

Growing Your Own: The Impact of School Direct on the Training of Primary Teachers

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Acknowledgements

When I started this journey seven years ago, I had limited understanding of what I was undertaking and an even more limited belief that I would ever finally get there. Well here I am!

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Abstract

This research evaluates the development of School Direct in four Primary Teaching School Alliance partnerships. It explores how School Direct operates and what its impact has been on the training of primary teachers since its inception. The methodological approach is interpretivist and uses phenomenology. This approach facilitated the exploration of School Direct through multiple perspectives from a number of different stakeholders. The primary research instrument was semi-structured interviews through which four key themes emerged. They were: growing your own; belonging and owning; division of academic labour and values for the profession. This research concludes that although School Direct offered much potential to *reconceptualise* ITT and develop innovative practice, it was rushed into place and, as a result, has not developed a coherent and harmonious programme working in partnership with universities. The schools and university involved in this research have not established what knowledges are important in ITT nor how they should be delivered. The schools and university undervalue what each other has to offer. This research finds that whilst School Direct training successfully produces new teachers enculturated into the systems and practices of the training school, it is also a flawed model, offering variable quality of training experiences. The conclusions point to a need to reevaluate the role of schools and universities involved in School Direct, to consider what kinds of knowledges new teachers need, and how schools and universities can utilise and value each other's expertise. Using School Direct as a springboard this research questions ultimately the purpose of teacher training, and whether 'growing your own' teachers for single school settings is the right way to train teachers for a national profession.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Abstract	ii
List of Figures and Tables	viii
Abbreviations	ix
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Research Beginnings	1
1.2. Research Aims	2
1.3. Research Questions	3
1.4. Research Context	3
1.5. Thesis Structure	5
2. Literature Review	8
2.1. Teacher Education Pedagogy	8
2.1.1. Context	8
2.1.2. Theory-Practice Divides	8
2.1.3. Increased Roles of Schools	9
2.1.4. School-based Teacher Educators	11
2.1.5. The Value of University-based Training	14
2.1.6. Knowledge About Teaching	16
2.1.6.1. Knowledge- <i>for</i> -practice	16
2.1.6.2. Knowledge- <i>in</i> -practice	17
2.1.6.3. Knowledge- <i>of</i> -practice	19
2.2. Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) Training and Research	21
2.2.1. Context	21
2.2.2. The PGCE	21
2.2.3. The PGCE at Masters Level	22
2.2.4. The Place of Research in the Government Agenda of ITT	24
2.2.5. The Value of Consuming and Producing Research	26
2.2.6. Research as Enhancing Professionalism	29
2.3. Neoliberalism	30
2.3.1. Context	30
2.3.2. Globalisation	30
2.3.3. Thatcher and Neoliberalism	31
2.3.4. New Labour (1994-2010)	31
2.3.5. Coalition Government (2010-2015)	33
3. Methodology	36
3.1. My Ontological Position	36
3.2. A Rationale for the Interpretive Paradigm	37
3.3. Choice of Research Approaches	39
3.4. Insider/Outsider Research	43
3.5. Consideration of Reflexivity	47
3.6. Why Case Study?	48

3.7.	Relatability	52
3.8.	Ethical Considerations	54
4.	Research Methods	60
4.1.	The Research Sample	60
4.2.	Negotiating Access	61
4.3.	Triangulation and Thick Data	62
4.4.	Interviews	64
4.5.	Surveys	67
4.6.	Reliability and Validity	70
4.7.	Data Analysis	73
4.8.	Grounded Theory	75
5.	Theoretical Framework	77
5.1.	Socio-cultural Theories	77
5.1.1.	Socio-cultural Theory and Situated Learning	77
5.1.2.	Communities of Practice	77
5.1.3.	Legitimate Peripheral Participation	79
5.1.4.	Power in Communities	80
5.2.	Belonging	83
5.2.1.	The Need to Belong	83
5.2.2.	Needs and Wants	84
5.2.3.	Self-regulation	85
5.2.4.	Widening Participation	86
5.3.	Identity	87
5.3.1.	Defining Professional Teacher Identity	87
5.3.2.	The Self and Identity	88
5.3.3.	Figured Worlds	89
5.3.4.	Identity and Agency	90
5.4.	Structure	92
5.4.1.	Habitus and Fields	92
5.4.2.	Institutional Habitus	92
5.4.3.	Economic, Cultural and Social Capital	93
5.4.4.	Systems of Practices	94
5.4.5.	Doxa	95
5.4.6.	Symbolic Violence	96
5.4.7.	False Consciousness	96
5.4.8.	Professional Capital	97
5.5.	Power	98
5.5.1.	Sovereign, Disciplinary and Pastoral Power	98
5.5.2.	Panopticon	99
5.5.3.	Governmentality	100
5.5.4.	Dividing Practices	100
5.5.5.	Resistance of Power	101
5.6.	Agency	102
5.6.1.	Ecological Perspective of Agency	102
5.6.2.	Three Dimensional Construct of Agency	102

5.6.3.	Agency and Discourse	104
5.6.4.	Agency, Social Relations and Networks	105
5.7.	Nurturing and Support	107
5.7.1.	Significant and Salient Others	107
5.7.2.	Nurturing	108
5.7.2.1.	Structure	108
5.7.2.2.	Direction	108
5.7.2.3.	Support	109
5.7.3.	The Affective Domain	110
5.7.4.	Emotional Ecology	111
5.7.5.	Care	111
5.7.6.	Mentoring Approaches	114
5.7.7.	Relational Knowing	116
5.8.	Ownership and Control	118
5.8.1.	Managerialism	118
5.8.2.	Wage Labour	120
5.8.3.	New Public Management (NPM)	121
5.9.	Division of Labour	124
5.9.1.	Specialism and Expertise	124
5.9.2.	Expertise	124
5.9.3.	Sociological Perspectives of Expertise	125
5.9.4.	Expert Space Model	126
5.9.5.	Distributed Expertise in ITT	128
6.	Research Findings	130
6.1.	Categories of Research Participants	130
6.2.	Explanation of Interview Participants and Teaching School Alliances	130
6.3.	Data Analysis	132
6.3.1.	Growing Your Own	132
6.3.1.1.	Context	132
6.3.1.2.	Meanings Behind Growing Your Own	134
6.3.1.3.	Growing Your Own – A Career Pathway	137
6.3.1.4.	Growing Your Own – School Ready	138
6.3.1.5.	Growing Your Own – Being ‘Moulded’	140
6.3.1.6.	Pre-Established Relationships	142
6.3.1.7.	Belonging to the Locality	145
6.3.1.8.	Growing Your Own Salaried Trainees	149
6.3.1.9.	Employment Tensions	154
6.3.1.10.	Summary	155
6.3.2.	Belonging and Ownership	157
6.3.2.1.	Context	157
6.3.2.2.	Community of Practice One – Internal Teaching School	158
6.3.2.3.	Community of Practice Two – External Teaching School (s)	163
6.3.2.4.	Community of Practice Three – Main Placement School	165
6.3.2.5.	Belonging or Owning?	167
6.3.2.6.	Nurture	171
6.3.2.7.	Personalisation of the Programme	177

6.3.2.8.	Summary	182
6.3.3.	Division of Academic Labour	184
6.3.3.1	Context	184
6.3.3.2.	Specialists, Experts and Reality	185
6.3.3.3.	Division of Labour	185
6.3.3.4.	The Role of the University	193
6.3.3.5.	The Role of the Teaching School	197
6.3.3.6.	Becoming a School-based Teacher Educator	200
6.3.3.7.	Expectations of School Direct	205
6.3.3.8.	Summary	209
6.3.4.	Values for the Profession	210
6.3.4.1	Context	210
6.3.4.2.	Should all Teachers have a Qualification in Teaching and Learning?	211
6.3.4.3.	ITT at Masters Level?	221
6.3.4.4.	Teachers as Researchers	227
6.3.4.5.	The Balance Between Theory and Practice	231
6.3.4.6.	Summary	234
7.	Conclusion	236
7.1.	Who Owns the Teaching Profession?	236
7.2.	One Vision of ITT	238
7.3.	What Types of Knowledge do New Teachers Need?	238
7.4.	The Value of Research	240
7.5.	Familial Communities of Practice	241
7.6.	Becoming Teacher Educators	241
7.7.	Does the Profession Really Want to Grow its Own?	242
7.8.	Research Questions	244
8.	Recommendations for Stakeholders	247
8.1.	Government	247
8.2.	Universities	247
8.3.	Headteachers	248
8.4.	School-based Teacher Educators	248
8.5.	SD Trainees	249
9.	End Note	250
	Reference List	251
	Appendices	282

Appendices

Appendix 1 -	Hunters Mist HET Module Plan	282
Appendix 2 -	Sample Participant Invitation to Interview Letter	288
Appendix 3 -	Interview Themed Questions	289
Appendix 4 -	Sample Interview Transcript	300
Appendix 5 -	BoS Survey 2017	318
	Examples of rating scale and dichotomous questions	318
	Example of open question text responses	319

Tables and Figures

Figures

1.	The key research paradigms (Grix, 2010)	37
2.	Scatter graph to show my influence of power with each interview participant	45
3.	Quadrant graph to show my influence of power with each interview participant	45
4.	Three dimensions of agency (Biesta et al, 2015)	103
5.	Biesta et al's (2015) three dimensions of agency adapted for ITT	104
6.	Expert Space Diagram (Collins, 2013)	126
7.	An esoteric domain – new UBTE	127
8.	An esoteric domain – experienced UBTE	127
9.	'Growing' teachers continuum	133
10.	'Growing' teachers continuum illustrating Hunters Mist TS	135
11.	'Growing teacher continuum illustrating Welcome TS	136
12.	Bar chart showing the importance of candidates' home proximity to the schools in the TSA - 2016	146
13.	Bar chart showing the importance of candidates' home proximity to the schools in the TSA - 2017	146
14.	Bar chart to show candidates' age on entry to core PGCE and SD 2015/16 - 2017/18	148
15.	Illustration of the communities of practice considered in this research	158
16.	Relationship continuum between Hunters Mist SBTE and trainees	175
17.	Comparison of core PGCE and SD placement models	181
18.	Teacher Expert Space Diagram	191
19.	Bar chart showing the importance of teachers having a teacher and learning qualification for trainees – 2016	214
20.	Bar chart showing the importance of teachers having a teacher and learning qualification for trainees - 2017	214
21.	Growing teachers continuum illustrating my position	244

Tables

1.	Categories of research participants	130
2.	Table to show candidates' age on entry to core PGCE and SD 2015/16 - 2017/18	148
3.	Status of primary PGCE trainees at HEI Case Study in September 2019	163

Abbreviations

BERA – British Educational Research Association
CAQDAS – Computer- assisted (or aided) Qualitative Data Analysis Software
CoG – Chair of Governors
CoP – Community of Practice
DfE – Department for Education
DfEE – Department for Education and Employment
ESD – Expert Space Diagram
EU – European Union
GTP – Graduate Training Programme
HE – Higher Education
HEI – Higher Education Institute
IfT – Institute for Teaching
ITE – Initial Teacher Education
ITT – Initial Teacher Training
LEA – Local Education Authority
NCTL – National College of Teaching and Leadership
nGSEs - new Graduate Schools of Education
NPM – New Public Management
NQT – Newly Qualified Teacher
OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
Ofsted - Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
PGCE – Postgraduate Certificate in Education
PISA – Programme for International Student Assessment
QTS – Qualified Teacher Status
RSA – Royal Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Manufacturing and Commerce
SATs – Statutory Assessment Tests
SBTE – School-based Teacher Educator
SCITT – School Centred Initial Teacher Training
SD – School Direct

TTA – Teacher Training Agency

TS – Teaching School

TSA – Teaching School Alliance

UBTE – University-based Teacher Educator

1. Introduction

1.1. *Research Beginnings*

This research comes from my passion for primary teacher training. I began my career in teaching in the early 1990s and had my first trainees on placement in my second year of teaching. I have been involved in the training of teachers since then, initially as class teacher and mentor and currently as teacher educator. With regard to initial teacher training (ITT) I believe passionately in the value of academic learning alongside school-based experience. I value equally learning that takes place in schools led by teachers and mentors and learning that takes place in universities focused on research and scholarly discourse. The position taken by my research questions whether School Direct (SD) is simply a symptom of neoliberal views of education driving ITT towards market-driven, performativity cultures¹. Government ideologies since the 1980s (Furlong, 2013a) have moved towards school-centred teacher training seeking to minimise or even exclude university-led study. These policies have tested my values about what is important in ITT but not shaken my belief in the necessity for trainees to know how children learn from, “ground breaking and research-informed practice” (Harris, 2011:30). I believe that it is from such practice that trainees identify which teaching and learning strategies are most effective in facilitating children’s learning. The introduction of the SD training route in 2012 was a further test of my ITT values but also seemed to offer opportunities for schools and universities to work with new synergies to create innovative programmes and I wanted to be involved from the start, to influence and to know more about how these programmes would develop.

My research title:

Growing Your Own: The Impact of School Direct on the Training of Primary Teachers

¹ Discussed in more detail in section 2.3.

has been influenced by the promotional discourses of ‘growing your own’ that arose during the first few years of SD². This thesis seeks to unpack the phenomenon of SD and to critically interrogate how it functions as a training route.

1.2. Research Aims

Research seeks to generate new knowledge. When this research began in 2013 the SD model had just produced its first cohort of newly qualified teachers (NQTs). During the period of my research, with the exception of a limited number of publications such as Hodgson (2014) and Jackson and Birch (2016) focusing specifically on the phenomenon of SD, many other publications have focused on a broader review of current ITT policy and practice (for example, Knight, 2015; Furlong, 2015; White et al, 2015; Ellis et al, 2017; Turvey, 2019). This research seeks to contribute new knowledge by focusing specifically on and examining SD, discussing its distinctiveness as a training route. Promoted heavily through governmental agencies as one of the preferred routes to train teachers³ (DfE, 2011a; Taylor, 2012) this research aims to critically interrogate SD and examine how it has developed since its implementation. To evaluate the distinctiveness of SD this research, therefore, aims to compare it with the route that it is closely related to, the core PGCE and to contextualise the similarities and differences as a way of understanding the impact SD has on teacher training.

My reaction to government prioritisation of school-led teacher training policies, for example, School Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT), Teach First and SD, seeks to explore whether SD is an ideological governmental intervention or a logical training pathway. In order to do so my research seeks to dissect what happens in SD models and what they mean to the teaching profession. It asks questions of how the profession received SD as a training model and how does it correlate to its beliefs about how teachers should be trained? In order to explore the reaction of the profession and those about to enter it, this research investigates perceptions of stakeholders and participants, examining why they

² Discussed in more detail in sections 2. and 6.3.1.

³ Discussed in more detail in section 2.3.5.

chose to become involved in SD, what they thought it had to offer as a training route and whether it has lived up to those expectations.

1.3. Research Questions

Through this research I wanted to explore the lived experiences of those who participate in SD training in order to engage with the multiple realities produced. To gain a breadth of insight I decided to explore the phenomenon from different perspectives: those who trained or had recently trained on the route; those who conducted SD training either as School-based Teacher Educators (SBTEs) or mentors; those who administered SD and coordinated trainees' experiences; headteachers who supported the route and employed its graduates and University-based Teacher Educators (UBTEs) who support SD in schools. Through my participants' voices I sought to explore the following three key research questions and address them throughout this thesis:

RQ1. How do Teaching School Alliances (TSAs) approach the training of primary teachers through SD?

RQ2. What contribution can and/or should Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) make to SD?

RQ3. Why do primary schools involve themselves in SD, and why do candidates apply to it?

1.4. Research Context

In June 2010 Michael Gove, who was Secretary of State for Education 2010-2014, began current reforms of ITT based on his belief that, "[t]eaching is a craft and it is best learnt as an apprentice observing a master craftsman or woman. Watching others, and being rigorously observed yourself as you develop, is the best route to acquiring mastery in the classroom" (Gove, 2010). In the 2010 White Paper, the government argued that, "[t]oo little teacher training takes place on the job and too much professional development involves compliance with bureaucratic initiatives rather than working with other teachers to develop effective practice" (DfE, 2010a:19). As a result, the government stated that it would,

“[r]eform initial teacher training so that more training is on the job” (DfE, 2010a:20).

Although much of the government’s position seemed to re-articulate ITT policy initiatives since the 1980s, Cater (2017:15) argues that, "the difference on this occasion was that the Government, and in particular key Ministers, were ideologically committed to pushing the changes through”, a commitment that had not been seen before.

In June 2011, the DfE published its new strategy for ITT and in November the implementation plan was published which announced the ‘launch’ of SD describing it as a system allowing, “schools to control access to funding for ITT and therefore become closely involved in the selection and training of trainees who are expected to go on to work in the school” (DfE, 2011b:11). During the first two or three years of SD, school-based training accounted for only around 6% of total allocations. Bousted (2012:4) claimed that, “many schools are very willing to be involved, to be full partners with HEIs and to play their part in training teachers, but they do not want to be in the lead”. However, this was to underestimate the aggressive marketing of SD by the NCTL and by 2013 there was a growing interest with growths in requests for allocations rising by 25% (Howson and Waterman, 2013).

In 2010 the DfE announced that, “[a] sharper focus on the essentials of teaching, together with a shift in the balance of training routes, is likely to lead to improved performance” (DfE, 2010b:10). By contrast in their 2009-10 Annual Report Ofsted provided evidence that, “[t]here was more outstanding initial teacher education delivered by higher education-led partnerships than by school-centred ITT partnerships and employment-based routes” (Ofsted, 2010:59). Noble-Rogers (2011:14) noted the discrepancy stating that:

As Mr Gove was announcing there should be a shift in teacher training, away from what he quaintly called ‘teacher training colleges’ into schools, Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector announced:

- 94% of HEI-led ITE programs are good or better
- 47% are outstanding, compared to just 26% of school-centred routes.

Additionally, Noble-Rogers (ibid) claimed that when Gove was challenged about this evidence he was, “stumped for a response”, suggesting that either Gove was ill-informed or

perversely ideological. However, Gove (2012) remained undeterred and pushed forward his commitment to school-led ITT. In addition, he (2013) made clear his view of university teacher training departments referring to them disparagingly as ‘the Blob’, characterising them further as, “the network of educational gurus in and around our universities who praised each other’s research, sat on committees that drafted politically correct curricula, drew gifted young teachers away from their vocation and instead directed them towards ideologically driven theory”. This somewhat emotive use of language I argue indicates a mindset that was fixed against UBTEs and although lacking any clear evidence was intent on moving as much ITT as possible out of universities and into schools.

Not surprisingly by 2015 the ITT landscape had significantly shifted with 51% of postgraduate entrants to teacher training on school-led courses (Ward and Hazell, 2017). In Nicky Morgan’s two-year period as Secretary of State for Education between 2014-16, however, some suggestions of policy change were evident. The government’s 2016 White Paper emphasised a role for universities, “[t]here will continue to be an important place for high quality universities in ITT” (DfE, 2016:31). In 2017 Ramm, Head of Teacher Supply for the Department for Education (DfE), responded to claims that the DfE had prioritised school-led ITT stating that, “I think that was a narrative that was true for a number of years [...] I think that we have seen significant changes in the department over the last year or so” (cited in Ward and Hazell, 2017:17). There were even some notes of optimism that government was taking a more collegiate approach to ITT, for example, in 2015 by allowing universities to bid for additional ITT allocations which had previously been restricted to school-led provision. However, since 2017 in the turbulent political climate there has been little attention given to ITT resulting in a more stable period of provision, giving providers time to consolidate and embed newly established ITT programmes.

1.5. Thesis Structure

Chapter one of this thesis explains why I wanted to explore the SD phenomenon and the importance of this research for me. This chapter situates my research aims, outlines the reasoning behind the range of participants involved and presents my key research

questions. It also briefly explains the political context that led to the introduction of the SD route.

My literature review is in **chapter two**. This chapter explores the literature appertaining to the growth of school involvement in ITT and what the university's role should be. It charts the historical theory-practice dichotomy in teacher training discourse and seeking to examine the division of labour between schools and universities this chapter explores some theoretical perspectives of knowledge. In addition, this chapter discusses the literature around academic learning values in teacher training and research values for trainees and teachers. Finally, it discusses the globalised and neoliberal climate surrounding teaching and teacher training.

In **chapter three** I explore the philosophical underpinnings that informed the methodological position I have taken. In this chapter I reflect on the methodology chosen, my rationale for aligning myself within an interpretivist paradigm leading to my use of phenomenology as a key methodological approach. I discuss how I have embraced notions of multiple realities in social worlds. Through the complex social realities of SD I explain how I deploy mixed method approaches to explore the 'messiness' of the contexts in which it operates.

Chapter four outlines the research methods that I utilised to explore, probe and analyse the data I collected. This chapter presents the relationships between my choices of research methods and methodological research underpinning.

Chapter five presents the theoretical framework that I have utilised to explore the data I collected. This chapter discusses theoretical constructs that arose from my data and the framework by which I made sense of my findings.

Chapter six begins by explaining my categories of research participants and the TSAs involved. It then contains the discussion of my research findings grouped into four key research themes.

In **chapter seven** presents my conclusions. I return to my research questions and explain the answers given through my research to these questions, in addition, I offer personal reflections on my research journey.

In my final chapter, **chapter eight**, I reflect on the stakeholder groups involved in my research and make recommendations relevant for each of them about what could be learnt.

2. Literature Review

2.1. *Teacher Education Pedagogy*

2.1.1. *Context*

Loughran (2006:177) argues that:

How students of teaching are encouraged to learn about and better value the knowledge, skills and abilities that are inherent in good teaching, matter in shaping ways in which such practices might be portrayed, shared, built upon and extended through the teacher education community.

The recent increase of school-based ITT affords unique opportunities to reconsider theoretical and practical pedagogies and to reshape training in creative ways. To facilitate a deeper understanding of the range of issues impacting on ITT this section considers some of the apposite theory.

2.1.2. *Theory-Practice Divides*

Questions of theory-practice divides in ITT are not new, consideration of the issue can be traced back to Dewey (1904) and Shulman (1998) at opposite ends of the previous century. Korthagen (2017:387) refers to theory-practice divide as, “the central problem of preservice and inservice teacher education”. However, Grossman (2008) states that the debate has had particular emphasis in the last 50 years and argues that we are facing a crisis given numbers of research studies showing the disappointing impact of ITT on teacher behaviour and learning. McGarr et al (2017) conceptualises the theory-practice divide as one which, “positions practice as somewhat detached from theory”. Moreover, Korthagen (2010:98) writes of the ‘practice shock’ phenomenon where NQTs are reported as having, “severe problems trying to survive in the classroom, and were implementing little of what they had learnt during their professional preparation”. This is also argued by Hagger and McIntyre (2006:10-11) who state that:

Generations of student teachers have discovered, often painfully, that the disciplined scholarly understandings which they may have developed in higher education contexts, and the ideals to which they may have become deeply committed, are quite inadequate as a basis for effective teaching.

Current school-based ITT models, such as SD, requiring close cooperation between SBTEs and UBTEs have resulted in new challenges of how to connect practical experiences to theory (Furlong, 2013a). Reassuringly, Furlong (2015:18) argues that there is international evidence that well designed ITT can help trainees, “understand and explore the interconnectedness of educational theories and classroom practice”. Alternatively, Hobson’s (2003:258) perspective is less about engagement in debate about theory-practice divides but more about whether teacher trainers do enough to, “challenge student teachers’ preconceptions about what learning to teach ought to involve”. Through SD there is potential to reconceptualise ITT and to make theory-practice connections for trainees in innovative ways.

Although writing thirty years ago, Chandler et al’s (1990) argument that attention should be paid to the impact of ITT rather than specific relationships between content and practice, still has resonance today. Chandler et al (1990:131) argued that NQTs revisit their university training especially when wanting to question or challenge accepted approaches to teaching, furthermore that, “[f]or some, the dissonance which arises from ‘reality shock’ ensures that the influence of the college is *not* lost” (original italics). This view has support from Smith and Hodson (2010:262) who posit that the value of ITT’s theoretical content is, “different for particular individuals depending on the training setting they find themselves in at a given time”.

2.1.3. *Increased Roles of Schools*

The DfE (2012) announcement launching SD stated that the scheme was one through which schools would, “lead the way they [trainee teachers] are trained”. Jackson and Burch (2016:512) observe that this placed, “schools in the role of principal course designers and deliverers of ITT programmes”, leading to the creation of a new SBTE workforce.

The development of SD, focussed on school-led provision, afforded opportunities for schools to reconsider their ITT role. Boyd and Tibke (2012:42) argue that this had, “the potential benefits of making teacher education more realistic and more pragmatic”. However, they (ibid) also identified potential risks, for example, the time required against competing priorities such as the learning needs of children in performativity cultures. White et al (2015:455) found that there could be a conflict of priorities between children’s and trainees’ needs stating that:

When there is a conflict of interests for those directly involved in teacher education it is difficult to see who will champion the case of the student-teacher without a third party in the form of an IBTE [Institution-based Teacher Educator] acting as a critical friend.

Hagger and McIntyre (2006:78) posit that, “schools are busy *workplaces*, in which time is not generally scheduled for [...] professional learning” (original italics). Boyd and Tibke (2012:56) raise concerns that SBTE’s timetables could be, “too overloaded with everyday work and conflicting priorities to be sustainable”. In addition, Harris (2011:30) notes that, “schools are not autonomous institutions which can do as they like” and Hodgson and Spours (2006:681) refer to the, “arms-length” governance which influences how schools operate. Additionally, “maintaining the credit-bearing Masters level of postgraduate teacher education requires a suitable level of scholarship for school-based teacher educators” (Boyd and Tibke, 2012:42), which might also be problematic against such competing priorities. This raises questions about how new SBTE workforces were supported as they transitioned into their roles and how they were trained to meet new requirements.

The introduction of SD necessitated TSs selecting an ITT provider (often a university) to work with and to develop bespoke ITT programmes. Schools were actively encouraged by Taylor, quoted in the DfE’s (2012) press release, to, “design their own training programme, tailored to their own school’s requirements” resulting in the potential growth of large numbers of exclusively designed programmes. Boyd and Tibke (2012:42) identify this outcome of newly created school-based ITT programmes noting the, “considerable variety of contexts and approaches that is likely to emerge, not least because each school setting will be distinctive in some ways”. Hiebert et al (2002:8), however, add caution that whilst local knowledge in schools, “is immediate and concrete” it can also be “incomplete [...] and insular”. Knight

(2015:146) also raises concerns about, “the mere reproduction of the status quo”, resulting in SD training being aligned to what works in particular settings rather than for the whole profession. Added to which Black-Hawkins and Florian’s (2012:581) research regarding teachers’ craft knowledge concluded that, “because craft knowledge is concerned with the everyday professional practices of individual teachers, it is not always easy for the experiences of one practitioner, in one particular context, to be made useful to other practitioners in other contexts”. This view is supported by Harris (2011:29) stating that, “schools often adopt practices that are highly situated and context-bound (so less transferrable)”. An additional consideration of these specific programmes is the limited time SD trainees typically spend out of their main school placement in contrasting settings, experiencing alternative practice.

2.1.4. *School-based Teacher Educators*

Interestingly given the growth of SD since its inception, Jackson and Burch (2019:140) argue that, “[t]he academic role played by teacher educators is an under-researched area”. Previous studies have focused on the challenges of becoming teacher educators moving from schools into university settings. In doing so, teachers have charted their, “trials of transition” (Field, 2012:811) from teaching children as, “first-order practitioners” to training others to teach as, “second-order practitioners” (Murray and Male, 2005:126). Murray and Male (ibid) found the movement from first to second-order practitioner had potential for new SBTEs to develop negative feelings stemming from doubts about competence and feeling deskilled in their new role. In addition, Murray and Male’s (ibid) consideration of the transition from teacher to SBTE draws distinction between what they call, “substantial self” and, “situational self”. The situational self is shaped by interaction with others but the substantial self is underpinned by deeply-held, self-defining views forming part of one’s professional habitus and is more resistant to change. Furthermore, Jackson and Burch (2016:517) argue that, “one’s prowess as a professional in one context may count for little in another”. An experienced teacher with skills to motivate hard-to-reach children as learners which forms part of teacher’s substantial self in school communities may find that they are completely deskilled when the task is, “the fostering of pedagogical criticality that is the *sine qua non* of master’s level work on a PGCE” (ibid). White et al (2015:457) make a

related point, “[f]or initial teacher education to be postgraduate rather than training in teaching skills, there are implications for the professional learning of SBTEs”. The challenge of becoming a teacher educator entails, “articulating a knowledge of practice” (Loughran, 2006:66), one that involves a, “difficult and complex task that demands considerable awareness of oneself, pedagogy and students” (Loughran and Berry, 2005:193). Lunenberg and Korthagen (2009:238) identify that the task of teacher educators to connect effectively requires, “experience, theory and practical wisdom”. Jackson and Burch (2019:140) suggest this as a, “symbiosis between craft and theory-related elements”. In addition, Tatto (2015) identifies challenges for SBTEs in responding to latest educational findings or enabling trainees to employ an enquiry stance towards practice as they largely work as individuals and not within teacher educator professional learning communities where such knowledge is generated and shared.

Whilst the focus of Holme et al’s (2016) research was on career moves of primary teachers into universities as UBTEs, some motivational factors reported can also be applied to SBTEs. Holme et al (ibid:345) found that a key reason for teachers wanting to become teacher educators was, “the participants’ desire to explore opportunities and, in the process, reinvent themselves professionally and personally”. White et al (2015:454), however, found that in transition to SBTEs teachers did not establish new clear identities; they did not see themselves as teacher educators, and referred to themselves as, “mentors, teachers and helpers”. White et al (ibid:455) posit that it is important for SBTEs to develop an identity that is more than, “just a teacher or just a mentor, and that this identity is recognised and valued”. In addition to desires to reinvent themselves Holme et al (2016) found decisions to become teacher educators were influenced by key figures; friends, colleagues or family members who, “took the form of inspiring role models” providing, “encouragement, support and advice”. For SD SBTEs key figures impacting on their decisions include headteachers who author, “institutional-identity” and define the role that SBTEs will take and/or previous trainees who apply, “discourse-identity” defining the preferred character traits they think are desirable (Gee, 2001)⁴.

