It feels that every single year we spend the vast majority of our time talking about when Ofsted comes. We sit around for a long time in committees or meetings talking about things we are going to do for Ofsted so that if they come they will see that we are an outstanding provider still and I find that incredibly depressing because actually what I’ve just said to you is true and we have spent a lot of time developing a suite of credible courses with the underpinning of our partnerships.

(TE 8, University B)

The participants were reminded of Ofsted’s aim of being ‘a force for improvement through intelligent, responsible and focused inspection and regulation’, and were asked whether they agreed that this had been achieved in relation to their own institution. It is noteworthy that the vast majority did not believe Ofsted was a force for improvement:

Disagree. It's too punitive to be about improvement. In fact 'force and improvement' aren't really words that are in tune with each other.

(TE 15, University C)

I have to say I disagree. I think the impetus for improvement comes via 'in-house' considered evaluation with multiple sources of data, most of which relate to quality outcomes for students.

(TE8, University B)

Parallels were drawn with the 'performativity culture' in schools and their need for evidence for purposes of accountability: 'We are now catching up with that accountability culture in schools, which is a weird feeling that we have escaped it for a bit' (TE 8, University B).

A respondent highlighted the specific challenges faced by larger providers who had to account for the progress of all their trainees at any one time:

When you only have twenty students ... you are able to know exactly ... what their strengths and weaknesses are. ... Last time we had Ofsted it was just so ridiculously frantic even though we were as prepared as we could be, getting up-to-date information from four hundred students was just difficult.

(TE 3, University A)

Respondents from two of the institutions recognized that some of the professional challenges faced by schools in relation to pupil progress and staff recruitment were impacting on the university's ITE provision. For example, these challenges were seen to have contributed to an increase in the expectations placed on trainee teachers, who were expected to be 'fully formed teachers' by the end of the training, as opposed to growing into and developing alongside teachers. They explained:

Trainees are now expected to hit the ground running. ... There are high expectations that they should perform as though they've been teaching for 10 years. ... Schools are under so much pressure now and therefore many of the things we would hope they are gradually inducting students into now are not happening and they are expecting students to somehow know it.

(TE 3, University A)

I definitely think schools expect more from their trainees these days and think this can be very intimidating particularly for those who are relatively inexperienced.

(Senior leader 5, University C)

A respondent from University A suggested that schools were now more wary of letting trainees work with their pupils, because of increased demands for pupil progress. This was also recognized by a colleague, who explained, 'I think there's a greater reluctance now on the part of some training mentors to hand over their class, and I think that's because the stakes are so much higher these days' (TE 10, University C).

The implications of the recruitment crisis in schools were also seen as a cause for concern, as articulated by the following respondent:

Where schools are struggling to recruit, that is an additional challenge to us, as quite often if they are struggling to recruit teachers they may not have the staffing that we require to enable them to provide training to our students. ... We need to look after our schools, otherwise other providers will get the school places.

(TE 7, University B)

## **Discussion**

This chapter has provided evidence to explain, illuminate and foreground the distinctive role described by a range of HEI-based teacher educators, analysed through the framework of complexity thinking. To that end, we deconstruct key elements of a 'complex adaptive system' (CAS) and align them with our findings, to present an optimistic and empowering narrative for this professional group. The claim that the phenomenon of HEI-based ITE provision presents as a human/organizational example of a complex adaptive system will now be elucidated.

A central tenet about a CAS is that it actively learns and adapts by welcoming new connections, as these are seen as a source of new insights. In relation to the featured teacher educators, a common characteristic was their commitment to seek out and act on the views and perspectives of external stakeholders, such as their school partners, who were encouraged actively to 'shape the design of their programme'. Rather than remaining a 'closed system' and eschewing external stimuli, mechanisms and processes were developed and implemented by all three institutions to ensure that multiple perspectives from outside the organization were acted upon. The respondents described their school partners as experts, and commended

them for their capacity to enrich and enhance the work of the university-based teacher educators. This willingness and commitment to learn from others (external to the organization) manifest as a form of professional trust and suggest an underlying confidence and sense of security on the part of the university partners, who feel able to source, and capitalize on, new knowledge and expertise through extended learning networks.

Just as flying birds in a biological complex adaptive system adapt to the actions of their neighbours and so unconsciously form a more empowering flock, these teacher educators took account of the needs and perspectives of their local or neighbouring agents (i.e., school partners), who provided the impetus 'to make improvements'. In a similar vein, rather than passively accepting and implementing a centrally imposed edict such as the Teachers' Standards, the teacher educators found creative ways (aligned to their values) of adapting their programme to ensure that this potentially rigid framework did not dominate their provision, but enhanced and enriched it. One explained:

I feel that [in relation to the] teaching standards [that require] teachers to [motivate] the children and [support] individual needs – [it seems] obvious [but] then you go beyond that because you think of creative and innovative ways, hopefully, to inspire the student [teachers] to do that – so they're developing as teachers in their own right and they've got their own values and beliefs.

(TE2, University A)

The commitment to a plurality of perspectives equally extends to their trainees, who are encouraged not to accept just one perspective but to consider the multitude of ways to teach, to find that uniquely successful and adaptable 'teacher within' each trainee.

The data supports the findings of Murray, Czerniawski and Barber (2011), revealing how these teacher educators were confronted by the need to continually adapt their ITE programme in response to successive educational policy changes and prolonged government intervention. Although it was a source of frustration, and at times even despair, respondents recognized that the reality of operating in an 'at times chaotic' climate of constant and complex change 'kept them on their toes' and 'gave rise to creative and innovative ways of working'. In contrast to a 'closed' or 'stagnant' 'equilibrium-oriented system', which seeks to maintain the status quo (Gilstrap, 2005: 58), these teacher educators were demonstrating their learnt ability 'to bring order and chaos into a special sort of balance' (Waldrop, 1992: 12). Rather than passively accepting imposed changes, these teacher

educators operated under a ‘constrained or creative autonomy’. They learnt to adapt and ‘thrive on the edge of chaos’ as they ‘actively tried to turn whatever happened to their advantage’ (ibid.). This positive attitude is epitomized in two comments: ‘We tend to take whatever the latest edict from the government is and sort of take it apart and put [it] back together again’, and ‘Although we have to respond to things, we can also initiate our own ideas and build our values into things’. These teacher educators drew confidently on their heritage as flexible teachers and deployed their ‘adaptive expertise’ (van Tartwijk *et al.*, 2017: 827) when confronted with the multiple challenges that they faced. In contrast to the findings of the WoTE study (Ellis *et al.*, 2011), rather than restricting their agency the capacity to be flexible and adaptive was framed positively and arguably enhanced their agentic identity.

## Conclusion

This study offers current insights into the ways university-based ‘teacher educators come to see themselves in their work’ (Dinkelman, 2011: 322). In spite of a reported decline in the agency and influence of this professional group (Murray and Mutton, 2016), the members of these three ITE communities present themselves as secure and confident in their collective identity and purpose as university-based teacher educators. Their clearly articulated narratives provide new and compelling evidence of the distinctive and critical contribution they make to the teaching profession. In contrast to short-term ‘narrowly conceived approaches’ to school-based ITE, which reduce the profession to a craft (Winch *et al.*, 2013: 163), this professional group pursues a more ambitious, intellectual and sustainable goal. In the debate about whether teaching should be a master’s-level profession, a crucial plank of the argument centred on the transformative nature of the development of the critical faculty that this level of education brings (la Velle, 2013). This professional group’s aim, which they convey with precision, is to empower trainee teachers to tackle confidently and competently any challenge they may meet in the future, in whatever educational setting. In short, these teacher educators provide a foundation from which ‘expansive possibilities’ (Davis and Sumara, 2006: 135) can emerge, by supporting trainees to make value-based, autonomous decisions underpinned by research, critical reflection and theory. Far from remaining silent (Furlong, 2013), these teacher educators, given the chance, have been vocal and passionate in their contribution to the debate about the education of teachers. Although the outlook for teacher educators in the UK, and particularly in England, has been described as profoundly uncertain

(Furlong, 2013: 199), these teacher educators do not seem dismayed or destabilized professionally. On the contrary, they present with a clear sense of purpose, refreshingly positive, resolute and fiercely determined to carry on their vision and business as normal.

These teacher educators command respect for the way in which they extend professional trust to all stakeholders: colleagues, school partners and trainees alike. It is concerning, however, that this level of professional trust is not necessarily extended to the teacher educators themselves, who have to endure the scrutiny of regulatory mechanisms and whose professional practice is potentially compromised, such as in the circumstances of an Ofsted inspection and the requirement to be in constant readiness for one. Currently, quality assurance is the remit of Ofsted. As professionals, teacher educators have indicated that they are fully capable of handling this process. Some teacher educators feel an additional pressure to produce research publications. If we accept that teaching is an intellectual activity, underpinned by research, and that teacher educators can and should be both producers and consumers of research, then it seems axiomatic that they must be supported, through a balance of time, mentoring and infrastructure (e.g. information technology), to pursue their scholarship and research, thus contributing to the knowledge base of the teaching profession and strengthening the potential for improved outcomes for all learners. These teacher educators have presented a positive picture of the future of university-based teacher education. Their message needs to be heard and enacted by practitioners and policy makers.

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# Unpacking the dynamics of partnership and pedagogic relations in teacher education

*Jim Hordern*

## Introduction

This chapter will focus on the dynamics of power and control found in different teacher education pathways, and on what they suggest about the professional formation of teachers. Drawing on Bernsteinian concepts of classification and framing, and on the sociologies of pedagogy and knowledge that have stemmed from Bernstein's work, the chapter models varied forms of organizational and pedagogic relation. Partnerships are seen as possessing variable degrees of synergy and offering opportunities for the dominance of certain cultures and values, while pedagogic relations enable or constrain forms of control and foreground certain forms of knowledge. The resultant analytical frame is used to develop insight into changing forms of teacher education in England, including issues relating to teacher professionalism, knowledge and identity.

Reforms to teacher education are front and centre of many educational reforms globally. Governments across the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) nations have been emphasizing the importance of teacher quality in a quest for continuous improvement in educational outcomes, while introducing new dimensions of accountability and control (Tatto, 2006). The processes by which teachers undergo initial and continuing professional development have come under scrutiny, with some advocating new models of teacher education that foreground school-based practice and minimize the role of teacher education institutions (TEIs), which may be universities or colleges of teacher education. As part of this process, the relationship between TEIs and schools, and that between formal and workplace learning, have received considerable attention (Zeichner, 2012; Tatto, 2006). Models of initial teacher education may seek to maximize novice teachers' opportunities for practice in a school or a series of schools, may be characterized by extended periods of formal

academic study within institutions, or may involve forms of partnership between schools, TEIs and (potentially) other providers. In some countries (for example Germany) the state continues to play a substantive role in accrediting teachers and therefore is strongly influential in processes of teacher formation. In others (for example England), the state has moved towards stipulating sets of standards by which novice teachers can be evaluated, while aiming to create opportunities for new models of teacher education to develop.

This chapter aims to introduce a framework for thinking through some of the dynamics of power and control found in various teacher education pathways, and briefly discusses the implications of differing dynamics for the professional formation of teachers. With the use of Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing, a series of distinct forms of organizational and pedagogic relation are modelled, drawing on Hordern (2014) and related literature. This leads to a discussion of the nature of power, dominance and control in teacher education pathways, and enables some analysis of the changing nature of teacher education in England, including issues of teacher professionalism, knowledge and identity.

