



More Good Teachers



Sam Freedman, Briar Lipson
and David Hargreaves

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Needless to say the views expressed in the report are those of the authors, and not necessarily of those listed.

All polling, unless otherwise stated, is from YouGov Plc. Total sample size was 1282 undergraduate students (excluding final years and those in teacher training). Field work was undertaken between 9th to 14th April 2008. The survey was carried out online.

All figures, unless otherwise stated, are from YouGov Plc. Total sample size was 1,041 managers/professionals (excluding teachers) and 1,282 undergraduate students (excluding final years and those in teacher training). Fieldwork was undertaken between 10th to 14th April 2008. The survey was carried out online.

Foreword

This report demonstrates how we can recruit, retain and develop a new generation of talented, inspired and effective teachers to tackle educational inequality. It shows how we must reject the current command and control approach to recruitment, training and pay and resist calls to further ‘professionalise’ teaching in ways which only make it less appealing to the high performing graduates whom we need in our schools.

It argues instead that we should embrace methods more attuned to today’s graduates and the modern employment market.

This involves allowing new teachers to ‘earn while they learn’, giving all teachers much more say over their ongoing training and freeing schools to develop remuneration schemes which are bespoke to their particular needs. These methods would lead to the creation of a dynamic, well trained and motivated workforce – teachers who are more appropriately qualified before they enter teaching and who become better teachers in the classroom.

Ryan Robson

Managing Partner, Sovereign Capital

Executive Summary

Nothing is more important to the success of an education system than the quality of its teachers. There are many good teachers in this country – but not enough. The recommendations in this report demonstrate how we can increase the quality of teaching by both attracting the right people to begin with and then training them in the most helpful manner. In the past recruitment, training, Continuous Professional Development (CPD) and pay have usually been considered separately, but they are closely linked and the same arguments apply in each area.

Not only is training new staff within schools the best way to teach them the skills that they need, but it can also attract bright people who want to learn on the job and earn a salary while doing so. School-based training can also embed continuous development within schools: older teachers benefit from improving the techniques of younger staff, creating a virtuous circle.

School-based and, more specifically, employment-based training allows for faster entry and exit from the profession. In 21st century society, where jobs for life are a rarity, flexibility is essential to winning over quality recruits who want to “give something back” but do not necessarily see teaching as a career for life. Pay is important here because such people are put off by the existing incremental pay scales. Fast-track routes to positions of responsibility and higher pay are crucial if excellent performance is to be rewarded promptly.

Each chapter is constructed as a series of propositions and recommendations which are listed below. Taken together we believe that these amount to a coherent and compelling vision for the teaching profession.

Chapter One: Why aren't there more good teachers?

Proposition 1: Teaching has never been a high status profession

Although many within the profession think that when teachers had more autonomy teaching had a higher status, this is untrue. Teaching has been a relatively low status job since the post-war expansion of schooling.

Proposition 2: There are many features about the teaching profession that deter well qualified candidates

Many of the historic deterrents to teaching remain today. Our polling of undergraduates and senior managers/professionals for this report found that low salaries and a lack of glamour deter good graduates from teaching. Respondents felt that teaching was most similar to social work and nursing. It is, however, still widely seen as a noble undertaking so people might be prepared to do it for a short time – if they can move quickly in and out of teaching.

Proposition 3: The deterrents to teaching create recruitment shortages and reduce the quality of entrants to the profession

In an earlier report for Policy Exchange, Professor John Howson showed that we face another recruitment crisis – especially for teachers in science, technology, engineering and maths subjects. Our analysis of official statistics found that teacher training courses are forced to accept many weaker applicants, especially in shortage subjects, and that hardly any candidates fail their initial teacher training suggesting standards are too low.

Chapter Two: Initial Teacher Training

Proposition 1: Initial teacher training has become less college-based and more school-based, but the rate of change has been too slow

Practical training in schools is more valuable than theory learnt in a lecture hall. However, the development of training routes that take place entirely in schools has been slow due to resistance from university teacher training departments and sometimes unhelpful government interventions.

Proposition 2: School-based and employment-based routes should be made more attractive and accessible

More trainees are entering teaching through entirely school-based routes (School-Centred Initial Teacher Training) or employment-based routes (Graduate Teacher Programme and Teach First), on which they earn while they learn. The Government's own research suggests that trainees on these routes prefer the focus on practical techniques. However, the vast majority still enter teaching through the default university-led routes (undergraduate BEd and Postgraduate Certificate of Education) because they are unaware of the alternatives. Our polling suggests that if awareness was higher, these other routes would be much more popular.

Recommendation 1: School and employment-based routes should be expanded to become the default option for suitable trainees

We recommend developing a suite of employment-based and school-based training routes for undergraduates and career-changers. **Teach First**, already up and running, would be retained as a niche route for highly qualified undergraduates who wanted to work in the most challenging schools. **Teach Now** would replace the GTP as a more mainstream default route for both undergraduates and

career-changers who wanted to train entirely in schools. Applicants would be processed through a centralised admissions system, tested and then placed in schools. **Teach Next** would be a specialised route for senior managers and professionals who wanted to apply their talents to teaching. On joining a school they would be seconded to the senior leadership team (SLT) while training to teach. Being able to use their expertise from the start and to earn a leadership level salary would attract more of these people to teaching and help ease the coming leadership shortage.

Recommendation 2: The BEd should be phased out

We recommend phasing out the undergraduate BEd. It remains the most theoretical route yet attracts the academically weakest applicants. It is also more expensive than other routes and is seen as second class because it is open only to primary school trainees. We recommend retaining the PGCE as there are some excellent courses and some potential recruits might be put off if the only available routes were entirely school-based.

Recommendation 3: Our proposals should be funded by replacing a small proportion of teaching assistants with salaried trainees

Under our proposals the costs of training would not increase – the money would simply go to schools to co-ordinate training rather than to universities; schools could then buy in support from universities if they wanted to. However, there would be an additional cost in the region of £50 million because Teach Now trainees would be paid supernumerary salaries (the school would not have to pay them out of their delegated budgets). This could be paid for by a 3% reduction in training assistants whose work would be covered by paid trainees embedded in schools.

Recommendation 4: For an expansion of employment-based training to work well schools have to develop training capacity

In the past school-based routes have been promoted negatively as a way to get universities out of training. Instead we believe there is a powerful positive argument for school-based training. Not only are trainees more likely to learn through practical application, but also mentoring is likely to improve the skills of existing staff. This can only happen if schools have sufficient resources. There is an existing “training schools” scheme but it is limited and confined to the secondary sector. We recommend that this scheme be expanded and tied in to Teach Now. Clusters of training schools should be developed, where possible using existing federations, trusts or academy networks, so that resources can be pooled and trainees experience more than one school.

Chapter Three: Continuous Professional Development

Proposition 1: The diagnosis of the recurrent failings of CPD is well established

Continuous professional development (CPD) is too often an afterthought. Courses are either adjuncts to the latest series of government initiatives or one-day external events that are quickly forgotten. These shortcomings are widely recognised.

Proposition 2: We must break down the barrier between Initial Teacher Training and CPD

Rather than focusing entirely on training teachers before they arrive in schools we should seek to create virtuous circles of training within schools. All teachers should be mentored throughout their career – in time becoming mentors themselves. Locating training within schools will promote an environment in which training is a permanent process. This would be particularly valuable for teachers re-entering the profession and fits in with our wider vision

of teaching as a flexible career that people can move in and out of quickly.

Recommendation 1: Far more CPD should take place in schools

Lessons learnt in the classroom while “tinkering” after discussions with colleagues or observing practice have much more value than theory acquired outside schools. Mentoring will relocate CPD in the classroom and away from external courses. The new Masters degree in teaching and learning that will be offered free to teachers in their first five years from September 2009 will work against this; we are also concerned that it will become, in effect, a compulsory qualification for any teacher seeking promotion, regardless of its merit.

Recommendation 2: All teachers should have a financial entitlement to CPD

We recommend that instead of framing an entitlement to CPD through a potentially restrictive Masters in teaching and learning, all teachers should have £500 a year to spend on their own professional development. This would be paid for by consolidating some of the money that is currently spent by central government and its agencies supporting their own initiatives, like the national strategies. The money could be spent on equipment, travel to other schools, supply cover for training or could be saved up to pay for a course in the individual’s special subject or a sabbatical. It would be accessed through the performance review system, in which mentors should participate, so that it could connect to the wider interests of the school.

Chapter Four: Using Teacher Pay to Improve Recruitment and Retention

Recommendation 1: Fast-track routes to higher salaries would help recruit and retain top graduates and professionals

Faster access to higher salary bands would attract higher quality applicants to teach-

ing and help to retain good staff. There are fast-track schemes to leadership and leadership pay scales, but there are too many different schemes, and none of them are particularly large or well-marketed. We recommend that they should be consolidated into one scheme and then promoted to potential recruits as well as existing teachers. There should also be a fast-track route to the advanced skills teacher status pay scale so that good classroom teachers don't feel they have to move into leadership in order to access higher salaries faster.

Proposition 1: The national pay agreement discriminates against schools in disadvantaged areas

As there are implicit costs involved in teaching in more challenging schools, especially coping with poor discipline, a national pay agreement inevitably discriminates against them. Wealthier schools can pay the same and offer more pleasant working conditions. The same is true for shortage subjects. Maths and science graduates can earn more than humanities graduates outside teaching, but as teachers, apart from a golden hello, do not get paid more to compensate. Again this shortage hits schools in disadvantaged areas hardest.

Recommendation 2: Schools in disadvantaged areas need to be funded at a higher level

Schools in disadvantaged areas need the money to pay their teachers more. The introduction of the "pupil premium", attaching more money to pupils from poorer areas than those from better-off areas, would provide this support. We will publish a detailed guide to the pupil premium later this year.

Recommendation 3: Once the funding is in place, schools should be able to opt out of the national pay agreement – levelling the playing field and boosting recruitment

Although schools can already pay extra money, like recruitment and retention allowances, to staff, these are either unused or are given to more or less all staff, a pattern that is intrinsic to all national pay agreements with local freedoms whether in the public or private sector. Instead we need a range of competing, alternative pay structures. All schools that employ their own staff should be allowed to opt out of the national pay agreement and use their own model, as academies are already doing. Having more money, schools in challenging areas would be able to offer the most attractive packages, which could include incentives like smaller class sizes as well as higher pay. Other schools would soon adopt the pay models that proved most successful at attracting high quality recruits.

1

Why aren't there more good teachers?

Teachers like to think that the status of their profession is suffering a temporary blip. If only government would restore some of their professional autonomy, reduce their compulsory adherence to the national curriculum and national testing, then the public would begin to recognise the intellectual and emotional demands of their job. But this is a false hope. Teaching has never had the status of professions such as medicine or law. Although pay has improved considerably, it always has been relatively low. Since the expansion of secondary education after the Second World War many of those entering the profession have had poor qualifications or have seen it as second-choice career.

Successive governments have tried to improve the status of teaching. Over the past 40 years it has become a graduate profession, pay has increased and teachers have been given their own professional body, the General Teaching Council for England (GTCE). Although all of these changes have had positive effects, none has made much of a difference to the impression the general public, including potential recruits to teaching, have of the profession. Polling undertaken for this report shows that undergraduates and those in professional or managerial jobs – the two groups from which we would wish to see teachers recruited – see teaching as on a par with social work and nursing, rather than medicine, engineering or the law.

Perhaps then it is time to admit defeat. Being a teacher will never be like being a doctor, lawyer or banker. No government could increase pay enough to rival these careers. Furthermore, there are not enough

senior management roles to give teaching the career structure that appeals to ambitious professionals in other fields. The vast majority of teachers will remain where they are most needed – in the classroom.

This is not a reason to despair of ever getting the very best people into teaching. Our polling does show that it is considered to be a noble profession. This chimes with government research – teaching represents giving something back, spotting potential, helping your community. It is no surprise that recruitment campaigns play heavily on these beliefs.

Although many may not want to base a whole career on altruism alone, it may be enough to bring people into the profession for part of their working life, especially if recruits are convinced that teaching will offer them transferable skills in management and communications. The Teach First programme which fast-tracks recruits into a paid teaching job in just six weeks has been hugely successful at attracting high calibre graduates: 5% of all Oxbridge graduates who achieved the 2:1 or above required to join Teach First applied to the programme last year and it is now fourteenth in *The Times's* list of top graduate employees.¹

Teach First has been criticised because recruits are committed to the profession for only two years and 50% leave at this point. But that, of course, is one of the main attractions. The scheme is heavily marketed as offering transferable skills that will be valuable in other jobs. The expectation is that recruits will serve for two years in a tough school in return for these skills.

¹ www.top100graduateemployers.com/top100.html

The 50% that discover a real vocational commitment to teaching are a bonus; these people would probably not have entered the profession had the escape route not been clearly marked.

Many of the recommendations in this report apply lessons from Teach First to the rest of the profession. As a 2004 Education and Skills Select Committee report on teacher training put it: “More varied careers are likely to become the norm in all fields of work and teaching will need to adapt to accommodate that trend and facilitate flexibility to allow people to move in and out of the profession.”² This should be embraced as an opportunity to bring more good teachers into schools – not as an unwelcome threat to the traditional model.

Some aspects of government reform seem to reflect this. Ministers have built up Teach First and another employment-based route for older career-changers – the Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP). But, at the moment, these are niche programmes. Teach First trains fewer than 400 teachers a year out of 30,000.³ There has been no real attempt to review the main teacher training routes – the BED (Bachelor of Education) and the PGCE (Postgraduate Certificate of Education) – in the light of changing career patterns.

The new Masters in Teaching and Learning which will be available free to new teachers from September 2009 seems to work in the opposite direction. The qualification offered is specific to teaching as a career and there is a danger that it will become compulsory by default – as those recruiting for senior management positions will start to expect it of candidates.

Furthermore, many in the education world are still wedded to increasing the barriers to entering teaching in a vain attempt to improve professional status. A recent report from the Institute of Public Policy Research suggested increasing the scope of initial teacher training by “moving to a training process that...would com-

prise two years of a mix of training and classroom practice, followed by one year's induction in a school, with one day per week of obligatory training. To complete the master level qualification (if desired), a fourth then fifth year would involve studying part-time”.⁴ This would mean new teachers training for up to eight years (including their original subject degree). Even doctors only have to do five years! It is difficult to see how this fits with a wider vision of teaching as a flexible career.

“ Many in the education world are still wedded to increasing the barriers to entering teaching in a vain attempt to improve professional status ”

In this report we will offer a set of recommendations designed to increase opportunities for the most talented people in society to move in and out of teaching at times appropriate for them. This does not, of course, preclude the existence of excellent professionals committed to a lifetime of teaching. Such people are essential, but flexibility is needed to ensure that those who are interested in teaching for part of their career are not put off by a long compulsory induction designed when teaching was considered a job for life. This vision of teaching requires a much greater focus on continuous professional development (CPD) within schools. At the moment professional development is loaded into initial teacher training. If people are moving more freely in and out of the profession, this will no longer be viable.

Proposition 1: Teaching has never been a high status profession

In the first half of the 20th century the numbers of state secondary schools were limited and existed primarily to educate

² *Secondary Education: Teacher Retention and Recruitment*, Education and Skills Select Committee, Fifth Report, 21st September 2004, p 37

³ Soon to be 800

⁴ Margo J et al, *Those Who Can?*, IPPR, 2008, p 11

the most academically able students. Far fewer teachers were required than today. Furthermore, teaching was one of the few professions open to women; many highly able women turned to teaching for want of other possibilities.

By the Sixties, however, the profession had undergone a massive expansion as more pupils stayed on until 16 and then to 18. The demand for teachers increased at the same time as an array of new middle-class jobs in the service sector became available and as women began to break through into historically male professions such as finance and law. Grammar school teachers had been recruited straight from universities, but the growth in the number of secondary moderns, and then comprehensives, meant that schools had to recruit from other sources – primarily the teacher training colleges, which had been built by the Victorians to provide a two-year course for elementary school teachers.

In 1957 the two-year course was extended to three and the colleges of education began a huge expansion. The number of students at these colleges increased from 33,000 in 1957-58 to 55,000 five years later.⁵ Despite this increase, by 1965 teacher shortages were acute. Many schools were failing to keep class sizes to the statutory minimum of 30 for secondary and 40 for primary. The education secretary, Anthony Crosland, instituted an emergency programme which entailed almost doubling the number of teacher-training places from 60,000 in 1965 to 110,000 in 1973.⁶ By the early Seventies the Department of Education had lost control. It had “no reliable figures...because the activity in teacher education in the late 1960s was prodigious with emergency crowding in many places” – it was estimated that over 130,000 students were being taught in training colleges by 1973.⁷

Unsurprisingly the breakneck speed of this expansion led to a severe lowering in the quality of entrants. By the end of the 1960s, 80% of teachers were coming from the training colleges. Although 38% of these training college entrants had two or more A-levels, 25% had no sixth-form education at all. The minimum entry requirement was just five O-levels.⁸ It was quickly realised that the colleges were actively putting off brighter school-leavers. One critic wrote: “The colleges, as monotechs, possess an inbuilt disadvantage at student entry because a choice, or rather a non-choice, of teaching as a career has to be made at too early an age. This ‘trapping’ effect, it is argued, depresses most bright sixth formers, who primarily seek a more open form of higher education before vocational commitment.”⁹ Prospective graduates often used to apply for a place in a college of education as an insurance policy in case they failed to win a university place.¹⁰

Concerted efforts to develop teaching as a graduate profession followed. The colleges offered BEd degrees rather than just certificates and many of the colleges were merged with universities. From the mid-70s universities started paying more attention to the Postgraduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) courses, which involved longer periods of school-based practice.¹¹ In 1983 secondary training was shifted almost entirely to the PGCE on the grounds that a trainee teacher should have a degree in the subject that he or she was going to teach. At the same time more primary PGCE places were offered – and there has been a slow but continuous shift from BEd to PGCE at primary school level ever since.¹²

Teaching is now firmly established as a graduate profession but its relatively low status remains. In 1973 June Purvis listed four reasons why; by and large they still hold true today despite the huge changes in the nature of initial teacher training:

5 Simon B, *Education and the Social Order 1940-90*, Lawrence & Wishart, 1991, p 202

6 *Ibid*, p 255

7 *Ibid*, p 263

8 Maden M, “The Teaching Profession and the Training of Teachers” in Burgess T (ed), *Dear Lord James: A Critique of Teacher Education*, Penguin, 1971, pp 113-114

9 *Ibid*, p 115

10 Purvis J, “Schoolteaching as a Professional Career”, *British Journal of Sociology*, vol 24, 1, March 1973, p 50

11 Crook C, “Educational Studies and Teacher Education”, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, vol 50, 1, March 2002, p 60

12 Adelman C, “Teacher Education in England and Wales: the past 20 years”, *European Journal of Education*, vol 21, 2, 1986, p 176

- School teaching involves less glamour and drama than either medicine or law.
- The public have had greater sustained contact with schoolteachers than any other group of professionals, so the job lacks the remoteness and mystique of “the heart surgeon or the lawyer in court”.
- The qualifications of teachers in training are lower than those of many other professionals.
- “The public see schoolteaching as the refuge of those who do not know what else to do. In addition, long holidays, relative to the average worker in our society, help to foster the misconception that the job is an easy one.”¹³

We can add that teachers’ salaries are lower than professions with high status. In 1968 teachers earned more or less the equivalent of the average national salary (female teachers earned considerably more than the female average).¹⁴ The situation has improved somewhat, with the average teacher salary 50% higher than the national salary average, but it is still considerably lower than standard medical or legal salaries.

Despite the unchanging nature of many of these factors there is a widespread perception among teachers that the status of their profession has fallen rapidly over the past forty years. Academics from Cambridge and Leicester Universities were commissioned by the Department for Education and Skills in 2002, to undertake a four-year study into the status of teachers. In 2006 they surveyed two panels, one of teachers and one of associated groups (teaching assistants, governors and parents). One question asked participants to rate the status of teaching out of five for various years since 1967. As the graph below shows both groups perceive a clear decline.¹⁵

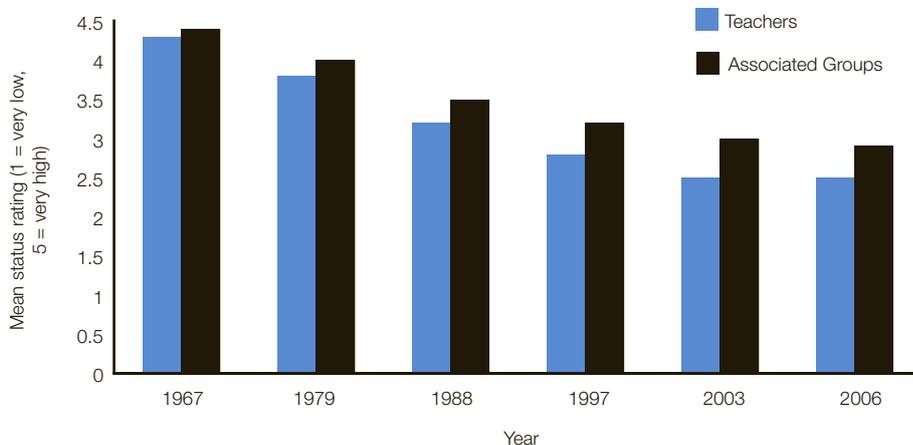
This suggests that the profession has accepted the myth of decline promoted by those organisations that wish to highlight the negative impact of the education reforms of the last 30 years. They argue that the introduction of the national curriculum and national assessment have reduced the autonomy of teachers. Combined with disagreeable images of teaching reflected in the media, the result has been to undermine the profession and reduce its status. The key dates that the authors have chosen to highlight reveal these underlying assumptions:

13 Purvis J, op cit, p 52

14 Ibid, p 47

15 *The Status of Teachers and the Teaching Profession in England: Views from inside and outside the profession*, final report of the Teacher Status Project, DfES, 2006, p 32; see www.dfes.gov.uk/research/data/uploadfiles/RR755.pdf

Figure 1.1: Teachers’ and others’ perceptions in 2006 of the decline in the status of teachers over the years



- 1967: The Plowden Report on primary education.
- 1979: Conservative Government elected.
- 1988: Education Reform Act: introduction of a national curriculum, national assessment, grant-maintained schools and local management of schools.
- 1997: Labour Government elected: leading to the introduction of the national literacy, numeracy and KS3 strategies, standards for Qualified Teacher Status, and performance related pay.
- 2003: Teacher Status Project baseline survey, introduction of workforce agreement, primary national strategy.
- 2006: Teacher Status Project follow-up survey.¹⁶

In the common memory of the teaching profession (at least its older members) the Plowden Report is the high watermark of official support for progressive, flexible teaching methods combined with teacher-driven assessment. Since then central government has tightened its control – and at each stage teachers consider they have lost professional autonomy and thus status. This can be seen from teachers’ responses when asked what might increase the status of the profession.¹⁷ The most common response was concerned with job awareness, and called for improvements to school resources and facilities, and for public appreciation of the intellectual demands of teaching and its contribution to society. The second most common response indicated that teachers thought that greater focus on pupils would make the curriculum more relevant to their lives and give pupils more say in policymaking and expression of their learning. The third wanted a reduction in constraints such as workload and testing, while the fourth recommended teacher involvement in policy reform and opportunities for school leadership.