⁴ Discussed in more detail in section 5.3.1.

As noted above⁵ the potential for SBTEs to have time to develop their practice can be challenging in busy school environments with competing priorities. Boyd and Tibke (2012:56) argue that without time resource for professional development and scholarship there may be tendency for SBTEs to be, “merely delivering ‘training’ in the form of introductions to ‘good practice’”. They (ibid) suggest this distinction is the difference between, “higher education” and, “training for technical teaching roles within specific schools”. Childs et al (2014:31) suggest there is a danger that training forms, “closed collective cycles, where the same knowledge is merely recycled”. Furlong et al (2006:41) identified that such approaches flatten complex and challenging professional educational processes, and reduce them, “to technical rationalist tasks”. Browne and Reid (2012:507) describe such approaches as, “a limited and normative model of training” based on intuition. Hagger and McIntyre (2006:33) argued that what SBTEs should be contributing to ITT is more than, “cookbook specifications” but what they refer to as, ‘professional craft knowledge’ which is, “not the rules of practice, but is instead all the complex largely tacit knowledge that informs the contextual professional judgements made by individual teachers in their everyday practice”. This, Hagger and McIntyre (ibid:81) maintain, requires time and thinking to develop, otherwise there is a, “tendency towards simplicity and overgeneralization in [...] decontextualized talk about teaching”.

In government SD policy, conversely, there has been an assumption that teachers skilled at teaching children and perhaps mentoring trainees will make good SBTEs, able to assume responsibility for ITT without training or support. Policy was rushed into place with the first SD allocations being offered to TSs in spring, 2012 for training to start in autumn, 2012. This left little time for schools to plan or prepare training programmes. Without time for practice development Van Velzen and Volman’s (2009) research found that SBTEs tend to rely on their professional knowledge as teachers which results in trainees who are unable to interpret and elaborate experience from theoretical perspectives. White et al (2015) also found that SBTE taught sessions were problematic because they did not have experience or understanding of the range of contexts in which trainees taught, as a result some school-

⁵ Section 2.1.3.

based teaching was irrelevant, and learning was not easily transferrable. They (ibid:456) concluded that:

The need to address the mentoring of new SBTEs is a developing aspect of the role of HEIs in school-led partnerships. These research findings point to the need of initial teacher education programmes to provide appropriate opportunities for SBTEs to explore and develop their professional knowledge, pedagogy and identity through mentoring and belonging to a community of practice.

2.1.5. *The Value of University-based Training*

The government's commitment to drive through changes to ITT⁶, outlined in the 2010 White Paper has arguably put universities under more pressure than ever to articulate clearly what unique contribution they make to ITT (Furlong, 2013a). Reassuringly, Ellis et al (2017:9) refer to OECD evidence of school systems which manage to achieve good outcomes for children as having, "strong, traditional university components in the way they prepare teachers". A number of researchers have explored the differences between school-based and university-based training, for example, Hodson et al's (2012:192) research into ITT found that whilst school-based training provided trainees with opportunities 'to do' and to extend and develop interactions with learners, trainees were governed by, "discourses of performativity" requiring them to plan, teach, evaluate and assess within school parameters. There was little opportunity or encouragement for trainees to act with autonomy, "[t]hey were expected to operate in an environment over which they had only rudimentary control" (ibid:193). Comparable outcomes were also identified by Johnston (2016:540) finding that trainees were put under pressure to, "teach in similar ways to the classteacher". However, Hodson et al (2012) found that in contrast, university sessions offer trainees opportunities to think and understand reasoning behind their actions. Trainees in the research (ibid:193) stated that school communities alone were not enough to generate this understanding, instead, "[t]he presence of structure and leadership provided by university tutors were, however, felt to be vital in ensuring development". This finding was also the outcome of Knight's (2015:151) research into trainee and NQT perceptions of the value of theory during training, although not initially acknowledged, "[o]ver a year later, as

⁶ As discussed in the introduction, section 1.4.

NQTs, university was recognised as a much richer source of learning”. Knight’s (ibid:154-155) research also found that trainees made limited links between practice and theory whilst on placement, but returning to university, “triggered this kind of thinking” positioning university settings as places, “for reflection and critical consideration of alternative perspectives”. Childs et al (2014:36) position UBTE’s expertise as being the ability to, “weave research-based knowledge into the ongoing communicative stream to be found in schools and departments, and to sustain ways of interacting that privilege making of claims and the asking for and giving of reasons”. As argued by Edwards (2014:50):

We [trainee teachers] do learn by example, but what we learn will depend on what we are capable of recognizing in the example we are observing, and we will need help with drawing new connections from what we have observed.

Browne and Reid (2012:507) posit that university training enables trainees to, “view their practice through the eyes of a critical, knowledgeable and reflective pedagogy” which represents a, “move away from normative to ground breaking and research-informed practice”. This view is supported by Harris (2011:30) who argues that HEIs, “act as an alternative voice, challenging trainees to critique what they see, offering alternative ways of approaching things and drawing upon current best practice as gathered through research and educational networks”. In addition, Cochran-Smith (2005:15) argues that universities are best placed to engage, “teacher candidates with the latest scholarship about learning, pedagogy, and language”.

The aim of the government’s SD agenda was to transfer much of ITT to schools. This made universities feel vulnerable as they reevaluated the ITT role they offered. It seems somewhat ironic that although the government sought to diminish universities’ role, White et al’s (2015:12) research found that in contrast SBTEs, with significant ITT roles, had the highest appreciation of universities’ contribution and a clear, “understanding of how both parties were contributing to the partnership to give the student-teachers the best experience”. This valuing of universities by SBTEs has arguably supported them to maintain their role in ITT.

2.1.6. *Knowledge about teaching*

Cochran-Smith and Lytle's (1999:249) research into teacher learning challenged assumptions that were impacting at the time on policy, research and practice that, "teachers who *know* more teach better" (original italics). They argued that there were radically different views of what, "knowing more" and, "teaching better" mean, and instead outlined three different conceptions of teacher learning:

- knowledge-*for*-practice
- knowledge-*in*-practice
- knowledge-*of*-practice (ibid:250).

Although over twenty years old these conceptions have much resonance in my research as a means of contextualising participants' discourse about knowledge needed for teaching.

2.1.6.1. *Knowledge-for-practice*

Whilst Gove (2010) argued that teaching was best learnt through observation and practise⁷, Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999:255) argue that teaching has a distinct knowledge base and that, "[t]o improve teaching, then, teachers need to implement, translate, or otherwise put into practice the knowledge they acquire from experts outside the classroom". This knowledge base Cochran-Smith and Lytle (ibid:256) refer to as 'knowledge-for-practice' which, they argue, is important for the teaching profession as identification with an official and formal body of knowledge distinguishes, "professional educators from laypersons". More recently researchers such as Winch (2004:181) have argued that, "[t]o be called a professional, one must be in possession of a certain kind of knowledge". In addition, Knight (2015:146) suggests that a distinctive knowledge base is the, "defining characteristic of a profession" but acknowledges that the existence of such a knowledge body is a contested area. Hagger and McIntyre (2006) have also questioned the desirability of such a generalised body of theory given the inherent subtleties of teaching in different contexts.

⁷ Discussed in section 1.4.

The concept of 'knowledge-for-practice' is one that suggests that teachers apply the theoretical knowledge base that they have learnt to the daily work of classrooms; in this way, "teachers are knowledge users, not generators" (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999:257). As was discussed earlier⁸ this premise of direct application of theory to practice has been criticised by a number of sources. However, Cochran-Smith and Lytle (ibid) posit that teacher learning should not be seen in this way, that it is constructivist rather than transmission orientated. Underpinning 'knowledge-for-practice' should, therefore, involve a focus on deeper and richer content information which includes subject knowledge, conceptual knowledge (Orchard and Winch, 2015) that is concepts that structure how we think about education (values, aims, curricula, pedagogy, resources and assessment) and research on strategies for effective teaching and classroom organisation.

2.1.6.2. *Knowledge-in-practice*

'Knowledge-in-practice' places an emphasis on, "knowledge in action" (Cochran-Smith and Lytle 1999:262), in the ongoing decisions and judgements teachers make. Hagger and McIntyre (2006:33) have referred to this as, "professional craft knowledge". This concept of knowledge elevates the status of teachers' practical knowledge. Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999:262-263) posit that, "[t]o improve teaching, then, teachers need opportunities to enhance, make explicit, and articulate the tacit knowledge embedded in experience and in the wise action of very competent professionals" and that this learning should take place through collaborative practice. 'Professional craft knowledge' as argued by Hagger and McIntyre (2006:33) can be very difficult to access resulting in trainees only accessing, "the more superficial elements of teachers' craft knowledge, thereby neglecting the rich veins hidden underneath". The need for trainees to have theoretical knowledge proposed by Hagger and McIntyre (ibid:38) is to, "evaluate their present practices and their craft knowledge against a wide range of practical, theoretical and research driven criteria" which results in theorised rather than decontextualised understanding. This returns to questions of how SBTEs are afforded time and opportunities to develop their own theoretical and research-based knowledge.

⁸ Section 2.1.2.

Given that most primary SBTEs teach only in one school setting at a time it is important to note Cochran-Smith and Lytle's (1999:265) argument that teachers' 'knowledge-in-practice' is context situated, "[f]rom this perspective, the classroom is thought of as a knowledge landscape – epistemologically different from the landscape outside the classroom". Hagger and McIntyre (2006:33) posit that, "teaching expertise is so subtle, so complex, so individual and so context related that it can only adequately be understood in relation to particular practice, not in general". Lunenberg and Korthagen (2009:228) suggest that experience is what one gains from operating in the real world, "in our case the real world of teaching in schools". Experience is, therefore, related to know-how, beliefs about practice and a sense of professional identity (ibid). Teaching from 'knowledge-in-practice' is, inevitably, context laden.

As models of SD have developed schools and universities have reflected on the roles they will undertake in ITT programmes, including considerations of theory and practice. Knight (2015) suggests there is potential for more integrated models of learning as participation in social practice. This presents positive opportunities as Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) argue that it is limiting to think of knowledge as divided into formal and knowledge practice distinctions and Smagorinsky et al (2003:1) argue that the theory/practice dichotomy depletes the richness of the ways, "abstract principles are interwoven in worldly experience". Knight (2015:147) also makes this point that, "presenting theory and practice as dichotomous is oversimplistic and potentially unhelpful". However, he (ibid) adds caution that if school-based training becomes, "merely eliciting experienced teachers' craft knowledge or enacting identified core practices [it] is of limited value; there is a need to go further by seeking to understand the context for existing practices and subjecting them to critique".

For Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999:269) it is important that 'knowledge-in-practice' should be, "coached and learned (but not taught) through reflective supervision or through a process of coaching reflective teaching". Hagger and McIntyre (2006:36) also suggest that "the subtle tacit knowledge embedded in the practice of experienced teachers [is] much too complex to be abstracted from that context and expressed in a propositional form". Childs

et al (2014:31) also suggest that, “interventions to enhance pre-service teachers’ learning should be at the level of workplace practice”. This has significant implications for SBTEs whose ITT experience has been classroom based in mentoring and coaching roles but in SD models can find themselves delivering their tacit knowledge in classrooms to groups of trainees⁹.

In addition, Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999:269) support the earlier propositions of Dewey (1904) and Schön (1987) that trainee teachers should not be plunged too early into large teaching timetables where they are forced, “to focus on details and outward management issues and hence likely to develop habits fixed through ‘blind experimentation’ rather than considered deliberation”. For SD salaried trainees there can be a tension here about how much training they are given before expectations that they manage classes independently. This was evident in Johnston’s (2016:543) research which found that being handed classes too early in their training left trainees feeling, “isolated and lost [...] it made learning harder through the absence of available pedagogic models of what ‘real’ teachers did in classrooms [...and] could leave the student floundering and vulnerable”.

2.1.6.3. *Knowledge-of-practice*

Finally, the conception of ‘knowledge-of-practice’ is based on teachers taking an inquiry stance to learning and working within communities to, “theorize and construct their work and to connect it to larger social, cultural and political issues” (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999:250).

Collaborative learning is key to ‘knowledge-of-practice’. It does not assume that experts are needed to assist more novice learners, instead teachers from new to experienced, “make problematic their own knowledge and practice as well as the knowledge and practice of others” (ibid:273). This is not a synthesis of both of the other types of knowledge and does not replace or supersede either. Rather in this third concept of knowledge, “knowers and knowledge are also connected to larger political and social agendas” (ibid:274). Cochran-

⁹ Discussed in section 2.1.4

Smith and Lytle (ibid) suggest that SBTEs and UBTEs should work together to solve educational problems and clarify teachers' assumptions about teaching, learning and schooling. This point is also made by Winch (2004:191) who argues that research should be, "built up from localised but cumulative studies" involving, "collaboration with academics". Knowledge then emerges from the conjoined understandings of teachers and others committed to long-term highly systematic observation and documentation of learners and their sense-making (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999). Feiman-Nemser (2001b:1021) argues, however, that schools are not organised for teachers to work together in serious and sustained ways and, "[w]ith no tradition of inquiry, collaboration, or experimentation, there is a strong press to maintain the status quo".

This section has provided ways of considering how SD teacher training is developing in the new ITT landscape. In addition, it considers the role of the newly established SBTEs questioning the challenges they face developing their roles. This section suggests that there was much potential for universities and teachers to co-construct new ways of learning for trainees and to identify the specific roles they will play, how far this has become a reality is explored in my research findings.

2.2. Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) Training and Research

2.2.1. Context

Stoten (2013:365) states that, “[t]he issue of [teacher] professionalism serves as a *leit motif* of the changing nature of education in neo-liberal Britain”. Whilst Furlong (2013b:34) writes that professionalism is no longer something achieved by individual teachers, it is not, “someone with *individual* knowledge, *individual* autonomy, and *individual* moral responsibility [...instead teachers need to...] accept a more externally managed vision of their own professional expertise” (original italics). Against this backdrop of shifts in ideas about teacher professionalism, the development of SD has afforded school leaders, working with universities, opportunities to reconsider and reaffirm some of what they professionally value. These include academic awards for NQTs as opposed to QTS only, the level of academic study and the place of research, this section presents a theoretical perspective of these different aspects of ITT.

2.2.2. The PGCE

The PGCE is a one year, level 7, ITT HE programme for graduates. Recent White Papers (DfE, 2010a, 2016) and the Carter Review (DfE, 2015) have sought to undermine the PGCE award, preferring instead school-led ITT, leading solely to QTS with no academic qualification attached. Since the DfE 2010 White Paper the proportion of ITT places allocated to schools has increased from 21% in 2010 (Smithers et al, 2012) to 55% in 2019 (DfE, 2019). The Carter Review (DfE, 2015:14) challenged the PGCE award by recommending that applicants, “understand that QTS is the essential component of ITT and that a PGCE is an optional academic qualification” thus promoting school-led routes to QTS over university awards. The DfE 2016 White Paper reinforced this position by proposing to replace QTS with a new professional award ratified by headteachers. Thomas (2018:257) posits that this position, advocated by successive governments determined to make it easier for schools to deliver ITT, has been to, “satisfy their own ideological stance and in an attempt to address a teacher supply crisis as a ‘quick fix’, rather than in a strategic manner”. In addition, the 2016 White Paper sought to move all schools out of LEA control to become academies funded directly

by the state. Thomas (2018:248) argues that these recent policy directions highlights, “an even greater need to retain an independent academic award in ITE and maintain aspirations for a masters level profession to improve the status and expertise of teachers”.

2.2.3. *The PGCE at Masters level*

Models of ITT at Masters level are relatively new and highly contested especially in comparison with international models such as Finland where ITT at Masters level has been a minimum requirement since the 1980s¹⁰. For SD there are challenges about who can or should deliver Masters level training. Nunn (2017) argues that the value of a Masters level academic award brings status to the teaching profession; reinforcing the concept that becoming a teacher is to become an educator; developing critical thinking in teachers, their ability to use research and evidence to respond to complex challenges and promoting teaching as an aspirational and inspirational career. Revell (2005:155) also argues that teaching should be a Masters level profession, arguing that this would, “wipe out the current insecurity and inferiority that bedevils the profession” and “would create a more professional, more able teaching force [so that] [t]eachers would be better prepared for the job”. Thomas (2018:252) posits that, “[c]learly, regularly reflecting on and linking the teaching experience to the intended objectives in a structured way informs and improves practice”. In addition, Thomas (2013:220) suggests that reading at Masters level should support trainees in articulating their knowledge and also introduce them to a more professional type of language, “in which to articulate and share their practice”.

Despite the advantages of study at Masters level, such as the development of, “originality of thought” enabling trainees, “to look not only at how things are only at the moment but... inform[ing] future practice” (Sewell and Larkin, 2012:8), these advantages are not always understood by trainees. Jackson (2009), for example, found that although trainees beginning a PGCE considered linking theory and practice to be beneficial, by the end they often felt that it had not lived up to expectation. There can also be a perception that Masters level relates only to academic work and does not permeate practice (Sewell and

¹⁰ Also referred to later in this section.

Larkin, 2012; Knight, 2015). Thomas (2018:253) suggests that these issues, “may mean a failing in ITE which need to be addressed”. Knight (2015:157) suggests that providers need to shape trainees’ early experiences differently sharing a rationale for theoretical constructs as a, “tentative framework of understanding” delivered early in training, then fleshed out and co-created later to avoid reinforcing negative preconceptions about knowledge production. Orchard and Winch (2015) refer to ITT’s purpose as being to teach about the possibilities for teaching and learning.

Returning to the theory-practice gap debate¹¹ Jackson (2009:59) posits that the Masters PGCE has the potential to be an effective approach to help trainees bridge those gaps but to do so effectively she argues that, “it is essential that student teachers do not divorce the one from the other or see Masters as a somewhat irrelevant ‘bolt on’”. Moreover, McIntyre (2005) advocates for teachers’ involvement in research as a means of bridging the theory-practice divide, however, Gewirtz et al (2009:6) caution that teacher-researchers are often cast in limited roles as, “problem solvers” focused on implementing others’ policies. Shulman (2004:534) notes the socialising influence of schools, likening it to an, “elastic cord” pulling back to existing practices. Knight (2015) suggests such influence leads to the likelihood of trainees abandoning what has been learnt elsewhere and conforming to school practice what Edwards and Protheroe (2003:231) refer to as tendencies to, “close down on complexity”. Vialle et al, (1997:132), however, argue that familiarity with research, “is an effective way to challenge the ‘single-best-way-to-teach’ model that many beginning teachers seem to adopt”.

Working at a Masters academic level can also result in high levels of personal satisfaction (Thomas, 2018). Thomas (ibid:254) argues that the intellectual challenge and enjoyment meets trainees’, “higher needs relating to esteem and self-actualization”, and may also be important for, “future motivation, job satisfaction, retention and career progression”. Jackson (2009) also observed that trainees found a Masters level PGCE to be valuable and enjoyable. Knight’s (2015:147) research, however, found that for trainees, “the value of theory seems to be determined by its utility and relevance to immediate practical

¹¹ Discussed in section 2.1.2.

concerns". Smith and Hodson (2010:269) also suggest that theory, "is best valued by trainees when it may be interpreted and reworked in situ". Concerningly, Jones and Straker (2006:176) noted when providing trainees with professional support, "it became apparent that a large number of mentors relied on their instinct and intuition" reinforcing a need for support and development before SBTEs are in position to make relevant links to theory and research practice.

Masters level study offers strong argument for the unique role universities have to play in ITT¹² as argued by Knight (2015:157), "at a time when HEIs could be seen as increasingly peripheral to the process of ITE, the role of the university in facilitating this development alongside schools is strongly reasserted". An interest in teacher education at Masters level is also bolstered by high levels of international interest in Finnish education systems where all teachers are trained to Masters level drawing heavily on university resources (Kansanen, 2014; Moate and Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2014). Nunn (2017:62) argues for the status of teaching, "as a worthwhile and well-resourced profession, attracting high-calibre candidates with intellectual curiosity as well as the personal and practical skills to be excellent classroom practitioners". The Masters level PGCE enables trainees to develop reflection and critically, enhancing the capacity of the profession as a whole. Sewell and Larkin (2012:9) posit that through the synthesis of developing knowledge and understanding of education, trainees develop the ability to, "think deeply and critically [...] to demonstrate sound judgement and initiative [...] qualities which will prepare them for effective leadership". Although, Jackson (2009:58) suggests that:

The irony for Masters level study could be that the aim to create a critical thinking profession which questions the status quo might be founded upon a trusting uncritical acceptance of a new status quo which is embraced because government [...] say it is the way forward.

2.2.4. *The Place of Research in the Government Agenda of ITT*

The government's agenda with regard to research in ITT can arguably be traced through, "changes in what counts as research for intending teachers" in the Teachers Standards

¹² Discussed in section 2.1.5.

(Wray, 2006:142). In 1998 the Standards specified that primary trainees eligible to gain QTS, “are aware of, and know how to access, recent inspection evidence and classroom relevant research evidence on teaching primary pupils in the subject, and know how to use this to inform and improve their teaching” (DfEE, 1997:8). By 2002 the term ‘research’ was omitted from the Standards and the related requirement transmuted to, “[t]hey are able to improve their own teaching, by evaluating it, learning from the effective practice of others and from evidence” (TTA, 2002:S1.7). Wray (2006:143) suggests that these changes downgraded research in ITT and moved towards, “an activity which is research and theory free, with an emphasis instead upon the disseminating of ‘effective practice’ (even though there is little attempt to define what ‘effective’ means)”. The most recent Standards (2011) have moved further in this direction with no recognition of the term ‘research’ and the related Standard requirement being to, “demonstrate a critical understanding of developments in the subject and curriculum areas, and promote the value of scholarship” (DfE, 2011c:S3). This reference to a ‘critical understanding’ in relation to subject and curriculum development is limited and does not reflect the skills or evidence needed to demonstrate any level of criticality.

The White Paper (DfE 2010a:9) is further evidence of government agenda which proposed to, “[d]evelop a national network of Teaching Schools on the model of teaching hospitals to lead the training and professional development of teachers and head teachers”. There was an emphasis that TSs would contribute to the, “moral purpose” of schooling (Fullan, 2005), as noted by Gu et al (2014:21), “we have also found that a strong sense of moral purpose is an essential ingredient of the leadership of teaching school alliances”. The initial remit of TSs focused on six key areas including research and development. A review of TSs in 2014 found however, that, “the development of research and development work varies across the teaching school alliances” (ibid:7). In addition, Dowling (2015:4) found that, “R&D [research and development] seems to be suffering the perennial fate of educational research in struggling to find an audience among working teachers”. By 2017 the NCTL had reduced the focus of TSs from six key areas to three which no longer included research and development. Leat et al (2013:8) suggest that:

Creating and sustaining the conditions that enable teachers’ engagement with research may be difficult in current political climates. As far back as 2003, Hemsley-Brown and Sharp suggested that barriers to the use of research knowledge generally

in the public sector were less to do with individual resistance and much more to do with institutional cultures which are anti-pathetic and do not promote learning.

2.2.5. *The Value of Consuming and Producing Research*

In 2013 the British Educational Research Association (BERA) in collaboration with the Royal Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Manufacturing and Commerce (RSA) commissioned a report into the, “contribution research can make to the development of teachers’ professional identity and practice, to the quality of teaching, to the broader project of school improvement and transformation, and, critically, to the outcomes for learners” (2014:3). The BERA-RSA (ibid) inquiry concluded that, “[r]esearch and enquiry has a major contribution to make to effective teacher education in a whole variety of different ways; it also contributes to the quality of student learning in the classroom and beyond”. BERA-RSA (ibid:12) stated that ITT was the place to develop, “teachers’ research and enquiry skills and predispositions”. This argument is supported by Nunn (2017:63-64) who states that ITT programmes, “should include basic research methods for new teachers, and also give them the understanding that will enable them to evaluate research and to become discerning users of the theory and evidence that inform their work in schools”. Orchard and Winch (2015:23) argue, however, argue that it is challenging to give trainees the training they need in research methods in one-year models of ITT where, “the development of teachers as researchers ends up being squeezed by other priorities”.

The BERA-RSA inquiry (2014:6) argued that teachers not only need to engage with research and enquiry but also that, “a focus on enquiry-based practice needs to be sustained during initial teacher education programmes and throughout teachers’ professional careers”. Moreover, research and enquiry enables teachers, “to distinguish myth from reality and help identify strategies that have the best chance of success in the contexts in which they work” (ibid;11). Nunn (2017:63) highlights the value of teacher researchers giving them, “an understanding of their capacity to bring about improvement and progress”. However, BERA-RSA acknowledge that there are many workload pressures on teachers, as such whilst every teacher should want to remain up to date with the latest developments in practice and theory they suggested that not, “every teacher should be *required* to be actively and continuously involved in *doing* research” (2014:12, original italics). Medwell and Wray

(2014:66), however, acknowledge the importance of, “seeing the role of teachers as producers and not just consumers of research”. Vialle et al (1997:133) also argue that, “a teacher who is both consumer and producer of research is more likely to be generative, creative and responsive to students”. In addition, Widdowson (1984:5) argued for the standing of the profession that, “[t]eachers are not consumers of research but researchers in their own right. It is this [...] that makes teaching a professional activity”.

Winch et al (2015:203) argue that:

Good research [...] is uniquely well-placed to provide a valid and insightful account of educational reality at a general, that is theoretical level, which provides a serious and usually reliable warrant for professional action as well as decision-making by policy makers.

Taking a similar approach to Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999)¹³ Winch et al (2015) argue that teachers need three types of professional knowledge: situated understanding (tacit or practical wisdom), technical knowledge (knowledge of rule and theory-based procedures); and critical reflection (reflection in action, scholarship and systematic enquiry). Winch et al (ibid), however, consider each type of knowledge specifically in relation to research. They (ibid) critique the description of teaching as a craft along with situated understanding and at the expense of technical knowledge and critical reflection, cautioning against this conception of teaching suggesting that it results in, “distilled theoretical knowledge and values derived from popularisations [...] rendered into homilies, maxims and reactive attitudes” (ibid:209). In addition, Winch et al (ibid:210) suggest that craft conceptions of teaching places too much, “faith in common sense and experience denying the value of research”. Orchard and Winch (2015) argue that no two lessons are ever the same. A craft worker would make judgments using ‘common sense’, experience and intuition. But they argue that, “what passes for intuition or common sense is an unreliable basis to make good decisions” (ibid:13). For Widdowson (1984:2) there is a danger in over simplifying practice that appears as common sense, he argues that, “[c]ommon sense itself, when examined, is a complex theoretical perspective”. A second concept of teaching suggested by Winch et al (2015) is the ‘executive technician’. This model values empirical educational research

¹³ Discussed in section 2.1.6

findings but does not deem it desirable that teachers interpret this research for themselves. It also neglects the roles of situated awareness or critical reflection. Winch et al (ibid:210) posit that technician conceptions look for certainty of outcomes from research, the, “what works with whom under what conditions and with what effects [...] dismissing any research that doesn’t deliver them”. Biesta (2007:16) cautions against research applied to education from an overtly technical position suggesting that, “all research can give us is an understanding of possibilities – of what worked, not what will work”. More recently Turvey (2019:16, original emphasis) has suggested that pedagogical paralysis may emerge from, “the dominant ideology of teachers as technicians and uncritical implementors of ‘what works’, rather than the fundamental premise that teacher education should prepare teachers as ‘deliberative intellectuals’ able to theorise about practice”. Instead Winch et al (2015) advocate that we should conceive of teaching as a profession combining all three aspects of knowledge together.

There is strong evidence that research can support practice judgements in, “the ways in which practitioners discern the salient features, frame concrete problems, and challenge and authenticate their unfolding understanding of the situation in which they find themselves” (Winch et al, 2015:210). In addition, Nunn (2017:63) suggests that for teachers being able to use research and evidence gives them, “broader insights into the immediate classroom experience [...] and developing their critical thinking on key themes and the ability to draw on evidence beyond the specific context”. Research can also improve technical knowledge by offering teachers, “potential reference points in arbitrating decisions about appropriate interventions, and immediate practical toolboxes for implementing them” (Winch et al, 2015:210). For Leat et al (2013:3), “[e]ngagement in and with educational research can provide a model for professional change and learning, in that the engagement can encourage teacher action and reflection” moving them beyond the role of classroom technician. Moreover, Nunn (2017:63) argues such engagement with research enables teachers to address complex challenges, believing that, “[t]eachers with research skills are capable of bringing about change”. In addition, Winch et al (2015:211) maintain that research can assist teachers to, “understand, interpret and form critical judgements on empirical research and its relevance to their particular situation”.

2.2.6. *Research as Enhancing Professionalism*

Challenges to conceptions of teacher professionalism are discussed in the next section¹⁴. Remarkably, however, as long as twenty-three years ago research argued that, “[a] partial solution to the problem of teacher professionalism, therefore, lies in making teachers researchers” (Vialle et al, 1997:131). In the current climate of accountability and regulation Sachs (2016:414, original emphasis) sees teacher professional development as having dual purpose arguing that, “teacher professional development will need to serve both a ‘political’ purpose as well as a capability one. In these new times, research literacy is a capability that needs to be developed”. Winch et al (2015:207) argue that the power of action research is that it positions teachers as agents and not objects of reform, “[t]hey feel empowered as a result and report becoming energized and more autonomous in their judgments”. In a similar vein Leat et al (2013:7) posit that, “[r]esearch engagement can enable teachers to become more dialogic, creating a contrast with the monologic voice of policy that insists that ‘thou shalt’”, recognising the value of research in the profession as promoting teacher professionalism, critical reflection and influencing education policy (Gleeson et al, 2017).

This section has sought to present arguments for the value of the PGCE as a necessary teaching and learning award rather than for a profession with QTS only. In addition, this section argues for the importance of academic knowledge at Masters level to improve practice along with active teacher researchers, not only impacting on practice but also raising the status of the teaching profession and giving it legitimate agency to critique and challenge policy.

¹⁴ Section 2.3.4.

2.3. Neoliberalism

2.3.1. Context

The neoliberal agenda of recent governments has had a significant impact on education policy. However, although both the Labour administration (1997-2010) and Coalition administration (2010-2015) were, “fundamentally committed to the pursuit of neoliberal policies...their interpretations of neoliberalism have varied significantly; as a result, their policies on teacher education are also very different” (Furlong, 2013b:28). This section explores how neoliberalism has impacted on teaching and ITT leading to the development of SD.