### **Models of teacher education: partnerships and pathways**

A helpful starting point from which to consider the varied nature of teacher education pathways is the comparative analysis of teacher education in Europe conducted by Maandag *et al.* (2007). This chapter draws on the work of Buitnik and Wouda (2001, cited in Maandag *et al.*, 2007) to identify five models of the relations between teacher education institutions (TEIs) and schools. TEIs are various types of higher education institution, including universities and other higher education colleges. Maandag *et al.* developed a 'checklist for international comparison of teacher education in schools' (2007: 155) that was used to gather data from various expert participants in different countries, and thus to develop and qualify the original models. The five models can be summarized as follows:

- **Model A** is a work placement model in which most teacher education is based in the TEI. School placements are a part of the overall programme, which is designed and controlled by the TEI.
- **Model B** is the co-ordinator model, in which the majority of teacher education is based in the TEI. However, staff in the school take on more responsibility than in model A for supervising novice teachers within the school, and therefore may contribute more to the overall

programme, although this is still generally designed and controlled by the TEI.

- **Model C** is a partnership model in which the teacher education curriculum is shared between the TEI and the school, or group of schools. In general, the TEI takes the lead on ‘the conceptual themes’ (Maandag *et al.*, 2007: 154) and the theory base of the programme, while the school takes the lead on the more experiential elements of the programme and offers supervision to novice teachers in school. There is a degree of integration between the TEI and the school in designing, planning and delivering the programme, although their roles are distinct.
- **Model D** is the network model. Here, responsibility for designing, planning and delivering the teacher education curriculum is more fully integrated between the TEI and the school, although some specific roles may persist. Collaboration between TEI and school(s) becomes ‘very intensive’ (*ibid.*), with fewer boundaries between staff in the TEI and the school in terms of roles and capabilities. Assessment may involve staff from both the TEI and the school, and the programme itself may develop an identity distinct from the institutions themselves.
- **Model E** is the training school model, in which all teacher education is provided by the school or schools. It includes the design, planning and delivery of the curriculum for novice teachers who are likely to be based in schools for the entirety of their initial professional education. The TEI may have a role as a ‘backup institution’ and in ‘developing teaching and training methods’ (*ibid.*), but it need not, and schools could involve any ‘provider’ in such a role.

The various models presented may have, at root, very different assumptions about what makes good-quality teaching. Whereas model A suggests that a prolonged period of ‘front end’ (Winch and Clarke, 2003) formal learning is important, with a gradual entry into teaching practice, model E advocates an immediate immersion in teaching, with no prior preparation, although it may include considerable support from experienced practitioners in schools. Control over the teacher education programmes is either in the hands of TEIs and their staff (in models A and B), in the hands of schools (Model E) or shared between TEIs and schools in various ways (models D and E). This may affect the structure and content of teacher education programmes, and how the programme is articulated with existing qualifications and progression opportunities within higher education. While model A may suggest a programme that could be connected to existing qualifications

offered in higher education, a model E programme may lead to difficulties with acquiring accreditation or relating the programme to other higher qualifications. Additionally, while a model A programme is likely to be quality-assured within an existing higher education structure, a model D or E programme may require novel approaches to quality assurance.

### **Classification, framing and their application to teacher education**

An examination of teacher education pathways could focus specifically on the relationship between the school(s) and the TEI, and could also investigate the teacher education pedagogic practice (or discourse of teacher education) within each educational site (within the school(s) and within the TEI). Arguably, the two are interrelated: the nature of a school–TEI relationship will influence the degree of commonality and coherence in teacher education across the partnership. There may be substantive differences between how novice teachers learn in institutions and their learning experiences in schools, with differing levels of support from colleagues, peers and tutors. On the other hand, colleagues across the partnership may increasingly co-ordinate their pedagogic practice, so that differences between the sites are reduced.

Bernstein's (1971, 2000) concepts of classification and framing have been usefully employed to identify the potential dynamics of teacher education, including a focus on the nature of relations between schools and TEIs and the teacher education practice (Neves *et al.*, 2004; Ensor, 2004; Hordern, 2014). 'Classification' is the strength of boundaries 'between agencies, between agents, between discourses, between practices' (Bernstein, 2000: 6). Strong classification suggests there is a 'degree of insulation' (*ibid.*) between two entities, and this allows each entity to develop its own 'crucial space which creates the specialisation of the category' (*ibid.*), and therefore its own specialized identity. A weak classification, on the other hand, suggests that boundaries are permeable between the entities, and these identities can less easily differentiate themselves from each other. It is important to note that the adjectives 'strong' and 'weak' are used here to denote opposite poles on an analytical scale, rather than necessarily implying any form of value judgement.

Classification relates closely to issues of power in the relationship between entities. Influential actors may reinforce boundaries, or serve to break them down and constitute new boundaries and separations, processes which may also be shaped by macro- and meso-sociological factors. Classification has been used as a conceptual device to (*inter alia*) analyse and hypothesize forms of curriculum (such as subject-based or integrated/thematic curricula

(Bernstein, 1971)), and to examine issues of space and territory in classroom pedagogy (Morais and Neves, 2011). Neves *et al.* (2004) have employed classification to examine the relationship between disciplinary knowledge and novice teachers' practical understandings. Classification can also be used to examine institutional relationships, in terms of the strength of insulation between the school(s) and the TEI in any given teacher education partnership. Strong boundaries may be reinforced by distinct institutional identities, but weakened by imperatives to co-ordinate and collaborate, and this may result in the emergence of more 'integrated' relationships.

Bernstein's (1971, 2000) concept of framing, often applied in tandem with classification, focuses on the nature of control within entities, contexts or categories. Framing is about 'the *internal logic* of the pedagogic practice', and therefore about '*who* controls *what*' in a given context (Bernstein, 2000: 12); it consists of two 'systems of rules', namely 'instructional discourse' and 'regulative discourse' (ibid.: 13). Various aspects of framing can be identified, including 'selection, sequence, pacing' and evaluative 'criteria', comprising instructional discourse (ibid.). Strong framing is demonstrated when a pedagogue possesses 'explicit control' in a context, whereas when the framing is weakened the student or future teacher has more '*apparent* control' over the dimensions identified above (such as sequencing and pacing within the pedagogy) (ibid.). The instructional discourse, however, is 'embedded' in and shaped by a 'regulative discourse', which relates to the 'rules of social order', 'hierarchical relations' and 'expectations about conduct, character and manner' (ibid.). This regulative dimension, which could relate to institutional or school culture and social norms, thus enables and constrains the pedagogic practice, depending on its strength and character. A hierarchical setting with strict standards of behaviour and regulated conduct might therefore allow only a certain level of weakening in the instructional framing. So, for example, a teacher education programme in an authoritarian state would be most likely to demonstrate high levels of explicit control by lead educators over the pedagogic practice (in other words in the instructional discourse). But, equally, a school with a particularly progressive and child-centred educational ethos might also exhibit strong regulative framing, making it possible for teachers to develop only as model progressive educators. It is important not to underestimate, moreover, the influence on the regulative discourse of broader social and policy change. In education, conceptions of the 'ideal teacher', while influenced by societal assumptions about 'ideal people', are also shaped by national educational traditions (Tatto, 2006; Furlong and Whitty, 2017).

### *Unpacking the dynamics of partnership and pedagogic relations*

Neves *et al.* (2004) and Ensor (2004) conducted work on teacher education that used Bernstein's notions of classification and framing. Neves *et al.* (2004) identified how classification could be used to evaluate power relations in the pedagogy of teacher education, through the strength of boundaries within pedagogical spaces between teacher educators and novice teachers, and between novice teachers in the context of classroom activities. The notion of classification can also be used to evaluate the extent to which clear boundaries are maintained between specialized knowledge and novice teachers' practical understandings. Ensor notes that programmes 'vary in strength of classification ... say, between philosophy of education and life skills' and 'in relation to other academic discourses and to the everyday' (2004: 219), suggesting that boundaries between educational discourse and other disciplines, as much as between specialized and everyday forms of knowledge, need consideration. Framing is also used to identify the nature of control in teacher educators' pedagogic practice (through analysis of the instructional discourse), and Neves *et al.* emphasize the importance of distinguishing between the 'instructional and regulative components' (2004: 183) of framing in order to unpack the dynamics of teacher education. They observe that a 'weakening of framing at the level of the hierarchical rules' (in the regulative discourse) is 'clearly favourable to teachers' performance (in discussing and confronting ideas, giving opinions and so on)' (*ibid.*). Ensor highlights the possibility of 'personal control' in an 'open relationship' between teacher educators and novice teachers when the regulative aspect of framing is weak, contrasting this with the 'positional role' of a teacher educator 'relatively closed to potential variation from established social norms' (Ensor, 2004: 220) where the regulative aspect is strong.

Moreover, framing in particular is a useful concept for examining workplace activity and the dynamics of work itself. Organizations, including educational organizations, have cultures that are shaped by regulative notions of conduct and behaviour which shape and constrain the activities of employees – their own 'rules of social order' – that are nevertheless shaped by social norms. The regulative discourse in a school or university will be influenced not only by the actions, attitudes and aspirations of powerful agents (including managers, headteachers and others) but also by the wider political, sociological and historical context in which the institution is located. How work is organized in a workplace can be understood as 'instructional discourse' or as a 'work organization discourse', with work activities selected, sequenced, paced and evaluated with control over these activities in the hands of employees (or novice teachers) and employers to a greater or lesser extent. The dynamic of control in the work organization

discourse has consequences for the expansiveness or restrictiveness of the workplace environments in which novice teachers work (Fuller and Unwin, 2004; Fuller *et al.*, 2005), with some workplace contexts offering greater potential for novice teachers to exercise discretion in managing their own work and developing their own pedagogic practice. The ‘pedagogic qualities of workplaces’ (Billett, 2008: 11) articulate with the dynamic of control to structure learning opportunities, shaping the character of the teacher education programme.

### **Unpacking the models**

The discussion of classification and framing above suggests that the relations between TEIs and schools, and the variable pedagogic contexts found within teacher education, can be analysed systematically in a number of ways, including the following (as is also discussed in Hordern, 2014):

- The relationship between the discourse of teacher education in TEIs and schools can be strongly or weakly classified. Therefore, the pedagogic practice of teacher education in a TEI (which could be a university or a college) may be similar to or very different from how teachers are learning to teach in schools.
- The discourse of teacher education within a TEI or a school can be strongly or weakly framed in terms of its regulative and instructional dimensions. For Bernstein (2000) the instructional dimension is constrained or enabled by the regulative, and therefore the two cannot be considered in separation, although they must remain distinct (Neves *et al.*, 2004).
- Equally the discourse of work organization within schools can be strongly or weakly framed in terms of regulative and instructional dimensions. This is a different discourse from that of teacher education, and the relations between the two within schools are likely to affect the learning potential of school-based experiences for novice teachers. If there is an impetus towards weakening the framing in the school-based part of a teacher education programme it may well be compromised by strong regulative dimensions of framing in the work organization discourse in the school: certain workplace norms may not be violable.
- The roles of those involved in educating and supporting novice teachers may be strongly or weakly classified. For example, managing and mentoring may be distinct roles involving different people, or be conducted by the same person. Mentors or others involved in the

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professional development of novice teachers may be employed by the school or by a TEI.

- The role of the novice teacher and that of an employee within a school may be strongly or weakly classified. If novice teachers are also school employees, their relationship with the work organization discourse (and also the teacher education discourse) is likely to be very different from that of novice teachers who are not employees.

This allows us to reconsider the models outlined above, and to unpack in greater detail the dynamics of the partnership and pedagogic relations that they suggest.