Proposition 2: Today there are many features about the teaching profession that deter well qualified candidates

Although Policy Exchange supports greater autonomy for schools and a more nuanced approach to testing and accountability¹⁸, it seems pretty clear that these reforms alone would not address teachers’ professional status given that it was low even when schools had almost complete autonomy from central government. In polling commissioned from YouGov for this report we found that potential teachers are deterred from the profession by a similar mix of factors to those June Purvis listed in 1973.

Tables 1.1 and 1.2 below show the top ten deterrents to teaching for undergraduates and professionals. For both groups salary is a powerful deterrent. It is worth noting that salary is a much bigger issue for students at Russell Group universities than others, suggesting that students at these elite universities are well aware of their potential value on the employment market. When asked to explain their choices many undergraduates were clear that salary was indicative of the low status of the profession: “In order to get the best graduates for teaching posts, the government must offer good salaries for good degrees. Some teachers I have observed cannot write a complete sentence that makes sense – why would good graduates want to work in this environment?” or “It seems that teachers’ salaries start at quite a low level and don’t increase much, even with plenty of experience.”

Many managers and professionals considered salary an almost impossible barrier to the profession:

“I have actually seriously considered going into teaching and got as far as winning a place on a well respected PGCE course. However financially it is absolutely impossible. I have a mortgage and I could not take a year out without salary (and taking out additional debt) to train, knowing

¹⁶ Ibid p 32

¹⁷ Ibid p 38

¹⁸ Davies C and Lim C, *Helping Schools Succeed: A Framework for English Education*, Policy Exchange, 2008

that when I finished training I would be on maybe 25K a year. That's about one quarter of what I earn now."

Others were unprepared to start again at the bottom of the salary scale with no recognition of the skills they had built up in their current job:

"[salary is a deterrent because it means] starting at the bottom of the salary scale, despite 13 years professional experience in the public sector and having a number of cross transferable skills."

"A career change means starting towards the bottom of a new salary scale - I have already built up 20 years experience in another field (civil service) so would suffer a salary drop if I moved into teaching."

The other main deterrents stem from Purvis's first two reasons for low status – lack of glamour and the public's greater familiarity with schoolteachers than with other professions. Many respondents were less than enthusiastic about the prospect of working with children and dealing with parents. The prominence of "feeling unsafe in the classroom" may be a reflection of what Purvis calls the "lack of mystique" about teaching. Undergraduates were particularly likely to pick this deterrent, which may reflect their own unhappy experiences of the classroom. Some were explicit: "As a student I sometimes didn't feel safe in a classroom let alone in a teaching position"; "I've only come out of school about three years ago and you could see what the teachers went through, being bullied etc..."

Table 1.1: Top Ten Deterrents to Teaching for Undergraduates

	Total		Russell group		Non-Russell	
		%		%		%
All undergrads (not in final year)	1282	%	482	%	800	%
Now thinking about what DETERS or might DETER you from teaching as a profession...						
Which of the following is the GREATEST deterrent?						
Feeling unsafe in the classroom	231	18.0%	80	16.6%	151	18.9%
Salary	215	16.8%	105	21.8%	110	13.8%
Working with children or young people	124	9.7%	43	8.9%	81	10.1%
Teachers' morale	99	7.7%	42	8.7%	57	7.1%
The challenging nature of the job	94	7.3%	31	6.4%	63	7.9%
Having to handle parents	85	6.6%	36	7.5%	49	6.1%
Concerns about how teachers / schools are inspected	43	3.4%	17	3.5%	26	3.3%
How the public perceives teachers/ teaching	32	2.5%	9	1.9%	23	2.9%
Speaking to teachers about the profession	31	2.4%	13	2.7%	18	2.3%
Spending more time in higher education	29	2.3%	5	1.0%	24	3.0%

Table 1.2: Top Ten Deterrents to Teaching for Professionals and Managers

All managers/ professionals	1041	%
Again thinking about NOW, please think about factors which may DETER you from becoming a teacher.		
Which of the following factors is the GREATEST deterrent?		
Salary	211	20.3%
Feeling unsafe in the classroom	134	12.9%
Working with children or young people	108	10.4%
Teachers' morale	90	8.6%
The challenging nature of the job	57	5.5%
How the public perceives teachers/teaching	30	2.9%
Speaking to teachers about the profession	28	2.7%
Having to handle parents	23	2.2%
Concerns about how teachers / schools are inspected	22	2.1%
The professional status of teaching	18	1.7%

Table 1.3: Top Ten Attractions to Teaching for Undergraduates

	Total		Russell group		Non-Russell	
All undergrads (not in final year)	1282	%	482	%	800	%
Thinking about what makes or might make teaching an ATTRACTIVE profession...						
Which of the following factors MOST attracts you about teaching?						
Long holidays	251	20%	112	23%	139	17%
Helping young people to learn	197	15%	74	15%	123	15%
Being inspired by a good teacher	111	9%	42	9%	69	9%
Working with children or young people	98	8%	41	9%	57	7%
Staying involved with a subject specialism	74	6%	26	5%	48	6%
Giving something back to the community	51	4%	15	3%	36	5%
The challenging nature of the job	37	3%	18	4%	19	2%
Wanting to teach pupils better than in own experience	46	4%	18	4%	28	4%
Job security	42	3%	14	3%	28	4%
Fit with family or other commitments	42	3%	13	3%	29	4%

As well as choosing their top deterrent, respondents were also asked to name their top five deterrents. Just under 10% of undergraduates (179) chose “spending more time in higher education” as one of

their top five. This suggests that trying to increase the quality of entrants by increasing the amount of time in higher education (a two-year PGCE, for example) is unlikely to succeed. One respondent said

Table 1.4: Top Ten Attractions to Teaching for Professionals and Managers

All managers/ professionals	1041	%
And thinking about how you view teaching NOW, please think about factors which make or might make teaching an ATTRACTIVE profession...		
Which of the following factors MOST attracts you about teaching NOW?		
Long holidays	185	18%
Helping young people to learn	99	10%
Fit with family or other commitments	45	4%
Giving something back to the community	41	4%
Working with children or young people	37	4%
Job security	32	3%
Being inspired by a good teacher	27	3%
Staying involved with a subject specialism	27	3%
Salary	27	3%
Benefits package (e.g. occupational pension)	19	2%

succinctly: “I’ve been studying all my life, by the time I leave university I will be in debt, now I have just got to the point I want to get a career and start earning money.”

Respondents views on those aspects of teaching that make it attractive tell us almost as much about the professional status of teachers as the answers about deterrents. Tables 1.3 and 1.4 show the top ten choices for the most attractive aspect of teaching for both groups. For both undergraduates and managers/professionals the most attractive feature by some distance is the “long holidays”, which fits with Purvis’s argument that “long holidays, relative to the average worker in our society, help to foster the misconception that the job is an easy one”. Comments such as long holidays “would be a good opportunity to do all the things that those of us who work in the real world (who are busy paying for the holidays and pensions of teachers) do not have time to do” were not uncommon.

“Fitting in with family or other commitments” is the third highest attraction for managers/professionals. Unsurprisingly, the vast majority of people choosing this option were female.

On the more positive side, however, it is also clear that many people consider teaching to be a noble profession. “Helping young people to learn” and “giving something back to the community” feature highly on both lists. Many respondents commented on the value of education to society. For example, “I believe there are few great vocations like teaching; being involved in shaping the way society develops simply in the way you confer knowledge onto others” or “teachers can have a lasting and powerful influence on children and can therefore help shape a better society”. This is certainly true for people who do decide to become teachers. In a DfES-funded study of what motivated trainee teachers to join the profession 78% said they were strongly attracted by “helping young people to learn” and 33% by “giving something back to the community” compared to 6% who were strongly attracted by salary.¹⁹

¹⁹ Hobson J et al, *Becoming a Teacher: Student teachers' motives and preconceptions, and early school-based experiences during Initial Teacher Training*, DfES, 2005, p 14

The Professional Status of Teaching

Probably the strongest indicator of the status that teaching held for our respondents was how they compared it to other professions.

As the table below indicates both professionals and undergraduates thought that teaching was most like the caring professions: social work, nursing and even policing. Very few respondents felt that teaching was similar to any of the high-status professions on the list, such as doctor, solicitor or architect.

This chimes with the views that teachers have of their profession – the report by academics at Cambridge and Leicester universities for the DfES on professional status asked practising teachers a similar question. Social worker was the most common selection in this study as well, chosen by 40% of respondents.²⁰ Teachers thought they should be much higher – behind only the medical profession.²¹

	Professionals	Undergraduates
Thinking about teachers compared to other professions, which of the following do you feel has a similar social status to teaching? [Please tick all that apply]		
Social Worker	58	52
Nurse	57	51
Police officer	47	45
Librarian	39	29
Pharmacist	20	19
Accountant	13	15
Engineer	12	7
Surveyor	12	8
Doctor	10	10
Solicitor	9	10
Veterinarian	9	11
None of the above	8	13
Architect	6	5
Website designer	5	6
Management Consultant	3	6
Surgeon	3	3
Barrister	3	4

Recent media campaigns by the Training and Development Agency (TDA) have attempted to tap into the sense of nobility that is attached to the profession – and one of the great attractions of Teach First is the apparent altruism inherent in “giving two years back”

(the US version of the programme is called Teach for America – perhaps a little “flag-waving” for this country but the idea is much the same). It would be easier to tap into this seam of feeling, if it was easier to move in and out of the profession, and if more attention was paid

20 Hobson et al, op cit, p 26

21 Ibid, p xiii

to developing the transferable skills of teachers, such as leadership and management, while they were in the profession.

Proposition 3: These deterrents to teaching create recruitment shortages and reduce the quality of entrants to the profession

The relatively low status of teaching inevitably affects the quantity and quality of entrants to the profession; academic quality of teaching in England is very variable; many subject areas will miss their recruitment targets this year;²² and providers of initial teacher training often have little choice over whom they recruit. Courses at the most prestigious institutions will usually be stocked with well qualified applicants, but others can end up struggling to fill places. Although it is true that academic ability is not by itself enough to make a good teacher, it does matter. There is a close correlation internationally between education systems that recruit only the best graduates and those that achieve the highest scores in comparative tests. None of this is an argument

for raising the entry barriers to becoming a teacher, but it is an argument for making teaching more attractive and accessible.

Finding enough teachers has been a public policy headache for many years, but the situation became critical in the 1990s. In a working paper for Policy Exchange, Professor Howson explained: “By early 2000, it must have been clear to policymakers in government that either something had to be done to improve recruitment or a disaster would ensue. Recorded vacancies in secondary schools measured in the January census had risen from 680 in 1997 to 1,143 in 2000 as school rolls rose and the number of new teachers fell. Vacancies were to peak in 2001, at 2,477.

“The drastic solution, announced suddenly in March 2000, was the introduction of the Training Grant of £6,000 for all postgraduate trainees, although not for trainees on undergraduate courses.”²³

Alongside the training grant, “golden hellos” were introduced for shortage subjects. The combined effect of these financial inducements was to boost recruitment away from crisis levels. In the last few years, though, numbers have started to drop again as Table 1.5 shows.

22 Howson J, *The Labour Market for Teachers*, Policy Exchange, 2008

23 Howson J, op cit, pp 13-15 Since then, university top-up fees have been introduced (in 2006-07) and cover PGCE and SCITT students. The maximum fee in 2008-09 will be £3,145 per year and to help with this the TDA provides a £1,230 maintenance grant on top of the bursary and means tests for the rest. Student loans are also available

Table 1.5: Applications to Selected Secondary Subjects by Prospective Teacher Trainees, February 2001 – February 2008

Subjects	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Mathematics	352	453	546	690	873	1,125	1,056	896
Physics	66	96	104	136	127	181	185	129
ICT	130	240	404	544	430	553	355	297
Geography	366	420	406	458	482	646	440	376
MFL	645	697	685	724	664	858	620	588

Source: GTTR applicant statistics (online). From John Howson, *The Labour Market for Teachers 1997-2008*, (Policy Exchange, London, 2008)

Table 1.6: Applications to PGCE Courses (England), Projection of Filled Places, March 2008

Subjects	Mar-07	Apps total	Mar-08	Apps to come	Likely recruits	Revised recruits (-30%)	Est. Target	%Target/ revised recruits	Revised recruits/ Targets	Fill?
Mathematics	1,299	2,585	1,113	1,286	2,399	1,679	2,169	77%	0.77	N
English	2,693	3,805	2,323	1,112	3,435	2,405	1,695	142%	1.42	Y
Science	1,903	3,910	1,628	2,007	3,635	2,545	2,954	86%	0.86	N
MFL	803	1,810	791	1,007	1,798	1,259	1,523	83%	0.83	N
D&T	330	832	289	502	791	554	907	61%	0.61	N
History	1,470	1,708	1,290	238	1,528	1,070	908	118%	1.18	Y
Geography	558	894	468	336	804	563	624	90%	0.9	N
Art	925	1,387	865	462	1,327	929	549	169%	1.69	Y
Music	405	770	429	365	794	556	558	100%	1	Y
RE	615	1,114	609	499	1,108	776	660	118%	1.18	Y
Citizenship	272	455	256	183	439	307	200	154%	1.54	Y
Business St	456	958	341	502	843	590	544	108%	1.08	Y
ICT	475	1,119	407	644	1,051	736	908	81%	0.81	N
PE	2,139	2,366	2,056	227	2,283	1,598	740	216%	2.16	Y
All Secondary	15,537	25,171	14,183	9,634	23,817	16,672	14,862	112%	1.12	Y
All Primary	17,254	19,066	16,126	1,812	17,938	12,557	7,456	168%	1.68	Y

The projection of the outcome for this year's application round in England is based on the figures of last year's applications and the number of applications as stated by the GTTR compared with the estimated target for application in some subject-based courses. Columns two and three were used to calculate the number of applications to come (column five) by assuming a similar trend in applications as shown in the remaining part of the last round. The addition of this month's figures in column four to these numbers provides an indication of a possible total for this year's applications. Adjustments for withdrawals and unplaced applicants were made by subtracting 30% of the total as displayed in column seven. Matching these figures with the estimated targets for this year (column eight) allowed a preliminary estimate of this year's situation. From John Howson, *The Labour Market for Teachers 1997-2008*, (Policy Exchange, London, 2008)

In fact, provisional data suggests that key subjects such as maths, science and modern foreign languages will miss recruitment targets this year (see Table 1.6).

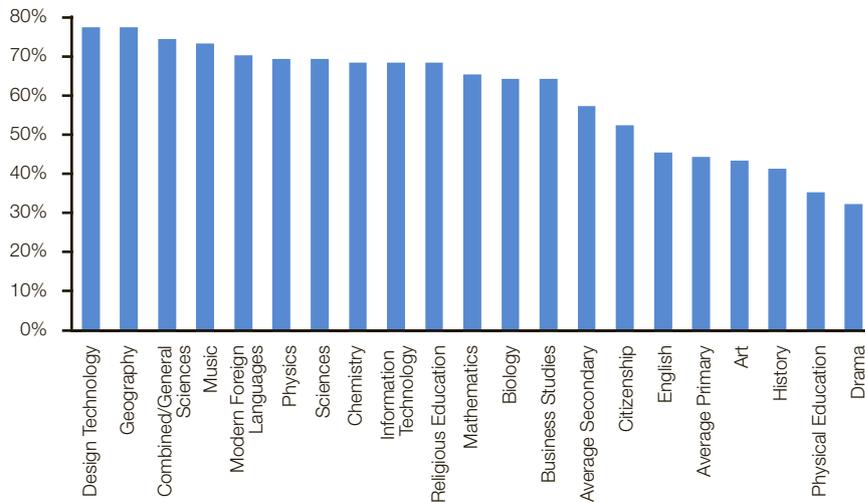
One result of the difficulty in hitting recruitment targets is that providers of initial teacher training have to take on a very high proportion of applicants. As Figure 1.2 shows, applicant:acceptance ratios for most higher education ITT courses in 2007 were very high. For geography and design technology postgraduate courses 77% applicants were accepted. For music the figure is 73% and for science 69%. Across all subjects the average is of 59%.²⁴ Compare this with a 5%-10% acceptance rate for a typical Russell Group university undergraduate humanities degree.

This high acceptance rate to ITT can be achieved only by accepting some candidates with very poor qualifications. The academic quality of entrants for undergraduate BEd is a particular concern. According to the Training and Development Agency (TDA), in 2005-06 32% of undergraduate entrants did not have A-levels. Instead they apply with GNVQs, through access courses or with foreign degrees. Of those that did have A-levels, the average tariff score was 269, which is roughly equal to a B and two Cs.²⁵ Figure 1.3 shows how this compares with entrance standards for degrees in other subjects using Universities and Colleges Admissions Service data for 2007. For medicine the average tariff score is 473, equivalent to

²⁴ Ibid, p.35

²⁵ Ibid

Figure 1.2: Percentage of applicants accepted to the HE ITT courses, England, 2007



Source: GTTR applications and acceptances 24/09/07

almost four A grades. The average entry tariff for all subjects is 318 or an A and two Bs. Of all subject areas education is second to last, ahead only of creative arts and design.²⁶

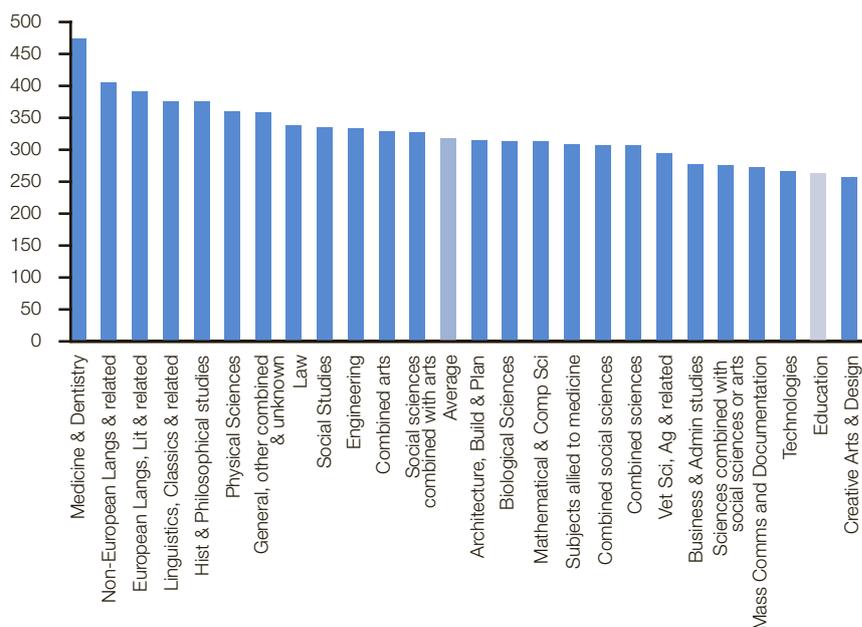
At postgraduate level, in 2005-06 – the last year for which figures are available – of

those entering teacher training with a UK classified degree 59% had a 2:1 or higher (upper class degree), 34% a 2:2 and 7% a third or pass. That means more than 2,000 students entered ITT with a third-class or pass degree.²⁷ The subjects with the greatest shortage of recruits fare worst. For maths

26 Derived from UCAS online statistical database

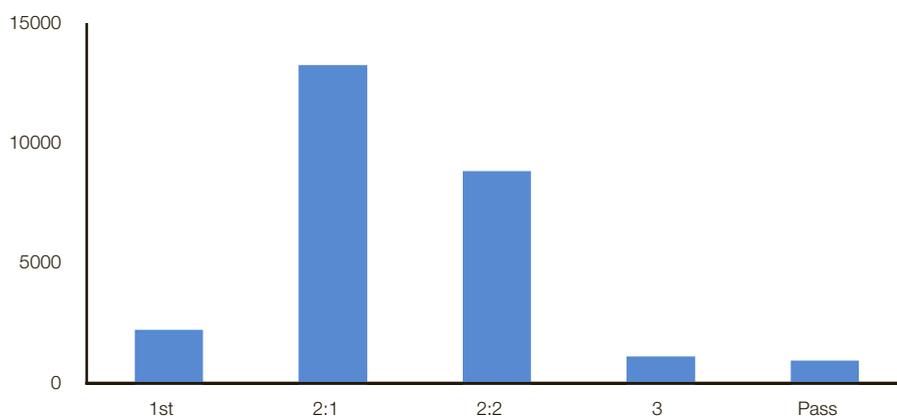
27 TDA Performance Profiles 2005-06

Figure 1.3: Average tariff, by subject group, of those successfully accepted to degree courses for entry 2007



Source: UCAS statistics. Data excludes those degree accepts with a zero tariff score.

Figure 1.4: Undergraduate degree classifications of postgraduate trainee teachers with UK classified degrees 2005-06



Source: TDA performance profiles 2007

and science the proportions of entrants with a 2:1 and above were 46% and 50% respectively. And the proportion of ITT entrants with less than a 2:2 was 16% in information and communication technology, 17% in maths, and 11% in science compared to 7% across the board. In 2005-06, 318 graduates started a maths PGCE with only a third or pass in their first degree.

Of course degree classes are not uniform between universities – the type of institution from which graduates are recruited is also important. Research from the Sutton Trust shows that a disproportionate number of teachers who have attended the best universities end up in the independent sector. It found that nearly 30% of independent school teachers are graduates of leading universities (as

Table 1.7: QTS outcomes for Teacher Trainees 2005/6

QTS Outcome	Qualification aim		
	Final year Undergraduate	Final year Postgraduate	Total
Awarded QTS	5,604	27,499	33,103
Yet to complete the course	405	1,531	1,936
Left course before the end	38	1,690	1,728
Withheld: skills test not met	108	447	555
Withheld: standards not met	42	195	237
Withheld: standards & skills test not met	69	262	331
Skills test not taken (standards met)	73	171	244
Skills tests not taken (standards not met)	16	27	43
Undefined	6	5	11
Total	6,361	31,827	38,188

Source: TDA

The minimum entry requirements for ITT

To teach in a maintained school or non-maintained specialist school in England a teacher must be registered with the General Teaching Council for England (GTCE), and in order to register a person must have Qualified Teacher Status (QTS).