2.3.2. Globalisation

Over the last 30 years education has become bound up in the process of globalisation, for example, currently the success of each nation’s education service can be measured by the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (Furlong, *ibid*). Wilkins (2015:1145) states that, “PISA has become particularly influential in shaping political and public discourse within the EU, where macro-level education policy has been driven by the aspiration for the EU to be a global ‘knowledge-based’ economic superpower”. A key feature of global competitive success has become focussed on the teaching profession and, “teacher educational policy itself has become increasingly influenced by the process of globalisation” (OECD, 2010:29).

According to Furlong (2013b:30) globalisation is, “a highly contested notion” which can be interpreted in different ways. However, the concept of globalisation has been powerfully presented and, “structured to make it appear as a natural, inevitable and irresistible phenomenon: a state which has been accomplished, and to which states have to adapt or respond” (Newman 2001:49). Not surprisingly then public discourse frequently invokes the ‘necessity’ of neoliberalism. In this way neoliberal reform projects have been effectively ‘normalised’:

...the World Bank and the OECD, the EU's Lisbon Treaty 2008 and national governments across the globe have promoted neoliberal policies as being not only the most *effective* way of bring about economic and social development, but *the only way*" (Wilkins, 2015:1145, original italics).

2.3.3. *Thatcher and Neoliberalism*

Although, it should be noted that the principles of neo-liberalism have been adopted by political parties of the centre, traditional left and right, the initial significant growth in neoliberal policy occurred during the time of Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister from 1979 to 1990, with the following key themes:

- the rule of the market
- the need to cut state expenditure on services such as education
- consumer choice in public services
- deregulation and privatisation (Furlong, 2013b).

The role of the state was reduced to managing the awarding of relevant contracts and ensuring that no single monopoly provider gained too much power in the market, including increasingly marketised educational provision (ibid).

2.3.4. *New Labour (1994-2010)*

When New Labour came to power, they accepted the public sector neoliberal critique and the necessity of markets. They, therefore, "retained an emphasis on competition as a lever both for ensuring greater efficiency and quality in the delivery of services and as a means of securing innovation" (ibid:32). However, where New Labour differed from previous Conservative administrations was in their belief, "of a market-based approach to the management of the public sector, combined with strong government intervention" (ibid:33). Education policy under New Labour, therefore, attempted to align social justice with a neoliberal agenda, termed the 'Third Way', in which state intervention focused mainly on, "areas of market failure" (Roberston, 2007:8). This shift was to focus education policy not only on a social agenda but also simultaneously on an economic one as illustrated

by Blair in the 1998 Green Paper, stating that, “[e]ducation is the best economic policy we have” (DfEE, 1998a:9). The neoliberal economic growth imperative became focused on, “a socially progressive agenda in which closing the ‘achievement gap’ (between rich and poor, black and white, male and female) was seen as being as important as overall educational outcomes” (Wilkins, 2015:1145).

New Labour was clear in the Green Paper that teaching had to be modernised. The aim was to change the rules of what teacher professionalism meant, and Furlong (2013b:33) posits that the government saw, “a number of problems with the teaching profession, the most pressing of which was teachers’ perceived lack of accountability”. New Labour was to make teachers more accountable to schools, parents, communities, and, above all, government, though SATs testing and global PISA outcomes (Robertson, 2007). New Labour argued that, “[t]he time has long gone when isolated, unaccountable professionals made curriculum and pedagogical decisions alone without reference to the outside world. Teachers in a modern teaching profession need [...] to accept accountability” (DfEE, 1998b: para 13).

New Labour developed a competitive market in ITT encouraging schemes run by schools, for example SCITTs, Graduate Teacher Programmes (GTP) and Teach First. Inspection and publication of results ensured that competitive educational markets were maintained. By the end of the 1990s, “a command economy had been achieved” and, “direct intervention by an active state-became possible; in this context, that meant defining the content of teacher education itself” (Furlong, 2013b:35). This was epitomised by Circular 10/97 which, “transformed the previously specified competencies into more elaborate standards” (ibid). Wilkins (2015:1151) writes that the Standards, “shaped teacher professionalism in complex ways, but predominately as a ‘demanded or required’ professionalism that is relatively narrowly defined by teachers’ behaviour rather than their attitudes or intellectuality”.

In addition, New Labour introduced a National Curriculum for ITT giving them a key say in, “what new teachers learned in their courses about how to teach, as well as what to teach” (Furlong, 2013b:35). This was not well received by teacher educators with many claiming that it reduced ITT to mechanistic, technical processes (Graham, 1997; Emery, 1998). In fact, the National Curriculum was short-lived and abandoned by 2002. But Furlong (2013b)

argues this was perhaps an acknowledgement that if a new professionalism was to be achieved more direct intervention strategies across the whole teaching force were needed. He posits that, “[t]his, I would suggest, was an important turning point, marking the beginning of a move away from seeing initial teacher education on its own as the main strategy for challenging teacher autonomy” (ibid:35).

Under New Labour and New Public Management (NPM)¹⁵ imperatives teacher education became a key element in its response to pressures of globalisation. “The unrelenting focus on developing a new professionalism for teachers with greater accountability to nationally set targets was rhetorically driven by concerns to ensure the international competitiveness of the English school system” (ibid:39). However, there were distinct differences¹⁶ between New Labour’s neoliberalism policies and those to come later under the Coalition government.

2.3.5. *Coalition Government (2010-2015)*

Furlong (ibid:40) states that Labour’s policies on teacher education were, “straight forward and linear”, but the Coalitions’ analysis of the challenges within English educational systems were, “more complex and multifaceted”. The focus of the Coalition government was on inequality stating that, “[n]o country that wishes to be considered world class can afford to allow children from poorer families to fail as a matter of course” (DfE, 2010a:4).

Unlike New Labour, the Coalition government saw neoliberalism in more market-orientated traditional terms allowing for wider varieties of agencies delivering state services. They believed in the market as delivering, “greater equality, global competitiveness, and more traditional (neoconservative) forms of teaching and learning” (Furlong 2013b:42). This eventually led to the opening of school-led markets in ITT. Reducing state services was seen to be financially beneficial to government, “[m]oving more services and reduced services from government goes hand in hand with saving money. In these circumstances, rolling back

¹⁵ Discussed in more detail in section 5.8.3.

¹⁶ Discussed below in section 2.3.5.

the state is both financially and morally justifiable for the future health of the nation” (ibid:43). Although local management of schools began in 1988 with Grant-Maintained schools and Education Action Zones, the growth of ‘agencies’ to deliver education made substantial headway under the Coalition government, beyond New Labour’s original remit, through the promotion of Academies and development of Free Schools. A significant outcome of these new ‘agents’, directly funded by government, was to diminish the role of LEAs. The impact of the LEAs’ demise argued by Critchley (2018) was to undermine the deliberative function in education as, “[t]he century-old role of the LEA as the democratically accountable, locally responsive intermediate tier in the education system has effectively been destroyed”. Ball (2009:85) observes that what took up the space ‘vacated’ by LEAs were essentially education businesses mediating, “between policy and institutions by offering (at a price) to make policy manageable and sensible to schools and to teachers”. These ‘education businesses’ gained strong footholds because they could, “sell school improvement – offering schools ways of accommodating themselves to the demands of state performativity and the production of new organizational identities” (ibid). They have become deliverers of policy and not deliberators or challengers, allowing Ministers to create policy without drawing on the expertise at local government levels. These developments paved the way for localised school-led ITT.

The application of Coalition neoconservative thinking to ITT is evidenced by a statement reportedly made by Nick Gibb, who was Minister of State for Schools 2010-12, that he, “would rather have a physics graduate from Oxbridge without a PGCE teaching in a school than a physics graduate from one of the rubbish universities with a PGCE” (cited in Williams, 2010) suggesting that for Gibb subject knowledge is sufficient for teaching. Equally significant was Gove’s (2011) announcement that Free Schools were not required to employ qualified teachers. Interestingly for my research, Furlong (2013b:44) argues that, “the government’s most radical and far-reaching proposals take their inspiration from its neoliberal commitments through the development of School Direct training”. A key point for this thesis is the Coalition government’s questioning of the value of academic learning in ITT in favour of ‘learning by doing’, “where the emphasis is less on cognitive change through the acquisition of academic knowledge and more on the progressive development of best professional practice [...] [i]ncreased knowledge often takes the form of craft know-how

rather than book learning” (Hargreaves, 2011:10). This promotion of school-led ITT was, “a consequence of the neoliberal ‘imagining’ of a diversified, marketised delivery as not so much the most effective approach, but simply ‘common-sense’; the *only* approach” (Wilkins, 2015:1149, original italics). Furlong (2013b) observes that through SD individual schools or TSs were encouraged into direct competition with universities to become accredited providers of initial and in-service education. He also notes that the professional Standards (2011) were significantly reduced and the previous long guidance document was removed, which he argues was so that, “providers of teacher training have the flexibility to design the programmes that best meet the needs of their schools” (ibid:44). Here Furlong argues was, “the very essence of the Coalition government’s neoliberal inspired new localism: a diversity of public and private competitive providers with minimum but flexible standards that can be adapted to local need” (ibid) and facilitating the growth of SD.

This literature review has provided a context for understanding the development and implications of SD for ITT. It has considered the apposite theory underpinning teacher education pedagogy. It has presented arguments for the value of the PGCE, Masters level study and the value of research when learning and practising teaching. Finally, it has considered the neoliberal political climate which marketised education and provided the context in which school-led ITT models such as SD were developed and promoted.

The literature explored in this section is used to support my data analysis¹⁷, in particular school-led ITT analyses, such as those by Hagger and McIntyre (2006) and Boyd and Tibke (2012), are used to critique SD practices. The work of Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) serves as a theoretical framework with which to examine critically the knowledges referred to by participants who discuss where expertise lies between university and school-based trainers. Finally, arguments for the importance of Masters level ITT, drawing on works such as Sewell and Larkin (2012) and Jackson (2009), and the place of research in ITT (BERA-RSA, 2013 and Winch et al, 2015) underpin my examination of what my research participants valued for the teaching profession¹⁸.

¹⁷ See chapter 6.

¹⁸ See section 6.3.4.

3. Methodology

3.1. *My Ontological Position*

This research centres on the new model of training for primary teachers: SD¹⁹. As such it used the contexts of TSAs and universities where the SD training model was being delivered and involved a variety of stakeholders, including those delivering training, receiving training and managers investing in training. My ontological position centred on a form of social constructivism which, “emphasizes the culture and social context that surround people’s lives and helps us to understand society and construct knowledge on this understanding” (Hartas, 2010:44). In seeking to understand the phenomenon of SD through a variety of perspectives I, therefore, acknowledged that, “realities are apprehendable in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions” (Guba and Lincoln 1994:110). My research made no assumption of an objective existing truth but rather sought an understanding that reality is created by subjects’ interactions with the world and subjects construct their own meaning in different ways so that there can be no single shared reality (Gray, 2014). I also embraced the notion of emergence in a layered ontology (Bhaskar, 2002) that, “[r]eality at the lived surface comes about through a process of realization and ‘emergence’ of an outcome from interaction between competing potentials” (Doherty, 2020:191). I considered that social phenomena and their meanings are not static and are continually being accomplished by social actors and as such are in constant states of revision (Bryman, 2016), that, “[m]ultiple possibilities either cohere or compete within an ‘open system’” (Doherty, 2020:191) which result in certain actualities. Only some actualities emerge empirically, others may never eventuate or at least may not eventuate empirically (ibid). The approach I took to my research was to develop detailed knowledge of the SD phenomenon by understanding and making sense of people’s behaviour, perceptions and interpretations of the working world which they inhabited through their participation in SD. My research approach, therefore, adopted a subjective rather than objective approach as a means of dealing with people’s direct experiences in specific contexts in order to, “understand, explain and demystify social

¹⁹ As discussed in the introduction, section 1.4.

reality through the eyes of different participants” (Cohen et al, 2007:19). In summary, my ontological position was to align myself with Guba and Lincoln (1989:62) who posit that:

Evaluation outcomes are not descriptions of the ‘way things really are’ or ‘really work’, or of some ‘true’ state of affairs, but instead represent meaningful constructions that individual actors or groups of actors form to ‘make sense’ of the situations in which they find themselves.

3.2. *A Rationale for the Interpretive Paradigm*

The research paradigm continuum, presented by Grix (2010:79) suggests going from left to right, from positivism to interpretivism, describing them as going from, “approaches attempting to explain social reality to those seeking to ‘interpret’ or ‘understand’ it”.

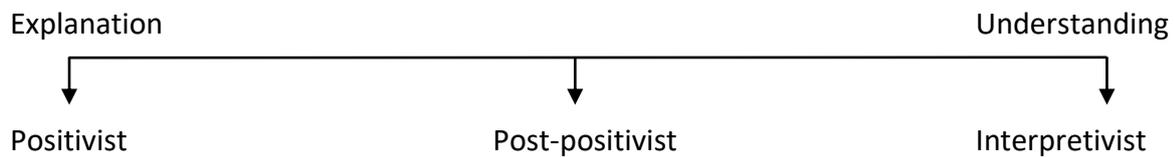


Figure 1 - The key research paradigms (Grix, 2010:79)

I aligned myself with the interpretivist paradigm and its focus on understanding social realities. Mack (2010:8) posits that, “[t]he ontological assumptions of the interpretivist are that social reality is seen by multiple people and these multiple people interpret events differently leaving multiple perspectives of an incident”; this underpinned my research’s approach. In addition, by embracing notions of layered ontologies I sought to build, “more complex understanding of observed practice, in terms of considering preceding conditions that allowed it to emerge” (Doherty, 2020:191). This facilitated an understanding of why new policies and practices such as SD cannot simply be implemented with ‘perfect fidelity’ to existing complex systems in ITT, rather various realisations emerge from competition between enabling and constraining conditions which have been filtered through each aspect involved. “This is why and how theory and practice knowledges²⁰ cannot be neatly conflated but tend to irritate and provoke each other, hopefully in a generative dialogue” (ibid:192). My epistemological position was, therefore, aligned to post-modernist conceptions of ‘social

²⁰ As discussed in section 2.1.2.

reality', and from this perspective the meanings explored in my research process were, "not given but made and remade by people in different times and places, representing themselves and their world as part of discursive practices" (George, 1994:156). I was researching from a postmodernist perspective and embraced multiplicities of social realities offered through the narrative accounts given by participants in my research (Bryman, 2016).

I acknowledge and agree that education is an ever-changing field of policy and practice, as argued by Hartas, "[w]hat works today' may not work tomorrow" (2010:24, original emphasis). In addition, Wiliam (2006:13) argues that in education, "'what works?' is not the right question because everything works somewhere and nothing works everywhere, so what's interesting, what's important in education is 'Under what conditions does this work?'" (original emphasis). I aligned myself with Hartas (2010:24) who posits that the purpose of educational research should be defined, "in terms of conceptual change and effectiveness of practice, and also its capacity to raise 'difficult questions'". My research sought to explore the conditions under which SD operates; it did not seek to find a single outcome to questions around the comparative effectiveness of SD, but to deconstruct the phenomenon of SD using the narratives of those who participated in this study.

I aligned my position with that of Thayer-Bacon (1996) with reference to what she describes as 'relational epistemology'. Thayer-Bacon argues that knowing absolute truth is impossible because what we see as 'truth or knowledge' is inherently flawed by our own social constructions. For Thayer-Bacon (ibid:26), "[a] relational epistemology views knowledge as something that is socially constructed by embedded, embodied people who are in relation with each other". This sat well alongside a hermeneutical inquiry approach which is, "not synonymous with the search for absolute meaning. Instead it is a difficult and exploratory searching with the goal to come to a mediated sense of meaning" (Agrey, 2014:398), in this case how SD is experienced in ITT. In addition, I acknowledged that I was not a 'neutral' being and was not entering the field of my research with a neutral habitus²¹, I was part of the world in which I have conducted my research. I was involved as an insider researcher in

²¹ Discussed in more detail in section 5.4.1.

the problem that I was trying to address (Pelias, 2011). In this respect I aligned myself with Guba and Lincoln (1989:62) who posit that:

...findings are not 'facts' in some ultimate sense but are, instead, literally *created* through an interactive process that *includes* the evaluator (so much for objectivity!) as well as the many stakeholders that are put at risk by the evaluations. What emerges from this process is one or more *constructions* that *are* the realities of the case (original italics).

Grix (2010:84) states that in the interpretivist paradigm, "a researcher necessarily is the sum total of his or her own personal – and subjective – opinions, attitudes and values." The aim of my research was, therefore, to try and 'make sense' of SD situations through the lens of my theoretical frameworks²² and my own subjectivity. I aimed to do this by identifying connections, meaning and frameworks through which participants' experience was sieved and made intelligible (Pring, 2015). This was the core purpose of my research.

The focus of my research was on *understanding* human behaviour as opposed to explaining human behaviour which made the positivist paradigm unsuitable for my purpose (Bryman, 2016). The focus of positivism on observable truths and facts does not sit well in its application to, "the study of human behaviour where the immense complexity of human nature and the elusive and intangible quality of the social phenomena contrast strikingly with the order and regularity of the natural world" (Cohen et al, 2007:11) which was what my research aimed to achieve. My research was not seeking to change the phenomenon of SD but to present a deep, evaluative understanding of it within the context of my case studies. This I argue is a strength of the approach taken, and is valuable because SD is a relatively new and under researched model of ITT.

3.3. *Choice of Research Approaches*

My alignment with the interpretivist paradigm led to my use of phenomenology as a key methodological approach. Phenomenology is described by Gray as, "any attempt to understand social reality has to be grounded in people's experiences of that social reality"

²² Discussed in chapter 5.

(2014:24). The purpose of my research was not to focus specifically on, “those understandings and ways of understanding that are judged to be characteristic of a discernible group” (Chambers, 2000: 852), which is the culture of human affairs and is fundamental to the ethnographic approach to research. Indeed Pring (2015:126) identifies ethnography as being based on the premise that, “social reality cannot be understood except through the rules which structure the relations between members of the group and which make it possible for each to interpret the actions, gestures and words of others”. This makes the ethnographical approach more reliant on direct observation than was necessary for my research. This is also explained by Gray (2014:24-25):

Ethnographic research is focused more on culture and phenomenology, on human experience of the ‘life-world’. So, while the unit of analysis of phenomenology is often individuals, ethnographers make use of ‘sites’. Phenomenology makes use almost exclusively of interviews, while ethnography’s prime mode of data collection is observation (as a participant or outside observer), which is sometimes supplemented by interview data for clarification.

In order to understand the experiences of ITT through SD my research interpreted experiences from a number of ‘actors’ or participants independently, rather than exploring the interpersonal relationships between them. Gray (2014:24) notes that this is a particular feature of a phenomenological approach where, “[t]he key is gaining the subjective experience of the subject [...] Hence, phenomenology becomes an exploration, via personal experience, of prevailing cultural understandings”.

I was interested in exploring perspectives about SD from numbers of stakeholders. These ranged from those who managed and delivered the training (SBTEs); those who administered the training (TSA administrators or managers); those who quality assured and acted as advisors (UBTEs); those who invested in the training and employed trainees from it (headteachers) and those who experienced or had experienced the training (NQTs and trainees). My research attempted to make sense of their social realities by analysing and understanding these subjective experiences. As Pring (2015:117-8) explains, “[r]esearchers talk of the subjective meanings of those whom they are researching, that is, the different understandings and interpretations which the participants bring with them to the situation”. Through the use of these multiple perspectives my research intended to get a clear, “picture

of the ‘things in themselves’” (Denscombe, 2007:77, original emphasis). It was also important for my research that, “[o]ne of the advantages of phenomenology is that, because of its emphasis on the inductive collection of large amounts of data, it is more likely to pick up factors that were not part of the original research focus” (Gray, 2014:30). The potential for my research to be shaped by additional factors in this way was advantageous.

In addition to the range of actors who were involved in my research, I also looked at SD training in different contexts, delivered by different TSAs. This acknowledged the argument of Hartas (2010:24) that, “[t]he most important questions to ask are ‘why it works’, ‘in what contexts’ and most importantly, ‘what it is?’” (original emphasis). My research did not seek to generalise a definitive position of how SD could operate. As noted by Lincoln and Guba (2000:27), “[t]he only generalisation is: there is no generalisation”. I acknowledged that, “[w]hat is researched is to be understood only within the context in which it has been constructed, thereby precluding generalization from one situation to another” (Pring, 2015:66). However, in considering the experiences of different approaches to training my research attempts to make relationships *between contexts*. In doing so this research does not intend to produce what Cohen et al (2007:22) describe as a, “universal theory” but, “multifaceted images of human behaviour as varied as the situations and contexts supporting them” which is intended to produce relatable outcomes for readers of my research. These outcomes will produce findings about the quality of SD training which readers of my work may choose to relate to their experiences.

Research processes utilise strategies, either quantitative, qualitative or a mixture of both. However, it is important to note that, “no one approach is better or worse than another” but that, “a research approach should arise primarily out of the research question” (Newby, 2010:93).

My research title:

Growing Your Own: The Impact of School Direct on the Training of Primary Teachers

is essentially a comparative one. I am seeking to make an analysis about whether SD, as opposed to traditional core PGCE routes, is producing teachers who are well equipped for

their career. I am seeking to address questions of what is generally important in ITT. This is not a clinical study that considers outcomes of behaviours, but one that is more concerned with processes that drive behaviours and shape experiences (Newby, *ibid*). My approach did not sit comfortably with the nature of quantitative research which centres on its belief of, “an observable and measurable reality” (*ibid*:95) and in its concern with proof, “a theory is proved when there is *certainty* in a relationship” (*ibid*:97, original italics). By contrast, qualitative research is about the meanings people give to their experiences and their feelings about their conditions (*ibid*). As such this approach was a closer alignment with what I was trying to achieve and was, therefore, the preferred approach for my research.

Creswell (2008:50) suggests that traditional quantitative investigations created contrived situations in which, “the research participant was ‘taken out’ of context and placed within an experimental situation far removed from his or her personal experiences”. This approach did not sit well within my research paradigm which placed high value on personal experience from multiple perspectives, my own and my participants. Approaches of naturalistic enquiry were developed by philosophers of education as alternative forms of research (*ibid*). Creswell (*ibid*) describes these approaches as emphasising, “the importance of the participant’s view, stressed the setting or context (e.g. the classroom) in which the participants expressed the views, and highlighted the meaning people personally held about educational issues”. Drawing on Creswell (*ibid*), it was an important aspect of this research that participants’ views or accounts and contexts in which they took place were closely related.

Whilst a qualitative approach was a significant feature of my research, there were some aspects of human behaviour in relation to trainees, within my participant population, that could be addressed through a quantitative approach, for example, an understanding of what attracted them to SD. Here I embraced the work of Lather (2006:36) who argues against the limitations of what she called, “tidy binaries”. Lather argues that rather than engaging in paradigm wars between, for example, quantitative and qualitative approaches to research, we should recognise that, “we all do our work within a disunified science and its contested, polygonal and in-flux nature that so flummoxed typical approaches to the demarcation

debates that try to contain the proliferation of countervailing practices" (ibid:47). She argues that we should embrace the messiness of proliferation as opposed to tidy categories.

To embrace this 'messiness', my research employed a mixed method approach²³. The underlying principle for this selection was to provide what Denscombe (2007:110) suggests is a more complete picture, "[t]he use of more than one method can enhance the findings of the research by providing a more complete picture of the thing that is being studied." Again, to echo Lather, this was not about the tidy binary of situating qualitative to be good and quantitative to be bad, or for a mixed methods approach that is a cover for positivism that, "relegates qualitative to the handmaiden of quantitative" (Lather, 2006:49). As Denscombe (2007:110) states, however, to embrace a mixed methods approach is to, "provide alternative perspectives that, when combined, go further towards an all-embracing vision of the subject than could be produced using a mono-method approach" or as Lather (2006:49) suggests, "to be reflexive about the need for larger frames towards deeper understanding".

The mixed methods approach this research used, therefore, afforded a multitude of lenses with which to view the messiness of data. This facilitated an approach to compare, "the findings from one method against the findings from a different method" (Denscombe, 2007:109) and to think about the differences differently. It is important to note that it was not my intention to be able to validate different sets of data but to use the approach to reinforce the outcomes from both sets of data and to compare the results in a complementary way (Newby, 2010) or, as is suggested by Lather (2006:47), to embrace the messiness of difference to consider, "divergence, dispersed multiplication and the possibilities of that which is in excess of our categories of containment".

3.4. *Insider/Outsider Research*

Whilst all participants in my research had a relationship with my university, the extent of that relationship varied, as did my personal relationship with the participants. As a result, my status as a researcher was both insider and outsider, although the extent to which I

²³ Discussed in sections 4.2. and 4.3.

might argue my position as an outsider is contingent on the fact that although I had not met some of my participants before interviewing them, I was still interviewing within my own discipline of education (Hellowell, 2006). Hellowell (ibid:487) argues that the most ideal position for researchers to be is, “both inside *and* outside the perceptions of the ‘researched’” (original emphasis). The survey used with trainees as part of my research was anonymous, so whilst some respondents had personal knowledge of me, the impact of this relationship was considered to be small. However, for those respondents that I interviewed, the relationships varied significantly from those I had not met before interviewing to those I had known for between one to five years and in various roles either as personal tutor and/or university tutor supervising trainee placements, and for some as CoGs for their school.

It was important for this research that I extolled the advantages of being an insider researcher. Le Gallais (2008:146) argues for the, “‘rich and complex’ knowledge which the insider possesses with regard to the systems of the institution of which s/he is a member” (original emphasis). Gray (2014:329) suggests that an insider researcher has:

...an intimate knowledge of the organization being studied – they know its jargon and its personal networks. They can also participate freely in discussions or merely observe what is going on without people necessarily being aware that they are being researched.

Both my knowledge of the organisations in which I conducted my research and my potential to make observations in practice I argue were strengths of the research I conducted.

The relationships between me and the participants²⁴ in my research are indicated in the scatter graph below (Figure 2) and in the quadrant graph (Figure 3). I have attempted to present my relationship with each respondent interviewed both in terms of the length of time I had known them and the extent to which they knew me in a power position such as university tutor and/or CoGs which might impact on their participation in my research.

²⁴ Categories of research participants are in section 6.1.

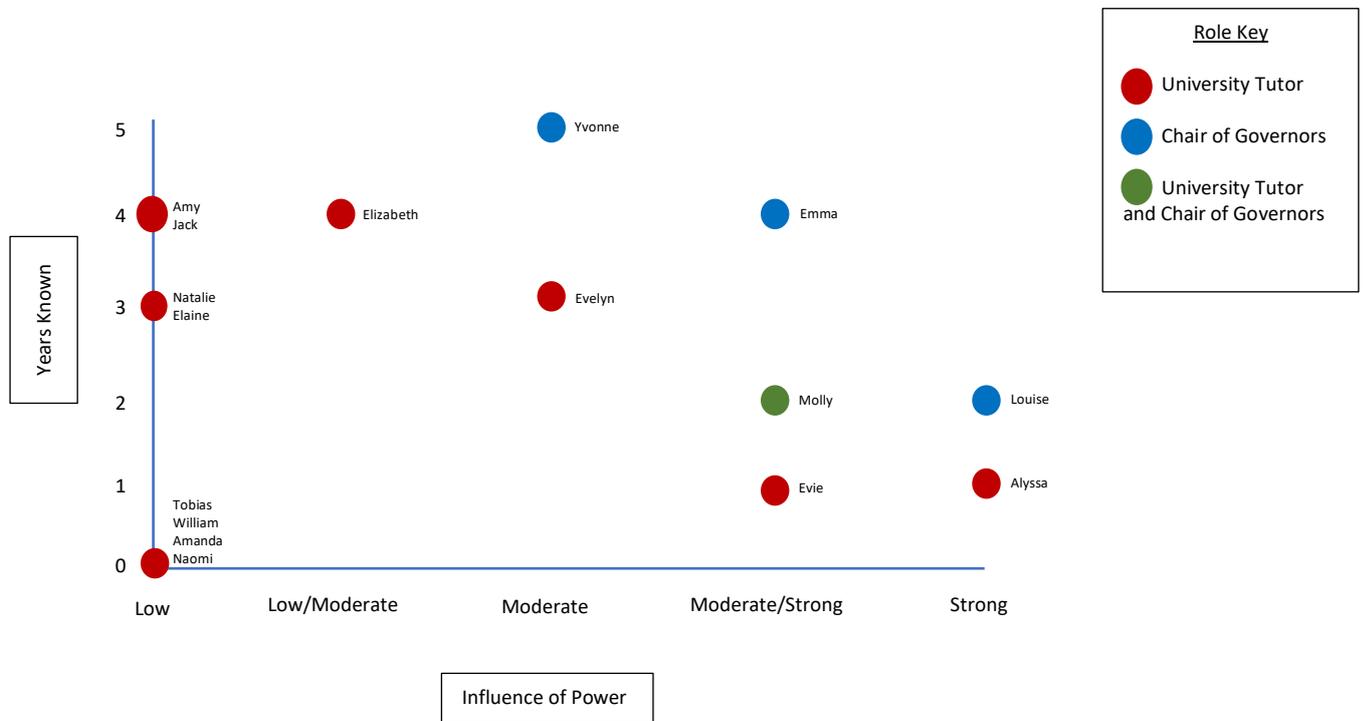


Figure 2. Scatter graph to show my influence of power with each interview participant.