In model A – the work placement model – the TEI is seen as having responsibility for the teacher education programme, with the novice teacher present in the school for a period of experience or ‘practicum’. Here the teacher education discourse of the TEI is likely to dominate, and to remain strongly classified and insulated from how the school organizes its professional development and its work. Nevertheless, novice teachers’ view of teachers’ work while they are on placement may leave a strong impression on them. Strong classification is likely to be maintained between roles, for example between those supporting and mentoring the teacher (who may be from the TEI) and those managing the teacher when on placement. Equally, the novice teacher is clearly a ‘trainee’ or a ‘visiting student’ when on placement, and therefore the roles of student and employee remain strongly classified from each other. This model is characteristic of many teacher education programmes across continental Europe, particularly where there are state-led regulatory frameworks combined with an ‘academically-focused curriculum’ (Maandag *et al.*, 2007: 164). Model B can be seen as similar to model A in many respects, although where the school takes on more responsibility there may be a weakening of classification between the roles of mentor and manager and between the teacher education discourse within the school and TEI, with improved coherence in pedagogic practices within the programme.

In Model C – the partnership model – the teacher education discourses are still fairly strongly classified and distinctive, but the greater role for the school in this model suggests that both the teacher education and the work organization discourse in operation in that school have greater significance for the teacher education programme. How the teacher education discourse is framed in both the TEI and the school may be influenced by the nature of the partnership between the two and by how their roles are interpreted. There may be a strong regulative framing in the school, in terms of conduct

and behaviour, that has considerable influence on novice teachers, as they are now spending an extended period of time in school and this is a valued element of their teacher education programme. Roles within the teacher education programme may remain strongly classified and insulated from each other, or there may be an increased degree of co-ordination between the TEI and the school. Maandag *et al.* (2007) suggest that there is much evidence of model C in England, and it may relate to much PGCE provision in England in the 1990s and 2000s, along the lines of the ‘integrated’ approach identified by Furlong *et al.* (2000: 61).

Model D sees a weak classification between the school and the TEI in terms of the teacher education discourses in operation and of the roles of mentors and managers, with staff from across the TEI and the school collaborating intensively in order to construct a coherent programme in which the framing of the teacher education discourse is relatively uniform. Although considerable progress may be made towards achieving this coherence, it may be hindered by the regulative framing in the school (and also in the TEI), which may set expectations of conduct, behaviour and social norms that are less coherent across the partnership. Indeed, this may result in the programme developing a distinct identity of its own that achieves a degree of insulation from other activities taking place within the school and the TEI. The model may relate to the ‘jointly led’ approaches outlined by Furlong *et al.* (2000: 61), and in collaborations such as the Oxford Internship Model (McIntyre and Hagger, 1992).

Model E sees the teacher education programme as the responsibility of the school, or potentially a group of schools. There is therefore a strong classification between the teacher education discourse mandated by the school and other teacher education discourses. The framing of the teacher education discourse in the school will most likely be closely aligned to the framing of the work organization discourse in the school. Therefore the extent of the restrictiveness or expansiveness of the workplace environment (Fuller and Unwin, 2004) and the ‘pedagogic qualities’ of the school as a workplace (Billett, 2008) are highly influential factors in how novice teachers learn on such programmes. Classification between roles such as mentor, supervisor and manager is likely to be weak, as all roles will be taken by colleagues within the school, or at least undertaken according to the school’s stipulation. The novice teacher may be an employee of the school, in which case there will be limited classification between these roles, or be considered as a potential future employee. Here there will be implications in terms of how the role of the teacher is constructed, and school expectations concerning performance and pedagogic practice will be strongly influential.

Overall, the specific character of the regulative component of framing in the school, in terms of norms of conduct and behaviour, is a key factor in shaping the experiences of teacher educators. There may be an absence of competing alternative ideas and conceptions of teaching, unless the school actively encourages teacher discretion over a wide range of pedagogic practice. Even in such cases, the lack of a necessary connection to the research knowledge and academic practice of the TEI (assuming that the TEI is involved in research) means there may be limited opportunities for teachers to develop critical engagement and the capacity to make judgements about pedagogic practice (Winch *et al.*, 2015). Variants of model E have existed in England for some time, for example in the licensed teacher scheme and in school-centred initial teacher training (SCITT).

### **How do the models relate to teacher education in England?**

The current landscape for teacher education in England is one of considerable diversity (Whiting *et al.*, 2018), as a consequence not only of teacher education reforms pursued by governments over the last thirty years but also of wider systemic fragmentation in the organization of schooling (Whitty, 2014). Whiting *et al.* (2018: 16) have documented the multiplicity of routes to qualified teacher status in England in 2015–16, identifying ‘8292 individual allocations’ to providers plus the ‘2000 allocated to Teach First’, ‘each representing a different pathway to QTS’. Strikingly, Whiting *et al.* state that ‘well over half of these allocations were for just one or two places’, with ‘nearly 7000’ of the places representing School Direct opportunities ‘where applications would be to the lead school, rather than to the provider’. There has been a shift in recent time towards school-led models (such as School Direct and SCITT) and a fragmentation of provision, resulting primarily from the decisive policy shift undertaken during the coalition government in England of 2010–15 and the reforms attempted during that period (Whitty, 2014; Furlong, 2013). While greater school-led provision, and more generally increased school involvement in teacher education, have been aspirations of previous governments in England, the scale of the ambition and the determination to act on it were amplified during the 2010–15 period. Through much of this time, government was actively promoting school-led forms of teacher education, while criticizing the ‘educational establishment’ and the ‘whims of ideologues’ that supposedly dominated universities (Gove, 2014), actions that generated the impression that university-led teacher education (the relevant TEIs for England) was not fit for purpose (Whitty, 2014). This has left a landscape in which new

providers have entered teacher education and schools have increasingly taken on new responsibilities, in a context in which schools have greater autonomy as a consequence of academization and have increasingly been entering into multi-academy trust (MAT) governance arrangements, or becoming part of academy chains. There has also been a growth in distinct targeted programmes (such as Researchers in Schools, Troops for Teachers), although many of these are likely to be small contributors to the overall numbers of new teachers, notwithstanding the difficulties with establishing exact data (Whiting *et al.*, 2018).

Thus, we see no evidence of model A in the current English landscape, and arguably it has not been present for 20 years or more (Furlong *et al.*, 2000). It would be seen as inappropriately ‘academic’ by many of those with interests in English teacher education, model B likewise. On the other hand, versions of model C persist as conventional PGCE routes, in which universities and schools are coming together in ‘complementary’ (Furlong *et al.*, 2000: 78–9) arrangements to offer a form of teacher education that maintains periods of time within TEIs. This may offer a distinctive mode of teacher education discourse, to be maintained within TEIs, with a degree of insulation from other conceptions of teacher education that may be prevalent in schools. What may be increasingly apparent now as the schooling system fragments and MATs emerge with their own distinct cultures and priorities (and therefore regulative dimensions of framing) is that there may be increasing levels of conflict between discourses of teacher education in TEIs and those prevalent in schools, as some MATs move to define what they consider appropriate for *their* schools. In essence, beliefs about teacher education have increasingly come to the fore with the policy reforms of recent years, and it has become more acceptable to oppose a TEI-influenced model of teacher education. The role of universities in teacher education has been questioned by influential figures (for example government ministers), and thus those involved in running MATs may feel enabled to advance particular discourses. Additionally, the model C versions of the PGCE are complicated by the varieties of partnership arrangement between schools that have emerged and schools’ variable capacity for and interest in taking on more active roles in the teacher education process. This will impact on the degree of classification between roles across the TEI and school – some school-based mentoring being better co-ordinated with the support offered by the universities.

A key development here is the prevalence of forms of nominally school-led training that have retained options for novice teachers to acquire university PGCEs. This development has been widespread among

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School Direct provision, in which schools have continued to partner with universities, thus enabling novice teachers to benefit from the universities' resources and receive guidance as students, while still being recruited by the schools and considered as potential longer-term employees (a 'post training employment expectation' (NCTL, 2014: 30) at 'the school or partnership of schools' (DfE, 2017). Arguably, this is still a version of model C, as the universities and schools must play complementary roles if the programme is to meet its objectives. It can be seen as an acceptance by many schools (and the novice teachers who opt for the programmes) that universities continue to have something valuable to offer through the teacher education discourse that they provide, even if this remains somewhat strongly distinct from the particular discourse (and work organization discourse) found in the school in which they are working. On the other hand, where the school starts to take an overwhelming control over the administration and character of the programme it is possible to see such a School Direct programme moving across a boundary to resemble more closely a model-E programme, in which the school is simply contracting an external provider that it consider meets its needs.

It could be argued that the most prominent version of a model-D programme in England is the Teach First programme, which was inspired by the Teach for America programme in the United States (Whiting *et al.*, 2018). This model is 'allocated and recruiting independently' of other forms of teacher education (Whiting *et al.*, 2018: 76) and is shaped strongly by central government. It involves collaborative partnerships between higher education institutions and schools, although the nature of that collaboration is arguably contractual rather than built around longer-term organic developments that might involve shared values or conceptions of teacher education. Participants on the programme undertake intensive five-week periods of 'immersion into the theory and practice of teaching ... delivered by Teach First and our university partners' (Teach First, 2017) before continuing their training and accreditation on the two-year 'leadership development programme', which includes teaching time in a host school, placements in other schools or settings and the achievement of a PGDE (Postgraduate Diploma in Education), which has double the credits of a PGCE. The programme emphasizes its distinctive 'mission' (*ibid.*) (to achieve greater equality in education), which suggests a degree of insulation from other programmes and activities in schools and universities. Nevertheless, novice teachers on Teach First will have to operate within the work organization discourse of their host schools and engage with the teaching practice prevalent there, and may find a disconnect between the

teacher education discourse promoted by the programme and the realities of the regulative component of framing and instructional discourse in the schools in which they are based.

There is also evidence of growth in variants of model E (the training school model) in England, through forms of SCITT and some elements of School Direct. Where MATs or academy chains have determined to take greater control of their teacher education and to link it to recruitment, a stronger classification between the discourses of the school (or trust or chain) and any other discourse is manifested. This leads to teacher education that is heavily shaped by the regulative dimension present in the school (in other words the prevalent norms and notions of ‘social order’), and may be specific to the organization and the values of its founder(s). Substantial academy-sponsoring organizations, such as the Academies Enterprise Trust, the Harris Federation and Ark, run their own School Direct teacher education programmes, and are able to use these programmes to recruit and orient novice teachers in ways that they think are suitable for their schools. Such programmes offer students ‘contrasting’ school placements, as they are obligated to if they lead to qualified teacher status, but in some cases these placements are offered only within the academies run by the sponsoring organization (Harris Federation, 2017), while at Ark there is an opportunity to ‘spend time observing a school outside the Ark Teacher Training network’ (Ark Teacher Training, 2017). While school-based experience is the crux of these programmes, enabling novice teachers to take on the regulative framing and instructional discourse mandated by the organization, the sponsoring organization continues to contract providers, including universities, to offer QTS and PGCE, provided they meet the organization’s quality standards (Harris Federation, 2017). On the other hand, as Whiting *et al.* (2018) show, many SCITTs offer ‘QTS only’, avoiding the expense of including PGCE options, and there are multiple SCITTs which are effectively just one school linked with a QTS provider (for example providers like Educate Teacher Training, previously known as EM Direct). Such versions of model E can be seen as opportunities for the teacher education experience to become almost completely dominated by the culture of the host school, including its work organization discourse, with limited opportunities to maintain a classification between the roles of teacher and employee. Some may see this as an advantage, but the capacity to develop professional judgement may be constrained by a narrowness of experience, especially if the learning environment of the school is restrictive (Fuller and Unwin, 2004).

## **Implications of the context in England for teacher professionalism and knowledge**

Recent developments in teacher education in England have multiple implications for schooling, universities, teachers' work and teacher identity. It is not possible to discuss all of these here, so I will focus on two key areas: teacher professionalism and teachers' knowledge.