To achieve QTS a teacher needs to have completed a period of initial teacher training (ITT) which has enabled them to meet the necessary professional standards; a formal set of skills and qualities required to be an effective teacher. Currently the QTS standards relate to three areas: professional attributes, knowledge and understanding, and skills.²⁹

QTS is achievable through a number of different initial teacher training routes: undergraduate and postgraduate; and training and employment based.

At present the basic requirements for entry to teacher training in the UK are relatively low:

Qualification	Grades needed
A GCSE (or recognised equivalent) in English	Grade C or above
A GCSE (or recognised equivalent) in mathematics	Grade C or above
A GCSE (or recognised equivalent) in a science subject if you want to teach primary or key stages 2/3	Grade C or above
A UK degree (or equivalent qualification)	Pass

Undergraduate qualifications
 Please note that a degree is not required to begin *undergraduate* teacher training, ie bachelor of education and bachelor of arts/science with qualified teacher status. The initial teacher training providers awarding these qualifications will have their own requirements.
 Source: <http://www.tda.gov.uk/Recruit/thetrainingprocess/basicrequirements.aspx>

Beyond these, individual providers of ITT may have their own entry requirements and selection procedures. All application processes for ITT include an assessment interview.

Once on a course, a trainee must pass skills tests in numeracy, literacy and information and communications technology. An ITT provider cannot recommend a candidate for QTS until they have passed these tests.

A PGCE is an academic qualification that incorporates QTS, and is not in itself necessary to become a teacher. (There is however concern that when teachers transfer abroad, only PGCEs and not QTS are recognised.)

ranked by the major league tables) compared with 10.5% in the maintained sector.²⁸ It also found that over 60% of independent school teachers have a 2:1 or higher compared with only 45% of the teachers in maintained schools.

Not only is it possible to get on to an ITT course with a poor academic record it is also very difficult to fail once on the course. Table 1.7 shows that 87% of trainees achieved Qualified Teacher Status in 2005-06. Only 2.7% failed to meet the standards expected and/or the basic skills test.

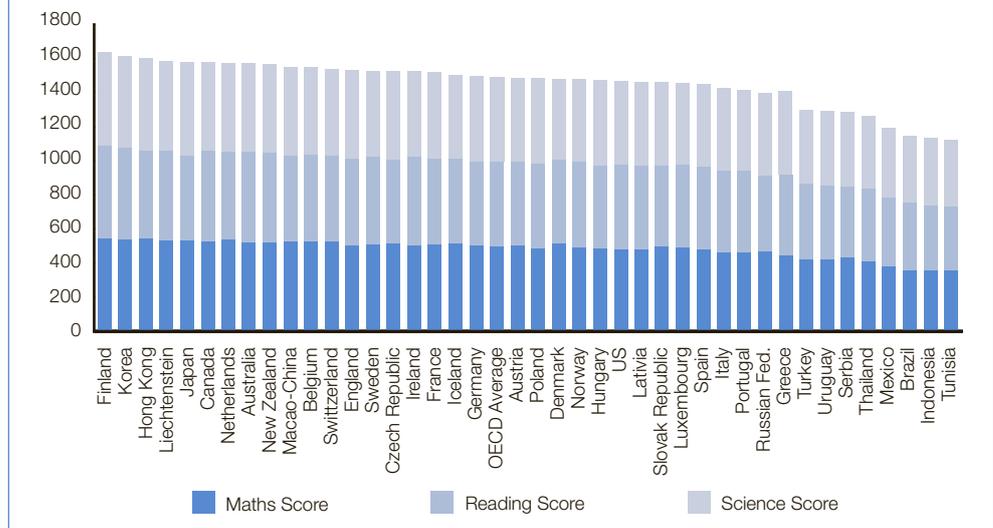
One reason may be that the basic skills tests, which are equivalent to grade C GCSEs in English, maths and IT, can be taken as many times as necessary in order to pass. Worryingly it seems that teachers are finding these tests increasingly difficult. In 2000-01 it took trainee teachers an average 1.28 times to pass the numeracy test and 1.14 times to pass the literacy test. By 2005-06 these figures had risen to 1.49 and 1.4 respectively.³⁰ At the extreme - in 2006 one trainee teacher needed 28 attempts to pass the numeracy test and another took 19 attempts to pass the lit-

28 Tracey L and Smithers A, *Teacher Qualifications*, Centre for Education and Employment Research, The Sutton Trust, 2003

29 www.tda.gov.uk/upload/resources/pdf/q/qts_itt_req.pdf

30 Hansard, 16th July 2007, Column 126W

Figure 1.5: International PISA Scores (which test 15 year olds in school) by Country 2003



eracy test.³¹ These people are now, presumably, qualified teachers. It is remarkable that a limit has not been imposed to bar those who clearly struggle with literacy and numeracy from entering classrooms.

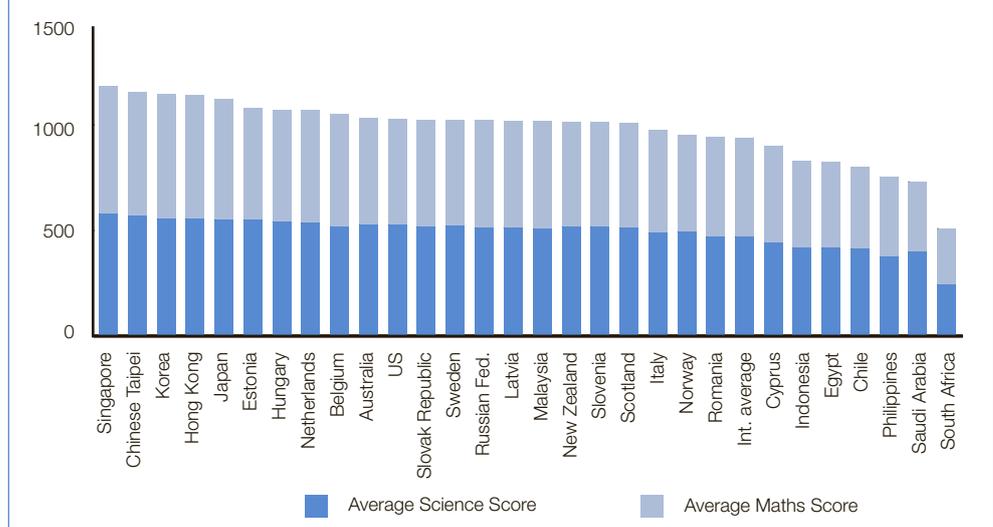
Some involved with teacher education dismiss all of this evidence regarding the academic quality of recruits on the grounds that intellectual ability alone does not make a good teacher. To some extent this is obviously true – it is easy to imagine a bookish scholar rendered useless in minutes by a

class of rowdy teenagers. Leadership, empathy and communications skills are all important attributes for a good teacher which may not be reflected in a degree result. However, there is quite a strong relationship between success in achieving qualifications and performance within schools. Many Teach First teachers, selected out of the group of Russell Group graduates with 2:1s or higher, have a huge impact on their schools within a few years.³² The importance of having a well qualified teaching

31 See www.theyworkforyou.com/wrans/?id=2007-07-16a.148857.h&s=literacy+test#g148857.r0

32 "Rising to the Challenge: A review of the Teach First initial teacher training programme", Ofsted, January 2008. For a specific example see the graduate profiled in www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/life_and_style/education/article3248114.ece

Figure 1.6: TIMSS Average Maths and Science Scores of 8th Grade Students by Country, 2003



force can also be seen by comparing the educational performance of other countries that hire a higher proportion of top graduates as teachers. A recent report on high performing school systems, co-authored by the former head of Tony Blair's delivery unit, Michael Barber, for McKinsey found that in South Korea teachers are recruited from the top 5% of the graduate cohort, in Finland from the top 10% and in Hong Kong and Singapore the top 30%.³³ By comparison, according to the New Commission of the Skills of the American Workforce, in the US teachers are recruited "from the bottom third of high-school students going to college". England and Wales, as we have seen, hover in the middle of these two extremes.

Data from the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) performance tables seem to bear out Barber's contention – that a well qualified teaching force is a requirement for a high performing school system (though, of course, many other variables also affect international comparative test results). Figure 5 below shows maths, reading and science scores from the 2003 round of PISA testing for all OECD countries that took part.

The results for the various countries discussed above (apart from Singapore which did not take part in this particular study) are highlighted. The graph shows that the three countries Barber identified as recruiting teachers from the top 30% of the graduate cohort (Finland, South Korea and Hong Kong) all ranked highest overall in the PISA 2003 tests. Although above the OECD average, England lagged considerably behind these countries. The US fell significantly below the OECD average.

2003 data from the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) supports PISA's ranking of South Korea and Hong Kong close to the top and the US some way behind. It also places Singapore first in the sample (Figure 1.6).

Similarly, in the Progress in International Reading and Literacy Study (PIRLS) tests for 2006, Hong Kong and Singapore were both placed in the top four countries and the US and England were some way behind.³⁴ As Barber puts it: "The quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers."³⁵

³³ Barber M and Mourshed M, *How the World's Best-Performing School Systems Come Out on Top*, McKinsey & Company, September 2007, p 16

³⁴ "Distribution of Reading Achievement", Exhibit 1.1, PIRLS International Report, 2006

³⁵ Barber, *op cit*, p 16

2

Initial teacher training

Teaching will never have the status of professions such as medicine or law. Instead it should be reconfigured to make it easy for successful graduates to move in and out of teaching at suitable points in their career. Furthermore teaching should emphasise and develop the opportunities it can offer to acquire transferable skills in leadership, management and communication.

Most new teachers still have to spend a year or more training in higher education before getting a job. This is unattractive for those who do not want to make a long-term commitment to teaching. It is also proves wasteful for trainees who find the theoretical knowledge learnt in the seminar room to be of little practical use in the classroom. Donald McIntyre and Hazel Hagger were right when they wrote: “Classroom teaching expertise cannot in principle be derived from theoretical or idealised views of teaching.”³⁶

“ We would like to see initial teacher training overhauled to make employment-based routes far more common and far easier to access ”

Over the past 30 years there has been a reluctant acceptance that practical, competence-based training is more valuable than theory. At the beginning of their careers, new teachers need to acquire the craft of managing classrooms so that their pupils learn effectively. This is not achieved through the acquisition of abstract knowledge in a seminar room; it is gained

through apprentice-style training in classrooms. Surgeons acknowledge that to become a surgeon they need to be apprenticed to an experienced colleague in an operating theatre. We think the same principle should apply to teachers. Yet the vast majority of trainees do not spend enough time in schools.

This Government has implicitly acknowledged the importance of school-based routes into teaching by introducing Teach First and the Graduate Teacher Programme (GTP). Both allow recruits to go straight into a teaching job without spending time in higher education. Teach First is a niche course – recruiting only 1% of new teachers annually and the GTP is fiendishly difficult to access unless the prospective candidate is already working in a school. The vast majority of new teachers still come through traditional higher education training routes: the BEd (for primary) and the PGCE (for primary and secondary). We would like to see initial teacher training overhauled to make employment-based routes far more common and far easier to access.

The development of these routes would refocus training and resources on schools, which would become more responsible for training new staff. A virtuous circle would result as more experienced teachers benefited from mentoring new colleagues. Higher education would remain involved in training, but as the junior partner of the school rather than an independent institution – the money would go to schools so that they could decide the level of external involvement.

36 McIntyre D and Hagger H, *Learning Teaching from Teachers: Realising the potential of school-based teacher education*, Open University Press, 2006

Proposition 1: Initial Teacher Training has over the years become less college-based and more school-based, but the rate of change has been too slow

Teacher training has gradually become focused on imparting practical techniques for the classroom rather than the theory of education. From the late 1970s a number of universities began to incorporate long periods of school-based teacher practice in their PGCEs. There was a slow trend “towards a curriculum in which the disciplines of education became less prominent, where the status of professionally oriented courses (e.g. curriculum studies, language and education) rose and students spent more time in schools”.³⁷

The Thatcher Government accelerated the shift. In 1983 the BEd route was largely confined to prospective primary teachers.³⁸ In 1984 the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) was established to monitor ITT – signalling the end of higher education autonomy.³⁹ The amount of time students had to spend in schools during their training was defined for the first time. In a 1989 circular this was set at 75 days for one, two and three-year courses and 100 days for four-year courses. The circular also required that certain topics be covered on all courses.⁴⁰ By 1992 these had evolved into “competencies” though they were still defined very broadly. The use of the word “competencies” was important: it symbolised the Government’s belief in developing practical skills rather than theoretical knowledge. The amount of time PGCE students have to spend in schools has since been further extended to 24 weeks – or two-thirds of the course (typically separated into two placements at different schools).

These measures were, in part, a response to a series of critiques of university-led training by right-wing think-tanks with

access to the Conservative government.⁴¹ These critiques with their aggressive tone and focus on undermining the “neo-Marxist” ideological bent in teacher training institutions were very effective in convincing the Government to take action. They were, however, also unhelpful in creating such a highly-charged political atmosphere that evidence that the “theory-into-practice” model of teacher education was not working got lost in the ideological mêlée. During the 1990s the relationship between the Government and the training profession deteriorated, culminating in a series of politically explosive inspections and re-inspections of ITT provision ordered by the Chief Inspector Chris Woodhead. This led to the development of a much tighter “national curriculum” for teacher training in four key subjects (English, maths, science and ICT) and much more prescriptive “standards” (rather than competencies) for other subjects. Subsequently the relationship between the government agencies (TDA and Ofsted) and ITT providers has become less confrontational and the curriculum and standards have been made much broader.

The poisonous atmosphere of the late Eighties and Nineties made it much harder for those academics in the training profession, such as Donald McIntyre and David Hargreaves, who were arguing that trainee teachers found it difficult to translate theory into classroom practice.⁴² McIntyre, with colleagues at Oxford University, developed the Oxford internship, which actively involved schools in designing teacher training. “Teacher education has often in the past been a very peripheral activity for schools”, he subsequently wrote, “we wanted to heighten its profile, to make it quite an important activity in the schools involved.”⁴³ It was difficult to sell this vision, however, when other voices were talking of a “sinister sub-plot” to deprive universities of business and “the political rape of initial teacher training”.⁴⁴

37 Furlong J et al, *Teacher Education in Transition: Re-forming professionalism?* Open University Press, 2000, p 21

38 Adelman C, “Teacher Education in England and Wales: the past 20 years”, *European Journal of Education*, vol 21, 2, 1986, p 176

39 In 1994 this became the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) and has since been renamed the Training and Development Agency (TDA)

40 Ibid, pp 23-24

41 See, for example, Cox C et al, *Whose Schools? A Radical Manifesto*, Hillgate Group, 1986; Lawlor S, *Teachers Mistaught*, Centre for Policy Studies, 1990

42 See, for example, Brown S and McIntyre D, *Making Sense of Teaching*, Open University Press, 1992 and Hargreaves D, *The Future of Teacher Education*, Hockerill Education Foundation, 1990

43 McIntyre D and Hagger H, “Professional Development through the Oxford Internship Model”, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, vol 40, 3, August, 1992, p 265

44 Maclure S, “Through the Revolution and Out the Other Side”, *Oxford Review of Education*, 24 (1), 1998 pp 15-16; Gilroy D, “The Political Rape of Initial Teacher Training in England and Wales”, *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 1992, 18, (1), pp 5-21

This was the backdrop to the initial attempts of the Thatcher and Major Governments to introduce school-based teacher training. Given the antagonism it is unsurprising that some of these were less than successful. In 1989 the Government launched the Licensed Teacher Scheme (LTS), a radical experiment that allowed schools to hire unqualified non-graduate teachers (they had to have two years of unspecified higher education) to paid posts on a two-year licence. It was up to the schools to decide what training the recruit needed and whether to use any higher education provision. After two years the trainee was assessed and could become a fully qualified teacher.

Unfortunately, because the scheme was open to non-graduates it became seen as a last resort for solving recruitment crises rather than a positive way of opening up the profession. One headteacher commented at the time: “I have never appointed a licensed teacher when a qualified one has been available.” Because LTS recruits were used primarily to cover vacancies they were often sent to poorly-performing schools that were unable to train them properly. Ofsted noted in 1993 that “many of those Licensed Teachers who were performing poorly were in schools which were considered unsatisfactory for the training of teachers...Hardly any of those Licensed Teachers in poor placements were better than satisfactory and poor teaching was often linked to a poor placement”.⁴⁵ Geoffrey Partington has noted that in all their enthusiasm for the Licensed Teacher Scheme the right-wing think-tanks behind the Government’s ideas seemed to forget that schools actually had to have the capacity to provide the training.⁴⁶

The Labour Government replaced the LTS in 1998 with the Graduate Teacher Scheme, now the Graduate Teacher Programme. In its latest form it has retained some elements of the LTS – recruits are still paid and are still predomi-

nantly based in the school. However, the programme has been formalised – as the name suggests only graduates can apply, recruits are typically supernumerary (in addition to the fully staffed school) and they must also now spend at least 60 days actively training.⁴⁷ The GTP is very difficult to enter and provides a relatively small proportion of new teachers (about 15%).

The Articled Teacher Scheme (ATS) launched in 1989 at the same time as the Licensed Teacher Scheme, was in many ways a government-designed version of the Oxford internship and was much more successful than the LTS (the two were often confused). The ATS was a modified two-year PGCE – 80% of the recruits’ time was spent in a local school and they were given a generous bursary rather than a means-tested grant (all PGCE applicants received a grant from 2000). The idea was to prove the validity of school-based training and to recruit more mature applicants who may previously have been put off by a lack of financial support. It was broadly successful in both. Ofsted noted in 1993 that “almost invariably, Articled teachers adopted a professional attitude. They had a better understanding of the pattern of school life and the role of the teacher and took a more active part in the life of the school than many students trained by other means”.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the ATS was considerably more expensive than other routes and was shut down in 1994.

It was replaced with School-Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) an entirely school-based (but not employment based) one-year postgraduate certificate of education that was no more expensive than the standard PGCE. The idea was, and still is, for schools to group together in consortiums to provide the necessary training. The money goes directly to schools and they can buy-in higher education expertise if they wish – but many do not.

Because the grant for SCITT courses is no higher than for university-based

45 Furlong J et al, *op cit*, pp 57-59

46 Partington G, *Teacher Education in England and Wales*, Institute of Economic Affairs, 1999, p 81

47 www.tda.gov.uk/upload/resources/pdf/i/itemhgtp.pdf

48 *Ibid*, p 53

PGCEs they have had a lower profile and struggled to get going. But there has been a gradual increase; in 2000-01, 760 graduates were on SCITT courses out of a total of 18,020 (4.2%). In 2007-08 the numbers were 1,650 out of 22,880 (7.2%). Initially Ofsted judged SCITTs to be well below the quality of university PGCEs. As Alan Smithers has shown, however, in his annual league table of initial teacher training providers, the gap has narrowed considerably in recent years.⁴⁹ Some that have been running for a long time are producing exceptional results. For primary training, Devon Primary SCITT and Billericay Education Consortium came second and third behind Cambridge University in the overall rankings. For secondary, the Northumbria DT Partnership would have come third behind Cambridge and Oxford.⁵⁰ And as we will see, SCITT has the highest levels of approval of any route from trainees who participate.

But the quality of applicants to SCITTs is, on average, considerably lower than for university PGCEs. This is most probably due to the low recognition of SCITT courses among undergraduates and the fact that universities provide the majority of undergraduate career advice and are not keen to put themselves out of business. If nothing else, SCITTs have shown that it is possible to provide high-quality teacher training without compulsory higher education input.

The Government also introduced Teach First in 2003 – a direct copy of the US programme, Teach for America. It operates as an independent charity and focuses on attracting high flyers into teaching for two years to work in challenging schools. Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) is gained after the first year and the initial six weeks induction and ongoing training are co-ordinated by Canterbury Christ Church University. Trainees are employed as unqualified teachers in their first year, so

earn a salary and are given responsibility for classes from the start. The scheme began in London; it has since been extended to schools in Manchester and the Midlands with a view to expanding to 11 cities by 2010. It has also begun placing participants in primary as well as secondary schools.

So far Teach First has been very successful in attracting high achieving graduates, and has been embraced by politicians of all parties. Ofsted, in its first review of Teach First earlier this year, commended many features of the programme including its management by Canterbury Christ Church University and its impact on transforming education in London.⁵¹ Inspectors considered half the trainees they saw to be “outstanding”, while some were judged to be “amongst the most exceptional trainees produced by any teacher training route”.

Proposition 2: Action should be taken to make school-based and employment-based routes more attractive and accessible

Table 2.1 lists all of the currently active routes into teaching. Despite the attempts to diversify over the past few decades, by introducing school and employment based routes into teaching, most trainees continue to qualify through traditional higher education routes. Figures 2.1-2.4 overleaf show the change in the numbers qualifying for each route between 2000-01 and 2006-07.⁵² In both primary and secondary there has been a steady growth in the numbers coming through the Graduate Teacher Programme and School-Centred Initial Teacher Training. There has also been growth in the Overseas Teaching Training route (OTT) which offers EU qualified teachers a four-year licence to teach at the end of which they are assessed for QTS.