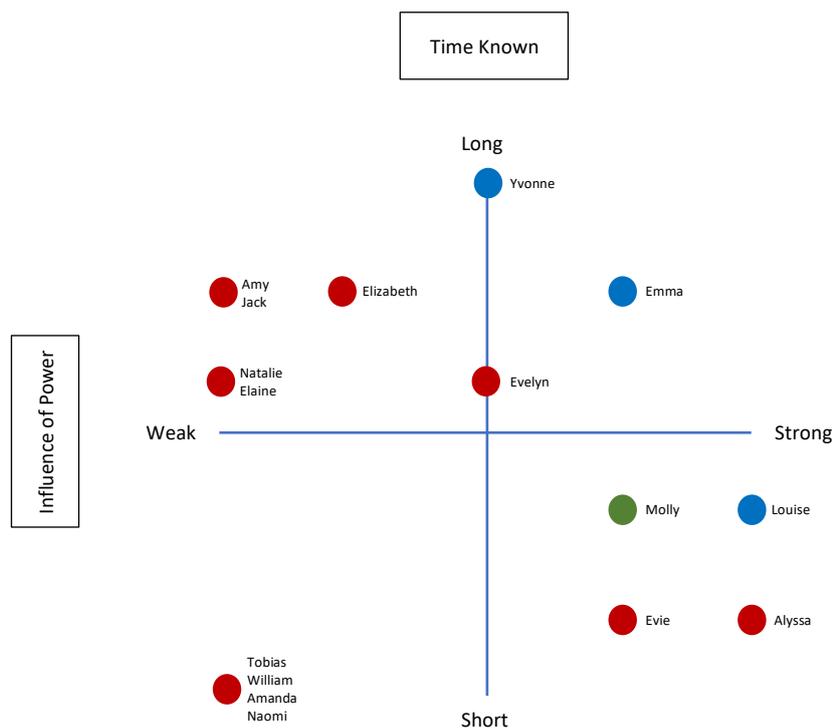


Figure 3. Quadrant graph to show my influence of power with each interview participant.

It is important for my research that these relationships are acknowledged; Bryman (2016:398) notes as one of the criticisms of a qualitative approach, “the close personal relationships that the researcher frequently strikes up with the people studied” which he suggests can have a negative impact on subjectivity. I argue, however, that complexity of

relationships brings both advantages and disadvantages to the research process. As Hammersley (1993:433) states, “[t]here are no overwhelming advantages to being an insider or an outsider. Each position has advantages and disadvantages”. It was necessary in my research to consider my degree of subjectivity as a result of my relationships and the interviewees’ confidence to answer my questions without inhibition. In addition, some of the interviewees were accessed through the school where I was CoGs and with the explicit consent of the headteacher. Oancea (2014:45) questions whether:

...consent will be entirely voluntary when given following a letter or a message from someone in a position of authority, such as the school's headteacher [...] Will people feel that they are free to say 'no' or to withdraw at any time with no consequences for themselves?

It was, therefore, important in my role as CoGs that I did not press members of staff to be involved in my research. As Holian and Coghlan (2013:407) state, “power and responsibilities are unavoidable issues for those who hold positions which make a difference in other people’s lives, and they have ethical responsibilities for the consequences of that they do not do”.

Some of the issues of power in my research can be framed through the work of Foucault (1977). Some of Foucault’s work centred on the idea of surveillance as a power dynamic and the impact this has on individual behaviour. Central to this idea was Foucault’s discussion of the panopticon²⁵, “a prison design wherein exposed, backlit prison cells, situated around the periphery of a building, faced inwards towards a central watchtower” (Hope, 2013:36). Foucault’s (1977) argument was that as the watchtower was darkened and could not be seen into, it did not matter whether there were watchers present or not, the impact on the prisoners was the same, “fearful of the possibility [they] start to police their own behaviour” (Hope, 2013:36). For my research these notions of surveillance resided in the overview I had of some participants who worked in the school where I was CoGs, and trainees where I was responsible for their training as UBTE. Hope (ibid:43) posits that, “the social researcher needs to consider not only how the power operates through surveillance but also its limitations”. As such it was important to ensure that the participants were confident in the

²⁵ Discussed in more detail in section 5.5.2.

anonymity of my research but also that I made a clear distinction in interviews between my role as researcher and that of either CoGs or UBTE. Oancea (2014:53) states that, “[a] researcher may enter a research situation with a range of roles and aims that may be in conflict with each other and which, therefore, need to be negotiated in her research practice”. It is argued here that these challenges are common in much research and that what was important was that I identified the, “ethically salient aspects of a situation and connect them, as appropriate, with the principles, rules and outcomes and other cases, in order to act ethically throughout the life span of the research project” (ibid:52-3) and by so doing produce research which is, “‘acceptable’ in a range of ways: procedurally, technically, epistemologically, morally and socio-culturally” (ibid:53, original emphasis).

3.5. *Consideration of Reflexivity*

“Researchers are in the world and of the world” (Cohen et al, 2007:171).

When thinking about relationships in my research, I was influenced by Johnson and Duberley (2003:1279) who acknowledge claims of reflexivity as an inalienable human capacity defining our existence and thus as a fundamental dimension of epistemology such that, “in order to understand ourselves as [...] researchers we must engage through thinking about our own thinking”. Furthermore, as such, we cannot detach ourselves from our metatheoretical commitments reflexively to assess those commitments, in fact, “to make unexamined metatheoretical commitments, and remain unaware of their origins, amounts to an abdication of intellectual responsibility which results in poor research practices” (ibid:1280). It was important in my research that I embraced consideration of the views I held about SD, both as a national development but more explicitly in the role I had in the development of a SD programme with one of the TSs participating in my research.

I used my knowledge, values and beliefs of SD to give me, “privileged insight into social issues” (Denscombe, 2007:301). The management of SD, as well as the support and guidance of trainees undertaking training, are part of my professional role at university. Denscombe (ibid:300) presents two positions for researchers in relation to their values and beliefs, either to, “exercise sufficient control over their normal attitudes to allow them to

operate in a detached manner, so that their investigation is not clouded by personal prejudices” or to, “take the form of celebrating the extent to which the self is intertwined with the research process” (ibid:301). Punch (2009:44), too, states that, “all researchers come to their project from some ‘position’, whoever the researcher and whatever the project. There is no such thing as a ‘position-free project’” (original emphasis). This is reinforced by Bryman (2016) who argues that within postmodernism the researcher is implicated in the construction of knowledge. Cohen et al (2007:171) argue that trying to eliminate researcher effects are, “impossible as researchers are part of the world that they are investigating”, instead they argue that, “researchers should hold themselves up to the light.”

Johnson and Duberley (2003:1280) argue that while, "we cannot eradicate our subjective metatheoretical commitments, we must open them to our inspection through our capacity for reflectivity" or what Hellowell (2006:483) states as, “the conscious revelation of the role of the beliefs and values held by the researchers”. I aligned myself with Attia and Edge (2017:35) who argue that through considerations of reflexivity instead of seeing a researcher’s position as:

...potential *contamination of the data* to be avoided or allowed for by achieving competence in an appropriate methodological procedure, prospective reflexivity seeks to help researchers grow their capacity to understand the significance of the knowledge, feelings and values that they brought into the field to the research questions that they came to formulate, to the analytical lenses that they chose to employ and to their findings (original italics).

It was, therefore, my intention to open myself up as one of the elements of the phenomenon to be investigated and to be open about the perceptions I had about the SD models I investigated, in particular the one developed with the TS where I was also CoG.

3.6. Why Case Study?

“In one sense all research is case study” (Hammersley and Gomm, 2000:2).

The SD training route was launched late in the 2011-12 academic year with an initial cohort commencing in September 2012. At the point of this research SD was still a relatively new

ITT approach and as such there had been little opportunity for in-depth investigation. The use of case study as a positive choice for under-researched areas is identified by Punch (2014:124):

The first is what we can learn from the study of a particular case, in its own right [...] the case being studied might be unusual, unique or not yet understood, so that building an in-depth understanding of the case is valuable.

Case study, therefore, offered itself as an appropriate methodology for this research. Cohen et al (2007:253) identify that case studies can establish cause and effect, they go further to state that, “one of their strengths is that they observe effects in real contexts, recognising that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects.”

The ‘real-life’ context of this research was also a significant factor leading to the choice of case study which Yin (2014:16) defines as, “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the ‘case’) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident”. Case study fitted well with my interpretative paradigm and choice of phenomenology as a powerful approach for understanding my participants’ subjective experience.

A further influence on the selection of case study was my research questions. Initially proposed by Gove (2010) and later reinforced by the DfE (2011a)²⁶, the government presented a priori theoretical notion of how to train teachers, “[t]eaching is a craft and it is best learnt as an apprentice observing a master craftsman or woman” (Gove, 2010). In seeking to analyse SD as a training route my research critically interrogated ways in which teachers should be trained and how this might best be achieved. This needed to be done in real-life contexts and from multiple perspectives, which is afforded by a case study approach. In addition, a fundamental characteristic of case study, in contrast to governmental thinking:

²⁶ As discussed in section 1.4,

...is that you do not start out with a *priori* theoretical notion [...] because until you get there and get hold of your data, get to understand the context, you won't know what theories (explanations) work best or make the most sense" (Graham, 2005:2).

This was an important value as part of my research.

Newby (2010:51) describes case study as, "a detailed analysis of an individual circumstance or event that is chosen either because it is typical or because it is unusual or because there was a problem or because something worked well." This research considered the traditional PGCE ITT route as the programme that is 'typical' against the newer SD ITT route as the programme that by its recent introduction is 'unusual' and explicitly pitched as a preferable alternative by Gove. In their 2009-10 Annual Report, Ofsted (2010:59) provided evidence that traditional PGCE routes 'worked well' as they reported that, "[t]here was more outstanding initial teacher education delivered by higher education-led partnerships than by school-centred ITT partnerships and employment-based routes"²⁷. The broad question this research explored was how models of SD operate alongside traditional HEI-led PGCEs.

Case study also lent itself well to my role as an insider researcher, as Cohen et al (2007:253) state that it is, "particularly valuable when the researcher has little control over the events" and, "when the researcher is integrally involved in the case." They argue that one of the strengths of case study, "is that they observe effects in real contexts, recognising that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects" (ibid). Furthermore, the case study is identified as having significant strengths by a number of writers: Bryman (2016); Cohen et al (2007) and Denscombe (2007) refer to the uniqueness of the approach in allowing the researcher to deal with the subtleties and intricacies of complex social situations. "What distinguishes a case study is that the researcher is usually concerned to elucidate the unique features of the case" (Bryman, 2016:69). This approach facilitated the use of reliability as means of disseminating the outcomes of my research²⁸.

Case studies also provide greater opportunities for 'accessibility'. A consideration for this research was the limited number of examples for selection, whilst the numbers allocated to

²⁷ As discussed in section 1.4.

²⁸ As discussed in section 3.7.

SD have increased; the historic figures from 2012 were small and had significant impact on longitudinal aspects of those in the early years of employment and employers. Access was an important feature of my research and was possible through the established partnerships between TSs and my university. Adelman et al (1980) argued that case studies are more publicly accessible than other forms of research and less dependent on unstated implicit assumptions.

A further consideration for the use of case study was selection. Denscombe (2007:39) argues that cases are not randomly selected, they are chosen on the basis of their distinctive features:

Instances selected for an experiment or large-scale survey are chosen on a random basis to ensure as far as possible that they do not represent any specific factors relating to the variable that is being studied, but quite the opposite is true when it comes to case study research.

A significant issue in my research was how far convenience influenced my selection of participants, a significant number of the participants for my research came from the TSA where I was CoGs. Whilst Denscombe (ibid:41) gives some justification to the selection of cases based on consideration of convenience, “in this practical world of research, with its limits to time and resources”, he is also clear that this should not be a criterion in its own right but should only come into play when deciding on equally suitable alternatives; used on its own it would almost certainly be, “a symptom of poor social research” (ibid). In my research I extended my selection choices beyond my known TSA as CoGs through the use of surveys that targeted two cohorts of SD trainees and gave me opportunities to gather feedback from and to interview trainees from other TSAs.

Stake (2000) defines three types of case study: Intrinsic Case Study, Collective Case Study and Instrumental Case Study. Intrinsic Case Study is where the researcher wants to understand a particular case in its own right and is not focused on how this case might represent other cases. In this type of case study, “the purpose is not to come to understand some abstract construct or generic phenomenon” (ibid:437) but to understand the case itself which is of interest. This type of case study might be well suited to an ethnographic research approach and less relevant for my own approach. Collective Case Study (Stake,

ibid) is the joint study of a number of case studies. Punch (2014:121) suggests that it is also sometimes called the *multiple case* or the *comparative case study*. The selection of cases is made because, “it is believed that understanding them will lead to better understanding, perhaps better theorizing, about a still larger collection of cases” (Stake, 2000:437). This type of case study accords better with the positivist approach to research where the outcomes would be generalisable to a multiplicity of cases. Instrumental Case Study (Stake, ibid) is where the case studied can shed a spotlight more broadly into other cases, however, “the case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else”. Although the case is still looked at in depth it helps the researcher “to pursue the external interest” (ibid). In Stake’s range of definitions, I aligned my research with the Instrumental Case Study, although my focus is on SD training in relationship with my own university, I produced findings to be relatable to an understanding of SD training in other contexts.

3.7. *Relatability*

“Qualitative researchers should not worry if their research findings are not generalisable” (Dzakiria, 2012:46).

There has been much debate and criticism about the generalisability of case study research. Cohen et al (2007:256) suggest that case study research weakness is that, “[t]he results may not be generalizable except where other readers/researchers see their application”. It is common for qualitative research to be treated with suspicion because of its small samples which render it incapable of generalising conclusions (Dzakiria, 2012). My research, however, aligned with Lincoln and Guba (2000) who question whether generalisation should be the goal of research and, as noted earlier, assert that generalisations inevitably alter over time, so that they become only of historical interest. Dzakiria (2012:47) makes the same point arguing that, “it is a common mistake to over generalise” and that, “generalisation will decay over time”. Carspecken (1996:25) goes further to suggest that for qualitative research, “generalizing across contexts is dangerous” because of the highly contextualised nature of social action and human experience. He argues that the contexts of action and experience, at the heart of qualitative research, are holistic and are not a set of discrete

terms readily to translate into 'variables'. "The factors are simply not discrete by nature, so making them discrete conceptually can greatly distort our understanding of what is taking place" (ibid).

Bassey (1981:73) argues that for educational research, "the study of single events is a more profitable form of research (judged by the criterion of usefulness to teachers) than searches for generalisations". Bassey (2001:5) refers to the study of single events as 'singularities' and stresses the value of relatability as opposed to generalisation arguing that, "the merit of a study of singularities lies in the extent to which teachers reading the report of the study can *relate* it to their own teaching" (original italics). Usher (1996:14) also cautions against generalisation stating that, "the search for generalisations is probably doomed to failure since it is questionable whether generalisable and predictive knowledge is possible in the social domain".

I aligned myself in my research with Dzakiria (2012:41) who argues that, "[t]he goal of qualitative studies is not to generalise but rather to provide a rich and meaningful contextualised understanding of human experience through the intensive study of a particular phenomenon". The phenomenon of SD has many differing variables depending on the partnership between the degree awarding authority (usually a university) and TSA. As Bassey (2001:6) notes this is often a problem for education researchers as, "there are many variables and usually little data". Instead, I positioned my research to focus on the analysis of SD contexts, to discover meaning and understanding and then to disseminate this new understanding from which others involved or interested in ITT can share and learn (Dzakiria, 2012). As a result, I leave it to the readers of my work to decide how applicable the outcomes are to other settings, "[t]hey know best on which research and findings that are related or not related, usable or not applicable to them. It is then only natural to allow them (the readers) to make generalisations based on the simple premise of relatability" (ibid:45).

Whilst embracing relatability, however, my research also attempts to make relationships, to conceptualise and theorise what ITT content and delivery should be, what Yin (2014:40) would call the, "lessons learned" and to use these 'lessons' to develop propositions about

what is important in ITT. In this way I attempt to use the lessons learned to form some sort of 'working hypothesis' of how teachers should be trained²⁹.

3.8. *Ethical Considerations*

"Ethical research practice is ultimately a matter of responsible, situated judgement" (Oancea, 2014:37).

Considering ethics from a post-qualitative position, Lather (2001a:221) warns that, "[t]he danger is to steal knowledge from others, particularly those who have little else and use it for the interests of power". She writes of the need to present the accounts of others objectively, "we try not to position ourselves as knowing more than they know about themselves" (ibid:216). Lather (ibid) guards against violating the testimony of others by subsuming their voice or sentiment into reductive frames. Instead she asserts a new epistemological paradigm positioning researchers as witnesses, researchers as experts do not exist, and as a result new forms of knowledge are unearthed (Fotheringham, 2013).

I trouble the ethics of reducing the fear, pain, joy and urgency of people's lives to analytic categories. Exploring the textual possibilities for telling stories that situate researchers not so much as experts "saying what things mean" in terms of "data," the researcher is situated as witness giving testimony to the lives of others (Lather, 2007:41).

Punch (1994) summarises the main ethical issues in social research as being harm, consent, deception, privacy and confidentiality of data whilst Hammersley and Traianou (2012) identify similar areas: risk of harm; autonomy and informed consent, privacy, confidentiality and anonymity. The key ethical 'dilemma' for my research was situated in my dual role as university tutor and manager involved in SD training and researcher. In my university tutor role, some of the participants in my research had placed their trust that I was part of the team delivering the highest quality of training; for some I have even recommended SD as an appropriate route for them at the point of interview. As my initial relationship with my research participants positively promoted the SD model, it was important that my research

²⁹ Discussed in chapter 7, Conclusion.

was really clear about the evaluative nature of the research. As Lankshear and Knobel (2004:108) argue, “it is crucial that research does not ‘trick’ students into participating in a study, or into thinking that the research will focus on one thing when it actually focuses on another”.

The student participants in my research had invested financially in their training as a result, any critical outcome of my research could prove challenging. This placed me in a position that Cohen et al (2007:51) describe as ‘costs/benefits ratio’ which they suggest is, “a major ethical dilemma [...] which requires researchers to strike a balance between the demands placed in them as professional scientists in the pursuit of truth, and their subjects’ rights and values potentially threatened by the research”. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2000:72) suggest that, “[t]he values people attach to the benefits and costs of social science research depend heavily on their background convictions and experience”. They (ibid) argue that, as a result, the process of balancing costs and benefits is subjective and conclude that, “[s]cientists formulate or select research procedures in accordance with their professional and personal values. Because our choices are related to our values, scientists, just like anyone else, should weight these values carefully when making ethical decisions”. Whilst I acknowledge that the outcomes of my research do not have direct impact for the participants, however, they have potential impact on the profession as a whole as I present an analysis of SD training.

My research has been driven by my professional values to contribute to the debate about the best way to train teachers. This raises the issue of ‘non-maleficence’ (where no harm is wished upon the subjects of the research). At a simple level it should be quite clear that social science researchers should not wish to harm their subjects. However, the question of what constitutes harm is not always clear. Punch (1994:89) questions, “when can research be said to be ‘harming’ people?” (original emphasis). Cohen et al state (2007:59):

...what constitutes ‘harm’ is unclear: one person’s harm is a society’s benefit, and whether a little harm for a few is tolerable in the interests of a major benefit for all, or even the person concerned throws into relief the tension involved here.

Punch (1994:89) questions, “does the end of seeking knowledge justify the means?”. This is also considered by Cohen et al (2007:59), “[t]he question is whether the end justifies the means”. Many of the suggestions of ‘harm’ (Punch, 2009; Cohen et al, 2007 and Gray, 2014) are far more extreme than those anticipated by any criticism of SD training in the outcomes of my research. There are, however, sensitivities in my research around relationships and trust. “The corollary of non-maleficence is beneficence: what benefits will the research bring, and to whom?” (Cohen et al, 2007:60). As a result, it was extremely important for my research that I was clear when seeking consent from participants that the outcomes of my research are likely to highlight both the positive and negative features of SD training in order to contribute to deeper understandings of how teachers should be trained.

Gray (2014:72) posits that, “[w]orkplace research often requires respondents to express their views and opinions on work-related issues, some of which might include criticisms of the organization and its management”. This is highly pertinent for my research as the nature of my enquiry made it possible for participants to express both positive and negative views about SD relating to the organisations providing the training and, for some, also about their place of employment. What seemed most important, then, was the degree of informed consent for participants, which Gray (ibid:75) describes as providing research participants, “with sufficient and accessible information about a project so that they can make an informed decision as to whether to become involved or not”. Furthermore, Gray (ibid) emphasises the word ‘sufficient’ as this means that, “the amount of information given to respondents should reflect the degree of risk involved in the research study”. In relation to my research it was important that participants understood the anonymity of my research which minimised risks undertaken by their commitment.

Gray (ibid) continues to suggest that in some examples of research it can be difficult to give participants all the information they need before participation. At an extreme, this might be the case in covert research, which is not applicable to this research, but a more common example might be an online survey where the, “estimated amount of time respondents need to complete it might be omitted so that respondents are not put off from completing it” (ibid:77). The latter example is also not applicable to my research as the surveys were of short design. I acknowledge, however, that surveys, “will always be an intrusion into the life

of the respondent” (Cohen et al, 2007:317) and as such survey participants in my research were not put under any pressure to complete the survey and had rights to withdraw at any stage or not to complete particular sections.

Because of the potential for the outcomes of my research to be critical of SD I felt it was important not only to present the information leading to ‘informed consent’ before the interviews but also to ask at the end of each interview whether now having heard and responded to the questions participants were still happy to give their consent. Having been through the interview questions participants were enabled to give more cognisant responses based on deeper understandings of what their consent involved. It should also be noted that there are incidental benefits to participating in research such as mine, Hammersley and Traianou (2012:59) suggest that, “many participants enjoy being interviewed, and may occasionally find it therapeutic”.

In consideration of harm, my research aligned with Hammersley and Traianou (ibid:63) who suggest that:

...we should judge the risks of harm from qualitative research against the sorts of dangers normally operating in the lives of the people being studied [...]. The threat of harm, of various kinds, along with the possibility of benefits, is a universal and recurrent feature of everyday life.

As such I argue that it is possible that any ITT route may be evaluated with negative and positive features, and, as such, the outcomes of my research are likely to be no different. This positions considerations of harm in my research in relation to its context and not against some, “utopian ideal” (ibid). Hammersley and Traianou (ibid) argue that, “some reasonable judgement has to be made about what is a significant risk of serious harm from research *in the context being investigated*” (original italics). How to train teachers has been an area of political debate since the 1980s³⁰, my research intends to add to that debate and as a result I considered the risk of harm to be low.

³⁰ As discussed in section 2.3.

The approach taken by my research represents what Cohen et al (2007) refer to as ‘full information’ and ‘comprehension’. By ‘full information’ Cohen et al (ibid:52) state that this, “implies that consent is fully informed, though in practice it is often impossible for researchers to inform subjects on everything”. Whilst ‘comprehension’, they state, “refers to the fact that participants fully understand the nature of the research project” (ibid:53). By asking participants for consent at the end of each interview it was anticipated that they would have greater comprehension about the purposes and suggested outcomes of my research.

In addition to a consideration of ‘full information’ and ‘comprehension’, because much of this research was set in the workplace it was also important to this research to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. This was highly relevant because of the small sample size involved in my research and because of relationships with and between some participants, which Webster et al (2014:85) suggest, “link populations such as employers with employees or advisers with clients”. In addition, my research drew upon rich individual accounts. Anonymity is considered to be when the information, “provided by participants should in no way reveal their identity” (Cohen et al, 2007:64) and confidentiality is considered to be when although the researcher knows, “who has provided the information or are able to identify participants from the information given, they will in no way make the connection known publicly” (ibid:65). This was particularly significant for this research as I was an ‘insider researcher’³¹ which as Holian and Coghlan (2013:407) argue, “may include commercial in confidence, personally confidential or potentially embarrassing information related to the organisation, members and stakeholders”. All of these ethical considerations were valued in this research.

Webster et al (2014) highlight the ethical considerations around relationships that researchers develop with participants. They suggest that researchers use, “all the social skills at their disposal to develop rapport and an effective dynamic” which result in “faking friendships” or “pseudo-intimacy” (ibid:84). They highlight the importance of the awareness

³¹ As discussed in section 3.4.

of power inequality as a result of these relationships³². It was important for this research to acknowledge the sensitivity about relationships that were already established particularly with some of interview participants. Holian and Coghlan (2013:406) write that, “ethical issues may arise in action research with regard to differences in perceived power and roles”. They state that the advantages of established relationships in research are the, “pre-understanding, role duality, access and politics” and that the disadvantages are “influence, expectations and role ambiguity and conflict” (ibid:410). However, it was noted that other research approaches bring their own advantages and disadvantages. In this research project relationships were already established through quality assurance and everyday management processes. My pre-existing relationships enhanced cooperation and promoted genuine collaboration with my participants. In seeking to avoid ambiguity, however, I aimed to be open and honest with my participants about the purposes of my research. I positioned myself with Holian and Coghlan (ibid:411) who state that, “[t]he additional dialogue, reflection and rigour added as part of an insider action research project can improve the careful consideration of ethical issues in the process as well as the value of the outcomes for individuals and organisations”.

To conclude, this research draws on Hammersley and Traianou (2012:136) who warn against the dangers of what they see as excessive ‘moralism’, or ‘overdoing’ ethics in research. I, like them, challenge, “those conceptions of research ethics that treat it as the following of procedures designed to protect the rights and interests of those from whom data are collected” in addition criticise the view that, “research should be aimed at realising ethical or political values” (ibid:143). Instead, they (ibid:143) see research as, “devoted to a specialised occupational task, namely the production of knowledge; even though values extrinsic to that goal – minimising harm, respecting autonomy, protecting privacy and others – can and should act as constraints on how this goal is pursued”.

³² Also discussed in section 3.4.

4. Research Methods

4.1. *The Research Sample*

Cohen et al (2007:100) argue, “[t]he quality of a piece of research stands or falls not only by the appropriateness of methodology and instrumentation but also by the suitability of the sampling strategy that has been adopted”. In addition, its quality is enhanced by the congruence of that methodology with the researcher’s ontological and epistemological stance. My research adopted the approach suggested by Gray (2014:208) in relation to phenomenological research³³ in that it involved, “purposively selected individuals who tend to share common experiences so that detailed patterns of meaning and relationships can be identified”.

The interviews conducted in this research took place in the summer terms of 2016 and 2017 when SD training was ending and participants could look back over their training. The approach used for the interview samples was ‘purposive sampling’ which Gray (ibid:217) explains is, “when particular people, events or settings are chosen because they are known to provide important information that could not be gained from other sampling designs” such as the research settings chosen for this research. Creswell (2008:213) argues that this is the most appropriate approach for qualitative inquiry, as this is where researchers are developing, “an in depth exploration of a central phenomenon [...] to best understand the phenomenon, the qualitative researcher purposefully or intentionally selects individuals or sites”. Denzin and Lincoln (2000:370) suggests that this sampling approach is, “theoretical” or, “purposeful” through which, “the researcher seeks to develop an understanding that encompasses all instances of the process or case under investigation”. In this research, for example, participants ranged from trainees, NQTs, TSA managers or SBTEs, mentors, UBTEs and headteachers so that they would reveal multiple perspectives on the phenomenon.

The participants covered a cross section of ages but, as might be expected in primary teaching, were mostly female. The sample of participants were also mostly from a white British heritage background, which was a feature of SD cohorts included in this research.

³³ Discussed in section 3.2

In addition, my research also used surveys which were carried out during the Easter breaks in 2016 and 2017 when trainees were coming to the later part of training and might, during the break from school and university, have more time available to complete surveys. The sampling approach used was based on what Cohen et al (2007) and Gray (2014) call 'cluster' samples which are widely used in small-scale research because of advantages of accessibility, and acknowledges the difficulty of sampling SD populations as a whole. Cluster sampling involves selecting a specific number of contexts and inviting all those within the context to participate. For this reason, in this research, all primary SD trainees in each entire cohort, 2015-16 and 2016-17, were invited to participate in the surveys. Profiles of participants who elected to take part in the surveys were broadly similar to those who participated in the interviews.

4.2. *Negotiating Access*

In order to gain access to interview participants I used different levels of contact. In year one I used contacts from a TSA working with university X. In year two most contacts were associated with a TSA for which I was also CoGs. Initially my choices of contacts in years one and two were based on accessibility. In both years of data collection, I interviewed participants who had given me contact details when responding to my survey but who I had not met before, this increased the number of TSAs associated with my interview participants from two to four. By involving interview participants where my relationship varied considerably, I hoped to reduce some of the dangers associated with the nemesis of getting too close (Hong and Duff, 2002) which can be a feature of insider research³⁴ and to extend the diversity of data from differing experiences of SD training.

All survey participants were primary SD trainees. To gain access to participants for my surveys I used contact by simple notes that I prepared which were given to target participants by their personal tutors encouraging participation. This reduced the accusation of 'spamming,' that is, being sent unsolicited messages as suggested by Gray (2014) but hopefully increased participation rates. I used Online Surveys (formally known as Bristol Online Survey) (2014) as the survey tool. Online Surveys has been approved by my university

³⁴ See section 3.4.

for research students and has a subscription service. Hartas (2010:260) argues that on-line surveys can be targeted at special groups and, “can supply data faster than other survey methods”. The Online Surveys tool sent an email to the target participants when the survey opened and a reminder during the open timeframe. I sent the survey out to two cohorts; in year one the response rate was 38% (16 of 42) and in year two 52% (16 of 31).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) distinguish between obtrusive methods of data collection such as interviewing, observation and non-verbal language and unobtrusive methods when human beings are not necessarily present, for example, using documents or records. With this in mind my third set of data was unobtrusive and was gained by accessing data already available about trainees’ personal attributes. This data was accessible through the university’s records and allowed contrast with other PGCE trainees not following SD training. This data set facilitated comparison of the gender, ethnicity and age range of those engaging in different training routes.

4.3. *Triangulation and Thick Data*

Cohen et al (2007:181) state that, “[t]he qualitative researcher is able to use a variety of techniques for gathering information. There is no single prescription for which data collection instruments to use; rather the issue here is of ‘fitness for purpose’”.

In his design of case study Denscombe (2007:45) stresses use of varieties of research methods, “in order to capture the complex realities under scrutiny”. The aim of mixed methods in my research was to present a more textured picture which Denscombe (ibid:110) argues involves, “the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods as a means for seeing things from alternative perspectives”. Cohen et al (2007:141) posit that, “triangulation techniques in the social sciences attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint”. This research sought, therefore, to present a more holistic reflection of the phenomenon by using more than one viewpoint to get a better understanding of it, and to attempt to avoid what Gray (2014:196) calls, “blind spots”. In my use of triangulation, I was cautious of an approach that was too formulaic and, “too positivist” in its assumptions of,

“unchanging phenomena” (Guba and Lincoln, 1989:240). The decision to use mixed methods was made based on the usefulness of approach for this research rather than overt concerns about accuracy. The use of triangulation in my research was, therefore, not attempting to provide overall truth or validity but to create more multifaceted views of SD training.