In many European countries teacher professionalism is underpinned by a legal and institutional framework that supports the status and the societal esteem of the profession. It is often accompanied by a sustained period of professional formation, university qualifications at master's level, and effective representation through professional associations – standard characteristics of a professional occupation (Abbott, 1988). In Germany, for example, the initial formation period includes state examinations at the end of approximately one-and-a-half to two years of 'practical teaching' and 'school-based courses', which follow five years of university-based study (Kuhlee and Winch, 2017: 244). In England, however, the prevalence of craft-based conceptions of teaching and the historical development of the English education system have not led to teachers enjoying a secure professional status. Indeed, the idea that teachers should be allowed discretion over issues of curriculum and pedagogy is treated with some scepticism in England. Furthermore, the recent academization of English schooling is undermining nationally agreed frameworks over pay and conditions, and reducing the capacity of educational unions to negotiate standards terms for teachers across all schools. Despite the introduction of a Chartered College of Teaching, teachers still lack a professional body that can advocate effectively in their interests, although this may develop with time.

Overall, what Evetts (2011) terms 'occupational' professionalism, based on a societally acknowledged role and definition of the occupation of teaching, with a certain degree of autonomy over its knowledge base and licensing arrangements, currently seems out of reach in England. Instead, teaching seems to be closer to forms of 'organizational' or even 'corporate' professionalism (Evetts, 2011; Muzio *et al.*, 2011). This can be seen in the increasing influence of academy chains, MATs and individual schools over the teacher education process (through the advance of model E). The 'professional' norms reflect the organizational objectives set by chains, trusts and individual schools more than a set of universally agreed and societally acknowledged professional values. This professionalism is, however, also shaped powerfully by 'governmental' influence (Beck, 2008), which is

advanced through the use of the teaching standards, the introduction of new pathways through teacher education such as School Direct and Teach First, and the challenging of the university role.

Strongly related to these developments is a challenge to conceptions of the knowledge needed for teaching. As Beck and Young (2005) identify, echoing Bernstein (2000), contemporary scepticism about forms of specialized professional knowledge is concomitant with the reconfiguring of professional identities towards market imperatives and the erosion of professional commitments. As Bernstein (2000) points out, this is part of a ‘divorce of knowledge from the knower’ in contemporary societies, as specialized disciplinary knowledge forms generated in higher education increasingly become valued only for their capacity to generate economic returns, rather than to provide insight and conjecture. The risk is an increasing undermining of the potential of teachers to make well-grounded judgements and to engage critically with the nature of the practice in which they work (Shalem, 2014). A model A TEI-led version of teacher education, if strongly connected to specialized knowledge generated in higher education, might generate the types of practitioner who have the capacity to critique and reimagine pedagogy and professionalism, but would be treated sceptically because of the ‘liberal education’, craft and technical traditions that dominate English educational discourse (Winch *et al.*, 2015; Furlong and Whitty, 2017). The risk of an increasing prevalence of models D and E, and of the atomized context in which some novice teachers on school-based programmes increasingly find themselves, is that other objectives are placed above the use of disciplined professional knowledge to develop teachers’ capacity to make well-grounded professional judgements. Forms of knowledge that are specifically valued by governments or organizations as a consequence of their policy or strategic agendas are likely to supersede elements of disciplined knowledge produced in higher education. In England this is strongly articulated with instrumental and technical views of teaching (as discussed by Winch *et al.*, 2015) that assume that the initial professional development of novice teachers should be functional and focused purely on ensuring that these teachers can operate effectively within the current teaching context. A capacity to challenge, the development of autonomous judgement and a scholarly approach to teaching are therefore not well supported by recent reforms to teacher education in England.

### **Concluding remarks**

This chapter has discussed the various models of teacher education that emerged from a pan-European research exercise (Maandag *et al.*, 2007),

and then used Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing to unpack the dynamics of power and control suggested by different approaches to teacher education. This has enabled a further elaboration of the models themselves, and a discussion of the contemporary context of teacher education in England that draws on a recent topography of teacher education routes (Whiting *et al.*, 2018), among other literature. Issues emerging from this analysis, particularly those that relate to teachers' professionalism, knowledge and identity, have been outlined. I present the analysis with the intention that it will inform ongoing analysis of models and philosophies of teacher education, including ongoing research into partnerships between teacher education institutions and schools, and the pedagogic complexities through which teachers gain competence and expertise.

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## Chapter 8

# Using comparative analysis of teacher education to illuminate aspects of the English case

*Jim Hordern and Maria Teresa Tatto*

This chapter examines contrasting models of secondary teacher education in a sample of countries that participated in the TEDS-M study, a major international comparative study of mathematics teacher education, and uses them as a starting point for the further illumination of some recent developments in teacher education in England. By focusing on the differentiation of forms of knowledge, and the recontextualization processes that relate subject curricula and educational knowledge to planned and implemented forms of teacher education, we unpack the differing rationales that underpin various models found internationally and discuss how they may relate to the socio-political context of the participating countries. The comparative work results in an analytical lens that allows some deliberation on the developing forms of teacher education in England and on some of the emerging findings of the Diversity in Teacher Education (DiTE) project.

### Introduction

This chapter examines competing rationales of teacher education programmes, building on a comparative study of secondary teacher education (Tatto and Hordern, 2017) that drew upon the TEDS-M study of mathematics teacher education across 17 countries (Tatto, Schwille, Senk, Ingvarson, Peck and Rowley, 2008; Tatto, Schwille, Senk, Ingvarson, Rowley *et al.*, 2012). First, we discuss a range of conceptions of teaching and teachers' knowledge, and the relationship these have to conceptions of teaching practice and professionalism, and therefore also to the development of teacher education programmes. We introduce Bernstein's (2000) notion of recontextualization fields as a useful means of considering the relationship between knowledge production and the teacher education curriculum, and relations between 'stakeholder interests' in teacher education. This enables

an illustration of the different secondary-level programmes analysed in Tatto and Hordern (2017), with particular attention to the contexts of Singapore and Germany. Although England was not covered in the TEDS-M study, we employ elements of the analytical frame used in TEDS-M to discuss the current English context and the proliferation of routes.

### **Conceptions of teaching and underpinning rationales of teacher education programmes**

Winch *et al.* (2015) outline three influential conceptions of the teacher, as a ‘craftworker’, as a ‘technician’ and as a ‘reflective professional’. These conceptions are articulated with different views of which forms of knowledge are most important in the process of teaching. Craftworkers rely on forms of ‘situated understanding’ developed from vicarious experience in practice, while technicians apply ‘technical know-how’ to engineer pedagogical solutions to the problems they encounter (pp. 208–10). Reflective professionals, on the other hand, rely on systematically produced forms of knowledge that they directly engage with as scholars or researchers (ibid.: 210; Hordern and Tatto, 2018). Reflection, importantly, can be seen as something that sits apart from any direct engagement with systematically produced knowledge; reflective practice can be conceived as attention to forms of experiential knowledge that are separate from the forms of knowledge produced by disciplinary research, and much more relevant to the practice at hand (Winch *et al.*, 2015). However, this latter conception of reflective practice may underestimate the role of systematic knowledge as a resource through which practice problems may be reconceptualized, and the manner in which practice is shaped and reshaped by scientific and technological advances (Young and Muller, 2014; Hordern, 2016). Moreover, research on the sociology of the professions emphasizes the significance of systematic knowledge in maintaining jurisdiction over an area of work, and maintaining public trust and confidence in the work of the occupation (Abbott, 1988; Young and Muller, 2014). Winch *et al.* (2015) suggest that a reflective professional model, together with an engagement with systematic forms of knowledge, enhances the capacity to use technical and craft capabilities appropriately in teaching practice. This suggests that reflective professionals who engage with scholarship and actively undertake research may view the practice context differently as a consequence of their engagement with systematic knowledge.

These conceptions of teaching, and the assumptions about teachers’ knowledge that underpin them, can be said to influence the shape of many teacher education programmes (Winch *et al.*, 2015; Hordern and Tatto,

2018). A preference for a craft conception is likely to lead to a preference for school-based forms of teacher education, in which novice teachers are immersed in the teaching practice and can develop there the types of situated understanding that can develop their craft capabilities. There is no obvious role for the production of systematic educational knowledge for teaching, or for teachers in accessing such knowledge were it to exist (Hordern and Tatto, 2018). On the other hand, a technical conception of teaching leads to requirements that teachers will become familiar with technical protocols in teacher education, many of which have been devised by ‘curriculum developers’ distant from the context of teaching practice in which those teachers are involved. The technical conception also suggests that there may be a role for a form of systematic knowledge production in education, in that educational research will be needed to develop robust well-grounded technical protocols that can be implemented by teachers. Teacher education must thus enable teachers to develop technical capabilities, and such development may involve periods of time in teacher education institutions (TEI), during which familiarization with the requisite protocols and opportunities to test out their execution in a low-risk environment may be offered. Such a conception suggests that the school alone may not be sufficient as a locus of teacher education.

The technical conception of teaching does, we suggest, contain at least two different potential strands (Tatto and Hordern, 2017; Hordern and Tatto, 2018). On the one hand there is an ‘instrumental’ technical conception, similar to Winch’s (2010) notion of the executive technician. In such a conception, teachers have limited discretion over their work and are not afforded the opportunity to select, and make judgements regarding, the protocols and scripts suggested for their teaching practice. These protocols may be authorized by governments or others involved in curriculum development. On the other hand there is a more advanced technical model (see also Kuhlee and Winch, 2017), in which teachers do acquire high levels of technical expertise in selection and judgement of new solutions to problems, albeit within an institutional framework that still holds a technical vision of the process of teaching and the role of teachers. For example, an educational system that suggests that teachers must only or primarily focus on ensuring high levels of student achievement in priority subjects, drawing on mandated research, suggests the potential for an advanced technical conception. And we might also conjecture a similar role, that of a ‘technical professional’, a conception that accords a (perhaps relatively high) professional status to teachers, but sees their work as focused on achieving prescribed outcomes, perhaps within a wider

civil service (see Kuhlee and Winch, 2017, for a discussion of the term). In all such conceptions, the autonomy and discretion of teachers, and their potential to shape pedagogical practice itself, are constrained. Whereas the instrumental technical conception suggests a limited period of teacher education, the advanced technical or technical professional role suggests that teaching practice is valued by society and therefore may require a lengthy and rigorous process of initial and continuing teacher development.

A distinctive element of the reflective professional conception is the level of discretion and autonomous judgement that must be afforded to the teacher. The centrality of reflection to the conception suggests that the teacher's capacity to consider her actions and dispositions and to change an approach to practice in general or in respect of a particular aspect of practice is considered important. If engagement with the systematic knowledge produced in higher education (that is, discipline-based educational research and applied research on education) is considered central to a reflective process, this suggests that teacher education programmes require a scholarly component that is probably most easily acquired through time spent in a higher education institution. It does not necessarily suggest a higher-education-dominated form of teacher education, but it does suggest that reflective professionals require time away from teaching practice in scholarly environments to develop their capabilities in scholarship and possibly also in research. Winch *et al.* (2015: 211) emphasize that the professional teacher requires 'discretion and judgment to evaluate educational research', and this involves developing the capability to 'engage critically with false research' so that they can 'question received wisdom'. On the other hand, if reflection is conceptualized purely as an aspect of the development of practice expertise (for instance, see Carr, 2006), then forms of teacher education that are predominantly or exclusively school-based become justifiable. However, even here, one might expect such school-based experience to be sufficiently structured to enable forms of reflection to take place.