49 Smithers A and Robinson P, *Teacher Training Profiles 2007*, University of Buckingham

50 Ibid, p 6

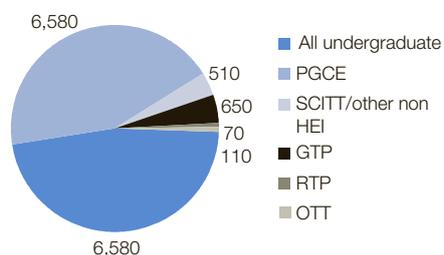
51 *Rising to the Challenge: a review of the Teach First initial teacher training programme*, Ofsted, January 2008; see www.ofsted.gov.uk/assets/Internet_Content/Shared_Content/Files/2008/jan/teachfirst_rv.pdf

52 Howson J, *The Labour Market for Teachers*, Policy Exchange, 2008

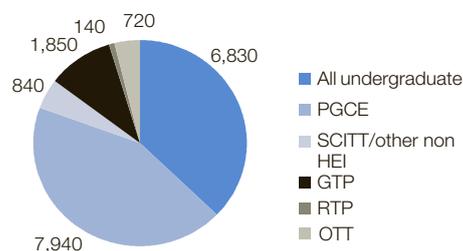
Table 2.1 : Table of Teacher Entry Routes

POSTGRADUATE		UNDERGRADUATE			
Route	Description	Duration	Financial Support	Teaching qualification gained	Entry requirement (above the minimum requirements detailed in chapter 1)
Employment based	BA or BSC	3 or 4 years	No	OTS	2 A levels
	Bed	No	OTS	2 A levels	2 A levels
Training based	FTP - Registered Teacher Programme	The programme normally takes two years. However, depending on your previous teaching experience, it may take less time.	Your school will continue to pay you an unqualified (or qualified) teacher's salary (starting from £14,751 depending on your responsibilities, experience and location).	OTS	The equivalent of two years (240 Credit and Accumulation and Transfer scheme (CATS) points) of higher education. For example an HND, a DipHE or the first two years of a bachelors degree.
	PGCE - Postgraduate Certificate in Education	1 year	Tax free bursary of £4000 for primary and £6000-9000 (subject dependent) for secondary. Golden hello at start of 2nd teaching year of £2.5 - 5k (amounts depend on start date and subject). Tax free bursary of £4000 for primary and £6000-9000 (subject dependent) for secondary. Golden hello at start of 2nd teaching year of £2.5 - 5k (amounts depend on start date and subject).	OTS and a PGCE	Degree
Training based	SCITT - School Centred Training	1 year	Schools pay participants on an unqualified or qualified teacher's salary (anywhere from £14,751 depending on responsibilities, experience and location).	OTS and most also get a PGCE	Degree
	GTP - Graduate Teacher Programme	Up to one school year, full time, depending on your previous teaching experience (minimum duration is 3 months).	Schools pay participants on an unqualified teaching scale during the first year (around £16,700) and normal NQT salary (around £20,700) during the second year on the programme (there is an additional London weighting)	OTS	Degree. Applicants must apply directly to a GTP provider who will either find them a school willing to employ them as an unqualified teacher, or they will need to find such a school themselves. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A minimum of a 2.1 undergraduate degree. * 300 UCAS tariff points (24 points using the old tariff, equivalent to BBB at A-level). * Ability to show high levels of competency in areas such as leadership, teamwork, resilience, critical thinking, communication skills, initiative and creativity, and respect, humility, and empathy. Those who already have a degree and substantial experience of working in a UK school as an instructor or qualified teacher, or as a teacher in an independent school or further education institution, may be able to qualify with minimal teacher training. Participants must first be qualified as a teacher overseas and working as an unqualified teacher in a school in England. In addition, if they qualified outside the European Economic Area (EEA), they will need a qualification equivalent to a UK bachelors degree
Employment based	Teach First	2 years (OTS gained after the first year)	Point 3 on the unqualified teaching scale during the first year (around £16,700) and normal NQT salary (around £20,700) during the second year on the programme (there is an additional London weighting)	OTS	Degree. Applicants must apply directly to a GTP provider who will either find them a school willing to employ them as an unqualified teacher, or they will need to find such a school themselves. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * A minimum of a 2.1 undergraduate degree. * 300 UCAS tariff points (24 points using the old tariff, equivalent to BBB at A-level). * Ability to show high levels of competency in areas such as leadership, teamwork, resilience, critical thinking, communication skills, initiative and creativity, and respect, humility, and empathy. Those who already have a degree and substantial experience of working in a UK school as an instructor or qualified teacher, or as a teacher in an independent school or further education institution, may be able to qualify with minimal teacher training. Participants must first be qualified as a teacher overseas and working as an unqualified teacher in a school in England. In addition, if they qualified outside the European Economic Area (EEA), they will need a qualification equivalent to a UK bachelors degree
	Assessment only	Technically a GTP. It offers the chance to demonstrate you meet the standards required to achieve QTS by compiling and submitting a portfolio of evidence of your abilities as a classroom teacher. Also features a day-long assessment visit to your school.	3 months minimum but basically the time to compile and submit a portfolio of evidence of your abilities as a classroom teacher, and complete the day-long assessment visit. Can take up to a year to complete.	No	OTS
Employment based	Overseas Teacher Training Programme	Those qualified as a teacher overseas and outside the EEA may be eligible to work in England as a temporary teacher without qualified teacher status (QTS) for up to four years. Once they have a teaching position in a school, the OTTP provides them with an individual training and assessment programme which leads to qualification to teach in England permanently.	Your school will continue to pay your salary and the costs of additional training will be covered up to a value of £1,250	OTS	OTS

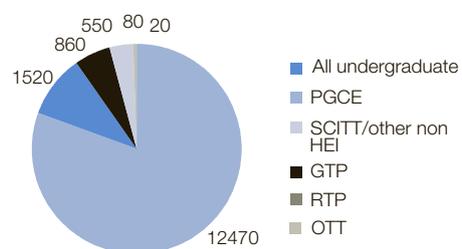
Figures 2.1: Primary ITT Recruitment by Route, 2001/01



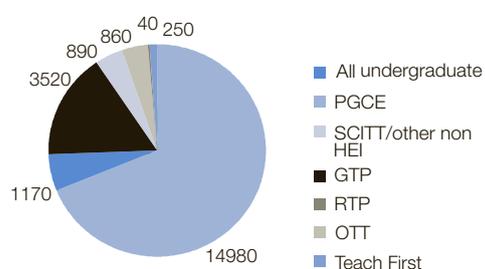
Figures 2.2: Primary ITT Recruitment by Route, 2006/07



Figures 2.3: Secondary ITT Recruitment by Route, 2000/01



Figures 2.4: Secondary ITT Recruitment by Route, 2006/07



Since 2000-01 the percentage of primary trainees coming from higher education routes has fallen from 90.4% to 80.6%. For secondary trainees the drop has been slightly greater – from 90.3% to 74.4%. This shift has provided welcome diversity to teacher training, however the vast majority still qualify through traditional routes.

We do not believe that these traditional routes remain more popular because of any intrinsic merit but rather because the PGCE and BEd (for primary) remain the default routes for teacher training. Because there is no central list of schools offering GTP places entry is dominated by people who already have a relationship with a school and are looking to continue in a more formal role. There is also no centralised admissions process so schools taking on a graduate without school experience are taking a risk.

Teach First is deliberately designed as a niche route and highly targeted at elite graduates from the best universities. It is run by an independent charity rather than the Training and Development Agency and has no intention of expanding beyond 5% of the market (it currently represents about 1%). Recruits are placed only in schools in deprived areas so the majority of schools have no access to Teach First recruits.⁵³

For most graduates, either straight out of university or coming from another job, the default way to become a teacher is by completing a PGCE. Indeed our poll of undergraduates found that only 20% were aware of Teach First. The figure was higher (29%) for those at Russell Group universities – which are specifically targeted by Teach First, but still relatively low. The majority of managers/professionals (58%) were unaware that “it is possible to train and qualify as a teacher in one year while also

⁵³ For example, they must have a minimum of 30% of pupils receiving free school meals

working and being paid as an unqualified teacher” (through the GTP), this included 55% of those who said they would consider teaching as a career.

When explained to respondents, however, employment-based routes were considered attractive. As Table 2.4 shows the first choice of undergraduates when asked to choose the most attractive aspect of Teach First was “the chance to get a responsible paid job immediately” and the second was the emphasis on transferable skills. A considerable majority of managers/professionals considered the GTP option to be more attractive than a PGCE. When asked whether they would prefer to take a one-year postgraduate course or qualify as a teacher while also working and being paid as an unqualified teacher, 53% chose the latter option and 29% the former – 18% were don’t knows. Significantly 61% of managers/professionals who were prepared to consider becoming a teacher chose the GTP option (31% chose the PGCE). This is a crucial finding as it suggests that there is demand for employment-based routes into teaching that is not being met due to a lack of awareness of the GTP and difficulties in accessing it.

Evidence from the Becoming a Teacher project, a six-year longitudinal study of teachers’ experiences of ITT and early professional development, funded by the DCSE, supports the view that school and employment-based routes would be more

Table 2.2: Awareness of Other Routes into ITT Amongst Trainees

Training route	Per cent
University-based PGCE	75%
BEd	61%
BA or BSc with QTS	39%
Flexible, university based PGCE	34%
SCITT	28%
GTP/RTP	25%

Source: Becoming a Teacher Project

popular if they were easier to access and better understood.⁵⁴ In the first report from the project recent entrants to training were asked which routes they were aware of when they first applied to train. Table 2.2 gives the results for all respondents bar those who were on the route in question (Teach First was not included as it had only just been launched).⁵⁵ Table 2.3 breaks down the responses by age. As the first table shows only 25% of people joining routes other than the GTP or Registered Teacher Programme (RTP) had even heard of it and, there is far greater awareness of traditional higher education courses than school or employment-based routes. There is slightly higher awareness of the Graduate Teacher Programme among older recruits but it still far lower than for the PGCE or BEd courses.

54 For more information about the project see www.becoming-a-teacher.ac.uk

55 Hobson A et al, *Becoming a Teacher: Student teachers’ motives and preconceptions, and early school-based experiences during Initial Teacher Training*, DfES, 2005, Table 4.1; see www.gtce.org.uk/research/commissioned_res/workforce1

Table 2.3 Awareness of Other Routes into ITT Amongst Trainees, by Age

	Age (%)					
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45 or over
BEd	62	59	62	60	65	59
BA/BSc with QTS	43	35	34	37	40	38
University-based PGCE	71	83	77	75	79	76
Flexible university-based PGCE	27	42	41	40	44	44
SCITT	19	34	43	38	39	39
GRTP	14	38	40	39	45	49

Source: Becoming a Teacher Project

The first *Becoming a Teacher* report report also indicated that new trainees on university-led courses were concerned about the level of “irrelevant” theory on their chosen routes. PGCE students reported that much of the work done outside schools seemed beside the point. One said “I think sometimes they put too much emphasis on, you know, can you quote the constructivist theory and things because you go and ask a real teacher in a real school...they don’t relate to that anymore because they’re in there doing a real job.” Others had similar concerns: “Too much emphasis is placed on [research] rather

than them telling us what to do if we’re accused of touching a child or the real issues that occur day-to-day...enough about that theory and that theory, tell me how I mark a child’s book.”⁵⁶

This was in marked contrasts to trainees starting school-based routes such as the GTP: “The theory might be nice and I’m sure there are certain things I might want to know in more depth that I would have got on a PGCE, but then you spend hours in a lecture theatre trying to think about how it would work in the classroom, whereas I can do things and see how they work in the classroom and it’s so much more beneficial

56 Hobson J et al, op cit, pp 90-92

Table 2.4: Most Attractive Aspects of Teach First for Undergraduates

	Thinking about your future career which of the following best applies to you?											
	Total		You definitely want to become a teacher		You would consider becoming a teacher		You would not currently consider becoming a teacher		You definitely do not want to become a teacher		Don't know	
		%		%		%		%		%		%
All undergrads (not in final year)	1282	%	31	%	403	%	431	%	394	%	23	%
Which if any of the following do you think is the MOST attractive aspect of Teach First?												
The emphasis on tackling												
educational disadvantage through working in challenging schools	169	13%	5	16%	72	18%	57	13%	31	8%	4	17%
Being part of an elite group at the top of the profession	125	10%	0	0%	25	6%	46	11%	53	13%	1	4%
Having a limited two-year commitment to the programme	83	6%	0	0%	22	5%	33	8%	26	7%	2	9%
Keeping your career options open thanks to the emphasis on transferable skills	258	20%	3	10%	97	24%	81	19%	74	19%	3	13%
The chance to get a responsible, paid teaching job immediately	296	23%	15	48%	98	24%	97	23%	81	21%	5	22%
That it commences, before the teaching term begins, with an intensive 6 week residential training course	53	4%	2	6%	18	4%	23	5%	9	2%	1	4%
The support network of school mentors, tutors and mentors in business	96	7%	4	13%	41	10%	35	8%	16	4%	0	0%
None of the above	202	16%	2	6%	30	7%	59	14%	104	26%	7	30%

really.” Another said “with the best will in the world, I don’t think classroom management can be taught from a book. You need the life experience outside the classroom and you need to see it in action.”⁵⁷

In the second report of the six-year *Becoming a Teacher* study the authors surveyed trainees who had just finished their ITT year. The responses followed a similar pattern to the first report; 46% of BEd students felt their course had been “too theoretical” as had 33% of primary PGCE students and 19% of secondary students. This compared to just 12% of those on primary SCITT courses (10% of those on secondary) and 5% of those on primary GTP (10% of those on secondary).⁵⁸ SCITT and GTP trainees were also clearer about the links between theory and practice than those on PGCE and BEds.⁵⁹

Recommendation 1: School and employment-based routes should be expanded so as to become the “default” option for suitable new trainees

Government attempts to break away from traditional models of teacher training have had limited success. University-led BEds and PGCEs continue to train the vast majority of new teachers – though a lower percentage than in the past. Our polling reveals high demand for employment-based, school-led training – that offers greater financial stability and a chance to learn transferable skills in a challenging environment.

Rather than remaining marginal, we believe that school-run, employment-based routes in teaching should become the default option for new trainees and recommend the development of variations to suit different groups. **Teach First** should be retained and developed as a specialist route for elite students who want to work in the most challenging schools and have responsi-

bility for classes from the start. **Teach Now** would be a new route for both recent graduates and career changers encompassing the GTP and incorporating some aspects of School-Centred Initial Teacher Training and Teach First models. **Teach Next** would offer an accelerated route for experienced managers and professionals to move quickly into leadership positions in schools.

These routes would be branded and marketed heavily to undergraduates and potential career changers. They would be presented as a new, flexible way to give something back to the community while developing valuable transferable skills. Applicants would go through a centralised admissions process and would have to pass an assessment showing that they were suitable for employment by a school straight away. The TDA would be instructed to provide a significant number of places on these routes – which would increase over time as they became better known.

As a corollary we propose reducing the number of trainees passing through traditional university-led courses. BEd places should be phased out and the number of PGCE places reduced, but this latter route would be maintained for students who were not ready or willing to go straight into a school.

Employment based routes: Teach First, Teach Now and Teach Next:

We believe that Teach First has proved itself and should be given the potential to expand. It is run by an independent charity so the number of places is not in the direct control of government or its agencies and has told us that it does not envisage providing more than 5% of teacher training places.⁶⁰ This is understandable – Teach First works only with schools in the most deprived urban areas and their numbers are limited. We support the existence of a niche route designed to place graduates of the highest quality in the most difficult schools, but believe that there is potential for expansion to all parts of

57 Ibid, pp 92-96

58 Hobson A et al, *Becoming a Teacher: Student teachers' experiences of initial teacher training in England*, DfES, 2006, p 43

59 Ibid, p 48

60 In a speech on the 23rd June 2008 Gordon Brown announced that places on Teach First courses would be expanded to 850, just under 3% of all trainee teachers; see www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page15829.asp

the country. Graduates need an alternative employment-based route that engages with all schools, rather than only the most deprived, and allows the full demand for employment-based training routes to be met.

Equally the GTP does not meet the demand for employment-based routes from older career changers. Not only are places limited but they are very difficult to find. Applicants either have to spot a GTP placement advertised independently by a school or go through a local Employment-Based Initial Teacher Training (EBITT) provider.⁶¹ These are listed on the Training and Development Agency website but most do not have their own site and even when they do it is unclear how many places are available or at which schools. Each EBITT has its own application procedure and in London alone there are 15.⁶² Also, EBITT providers in higher education require applicants to secure employment in a partner school as well as gaining a place with them directly. It requires extreme determination to work through the system. Even if an application is successful there will only be a few places available for each EBITT – and these are typically oversubscribed. The process could almost have been designed to deter those interested in teaching via an employment-based route.

We would meet demand for both new graduates and career changers with a new route – **Teach Now**. Any graduate would be able to apply through a central agency that could be run either by the TDA or the Graduate Teacher Training Registry (a subsidiary of UCAS that runs the application process for PGCEs). This agency would also be responsible for assessing the quality of entrants. Applicants would also be expected to pass the existing basic skills tests in ICT, English and Maths before winning a place, rather than taking them at the end of initial teacher training – which happens in most cases at the moment. Candidates who fail these skills tests would

be allowed to retake them only once rather than an unlimited number of times. Successful candidates would also be expected to pass a cognitive skills test and would be interviewed, possibly in groups if it was impracticable to interview that many candidates individually.⁶³

“ A centralised applications process would be fairer, more efficient, present a more professional face for applicants in the initial stages and would also ensure quality ”

A centralised application process would be significantly easier for candidates to navigate. We have spoken to EBITT providers, the TDA and people applying for the GTP, and it is clear that the current system of applying to providers as well as partner schools is fraught with unnecessary complexity: it deters applicants, and can lead to good candidates being rejected.

Moreover, research suggests that without a centralised system, applications to postgraduate teacher training courses tend to be rejected in an unsystematic way, depending on the available vacancies at particular institutions.⁶⁴ A centralised applications process would be fairer, more efficient, present a more professional face for applicants in the initial stages and would also ensure quality: it would not be acceptable for poorly qualified or incompetent trainees to be given paid positions in schools. And finally it would make it easier for schools to be involved; they would be able to participate in the Teach Now programme without having to vet candidates themselves or join an EBITT, though they could be given some role in the selection process.

Successful applicants would then be placed in a participating school as near to where they lived as possible – as happens with Teach First trainees. If candidates have an existing relationship with a

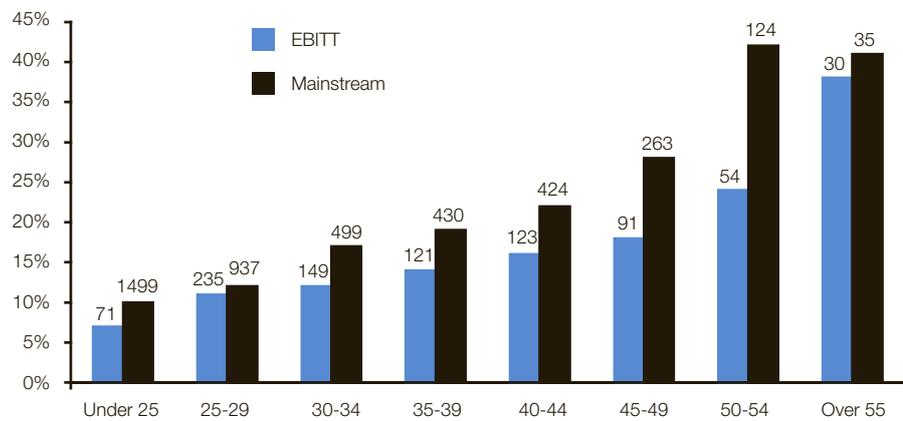
61 According to the TDA website providers of employment-based training are “partnerships of bodies such as schools, LEAs and accredited ITT providers empowered to design and deliver individual programmes of teacher training”.

62 www.tda.gov.uk/partners/recruiting/ebr/drbs/ebittcontacts.aspx?search=1®ion_id=3

63 In its report, *Those who can?*, the IPPR suggests that all ITT candidates should have to pass a cognitive skills test (p 104). We are opposed to the idea of using psychometric profiling of applicants as part of the selection process for trainees. Although it could help determine what style of teacher someone will be and thus the support that they might benefit from, it will not determine whether someone is going to be a good or a bad teacher and should therefore not be used in the selection process

64 Gorard S, Beng Huat S, Smith E, White P, *Teacher Supply: the Key Issues* reviewed in the *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 56:1, March 2008, pp 110-112(3)

Figure 2.5: Percentage of final year trainees not awarded QTS in 2005/06 by age group and provision type



Source: TDA performance profiles
 EBITT courses include the GTP and RTP, Teach First and OTTP (but not assessment only).
 Mainstream routes includes BEds and BA & BSC with QTS, PGCEs and SCITTs.

school, as a teaching assistant for example, then it would be assumed that they would be placed in that school. Once a Teach Now trainee had begun his or her placement the school could then decide how to continue training – existing teachers would act as mentors and schools could also buy-in additional support from higher education or consultancies. There would be a clear incentive for higher education institutions to provide a service that was useful to the schools and their trainees. Some schools might ask, as with the Teach First scheme, for regular school visits by instructors from the universities. Ultimately the preferred higher education support package would be that which the school felt was best for the development of its trainees.

We also propose that Teach Now be organised in a way that encourages each year group to work together throughout their training and support one another. In practice this might mean a residential induction, away days or group training days. Feedback suggests that while Teach First participants develop a very useful esprit de corps, completing other forms of employment-based ITT can be a very lonely experience.

As well as offering an accessible and well marketed employment-based route, Teach Now could also improve retention rates in the early years and during training. As Figure 2.5 shows, at every age level there are fewer drop-outs from employment-based courses than from mainstream university-led courses.

There are a number of possible explanations. First, people are less likely to drop out due to financial difficulties because they are receiving a salary. Secondly, trainees have a greater sense of responsibility towards their school as they are a full-time member of staff there. Finally, employment-based routes ease the transition between the theory and practice of teaching. There is a mismatch between the location of training places in higher education and jobs. In particular, many teachers train in cathedral cities only to be confronted when they qualify by the very different challenges of working in inner-city schools. If trainees are employed in schools before they qualify, induction would become less of a hurdle and more new teachers would remain in the profession.

Alongside Teach First and Teach Now we propose a new third route: **Teach Next**. This would be designed for senior man-

agers and professionals tired of the rat-race and interested in applying their skills to teaching. A programme of the same name “to promote mid-career routes into teaching” has been mooted by the Government, but there are, as yet, no details as to what it might entail. The first mention came from Gordon Brown in his last Mansion House speech as Chancellor on 20th June 2007.⁶⁵ The idea, he said, would be to “encourage men and women of talent to move mid or late career into teaching”. A week later Lord Adonis referred to Teach Next in a speech along with another variant, Teach Last, (he did admit this was a terrible name) for those at the end of other careers.⁶⁶ It has surfaced in speeches periodically since then, but there are no solid proposals. Indeed, in response to a recent parliamentary question as to how many training places had been assigned to Teach Next, School’s Secretary Jim Knight answered bluntly: “At present there is no Teach Next programme.”⁶⁷

Early this year the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR) also recommended a Teach Next route. Again however, they gave little indication as to what Teach Next would involve beyond recommending that “this scheme be rolled out on a similar model to Teach First, in order to inspire individuals with more career experience into the profession”.⁶⁸

Our proposal for Teach Next is more focused, as the development of Teach Now would provide an appropriate route for many career-changers. We envisage Teach Next as a route restricted to an elite group of mature trainees. It would make specific use of their skills by including them from the start as an additional member of their school’s senior leadership team. Being able to make a difference quickly would be a considerable attraction for high-level career-changers; having to start at the bottom of the pile with 21 year-olds straight out of college is a serious deterrent. In our polling of managers and professionals 54%

of respondents agreed that a fast track route to school leadership that took advantage of their professional experience would make teaching significantly more attractive (36% disagreed). This rose to 80% among those who would consider switching to teaching (15% disagreed).