My research also embraced concepts of thick data, which Wang (2016) describes as data which is brought to life, “using qualitative, ethnographic research methods that uncover people’s emotions, stories, and models of their world”. Thick data in marketing research has been developed, “to combat the inevitable incompleteness of digital data traces” (Ford, 2016:4). By using multiple data sets including quantitative data, surveys and interviews I aimed to gain deeper insight into, “questions around behavior, motivation and meaning” (ibid:5).

During the period of my research I was able to access the university’s trainee enrolment data. This quantitative data provided me with information about the characteristics of the SD and core PGCE trainees as cohorts that was not available through either my use of interviews or surveys. This gave me broader perspectives of candidates’ characteristics attracted to each route in order to enrich my analysis. Punch (2014) suggests that benefits of existing secondary data sets such as these are the time saved, the quality and the accessibility to broader populations. Bryman (2016:310) refers to the, “extremely high quality” of such data sets.

The overall approach used in this research is what Creswell (2003) identifies as the ‘concurrent nested strategy.’ This is where both quantitative and qualitative data are collected simultaneously. The concurrent nested approach has one predominant method, quantitative or qualitative, that guides data analysis. In this research qualitative data was dominant, facilitating in-depth probing into aspects of each training programme. Creswell (ibid:218) identifies many strengths to this model namely that the, “researcher is able to collect the two types of data simultaneously, during a single data collection phase”. It also provides potential for different perspectives from different types of data. There were two sampling phases to the data collection in my research. In the first phase the data collected

was from trainees, TSA managers and a headteacher; in the second phase, data collected extended to include trainees, an NQT, a mentor, a TSA manager, SBTEs, a headteacher and UBTEs.

4.4. *Interviews*

Gray (2014:382) suggests that, “the well-conducted interview is a powerful tool for eliciting rich data on people’s views, attitudes and the meanings that underpin their lives and behaviours”. More specifically, Cohen et al (2007:349) describe interviewing as a, “flexible tool for data collection, enabling multi-sensory channels to be used: verbal, non-verbal, spoken and heard [...] in short, the interview is a powerful implement for researchers”. With my research focus on understanding human behaviour as opposed to explanations of it, I decided that interviews were aligned to my research phenomenological approach and were powerful tools through which I could engage with my participants’ multiple perspectives of SD experiences.

In making a decision about the interview format to use, Bryman (2016) suggests that researchers consider what they are trying to achieve. Selecting the appropriate interview technique, therefore, was important for me to capture correctly data types that best served my research purpose to sieve and interpret participants’ experiences. Bryman (2016) identifies a spectrum of interviews from quantitative, which are focussed on maximising the reliability and validity of measurement of key concepts, to qualitative, which have minimal direction by interviewers and allow freedom to respondents to express their subjective feelings as fully and spontaneously as they choose or are able. In quantitative interviews researchers have research question sets to be discussed and explored and interviews are designed to address these questions. The interview, therefore, reflects researcher’s concerns rather than interviewee’s. “The most structured interviews are based on an interview schedule that provides interviewers with a script and precise question wording” (Newby, 2010:339). According to Denscombe (2007:176), “the structured interview, in spirit, bears more resemblance to questionnaire methods than to the other types of interviews”. My interpretivist approach to research, however, challenged the “idea of conversation as no more than observable verbal behaviour, or verbal exchange, where knowledge of an

objective as reality is described and discussed” (King and Horrocks, 2010:17). My approach instead sought to explore with my participants’ perceptions of their SD experiences, “to uncover how people feel about the world and make sense of their lives from their particular vantage points” (ibid:11). My aim was to let the participants tell their narratives prompted by questions under themed headings.

In qualitative interviews, therefore, there is an emphasis on greater generality in the formulation of initial research ideas and on interviewees’ own perspectives and there is greater interest in interviewees’ viewpoints (Bryman, 2016). Denscombe (2014:187) suggests that:

Unstructured interviews go further in the extent to which emphasis is placed on the interviewee’s thoughts. The interviewer’s role is to start the ball rolling by introducing a theme or topic, but then to be as non-directive as possible. The idea is to let interviewees develop their own ideas and pursue their own train of thought rather than have the discussion shaped by questions which the researcher already had in mind.

King and Horrocks (2010:11) posit that, “actually conversing with people enables them to share their experiences and understandings” which sat well with the interpretivist approach I was taking. However, in order to gather perspectives meaningfully from different participant types involved in SD, for example, from headteachers to trainees, it was my intention to use consistent themes for each interview which would give some shape and allow comparison between interviews. Bryman (2016) suggests that if research uses multiple case studies that interviews will need some structure like this to ensure cross-case comparability.

As a result, I engaged with what Cohen et al (2007) call the ‘focused interview’ and others such as Bryman (2016), Denscombe (2007), Gray (2014) and Newby (2010) the ‘semi-structured interview’. “The distinctive feature of this type is that it focuses on a respondent’s subjective responses to a known situation in which he or she has been involved” (Cohen et al, 2007:356). This approach to interviewing suited my aim, which had a fairly clear focus on topics that I wanted to explore but also gave some freedom to participants to share their narratives with me. My research, therefore, used semi-structured

interviews, but with flexibility for some unstructured exploration because as Denscombe suggests (2007:176), “[s]emi-structured and unstructured interviews are really on a continuum and, in practice, it is likely that any interview will slide back and forth along the scale”.

My choice of semi-structured interviews also sat well with my methodological approach focused on subjects’ perceptions of reality as sociolinguistic constructions and phenomenology. Gray (2014) suggests that interviews can be an appropriate research tool where research objectives are largely exploratory, examining feelings and attitudes. Semi-structured interviews provided opportunities to access contexts for participant’s behaviour and to understand meanings of that behaviour (Seidman, 1998). The use of semi-structured interviews, therefore, allowed me to ‘probe’ for more detailed responses and for respondents to expand on answers. “This phenomenological approach, then is concerned with the *meanings* that people ascribe to phenomena. Interviewing is a basic form of human activity, in which language is used between two human beings in the pursuit of cooperative inquiry” (ibid:382-383, original italics). As such I reflected Heron’s (1981:26) idea that understanding human behaviour means understanding use of language:

The use of language itself, then contains within in it the paradigm of cooperative inquiry; and since language is the primary tool whose use enables human construing and intending to occur, it is difficult to see how there can be any more fundamental mode of inquiry for human beings into the human condition.

The purpose of semi-structured interviewing in this research was then to understand participants’ SD experiences and the meaning-making they made of these experiences.

A consideration in this research was the time that would elapse between the two sampling phases. ITT is a key political issue and is receiving high media interest³⁵. Newby (2012:342) suggests that a challenge during research processes is that, “the interview cycle might have been affected by conditions in the wider world [...]. The possibility is that this will sway some people’s replies and influence the results that we obtain.” By keeping the sampling periods short over a period of a year I hoped that this added consistency to the interview cycle by

³⁵ Discussed in sections 1.4. and 2.3.

interviewing participants in a politically stable ITT period. In addition, I was keenly aware of any minor changes to SD policy and was able to tailor questions to reflect any changing circumstances. The interview questions were developed from my research aims and grouped into key topics. Although some variation in questioning occurred during the interviews each of the themes were explored with each interviewee, adding consistency and allowing data to be cross-analysed.

A final consideration was the potential bias of some of respondents towards their training as a result of their affiliation; some of the interview participants were employed by TSAs that delivered SD. Newby (2012:342) suggests, “there is always the possibility that respondents will construct replies that place them in a better light”. This is also identified by Hartas (2010:228) as ‘social desirability’ where, “people like to present themselves in a more favourable light”. To manage this phenomenon, as an insider researcher, however, I was in position of having personal background information to question responses that I perceived reflected ‘social desirability’ with questions that reflected knowledge of different interpretations; in this way I was able to explore factors underpinning participants’ answers. King and Horrocks (2010:20) emphasise contextual understanding as an approach to qualitative interviewing where, “it is important to know as much as possible about the context of a particular encounter in order to produce knowledge that acknowledges and understands situated perspectives”. In this way I used what Lincoln and Guba (1985:107) called the, “human instrument” bringing to bear tacit insider knowledge to, “sense out salient factors, think of ways to follow up on them, and make continuous changes”. In addition, my use of surveys and other datasets gave me the opportunity explore meaning through other sources.

4.5. *Surveys*

Denscombe (2007:153) argues that surveys should not set out to change people’s attitudes or provide them with information, their purpose is to discover things and to, “be designed to collect information which can be used subsequently as data for analysis”.

In order to enhance an understanding of my research's complex realities through a mixed methods approach, I decided to use surveys as another data collection tool and one which would offer alternative perspectives. Grix (2010:129) states that, "[q]uestionnaires are most effective when used in conjunction with other methods, especially one or more varieties of the interview technique". As a result, surveys seemed an appropriate choice alongside semi-structured interviews. Another advantage of the use of surveys was that they allowed me the opportunity to ask if any respondents would be willing to be interviewed. It was then possible to examine data from respondents who responded positively and select those who might have the most insightful comments to make at interview.

Newby (2010:298) states that there are two types of question categories used in surveys, open and closed, "[e]ach is used in particular circumstances for specific tasks and most questionnaires use a blend of the two". Cohen et al (2007:321) describe semi-structured surveys employing both closed and open questions as a 'powerful tool', they state that, "[t]he semi-structured questionnaire sets the agenda but does not presuppose the nature of the response". In my survey design I decided, as with my interviews, to take a semi-structured approach, using a mixture of closed and open-ended questions.

As opposed to surveys, Cohen et al (2007:151) consider power to be significant in interview use, they argue that, "the interview is not simply a data collection situation but a social and frequently a political situation". The power resides often with interviewers who generate questions for interviewees to answer leaving, "the interviewee under scrutiny while the interviewer is not" (ibid:152). Surveys, however, can offer greater anonymity and completion power lies with respondents who can choose which questions to answer or whether to engage with the survey or not. Denscombe (2007:33) notes that, "[i]t is extremely quick and very easy to delete requests for co-operation. They can be 'binned' at the touch of a button" (original emphasis). Cohen et al (2007:317-318) also note that power lies with respondents, "the decision whether to become involved and when to withdraw from the research is entirely theirs". It can be argued that another advantage regarding the balance of power in surveys is that without the direct involvement of interviewers, respondents are more likely to feel that they can remain anonymous and this increases the likelihood that they feel confident to express controversial opinions.

My surveys were targeted at trainees from two cohorts (2015-16 and 2016-17) to probe their SD perspectives in relation to core PGCE training. As a result, closed questions were effective tools through which to capture quantitative data comparing one route with another, through the use of attitude scales. Cohen et al (2007:207) posit that, “[s]urveys are useful for gathering factual information, data on attitudes and preferences, beliefs and predications, behaviour and experiences”.

My closed questions followed two formats, firstly dichotomous questions were used for three questions; dichotomous questions require a yes or no answer. Cohen et al (2007) suggest that yes/no questions have limited value as human tendency is to agree with statements rather than to disagree. However, they acknowledge that dichotomous questions can be useful when, “it compels respondents to come off the fence on an issue” (ibid:322). This was important for some of my research questions about how clearly UBTEs and SBTEs understood SD training, for these questions I used a dichotomous format. Secondly, for the remainder of the closed questions I used a rating scale, which Cohen et al (ibid:325) suggest, “are very useful devices for the researcher, as they build in a degree of sensitivity and differentiation of response while still generating numbers”. In particular I used the Likert scale based on the work of Rensis Likert in the 1930s. Newby (2010:319) argues that:

The fact that his scaling procedure is still being used 70 years on shows that it is a robust, tried and tested method [...] we know it works and that we can easily construct a statistic to indicate a person’s position on the spectrum of attitudes.

However, it is acknowledged that despite its longevity there are some limitations to the Likert scale:

- There is no assumption of equal intervals between the categories, hence a rating of 4 indicates neither that it is twice as powerful as 2 nor that it is twice as strongly felt
- We have to check on whether respondents are telling the truth
- We have no way of knowing if respondents might have wished to add any other comments about issues under investigation

- Many respondents do not want to use the extreme positions, reducing the number of positions in the scales to a choice of three (in a 5-point scale)
- There is a tendency for participants to opt for the mid-point of 5-point or 7-point scales (Cohen et al, 2007).

By way of response to some of these challenges I designed my survey to follow a format where closed questions were often followed by opportunities to respond open-ended questions on the same topic. As Cohen et al (ibid:328) state:

Rating scales are more sensitive instruments than dichotomous scales. Nevertheless, they are limited in their usefulness to researchers by their fixity of response caused by the need to select from a given choice. A questionnaire might be tailored even more to respondents by including *open-ended* questions to which they can reply in their own terms and own opinions (original italics).

The use of open-ended questions following closed questions gave respondents opportunities to add more information to closed question responses and as such allowed, “the potential for richness of responses, some of which may not have been anticipated by the researchers” (Gray, 2014:361).

4.6. *Reliability and Validity*

Reliability and validity are contested terms in qualitative research, with Stenbacka (2001:552) going so far as to suggest that, “reliability has no relevance in qualitative research, where it is impossible to differentiate between researcher and method”. Stenbacka (ibid:551) also suggests that a basic definition of validity as, “whether the intended object of measurement actually is measured” proves that validity is useless because, “the purpose in qualitative research is never to measure anything”. As a result, my research rejected traditional scientist/positivist reliability notions and reconsidered validity in very specific ways as described below.

In my thinking about validity I was influenced by Lather’s (2001b) work. Lather (ibid:242) advocates, “thinking differently about how we think about validity in qualitative research in education”. She (ibid:241) seeks to separate thinking about validity from positivist approaches where validity is a medium in positivist hegemony articulation, what she refers

to as, “the crux of the issue.” Cohen et al (2007:134) argue that that validity should be faithful to research paradigms being used but not constrained or limited by them for that is, “a recipe for stagnation and conservatism”. For Lather (2001b:242) fields of educational inquiry are so varied there is no, “one best way approach”.

This was not to avoid issues regarding validity, but to position my thinking around validity to focus not so much on the nature of value, but its function. In this respect I attempted to centre validity along with reflexivity. Lather (ibid:243) suggests that a, “postepistemic focus decentres validity as about epistemological guarantees and shifts it into practices that are situated, multiple, partial, endlessly deferred, a reflexive validity interested in how discourse does its work”. My approach to validity, therefore, sought to avoid focus on scientist accounting and to embrace notions that validity is, “as much about the play of difference as the repetition of sameness” (ibid:243-244). In my research, therefore, I focused more on notions of authenticity seeking to represent SD from participants’ multiple perspectives and from which my research’s readers can make sense to other contexts.

Cohen et al (2007) argue that in qualitative research one can replace validity with authenticity. Authenticity is argued by Whitemore et al (2001:530) to be:

...closely linked to credibility in validity and involves the portrayal of research that reflects the meanings and experiences that are lived and perceived by the participants. Because of the multivocality of an interpretive perspective, authenticity of the person, phenomenon, or situation become important criteria for validity. An attempt to remain true to the phenomenon under study is essential.

For me, drawing on Lather (2001b:245), authenticity centres on, “the move of validity from a set of epistemic concepts to a space of relational practices in situated contexts of inquiry”. In my research I attempted to improve the authenticity of my representation of participants’ accounts as part of a flattened ontology (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) by deconstructing viewpoints of multiplicities of stakeholders involved in SD training, “based on mixture, not separation” (St. Pierre, 2017:1085) where no single element predominates. The stakeholders included not only trainees but those qualified through the training model and completing their first year of teaching, to school leaders and UBTEs, all their accounts had

equal weight in my research. I also took a mixed methods approach by which to consider the phenomenon through different lenses.

In my exploration of the relationship between my reconceptualisation of validity, validity claims and reflexivity I acknowledged that (post) qualitative researchers are part of the world they research, they cannot be completely objective³⁶, other people's perspectives are as valid as the researcher's. "Validity, then, attaches to accounts, not to data or methods; it is the meaning that subjects give to data and inferences drawn from the data that are important" (Cohen et al, 2007:134). Lather (2001b:247-248) also makes this point arguing that we should, "use validity to further change the terms of the legitimation of knowledge beyond discrete methods and toward the social uses of the knowledge we construct".

My research focussed on what Cohen et al (2007) refer to as 'content validity'. To demonstrate content validity the research must comprehensively cover the phenomenon that it purports to cover. Cohen et al (ibid:137) assert that it is unlikely that each issue will be addressed in entirety, largely as a result of time constraints, but argue that:

...the researcher must ensure that the elements of the main issue to be covered in the research are both a fair representation of the wider issue under investigation (and its weighting) and that the elements chosen for the research sample are themselves addressed in depth and breadth.

My research sought to ensure depth, through use of survey and interviews, and to cover the breadth of SD as a training approach through interviewing a variety of different stakeholders. The use of different methodological models of SD also increased the range of representation in my research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest the term 'dependability' as opposed to reliability in the constructivist paradigm. Punch (2014:321) suggests that basic ideas of dependability and reliability are similar and that:

...the same questions can be asked of qualitative data as of quantitative data: how stable are these data over time? And if multiple data sources are used, are they internally consistent? That is, to what extent do the data converge or diverge?

³⁶ As discussed in section 3.4. in relation to subjectivity.

In summary, my approach to validity claims was to move beyond seeking to legitimise knowledge by use of discrete methods and towards a social use of knowledge that my research constructed. As such I invoked the thinking of Lather (2001b:248) who positions educational inquiry in, “a state of crisis” and as being, “distressed and exceeded” arguing that out from under scientism we should, “move beyond the normalized apparatuses of our own training toward a social science more answerable to complications of our knowing” which is more about, “the changing shape of the thinkable” (Gordon, 1991:3) than it is about, “actually existing practices of validity” (Lather, 2001b:248).

4.7. *Data Analysis*

“There is no one single or correct way to analyse and present qualitative data” (Cohen et al, 2007:461).

The predominant approach taken to data analysis in this research was thematic analysis following a reflexive/organic process as identified by Braun and Clarke (2006). The approach taken by Braun and Clarke (2013) to data analysis grew out of their frustration of a lack of ‘named’ methods for data analysis. They present their version of thematic analysis as, “a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006:79) which sat well within the social constructionist epistemology taken by my research. The thematic approach to data analysis takes the form of funnelling from wide to narrow. Starting with a wide angle lens to gather data, then through an iterative and subjective process, sifting, sorting, reviewing and reflecting until the salient features or themes of situations are generated (Cohen et al, 2007).

The approach taken to coding in my research was what Braun and Clarke (2013) refer to as complete coding, this approach looks for anything and everything of relevance to the research question within data. The coding process identifies data-driven or semantic codes which are, “a succinct summary of the explicit content of the data” and researcher-derived or latent codes which, “invoke the researcher’s conceptual and theoretical frameworks to identify *implicit* meanings within the data” (ibid:207 original italics). The use of latent coding facilitated consideration of the social contexts and cultural landscapes that myself and my

participants inhabited (Braun and Clarke, 2018). By taking this approach I acknowledged the active role researchers take in knowledge production as a fluid, evolving approach with researchers at centre stage. “It’s the researcher that makes the research great” (Clarke, 2017).

The use of computer software in data analysis is contested practice, with some qualitative researchers revering computer-assisted (or aided) qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) and some reviling it (Braun and Clarke, 2013). Critiques of CAQDAS suggest that users of software lose, “closeness to data through poor screen display, segmentation of text, and loss of context, thereby risking alienation from their data” (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013:7). An alternative criticism is that combinations of full transcripts and software give too much closeness, “so that users become caught in the ‘coding trap’ bogged down in their data, and unable to see the larger picture” (ibid). Joffe and Yardley (2004:64) posit that, “[t]he central analytic task of thematic analysis, in particular, is to understand the meaning of texts. This requires researchers’ minds to interpret the materials. The computer is a mechanical aid in this process”. In this context I chose to use NVivo11 (2015) as an assistant to the first phase of my coding and analysis, acknowledging Joffe and Yardley’s (2004:65) argument that:

CAQDAS can provide an efficient means of retrieving text segments for systematic comparison, enumerating the degree of empirical support for different themes, and mapping the relationships between themes. It cannot fulfil the central task of textual analysis – to decode the meaning of the text -but as a mechanical aid to managing material it can facilitate it.

After my first sift through my data using the process of nodes in NVivo to identify data relationships, I used manual approaches to trawl through relationships and identify themes arranging my data on large rolls of paper so that I was able to see the, “larger picture” (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013:7). The approach I took to theme identification during my data analysis was, therefore, through an active engagement with data, attempting to make sense of data valuing the reflexive, insider researcher approach and the theoretical disciplinary knowledge that I have (Braun and Clarke, 2018). This is what Clarke (2017) calls, ‘full realised themes’ or ‘storybook themes’ which are patterns of shared meaning underpinned by central concepts or central ideas. They are about drawing together data from multiple

sources, they attempt to explain large proportions of data and are bigger and broader than just summarising what participants said in relation to particular data collection questions. This arrangement of my data on large rolls of paper enabled me to move and reflect on my data both within and across the emerging themes until four themed datasets were manifest. In this approach, “themes are conceptualised as meaningful entities that are constructed from codes that unify disparate data, and capture the essence of some degree of recurrent meaning across a dataset” (Braun and Clarke, 2016:740). They also reflect the idea of researchers as storytellers, “actively engaged in interpreting the data through the lens of their own cultural membership and social positionings, their theoretical assumptions and ideological commitments” (Clarke, 2017) which sat well with my position as an insider and reflexive researcher.

4.8. *Grounded Theory*

Grounded theory began with the work of Glaser and Strauss in the 1960s as a methodological movement away from studies of grand theory which used a deductive approach beginning with prior assumptions about hypotheses and research questions (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Gray, 2014). By comparison grounded theory starts with data and looks for patterns in data rather than imposing a framework upon it. In grounded theory, “the theories emerge from, rather than exist before the data” (Cohen et al, 2007:491).

My research approach used a modified form of constructivist grounded theory. Grounded theory as a research method has been closely linked to positivism because of its assumptions of an objective, external reality and a neutral observer who discovers data (Berterö, 2012; Denscombe, 2014; Charmaz, 2000). However, Berterö (2012:1) argues that Charmaz (2006), “moved from conceptual theory in grounded theory towards a constructivist mode of grounded theory”. Charmaz takes a more subjective and reflexive approach presenting constructivist grounded theory as, “a narrative including categories, but not as a theory” (Berterö, 2012:1). O’Connor et al (2018:92) also argue that constructivist approaches to grounded theory are based on interpretivist, subjectivist assumptions which sat well within my broad research paradigm.

My research began with a literature review as a means to establish some of the rationale underpinning SD development and the political climate in which it was positioned. My research questions directed my choice of data collection methods, for example, semi-structured interviews³⁷. However, as noted by O'Connor et al (ibid) data collected in a constructivist grounded theory approach may also shape subsequent interviews. This was the approach that my research took where data collected in my first year of data analysis had an impact on some questions explored with participants in my second year interviews. Charmaz (2000:509) promotes this approach to grounded theory stating that, “[t]hroughout the research process, grounded theorists develop analytic interpretations of their data to focus further data collection, which they in turn use to inform and refine their developing theoretical analyses”.

³⁷ As discussed in section 4.4.

5. Theoretical Framework

5.1. *Socio-cultural Theories*

To investigate the phenomenon of SD as an ITT model, it is necessary to have some understanding of how the model operates as a learning community. By investigating the relationships and practice within learning communities, a deeper theoretical examination of the SD phenomenon can be explored.

5.1.1. *Socio-cultural Theory and Situated Learning*

Sociocultural theory and situated learning are closely aligned (Daniels, 2001). Dewey (1938) argued that education and learning are social and interactive practices. Children need to learn in experiential environments and to be active learners. He advocated problem-based learning. Brown et al (1989:2), who were situated learning exponents, argued that it is artificial to separate a person's learning from the context in which they learn, in fact, "[l]earning and cognition [...] are fundamentally situated". Lave and Wenger (1991) wished, however, to extend the situated learning theory to focus on, "a deeper sense of the value of participation to the community". They argued that, "[i]n our view, learning is not merely situated in practice—as if it were some independently reifiable process that just happened to be located somewhere; learning is an integral part of generative social practice in the lived-in world" (ibid:35). Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2004:168) support this view of learning as, "[i]t is not just that each person learns in context, rather, each person is a reciprocal and mutually constitutive part of that context". Wenger (1998) positioned learning not only as a mutual engagement activity but one also involving participation in communities of practice (CoPs). SD trainees, like all trainee teachers, participate in CoPs as part of learning to teach.

5.1.2. *Communities of Practice*

Lave and Wenger saw learning as an integral dimension of social practice with an assumption that participation in social practice will inevitably lead to learning (Fuller et al, 2005). Lave and Wenger (1991:98) describe CoPs as, "a set of relations among persons,

activity, and world, over time and in relation to other tangential and overlapping communities of practice”. Their concept of CoPs, however, was not simply a repository for technical knowledge and skills, instead within the community they viewed, “the knowledgeable practitioner not only as someone who commands and can apply the necessary knowledge and skills but who, through their membership, has become a full participant in the cultural practices of the community” (Fuller et al, 2005:52). The knowledgeable practitioners influencing SD trainees are in various roles such as classteacher, mentor and SBTE. The latter is a specific practitioner for SD compared to core PGCE³⁸.

Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner (2015) identify three crucial elements which must be present in CoPs. The first of these is *the domain* which can be compared to a form of institutional habitus³⁹ in school contexts. By domain Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner (ibid) mean, “an identity defined by a shared domain of interest”. Members of the community share the same interest and show commitment to it. Secondly, in order to develop their interest, “members engage in joint activities and discussions, help each other, and share information”, (ibid), through which *the community* is formed. Finally, members of the community are practitioners with shared interest (albeit at different levels of expertise and experience) and together they develop a shared repertoire, this is *the practice* (Woodgate-Jones, 2012). They learn together how to improve practice. Although, “socially interdependent, their participation in decision-making defines the community and is nurtured by it” (Johnston, 2016:356). It is possible for SD trainees to belong to several CoPs simultaneously. CoPs are not of a consistent size and some CoPs for SD trainees can feel insular and intrusive⁴⁰.

CoPs then have common enterprise, with shared values, assumptions, purpose and rules of engagement which facilitates communication within the practice and fosters a sense of belonging (Solomon, 2007). Agreed values, assumptions and purposes in teaching are,

³⁸ The role they take is discussed in section 6.3.2.2.

³⁹ Discussed in section 5.4.2.

⁴⁰ Discussed in sections 6.2.2.2. and 6.2.2.4 and in my conclusion 7.5 and 8.5.

however, often derived from dominant discourses⁴¹. Solomon (ibid:85) posits that, “while alignment has this positive coordinating aspect, systems which we do not own and cannot contribute to are no more than rule-bounded situations in which we participate only as rule-followers, not rule-makers”. Johnston (2016) argues that trainees on placements are time limited and not expected to become fully fledged members of communities, he positions their status as more of a guest or a visitor. In this sense it is questionable how far it is possible for SD trainees to move beyond boundaries of ‘rule-followers’, as they may lack the power to do so.

5.1.3. *Legitimate Peripheral Participation*

Central to the concept of CoPs is the role of legitimate peripheral participation as fulfilled by the newcomer. Lave and Wenger (1991:29) define this as follows:

‘Legitimate peripheral participation’ provides a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old-timers, and about activities, identities, artifacts, and communities of knowledge and practice. It concerns the process by which newcomers become part of a community of practice.

Yandell and Turvey (2007:544) state that, “much about the PGCE year can be accommodated within the model of legitimate peripheral participation”. Trainees are introduced gradually to the teacher role and can start from an individualised point of small group or part lesson teaching before taking responsibility for whole classes or lessons. Yandell and Turvey (ibid) argue that the strength for trainees acting through legitimate peripheral participation supervised by ‘old-timers’ is that, “they [trainees] are allowed to maintain a distance – to participate but also to draw back, to act but also to look on”. In contrast, however, Childs et al (2014) argue that for some school-led ITT models there are very limited opportunities for trainees to really engage in legitimate peripheral participation. They (ibid:29) state that, “[n]ot the least of the flaws in ITT apprenticeship models, as currently seen, is that pre-service teachers very rarely work alongside more expert professionals while attempting to teach in classrooms”. Some SD salaried trainees in my research had high percentage independent teaching timetables early in their training.

⁴¹ Power in CoPs is discussed in section 5.6.4.

Childs et al (ibid) suggest this practice might be labelled 'workplace performance' rather than 'workplace learning'⁴².

5.1.4. *Power in Communities*

There is an underlying assumption in the process of legitimate peripheral participation, that it is a seamless one where newcomers enter communities and are assimilated (Woodgate-Jones, 2012). This is not always the case and there can be uneasy relationships, especially in ITT, as newcomers try to establish their identities (Hodges, 1998; Maynard, 2001; Ussher, 2016). Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner (2015) acknowledge that CoPs may not always be harmonious places, stating that, "if they are totally conflict free, you should be concerned that groupthink may be settling in or voice being silenced". Lave and Wenger (1991:115) acknowledged that there may be tensions as newcomers established their identity whilst engaging with existing practice, referring to, "[t]he different ways in which old-timers and newcomers establish and maintain identities conflict and generate competing viewpoints on the practice and its development". However, the predominate focus for Lave and Wenger (1991) was the continuity and displacement dimension to communities by which newcomers become full participants and eventually displace the old-timers and less on power and individual struggle (Woodgate-Jones, 2012). Power is inherent in CoPs and power relations may impact on feelings of belonging⁴³. Turvey and Hayler (2017:43) argue that, "various power relationships can render the position of the student teacher vulnerable and unstable". Power can be used to set boundaries which extend or deny learning opportunities and can result in a, "sheltered introduction" leading to the creation of "narrow experts (albeit full participants)" (Fuller et al, 2005:57-58). Fuller et al (ibid:54) suggest that power is, "unevenly distributed throughout the membership of the workforce (community) [and] is likely to be highly stratified through a complex division of labour". Moreover, Caillard, (n.d:4) ascribes power as being with, "the 'masters' of the discourse at the centre." My research findings indicate that SD salaried trainees' experiences are inevitably directed from power at CoP centres, but this is also evident for

⁴² Discussed in section 6.3.1.8.