However, while these conceptions of teaching are likely to be influential, to understand the level of their influence in any given educational context it is important to take account of the relations between stakeholders with interests in teacher education. Bernstein's discussion of recontextualization fields, in the context of the framework of the pedagogic device, provides some tools for such an analysis. Recontextualization is the appropriation and transformation of knowledge between and within different contexts, from disciplines to curricula (Bernstein, 2000; Muller, 2009), and potentially also between intended, implemented and received curricula (for instance in curriculum and pedagogic development and practice) (Hordern, 2014; Tatto

and Hordern, 2017). Bernstein outlines the notion of a ‘recontextualising principle which selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses and relates other discourses [including knowledge] to constitute its own order’ (2000: 33). This principle can be shaped by various socio-political, historical, cultural factors as much as by recontextualization ‘agents’ with their own views and interests in the development of curricula and pedagogy. Bernstein presents the contested dynamic of recontextualization through discussion of the relations between the ‘official’ and the ‘pedagogic’ ‘recontextualising fields’, the ORF and the PRF (*ibid.*). The ORF consists of governments and agencies of government, and the PRF contains teachers and educationalists, including academics. The struggle between the agents within the ORF and the PRF is over who can control the process of recontextualization and therefore shape the knowledge and character of the curriculum. It should not be forgotten, however, that this process of recontextualization sits within the broader structure of the pedagogic device, which links together the field of ‘production’ (where knowledge is produced) and the field of ‘reproduction’, where pupils, learners or students engage with the knowledge (*ibid.*: 37). The ORF and the PRF sit between the fields of production and reproduction and represent the principal site of educational contestation, where there is ‘struggle over pedagogic discourse and its practices’ and conflict regarding the ‘fundamental autonomy of education’ (*ibid.*: 33).

Recontextualization can be a helpful notion for understanding the constitution of the teacher education curriculum, and struggles between agents for its character and knowledge content. In some jurisdictions the government, through the ORF, dominates teacher education by determining what, in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes, constitutes a competent or ‘effective’ teacher. This dominance may be represented by a system of standards or a government-mandated accreditation, which those associated with the PRF (that is, teachers or teacher educators) have no choice but to comply with. In contrast, in a jurisdiction in which a PRF is highly influential, teacher educators and academics are likely to have greater control over the nature of the teacher education curriculum, and to have the discretion to maintain a degree of autonomy and distance from governmental objectives. This situation can be manifested in teacher educator control over the selection and transformation of knowledge, including from disciplinary sources, in order to promote forms of critical reflection. In the majority of teacher education systems, however, there is likely to be an ongoing struggle between agents in the ORF and in the PRF. Given the increasing prominence of comparative measurements of teacher education, such as the Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS), and ever more tightly

controlled visions of teacher quality in educational reform (Robertson and Sorensen, 2017), struggles between and within the recontextualization fields are unlikely to abate in many jurisdictions in the near future.

### **Illustration: an international comparison of mathematics teacher education**

We now progress to a discussion of an international comparison of mathematics teacher education as a means of illustrating both the conceptions of teaching that underpin teacher education in different jurisdictions and the recontextualization dynamic that enables certain forms of teacher education to develop and to persist or prevents them from doing so. These illustrations serve to provide exemplifications that will help with the analysis of the contemporary context of English teacher education. An advantage of studying maths teacher education comparatively is that the structure of maths as a discipline is relatively uniform across national contexts. In Bernstein's terms it is a horizontal knowledge structure with a very strong grammar (2000: 163), and therefore enjoys a very close relationship between its internal and external languages of description. Mathematical proofs and mathematical procedures are acknowledged across national contexts, and mathematical knowledge is built systematically albeit through distinct languages (for instance geometry, algebra).

The TEDS-M study (Tatto, Schwille, Senk, Ingvarson, L., Rowley *et al.*, 2012), from which the analysis is drawn, is the first international comparative study of maths teacher education. It was carried out through analysis of questionnaires about teacher education programmes' curricula, contexts and background, and two assessments of future teachers' knowledge across representative national samples of primary and secondary pre-service teacher education programmes. The study was undertaken across 17 countries, and involved collaborative work with a diverse range of 'recontextualization agents' who had influence over maths teacher education in each of the countries. We focus on programmes that prepare future secondary teachers, and while we refer to models in Poland and the USA, we focused in greater depth here on Singapore and Germany, which enjoy differing systems of teacher education. England did not participate in TEDS-M, and therefore cannot be directly compared with the 17 countries in terms of the detail of maths teacher education. The analysis of the selected countries, however, enables further observations on the dynamics of the English case.

The TEDS-M data enables a comparison of different forms of knowledge within the teacher education curriculum, such as mathematical

content knowledge (MCK) and general pedagogical knowledge (GPK) (Tatto *et al.*, 2012; Shulman, 1987). MCK is knowledge that has been selected from the mathematics discipline but is then ‘ordered, sequenced and categorised’ (Tatto and Hordern, 2017: 259) in the teacher education curriculum, in accordance with the recontextualization principle which is in operation in that nation. That principle may reflect an orientation towards a particular form of education or conception of teaching, and may be shaped by stakeholders within both the ORF and the PRF. GPK, on the other hand, is knowledge that may be recontextualized from the foundation disciplines of education (in other words the philosophy, sociology, history and psychology of education) to constitute a base of educational knowledge that it is considered important for novice teachers to acquire or engage with. This knowledge may have been selected because it is considered to offer insights particularly apposite for teaching practice, or for the particular conception of teaching that the relevant recontextualization agents – government, teachers or others – wish to advance. The forms of MCK and GPK are then considered to contribute to the development of what is termed mathematics pedagogical content knowledge (MPCK), which may consist of various elements of the above, assembled to provide knowledge that is appropriate for use in the context of the implementation of the mathematics curriculum and mathematical pedagogy. In the TEDS-M study MPCK is categorized into three sub-domains which illustrate its complexity: mathematics curricular knowledge, knowledge for planning for mathematics teaching and learning, and knowledge for enacting mathematics for teaching and learning (Tatto, Schwille, Senk, Ingvarson, L., Rowley *et al.*, 2012). Together, these sub-domains (through the detailed sub-themes within them) cover much of what is involved in constructing a curriculum for the teaching context at hand, and the curriculum-planning and pedagogic implementation processes.

The strong grammar of mathematical knowledge suggests there is considerable agreement about what constitutes mathematics around the world, and this is reflected in the TEDS-M study, for which it was possible to reach agreement about the content of mathematical knowledge and to a great extent the mathematical content within MPCK (Tatto, Schwille, Senk, Ingvarson, Peck *et al.*, 2008). However, it is notable that, despite this consensus, there are distinct differences between countries concerning how mathematics should be taught and how mathematics teachers should be educated. Dynamics of recontextualization, and the relative influence of various stakeholders, in addition to the underlying conception of teaching and teachers’ knowledge adhered to, are likely to have an effect.

## **Variety in secondary-level teacher education across countries involved in the TEDS-M study**

The TEDS-M study revealed considerable variety in teacher education implementation. Certain countries recruit large numbers of teachers into postgraduate programmes on the basis that they have already achieved a high standard in an undergraduate degree in their chosen subject. This ‘consecutive’ model has the advantage of enabling a wider range of graduates to enter teaching than do ‘concurrent’ models, which start at undergraduate level. For example, postgraduate secondary teacher education programmes in Singapore do not cover mathematics topics but concentrate on other aspects of pedagogical expertise; in Germany, and also in the USA where concurrent models are widely used for preparation for secondary teaching, there is greater coverage of mathematical knowledge for the curriculum and on the pedagogy of mathematics (Tatto and Hordern, 2017).

In Singapore, according to the TEDS-M curriculum analysis, considerable attention is paid to the pedagogical aspects of MPCK, but there is minimal coverage of ‘affective issues, instructional materials, the context of mathematics education, and the development of mathematical ability’ (Tatto and Hordern, 2017: 269). Similarly, there is a focused approach to the selection of GPK in Singapore, with educational foundations, principles of instruction, classroom management, instructional media and practical knowledge of teaching all included, but educational research methods and counselling and pastoral care omitted. In the analysis of the practicum experience, Singapore is notable for the complete absence of curriculum coverage of organizing social activities or working with parents, which both feature in some programmes in Poland and the United States (Tatto and Hordern, 2017: 271–2). This implies a bounded conception of the teacher, with the focus on technical expertise and subject capability. A broader community or family support role is therefore not considered appropriate in Singapore for secondary teachers.

The situation in Singapore contrasts somewhat with the situation in Germany, Poland and the United States, which all have a greater diversity of content across their mathematics teacher education programmes (Tatto and Hordern, 2017). This may reflect a sense in Singapore that certain aspects of teaching practice are superfluous to the core objective of producing teachers expert in their chosen subject, and a belief that rigorous training in the technical aspects of teaching is paramount. Singaporean teacher education is highly centralized, with control from the Singaporean Ministry of Education and a standardized structure of the curriculum across programmes. This

suggests constraints on the discretion of teacher educators, and on that of teachers to develop their own pathways through the teacher education curriculum, reflecting the focus of educational reforms in Singapore over the last 20 years (Hogan and Gopinathan, 2008). In essence the strength of actors within the ORF, and their co-option and directive shaping of pedagogical expertise within a notional PRF, limit conflict over prevailing models of teacher education. The degree of centralization also suggests the dominance of a state-mandated vision of the relationship between subject expertise and pedagogical expertise, which may assume an unproblematic relationship between disciplines and curricula, so that the state relies on individual teachers acquiring expertise in the curriculum development of their subject through practice, while ensuring that their pedagogical capabilities are robustly developed on their teacher education programme.

The Singaporean context contrasts somewhat with the situation in Germany in terms of mathematics teacher education, and the contrast can be partly attributed to the recontextualization field dynamics and how teachers' work is conceived. First, in Germany, as in the USA, the federal states have a key role in determining the content of teacher education, and this has resulted in some rather different arrangements, regulated at the state level in the USA, and in Germany within a nationally constituted framework (Kuhlee and Winch, 2017). Second, the status of teachers as professionals is not substantively doubted in Germany and this translates into a degree of discretion for teachers in the exercise of their knowledge and pedagogical practice, supported by lengthy underpinning programmes of professional formation. Thirdly, it can be argued that the existence of a discipline of pedagogy or 'German educational thought' (Furlong and Whitty, 2017) that strongly influences conceptions of education in Germany has historically provided the profession with a jurisdictional shield against the colonization of teaching practice by other interested parties (Abbott, 1988; Schriewer, 2017). However, this relatively stable situation has experienced challenges in recent times that stem from concerns about pupil attainment in comparison with other countries, as highlighted by PISA benchmarks (Ertl, 2006; Schriewer, 2017). Maths teachers at secondary level in Germany are generally educated through four-year programmes at universities which include practicum phases, followed by two years of teacher education split between study and school-based experience (Hodgen *et al.*, 2013: 17). Engagement with and reflection on systematically produced knowledge, including via the traditions of German educational thought, are standard components of teacher education, the prolonged duration of teacher education allowing the development of a 'reflective professional' orientation

that is at least scholarly if not actively engaged in research as such (Winch *et al.*, 2015; Kuhlee and Winch, 2017). The consequence is a PRF that is more able to maintain influence over the substance of educational discourse and to shape the decisions taken with the ORF. German educationalists and teachers are themselves part of 'the state', and therefore the distinction between the two fields is perhaps less clear than it would be in an English context, for example. These professionals could be seen as legitimate actors within the ORF, able to engage in fundamental debates that affect the future of the educational system, and with sufficient authority to shape academic programmes 'in alignment with their individual perspectives and academic judgement' as much as with 'political recommendations' (Kuhlee and Winch, 2017: 248).