We agree with the IPPR that this new route should be modelled on Teach First (the Government has worked on the assumption that its Teach Next route would be run by the same charity that manages Teach First). A small number of applicants would be selected through rigorous assessment via interview, role-play and written test. Successful candidates would be matched with schools looking either for specific expertise (for example, legal, financial, human resources, marketing) or general managerial support. On joining the school Teach Next teachers would be trained in the same way as for other employment-based routes but would also join the school’s senior leadership team (SLT) as an extra member. It is not difficult to imagine an ex-accountant helping a school struggling with the financial complexities of modern education, a former management consultant developing a new management structure or an ex-army officer helping to enforce a new discipline policy.⁶⁹

Once training was completed and QTS was gained they would be expected to retain their position on the senior leadership team and would earn a management-level salary. They would still experience a drop in salary but a more manageable one. They could take over a formal role as an assistant or deputy head when the opportunity arose and would be ideal candidates for headships within a relatively short period of joining the profession. This would be extremely valuable – the shortage of candidates for headships is acknowledged as a serious problem for schools over the coming decade. As figure 2.6 shows about 35% of today’s teaching force is already over 50, so a large proportion of the workforce will

65 Brown G, Mansion House Speech, 20th June 2007; see www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/newsroom_and_speeches/press/2007/press_68_07.cfm

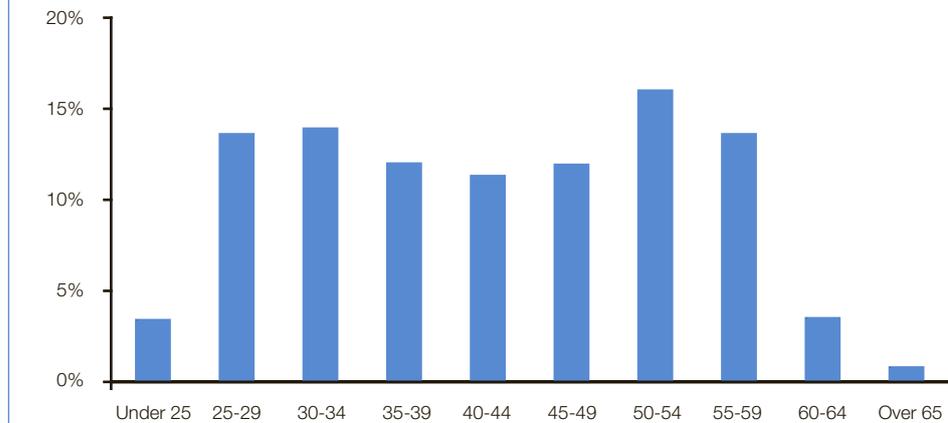
66 “We need to expand Teach First...and look at the potential of similar schemes for mid and late career professionals. Teach Next and – but we need a better title for this one! – Teach Last need to follow Teach First; and as Gordon Brown said in last week’s Mansion House speech, we need to set about creating them now.” Adonis A, “Towards an 80% Education System”, Inaugural Sir John Cass Foundation Lecture, Cass Business School, City University, 25th June 2007

67 Hansard: Column 248W, 28th April 2008

68 Margo J, Benton M, Withers K, Sodha S and Tough S, *Those Who Can? IPPR*, 2008, p 104

69 For an example of the impact that former soldiers can have on behaviour see Burkard T, *Troops to Teachers*, Centre for Policy Studies, February 2008

Figure 2.6: Registered and 'in service' teachers by age group 2006/7



GTCE: Profile of the teaching profession, annual digest of statistics 2006-7

retire in the next 15 years. About 80% of primary and 86% of secondary school head-teachers are aged 45 and over, so senior management positions are likely to go to younger, less experienced staff.⁷⁰ An influx of senior professionals with leadership experience would undoubtedly help.

Recommendation 2: The BEd should be phased out

The numbers entering teaching via an undergraduate degree have been decreasing for many years. We believe it is time to speed up the process and phase out the BEd altogether. As David Hargreaves wrote in 1990: “The trouble is that the BEd is seen by many people – in the public at large, in higher education and among its own students – as somehow a second-class degree ...it is seen to be narrow in scope and strongly tied to a particular choice of career; and, with the phasing out of most secondary BEd courses, it is a degree for intending primary teachers. This last point is particularly damaging, with its unwarranted implication that primary teaching makes fewer intellectual demands than secondary teaching.”⁷¹

Nothing has changed since this was written – except that the BEd is a more marginal route (even for primary) than it was then. The percentage of new primary teachers coming from BEd courses has decreased from 47.4% in 2000-01 to 37.3% in 2006-07. Former Education Secretary David Blunkett even called the BEd a “sub-degree” in the House of Commons (perhaps a slip-of-the-tongue, but certainly a Freudian one.)⁷²

There is little obvious merit in keeping this route open. As BEds take three (or four) years they are more expensive for the TDA to cover than others. John Furlong has also argued (in the context of provision in Wales) that undergraduate routes are considerably less responsive to changes in predicted demand than are one-year postgraduate courses.⁷³ They also attract the weakest candidates of any route into teaching – students on BEd degrees have, on average, the second weakest A-level tariff score for any subject. Right-wing commentators have relentlessly attacked the theoretical nature of much of the BEd course. Their tone has undoubtedly been overly strident on occasion, but it is odd that candidates with the weakest academic record are receiving the most academic approach to training. If educational theory

70 <http://education.guardian.co.uk/primaryeducation/story/0,,1891240,00.html>

71 Hargreaves D, “Another Radical Approach to the Reform of Initial Teacher Training”, *Westminster Studies in Education*, vol 13, 1990, p 7

72 Hansard: Column 222, 16th May 2000

73 Furlong J, *Review of Initial Teacher Training Provision in Wales*, National Assembly for Wales, 2005

does have a place it is surely at postgraduate level when candidates have already mastered the art of managing a classroom.

It is certainly not a helpful route for trainees. Teachers qualified via a BEd who decide to switch careers are hamstrung with a narrowly specific degree, and this is antithetical to a professional model that sees teaching as anything other than a career for life. The discussions reported in the *Becoming a Teacher* study suggest that the primary reason for taking a BEd is, ironically, speed.⁷⁴ For the 18-year-old who knows he or she wants to be a teacher or the 29-year-old teaching assistant without a degree, a three-year BEd is the quickest way into teaching as it avoids the need for a PGCE on top of an undergraduate degree. The addition of an extra year before gaining QTS would no longer be such a burden if a well advertised mainstream employment-based training route like Teach Now existed.

We continue to regard the PGCE as a viable route into teaching – it just isn't appropriate for those who want to move quickly into the profession, and perhaps only for a short time, or for those who are put-off by the prospect of more time in higher education. There are some very poor PGCE courses but also many good ones. Oxford and Cambridge are (unsurprisingly) especially good at attracting highly qualified well-motivated candidates; as we have seen the Oxford internship model involves close partnership with local schools. Under our proposals the number of trainees taking a PGCE would decrease and the BEd would be phased out altogether, while the number of places on employment-based routes would increase dramatically. The exact proportions taking PGCE or employment-based routes would depend on demand – but a significant number of potential trainees will continue to prefer a gentler introduction to teaching. A choice composed entirely of employment-based routes would most likely put off some well-qualified applicants.

Recommendation 3: Our proposals should be funded by replacing a small proportion of teaching assistants with salaried trainees

Much of the shift to employment-based routes would cost no more than from university-led routes. The training costs of Teach Now would be no greater than a PGCE; the money would just go to the school rather than the higher education provider. The only additional expense would be the supernumerary salaries (not paid for out of the school's budget) of new trainees. Currently those entering the system through Teach First are not supernumerary. Because they are so carefully selected they are expected to take on a full-time teaching vacancy from the word go, after six weeks' intensive training during the summer holidays. This seems to work well – especially as Teach First focuses on schools in deprived areas, which are more likely to have vacancies. We would extend this principle to Teach Next. Those selected for this route would be of high enough quality to take over a teaching position, funded out of the standard school budget, straight away – and their transferable skills would offer additional value so attracting schools to the scheme would not be hard.

For Teach Now, however, teachers would be trained over the course of the year in the classroom, as GTP trainees are now. Because they would not be teaching many classes on their own it would not be feasible for schools to pay for trainees from their budgets. There is also a logistics issue: the scheme would probably be on too large a scale to match vacancies with trainees. As with the GTP, therefore, the majority of salaries would be supernumerary, though exceptions could be made if a school wanted to train someone already working for it in some capacity in addition to its allocated places.

There are around 5,000 supernumerary GTP places funded by the TDA. It is diffi-

⁷⁴ "Other trainees had chosen to pursue undergraduate routes because, in some instances, they would allow people to qualify more quickly than is possible when following a three-year degree course with an additional year's ITT." Hobson A and Malderez A, *op cit*, p 57

cult to anticipate exactly how many extra trainees would come through employment-based routes if our proposals were implemented because the balance of demand with university-led courses would take time to settle. If an additional 10,000 a year were to come through employment-based routes of which 8,000 trained via Teach Now, the cost of supernumerary salaries (assuming they were paid at existing unqualified teacher rates of £14,751) would be about £100 million a year after tax. Around half of this would come by transferring the (untaxed) bursaries that would have been paid to these trainees had they done PGCEs.⁷⁵

“ There are currently 165,000 teaching assistants in English schools, a 3% reduction would cover the costs of all Teach Now supernumerary salaries ”

Any government wishing to implement these proposals without incurring extra spending could reduce the number of teaching assistants in those schools participating in Teach Now. A graduate trainee would cost only slightly more than a teaching assistant (the exact average salary for teaching assistants is unknown because figures are not held centrally but it is in the region of £12,000-£13,000). The Teach Now trainee is likely to be better qualified than a teaching assistant – only 25% of whom have A-level qualifications.⁷⁶ There is also no evidence that teaching assistants have a positive impact on learning, whereas a recent study suggests increasing the number of trainee teachers in a school has a positive impact on Key Stage 3 scores.⁷⁷ This study probably underplays the true potential value of trainees as it looks only at PGCE students. The Ofsted report on the Teach First scheme suggests that paid full-time trainees can have an even greater impact. There are currently 165,000 teaching assistants in English schools, a 3%

reduction would cover the costs of all Teach Now supernumerary salaries.

Recommendation 4: For an expansion of employment-based training to work well schools have to develop training capacity

The “training school” model, and its transformative influence on existing staff, has grown out of the shift from higher education to school-centred training over the past three decades. Too often governments have given negative justifications for the move away from university-centred courses rather than emphasising the positive impact that training can have on schools. If teaching is to be reconfigured as a flexible career then the existence of schools in which training is a permanent process is extremely valuable. The opportunity to develop a clearly defined set of transferable skills over a short period while being paid to teach is one of the key attractions of Teach First and should be a feature of all training.

During the 1980s the statutory changes to the amount of time trainees had to spend in schools led to considerable anger in university education departments but also, and more helpfully, new thinking about the potential relationship between schools and higher education. As we have seen the Oxford internship PGCE was groundbreaking – substantial financial support from Oxfordshire local education authority gave schools working with Oxford University the resources to work in collaborative partnerships. Some of the academics involved in the programme explained: “Teachers...[have] an equally legitimate but perhaps different body of professional knowledge from those in higher education. Students are expected and encouraged to use what they learn in school to critique what they learn within the college or university and vice versa.”⁷⁸

75 PGCE students in shortage subjects also receive £5,000 “golden hellos” which are unavailable to GTP trainees. We would extend them to Teach Now so that a maths teacher coming through this route could earn around £20,000 in his or her training year

76 Blatchford P et al, “Report on Findings from the Second National Questionnaire Survey of Schools, Support Staff and Teachers”, Strand 1, Wave 2, 2006, DfES, 2007, p 106

77 Hurd S, “Does School-based Initial Teacher Training Affect Secondary School Performance?” *British Educational Research Journal*, 34:1, 2008, pp 19-36,

78 Furlong J, op cit, p 80

This may seem obvious but it was revolutionary for a university education department in the 1980s. It remained an unusual position for much of the 1990s despite the recognised success of Oxford's collaborative model perhaps because there was no national resource, equivalent to Oxfordshire's investment, earmarked to develop training and mentoring within schools.

In 1990 David Hargreaves offered an even more radical vision for "teaching schools" to take responsibility for training. They would be given additional resources "to use some of their staff for training duties, and also buy in the expertise of teacher trainers".⁷⁹ He correctly argued that for school-based ITT to work the schools need to be high performing: the main weakness of the Licensed Teacher Scheme was that many of trainees were placed in poor schools that happened to have vacancies.

Hargreaves's ideas led in the end to two different outcomes: the development of School Centred Initial Teacher Training (this was, and is, delivered through consortiums rather than individual schools); and training schools. In 1992 a book by a headteacher, Rowie Shaw, developed Hargreaves's idea of "teaching schools" into a practical vision of what she called "training schools".⁸⁰ In looking for a long-term vision for teacher training, Shaw made a compelling case for the "reflective school", to encompass and go beyond the "reflective practitioner", where ongoing training and professional development are built into the everyday school environment.

One of the Labour Government's first publications on teaching – the 1998 Green Paper, "Teachers – Meeting the Challenge of Change" incorporated the training school idea and argued for the development of "a network of schools pioneering innovative practice in school-led teacher training".⁸¹ The network of schools became known as the training schools project.

Higher education institutions and other providers of initial teacher training were invited to nominate partner schools that they considered had provided high quality ITT and, in the first year of the scheme (2000-01), 54 schools were awarded the special training school status – receiving £100,000 to build up training capacity.

In 2003 Ofsted produced a very positive evaluation of the programme noting that almost three quarters of the schools involved had taken increased numbers of trainees and that the quality of school-based training had improved.⁸² There were additional benefits: "Teachers in almost all of the schools felt that the programme had resulted in improvements in their teaching; they had become more reflective and analytical of their own practice"; "two thirds of the schools attributed improvements in the recruitment and retention of teachers to involvement in the programme"; and "additional resources provided for teacher training had also been beneficial to the wider work of the schools".⁸³ In the same year, at the national training school conference, David Miliband, then Minister for Education, described training schools as the "quiet revolution" in education.⁸⁴

Yet, despite the success of existing training schools there has not yet been a revolution. In fact, in July 2005 participation in the training school programme became dependent on a school being (or becoming) a high performing specialist school (HPSS) and meeting the criteria set at the point of the school's redesignation. HPSS requires a combination of a high Ofsted score and good exam results – higher requirements than previously – and so unsurprisingly the training schools programme has remained limited.

There are around 240 secondary training schools and around 40 primary schools that are associate members of the scheme (they cannot receive funds as they do not participate in the specialist schools programme). If anything these numbers

79 Hargreaves D, *op cit*, p 8

80 Shaw R, *Teacher Training in Secondary Schools*, Kogan Page, 1992

81 "Teachers – Meeting the Challenge of Change", DfEE, 1998, p 44

82 "An Evaluation of the Training Schools Programme", Ofsted, November 2003, p 5

83 *Ibid*

84 www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/trainingschools/pdf/Full_conference_report2.pdf?version=1

are likely to decrease over the next few years as training schools that won their status before the 2005 changes fail to achieve HPSS status.⁸⁵ Participating schools receive £60,000 - £90,000 additional money from the Department for Children, Schools and Families each year, a third of which must be spent on outreach with local schools. Typically training schools take significant numbers of PGCE placements and participate in the GTP scheme – some are part of SCITT consortiums. Much of the additional resources are used to train existing teachers as mentors and to pay them a little extra for taking on this role.

We are proposing a much more radical shift to school-led employment-based training. To help to make this work the number of training schools would need to be significantly increased and encouraged to champion the Teach Now programme. We envisage training schools becoming the focal point of Teach Now “clusters”, helping other schools in their area to assess various forms of training provision, develop mentoring programmes and work with local higher education institutions to regulate and aggregate demand.⁸⁶ Increasingly schools are already participating in trusts, foundations and academy networks and

Teach Now clusters could be based on these where they exist. Operating in clusters would also allow trainees to have experience of more than one school environment – currently a valuable feature of all training routes.

The training schools programme would require more money. Bringing another 1,000 schools into the scheme would cost between £60 and £90 million a year on top of the £15 to £20 million spent on the existing 242 schools. Ofsted concluded, though, that the programme “represents good value for money” because it not only improves training, but also recruitment and retention, and offers valuable continuing professional development for existing teachers.⁸⁷ Schools engaged in a virtuous circle of training, mentoring and reflection will be better for trainees, staff and pupils. They will also be more attractive to prospective entrants as they offer the promise of genuine continuous professional development rather than just initial training – and the prospect of developing valuable transferable skills, even if they only spend a relatively short time in teaching. School based training can also be a useful way for schools to vet potential future recruits onto their permanent staff.

85 Ibid

86 The TDA, which does not have responsibility for training schools, has recently developed a programme along these lines called partnership development schools. Clusters of five schools work together to increase the quality and capacity of school-based placements for initial teacher training. Additional funding is provided to the lead school to support the administrative work for the cluster. This should be merged with the training schools programme

87 “An Evaluation of the Training Schools Programme”, Ofsted, November 2003, p 5

3

Continuous professional development

In the last chapter we saw how the internship developed by Oxford University was the most successful and widely imitated model of school-based initial teacher training. The architects of the scheme accepted that teachers at the start of their careers need to acquire the craft of operating successfully in classrooms and that such knowledge is best acquired in school in a kind of apprenticeship under the supervision of an experienced practitioner. The academics behind the internship also observed that training teachers in this way had an additional benefit: it promoted the continuous professional development of those teachers doing the training.⁸⁸

The process of training within a school benefits everyone involved. It can create a virtuous circle whereby new teachers learn from experienced colleagues, not only in their first year of ITT but over the first few years of their career; the more experienced teachers continue their own development and learn new techniques. As the younger teachers learn more they too become mentors – and the process continues.

This may seem idealistic but it can, and does, happen in schools where training is central. Unfortunately such schools are rare. Because initial teacher training is primarily organised by higher education institutions, schools generally play a subordinate role. The changes we have argued for – more employment-based

ITT and the expansion of the training schools programme – would go a long way to embedding the virtuous circle of professional development in schools. However, we also need to think about the way in which resources currently targeted at continuous professional development (CPD) could be used to support this virtuous circle.

“ We argue that each teacher should be given a financial entitlement to spend on his or her own professional development and that this should be integrated into the mentoring and coaching programmes ”

The money and time devoted to CPD is often wasted. Too much is spent either supporting the constant churn of government initiatives or on one-day out-of-school courses with no follow-up. We argue that each teacher should be given a financial entitlement to spend on his or her own professional development and that this should be integrated into the mentoring and coaching programmes that would extend from the changes in ITT we have recommended. The school would focus its efforts on building the mentoring programme, while individual teachers would be responsible for using their entitlement, with the support of their mentor, to make the best possible use of this system.

88 McIntyre D and Hagger H, “Professional Development through the Oxford Internship Model”, *British Journal of Education Studies*, vol 40, 3, August 1992

A Brief History of CPD

Until the 1980s professional development after initial training was left almost entirely to individual teachers. They could pursue a variety of external courses provided by local education authorities and higher education institutions, but such development was patchy and uncoordinated, and not everyone had access to it.

The Education Reform Act 1988 introduced five compulsory days of in-service training (INSET) for all teachers. Headteachers, and central government, soon co-opted these days to provide training updates for whole schools – essential once the national curriculum and national assessment began.

Under the Act budgets were devolved to individual schools, so the capacity of local authorities to deliver training was substantially reduced. With schools now responsible for buying in their own training there was a massive increase in the number of unregulated consultancies and other commercial organisations in the market.

The Labour Government has always professed its commitment to CPD. The General Teaching Council (GTC) was established in 2001 to promote teachers' professional development; it runs numerous schemes, produces research and organises events. In 2005 the Training and Development Agency (TDA) was given responsibility for co-ordinating CPD, though it does not, as yet, regulate suppliers. The TDA is heavily involved in developing the Masters degree in teaching and learning which will be offered free to all teachers in their first five years of service from September 2009.

At the same time the Government has increasingly tied funding for CPD to its centrally determined priorities. For example, the national literacy and numeracy strategies for primary schools required extensive retraining – which has been widely criticised for its superficial and unreflective nature.

Proposition 1: The diagnosis of the recurrent failings of CPD is well established

“A good deal of what passes for ‘professional development’ in schools is a joke – one that we’d laugh at if we weren’t trying to keep from crying. It’s everything that a learning environment shouldn’t be: radically under-resourced, brief, not sustained, designed for one-size-fits-all, imposed rather than owned, lacking any intellectual coherence, treated as a special add-on event rather than as part of a natural process, and trapped in the constraints of a bureaucratic system we have come to call school. In short, it’s pedagogically naive, a demeaning exercise that often leaves its participants more cynical and less knowledgeable, skilled or committed than before. And all this is accompanied by overblown rhetoric about ‘the challenge of change’ ‘professional growth’ and ‘lifelong learning.’”⁸⁹

Matthew Miles’s indictment of what passes for CPD would be recognised by thousands of practising teachers in England. Something has gone desperately wrong; the many well-intentioned attempts to rectify this have failed and the causes are deep-rooted. Most CPD for most teachers should be about how a professional can move from the basic competence acquired in initial teacher training to the expertise of the first-class teacher. Yet CPD is typically concerned with enabling teachers to keep up with the avalanche of central government curriculum and assessment reforms.

Teacher education as a whole remains “front-end loaded”; the most extensive and expensive element is pre-service – ITT. It is easy to gather teacher recruits together in an administratively convenient one-year course in universities – the PGCE – and the costs are relatively low since many recruits have just completed higher education and need not be paid a full salary. On completion of ITT the beginning teacher is treated as “qualified” and so this heavy

⁸⁹ Miles M, in Guskey T and Huberman M (eds) *Professional Development in Education: new paradigms and practices*, Teachers College Press, 1995

investment, somewhat dubiously, is held to be justified. Further professional development is severely neglected.

Since most ITT providers are based outside schools, a culture of mentoring for new staff within schools has not yet developed. Most teachers do not have a superior colleague who is nominated to oversee their professional development. Mentoring is an essential aspect of school-based ITT – and a prime advantage of expanding employment-based routes would be the extension of mentoring. In schools that are not training schools and do not participate in SCITTs or employment-based ITT, whether a new teacher has a mentor or coach is a matter of chance. During the first five years, a critical time in a teacher's career, many are tempted to leave the profession – and too many do – because they feel tired and frustrated and lack the support of an experienced mentor.