⁴³ Discussed in section 5.2.1.

training route trainees⁴⁴. There is an acknowledgement by Fuller et al (2005:54) of the influence on power dimensions of communities by organisational cultures as well as, “the wider socio-economic and political climate within which the organisation is located”. The current school climate with emphasis on cost effectiveness, a concern for efficiency and institutional needs rather than individual (Gewirtz and Ball, 2000)⁴⁵ may in part explain why SD salaried trainees are often treated as fully-fledged teachers with whole class responsibility during their training.

Linehan and McCarthy (2000:440) argue that the process of belonging to communities can put pressure on individual identity, they state that, “‘becoming’ in a community of practice involves moments of participation, nonparticipation, and interaction in which the embodied historicized self encounters a community pressure to conform, that is to suppress difference”⁴⁶. Wenger (1998:85) acknowledged that CoPs as well as offering potential for creative achievements could become places of resistance to reproduction of conditions and oppression, becoming a, “cage of the soul” rather than a, “cradle of self”. In addition, Hodges (1998:289) argues that becoming part of communities invokes, “one’s own manipulated and manipulating self” and spaces shaped by conflicts and tensions between them. Moreover, Jones and Ellis (2019:18-19) refer to the, “accommodations and resistances” made by teachers participating in the pedagogical practices of particular school settings and how teachers, “take up and appropriate the cultural tools that are available in those settings”. Turvey and Hayler (2017:43) suggest the, “ecology in which the beginning teacher has to learn is complex and unpredictable”. Johnston (2016:545) criticises Wenger’s (1998) theoretical framework for underestimating the, “complex interweaving of the emotional, psychological and behavioural dimensions of identity building, particularly as this relates to notions of ‘belongingness’”⁴⁷. This concept of belonging suggests a willingness by participants to become mutually engaged with others in common enterprise or purpose and to be accepted by those in the community. If participants do not find ways to belong, they may remove themselves from the community as Hughes (2010:48) warns, “[l]earners who

⁴⁴ Discussed in sections 6.3.1.8. and 6.3.2.2.

⁴⁵ Discussed in more detail in section 5.8.1.

⁴⁶ This also relates to self-regulation discussed in section 5.4.3.

⁴⁷ Also discussed in section 5.2.1.

do not 'belong' in a learning situation and who are not enabled to make identity 'shifts' may eventually withdraw". SD trainees have less control over some of the CoPs they belong to as they are pre-allocated by virtue of their TS relationship and whilst core PGCE trainees can see their relationships with placement schools as temporal, SD trainees have more permanent relationships related to employment expectations. For SD trainees, therefore, if they do not find ways to belong it can be difficult to move between CoPs, reducing their options other than withdrawal⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ Discussed in my research findings in section 6.3.2.5.

5.2. *Belonging*

5.2.1. *The Need to Belong*

Being welcomed into school and feeling valued is crucial to a sense of belonging. Baumeister and Leary (1995) argued that humans have an innate need to belong, they have strong motivation to form and maintain social relationships and a fundamental need to feel connected to others. Additionally, they established that people's need to belong is essential to health and well-being. As a result, functioning is enhanced when the need to belong is fulfilled (Brown et al, 2007). Being placed in schools where trainees have existing relationships is not common practice in many HEIs for core PGCE trainees. For SD trainees, however, there is much stronger likelihood that they will undertake placements in schools where they already have relationships. During recruitment the TSAs involved in this research commonly offered candidates paid or voluntary experiences, as a result many trainees were already enculturated into school's practices before training began and expressed strong feelings of belonging⁴⁹.

Ussher (2016:10) found that prior relationships before training began gave trainees access to resources such as other teachers as well as more meaningful teaching roles with opportunities to develop practice and identity, "[s]tarting out with an established relationship enabled the students to feel they belonged right away [...] this sense of belonging helped develop the relationship and their identity". They were regarded as the school's teachers and not simply students, appearing integral to the school community which furthered opportunities to develop identity. This has also been a feature of my research with both teacher and trainee participants referring to trainees' status as one of 'staff'⁵⁰. Ussher (2016:10) found that, "[t]his feeling of belonging enabled them to focus on the school as a site of inquiry, regarding all teaching colleagues as potential opportunities for dialogue and learning teaching". In addition, Johnston (2010:316) argues that the nature

⁴⁹ Discussed in more detail in section 6.3.2.

⁵⁰ As discussed in my research findings, section 6.3.2.4.

of social support can add a sense of validation empowering trainees to, “take ownership of their own learning and to feel able to ask questions”

Ussher (2016:11) argues that any reservations about trainees being well known to placement schools, “were outweighed by the range of opportunities including building teaching capacity in the local community”. In my research the TSAs involved were often keen not to lose their SD trainee from their school communities when they gained employment, thus increasing local teaching capacity. Ussher (ibid) also found that students developed a sense of loyalty to schools with positive regard for having been identified as a potential teacher. The schools had a sense of loyalty to students too which was demonstrated through commitments of time and energy.

5.2.2. *Needs and Wants*

TSAs place much emphasis on the value of their small CoPs where they can ascertain and respond to each trainee’s development in individualistic ways. In my research this led to questions of how trainees’ ‘needs’ as opposed to trainees’ ‘wants’ were identified as part of their development⁵¹. Much research on theories of human need emanates from the work of Maslow (1954) who developed a five stage model. Later theories of need, for example, Deci and Ryan (2000) identify three basic psychological needs of relatedness, competence and autonomy. SD trainees in my research were given opportunities by SBTEs to shape training content based on perceptions of what would develop their competence. As part of my research I explored how SBTEs made judgements of whether to accept trainees’ training requests. Research, such as McGregor et al (2009:136) suggest that the satisfaction of need is so fundamental for public health that claimed ‘needs’ be judged by, “assessing whether there is evidence that their denial in that context results in harm”. They argue that it is important, “to distinguish ‘frivolous wants’ from ‘real needs’” (ibid:136). In providing a distinction between needs and wants Lavers (2007:6) posits that, “needs are defined as a particular category of universal goals relevant to all human beings in order to avoid harm, distinct from wants which are derived from an individual’s particular preferences and cultural environment”. Gough (2003) also argues that needs refers to goals which are

⁵¹ Discussed in my research findings, section 6.3.2.7.

believed to be universalisable whereas wants are individualistic. To strengthen claims for need as opposed to wants McGregor et al (2009:137) posit that, “a need is more genuine when it is identified from more than one perspective”. Such that if a need is expressed by the person experiencing it, the trainee, and an expert observer of their circumstance, the SBTE, it is more likely to be a reasonable suggestion of need rather than personalised want.

5.2.3. *Self-regulation*

DeWall et al (2008:1367) argue that one of a human’s central tasks is to obtain social acceptance. This leads to self-regulation which, “is important for interpersonal success because it adapts the self to the demands and opportunities of the social environment”. DeWall et al (ibid) argue that self-regulation involves a sense of altruistic self-sacrifice of personal wants to receive group belonging rewards. Skaalvik and Skaalvik (2011:1036) suggested that, “the sheer feeling of sharing goals and values with colleagues and the school administration increases a feeling of belonging in itself”. DeWall et al (2008:1368) posit that, “[i]n essence, society offers the individual the benefits of belonging, and in exchange the individual agrees to regulate his or her behaviour to conform to society’s rules”. A point also made by Turvey and Hayler (2017:46) that, “[b]ecoming part of a community of practice is...a process of ‘becoming’ a particular kind of person through ‘belonging’ to a professional community” (original emphasis). This relates to Johnston’s (2016:541-542) notion of emotional intensity in learning to teach and, “the extent of one’s social acceptance within the warp and weft of communal life is essential to the ways in which student teachers are able to see themselves as potential teachers”. Leary et al (2013:610) also state that, “the desire of acceptance and belonging moderates interpersonal behaviour in important ways”. For SD trainees the close affiliation felt to their TSAs and main placement schools, with expectations of employment, can lead to high levels of conformity or ‘moulding’ to school’s practice. As a result, trainees may be limited in the skill range and approaches to teaching and learning they develop, preferring to focus on those which underpin practice in their main placement school.

5.2.4. *Widening Participation*

Younger et al (2019:743) argue that widening participation in HE has been a policy issue since the Robbins Report, “articulated the principle that HE should be accessible to all those suitably qualified, regardless of background”. Duckworth et al (2016:262) suggest that notions of widening participation are increasingly complex as many once “under-represented groups are now, in terms of crude numbers, not ‘under-represented’ but unevenly distributed” (original emphasis). In the context of this research SD, although mainly representing white, British heritage students, has seemed to attract more mature students. Duckworth et al (ibid) posit that ITT courses in the United Kingdom do reasonably well in recruiting mature students but poorly in relation to indicators of class, ethnicity and males. Kaldi and Griffiths (2013:554) suggest that mature students, especially women, entering and completing HE courses can face particular barriers as a result of, “the different boundaries they face in private and public life and their personal constraints, such as domestic responsibilities”. Brooks (2012) suggests that whilst males as parents often face tensions when considering HE courses because of their role as a breadwinner, female parents face tensions of gendered expectations about their roles as caregivers. Reay (2003:308) suggests that the result of such constraints and responsibilities can leave women, “operating within very narrow circumscribed spaces of choice” which define how far they are able to travel to access their education. Kaldi and Griffiths (2013) found that school experiences were the most challenging part of ITT for mature students with academic course demands being less difficult. In my research placement school locations were identified as a significant factor in the choices applicants made when applying to ITT routes.

Desires to access and belong to school communities present challenges for all ITT trainees (Johnston, 2010; 2016) but this research argues that notions of belonging and acceptance have different meaning for SD trainees with the additional layering of TSA communities. These issues are explored as a theme in my research focused on belonging and ownership⁵²

⁵² See section 6.3.2.

5.3. Identity

Attempts to understand the influences that shape and impact SD trainee perceptions of identity will contribute to better understandings of the decisions they make regarding 'how to be', 'how to act' and 'how to understand' their work and place in society (Sachs, 2005:15). Urrieta (2007:107) defines identity as being, "about how people come to understand themselves, how they come to 'figure' who they are, through the 'worlds' that they participate in and how they relate to others within and outside of these worlds".

5.3.1. *Defining Professional Teacher Identity*

Beauchamp and Thomas (2009:177) posit that, "a clear definition of identity is not easily reached, but that there is general acknowledgement of its multi-faceted and dynamic nature". Identity is dynamic and shifts over time influenced by internal factors such as emotion and external factors such as job and life experiences. As Compton-Lilly (2008:23) states identity is:

...the result of negotiations, reversals, exchanges, rejections, adoptions, dismissals, and renegotiations as we claim, abandon, and rework the ways of being that are available to us as we find ourselves in different situations and interacting with different people over time.

White (2006:18, original emphasis) states that trainee teachers have to, "'find a position' each time they go into a school that will 'fit' with that community and their own identity".

Gee (2001:99) defines identity as a, "kind of person" within contexts such that a person's identity will have multiple forms in different contexts and be connected to their performances in society. Gee (ibid) identifies four ways to perceive identity, firstly nature-identity which stems from one's natural state such as being a twin and is determined by nature. The second perspective is institution-identity which is derived from positions recognised by authority (ibid). For SD trainees this could be their recognised position as trainee or teacher, as noted earlier⁵³ many are identified as a member of school staff during

⁵³ Section 5.2.1.

their training. However, the power source is held by the institution who 'author' the position and the, "rights and responsibilities that go with the position" (ibid:102). The third perspective is one of discourse-identity which results from the others' discourse about oneself. These are traits applied by others to a person such as being quiet or lively. The final perspective is affinity-identity which is determined by one's practices in relation to external groups. These are groups or communities to which people give allegiance to, "a set of common endeavors or practices" (ibid:105). Gee (ibid) emphasises that these four perspectives can interrelate in complex and important ways and may be present simultaneously as individuals such as trainees establish identity in school settings.

5.3.2. *The Self and Identity*

Beauchamp and Thomas (2009:178) posit that, "identity development for teachers involves an understanding of the self and a notion of that self within an outside context, such as a classroom or a school, necessitating an examination of the self in relation to others". In addition, Banaji and Prentice (1994:324) state that, "how one thinks about oneself at any particular time is strongly influenced by the immediate social context". In social contexts trainees' identities are shaped and reshaped through interactions with teachers in placement schools, "an individual's self-cognitions are seen as being in a continuous interaction with his/her cognitions of the other participants" (Lauriala and Kukkonen, 2005:199). Identity and self-concept can be conceptualised as synonyms and explained in three dimensions: the actual self (the one that currently prevails); the ought self (the one recognised by society or an external group as the goal); and the ideal self (the one set by the individual as possible targets for achievement) (ibid). These different selves can interact in dynamic ways, however, for SD trainees my research found tensions between how they perceived development from their 'actual' self towards what they identified as the 'ideal' self which results in what Warin et al (2006) termed, "identity dissonance"⁵⁴. Identity dissonance is the, "psychological discomfort that can be felt when a person is aware of disharmonious experiences of self" (ibid:237). These tensions might be between the

⁵⁴ Discussed in my research findings, section 6.3.2.4.

personal and professional identity of trainees and also between different roles they adopt impacting on senses of belonging to the CoPs in which they are trained.

5.3.3. *Figured Worlds*

Holland et al's (1998) concept of 'figured worlds' challenged the hold that cultural determinism and situational totalitarianism had over theories of teacher identity to allow for a sociocultural theory which, whilst not denying some social shaping of identity, included improvisation and agency with identities becoming formed in process or activity (Urrieta, 2007). Actors can enter figured worlds independently or can be recruited. Urrieta (ibid:108) describes figured worlds as, "processes or traditions of apprehension that give people shape and form as their lives intersect with them". Lave and Wenger (1991:53) argue that identity forms as part of engagement with and in CoPs in which, "[l]earning thus implies becoming a different person with respect to the possibilities enabled by these systems of relations [...] learning involves the construction of identities".

Figured worlds are socially constructed and rely on interaction and people's intersubjectivity to function. Actors work out how to relate to each other, "over time and across different time/place/space contexts" (Urrieta, 2007:109). Barron (2016) argues that figured worlds exist as CoPs before new actors, such as SD trainees, enter them and in doing so they come to participate in the world's histories, belief systems and ways of being. Beauchamp and Thomas (2009:180) posit that trainees, "whose identities are only tentative, will particularly feel the impact of a community context and will need to be aware of the shaping of their own identities that will take place in this context". Not all contexts shape identity positively, for example, Flores and Day (2006) found that as NQTs became socialised into their school's culture by adopting norms and values as a form of technology of self (Foucault, 1988)⁵⁵, this led to feelings of conservatism and compliance replacing earlier feelings of enthusiasm and proactivity. Beauchamp and Thomas (2009:184) acknowledge the influence of context in shaping identity and posit that trainees should be provided with, "as wide a range as possible of situations in which [they] can interact and develop and become aware of their

⁵⁵ Technologies of self are discussed in more detail in section 5.5.4.

possible identities". Johnston (2016:545) also argues that trainees need time to develop identity in placement settings, he states that, "[o]ffering placements that give student teachers time to develop such identities is crucial". For SD, however, marketing encourages schools to recruit trainees to be later employed as NQTs⁵⁶ making them more reluctant to provide trainees significant training experience in other settings⁵⁷. This reduces potential for developing trainees' "possible identities" as argued by Beauchamp and Thomas (2009).

5.3.4. *Identity and Agency*

Holland et al's (1998) figured worlds are, "sites of possibility" (Urrieta, 2007:109) where actors can experience agency as they participate, improvise and respond to activity, bringing about change and reinterpreting themselves in the process (Barron, 2016). In their figured worlds Holland et al (1998) use three inter-related concepts to theorise identity. The first is related to the positions actors are offered, such as a 'loud' trainee, or a 'successful' trainee, and are similar to Gee's (2001) concept of discourse-identity⁵⁸. As with discourse-identity positions are attributed by others and actors, "are limited to varying degrees of accepting, rejecting, or negotiating the identities being offered to them" (Urrieta, 2007:111). Agency, therefore, plays a role in shaping identities and tensions amongst them (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009).

Holland et al's (1998) second concept concerns, "the ability of people to self/sense-make through multiple internal dialogues (Urrieta, 2007:111). Actors must accept, reject or negotiate the positions they are offered, they have choices, including non-response (Derrida, 1992). Dagenais et al (2006:207) state that as agents negotiate identity through social positions they are affected by, "their investments and desires". During ITT these 'investments and desires' can be seen to emerge and change in response to trainees' situated practices. Barron (2016:329) argues that, "[w]here the dialogic-self acquiesces, it reproduces the figured world; where it challenges, it has the potential to transform". For SD trainees (particularly salaried) there are questions about the extent to which they are able

⁵⁶ Discussed earlier in section 2.1.3.

⁵⁷ As discussed in my research findings, section 6.3.2.7.

⁵⁸ Discussed in section 5.5.1.

to challenge the figured worlds in which they are situated. Smagorinsky et al (2004:22), state that, “[s]tudent teachers who never face philosophical contrast or conflict may well face an ideological meltdown when moving to settings that invalidate their ideals”. Beauchamp and Thomas (2009), furthermore, are troubled by notions of consent and question whether this suggests an, “acquiescence to an identity that may not be totally desirable, or may represent too much an imposed or institutional idea of identity”.

The last of Holland et al’s (1998) concepts is the production of identities through world making, which sees the emergence of new figured worlds in which actors might develop, “new competencies to participate in or further develop these new, sometimes marginal figured worlds” (Urrieta, 2007:111). Holland et al’s (1998) work on figured worlds can be helpful in theorising notions of agency in professional teacher identity as, “individuals respond to the sociocultural worlds they encounter and in which they engage” (Barron, 2016:328).

5.4. Structure

Bourdieu's social world theory offers ways to conceptualise ITT complexities, by focusing on the dynamic relationships between structure, which is the, "[r]ules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems" (Giddens, 1984:377) and agency which produces the conditions to enable human activity.

5.4.1. *Habitus and Fields*

Bourdieu attempted to explain the social world by understanding embedded and hidden mechanisms of social structures (Marom, 2019). According to Bourdieu, individual practice is based on relationships between three concepts, field, habitus and cultural capital. Habitus refers to the, "deeply rooted assumptions, not explicitly reflected on but held almost subconsciously, which we all inherit" (Raymond, 2018:137). Our habitus shapes our thinking and regulates our behaviour individually and collectively. The formation of habitus occurs through the establishment of dispositions from exposure to diverse societal fields. Bourdieu (1977) states that our dispositions are shaped by our past, our living in the present and perpetuate themselves into the future. Our habitus shapes our behaviour in fields, which Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:72) define as, "a network or a configuration of objective relations between positions". SD trainees enter their training with well-formed habitus shaping their expectations of training and education from the 'fields' of schooling they encountered before training began, this shapes behaviour in the training communities they experience. Whilst individuals operate in many fields simultaneously and often harmoniously, habitus and field can clash when, "individuals with a well-developed habitus find themselves in different fields or different parts of the same social field" (Reay, 2004:438). Habitus and field clashes may occur, therefore, when SD trainees move between placements.

5.4.2. *Institutional Habitus*

Reay et al (2005:60) conceptualise the institutional habitus as, "educational status, organisational practices and the expressive order". In addition, Reay et al (2001) posit that

institutional habituses have history and have been established over time, but also that as a result of their collective nature institutional habituses are less fluid compared to individual habituses. This institutional habitus results in, “the impact of a cultural group or social class on an individual’s behaviour as it is mediated through an organisation” (ibid:1.3). Whilst SD trainee habituses affect the institutional culture of the school, the organisational culture of schools present different, institutionally based collective habitus that mediates SD trainees’ habituses in often, very powerful ways (Morrison, 2007).

5.4.3. *Economic, Cultural and Social Capital*

Bourdieu (1997) identified three main forms of capital: economic capital which is material or financial; cultural capital which includes abstract assets such as ones values, knowledge beliefs and taste, and social capital which is the social resources available to you such as your relationships with others and political power. Marom (2019:86) argues that, “[c]apital is an arbitrary tool for creating a distinction; it has no intrinsic value other than as a power mechanism”.

Cultural capital is the cultural knowledge that serves as currency shaping experiences and opportunities in fields. For SD trainees cultural capital is reflected in the values and attitudes they bring to their training and can influence their beliefs about how education should be. It can be a valuable tool because it, “includes all the things that help people gain access to, and position themselves strategically within fields” (Nolan, 2012:204). Alongside cultural capital exists social capital, which is based on relationships which facilitate resource access through those relationships. The relationships trainees form during their training can impact significantly on the quality of their experience; positive professional relationships with teachers and tutors can facilitate harmonious, profitable experiences, whilst poor quality relationships can impact negatively on teacher development (Johnston, 2010; 2016). Interestingly for SD trainees judgments of cultural and social capital can be imposed on them. Noyes (2008:675) identifies this practice when trainees are being matched to schools for placements which he argues, “are generated by the tutors’ habituses and include their judgments of the cultural and social capital” of trainees. For SD trainees these decisions were usually made by the TSA managers or SBTEs. They had a significant impact as SD

trainees spend the majority of their training in the single school settings selected. My research suggests that where the placement match is not harmonious with SD trainees' habitus and cultural capital it can result in dissonance and challenges for both trainees and schools, over which the UBTE has less influence than core PGCE trainees⁵⁹.

For SD trainees who apply for either training route or salaried training places, economic capital also has a significant impact. In both routes there is a course fee that must be paid, training route trainees meet the cost of this fee themselves, often supported by student loan which is repaid in instalments after they qualify. However, for salaried trainees these fees are met by the employing school who also pay trainees as unqualified teachers during their training. This results in significant variation in the economic capital investment made by trainees and their schools, and in turn impacts on what is expected as a result of such investment⁶⁰.

5.4.4. *Systems of Practices*

Experiences in social worlds are internalised and generate, “meaningful practices and meaning giving perceptions” (Bourdieu, 1984:166). Raymond (2018:137) argues that habitus can be understood as a system of practices, “that are classified as ‘belonging’”. In considering the relationship between agents, their habitus and the field, Nolan (2016:318) states that:

In any social practice, agents are continually vying for positioning within the field such that their habitus is a good match for the logic and operation of that field while, at the same time, these agents are being produced and reproduced within the field by the practices characterizing that field.

Bourdieu (1990:61) argues that, “the habitus tends to favour experiences likely to reinforce it”. Strong affiliations with the small CoPs in which they are being trained may make it more likely that SD trainees reproduce a, “comfortable, non-conflicting habitus-field fit in their classrooms and schools” (Nolan, 2016:319). A habitus-field fit according to Nolan (ibid) is a

⁵⁹ Discussed in my research findings, section 6.3.2.5.

⁶⁰ Discussed in my research findings, section 6.3.2.

subjective experience of a world of, “ought-to-be”, where an agent feels, “there is nothing to do except what he is doing and also that he is only doing what he ought” (Bourdieu, 1977:166). In ITT the field of school placement holds sets of values and discourses that within the field are viewed as natural, normal and inherently necessary and with which SD trainees are expected to fit. Nolan (2016:319) suggests this as doxa and posits that, “this set of ‘ought-to-be’s work to ensure that their arbitrary and contingent nature is not even recognized, let alone questioned”.

5.4.5. *Doxa*

Doxa is, “the set of core values and discourses of a social practice field that have come to be viewed as natural, normal, and inherently necessary” (Nolan, 2012:205). In doxic communities, “social rules are understood as natural and self-evident” (Lawler, 2011:1423). In the normalisation of existence the workings of domination become visible but power is misrecognised so that it is not perceived as power at all, it is unseen, “of all forms of ‘hidden persuasion,’ the most implacable is the one exerted, quite simply by the order of things” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:168). In education the ‘working of domination’ can be identified as governmental policy directing schools’ practice, for SD trainees it is also the acceptance of school’s practice as the ‘order of things’. Doxa produces a self-evident way of construction such that it is seen as the only way in existence. However, if trainees do not agree with a doxic understanding of what the school values, conflict is created. Davey (2012:511) developed the concept of institutional doxa which, “enables us to explore how educational decisions are mediated by the educational institution”. In my analysis I suggest that the trainees’ doxa, especially in SD contexts often remains dormant until challenged by different experiences/ideas (heterodoxy/competing ideas), only then is, “the truth of doxa is only ever fully revealed when negatively constituted by the constitution of a field of opinion, the locus of the confrontation of competing discourses” (Bourdieu, 1977:169).

5.4.6. *Symbolic Violence*

Nolan (2012:205) posits that, “[w]hen the existence of a *field of opinion* is not acknowledged, the uncritical acceptance of what constitutes normal, natural and necessary is what Bourdieu refers to as *misrecognition*” (original italics). Being bound up in and accepting what is seen as the natural order of the world (*misrecognition*) creates the conditions for what Bourdieu called ‘symbolic violence’. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:167) identify this as, “the violence, which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity”. Neither side, however, are normally conscious of the operation of symbolic violence. It is hidden, “by an apparent ‘inevitability’ of social relations, the inequality of which may itself be hidden” (Lawler, 2011:1423). Kamoche et al (2014:994) argue that, “[t]he effect of symbolic violence is that the dominant group determines the appropriate way to function, and acquires legitimacy for arbitrary power relations - a ‘cultural arbitrary’ [...] through the complicity of the ‘dominated’” (original emphasis). In SD training the dominant group refers to SBTEs, mentors and teachers supporting trainees’ development. For Nolan (2012:205) it is as a result of the agent’s complicity, although generally unaware, that makes this ‘soft’ form of violence, “particularly insidious”. In ITT acceptance of poor conditions, such as a lack of resources or opportunities for development interpreted as ‘just the way things are’ is evidence of trainees being “complicit in having symbolic violence exercised on them” (ibid). Accepting poor placement practice conditions and their place in them also limits trainee’s potential for agency.

5.4.7. *False Consciousness*

‘False consciousness’ for Marx refers to the way in which societal processes are said to mislead members of the proletariat willingly into subordination. In this reading of society ruling classes air ideas about the conditions of labour and of property that are adopted as ideology even if they are not in the best interests of the labourer (Kalekin-Fishman, 2008). For SD trainees, false consciousness may refer to, “a belief or set of beliefs that are neither accurate nor consistent with what is in [their] best interest” (Bull, 2017) about the way they are being trained. Unlike symbolic violence, however, it is possible to cast off the subordination of false consciousness, “with the correct analysis or the achievement of

sufficient knowledge” (Lawler, 2011:1424). As SD trainees develop over time and reflect on experience it is possible for them to view previously held good practice in different ways and become critical of prior experience.

5.4.8. *Professional Capital*

Although Bourdieu paid little attention of the concept of professionalism, Schinkel and Noordegraaf (2011) argue that it is a useful extension to Bourdieu’s frame. They (ibid:68) posit that, “professionalism can be seen as a form of symbolic capital in [...] the ‘field of power’”. Marom (2019:87) define teachers’ professional capital as, “the capital that schools build up over time by investing in the collective human, social, and decisional capital of their teachers”. Hargreaves and Fullan (2013:37) define human capital as, “the talent of individuals”; social capital as, “the collaborative power of the group” and decisional capital as, “the wisdom and expertise to make sound judgements about learners that are cultivated over many years”. Hargreaves and Fullan (2012), however, propose that social capital is more important than human capital as the latter cannot be effective without the former. Social capital refers to, “how the quantity and quality of interactions and social relationships among people affects their access to knowledge and information; their sense of expectation, obligation and trust; and how far they are likely to adhere to the same norms or codes of behavior” (ibid:90). Social capital facilitates access to other people’s human capital and is, therefore, important for SD trainees. The opportunities and the confidence they have to engage with social capital working within groups and teams present more powerful ways to develop human capital than working individually. Decisional capital is the ability to make discretionary judgements and is acquired and accumulated through, “structured and unstructured experience, practice, and reflection” (ibid:93). Decisional capital is underpinned by confidence; whilst for teachers this can be acquired with experience, for trainees Nolan and Molla, (2017:16) argue there is need for, “support and guidance from experienced colleagues to engage in critical deliberation, and to grow in confidence”. Nolan and Molla (ibid:12) state that, “[p]rofessional capital is a function of the interactive combination of the three elements”.

5.5. Power

The complexity of power in institutions was of great importance for Foucault. Sergiu (2010:55) states that, “[t]he power problem is central to his thinking regarding the relations between society, individuals, groups and institutions”. For Foucault (1980:141) power was not tangible and could not be possessed, it was to be found in many different types of relationships and was, “always already there”. We are always active in power relations, however, power is not always harmful, it can be a positive force.

5.5.1. *Sovereign, Disciplinary and Pastoral Power*

Foucault saw power as having three different forms, ‘sovereign power’, ‘disciplinary power’ and ‘pastoral power’. Sovereign power refers to an early historical context where power was held by few individuals and obedience was to the law, king or central authority figure. Disciplinary power gradually took over from sovereign power in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (O’Farrell, 2005). However, Foucault took the idea of sovereign power and applied it to contemporary society. For SD trainees sovereign power can be sometimes be evident in the authoritative roles held by headteachers and SBTEs. Disciplinary power is described by O’Farrell (ibid:133) to be, “a mechanism of power which regulates the behaviour of individuals in the social body”. Power in disciplinary societies is exercised through modes of surveillance. Trainees are under constant forms of surveillance in schools resulting in significant pressure to regulate their behaviour in line with doxic practice. In addition, serving teachers are regulated by government policy monitored through the medium of inspection.

In SD models there is often a leading mentor/SBTE who supports trainees’ training. These mentors operate in different ways but in this research it was useful to examine some of their behaviours through Foucault’s conception of pastoral power, which is focused on individuals and uses, “a very particular set of techniques, rationalities and practices designed to govern or guide people’s conduct as individual members of a population” (O’Farrell, ibid:46). Foucault made parallels between Christian pastorates and concepts of pastoral power, identifying a complex, “tie between the pastor who exercises a minute and

careful jurisdiction over the bodily actions and the souls of his flock in order to assure their salvation” (Golder, 2007:167). The pastor’s role is to provide, “a constant, individualised kindness to ensure that every soul remains fed, nurtured and steadfast to the end” (McCuaig, 2007:286). In order to fulfil their role pastors need to have detailed knowledge of their flock, “this form of power cannot be exercised without knowing the inside of people’s minds, without exploring their souls, without making them reveal their innermost secrets” (Foucault, 1983:214). This can be a role SBTEs assume in their close relationships with trainees by becoming involved in their personal as well as professional lives. Pastors, therefore, assume the sympathetic demeanour of both a spiritual guide and a caring parent (McCuaig, 2007). Some SBTEs in this research also adopted parental maternalistic identities⁶¹. In this analogy Foucault (1978:183) posits that members of the flock owe, in return, “a kind of exhaustive, total and permanent relationship of individual obedience”. In addition, Perryman et al (2017:746) suggest that, “pastoral power gives the subject responsibility for their own production” which they relate to governmentality.