The analysis of the TEDS-M data reflects this outline of German teacher education. Particularly notable is the way in which GPK is conceived in Germany. Even though there is limited coverage of philosophy *per se*, and educational research is not consistently covered, there is attention to educational psychology, theories of schools, principles of instruction and practical knowledge of teaching. These components may reflect the persistent influence of the traditional 'philosophical-cum-hermeneutic paradigm of educational studies', with its emphasis on fundamental concepts such as *Bildung* (individual self-cultivation), *Reifung* (maturation) and *pädagogischer Bezug* (the value-based interpersonal educator/teacher-pupil relation) (Schriewer, 2017: 85) in German teacher education. Notably, the TEDS-M study demonstrates a very strong coverage of the counselling and pastoral aspects of the teachers' role in Germany, in contradistinction to other countries studied in depth such as Poland and Singapore (Tatto and Hordern, 2017). This entails a conception of teaching that goes beyond that of 'instructor' or 'subject specialist' and focuses on holistic individual development within a tradition (via *Bildung* and *Reifung*, noted above). The existence of such a tradition may make the introduction of a separate philosophy curriculum input unlikely, and suggests that seemingly technical activities focused on instruction may instead involve considerable debate and conjecture about which principles are appropriate to that instructive dynamic.

While space does not allow us to go into the US model of teacher education in depth, we refer the reader to a detailed and comparative analysis of teacher education in the USA and England (Tatto, Burn *et al.*, 2018). Suffice it to say that in the USA, thanks to a decentralized system of governance, the PRF has prevailed over the ORF. Counselling and pastoral aspects as such receive less emphasis than in Germany, but they are

embedded in the inquiry approaches to teaching (for instance, philosophy of education, and educational research methods) which are variably covered in some of the traditional modalities in which the majority of the teachers are prepared; this embedding allows future teachers to engage in reflective practice with special attention to the needs of diverse populations.

### **Notes on the current context of English teacher education**

There has been considerable change in the relations between the ORF and the PRF in England since the 1980s (Tatto, Burn *et al.*, 2018). There can be little doubt that the extent of control enjoyed by teachers over curriculum and pedagogic practice within schools has been curtailed over this period, and government control over teacher education has been extended (Furlong, 2013). There has therefore been a change in the relation between the ORF and the PRF, with increasing dominance by the ORF of the character of educational practice and the professional standards to which teachers are accredited. Teacher education has been diversified at the behest of government ministers, often as a consequence of scepticism towards the role of higher education in teacher education and an adherence to particular conceptions of good teaching (Furlong, 2013; Whitty, 2014). As Whiting *et al.* (2018) have demonstrated in considerable detail, the latest developments in English teacher education have resulted in a diversity of pathways to qualified teacher status which is unparalleled, at least in the history of English teacher education.

However, it is important to note that the dynamic of the ORF has also changed over this period. The governance of education in England has increasingly moved towards a model that prioritizes choice and competition above stability and traditional notions of public service (Ball, 2009). This change has been particularly acute since the advent of the Conservative-led coalition government in 2010, although arguably it had its source in reforms to public services in the 1980s. It has led to an ORF which increasingly asserts entrepreneurial values in combination with 'arm's-length' accountability for the implementation of educational policy. Government has paradoxically become more remote and more proximate, seeking to embed its values into every aspect of educational activity. Recent governments have prioritized system reform through the proliferation of academies and free schools, school improvement via inspection, the borrowing of aspects of policies assumed to be successful elsewhere (for example free schools and Teach First), and the attempted reconfiguration of teacher education via School Direct and other bespoke programmes. In general, there remains a contrast

in beliefs about educational purpose between those in the ORF and those who would be considered part of the PRF, although there are undoubtedly academics and teachers who subscribe to some or many of the government reforms of recent times. Indeed, compromises may have had to be made for many teacher education departments to function, in order to ensure the continued recruitment of students and the overall financial viability of schools of education.

However, the ideologies and values that underpin the forms of teacher education advanced by recent governments in respect of England are not all of a piece. In particular, it could be argued there is a ‘marriage of convenience’ between a ‘craft’ and a more ‘instrumental’ technical view of the teacher that runs through teacher education reform. Craft approaches are often associated with a belief in the highly educated subject specialist, which suggests that those who have achieved high standards in a subject area are likely to be inherently well equipped to become teachers of that subject, and possibly others. This philosophy is described by Furlong and Whitty as a ‘liberal education + craft knowledge’ tradition that ‘has two distinct elements ... [that] are frequently combined in a number of contemporary policy initiatives’ (2017: 34). It appears to be the philosophy that underpins Teach First (Furlong and Whitty, 2017), a ‘salaried route for high achieving graduates’ (Whiting *et al.*, 2018: 71) which has a sizeable number of allocated training places (2000 places in 2015–16; *ibid.*: 76). It also appears to underpin the concepts of Researchers in Schools, which is targeted at those ‘who have completed or are finishing their doctorate’ (*ibid.*: 75), although this is a much smaller programme (*ibid.*: 83). More generally, the assertion that schools should be at the forefront of teacher education, and that teachers learn best from other teachers, ‘on the job’, is strongly infused with a craft approach to teaching. The expansion of School Direct (SD), encouraged by the coalition (2010–15) and Conservative (2015–present) governments, has led to a situation in which large numbers of trainee teachers are recruited individually and directly to schools. Whiting *et al.* note that about 7,000 teacher training allocated places ‘represented discrete SD options where applications would be to the lead school’ and that ‘well over half of these allocations were for just one or two places’ (2018: 76). In such contexts the particular pedagogical craft practices demonstrated in the school are likely to have considerable influence over teacher development, although it should be remembered that enrolment on SD does involve time studying with an external provider. On the other hand, school-centred initial teacher training (SCITT) does allow schools to be providers, of which there were 146 in 2015–16, more than twice as many

as higher education providers (*ibid.*). But schools cannot provide a higher education qualification, and therefore are likely to rely heavily on craft-oriented models of teacher development.

Allied to the craft and subject specialist conception, at least in some government thinking, are the notions of the teacher as representing a certain kind of moral authority and as possessing some innate ‘teacherly’ characteristics. This is reflected in comments by Anthony Seldon (2013), who has been influential in some Conservative-party considerations of education, and in his suggestion that the teacher’s role is ‘akin to that of a parent’, and that therefore teachers (like parents) should ‘pick it up as they go along’. Seldon goes on to suggest that ‘great teaching is a gift that some have, and others will never acquire even if they spend 10 years locked away in a university’. It is, for him, an issue of having an ‘X factor’ which can be identified by experienced teachers ‘within minutes’. The parenting notion is perhaps influential in the development of programmes such as Troops to Teachers, where the discipline and efficiency of the military is considered to be good preparation for classroom practice. However, the ‘X factor’ concept also aligns with the logic of the School Direct reforms, that headteachers and other senior school staff are best placed to make decisions about who should train to teach within their schools. It provides a rationale for a teacher education training system dominated by the preferences of current senior staff or of other celebrated high-profile educationalists, and the denigration of the forms of systematic knowledge that Winch *et al.* (2015: 211) suggest are vital for making judgements regarding ‘false research’ and for challenging ‘received wisdom about particular classroom practices’. While Dr Seldon’s recipe for success may be a satisfactory strategy for those teaching privileged pupils in certain schools, it surely does not equip teachers with the professional knowledge needed to manage a diversity of pupils, interactions and expectations in classrooms in most schools in the UK or elsewhere, or to provide a basis for professional development throughout a teacher’s career.

But despite the prevalence of these craft approaches, there are also undercurrents of the instrumental technical vision in much teacher education reform in England. The emphasis on ‘what works’ in terms of research that meets policy objectives, and the institution of a preferred body through which an agenda for educational research for teachers is to be arbitrated, namely the Education Endowment Foundation (DfE, 2016), sits comfortably with a view of the teacher as an implementer of ‘technical protocols’ (Winch *et al.*: 2015) derived by knowledgeable technologists. For many teachers entering teaching on School Direct or SCITT programmes, particularly

where there is limited involvement from higher education (for instance at the 146 SCITT providers that Whiting *et al.* (2018) identify), ideas for teaching practice may come from sources promoted to them through government websites and materials they engage with as they seek to demonstrate their competence against the Teachers' Standards in areas such as teaching 'well-structured lessons', and 'manag[ing] behaviour effectively' (DfE, 2011). Indeed, government policy documents have asserted the importance of 'evidence-based teaching', with 'evidence' here understood as that which 'will be applicable across the whole education system' (DfE, 2016: 39). The Education Endowment Foundation (EEF) is charged with enhancing its communications capability to 'highlight the broad applicability of its work to all pupils and schools' (39), the implication being that teachers are therefore responsible for the technical (and instrumental) application of the protocols generated by the EEF. The EEF research is supposedly universally applicable and therefore by inference must be superior to the teachers' own professional judgement. The implementation of ideas and protocols picked up from such purveyors of educational knowledge may, however, also be influenced by the input of colleagues and the parameters set within the schools teachers are working within.

This marriage of the 'craft' and the instrumental technical in conceptions of teaching and teacher education in England is highly advantageous to the objectives of the ORF as it is currently configured. First of all, both approaches suggest a marginal role for disciplinary educational knowledge, meaning that ideas from the PRF that might challenge and question the entrepreneurial and competitive values promoted by the ORF are excluded from much teacher education practice. Second, the combination of the two philosophies enables the development of forms of teacher education that can meet the needs of the various elements of the divided and fragmented English educational system. Subject specialists with Russell Group degrees can be fast-tracked to high-performing schools in affluent areas through School Direct programmes with the minimum of interference from the 'blob' of 'left-wing academics', while other new teachers can be directed through government-mandated protocols to implement semi-scripted forms of pedagogy, in accordance with teaching standards and school management. The limited time allowed to teacher education programmes also marginalizes opportunities for reflective pedagogical judgement based on scholarship to emerge (Winch *et al.*, 2015), which may constrain new teachers' ability to make judgements about new pedagogical techniques and cod philosophies that may be retailed to them as quick-fix solutions to perceived educational problems. For an ORF keen to see the development

of a private sector-led educational industry that promotes values of self-reliance and entrepreneurialism, such a diminution of teachers' capacity and opportunity to scrutinize and reject 'innovations' may be welcome.

Where does this leave the reflective professional conception advocated by Winch *et al.* (2015)? In England, we might suggest that it is not quite dead, but marginalized. It lives on in the traditions of many schools of education in England, and in many of the PGCE programmes offered by those schools, notwithstanding the assault by government and the barebones reductionism of the Teachers' Standards. It is bolstered also by looking beyond the national boundaries at the wider variety of teacher education programmes that are nurtured by forms of systematic knowledge and research traditions found in other nations, as demonstrated by other studies (Tatto, Schwille, Senk, Invgarson, Peck and Rowley, 2008; Tatto, Schwille, Senk, Invgarson, Rowley *et al.*, 2012; Whitty and Furlong, 2017), although few nations remain untouched by global reconfigurations of educational systems and notions of teacher quality. The contrast between the English case and that of Germany and Singapore, where advanced technical and critically reflective professional forms of teacher education are prevalent (Kuhlee and Winch, 2017; Tatto and Hordern, 2017), is considerable. While it may seem, at times, that there is no alternative to the prevalent 'craft' and 'instrumental technical' visions in England, the history of teacher education in England suggests that the next phase of reform and change may be just around the corner.