Further professional development is mainly provided by agents external to the school. The most prestigious providers are universities, who offer a variety of diplomas and degrees, on either a full-time or part-time basis. Getting a higher degree is often seen as a vital addition to promotion prospects, even though it may contribute little or nothing to a teacher's competence. The introduction of a free entitlement to a Masters degree in teaching and learning for recently qualified teachers could exacerbate this. For most teachers, however, CPD is provided by a range of other institutions: government agencies, including the National Strategies and the National College for School Leadership, much of whose provision is free or subsidised; from local authorities; and (especially in recent years) from commercial enterprises and consultants. Most of these services take the form of very short courses, especially the one-day event, without follow-up support. Teachers are recruited on the

basis of the school's willingness to release, and often pay for, the teacher for whom the course is relevant. Yet external courses have far less value than school-based training.

There is widespread agreement that teachers have far too little control over their own professional development and that too much of it is determined by central government priorities. A study of teachers' perceptions of CPD in 2003, funded by the DfES (now DCSF), painted a depressing picture: 63% of teachers felt that "CPD generally meets the needs of the school rather than me personally"; 72% felt that "too many training days are driven by national agendas" and just 32% of secondary school teachers felt that they had "a part in setting the agenda in the school INSET [in-service training] days".⁹⁰ A report published early this year, and conducted as part of Cambridge University's massive ongoing review of primary education, argued that "the government CPD strategy fails to recognise that teachers need more responsibility and control over the focus, structure and timing of their professional development and that this is fundamental to the development of professional learning communities that have the capacity to solve problems and to be creative".⁹¹ In another report this year, commissioned by the General Teaching Council (GTC), Philippa Cordingley noted that schools which offer successful CPD "provide opportunities for staff to collaborate and to be proactive about their own learning".⁹²

The balance between ITT and CPD needs to be recalibrated so that there is much greater focus on post-qualification development and mentoring. The development of schools as centres of training will enable them to offer much more CPD themselves rather than relying on external suppliers. Finally, funding needs to be

90 Hustler D et al, *Teachers' Perceptions of Continuing Professional Development*, DfES, 2003, pp 19-25

91 McNamara O et al, "Primary Teachers: Initial Teacher Education, Continuing Professional Development and School Leadership Development", for *The Primary Review*, University of Cambridge, 2008, pp 28-29

92 Cordingley P, *Qualitative Study of School-Level Strategies for Teachers' CPD*, Centre for the Use of Research and Evidence in Education, January 2008, p 26

diverted from central government and agency schemes to provide a clear financial entitlement for all teachers, so that they can take control of their own career development.

Proposition 2: We must break down the barrier between ITT and CPD

We have argued that the expansion of employment-based initial teaching training would help break down the boundaries between training and teaching. It would allow high-level graduates and career-changers to move quickly into the profession and learn on the job. In addition it would draw existing staff into the training process by engaging them as mentors. ITT and CPD would begin to blend into one process. Rather than qualifying and then becoming a teacher, new recruits would start teaching immediately and continue to learn and develop for as long as they were in the profession.

The time when initial training could provide teachers with all the knowledge and skills necessary for a lifetime career is long past. The world in which education operates is itself undergoing rapid and often deep change, which has a real impact on young people and their experience of school. Knowledge is also changing very fast, especially in fields such as science. As teachers progress through their careers they take on new responsibilities for which they need regular preparation and support. But most teachers need to spend at least 20 years in the profession before they have spent as much time in CPD as in ITT. The balance between the two is wrong.

The training school programme explored in Chapter Two is essential to developing the model of continuous training. Training school status enables schools to pay for a full-time member of staff to develop training programmes and purchase appropriate assistance from external

providers. It also allows for the development of mentoring programmes for new and existing teachers. Funding is also provided for outreach to other schools in the area to help them set up CPD and mentoring programmes as well. Although most schools now have a member of staff with some overall responsibility for professional development, not every teacher has a senior colleague who will act and mentor and/or coach and who will take care of his or her professional development. Every teacher needs such a person if CPD is to be effective.

We believe that this would represent a natural extension of the growth in the use of mentoring and coaching among staff over the past few years. Today's teachers are less inclined to work alone than was once true. The shift towards spending time in schools as part of ITT has promoted mentoring and coaching; experienced mentors report that they learn as much from the process as their mentees. Participants in the *Becoming a Teacher* study found the school-based part of their training to be the most useful and the most positive aspect of that was talking to their mentor, followed by being able to "engage in professional dialogues, which helped them to think about their practice as teachers".⁹³ Teachers on entirely school-based ITT routes (SCITTs and GTPs) had, on average, better relationships with their mentors than those doing a BEd or PGCE.⁹⁴ This is unsurprising as trainees on school-based routes have a more "permanent" home in their school and are likely to develop stronger relationships. GTP trainees were also much more positive about their relationships with other staff – which is probably because, as employed teachers, they have a stronger bond with the school and other staff consider them a fellow employee rather than a trainee.⁹⁵

These positive changes in initial teacher training would develop faster if our recommendations for the expansion of employ-

93 Hobson A et al, *Becoming a Teacher: Student teachers' experiences of initial teacher training in England*, DfES, 2006, p 67

94 Ibid, p 81

95 Ibid, p 85

ment-based ITT were taken up. Mentoring is, though, no panacea. The late Sir John Harvey-Jones, former chairman of ICI, wisely cautioned: “We think, as we do in many cases of apprenticeships, that putting a young person with someone experienced will automatically transfer knowledge and theory. We fail to realise that what happens is that the bad practices accumulated over the years get handed on and on and on.”⁹⁶ It is important that it is the most effective teachers who become mentors and coaches. The value of the training school model, if properly implemented, is that teachers are taught to become mentors rather than just assigned to trainees without guidance.

Alongside recent increases in mentoring there has been an associated development of appraisal schemes and various forms of performance review for teachers. Last year a new performance review model was introduced. Although they can have an uneasy relationship with professional development, these schemes have focused attention of what teachers do in classrooms and have encouraged mutual classroom observation. We propose building a specific financial entitlement into the performance review to make it less top-down and more meaningful for individual teachers. (In a minority of schools, teachers are observed by their students who offer advice on how the teaching might be improved. When first tried, this seemed to be a daring and risky venture. However, results for teachers and students are reported to be so positive that the practice is spreading quickly.)

An associated development is the growth of what is called “distributed leadership”. The basic idea is simple and by no means new. Its essence was captured by Roland S. Barth a quarter of a century ago: “My vision for a school is a place whose very mission is to ensure that students, parents, teachers and principals all become school leaders in some ways and at

some times.”⁹⁷ But it is only recently that many schools have begun to implement this vision. It is almost certainly crucial to the success of school-led and school-based CPD, for it ensures that relatively inexperienced staff are given opportunities to lead at the very point where they are in danger of becoming demoralised or bored.

It is a very small step from distributed leadership to new practices. Conventionally it was left to academic researchers or official projects to take charge of change in classroom practice. In fact much of this externally devised innovation failed when tried out in the mainstream. The history of the curriculum is littered with the detritus of such failures. The disaster of Pitmans’ initial teacher alphabet for early literacy is just one example. Today, however, growth in school-led innovation is improving teaching and learning and, unlike the failed external model, the outcomes are spreading between schools. This is partly because the innovations have been devised and tested by the right people, and partly because these practitioner-innovators are credible in the eyes of their peers. As McIntyre and Hagger argue, the best place to learn about the complexities of classroom teaching is where that teaching is happening; and “the best people from whom to learn most about those complexities are those who have engaged with them on a daily basis.”⁹⁹

Recommendation 1: Far more CPD should take place in schools

CPD should no longer be predominantly based in short courses conducted outside the school. Instead, most CPD should be based in schools and led by fellow practitioners. Willard Waller insightfully observed as long ago as 1932: “The significant people for a school teacher are other teachers, and by comparison with standing in that fraternity the good opinion of students is a

96 Harvey-Jones J *All Together Now*, Heinemann, 1994, p 116

97 Roland S. Barth, in Lieberman A, (ed) *Building a Professional Culture in Schools*, Teachers College, 1982

98 Harvey-Jones J, op cit, p 80

99 Hagger H and McIntyre D, *Learning from Teachers: Realizing the potential of school-based teacher education*, Open University Press, 2006, p 7

small thing and of little price. A landmark in one's assimilation to the profession is that moment when he decides that only teachers are important."¹⁰⁰ Teachers do not deny that ideas and inspiration can come from other kinds of people – academics, business people, writers – but it is their successful peers who share “life in the trenches” that have the greatest credibility in the central matters of teaching and learning. If some colleague can demonstrate that something works for them in a similar situation, then he or she is a trustworthy source of advice.

“ It is now well established that a school identified by Ofsted as failing will be operating a seriously defective CPD policy ”

University-led initial teacher training creates a divide between theory and practice that is inherently undesirable. Professor Michael Eraut believes this also applies to CPD. In 1994 he published his magisterial study *Developing Professional Knowledge and Competence*. New knowledge about how to be effective in classrooms, he asserted, is developed by leading-edge professionals rather than through formally designed research. So CPD conducted by experts outside the classroom risks imparting abstract knowledge that cannot be translated into classroom practice. It is inappropriate to think of professional knowledge as first being learned in an academic context and then later being used.

Learning, Eraut suggests, takes place during use. Acquiring knowledge and using knowledge are not separate, but the same process. Talking or writing about education is a dominant form of knowledge use in both the academic and school contexts; but the classroom context is fundamentally different. As a result, CPD all too often

provides yet another strand of separate, unintegrated and therefore wasted knowledge. So it comes as no surprise to Eraut that “the lesson from three major studies of INSET in the United States is that effective INSET needs to be sustained and intensive and to provide individual support in the classroom... The common practice of providing input without follow-up is almost bound to fail, because it fundamentally misconstrues the nature of the professional learning process in the classroom.”¹⁰¹

The DfES study of teachers' perceptions of CPD confirms Eraut's analysis. Teachers considered “practical applications” to be the single most important element to successful CPD. The authors of the study note that in discussion with teachers “the language of relevance and ‘genuine usefulness’ recurs”. One participant said: “We so often go through the theory of how things should be but it's how that is actually going to impact on me in the classroom and how it's going to get through to the children that matter.”¹⁰²

Teachers do develop ideas and new practices on university-based courses, but rarely implement them successfully in their own schools. McNamara notes that the “cascade” approach to CPD popular in the Eighties and Nineties – where a curriculum co-ordinator would attend a, sometimes lengthy, course and then disseminate information to other staff – was a resounding failure.¹⁰³ It seems that whenever a teacher takes time out of school to go on a course, it stimulates antibodies in the host school, and the zeal of the newly-enthused teacher is soon dampened by the resistance an innovation may provoke. Identifying best professional practice does not ensure that it is transferred across the profession. The remedy, then, is that CPD should be largely in the hands of professionals within schools. They should design the infrastructure for the delivery of CPD and the development of teachers.

¹⁰⁰ Waller W, *The Sociology of Teaching*, Wiley, 1932, p 389

¹⁰¹ Eraut M, *Developing Professional Knowledge and Competence*, Falmer, 1994, p 37

¹⁰² Hustler D et al, *op cit*, p 92

¹⁰³ McNamara O et al, *op cit*, p 21

School-led CPD has to build not on the model of the external INSET course, but on what teachers do in their classrooms: the observation-led model intrinsic to mentoring. From the very beginning of their careers, teachers learn to tinker, to modify their carefully planned lessons to meet the unpredictable responses of their pupils. This is how teachers build up their craft knowledge. Michael Huberman has captured this fact:

“Essentially, teachers are artisans working primarily alone, with a variety of new and cobbled-together material, in a personally designed work environment. They gradually develop a repertoire of instructional skills and strategies...through a somewhat haphazard process of trial and error, usually when one or other segment of the repertoire does not work repeatedly. Somewhere in that cycle they may reach out to peers or even to professional trainers, but they will typically transform these inputs into a more private, personally congenial form.”¹⁰⁴

Huberman rightly argues that CPD will need to be grafted onto the ways in which teachers spontaneously go about such tinkering in their classrooms; which is why mentoring and observation are so important.

CPD that is largely school-based offers challenges both to government and to higher education. Government would have to abandon some of its imposed CPD and replace it with support for the new CPD, with advice about priorities. Of course, some schools might not handle CPD responsibilities as they should, though that is less likely now that schools are typically working in clusters, consortiums, trusts, federations and academy networks rather than standing alone as in the past. Clusters based around training schools would give additional support to schools struggling to

develop programmes. Government should certainly ensure that CPD is closely monitored by Ofsted, for a school that neglects CPD also neglects its staff and students and undermines improvements in teaching and learning. Indeed, it is now well established both that a school identified by Ofsted as failing will be operating a seriously defective CPD policy, and that getting the right CPD practice in place is essential to the school's recovery. Yet, astonishingly Ofsted does not take training provision into account when inspecting a school. This should be rectified as soon as possible.

There will always be room for some external courses. Many teachers need to update their subject knowledge and this is most easily done by learning from academic specialists. But a good working rule would be that external courses are justifiable only when it is demonstrated that school-based versions of such professional development are not viable and when there is provision for follow-up support.

The impact on higher education of this shift to school-based CPD would be profound. We have seen how strongly the staff of some teacher training colleges and university faculties of education resisted the move to a more school-centred and school-based ITT. Academics have the same bias regarding CPD. Their preference – not unnaturally – is for serving teachers to attend full-time courses. In fact, most of the people on one-year, full-time courses tend to come from overseas; funding for UK teachers is in very short supply, so most attend on a part-time basis. However, this is a business that remains heavily producer-led. The academics plan course content according to their own preferences, not least for the esoteric, specialised academic knowledge of educational theory and research, rather than the craft knowledge on which professional practice is based. They often succeed in recruiting serving teachers, for many of whom the

104 Huberman M, “Teacher Development and Instructional Mastery”, in Hargreaves A and Fullan M (eds) *Understanding Teacher Development*, Cassell, 1992, p 136

need for a diploma or higher degree is more important than the detailed content. (This is also true for courses run by national agencies, such as National Professional Qualification for Headship, the mandatory qualification for headship run by the National College for School Leadership. This has been subject to revision after revision because the content is so patently out of line with participant expectations.) Teachers would benefit more from university-led CPD if academics spent far more of their time tutoring mentors in schools (as the academics involved in Teach First and many GTP programmes do). When it comes to CPD most still prefer to base their activities in the seclusion of the seminar room.

Over the years universities have justified this preference on the grounds that teachers need and deserve opportunities for reflection. In making this claim they have often invoked the idea of “the reflective practitioner”, a term coined by Donald Schon.¹⁰⁵ CPD is thus often interpreted as time out in which teachers may be reflective about themselves and their work. This is how it is understood by the majority of practising teachers, who would naturally like more time off-the-job to prepare for their classroom roles. A closer inspection of the original text, however, reveals that Schon talks about “reflection-in-action”. This is what professionals do when they meet some unexpected problem and have to devise a way through – the trial-and-error experiments that Michael Huberman saw as part of teachers’ natural tinkering. But time out in a university course is not an opportunity for such reflection-in-action, which is a part of everyday professional activity, but rather reflection-on-action. This other kind of reflection may be a good thing for professionals to do and it may improve practice, but there is no evidence that this is so. For reflection-on-action is not at the centre of Schon’s analysis, whereas reflection-in-action is. And the

best way to strengthen this kind of reflection is through on-the-job mentoring and coaching.

Michael Eraut has suggested that, as part of their role, universities should be working to support teachers in knowledge creation and utilisation, so strengthening the capacities of teachers for innovation.¹⁰⁶ This would be a marked change of emphasis. However, the influential work of Paul Black and Dylan William on assessment, which has led to significant improvements in the quality of teaching and learning, pioneered a new form of partnership between teachers and research. It deserves to be imitated. New technologies offer scope for imaginative academics to contribute to school-based CPD, complementing the work of Teachers’ TV, which is still underused by schools.

The recent announcement that a two-year Masters degree in teaching and learning will be available free to teachers in their first five years suggests that the Government has learnt some but not all of these lessons. Although few details are yet available (the degree will be available from September 2009), it is encouraging to see that it is intended to be “practice-based” and delivered primarily in schools. It is also encouraging that there is a focus on developing existing teachers as coaches and mentors with money set aside for training.¹⁰⁷ In “Being the Best for our Children”, the document laying out the plans for the Masters, the DCSF notes that “trained coaches could make a wider contribution to induction, training and development across the school and the Masters in Teaching and Learning should serve to support an increasingly collaborative culture in professional development.”¹⁰⁸ This is welcome and fits in with our argument for school-based training throughout ITT and CPD.

However, framing this offering in the form of a Masters runs the risk that like other externally designed qualifications it

105 Schon D, *The Reflective Practitioner: How professionals think in action*, Basic Books, 1983; and *Educating the Reflective Practitioner*, Jossey-Bass, 1987

106 Eraut M, *op cit*, p 41

107 “Being the Best for our Children”, DCSF, March 2008, p 14

108 *Ibid*, p 15

will become a semi-compulsory course that teachers take because they want promotion rather than because of any intrinsic merit. The DCSF has clearly tied itself in knots over this problem. In “Being the Best for our Children” it insists: “No teacher would be penalised for not having a Masters level qualification”. But in the very next sentence says: “We envisage that as more teachers gain MTL we would expect this to be a factor when employers are recruiting.” The two statements flatly contradict each other; and the latter is more likely to be accurate.¹⁰⁹

If the Masters does become compulsory in all but name there is the accompanying risk that the content will be designed to fit in with central government strategies. As with the five-day entitlement to in-service training, and the NPQH for aspiring head-teachers, it will be easy for future administrations to tweak the course to reflect their priorities. Then there is the role of higher education institutions – to “validate the programme is genuinely at Masters level and provide a tutor for each participant who would have the lead role in assessing progress”. This risks forcing schools and teachers to engage with topics in an overly formal and bureaucratic manner. It may also mean a drift away from the practical. After all PGCEs are primarily school-based and yet, as we have seen, there is still too much unhelpful theoretical content for many participants.

Across the board the potential lack of flexibility in the entitlement for teachers and school is a considerable concern. There is no reason why a CPD entitlement needs to be offered as a Masters. Because it is in “teaching and learning” it will have no application outside the profession and will lack transferability. As such it would have little or no value in giving the profession additional status (as opposed to, say, leadership development). In the polling we conducted for this report we included the proposed Masters in the list of potential

attractions for new recruits. It went unnoticed by respondents. In the question to undergraduates about the attractions of Teach First, however, “keeping your career options open thanks to the emphasis on transferable skills” was the second most attractive feature of the programme. A flexible entitlement would give teachers the freedom to take charge of their own career development in the context of schools with a training culture.

Recommendation 2: All teachers should have a financial entitlement to CPD

Framing CPD entitlement as a Masters degree is not only unnecessary and inflexible it is also expensive. The bureaucracy, assessment and formal higher education all cost money. £30 million has been assigned to the Masters for its first two years of operation.¹¹⁰ This money will only cover a first cohort of 2,400 newly qualified teachers and the first year of a second cohort – less than 1% of all teachers taken together.¹¹¹ Because of the cost, it is available to teachers only in their first five years. The DCSF has acknowledged that it will only be able to make the qualification available to mid-career teachers by charging teachers and/or schools.¹¹² (Teachers in mid-career may end up having to pay for what is, in effect, a compulsory qualification if they want promotion.)

Although it is often claimed that too little is spent on CPD there is considerable expenditure, of which the new Masters degree is just part. Increasing resources for CPD would not necessarily mean that the time and money would be well spent. Without some fundamental changes in the way they are allocated, we are convinced that extra resources would be a waste. Too many are currently in the wrong hands: the various providers of conventional CPD, including government

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Hansard: Column 1579W, 21st April 2008

¹¹¹ Hansard: Column 241W, 28th April 2008

¹¹² “Being the Best for our Children”, DCSF, March 2008, p 14

departments and agencies, local authorities and higher education. It is in all their interests to preserve the status quo. Instead we should simplify CPD funding and direct it to individual teachers through a financial entitlement.

CPD funding comes from two sources. A part of every school's delegated budget should be spent on CPD. There is no ring-fencing, however, and as schools have different spending priorities, the proportion spent on CPD varies widely. The second source is central and local government. Again it is impossible to track how much money is being spent on CPD because it comes from so many different pots. The TDA spent £17 million on postgraduate professional development and INSET last year.¹¹³ Local authorities spend a further £25 million a year on teacher development.¹¹⁴ Central government will spend an astonishing £300 million providing support for the primary and secondary national strategies in 2008-2009 – as well unidentifiable additional funds for teacher development within other strategies, such as, providing retraining for staff who will soon be teaching specialised diplomas.¹¹⁵

Inevitably the fact that these latter sources of funding are ring-fenced skews CPD priorities towards government initiatives – and this is one of our central concerns with regards to the new Masters degree. As we have seen 72% of teachers in the DfES perceptions of CPD study felt that their training was driven by national agendas. Schools Minister Jim Knight recently said: "Building on the current performance management arrangements, we will continue to explore with social partners [teaching unions] how we might frame an entitlement to CPD."¹¹⁶ But it is difficult to see how such a system of entitlements would be compatible with the department's continuing practice of assigning money for specific schemes.

Take this baffling paragraph from the DCSF's most recent set of CPD proposals:

Funding is being made available through the Standards Fund so every school should have the capacity to release the headteacher, core subject leads and other key teachers for training in Assessment for Learning (AFL) and pupil progress tracking. We are working with the National Strategies, the Qualifications and Curriculum Council and the National Assessment Agency to design, support and establish whole school teaching and learning policies and systems. The basis for the training will be the existing materials and support available through the National Strategies. Universal support will be available to all teachers and school leaders from this year through the National Strategies. In future years support will be differentiated, capitalising on the work of schools with leading practice and intensifying support to schools who need it.¹¹⁷

Not only is the DCSF persisting in assigning funding to specific initiatives, it has also shut down all of the programmes that have given teachers some ownership over their own professional development. In 2000 the DfEE (as it then was) introduced professional bursaries: £500 a year grants for teachers in their fourth and fifth year of teaching to spend on their own CPD.¹¹⁸ These were successfully piloted and then rolled out nationally but have, unaccountably been dropped since then.¹¹⁹ In 2001 a similar scheme was piloted for second and third-year teachers called early professional development (EPD). This ran in 12 local authorities and allocated second-year teachers £700 a term and third-year teachers £350 a term for their own development.¹²⁰ The pilot was very popular – 75% of teachers involved felt that it had significantly affected their ability to contribute to their colleagues and their school.¹²¹ Again, unaccountably, the department decided not to pursue the project after the pilot.