5.5.2. *Panopticon*

As a form of control within disciplinary power, Bourke et al (2013) refer to Foucault’s concept of panopticism as a metaphor for surveillance systems in social bodies including schools. In schools surveillance can take the form of observation but can also be found in the monitoring of pupil data and, in addition, for trainees in judgments against the professional standards. Bourke et al (ibid:3) posit that, “[b]eing subjected to this visibility, teachers become the mechanism of their own subjection, whether ‘being watched’ is verifiable or not”. Childs et al (2014) identify that the challenge for trainees is learning to teach in the public arena of classrooms where there is no safety net and huge risk of witnessed failure. For SD trainees the small CoPs in which they are trained can significantly increase the impact of ‘witnessed failure’ (ibid).

⁶¹ Discussed in section 6.3.2.2.

5.5.3. *Governmentality*

Perryman et al (2017:746) describe governmentality as being not just about national and local political control, but referring, “to the self, so is also how and why the self shapes its own conduct in particular ways”. Edwards (2002) identifies two main modes of governmentality in the work of Foucault. The first is the practices through which governing in general takes place. The second mode enables, “individuals to develop their capacities to look after themselves [...] a movement away from people having control exercised over them to a situation in which they actively regulate their own conduct” (Edwards, *ibid*:356). In this sense Foucault was concerned with the ‘conduct of conduct’ (Perryman et al 2017). For SD trainees ‘the conduct of conduct’ may result in them actively shaping their practices to fit with school doxic practices. In neoliberal agendas to make schools self-governing, Niesche (2010:251-252) emphasises the headteacher’s role to, “assess their own conduct and the conduct of staff and students in order to improve efficiency and effectiveness”. For Lemke (2000:14) this is, “a re-coding of social mechanisms of exploitation and domination on the basis of a new topography of the social”. Ball (2013:130) sees this form of governance in schools as, “dangerous” as, “bodies are not just ‘docile’ rather they are engaged in a form of insidious ‘disciplined self-management’” impacting not only on serving teachers but also trainees.

5.5.4. *Dividing Practices*

Foucault was interested in the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects, “[t]hat is the objectification of the subject by process of classification and division” (Ball, 1990:3). Foucault referred to the division of subjects as ‘dividing practices’. Ball (1990:4) explains that, “[t]hese divisions and objectifications are achieved either within the subject or between the subject and others”. I argue that SD models create situations where trainees have been divided into separate communities (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Through this kind of dividing practice human agents, in this case trainees, develop particular professional identities as subjects, within which they are subject to various dominant discourses. Dean (1999:14) explains that, “our understanding of ourselves is linked to the ways in which we are governed”. SD trainees are, therefore, governed in a Foucauldian

sense by CoPs, TSAs and/or placement schools. However, subjects also develop self-governance or ‘technologies of self’ as is explained by Lemke, (2000:12):

...government refers to a continuum, which extends from political government right through to forms of self-regulation, namely “technologies of the self”. This theoretical stance allows for a more complex analysis of neo-liberal forms of government that feature not only direct intervention by means of empowered and specialised state apparatuses, but also characteristically develop indirect techniques for leading and controlling individuals.

‘Technologies of the self’ can refer to the ways trainees constitute themselves through constant engagement in self-understanding and self-reinvention and in relation to others (Perryman et al, 2017). Foucault (1988:18) saw these strategies as permitting, “individuals to effect by their own means a certain number of operations on their own bodies, their own souls, their own thoughts, their own conduct, and the way of being so as to transform themselves...”.

5.5.5. *Resistance of Power*

Foucault was concerned less with the oppressive aspect of power and more with the resistance of those power is exerted upon. Mills (2003:35) suggests that the person, “is the ‘place’ where power is enacted and the place where it is resisted”. Foucault saw the individual as an active subject not a simple object for power. According to Sergiu (2010:55) this way of conceptualising power has two key features; firstly that power is, “a system, a network of relations encompassing the whole of society”; secondly, individuals are the vehicles of power, “the *locus* where the power and the resistance to it are exerted” (original italics). The potential for resistance of power for SD trainees can be challenging as they are mostly in a position where power is exerted upon them⁶².

⁶² As discussed in my research findings sections 6.3.1. and 6.3.2.

5.6. Agency

Biesta et al (2015) posit that recent teacher agency discussion has focused on agency as social action as part of structure-agency debates. Conceptions of agency in ITT provide platforms from which to consider SD trainee's ability to shape and be shaped by their training experience.

5.6.1. *Ecological Perspective of Agency*

Biesta et al (ibid:625) take an ecological perspective to agency as an, "emergent phenomenon of actor-situation transaction" rather than individualised. "Agency, in other words, is not something that people can *have* – as a property, capacity or competence – but is something that people *do*" (ibid, original italics). In this sense agency is not a power but an achievement and actors may achieve greater agency in some settings as opposed to others. Priestley et al (2012:4) refer to this as, "agency as a situated achievement". This view of agency helps to understand how SD trainees might be, "enabled and constrained by their social and material environments" (ibid:3). Where trainees are 'constrained' by environments the limitations of agency can also be explored⁶³.

5.6.2. *Three Dimensional Construct of Agency*

Emirbayer and Mische (1998) stated that agency should always be understood as a three-dimensional construct, configuring influences from the past (the iterational dimension), orientations toward the future (the projective dimension) and engagement with the present (the practical-evaluative dimension). Emirbayer and Mische (ibid:973) make no assumption that at, "all time, places and persons are equally iterational, projective and practical-evaluative" and the amount to which they contribute to achievements of agency varies. They refer to this variation as, "a *chordal triad* of agency within which all three dimensions resonate as separate but not always harmonious tones" (ibid:972, original italics). Biesta et al (2015:627) developed Emirayer and Mische's model further to consider how agency,

⁶³ Discussed in more detail in section 6.3.3.4.

“enacted in the here-and-now [...] is influenced by what we refer to as cultural, material and structural resources”. Figure 4 illustrates the three dimensions of agency along with resource influences and figure 5 shows an adaption of the model to fit ITT contexts.

Figure 4 – Three Dimensions of Agency (Biesta et al, 2015:627)

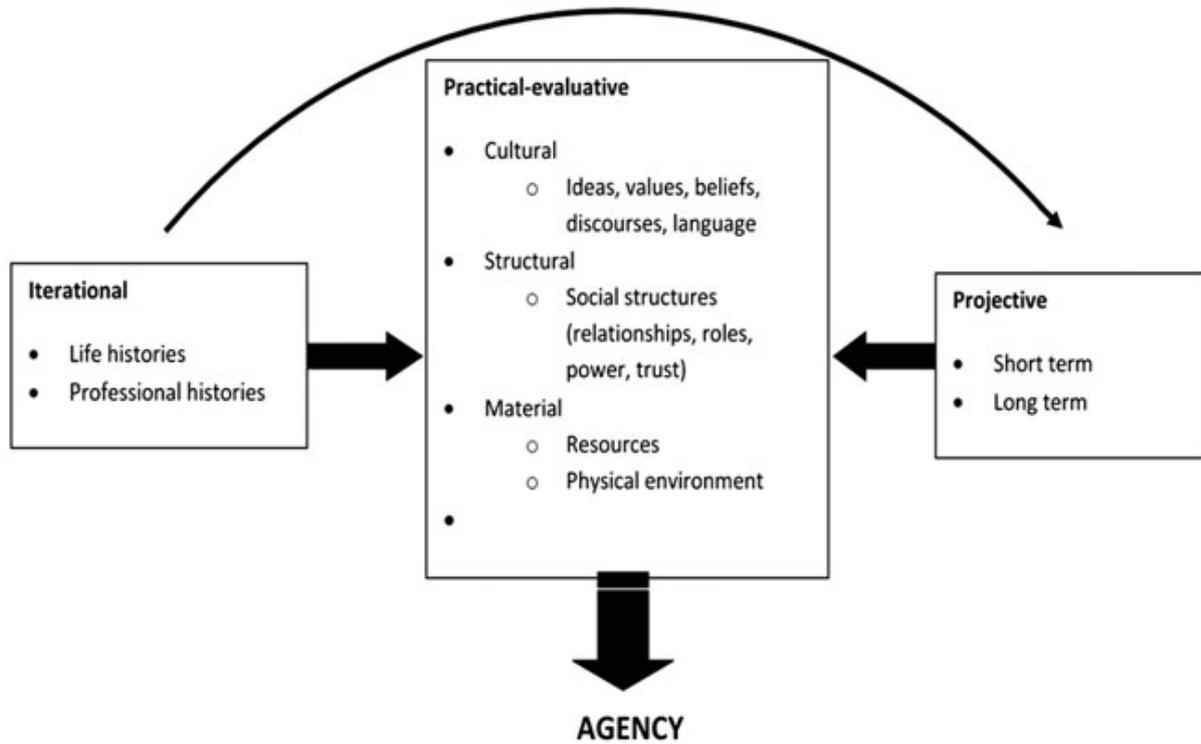
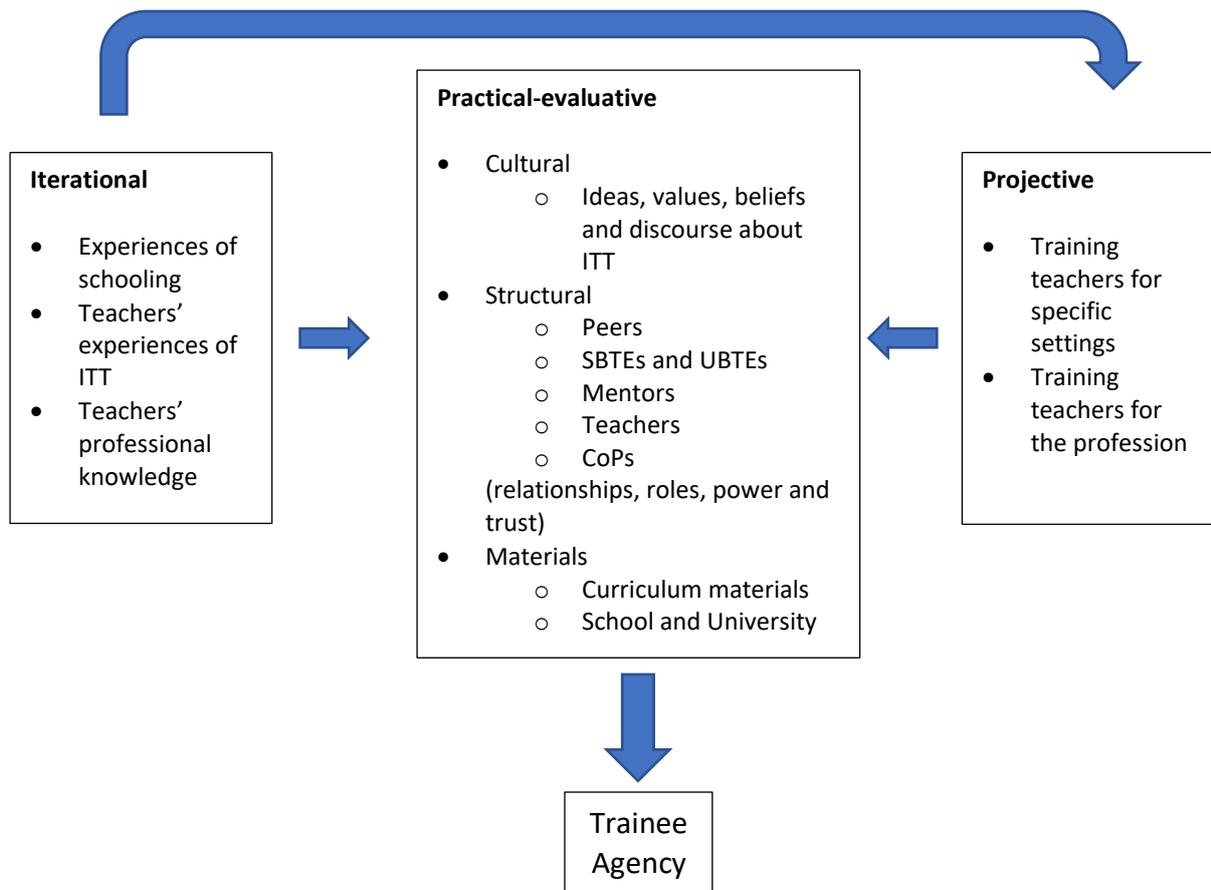


Figure 5 - Biesta et al's (2015) Three Dimensions of Agency adapted for ITT



5.6.3. Agency and Discourse

Biesta et al (2017:40, original italics) describe talk as, “an important *resource* for the achievement of agency”. Biesta et al (2015:636) studied the role of beliefs in teacher agency finding that teachers had a, “mishmash of competing and vague ideas”, this they attributed to, “externally imposed systems which alter the dynamics of schooling, leading to incremental change without the development of a clear philosophy of education to underpin the changes in question”. Moreover, in my research I explore the lack of common philosophy by SBTEs and UBTEs about ITT purpose and content⁶⁴. Biesta et al (2015) found further that teachers do not have deep consideration of education purposes and emphasise short-term goals focused on process rather than longer-term goals focused on significance and impact. In my research I have focussed on future projections about whether the purpose of ITT is to train teachers for specific settings or to train them for the teaching

⁶⁴ Discussed in section 6.3.3.

profession in general⁶⁵. Findings from Biesta et al (2017:52) identified that some teachers' talk and vocabularies were limited and closely connected to policy discourses, "leading to a situation where there is very little different between teachers' talk and the policy discourses within which they do their work, thus limiting their opportunities for critical evaluation". It is, therefore, questionable as to the nature, scope and access teachers have to discursive resources, which manifests itself in this research as questions about SBTEs access to ITT CoPs⁶⁶. Biesta et al (2015:629) emphasise that they are not wanting to portray teachers in a negative light, "[t]eacher professional discourses are to a large extent as they are because of the teachers' positioning within their professional environments, and their agency (or lack of) is heavily influenced by factors which are often beyond their immediate control". These findings present an interesting dimension by which to consider how school-based ITT has been developed for SD and against what underpinning teacher education constructs.

Biesta et al's (2017) ecological understanding of agency, focuses on agency as temporal and relational, occurring over time and influenced by the actors and environments in and through which they act. In addition, they (ibid:51) note the impact on agency of what they call, "age-effects", the influence of experience and, "generation-effects", the influence of having experience of different contexts, practices and ideas from those currently prevalent. There is a relationship between these definitions of agency and Bourdieu's conception of habitus⁶⁷. The impact of age-effects and generation effects led, "to a stronger orientation towards the future (the project dimension of agency) which did appear to make a difference with regard to teachers' actions in the here and now" (ibid:51). Questions of how far SD ITT programmes are impacted on by trainee and SBTE agency are explored in this research⁶⁸.

5.6.4. *Agency, Social Relations and Networks*

Granovetter (1985) argued that human action is best understood as being 'embedded' in concrete personal relations in which trust develops and productive economic activity is

⁶⁵ Discussed in chapter 6.3.1.

⁶⁶ Discussed further in my research findings, section 6.3.3.3

⁶⁷ Discussed in section 5.4.1.

⁶⁸ In chapters 6.2. and 6.3.

made possible. Again, there is relationship with Bourdieu's conceptions of habitus and field⁶⁹. Lane and Sweeny (2019:80) argue that, "[a]ction is both inhibited and facilitated by social connections and the social resources, or social capital, embedded within these networks". They argue that understanding social networks and social capital helps researchers understand human agency. Human agency for SD trainees was evident in the relationships they had with key figures in TSAs, placement schools and between each other within CoPs⁷⁰.

Lane and Sweeny (ibid:82) posit that, "purposeful human action is facilitated or inhibited by one's social network—those relational ties that one forms with others and through which resources flow". Moreover, Spillane et al (2012; 2015) found that organisation structures were more important in the choice of who to form ties with than personal characteristics. Bridwell-Mitchell and Cooc (2016) found it was the cohesion of the network that mattered in tie formation and in denser networks ties were likely to persist for longer. My findings suggested that human agency was an important facet of SD training, in particular, the ability trainees had or did not have to influence experience⁷¹.

⁶⁹ Discussed in section 5.4.1.

⁷⁰ Discussed in sections 6.3.2.3. and 6.3.2.7.

⁷¹ Discussed in section 6.3.2.7.

5.7. Nurturing and Support

5.7.1. Significant and Salient Others

Mead (1934) conceptualised 'self' as a social product formed through the processes of internalising and organising psychological experiences. These psychological experiences result from experience in physical environments and reflections of 'self' received from significant or salient others (Borich, 1999). These concepts were useful tools by which to critically interrogate mentor-mentee relationships in my research.

Differences between 'significant other' and 'salient others' Borich (ibid) defines as:

- *The Significant Other* - an individual, selected and unconditionally valued by the developing self as a source of self-reflection and an interpreter of behavioural dialogue.
- *The Salient Other* - an individual, selected or accepted by the developing self and conditionally valued for a specific reflection of the 'self' and for interpretation of specific events in the behavioural dialogue.

In this research's SD models, trainees experienced two types of mentor relationships. There were mentors filling traditional roles of supporting trainee development through each placement, by observation, meetings and assessment, aligning to the 'Salient Other' concept. In addition, trainees also had a mentor whom they often met before application at open events; this mentor fulfilled more nurturing roles, supporting them through application, recruitment and selection processes, acting as a consistent guide throughout the training and sometimes also acting as SBTE, teaching part of their programme. This relationship aligns more closely to the 'Significant Other'.

Ferrier-Kerr's (2009:792) research highlighted the significance of, "personal connectedness" between trainees and mentors. For SD trainees involved in this research, longevity of relationships during the entire programme resulted in strong 'personal connectedness' with TSA SBTEs or mentors acting as 'Significant Others'. Ferrier-Kerr's (ibid) research on the personal connectedness aspects of relationships found that mentor perspectives were focused on trainees' professional needs. However, trainees were more concerned about

personal relationships with mentors, with a greater focus on validation, such as, “being greeted with a smile, taking time out to talk informally, acknowledgement in the staff-room and getting to know ‘things’ about each other” (ibid)⁷².

5.7.2. *Nurturing*

Atkinson (2000a) suggests there are three aspects to all nurturing environments, exemplified in this research as TSA CoPs, they are support, structure and direction⁷³

5.7.2.1. *Structure*

Atkinson (ibid:56) sees structure as, “order within the world of consistent expectations, rules, patterns and outcomes”. A consistent structure allows for formation of intuitive responses and for interpretation of results of actions based on these intuitive responses. Eraut (1994:105) noted that, “the synthesis of past experience and a knowledge of what to expect in the future [...] is the framework through which new experience is interpreted”. Chaotic nurturing environments are formed from inconsistencies in structure. Atkinson (2000a) argues that Schön’s (1983) work on reflection-on-action provides opportunities in professional practice that allows for results of judgements to be considered, and seen to be appropriate or otherwise. “This reflection, or validation, feeds back into the intuitive process to form part of the experience that will be drawn upon in response to subsequent events” (Atkinson, 2000a:58). All ITT environments, including SD, need structure to maximise learning potential.

5.7.2.2. *Direction*

At a simple level Atkinson (ibid:59) positions direction as being told what to do, she argues that it can be, “increasingly hard to separate oneself from the wishes and expectations of a much-loved nurturer”. This research considered some lead mentors’ roles as ‘Significant

⁷² Discussed in my research findings, section 6.3.2.6.

⁷³ Discussed in my research findings, section 6.3.2.2.

Others' and 'much loved nurturers'⁷⁴. Atkinson (ibid) states that, "problems associated with high direction coupled with high support can easily lead to an over-reliance on the trainer by the trainee". Such over-reliance on nurturer direction can be quick and easy, but may impact ability to formulate judgements in new settings. Furlong (2000:29) writes that professionals, "need the autonomy to make their own judgments". Atkinson (2000a:60) argues that, "[i]f the development of autonomy has not been encouraged in the initial nurturing environment, then it may be very difficult to develop it in subsequent environments". This research questioned whether the relationship closeness between SD lead mentors and trainees led to overdependence⁷⁵.

5.7.2.3. *Support*

Atkinson (ibid:61) argues that, "[t]he notion of trust in your own judgment can be equated to confidence in one's self-efficacy". For Atkinson (ibid) self-efficacy is part of self-esteem, which can be seen developing through affective and cognitive routes. Affective routes stem from positive support in environments, whilst cognitive routes are based on personal perceptions of efficacy in specific situations, affected by positive support and reinforcement. Where support is denied this can lead to low self-esteem and loss of confidence to trust judgments, although this may be remediated in subsequent environments. Johnston's (2016:545) research into trainees' poor placement experiences concluded that those supporting trainee's development, "should consider ways of nurturing and facilitating greater power-sharing so that student teachers have legitimate rights in shaping the nature of the support and guidance that they receive in a school". Some SD models in this research were highly supportive environments, as a result, trainees' were afforded agency to shape the nature of support and training⁷⁶. This was not the case, however, for all SD trainees⁷⁷. Atkinson (2000a:62) argues that of the three aspects in nurturing environments, structure, "is most affected by its interaction and balance with the other two".

⁷⁴ Discussed in my research findings, section 6.3.2.6.

⁷⁵ Discussed in my research findings, section 6.3.2.6.

⁷⁶ Discussed in my research findings in sections 6.3.2.6. and 6.3.2.7.

⁷⁷ Discussed in my research findings in section 6.3.1.8.

Atkinson (ibid:63) concluded that any disparity between the nurture of environments can cause considerable difficulty for trainees, and may, “be powerful enough to interfere with meaningful learning”. There needs to be balance between these three aspects of nurturing environments to enable trainees to develop the ability to trust their judgement, and that trust in judgement is at the heart of problem-solving, risk and flexibility⁷⁸. Atkinson (2000b:69) argues that teacher educators are challenged, “to provide an appropriately nurturing environment in which teachers can develop their intuitive thinking skills as well as analytical and reflective thinking”.

5.7.3. *The Affective Domain*

Bloom’s (1956) taxonomy identified three domains, cognitive, affective and psychomotor. Both cognitive and psychomotor domains are normally accompanied by the affective domain. Pierre and Oughton (2007:1) state that the affective domain includes any behaviour that has emotional component, and that, “affective learning inculcates the values and beliefs we place on the information we engage with”. Piaget (1962:130) posited that, “at no level, at no state, even in the adult, can we find a behavior or a state which is purely cognitive without affect nor a purely affective state without a cognitive element involved”. Moreover, Griffith and Nguyen (2006:2) argue that, “[t]he cognitive domain is like a skeleton without the skin if we forget to nourish the affective domain”.

Johnston (2016) emphasises the importance of relationships between trainees and classteachers/mentors not only for well-being but also for capacity to learn effectively. He (ibid:546) argues that, “[s]trong relational bonds can thus help students develop belief in their own competence, enabling them to learn in a situation where the risk to self is minimised and where there is relaxed attention to what is to be learned”. In some circumstances where trainees experience petty power games or personal hostility, there can be emotional fall-out such as anxiety, lack of confidence and self-efficacy deflecting, “attention from the important activities of learning to teach” (Johnston, 2010:312-313).

⁷⁸ Discussed in my research findings, sections 6.3.1.8 and 6.3.2.6.

Shoffner (2009:784) states that, “[e]motions and emotional states play an important role in learning to teach”. This research found some positive impact on trainees’ affective domains, particularly in relation to agency over their training, however, the intensity of some CoPs also appeared to impact negatively on trainees’ affective domains and may have disrupted learning⁷⁹.

5.7.4. *Emotional Ecology*

Zembylas (2007:356) argues that, “teacher’s emotional knowledge about teaching and learning is an inextricable part of the ecosystem of teacher knowledge”, referring to this as ‘emotional ecology’, meaning teacher’s emotional knowledge in particular contexts, and including connections to emotional experiences and relationships with others. He identified three ‘planes’ of emotional knowledge; *individual*, *relational* and *social-political*. These planes occur concurrently and relationships between them overlap and are blurred. The individual plane is connected to subject matter and reflects teachers’ attitudes and beliefs about learning and teaching, educational vision and philosophy, and emotional self-awareness. The relational plane is connected to relationships with children and is focused on children’s emotional experiences, caring, empathy, emotional climates of classrooms and social-emotional interactions. The social-political plane connects with teachers’ emotional knowledge of institutional/cultural contexts, curricular deliberations, emotional politics of pedagogies and subject matter discourses. This last plane has particular relevance for SD training as the focus is for trainees to have detailed knowledge of the institutional/cultural contexts of one particular school during their training, presenting both opportunities and limitations⁸⁰.

5.7.5. *Care*

Tett et al’s (2017) study of undergraduate university students highlighted the affective dimension of learning on students’ engagement. This, they argued, is based on:

⁷⁹ Discussed in sections 6.3.1. and 6.3.2.

⁸⁰ Discussed in section 6.3.1.

...the argument that learning is a subjective experience that is bound up with other life events and experiences and is influenced by the opportunities that a student has access to, their perception of self and how they envisage it might be possible to achieve (ibid:169).

They suggest that support in universities is often reactive in nature; it is left up to students to identify when they need support. They also found that what makes the difference in student choice of who to approach for care was, “how reciprocal and frequent the contact with staff so that the emotional quality of strong ties could be developed” (ibid:176). There was much potential in small SD CoPs for trainees to develop strong ties with those SBTEs supporting training. However, the need to assess students, can conflict with caring relationships especially when the outcome is disappointing to students. They may then, “no longer want to be in relation with [the staff member] and no longer see [...] themselves as one cared-for” (O’Brien, 2010:113), creating potential tensions for the SBTE role.

In seeking to understand how caring institutions operate, Tronto (2010) posits that some scholars (Noddings, 2002; Schorr, 1997) have argued that good care institutions are modelled on family units. Tronto (2010:159), however, states that:

On the contrary, I shall argue that while we can turn to family life to intuit some key elements of good care, to provide good care in an institutional context requires that we make explicit certain elements of care that go unspoken and that we take for granted in the family setting.

Tronto (1993) presents care as a political construct, recognising what Reid (2018:15) suggests are, “the political relations of dominative power”. According to Reid (ibid:63), “in positioning care as political, Tronto reveals a complex web of purpose, power and plurality in caring relations”. Tronto (2010) defines purpose as decisions appertaining to reasons and outcomes of care, power relations as being both within organisations and exerted externally upon them, and plurality or particularity as individual needs of humans and recognition of diverse ways in which those needs might be met.

In this research relationships between SBTEs, TSAs and trainees have been described as families⁸¹. However, feminist explorations of family and care make it clear that practices are

⁸¹ Identified in section 6.3.2.2.

deeply embedded in time and place (Tronto, 2010). Families are not and have not always been a paradise. Although, the normative sense of 'family' does have a clear sense of, "purpose, power and particularity" (ibid:161). Tronto posits that, "[w]hile the beauty of relationships in the mythic, glorified family was that they did not need discussion, they evolved out of the ongoing interactions among the personalities in the household. Thus, they could be taken for granted" (ibid:162). In institutions, however, these need to be worked out consciously; Tronto (ibid) argues that care within institutions should not attempt to replicate perceived ideal family structures, but should undergo a deliberate and political process to determine the three aspects of 'purpose, power and particularity', concluding that:

If I am right about the complex intersections of purpose, power, and plurality, then rather than expecting other social institutions to be more family-like in providing automatic ways to meet needs, the chances are good that the best forms of institutional care will be those which are highly deliberate and explicit about how to best meet the needs of the people who they serve (ibid:169).

There is a danger, therefore, in unquestioning adoption of the family unit as healthy construct in SD relationships as explored in my research findings⁸².

Noddings' (1984) conception of the 'ethic of care' posits care as a moral relationship, it is not something a person is, but is a deliberate act; it, "provides a way of thinking about caring that repositions the concept, transforming it from a personality trait to a deliberate and decisive act" (Goldstein, 2002:16). Noddings' (1984) conception of caring emphasised the consideration carers give to the needs and goals of the cared for, this she referred to as, "motivational displacement". Noddings (ibid:55), however, suggests that this can sometimes be problematic, especially as in determining the needs of the cared-for, "conflict may arise between [...] what the cared-for wants and what we see as his best interest". This can be a tension in SD relationships where trainee expectations of what mentors offer does not accord with their experience.

⁸² Discussed in section 6.3.2.2.

Caring is a reciprocal practice, Noddings (ibid:52) states that, “‘I am receiving’ as ‘I am giving’”. It is the response of the cared-for that completes caring encounters, “the one-caring is dependent on the cared-for – whatever the one-caring does is validated and made meaningful, or diminished and made meaningless, by the response of the cared-for” (Goldstein, 2002:14). In mature relationships all parties have opportunities to be both carer and cared for, but in mother-infant relationships caring is one-sided, mothers are always caring for infants. The relationship of teachers with children is also one that is more one sided. In some SD mentor relationships, mentor identity as ‘Significant Other’ is compared to that of a ‘mother’, suggesting alternative conceptions of caring reciprocity and ones that perhaps over dominate trainees⁸³.

5.7.6. *Mentoring Approaches*

Wang and Odell (2007) describe the process of mentoring through three perspectives, humanistic, situated apprenticeship, and critical constructivist. The humanistic perspective is focused on trainee personal needs. However, Feiman-Nemser (2001b:1033) found that, “many beginning teachers are reluctant to reveal problems or ask for help, believing that good teachers work things out for themselves” this she referred to as, “norms of politeness” and, “desire for harmony”. Wang and Odell (2007) found that when mentors focus on the psychological and emotional needs of trainees it helps trainees adjust emotionally to teaching and reduces attrition. However, it does not necessarily guarantee that trainees will learn better teaching than they would have learnt without their mentors as focus is on personal needs rather than teaching skills, “[t]hus the humanistic mentoring approach does not necessarily contribute to novices’ learning to teach” (Wang and Odell, 2002:494). The humanistic model fits well, however, with nurturing practices offered by ‘Significant Others’ within this research context⁸⁴.