### **Concluding remarks**

This chapter has discussed underpinning rationales for teacher education programmes by focusing on the craft, technical and reflective professional conceptions of teaching and by examining the relationship between 'agents' in the official and pedagogic recontextualizing fields with reference to a comparative study of mathematics teacher education (the TEDS-M study). The analytical frame and broader discussion that resulted from this process has enabled some reflections to emerge on aspects of the current context of teacher education in England, making use of some of the findings of the Diversity in Teacher Education (DiTE) research undertaken at Bath Spa University. We suggest that the predominance of craft and instrumental technical approaches in England, strongly represented across the patchwork of national teacher education provision, reflects the objectives of the official recontextualization field in England, which is oriented towards policies of choice, competitiveness and marketized diversity.

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# Diversity in teacher education: Afterword

*Ian Menter and Kate Reynolds*

This final contribution in the book offers an overview of what has been revealed in the earlier chapters. We offer commentary on what has been established about teacher education in England, on the ways in which policy has been developed, and on the effects it is having on teaching practice. We also situate these findings in the wider setting of the United Kingdom and in the international context. The chapter makes reference to other, contemporary research in ITE, and to wider social, cultural and political processes. Finally, looking at the range of research methodologies that have been adopted in the DiTE programme, we make suggestions about future directions for teacher education research.

## Introduction

Diversity in Teacher Education (DiTE) started its life as a research project designed in part as a follow-up to MOTE, Modes of Teacher Education, as described in the Foreword and in chapter 1. What developed from the DiTE project, and is reflected in this book, is significantly more than a research project; we now refer to it as a research *programme* with a number of strands. In trying to make sense of what has been happening in English teacher education over recent years we have sought both to comprehend it at a national level, as can be found especially in some of the early chapters (2 and 3), and to use the local environment, around Bath Spa University, as a particular case through which to examine the impact of policy changes (as for example in chapters 4 and 5).

The word ‘complexity’ can be found on many pages in the volume, and it is this sense of a complex set of structures, programmes and activities that has necessitated a more ‘multi-stranded’ approach to the original research questions. Looking back on the MOTE experience of the late 1990s, we see this as perhaps the most apparent difference between then and now. In contrast with the simplicity of HEI-led initial teacher education in the 1990s, albeit with a range of approaches (Furlong *et al.*, 2000), we now have a myriad of routes and of teacher education providers. This can

make it difficult to offer a clear analysis of how and where teacher education is happening.

In this brief afterword we offer some reflections, first on the nature of policy changes in English teacher education over the past 20 to 30 years. Then we consider how they relate to changes seen elsewhere in the world. As has been suggested, England is not alone in pursuing a stream of policy initiatives in teacher education. Some aspects of what has been happening here may be mirrored in other national settings, but it is our view that the particular combination of changes that has been occurring in England adds up to a distinctive concoction, which we seek to distil. Finally, we review the range of research approaches that have been adopted by DiTE team members, for these too have been very varied. This review leads us to make some suggestions about the future of teacher education research, both in England and in the wider world.

### **Teacher education policy in England**

In 2000, when the summary book from the MOTE projects was published (Furlong *et al.*, 2000), we saw early signs of the trajectory which has developed in the twenty-first century and which is the main focus of this book. Since 1984 we had seen a series of central government interventions into teacher education which had increasingly challenged the long-established consensus of professionals who had been providing teacher education courses (Childs and Menter, 2013). The main protagonists within this consensus were the colleges of education, the polytechnics and the universities that had departments of education. These had worked through local consortia, involving local authorities and with advice from Her Majesty's Inspectorate, to seek to provide a sufficient supply of newly qualified teachers to meet local needs.

The increasing centrality of education in national political agendas both in the UK and around the world gave rise to anxiety in England about the quality of teaching and led the Conservative government in the 1980s under Margaret Thatcher to seek to shake up the complacency and inertia which were deemed to be characteristic of the 'education establishment' (see Jones, 2003). So, in addition to the beginnings of radical reforms in teacher education itself, we saw the most dramatic upheaval in school education since the post-war implementation of the 1944 Education Act, most notably in the Education Reform Act of 1988. The particular blend of moral authoritarianism and economic libertarianism that was so characteristic of Thatcherism was brought to bear in radical ways across the education system. So we saw the imposition of a national curriculum and new national

assessment arrangements at the same time as we saw the introduction of 'local management of schools' and the creation of new types of secondary schools such as City Technology Colleges (see Bristol Polytechnic Education Study Group, 1989; Whitty and Menter, 1989).

Within teacher education, as well as the introduction of explicit criteria for the accreditation of teacher education courses we saw the first attempts to diversify provision and to create new routes of entry to the profession, for example in the Articled Teacher and Licensed Teacher schemes (Murray and Mutton, 2016). The motivation for this was a desire to address impending teacher shortages rather than being based on ideological or principled convictions. At this time, concern was expressed within the teaching profession about the possible undermining of the move towards an all-graduate profession that had been a clear tendency during the second half of the twentieth century.

So, by the time the MOTE projects finished just before the turn of the century, mainstream provision for teacher education remained in the form of higher education routes leading to a degree (either a BEd or a BA/BSc with QTS) or to a postgraduate certificate (PGCE). The awarding body was a higher education institution and the government Department for Education registered new teachers as qualified. The courses were provided in various forms of partnership, as had been required since the implementation of government circulars 9/92 (for secondary) and 14/93 (for primary). In this book, Sorensen (chapter 4) summarizes the typology of partnerships proposed by the MOTE team at that time.

During the first decade of the twenty-first century, initially under a Labour government, we witnessed continuing concern about teacher quality manifested through, for example, the promotion of teaching standards and through further diversification of entry routes, often promoted for ideological reasons as much as to address problems of teacher supply. Among the approaches that were developing through this period were the school-centred initial teacher training (SCITTs) and Teach First programmes, and other employment-based routes such as the Graduate Teacher Programme. So the first decade of the century saw continuing change, often experienced within the teacher education community as turbulence and as increasing threats to the contribution being made by higher education institutions. In part these moves reflected the wider international 'practical turn' being experienced in many – but not all – settings, and certainly had the effect of 'loosening up' established teacher education for what was to follow.

One of the characteristics of UK governments' interventions – governments of both main persuasions – was that they were usually made

in the name of enhancing teacher professionalism and improving the status and standing of the profession. So when the Labour government was in power it established a General Teaching Council, that is, a professional body for the registration of teachers. And when the coalition government came into being in 2010, the White Paper that launched Secretary of State Michael Gove's radical restructuring of teacher education was called *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE, 2010).

What has been discussed in this book very much reflects the impact of that 2010 development. However, it is important to recognize the significance of the precursors that had set the scene for this (Childs and Menter, 2013). What is distinctive about the 2010 White Paper, however, is its very clear articulation of the nature of teaching and learning to teach, usually summarized as an 'apprenticeship' approach. Gove was very insistent that teaching is best learned from existing teachers, 'on the job' – that is, in school settings. His commitment to school-based and school-led teacher education was epitomized in 'School Direct', the process by which schools themselves would select candidates for teacher education and through which it was anticipated that schools would increasingly recruit members of staff from among their own trainees.

Of course, as we have seen, higher education has continued to play a significant part in most of the approaches that are in place, but in many schemes that role is significantly reduced from what it was, and the pattern of provision has created considerable instability for higher education departments of education, to the extent that a small number have actually closed down their initial teacher education programmes. The marginalization of HE may be seen as a process that undermines the professionalism of teaching; if we consider other professions, such as law, medicine and engineering, higher education has been central to the consolidation of these occupations as highly regarded professions. Furthermore, as we shall see in the next section, in the other parts of the UK the role of the university ('the university project', as Furlong (2013) has called it) has been sustained, and sometimes enhanced.

However, at the same time as the established pattern of provision has been overturned and universities have felt threatened, there have been parallel, apparently countervailing, developments in pursuance of the strand of policy mentioned above that seeks to promote the profession. An example of this is the promotion by government of evidence-based teaching (EBT), that is, its encouragement of teachers to undertake enquiry into their own practice and to make use of educational research which may improve the quality of their teaching. Such approaches were discussed in *The Importance*

of *Teaching* (DfE, 2010) and promoted by the ‘Carter review of initial teacher training’ (Carter, 2015; see also Mutton, Burn and Menter, 2017). Another example of this tendency is the creation of the Chartered College of Teaching. One of Michael Gove’s early actions, after becoming Secretary of State for Education in 2010, was to abolish the General Teaching Council for England (GTCE), which had been established under Labour a decade earlier. However, the Chartered College now appears to be moving into the space the GTC would have occupied (and continues to occupy in the other UK jurisdictions). The incorporation of enquiry-based approaches into teaching and teacher education was strongly supported by the major enquiry into teaching as a profession carried out by the British Educational Research Association and the Royal Society for the Arts in 2013–14 (BERA/RSA, 2014).

So it is through analysis of teacher education that we can see continuing tensions in the provision that are only partially explained by the enormously greater complexity that is experienced now compared with the late twentieth century. However, as we saw in the 1980s and 1990s, the changes in teacher education have not occurred in isolation. What has emerged very strongly from the DiTE work, and which had not been fully anticipated, are the very important interconnections between teacher education and other education reforms that have been occurring over the same period. In particular, the emergence and consolidation of new forms of school governance have become a very significant feature of our investigations. The promotion of ‘academization’, started under New Labour and accelerated under the coalition government, has meant that many schools no longer have any direct or meaningful relationship with a local authority. Furthermore, the creation of so-called ‘free schools’ by the coalition government (Hilton, 2019) has not only meant the creation of many new schools and a direct relationship with central government for them in their financing. None of these policies have been without considerable controversy, but overall we have seen the creation of an increasingly ‘school-led’ and fragmented system of education. Indeed, that such a disparate arrangement can be referred to as a single system may be called into question (Lawn, 2013).

As schools become ‘self-led’, including those in groups such as multi-academy trusts (MATs) and in wider federations and linkages between schools, we see the ways in which schools are seeking to create teachers in their own image. This sort of process has been described as a ‘branding’ of teacher education (Whitty, 2016). So a particular MAT – say, ‘the Riverside Trust’ – may prepare its own teachers for its own schools, and those teachers become seen as especially well prepared to work in that group’s schools, and

thus as ‘Riverside teachers’. The Teach First scheme has been very strongly branded from its inception, as can be seen from even a cursory glance at its website ([teachfirst.org.uk](http://teachfirst.org.uk)), or by reading the account of its former chief executive (Wigdortz, 2012). And such branding is increasingly evident for SCITTs, and indeed for the continuing HEI providers; for example, teachers may be ‘Oxford University interns’ or ‘Bath Spa teachers’.

To summarize the English scene, we may say that the situation has become increasingly complex; it has become difficult to ascertain exactly what is happening (as described especially in chapter 3). Part of the complexity arises from the increasingly fractured nature of wider educational provision, with a huge diversity of schools and management structures, but it also arises from the increasing diversity of teacher education. The balance of influence and control has shifted away from higher education, to be replaced partly by strong central government involvement, but also partly by schools and groups of schools as major players. The most recent developments include the launch of formal apprenticeship routes to a teaching qualification, as mentioned towards the end of chapter 3. It appears that English teacher education is still in a state of considerable flux, and there has still been no effective evaluation of the impact of these different routes.

### **The wider context**

How do these developments compare with what has been happening in the rest of the UK and internationally? Many of the trends in England are to be seen elsewhere in the UK, as a recent five-nation study (of the UK and the Republic of Ireland) has demonstrated, for example in relation to the adoption of teaching standards. However, there are many other aspects in which England appears to be very different from the other nations. Why is it that Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland have ploughed a different furrow (Teacher Education Group, 2016), to the extent that the much larger jurisdiction of England has become something of an outlier?