113 2006-7 Annual Report and Accounts, TDA, p 58

114 Departmental Report, DCSF, 2008, p 92

115 Standards Fund Guidance (Annex C); see www.teachernet.gov.uk/docbank/index.cfm?id=12227

116 Hansard: Column 242W, 28th April 2008

117 "Being the Best for our Children", DCSF, March 2008, p 11

118 "Professional Development: Support for Teaching and Learning", DfEE, 2000

119 "Professional Bursaries for Teachers in their 4th and 5th Year of Teaching", DfES, March 2002, p 1

120 Moor H et al, "Professional Development for Teachers Early in their Careers: An Evaluation of the Early Professional Development Pilot Scheme", DfES, 2005, p ii

121 Ibid, p iv

The same has happened to the £3 million that was allocated for individual best practice research scholarships, for teachers to carry out research in partnership with a university or other schools and the money put aside for sabbaticals for experienced teachers working in challenging schools.¹²² Again both these schemes were well received but were quickly dropped. Such small-scale schemes were simply too vulnerable to the constant initiative churn in the department – but they did show the value of giving individual teachers discretion over their own professional development.

We believe that an individual financial entitlement is necessary to shift the focus of CPD away from central government priorities and back to individual teachers. Giving every teacher in the country a £500 allowance would cost £217.5 million a year which could be paid for by consolidating money currently allocated to specific strategies; using the money that the DCSF and the TDA intends to spend on the Masters or ring-fencing a small proportion of the money delegated to schools.

Teachers should then be informed of the share of the CPD pot to which they are entitled, and the total resources for the CPD of a school staff should be handed over to the school. This entitlement should be built into the performance review system. At the moment the performance review model tries to tie in professional development with performance-related pay, but there is no specific resource attached to

the process. The appraisal is typically undertaken by teachers' line managers who do not necessarily have a strong personal relationship with them. We envisage mentors and coaches participating in the performance review so that the expenditure of each individual's entitlement would be directly linked to their relationship with their mentor/coach. The evaluation of the EPD scheme showed the importance of mentoring both in supporting teachers early in their careers and in ensuring that a financial entitlement was spent in a way that benefited both the individual teacher and the wider school community.¹²³

The entitlement that we are proposing could then be used in the context of broader school-designed CPD but would still allow individual teachers the opportunity to take control of their own career. Or they could use it to go on a subject course; buy equipment; pay for a supply-teacher to cover a trip to observe a teacher in another school; or to train to become a mentor/coach themselves. Allowances could be saved over several years to fund more expensive projects such as a Masters degree or a specific unit developed for the Masters or to fund a longer sabbatical. Schools could then focus their other CPD resources (especially if they were able to access additional funds through the training school programme) on developing mentoring and observation programmes that would allow individual teachers to make the best use of their entitlements.

122 McNamara O et al, *op cit*, p 25

123 Moor H et al, *op cit*, pp vii-viii

4

Using teacher pay to improve recruitment and retention

Salary is the greatest deterrent to teaching for professionals and the second greatest for undergraduates. Although teachers' average salary increased in real terms by 15% between 1997 and 2007, and starting salary by over 10%, these are still considered relatively low compared to other professions.¹²⁴

“ The current pay structure also distorts the labour market as teachers in shortage subjects and in difficult schools get no premium ”

Although higher salaries are available for school leaders and for outstanding classroom teachers, it usually takes a long time to achieve them. Graduated pay increases over a lengthy period of service militate against our preferred model of teaching as a flexible profession that top graduates can move in and out of while developing transferable skills. The employment-based routes we discussed in Chapter Two should be linked to

fast-track routes into leadership or advanced/excellent teacher positions so that the very best can earn higher salaries faster.

The current pay structure also distorts the labour market as teachers in shortage subjects and in difficult schools get no premium. This means that pupils in disadvantaged areas are subject to more frequent changes in teaching staff and lower quality teaching. The schools that have the greatest need to incentivise recruitment – those in disadvantaged areas – are also the ones with the greatest financial pressures. They will have many more children with behavioural problems and learning difficulties and will probably spend more money on pastoral support, such as educational psychologists and classroom assistants to help struggling pupils. Only if extra funds are diverted to these schools and they are given the same freedom as academies to opt out of the national pay agreement will they be able to design, and pay for, more flexible salary structures. The most successful structures will be widely copied and this will also help attract top-level recruits.

124 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/6733315.stm>

125 School Teachers' Review Body 17th Report press release, "A fair and affordable three-year pay award for teachers", Ed Balls, 15th January 2008

Table 4.1: Usual minimum starting salary for newly qualified teacher 1997-2007¹²⁵

	1997	2007	Cash increase	Real terms increase
England and Wales	£14,280	£20,133	41%	10.4%
Inner London	£16,341	£24,168	47.9%	15.8%

The Current Pay Structure

Teacher pay and conditions are reviewed annually by the School Teachers' Review Body (STRB), which reports in January on the pay settlement for the following April. Every year the Secretary of State sends the review body a letter setting out the matters on which it is to report. Technically this does not prevent it from reporting on other matters, but in practice it usually sticks to the remit. The Government has undertaken to implement the recommendations of all pay review bodies unless there are clear and compelling reasons to the contrary and in recent years a number of pay awards have been more favourable than the Government would have liked.

In the most recent STRB report classroom teachers start on a main pay scale that has six levels. Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs) usually start on M1 (schools have discretion to start them at a higher level to account for previous experience) and, subject to satisfactory performance, move up one point each year. If their performance has been excellent they can progress by two points. In 2008-09 the range, from M1 to M6 of the main pay scale for teachers outside London, will be £20,627 to £30,148.

Once they reach M6, teachers can apply to be examined against the "post-threshold" standards. If they are allowed to cross the threshold they join an upper scale which, in 2008-09 will range from U1 at £32,660 to U3 at £35,121 (outside London). Progression on the upper pay scale is technically performance-based and left to the discretion of governing bodies and headteachers. Teachers do not typically move up the upper pay scale more often than once every two years.

There are separate scales and levels for advanced skills teachers (AST) and excellent teachers (ET), both introduced in response to criticism that limiting higher pay levels to those in management gives those who excel in the classroom a perverse incentive to move into administration. In January 2007, from a pool of 435,200 regular teachers working in local authority maintained schools in England, only 4,060 (less than 1%) had AST status. As for ET, one year after the scheme began in May 2006, only 34 teachers had applied and 26 qualified for ET status.

Those in leadership positions are paid on a 43-point spine, which in September 2008 will extend from £35,794 to £100,424 (outside London). Placement on this spine is largely determined by the number of pupils in a school, though governing bodies do have discretion to pay headteachers above the pay spine.

Other payments – teaching and learning responsibility (TLR) payments – can be made to teachers who take on extra responsibility; these range from about £2,000 to £12,000. Schools can also make payments and offer benefits for a fixed period in order to recruit and retain teachers; the amounts are left to the discretion of schools and they can be awarded for a maximum of three years. In exceptional circumstances awards for retention can be renewed.

Recommendation 1: Fast-track routes to higher salaries would help to recruit and retain top graduates and professionals

The simplest way to improve recruitment to the teaching profession would be to increase pay across the board. There are at least 13 studies from around the world which confirm that recruitment and retention are sensitive to pay – that an increase in salary leads to a wider pool of potential applicants.¹²⁶ This is unsurprising: teacher recruitment is always more difficult in a buoyant graduate job market. Several other

studies show that increasing salary not only widens the pool, but also increases the quality of those hired. David Figlio's analysis of the American teacher labour market shows a positive relationship between a district's teacher salaries and that district's probability of hiring well-qualified teachers.¹²⁷

Unfortunately an across-the-board pay increase that made any difference would be prohibitively expensive. During the recent teachers' strike on April 24th 2008, the National Union of Teachers demanded a 10% increase (or £3,000, whichever is higher) for all members. If this was agreed,

¹²⁶ These are listed in Webster E et al, *Reforming the Labour Market for Australian Teachers*, Melbourne Institute Working Paper no 28/04, 2006, p 9

¹²⁷ Figlio D, "Can Public Schools Buy Better Qualified Teachers?", *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, vol 55, 4, July 2002

it would cost the Government in the region of £1.5 billion extra a year. Even then it would have only a limited effect; salaries would still not be competitive with medicine, law or finance. There is simply no way teaching (outside of leadership positions) will ever pay as much, on average, as these careers. It is one of the main reasons why we need to reconfigure teaching as a flexible profession rather than a career for life. Rather than throw a huge amount of money at the entire profession it makes more sense to target funds at those top graduates and professionals who are deterred from teaching by the length of time it takes to earn a higher salary.

Although it is unlikely that top graduates and professionals would go into teaching for the money per se, both our polling and the success of Teach First suggest that they will consider spending some part of their career in the classroom. A pay model which rewards longevity is antithetical to recruiting such people. If they can access a relatively higher salary faster they are more likely to become teachers.

Box 1 shows that teachers are expected to pass through a series of pay spines before reaching a competitive salary. A survey of teacher pay undertaken in 2007 for the School Teacher's Review Body (STRB) reveals that almost all pay decisions are being taken on the basis of time served. Progress through the first six pay points on the classroom teacher spine is, almost without exception, annual. In secondary schools, 99% of the teachers who were on the first point (M1) in 2006 were on the second point (M2) by 2007. Of those on M5 in 2006, 100% were on M6 in 2007. The figures are no different for primary teachers. Almost no teachers had progressed more than one pay point in a year or had stayed on the same pay point. It is fair to assume that headteachers consider movement along this spine as automatic, regardless of merit.¹²⁸

Once on the upper spine teachers can expect only biannual jumps to the next

point unless there are exceptional circumstances. Only when the third pay point is reached can the individual be considered for advanced skills teacher status. So it takes at least ten years to gain access to the highest pay scale for classroom teachers – and then many more years to climb that scale. The only way to circumvent this is to win promotion to a leadership position (assistant head, deputy head or headteacher). These posts are obviously limited and tend to be held by older teachers who have served their time. A recent survey by the General Teaching Council for England found that the average length of service of secondary teachers who thought that they might become a headteacher in the next five years was 17.8 years and 12.9 years for primary.¹²⁹

The difficulty in accessing higher level salaries is clearly a big deterrent for talented people who might want to spend just a few years in teaching. Our poll of professionals asked whether the fact that teachers' pay is set and based on length of experience in the job, rather than flexible and based on performance, was attractive or not: 50% found the length of service approach unattractive compared to only 22% who found it attractive (28% were unsure). The majority of undergraduates were unsure (42%) – perhaps reflecting their inexperience of employment – but of those who did have an opinion there was a slight majority in favour of flexibility (33% to 25%). Many of the professionals felt that the drop from their existing salary to a starting salary for teaching was too great for them to manage.

The need to move incrementally through pay bands is especially unattractive to professional and managerial career-changers looking to spend a short period of time in teaching. More employment-based initial teacher training (as discussed in Chapter Two) would go some way to alleviating the financial disadvantage of moving into teaching but, once qualified, the

128 Hodgson A et al, *Survey of Teachers' Pay 2007*, ORC International for the Office of Manpower Economics, September 2007, p 36; see www.ome.uk.com/downloads/93439_TP_Report_v12.pdf

129 See www.gtce.org.uk/gtcpublications/gtcmagazine_autumn2006/08mappingopinions

salary is still likely to be lower than these career-changers previously earned. We have proposed that recruits entering through our Teach Next route should join the leadership pay spine once they qualify as teachers because they would immediately join their school's senior leadership team and take on associated responsibilities.

There should also be mechanisms to tie other ITT routes with accelerated progress to senior positions. There are a number of different fast-track schemes but their relationship with each other and ITT is unclear. They all focus on leadership roles; there is no accelerated route to advanced skills teacher status.

The Department for Education and Skills (DfES) introduced the Fast Track programme in 1997. It sought to identify, develop and retain talented individuals from within the teaching profession by offering an accelerated route to senior school leadership. Although Fast Track was originally open to both new and serving teachers, it was rebranded in 2005 as a leadership development programme for qualified teachers only. The reason given was that the focus of current concerns was upon retention rather than recruitment. The same reason was given for removing the £2,000 financial incentive for those participating in the scheme.

Responsibility for running Fast Track was transferred from the Government to the National College for School Leadership (NCSL) in September 2006.¹³⁰ CfBT Education Trust managed the professional development, advice and guidance, and events provision, and developed the online community. At its peak there were almost 2,000 in the scheme. However from March 2008 recruitment was suspended and the NCSL is developing a replacement scheme to start in September 2009.

At the same time NCSL has set up, with ARK, an education charity and academy sponsor, and the Specialist Schools and

Academies Trust, the Future Leaders programme.¹³¹ Applicants must write two short essays on their suitability and pass three online tests at an assessment centre. Those accepted receive intensive training during the summer and then take up residency as part of the senior leadership team at a challenging school where the headteacher and a dedicated external coach act as mentors. During this year participants are required to complete a series of leadership projects. The following year participants take up a post as a senior leader in another challenging school. At the end of the two years they achieve the National Professional Qualification for Headship (NPQH), which all new headteachers must have. They are expected to be a senior leader within 12 months and a headteacher within four years. The scheme is currently only available in Greater London and Greater Manchester.¹³²

“ Many of the professionals felt that the drop from their existing salary to a starting salary for teaching was too great for them to manage ”

In the past few months the partners in Future Leaders and Teach First have set up a new programme, Teaching Leaders, to develop the skills of middle managers. In its pilot year there will be 40 places available. It is a two-year in-post development programme aimed at realising the leadership and management talents of middle leaders in complex urban schools, and it is hoped that it will fill the development gap between initial teaching training (whether on Teach First or other routes) and Future Leaders. The scheme will include a residential week each summer; coaching by an experienced urban practitioner; master classes, group discussion, workshops and seminars; and an in-school project. The programme will require participants to

130 See www.dfes.gov.uk/research/data/uploadfiles/RR726.pdf

131 See www.future-leaders.org.uk/

132 See www.future-leaders.org.uk/

commit to approximately eight days of training per year in their own time, as well as several days of in-school coaching and the residential weeks in August.

In addition Teach First is developing its own Teach On programme which will provide development opportunities and support to Teach First ambassadors who remain in schools after their initial two-year commitment.

This is – to say the least – a confusing picture for anyone thinking of teaching as a career. For a start it is unclear why the NCSL are supporting different routes with the same objective. Why develop another accelerated leadership route when Future Leaders/Teaching Leaders is already up and running? Surely it makes sense to consolidate funding and expertise into this one route. We believe that Future Leaders/Teaching Leaders should be expanded across the country.

This consolidated accelerated leadership scheme should be directly linked to initial teacher training routes so that it can be advertised to potential new recruits. All Teach First and Teach Now trainees should have the option of applying for the accelerated leadership path at the end of their training course. A financial incentive for successful candidates should also be re-introduced to encourage applications.

Finally, an alternative route should be developed for talented new recruits who wish to remain in the classroom: directing all of the best candidates towards leadership risks denuding classrooms of talented teachers. There should be an accelerated advanced teacher scheme so that newly qualified teachers can access the highest classroom teacher pay scale within a few years of joining the profession. Again this should be advertised to potential recruits. The possibility of earning a £40,000-£50,000 salary within a few years of joining the profession would increase the pool of talented people prepared to consider teaching at a considerably lower cost than an across-the-board pay increase.

Proposition 1: The National Pay Agreement discriminates against schools in disadvantaged areas

It is well established that the existence of a national pay structure distorts the labour market. Schools in disadvantaged areas cannot financially compensate for the implicit costs of teaching in a more difficult environment. People move between jobs and workplaces not only because of salary, but also because of difficult working conditions, personal safety, the challenge a job offers and individual circumstances. The undergraduates we polled said that “feeling unsafe in the classroom” was an even greater deterrent than salary. Because these implicit costs and benefits will vary enormously from school to school, and will vary in importance for one person from another, it makes sense for pay to be as flexible as possible to counterbalance non-pecuniary costs.

One academic remarked: “Uniform pay may sound fair but it leads to an inequitable distribution of teachers. It may seem counterintuitive that uniform pay could be inequitable, but the reason is that teachers’ compensation is determined by their wages and their working conditions. And working conditions are partially determined by the...students that are assigned to them.”¹³³

Although teachers’ pay is not nearly as uniform in this country as it once was, it is still highly structured and centralised. As we have shown most teachers will start at around the same level and gradually earn more over the course of their careers. Teachers in inner London (uniformly) earn more because of the cost of living but otherwise there are few concessions to the labour market. Teachers working in schools in disadvantaged areas do not, as a matter of course, earn more than those in leafy suburbs. Maths and science teachers, whose qualifications could well lead to a much higher wage premium than arts and

133 Gordon R, Kane T and Staiger D, “Identifying Effective Teachers Using Performance on the Job”, The Hamilton Project, Discussion Paper, January 2006; see www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2006/04education_gordon/200604hamilton_1.pdf

humanities teachers, do get a golden hello when starting but after that are on the same pay scale as everyone else. This, unsurprisingly, means that it is harder to recruit good teachers for difficult schools and that there are persistent shortages of maths and science teachers.

Many studies have shown how schools facing challenging circumstances struggle to recruit and retain high calibre teachers.¹³⁴ Between 2001 and 2005 Alan Smithers and Pamela Robinson produced a series of seminal reports looking at turnover and wastage of teachers. They found that retention rates vary considerably between different types of school.¹³⁵ As Table 4.2 shows, turnover was higher in secondary schools with poorer academic performance; proportionally more pupils with special needs; and higher numbers of pupils on free school meals. They also established that there is a tendency for teachers to move from schools with poor GCSE results to those with better.¹³⁶ These findings were supported by additional reports on the factors affecting teachers leaving the profession and moving to different schools.¹³⁷

In a report for the Institute of Public Policy Research, Merryn Hutchings found that full-time staff turnover in “vulnerable” schools (disadvantaged, defined on the basis of GCSE performance) and “matched” schools (that had better attainment but were otherwise similar to the vulnerable schools) was 14.2% and 10.9% respectively.¹³⁹ Hutchings showed that the

vulnerable schools found it more difficult to fill teacher posts; while 79% of advertised posts were filled in matched schools, in vulnerable schools the comparable figure was only 55%. Headteacher responses to an accompanying questionnaire were also revealing: those running vulnerable schools were much more likely to complain about having “difficult teaching staff”.¹⁴⁰

Education Data Surveys, a company providing research and information about the sector, has compared the average number of nationally advertised teaching posts in the 638 maintained secondary schools where recently less than 30% of pupils achieved five GCSEs at A*-C including English and maths, with the number for all maintained secondary schools. The average for the 658 failing schools was 7.9 teacher posts advertised, while the national average was 6.5.¹⁴¹

The deterrents to working in difficult schools are not surprising. Hutchings found that teachers in vulnerable schools were concerned about pupil behaviour, low attainment, poor management and an unpleasant working environment.¹⁴² Smithers and Robinson found a similar range of factors were cited in a survey of those leaving teaching.¹⁴³ These are all implicit costs of working in certain kinds of school and in many cases could be counterbalanced by increasing salaries. The teachers in Hutchings’s survey named “higher pay” as the most important factor when asked “if you were to move to another school, what would you be looking for in that school?”¹⁴⁴ Smithers and Robinson found that just over half of teachers

134 Select Committee on Education and Skills, Fifth Report; see [www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cm200304/cmselect/cm200304/1057/105706.htm#note30](http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cm200304/cmselect/cm200304/cmselect/cm200304/1057/105706.htm#note30)

135 See www.buckingham.ac.uk/education/research/ceer/pdfs/turnover.pdf

136 Smithers A and Robinson P, *Teacher Turnover, Wastage and Movement between Schools*, Buckingham University, May 2005, p 50

137 See www.dfes.gov.uk/research/data/uploadfiles/RR640.pdf and www.dfes.gov.uk/research/data/uploadfiles/RR430.pdf

138 www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cm200304/cmselect/cm200304/5707.htm#n91

139 Hutchings, M, *Choice and Equity in Teacher Supply: Report on staffing data and on surveys of headteachers and teachers in ‘vulnerable’ and ‘matched’ schools*, IPPR, 2005

140 Ibid, p 13

141 We are grateful to Professor John Howson for sharing this information with us

142 Hutchings M, op cit, pp 28-29

143 Smithers A and Robinson P, “Factors Affecting Teachers’ Decisions to Leave the Profession”, DfES Research Report 430, 2003, p 49

144 Hutchings M, op cit, p 30

Table 4.2: Teacher Turnover and Wastage in Secondary Schools by Intake¹³⁸

Group	GCSE Results		Free School Meals		Special Needs	
	Turnover	Wastage	Turnover	Wastage	Turnover	Wastage
Above Average	11.48	7.06	16.21	7.55	16.52	7.58
Average	12.76	7.01	13.34	7.62	13.40	7.65
Below Average	15.54	8.02	12.10	7.42	11.99	7.32

moving to another school could have been induced to stay – and “additional allowances” were the most significant inducement for those teachers with a permanent contract. However, only one in twenty movers was offered an incentive to stay.¹⁴⁵

Implicit costs are especially problematic for schools in London. Despite the extra salary allowances for inner London teachers, schools in the capital struggle more than most with recruitment problems – presumably because of the ready availability of alternative jobs and the high cost of living. In 2000 the School Teachers’ Review Body commissioned research into recruitment and retention of classroom teachers, comparing 12 schools in London local education authorities with 12 outside.¹⁴⁶ They found that all but one of the London schools were facing difficulties in recruiting teachers compared with only half of those outside. And while outside the capital the most commonly cited negative factor in retention was workload, in London it was housing costs. Smithers and Robinson also found that London and the South East have higher levels of turnover than other parts of the country¹⁴⁷ and that the capital loses teachers to other parts of the country.¹⁴⁸

They also found that salary was a much more important factor in deciding to leave a school than in other parts of the country.¹⁴⁹

For shortage subjects, such as maths and science, the implicit costs of teaching are magnified by the opportunity costs. Graduates in these subjects forgo much greater potential earnings than graduates in humanities or arts subjects (see Figure 4.1 for average wage premiums for different degree subjects).