Part of the explanation must lie in the curious polity of the United Kingdom, which at some points in recent years has seemed increasingly *disunited*, for example at the time of the devolution referendums in the late 1990s and again at the time of the referendum on membership of the European Union in 2016. With Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland all seeking to distinguish their own nationhood from that of England and the UK, education has been an important area of policy for all of them. As has been noted frequently, education in Scotland has always been distinguishable from the rest of the UK, and increasingly so since the

re-establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999. But with the creation of the National Assembly for Wales, and attempts to establish a similar arrangement in Northern Ireland, education policy has become increasingly differentiated across the whole of the UK. In teacher education, the most obvious difference may be the retention of the full involvement of the higher education sector in the three smaller jurisdictions. In Scotland, a national report on teacher education (Donaldson, 2011) actually called for an even greater contribution from HE than had previously existed. In Wales and Northern Ireland, where there have also been reviews of teacher education, the contribution of HE has been seen as a real strength, albeit with particular problems about educational research in Wales (see Beauchamp and Jephcote, 2016; Clarke and Magennis, 2016). At the social and political level the continuing commitment to established patterns of teacher education provision may be partly attributed to a stronger belief in, and adherence to, principles of social democracy, and continuing scepticism about neo-liberalism. Certainly, in most areas of social policy in the three smaller jurisdictions there has been far less evidence of the introduction of markets and less diversification in provision.

On an international scale, multi-nation studies have identified a number of common trends and some differences between countries. For example, Darling-Hammond and Lieberman (2012) show that there is widespread concern about recruitment of the best-quality teachers, suggesting that recruitment practices have been prioritized in many countries. They also note differing views about the nature of teaching as a profession, and the ways in which teachers are inducted and developed in more or less collaborative ways. A collection of papers edited by Townsend (2011) leads him to identify ‘trust’ as a significant differentiator between different nations. He is talking about trust between politicians, policy makers, teachers and teacher educators. He suggests that such trust is evident in Scotland (where he was working at the time) but far less so in some other countries. For example, he contrasts the highly regulatory approach in England with the more co-operative and consensual approach in Scotland.

Perhaps, though, it is again in university involvement that the peculiarity of the English case stands out. Certainly one must recognize that there are some countries, including the USA, where HE involvement is under serious threat, but the marginalization of HE in England does seem the most advanced. For example, the international collection by Moon (2016) suggests that the practicum/placement element experienced in many settings is not uniform in its impact across different nations.

In a twelve-nation study carried out by an international research network (IRN) for the World Educational Research Association, Menter (2019) has identified six themes that may provide a useful typology for the description of any teacher education system. We find that England is at the extreme end of the spectrum on many of these measures:

1. *The professionalization/universitization trajectory versus the deprofessionalization/de-universitization trajectory* While in England it has become a case of ‘rescuing the university project’ (Furlong, 2013), we see in many other nations that teacher education has increasingly been moved into universities. Among others we could cite Finland, Russia and Israel, where input formerly derived from colleges of education or pedagogical high schools has been brought under the auspices of fully formed universities.
2. *The positioning of research in relation to policy and practice* Although we have noted some increase in the connection between teachers and research in England in the recent past, it remains a fact that politicians and policy makers here have made little effort to commission, use or evaluate sustained research in, on or about teacher education (Menter, 2017; Menter, Burn and Mutton, 2019). There are many countries, including Israel, Australia and Finland, where research evidence is seen as very important in the development of policy and practice in teacher education.
3. *Partnership and roles in teacher education* It is perhaps in partnership relationships that England has seen the greatest progress in comparison with many other nations (Mutton, 2016; Mutton, Burn, Hagger and Thirlwall, 2018). Since the mandate for partnership established in the early 1990s there has been a strong commitment to fuller engagement between schools and universities, and the preparation of teachers based in schools, for supporting learner teachers as mentors, has become much more structured than it is elsewhere, for example in Mexico, Italy and the Czech Republic.
4. *Power and control in teacher education* The political arrangements in the UK have been outlined already and we have seen how English teacher education is quite distinct from elsewhere in the UK. In some ways this is quite similar to the situation in the USA or Australia. However, in both of these nations the federal government does have some influence and power in the development of teacher education policy (see also Tatto *et al.*, 2018). So it is in England that the autonomy of the English Department for Education has enabled it to intervene actively in teacher

education and reduce not only the higher education influence but also the voice of the teaching profession itself. It has achieved this largely through establishing agencies that operate on its behalf, including the Teacher Training Agency (TTA), established in 1994, and the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted), established in 1992. The TTA has gone through a number of name and role changes and has been reincorporated into the Department for Education. Government in England appears very reluctant to devolve any control to professional bodies or organizations.

5. *The impact of performativity and accountability and the rise of standards*  
The impact of neo-liberalism has been very evident in England. From the days of the New Labour government and its introduction of a series of teaching standards, to Michael Gove's call for their simplification in 2010–12, there has been a strong commitment to the use of observable features to assess teaching performance, not only for beginning teachers but for all members of the profession. The accountability measures for teacher education have been dominated by the Ofsted inspection, a rigorous and demanding process for all providers, the like of which does not exist in any of the other eleven nations examined in our study. Performativity affects university-based teacher educators in other ways, as they are working in environments in which research is also assessed through a process established by the HE Funding Council for England (HEFCE). There is thus a 'double whammy' affecting HE-based teacher educators: they are assessed in relation to their teacher education programmes as well as in relation to their research productivity (Menter, Hulme and Sangster, 2012). The adoption of standards in teaching is now almost universal, it seems, but the close relationship with performativity and accountability processes is, by far, strongest in England.
6. *Technology and communication: the impact of digitization* IT is increasingly used by people working in education as a means of preparing their teaching material, and data collection systems are used to compare schools and teacher education programmes, facilitating the kind of performative measures referred to above. However, the use of IT systems in the delivery of teacher education programmes is underdeveloped in England, as it is in most other countries. There are examples of the deployment of distance learning and e-learning as elements of teacher education programmes in Scotland and Australia, and this is a field which is likely to become increasingly important as time goes on.

On the six points that constitute this typology for the description of teacher education systems, we can see that England is currently 'progressive' on one of them (3), extreme on four of them (1, 2, 4, 5) and neutral on the other (6). This indicates that England is unusual. It seems all the more surprising that research is not taken more seriously in the development of teacher education policy when we consider that what little we do know about the relationship between approaches to teacher education and their outcomes in terms of teacher quality and pupil achievement suggests that several countries have greater success. These certainly include Finland, and also, of the countries covered, South Korea and Japan.

### **Methodologies, frameworks, future research**

The book has demonstrated a range of ways of seeking to make sense of teacher education, including complexity theory, narrative case study, a capability approach and Bernstein's sociology of pedagogical knowledge. What are their pros and cons? We consider each of the main chapters in turn.

Chapter 2 does not claim any methodological originality but is a socio-historical analysis of policy developments in England, following similar approaches to education policy analyses carried out in England and elsewhere. It draws on the sociology of professions and on social policy in order to make sense of the trajectory that has appeared in teacher education over recent years.

Chapter 3 does not take a particular theoretical or methodological stance. The topography it describes takes an essentially pragmatic approach to the analysis of publicly available data. Making sense of this mass data requires painstaking work, as Whiting discusses in the second part of the chapter, but in essence this detailed and meticulous work was a requirement for the DiTE programme as a whole. This was our attempt to answer the simple question, how is initial teacher education being undertaken in England at the (then) present time?

In examining partnership practices in the new context, Sorensen (chapter 4) takes a narrative case study approach. He seeks to ground his exploration in the lived experiences of those involved as manifested through their accounts, evoked mainly through interviews. The adoption of a narrative perspective gives the investigation a strong basis for demonstrating that the relationships in these partnerships are far from ephemeral or transient. They have a past, a present and, no doubt, a future, as practice develops.

The interview given by Black and recounted in Chapter 5 is also a life history, both of an individual teacher educator and of an institution, a

‘veteran’ teacher education provider, once Newton Park College, now Bath Spa University Institute for Education.

Chapter 6, which explores a wider range of university-based teacher educators’ experiences of recent changes, explicitly adopts an approach based on ‘complexity theory’. It reflects Duggan and la Velle’s recognition that individual work experiences need to be set in the context of the institutions the individuals are working in as well as in the wider policy context. There are elements here of an ecological model, but perhaps also a more explicit recognition of the interaction between micro, meso and macro contexts (see below).

Hordern, in bringing Bernstein’s sociology of pedagogical knowledge to bear in chapter 7, builds on some of his earlier work (Hordern, 2017) and demonstrates how useful Bernstein’s concepts are for making sense of what is going on: much Bernsteinian work in the past has focused on the school itself and on the teaching and learning processes that take place in it. It is valuable to look at teacher education through this theoretical lens; this practice could provide a basis for comparative work in the future.

Chapter 8, too, draws on Bernsteinian theory, particularly the distinction between official and pedagogic fields of recontextualization (ORF and PRF). But it also draws explicitly on comparative analysis, using the large-scale TEDS-M study led by Tatto, in which Hordern has been involved. This demonstrates how important it is, when studying the situation in one country, to relate that situation to what is occurring elsewhere. The comparison helps us to understand the extent to which England is out on a limb in contemporary teacher education. Following the point made about levels of analysis in relation to chapter 6 above, and building on the 2018 study by Tatto *et al.*, we may note that elements of the programme of work reported in this book have been carried out at three different levels, the macro, the meso and the micro. At the macro level we might include the chapters on policy context and the topography of teacher education in 2016–17 (2 and 3). The analysis of partnership in chapter 5 is a prime example of the meso level. And the life history of an individual teacher educator in chapter 5 exemplifies the micro level. Other chapters straddle two of these levels, the meso and the micro, for example the analysis of teacher educators in three universities offered in chapter 6.

What most of the individual chapters cannot effectively do, however, is to integrate all three levels of exploration and analysis, other than in a theoretical way. This is what the discussion of the methodological challenges of teacher education research (in the latter parts of chapter 3) does, as does

the application of Bernsteinian theory to patterns of provision in England (chapter 7).

So it is crucial in this afterword to emphasize the importance of bringing all three levels of study together. It is only through acknowledging the whole as well as the parts that we can offer a meaningful representation of what has been going on in English teacher education.

To summarize, we can see that DiTE has deployed a range of research methodologies in its various strands and activities. Each has brought fresh insight into questions about the nature of teacher education in England in the twenty-first century. It seems important that a wide range of methodologies should continue to be employed as efforts are made to develop a better understanding of the links between policy, practice and outcomes. There is clearly a need for more sustained, large-scale and longitudinal investigation of these matters, and it is quite shocking, given the level of public investment concerned, how lightly these matters are taken by politicians and policy makers. While we have seen a move towards teaching becoming a more enquiry-oriented profession, there is still remarkably little properly funded research on the processes and their implications.

## **Conclusion**

This book has sought to shine a light on the chaotic and fragmented world of teacher education in England. Each chapter brings its unique perspective to bear on both the methodological issues of researching in an ever-changing policy environment and the different levels of analysis that are needed to begin to make sense of the whys and hows of policy. In the world of teacher education policy, it is also useful to remember the humans at the centre of policy – be they millennials or teacher educators – since it is they who make the enactment of policy ‘real’.

The DiTE programme on which this book is based has already contributed significantly to our understanding of how this new world of teacher education is beginning to shape up. However, more research is needed into how these new forms of teacher education sit alongside new forms of school governance, particularly the growth of multi-academy trusts, teaching school alliances and other models of school partnership. The question of who holds or should hold accountability for the education of our children in a national model without local accountability is at the core of the continuing debates about education in England (and many other countries) in the twenty-first century. Linking changes such as these with changes to teacher education – and what it means to be a ‘teacher’ – would, of course, be an important and fruitful area for academic research. In

addition, it would make another fascinating book on the ever-changing and complex reality of what it means to have Diversity in Teacher Education.

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