While schools in disadvantaged areas struggle to hold on to good teachers all schools struggle to find good science and maths teachers. Teacher training providers tend to accept a far higher proportion of applicants on to ITT courses for these subjects than for humanities subjects. Those accepted are more likely to have lower second or third-class degrees. A study by the National Foundation for Education Research (NFER) in 2006 found that 24% of teachers deployed to teach mathematics had neither a degree nor an ITT qualification in the subject. For science the figure was rather less at 8%, but the study revealed that 44% of all teachers who taught science were biologists compared with 25% who were chemistry specialists and 19% physics specialists.¹⁵⁰

145 Smithers A and Robinson P, *Teacher Turnover, Wastage and Movement between Schools*, Buckingham University, May 2005, p 63

146 “The Recruitment and Retention of Classroom Teachers”, IRS Research, 2000, in Smithers A and Robinson P, “Factors Affecting Teachers’ Decisions to Leave the Profession”, DfES Research Report 430, 2003

147 Smithers A and Robinson P, *op cit*, 2003, p 42

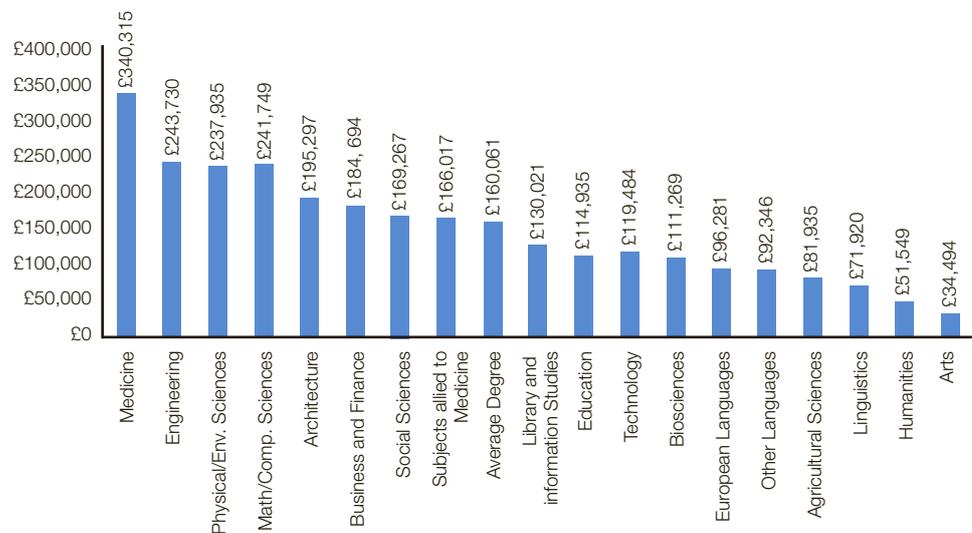
148 Smithers A and Robinson P, *op cit*, 2005, p 63

149 Smithers A and Robinson P, *op cit*, 2003, p 60

150 Moor H et al, *Mathematics and Science in Secondary Schools: The Deployment of Teachers and Support Staff to Deliver the Curriculum*, NFER, 2006

151 *The Economic Benefits of a Degree*, UK Universities Research Report, 2006; see [bookshop.universitiesuk.ac.uk /downloads/research-grad-prem.pdf](http://bookshop.universitiesuk.ac.uk/downloads/research-grad-prem.pdf)

Figure 4.1: Gross additional lifetime earnings (wage premiums) by degree subject compared to two or more GCE A-levels¹⁵¹



Source: (Pooled labour force survey 2000-2005)

The NFER study also found that schools in the most disadvantaged areas suffered the most from these shortages. Maths teachers who were not specialists in the subject were most often found in the lowest attaining schools and those serving areas of socioeconomic deprivation. In science, the imbalance in the representation of biology, physics and chemistry specialists was unevenly spread across schools. For example, 26% of 11-16 schools had no physics specialist.¹⁵²

An American academic, Anthony Milanowski, has argued that maths and science graduates are particularly highly motivated by earnings and ascribe much less value to the non-pecuniary rewards of teaching (giving something back) than those with other degrees.¹⁵³ Even if this is not the case the opportunity costs of teaching for maths and science specialists mean that automatically paying them the same as other teachers is unfair.

Recommendation 2: Schools in disadvantaged areas need to be funded at a higher level

In a pamphlet for the Social Market Foundation (SMF), Robin Harding noted that “while there is now some scope for the payment of bonuses in areas of shortage, it is hard to make use of them in areas of deprivation, as public service funding formulae do not provide sufficient extra funds to allow for this.”¹⁵⁴ This is certainly true for education. Schools that have large numbers of students from deprived areas do tend to have more money – but not enough to cover the extra services they have to provide let alone pay staff more.

As a recent Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) report clearly shows, the money that local authorities receive each year to help schools in disadvantaged areas is typically “flattened” across all of the schools in the authority.¹⁵⁵ This is largely

because of the minimum funding guarantee, which ensures that a school cannot receive less money per pupil than in previous years even if its demographic has changed and pupils need less extra help. The IFS report also shows that much of the extra money that schools in disadvantaged areas do get comes from the central government “Standards Fund”, which is usually directed at political priorities and is often only short term.¹⁵⁶ This means that it cannot be spent on permanent teaching positions.

In a separate report, due to be released in October, we will lay out our mechanism for offering additional financial support to schools in disadvantaged areas. We will argue for a “pupil premium” by which children from areas of disadvantage would have an additional sum of money attached to them when they join a school. The more pupils of this kind a school has the richer it will be. There are two clear benefits to the pupil premium: it reduces the incentive for schools to “cream-skim” pupils from wealthy areas – as these children will have less money attached to them; and it also provides schools with more difficult pupils the extra resources necessary to succeed.

Those schools that have the most difficulty recruiting and retaining teachers will be much better off (by many hundreds of thousands of pounds a year in some cases). Most of the headteachers we have spoken to in the course of our research on the pupil premium have emphasised the importance of teaching over other factors (they are correct to do so – changes in the quality of teaching staff have a far bigger impact on learning outcomes than any other form of expenditure). Some told us that they would want to employ more teachers to reduce class sizes or pastoral staff to help with emotionally troubled pupils. Others said that they would like to use the funds to pay their existing teachers more.

152 Ibid

153 Milanowski A, “An Exploration of the Pay Levels Needed to Attract Students with Mathematics, Science and Technology Skills to a Career in K-12 Teaching”, *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 11(50), December 2003

154 Harding R, *Poverty Pay: How Public Sector Pay Fails Deprived Areas*, Social Market Foundation, April 2007, p 25

155 Sibieta L, Chowdry H and Muriel A, *Level Playing Field? The Implications of School Funding*, Institute of Fiscal Studies, June 2008, pp 41-48

156 Ibid, p 42

Recommendation 3: Once the funding is in place, schools should be able to opt out of the national pay agreement – levelling the playing field and boosting recruitment

Although providing more money for schools in disadvantaged areas is a prerequisite for any recruitment scheme, it is not by itself enough. Salary structures also have to be redesigned so as to allow these schools to pay more. We do not believe that trying to make the national structure more flexible can work. The national pay agreement already offers various mechanisms that schools can use to pay teachers more, but these are either rarely used or regarded as an entitlement that all teachers deserve regardless of their school, subject or performance. Instead schools should be allowed to opt out of the national pay structure entirely. Academies – which already have this power – have shown the potential for innovation this offers. If the freedom was more widely available competing pay models would develop and those that proved most successful at recruiting and retaining staff would be widely adopted. Because the pupil premium would ensure that schools in poorer areas would be richer than those in better off districts, they would gain the most benefit from the changes we recommend.

In his SMF pamphlet Robin Harding argued that national pay schemes that purport to offer local flexibility are inherently flawed as flexible payments quickly become seen as an entitlement and so cannot be used in the way they were intended. He cites the example of the Nationwide Building Society in the 1990s, which gave managers of local branches the flexibility to vary pay: “Staff quickly came to expect the payments, benchmarking themselves against colleagues in other branches and demanding parity. Managers started using them as a tool to deliver progres-

sion...Flexibility became an administrative burden and a significant cost; in 1998 Nationwide was forced to introduce a more structured system. This has generally been the experience across the private sector, and today almost no national organisation in the private sector employs any local flexibility.”¹⁵⁷

This description fits the experience of schools. Box 4 makes clear that the existing pay structures, although appearing rigid, do contain an element of flexibility; headteachers and governing bodies potentially have significant discretion over what teachers earn. Newly qualified teachers can be started higher up on the pay scale. Teachers can be paid an additional sum over three years to join a school or stay if they threaten to leave. Teachers should only be moved on to the upper pay scale if their performance merits it and non-management teachers can also be raised to advanced or excellent teacher status which have even higher pay bands.

As happened at Nationwide however, in practice these flexibilities have either become expected entitlements or are not used. The movement of teachers on to the higher pay scale is a good example. The threshold between the two pay spines was explicitly introduced as a performance-related measure, yet it has become a formality rather than a test of merit. According to the STRB, in 2006-07, between 50 and 60% of those who were eligible applied to access the upper pay scale and 95% of them were successful.¹⁵⁸ During the preparation of a previous report we spoke to a number of headteachers who told us that it was simply not worth refusing an application for the upper pay scale. One headteacher recalled that his was the only one of 15 local secondary schools who did not allow everybody who applied on to the upper pay scale. “They took me to a tribunal and then they lost, but the amount of time that took from my working life was huge.”¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Harding R, *Poverty Pay: How Public Sector Pay Fails Deprived Areas*, Social Market Foundation, April 2007, p 25

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p 9

¹⁵⁹ Davies C, Lim C and Freedman S, *Helping Schools Succeed: A framework for English Education*, Policy Exchange, 2008, p 15

Other flexibilities have been widely ignored. Table 4.3 below shows that only 4% of full-time teachers were receiving salaried recruitment and retention allowances in January 2007 (3% in primary schools).¹⁶⁰ Where these allowances are being used the amounts are small. Just 12% of primary teachers who have received an allowance receive more than £2,000. None receives more than £4,000. In secondary schools only 27% receive more than £2,000 and, again, almost none receives more than £4,000.¹⁶¹

They have, though, been widely used in inner London – schools in the capital are three-and-a-half times more likely to make use of retention and recruitment allowances than those outside (14% to 4%).¹⁶² But even this exception proves the rule. Teacher unions in some inner London authorities have campaigned, successfully, for *all* teachers to receive recruitment and retention allowances.¹⁶³ Schools in London can afford this because far fewer teachers are on the upper pay spine – 45% are in their first five years of teaching compared to 33% nationally.¹⁶⁴ The problem is clear: either flexibilities in the national pay structure are ignored or they are seen as an entitlement that must be applied to all teachers.

Robin Harding’s solution to this problem is “zonal pay” – a system which would involve creating six salary bands for schools depending on the difficulty they have recruiting staff.¹⁶⁵ This would remove local flexibility and replace it with nationally agreed local pay. Unfortunately the system

proposed is extremely complex – schools would move in and out of salary bands as their recruitment problems waxed and waned. Moreover it is simply unrealistic to argue that “moving down a pay zone need not demotivate staff who have worked hard to improve their school”. A reduction in pay always demotivates – especially, one would think, if it was a response to school improvement. There would be a perverse incentive for schools to artificially maintain recruitment difficulties.

“ The problem is clear: either flexibilities in the national pay structure are ignored or they are seen as an entitlement that must be applied to all teachers ”

If local flexibility within a national structure cannot work, and Harding’s proposal for nationally agreed local pay is too complex, then the best option left is to allow schools to opt out of national pay altogether. Given that our pupil premium would make schools in deprived areas richer, pay liberalisation would help them compete for staff on fairer terms.

There is already a precedent for this: academies (the Government promises 400 in development by 2010), because they are not bound by the school teachers’ pay and conditions document, have freedom over the ways they reward and retain staff. Defending this freedom in a parliamentary debate, schools minister Jim Knight said: “Academies need to respond innovatively

160 Hodgson A et al, *Survey of Teachers’ Pay 2007*, ORC International for the Office of Manpower Economics, September 2007, p 40

161 *Ibid*, p 43

162 *Ibid*, p 15

163 www.hackneynut.co.uk/news_2001_tabled.html; Camden NUT fought a similar battle.

164 www.hackneynut.co.uk/news_2001_tabled.html p 6

165 Harding R, *Poverty Pay: How Public Sector Pay Fails Deprived Areas*, Social Market Foundation, April 2007, pp 32-40

166 Hodgson A et al, *Survey of Teachers’ Pay 2007*, ORC International for the Office of Manpower Economics, September 2007, p 43

Table 4.3: Proportion of classroom teachers receiving salaried recruitment and retention allowances by type of school, January 2007¹⁶⁶

Recruitment and Retention Incentives	Primary	Secondary	Special	All
Full-time teachers	3%	4%	2%	4%
Part-time teachers	1%	3%	2%	2%

Source: STRB

to the huge challenges they face. The ability to negotiate their own pay and conditions to meet the particular needs of the academy, its staff and students, is part of the increased flexibility they need to meet these challenges.”¹⁶⁷ We agree entirely – which is why all schools should be given the flexibility to opt out of national pay structures if they have alternative ways to solve local recruitment difficulties.

So far academies have been relatively cautious. Their initial unpopularity in much of the education world has made academy sponsors nervous of any dramatic deviations from the national pay structure. Things, though, are slowly changing. The ARK academies, while making use of the national pay and conditions document, also employ a structured bonus scheme for their principals, and all Harris academies employ a performance-based bonus system whereby if a school’s GCSE results increase by 10% (e.g. from 30% to 33%) all staff receive a £300 bonus. Some academies, such as Mossbourne in Hackney and Capital City in Willesden, pay staff extra in return for working longer hours.

The United Learning Trust (ULT), the largest group of academies in the country, has gone the furthest in developing its own model. In place of the standard M1 to M6 pay spine they use two pay bands, PT1 and PT2, for pre-threshold teachers. The PT1 bands are for NQTs and those in their second year as teachers, and PT2 contains four increments. Depending on their performance, teachers on PT1 and PT2 can be fast-tracked within their pay band. Performance is measured on whether teachers satisfy key competencies and fulfil three objectives set out by mutual agreement in their previous annual appraisal. These might relate, for example, to the academic attainment of the pupils they teach or to their own professional development. Once beyond the upper pay threshold, teachers can join one of three streams: experienced teachers; teacher leaders and leadership.

The experienced teachers band contains seven increments. The teacher leaders band (similar to advanced skills teacher status) has a minimum salary but no upper limit. It is promoted to recruits and existing teachers as a potential “blue sky” salary. The leadership band has three levels depending on their importance and seniority of the role. Again, while bands 1 and 2 have maximum and minimum salaries, band 3 is “blue sky”. Beyond this comes principal and vice-principal’s pay which is entirely unrestricted.

As academy groups grow in size and develop confidence, they will find it easier to experiment in this area and more will develop their own models as the ULT has done. At the moment they are highly attractive to new recruits: they have great new buildings and a much stronger corporate ethos than most schools. There are also close connections between Teach First and academies. As the number of academies grows to 400 and above, though, and the novelty wears off, competition for the best teachers will increase and salary freedoms will become increasingly important – especially if the pupil premium gives the academies (which are all in areas of deprivation) access to considerable extra funding.

One academy head told us: “When teachers start working here they come with a different mind-set, one that acknowledges that the old system of pay structures and conditions is not necessarily going to be stuck to.” Things already seem to be accelerating: Kunskapsskolan, the Swedish schools company that is setting up two academies in the London Borough of Richmond, allocates salary budgets to its schools in Sweden depending on test results, financial management and the results of an annual survey of pupils and parents. Teachers can also negotiate individual pay rises with their headteacher.¹⁶⁸

We propose extending the pay flexibilities enjoyed by academies to all schools that employ their own staff – voluntary-

167 www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200506/cmhansrd/vo060706/text/60706w1509.htm

168 Stewart W, “A pay rise? That depends on your pupils”, *Times Educational Supplement*, 13th June 2008

aided, foundation and trust schools (community schools' staff are still employed by the local authority).¹⁶⁹ We would expect these powers to be used first by groups of schools, either academy networks or foundations, as they are more likely to have HR capability. In the long run, some models will be more successful in attracting high-quality staff than others, so all schools will be able to choose from a variety of proven pay models.

There are many potential variations on the standard pay structure that schools could use to win recruits. Some might go for highly flexible systems – such as the *Kunskapskolan* schools in Sweden. Others might use performance-related bonuses (these work best when shared between a whole department or school as it is very hard to pinpoint the relationship between pupil performance and an individual teacher). Others might use perquisites – related to the other activities of the academy sponsor or trust partner.¹⁷⁰ Because headteachers would be free to spend pupil premium money as they saw fit they could instead reduce class sizes or buy specialist equipment – and use these improvements as an incentive for those potential recruits who are more concerned about behaviour than money. Whatever works well will soon be copied.

There would even be the possibility of radically innovative pay models such as the one used by the Equity Project (TEP) in New York. This is a 480-student middle

school in the Washington Heights neighbourhood of New York City that will open in September 2009 as a charter school (a state-funded independent school, like an academy). Its aim is to put into practice the theory that teacher quality is the most important school-based factor in the academic success of students, particularly those from low-income families.¹⁷¹ Teachers will receive an annual salary of \$125,000 and the opportunity to earn a significant annual bonus based on school-wide performance. This way pay will be nearly twice as much as the average New York City public school teacher earns and roughly two-and-a-half times the national average teacher salary. TEP will raise most of the money needed for this through cost savings resulting from the high quality and productivity of its teachers. In short, they will test whether hiring and paying Master's level teachers what they are worth is a cost-effective mechanism for boosting student achievement.

It is not difficult to imagine the impact that a few schools offering £50,000 starting salaries would have on the UK market. If schemes like this were used in the Training and Development Agency's promotional material they could act as a powerful recruitment tool for the whole profession. The potential to earn this high a salary would attract a lot of interest even if not widely available. Pay could become a powerful recruitment tool without across-the-board pay increases.

¹⁶⁹ In an earlier report, we recommended that all schools, over time, should take on foundation, voluntary-aided, trust or academy status and that local authorities should move to a commissioning role. See Davies C, Lim C and Freedman S, *Helping Schools Succeed: A framework for English education*, Policy Exchange, 2008

¹⁷⁰ "Lord Harris offers employees at the Harris academies a 15% discount at Carpetright!", *Financial Times*, 28th November 2007

¹⁷¹ See www.tepcharter.org/philosophy.php

5

Conclusion

As Michael Barber wrote: “The quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers.” This is unquestionably true – countries in which teaching is a high-status profession such as Finland or South Korea regularly top international league tables of pupil performance. In this country we have many excellent teachers but because other careers have higher status not enough of our best graduates join the profession and it is hard to attract older people from other jobs. Moreover we remain poor at developing teachers and rewarding those who are successful.

In this report we have asked two questions: how can we get more talented people into teaching and how can we develop and reward good teaching? The answers are interlinked. For a start we need to accept that teaching need no longer be a career for life; that highly able people can add a huge amount to a school in just a few years. As the government-sponsored Teach First programme has shown good people will be attracted by a short-term commitment that allows them to earn while learning on the job. An expansion of employment-based routes into teaching of this kind would have an additional benefit: the schools involved would become centres of training. Existing staff would gain from mentoring new teachers and new teachers would learn from colleagues they respect. Over time a virtuous circle of professional development could be established.

Pay is also, of course, hugely important in attracting the best people to teaching. However, any realistic across-the-board pay rise would not be enough to make much of

a difference. Instead the best new recruits should be fast-tracked into high-paying leadership and advanced teacher positions. At the same time schools in disadvantaged areas should be given extra funds – and the opportunity to develop their own pay models – so that they can compete for the best teachers.

In *Chapter One* we argued that attempts to mould teaching into a traditional high-status profession such as medicine or law have not worked. It would be a huge mistake to continue down this path – as some have suggested – by extending the time spent in training so as to force trainees to devote more energy to the theory of education. This would deter exactly the type of ambitious high-flyers we want to attract. Instead we should promote the nobility of teaching; that giving something back while developing valuable communication and leadership skills is worth doing. This would be much easier to do if more trainees could be employed, and earning, from the start of their training.

In *Chapter Two* we showed how initial teacher training (ITT) could be transformed by introducing additional employment-based routes. Not only would these routes attract more successful graduates and career-changers, but they would also lead to better training. The evidence that trainees find it hard to translate theory learnt in the university lecture hall into practical techniques for the classroom is now irrefutable. Yet more than three quarters of trainees still spend at least a year in higher education before joining a school as a salaried staff member. On-the-job training, supported by the funds currently

diverted to higher education, would be far more valuable. Existing teachers would also benefit by learning new techniques while mentoring new staff.

In *Chapter Three* we argued that this mentoring process should underpin all continuous professional development (CPD). At the moment most of the money and time spent on CPD is being wasted on training to support endless government initiatives or superficial one-day courses with no follow-up. We would give all teachers a financial entitlement to spend on their own professional development, which would be integrated with the performance review process and supported by a mentor. This would give teachers autonomy over their own development while simultaneously allowing schools to guide this development through support and appraisal.

In *Chapter Four* we made the case for a more flexible attitude towards teachers' pay. Fast-track routes to leadership and advanced classroom teaching positions should be promoted to encourage the best and the brightest. We would also give

schools the freedom to opt out of the national pay agreement. If schools in disadvantaged areas were also funded at a higher level, this freedom would allow them to compensate staff for working in more difficult circumstances. It would also allow for innovative pay models, such as performance-related bonuses or salaries with no ceiling. The models that proved most successful in attracting new staff would soon be copied.

Taken together we believe that these recommendations amount to a coherent and compelling vision for the teaching profession. Previously policymakers have divided teachers' careers into a series of independent sub-units – recruitment, initial training, continuous professional development, leadership and so on. We have taken an integrated approach, arguing that changing the way we think about training throughout a teacher's career will lead to a more flexible and dynamic model of professionalism. This, in turn, will increase the number of high-quality entrants to the profession, which will mean more good teachers.

As Tony Blair's former education advisor Sir Michael Barber has noted "The quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers". This is unquestionably true – countries in which teaching is a high-status profession such as Finland or South Korea regularly top international league tables of pupil performance. In this country we have many excellent teachers but because other careers have higher status not enough of our best graduates join the profession and it is hard to attract older people from other jobs. Moreover we remain poor at developing teachers and rewarding those who are successful.

In this report we ask two questions: how can we get more talented people into teaching and how can we develop and reward good teaching? The answers are interlinked. For a start we need to accept that teaching need no longer be a career for life; that highly able people can add a huge amount to a school in just a few years. As the government-sponsored Teach First programme has shown good people will be attracted by a short-term commitment that allows them to earn while learning on the job. An expansion of employment-based routes into teaching of this kind would have an additional benefit: the schools involved would become centres of training. Existing staff would gain from mentoring new teachers and new teachers would learn from colleagues they respect. Over time a virtuous circle of professional development could be established.

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