The situated apprenticeship perspective focuses on technical or professional trainee needs, however, arguably it does not broaden teachers’ practices beyond reproduction of existing technical skills (Bickmore and Bickmore, 2010). As Wang and Odell (2007:477) state, “[t]he

⁸³ Discussed in section 6.3.2.6.

⁸⁴ Discussed in section 6.3.2.6.

situated apprentice mentor-novice relationship serves to sustain existing practices and norms instead of transforming the existing culture and practice". The two perspectives of humanistic and situated apprenticeship represent what Feiman-Nemser (1998; 2001a) refers to as *conventional mentoring*. Conventional mentoring views trainees as recipients of knowledge, and mentors as experts. This approach can be argued to fit comfortably with SD training models that seek to train teachers in and for specific school contexts. In common with humanistic and situated apprenticeship approaches, "[c]onventional mentoring focuses on situational adjustment to the new school environment, technical advice, and emotional support" (Richter et al, 2013:168).

The critical constructivist perspective has two theoretical bases. The first is critical theory, assuming learning to be continuously deconstructed and reconstructed towards emancipatory ends. The second is the constructivist assumption that knowledge is actively built through a process of assimilation and accommodation shaped by learner's initial conceptions (Wang and Odell, 2007). To achieve this approach Wang and Odell (2002:498) posit that, "mentor–novice relationships should be oriented toward critiquing existing knowledge and structures and the culture of teaching and schooling and toward developing a strong commitment toward dispositions, knowledge, and skills...". Feiman-Nemser (1998; 2001a) refers to this approach as *educative mentoring*, which enables trainees to learn in and from mentor's practices through collaborative relationships where knowledge about teaching is mutually generated. Carter and Francis (2001:260) conclude that, "[m]entoring relationships that promote collaborative enquiry, cooperative practice and reflection are fundamental to workplace learning for beginning teachers that moves beyond the transmission of past and existing practice". This concept of collaborative enquiry relates to the work of Cochran and Lytle (1999)⁸⁵, in particular, 'knowledge-of-practice', and was not particularly evident in this research's SD models⁸⁶.

Wang and Odell (2002:519) found that most mentoring practices focus on humanistic and apprentice approaches; this has also been a finding of this research⁸⁷. In addition, Wang and

⁸⁵ Discussed in section 2.1.6.3.

⁸⁶ Discussed in section 6.3.3.

⁸⁷ Discussed in section 6.3.2.6.

Odell (2007:478) argue that, “the primary focus of mentoring is on technical or emotional supports or guidance about the local culture and resources for teaching” and that, “mentoring practices consistent with a critical constructivist perspective typically are not achieved”. They (ibid) found that trainees and mentors expect the mentor role to focus on emotional and technical support, and that common mentoring practices are likely to be based on mentors’ contexts and own experiences of learning to teach. This inward facing practice sits comfortably with the premise of growing your own teachers for school specific contexts but also with the danger inherent in Noble-Rogers’ (2017:18) suggestion that growing your own teachers⁸⁸ can lead to, “parochialism [and] institutional conservatism”.

5.7.7. *Relational Knowing*

Research into friendships between mentors and mentees appears sparser than some other categories such as, gender, race and social class. Some research, however, considered relevant to this thesis relates to ‘relational knowing’ (Hollingsworth et al, 1993; Young et al, 2004) and ‘interpersonal comfort’ (Allen et al, 2005). These theoretical concepts have been used in the context of this research to consider the relationships that occurred when the trainees recruited through a ‘growing your own’ approach were already well established in their placement settings through previous roles such as teaching assistants (TAs) or unqualified teachers and presented high levels of relational knowing.

Hollingsworth et al (1993:242) posit that ‘relational knowing’ provides, “a way to view our relationships with others as reflections of the larger cultures of which we are members, as well as opportunities to reconstruct them”. In addition, relational knowing, “denotes knowledge that is gained through relationships, knowledge that is fluid and knowledge that is influenced by social contexts” (Young et al, 2004:24). Relational knowing facilitates consideration of deep knowledge of each other’s beliefs and experience; the social construction of theories and pedagogies; an understanding of self in relation to others and an understanding of the importance of social contexts to influence relations and continued knowing (ibid). Young and Alvermann (1997:125) found that professional friendships altered

⁸⁸ Discussed in section 6.3.1.

the content of discourse which could engage on a deeper personal level and, “speak the truth to each other and stay connected through a very intense period in [the] mentoring relationship”. Some SD trainees in this research noted different, closer mentor relationships when trainees were already known to their mentors before the SD training year began⁸⁹.

Allen et al (2005) distinguish between two types of mentorship, informal and formal. Informal mentorship is usually spontaneous and is the result of mutual attraction whereas formal mentorship is often initiated by third parties and is based on specific assignments or briefs. Mentors and mentees usually have minimal input into matching processes in formal mentoring compared to informal mentoring. Allen et al (ibid:159) suggest that mentors in formal mentoring programmes can be reluctant participants and, “or may be suspicious of the competency of their protégés”. Informal mentoring may result from, “mutual attraction” (ibid:158), closer shared identities and common non-work interests. The degree of mentoring differs between the two types. Allen et al (ibid) suggest that informal mentoring can lead to an increase in, “more psychosocial roles involving friendship, social support, role modelling and acceptance” and interpersonal comfort than formal mentoring. It was anticipated that for most SD trainees the allocation of mentor to mentee was done on a formal basis, however, this research argues that some of the pairings where mentors have been paired with a mentee who is well known as a previous colleague have blurred the boundaries between these two types of mentorship.

This section has explored the complexity of relationships in SD training, especially that of mentor-mentee. Although mentor-mentee relationships are common in all ITT models, they are impacted on in SD models by closer attachments of TSs to trainees and expectations that they are training teachers to work in specific schools. These altered relationships offer new potential for positive outcomes but also tensions as are explored in my research findings⁹⁰.

⁸⁹ Discussed in section 6.3.1.6.

⁹⁰ Discussed in sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2.

5.8. *Ownership and Control*

Consideration of ownership and control are important in this thesis to offer alternative critical lenses to examine relationships between TSAs and SD trainees⁹¹. Notions of ‘ownership’ in workplace communities relate to management growth in mid-late nineteenth century with, “the separation of capital ownership from management and a shift from individual to corporate ownership of companies” (Ward, 2011:205). This gradual division separated ownership from direct control of workforces to ‘management’ becoming a professional task, “[t]he work of managers was to ensure the efficient output of goods and service: maximum output for minimum cost” (Lynch, 2014:3). Social organisations became less federative and communal and more centralised and bureaucratic. This section explores notions of control and ownership in school communities and especially how they play out in SD models.

5.8.1. *Managerialism*

“Managerialism is a set of ideas and practices that, under the direction of managers, arrange a group’s activities in efficiency-minded ways and a doxa that legitimates the need for this control in all settings” (Ward, 2011:205). For Lynch (2014:5), this involves the, “management of identity as a modality of control that includes ‘managing the insides’ of workers”. Management of identity can also be related to governmentality⁹². Lynch’s position refers to a cultural focus on individuals in organisations rather than organisations themselves resulting in self-empowerment and self-actualisation through commitment to corporate goals for excellence and achievement. Ward (2011:206) explains, “it is, in the end, the job of management to mold employee actions in keeping with the institution’s mission and the wishes of those who control it” as a form of institutional habitus⁹³. Some trainees in my research talked openly about how they had moulded themselves or had been moulded to their school’s doxic practice⁹⁴. In addition, in SD schools there is a particular emphasis on

⁹¹ Discussed in section 6.3.2.

⁹² Discussed in section 5.5.3.

⁹³ Discussed in section 5.4.2.

⁹⁴ Discussed in my research findings, section 6.3.1.5.

trainees becoming part of organisations from the start of, or sometimes even before, their training. The impact of these expectations is explored in my research findings⁹⁵.

Gewirtz and Ball (2000:253) posit that changes to education of the new organisational regime resulted in, “the marketisation of education provision” which shifted both cultures and values underpinning schools. Gewirtz and Ball (ibid) focus on this shift in relation to headship principles, moving initially from a climate which they define as ‘welfarism’. Welfarism may be explained as a situation where decisions are driven by a commitment to professional standards and values, for example, equity, care and social justice. Welfarism focuses on collective relations with employees and is consultative, fostering cooperation and based on a public-service ethos. The movement from welfarism is to a climate of ‘new managerialism’ where decisions are instrumentalist, driven by cost-effectiveness and concerns for efficiency and competition, there is an emphasis on individual relations, a customer-oriented ethos and a more authoritarian approach to leadership (ibid). The focus becomes on clients as consumers or customers and the headteacher’s role to exercise control is increased (Taylor, 2007). In summary, Gewirtz and Ball (2000:254) contend that, “[e]ssentially it involves a shift from a ‘learner-needs’ perspective toward an ‘institutional-needs’ perspective, set within the paradoxical logic of market discipline, which suggests that the ‘self-interests’ of the latter will deliver the impersonal benefits of the former”. The impact for SD is increased expectation that trainees’ learner needs will be shaped to meet larger institutional need perspectives.

Through managerialism Wright (2001:277) suggests that a new, “technical-rational” approach to teaching has developed emphasising practical and skills-related training for headteachers. Arguably presenting the ideal climate for Gove (2010) to position teaching as a ‘craft’. In addition, headteachers become, “what Foucault calls ‘technicians of behaviour’, their task ‘to produce bodies that are docile and capable’” (Ball, 2003:219). Taylor (2007:561) suggests that a, “major role for headteachers is to manage this technocratic or skills-based process”. This culminates in Ball’s (2003) argument that the role of managers is

⁹⁵ Sections 6.3.1. and 6.3.2.

to make workers, which includes SD trainees, feel accountable and at the same time committed and personally invested in the organisation.

5.8.2. *Wage Labour*

If conceiving slavery as reducing human beings to nothing but bodies then O’Connell Davidson (2014:516) argues that, “bodies are also unimportant in the wage labour exchange and workers sell their fully alienable labour to employers, not their embodied selves”. In order to deconstruct notions of wage labour exchange⁹⁶ as discussed by *inter alia* O’Connell Davidson (ibid), then it is useful to consider briefly the writings of Marx (1887). In liberal assumptions labour power can be detached from the person; for Marx (ibid), however, the capacity to labour was not property and, therefore, not separable from workers. He made many comparisons between slavery and wage labour arguing that, “[t]ypes of work that are consumed as services and not in products separable from the worker, and hence not capable of existing as commodities independently of him” (ibid:1044). Marx argued that wage labour entails transfers of power of command over the person of the worker, “[i]n waged work the will of one person (the worker) is subordinated to that of another (the employer)” (O’Connell Davidson, 2014:522). Although the works of Marx are not a central analytical lens in this thesis, debates about the freedom of labour power are useful constructs by which to consider the notions of ownership that permeate SD models. O’Connell Davidson (ibid) argues that sellers of labour power are seriously affected by the ways in which employers treat them.

The growth of welfare capitalism, particularly after World War Two, offered protection for workers from, “socially unacceptable practices and working conditions, established rights and obligations, and provided a core of social stability” Rodgers (1989:1). These measures constrained employers from consuming purchased labour power in whatever manner they chose (O’Connell Davidson, 2014). However, although accepting that labour power is not a commodity the employment relationships did not deal with the continued right of employers to secure personalistic power over the self of the worker through wage labour

⁹⁶ Discussed in section 6.3.2.

exchange (ibid). Notions of power over workers are particularly relevant to SD salaried trainees' experiences.

5.8.3. *New Public Management (NPM)*

NPM is described by Ward (2011) as being initiated by neoliberal governments as a mechanism to reconfigure public institutions where people receive services and work. It has been a key policy driver for UK politicians since Thatcher, and, arguably, SD is a product of this approach. Ward (ibid:206) argues that, "NPM sought [...] to dismantle the public administration model and its delegated type of authority structure and replace them with either a business style managerialism or a 'post-bureaucratic' type of management that operated on a set of devolved relationships". In this way SD was an attempt by government to devolve ITT to newly established systems of TSs. NPM is a way of governments controlling expenditure on public services (such as teaching) and emulating private sector practices with emphasis on public sector productivity improvement (ibid). Lynch (2014:1) explains this as giving, "primacy to product and output over process and input, and it endorses strong market type accountability in public sector spending".

Until the introduction of NPM public professionals, including teachers, were largely outside the influences of direct management control; they remained relatively autonomous and safeguarded their interests through unions and professional organisations. As a result, they were able to, "determine their own criteria for membership, police their own ranks and generally control the standards and practices present within their professions" (Ward, 2011:209). Professions such as teaching were driven by a form of moral commitment, dedication and ethical responsibility, what Bernstein (2000:89) refers to as an, "inner dedication". As a result, practitioners, under a sense of genuine ethical responsibility, regulated the quality of service offered (Beck and Young, 2005). Under NPM, however, "principal-agent line management chains replace delegated power with hierarchical forms of authoratively structured relation" (Olssen and Peters, 2005:324). Third-person accountability systems were imposed through systems of surveillance and regulation⁹⁷.

⁹⁷ Also discussed in section 5.5.2.

Teaching and ITT were tied to regulatory systems through, for example, the implementation of Teachers Standards⁹⁸. Ball (2003:219) argues that teaching and teachers' subjectivity were profoundly changed by, "the new management panopticism (of quality and excellence) and the new forms of entrepreneurial control (through marketing and competition)".

NPM's aim was to mimic competitive commercial environments which would be on one hand motivating and on the other would punish and shame the unmotivated and underperforming (Ward, 2011). In education this form of 'management' was imposed through external accountability systems (Hatcher, 2005; Taylor, 2007; Ward, 2011) with headship being pressured to achieve results through others (Hallinger and Heck, 2003); what Johnson (2004:267) calls, "the 'controlling politics' of new managerialism". Correspondingly, Taylor (2007) posits that the implementation of the National Curriculum in 1989, "cast teachers in the role of technicians rather than professionals [...] with its emphasis on achieving specific targets and establishing more control of activities in the classroom". NPM led policies promoted individualistic forms of labour relations and pay leading to rewards⁹⁹, and accountability through appraisal systems leading to performance-related pay, introduced in 2000 (Woodgate-Jones, 2012). This in turn impacted on ITT, raising teachers' concerns that to support trainees may impact negatively on target achievement and potential pay. This played well into the development of SD where schools feel they have greater command of trainees' development linked to their school's practice.

In performativity and audit cultures, "teachers have been positioned by successive governments as failing to deliver strong national test results in international comparisons of pupil achievement, such as PISA" (McNamara et al, 2014:11). This has given greater incentive to centralised control holding teachers accountable for pupils' attainment, normally through externally validated tests as a proxy for the quality of their work. Scott and Dinham (2002:15) posit that oversight of teachers by external agents has, "facilitated a shift in trust from operatives, the performance of activities, to auditors, those who police

⁹⁸ Discussed in section 2.2.4.

⁹⁹ Such as Teacher of the Year.

performance". Schools have come to function as small businesses in market-like environments (Gewirtz and Ball, 2000), making SD models of 'growing your own teachers' (Taylor, 2015 and Noble-Rogers, 2017) attractive for governmental promotion.

5.9. *Division of Labour*

5.9.1. *Specialism and Expertise*

Within the discourses of my research several references were made to where expertise or specialism lay in ITT delivery, distinguishing between SBTEs and UBTEs. I was interested to explore what these notions meant to those using them. Although closely related, these terms carry different meanings, and are highly contested within ITT. Expertise is defined by Chi (2006:23) as someone:

...whose judgments are uncommonly accurate and reliable, whose performance shows consummate skill and economy of effort, and who can deal effectively with certain types of rare or 'tough' cases [in addition someone] who has special skills or knowledge derived from extensive experience with subdomains.

Although writing from a healthcare perspective Naroo's (2017:199), definition of specialism is argued here to have value in understanding the term's use in this research, "to achieve a specialist level a practitioner may engage in further training or more often they develop an interest in a specific area and develop that skill set through gaining as much experience as possible". In my research the terms were often used interchangeably, perhaps unsurprising as Mulderrig (2007:146) notes that teachers are often managing a number of hierarchically classified modifiers such as, "expert, advanced skills, outstanding, fast track and excellent".

5.9.2. *Expertise*

Feist (2013:275) posits that there is no one agreed definition of what expertise means, it is a, "trading zone between philosophers, sociologists and psychologists" and in the context of this research between schools and universities. According to Feist (ibid) psychologists consider expertise empirically, from the perspective of the individual, with testable hypotheses on developmental, cognitive, and behavioural processes being criteria of success. Sociologists, like Feist (ibid), subscribe to a world view that downplays the individual, and privileges sociological and cultural forces. The sociological perspective is the perspective preferred by this research to examine how expertise and specialism play out in SD CoPs.

5.9.3. *Sociological Perspectives of Expertise*

For Collins and Evans (2007:2) the crux of the matter is, “what it means to know or not to know what you are talking about” or what counts as expertise. They are cautious about relational approaches to expertise where having expertise is a matter of the expert’s relation with others. In this approach ‘expertise’ is only an attribution by a social group, “the often retrospective, assignment of a label” (ibid). By contrast they argue for a realist approach which starts from the view that expertise is the real and substantive possession of a group of experts, and an individual acquires real and substantive expertise through membership of those groups. “Acquiring expertise is, therefore, a social process – a matter of socialization into the practices of an expert group – and expertise can be lost if time is spent away from the group” (ibid:3). In this approach acquiring expertise is a social process, related to belonging¹⁰⁰ to social groups and CoPs¹⁰¹, and taking time and effort on the putative expert’s behalf.

For Collins (2013:254) psychological and philosophical approaches to expertise are hierarchical and, “treat expertise ‘one dimensionally’”. One dimensional approaches focus on individual accomplishment which involves simply the nature, quality and quantity of knowledge (Feist, 2013). In contrast Collins (2013) adds two further dimensions to notions of expertise. The first of these is the degree of exposure to tacit knowledge. Polanyi (1966:7) argues that, “all knowledge is either tacit or rooted in tacit knowledge”. Collins (2013:254), however, argues that, “tacit knowledge can be acquired only by immersion in the society of those who already possess it” within CoPs and that, “[e]nculturation’ is the only way to master expertise which is deeply laden with tacit knowledge because it is only through common practice with others that the rules that cannot be written down can come to be understood” (Collins and Evans, 2007:24). The second dimension is what Collins (2013:256) calls ‘esotericity’. He (ibid) argues that one dimensional approaches take the word ‘expert’ only to mean someone with a rare, high-level expertise. Collins and Evan’s (2007:69) argument, however, is that not all expertise is esoteric and that, “the same expertise can be

¹⁰⁰ Discussed in section 5.2.

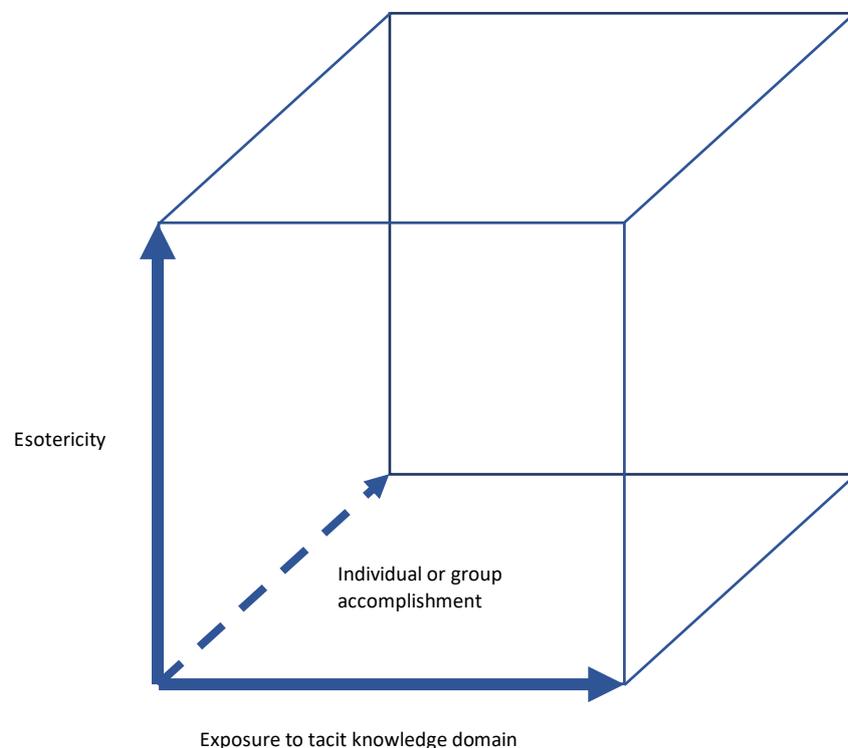
¹⁰¹ Discussed in section 5.1.2.

esoteric at one time or place and ubiquitous at another”. For example, speaking English may be counted as expertise in countries where it is not the common language but not in England. In a similar way while car driving and word-processing may have been esoteric skills when cars and computers were first invented, they are now common-place (ibid).

5.9.4. Expert Space Model

Collins presents a three dimensional model of expertise (figure 6) as follows:

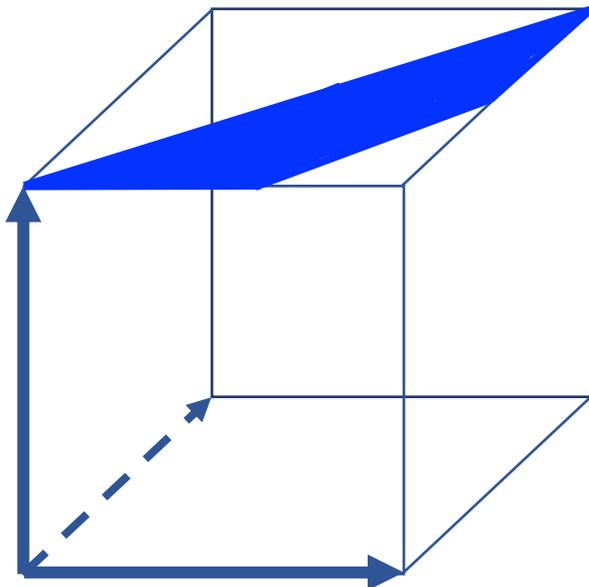
Figure 6 – Expert Space Diagram



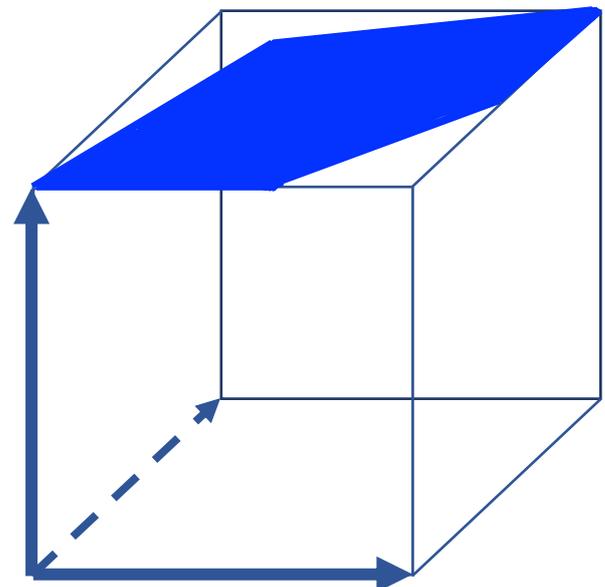
The depth dimension represents what Collins (2013) has suggested is the single dimensional approach to expertise, with a focus on individual accomplishment. In this model, however, it can also relate to group accomplishment. The horizontal dimension relates to the amount of exposure the individual or group has to tacit knowledge through CoPs. The final vertical dimension refers to, “the extent to which the *domain* is esoteric with ubiquitous domains, such language-speaking or literacy at the bottom and things like gravitational wave physics at the top” (ibid:256-257, original emphasis).

Collins (2013) uses the Expert Space Diagram (ESD) in three ways. Figures 7 and 8, adapted from Collins, show one use of the ESD in relation to UBTEs. Figure 7 shows someone who is a new UBTE. The shape is formed to show how they start at the left front corner as a novice entering the field, they have minimal accomplishments in the domain and have had little exposure to its tacit knowledge. As they become exposed to tacit knowledge through the CoP, however, they move to the right gradually reaching maximum competency, illustrated along the depth domain. The positioning of the new UBTE in the top left hand corner of the model demonstrates the high level esoteric 'knowledge-for-practice' (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999) needed to be a teacher educator. However, new UBTEs increase in competence by, "gaining formal knowledge as well as tacit knowledge" (Collins, 2013:258), figure 8 illustrates this growth in formal knowledge or 'knowledge-for-practice' showing the spread of the expertise on the left hand side of the model.

*Figure 7 – An esoteric domain
– new UBTE*



*Figure 8 – An esoteric domain
- experienced UBTE*



For SD trainees' training this raises questions of what constitutes 'formal knowledge' and where might this be located in the training programmes between SBTEs and UBTEs. The positioning of ITT as a highly esoteric domain also shows the value I give it in terms of the skills and knowledge needed to educate new teachers.

5.9.5. *Distributed Expertise in ITT*

As discussed earlier¹⁰², ITT policy-makers for years have pointed to weaknesses in, “a model of professional learning which, they wrongly believe, relies on the simple application of research-based knowledge to practices by those who are novices in the practices” (Childs et al, 2014:29). Childs et al (ibid) posit that this misconception is underpinned by a lack of clarity about how ITT is constructed. However, my research questioned how well university and school partners understood and valued what each other have to offer in SD ITT programmes¹⁰³. For Childs et al (ibid: 30) this problem in part, lies with the rapidity in which universities set up post 1992 partnerships with schools, as a result even the most robust partnerships, “can resemble marriages of convenience that are politely held together without any fundamental questioning of their bases”. The post 1992 challenge of building genuine, collaborative partnership was noted by Furlong et al (2000) who concluded that what evolved were bureaucratic HEI-led partnerships reasonable for monitoring and quality assuring their partners schools’ work. Concerningly, Zeichner (2002:61) argues that, “[c]ooperating teachers and university instructors are often mutually ignorant of each other’s work and the principles that underlie it”.

Childs et al (ibid) suggest it is time to reconsider ITT partnership as a multi-layered system of distributed expertise. The layers they identify are research, continuous professional development and pre-service education, and expertise is found equally in schools and universities. Zeichner (2002) presents a similar argument claiming that traditional course structures present models which seem to place higher value on theoretical learning in universities compared to practice-based learning in schools. He (ibid:61) argues that, “[t]his view places school-based teacher educators in a secondary role in the teacher education program and undervalues the importance of practitioner knowledge in the process of learning to teach”. Moreover, Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999:267) draw attention to different types of expertise:

...it is not assumed that the knowledge that makes teaching a profession is generated exclusively or even primarily by experts who have studied about teaching and schooling from their professional locations outside of schools. Rather, it is

¹⁰² Also discussed in section 2.1.2.

¹⁰³ Discussed in section 6.3.3.3.

assumed that professional expertise comes in great part from inside the teaching profession itself.

Childs et al (2014) propose that SBTE's expertise can create learning spaces in which explicit mediation (Wertsch, 2007) can take place. These learning environments should not be spontaneous but purposefully constructed so that they are revealed as, "places where apprenticeship was happening, where learners were taken into the meaning systems of the more expert" (ibid:42). They should also involve multiple agents moving beyond the sharing of expertise by the teacher as the lone performer in the classroom (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999). The learning environments as described by Child's et al (2014) should draw on what Shulman (1986) referred to as pedagogical content knowledge and enable trainees to access teacher's expertise. Childs et al (2014:36) propose a dual strand approach to ITT where UBTEs continue their role, "in guided reflection and abstraction from the everyday" and SBTEs facilitate trainees' access to their breath of pedagogical expertise. It is valuable to consider the unique expertise of both UBTEs and SBTEs when designing programmes of ITT and how these have been valued in the development of SD training models.

This chapter has sought to critically examine the theoretical principles that are relevant to my research. It has identified the complexity of issues operating in CoPs which shape ITT and suggests at the affordances and limitations that these complex issues offer to SD training. This chapter sets the context for my findings analysis located in chapter six.

6. Research Findings

6.1. Categories of Research Participants

My research involved a range of participants¹⁰⁴. Table 1 identifies the interview participants' pseudonyms, roles and TSA pseudonym to which they belonged.

Table 1. Categories of Research Participants.

	Pseudonym	Role	Teaching School Alliance
1	Evie	Training Route Trainee	Hunters Mist
2	Elizabeth	Mentor	Hunters Mist
3	Louise	SBTE	Hunters Mist
4	Molly	NQT	Hunters Mist
5	Evelyn	SBTE	Hunters Mist
6	Emma	TSA Manager	Hunters Mist
7	Alyssa	Training Route Trainee	Hunters Mist
8	Yvonne	Headteacher	Hunters Mist
9	Amy	TSA Manager	Welcome
10	Jack	Headteacher	Welcome
11	Naomi	Training Route Trainee	Moreover
12	Natalie	University Tutor	Moreover
13	Elaine	University Tutor	Longfield
14	Amanda	Salaried Trainee	Longfield
15	William	Salaried Trainee	Longfield
16	Tobias	Salaried Trainee	Longfield

My research also drew on online surveys conducted with primary trainees on the SD route from one university in 2015-2016 and again in 2016-2017¹⁰⁵.

6.2. Explanation of Interview Participants and TSAs.

As illustrated in Table 1, there were 16 interview participants involved in my research belonging to four TSAs. All TSs have been given pseudonyms and are referred to during my data analysis.

¹⁰⁴ As discussed in sections 3.3 and 4.6

¹⁰⁵ As discussed in section 4.5.

Welcome TSA established in 2012 and is a large inner city TS located in a large city. At the time of my research it had around 45 schools in the Alliance and worked with two university partners. TSAs, however, can only work with one university for their provision of SD. It offered a mixture of salaried and training SD places.

Hunters Mist TSA established in 2012 and is a small TSA located in a market town. At the time of my research it worked with around 10 schools and had one university partner. It offered only training SD places.

Longfield TSA established in 2015 and is small TSA based in a large city and working with larger organisational partnership. During the period of my research they were involved with around 12 schools and through the partnership worked with a number of universities and other strategic partners. Longfield's SD provision was with one university and it offered only salaried SD places.

Moreover TSA established in 2013 and is a small TSA in a large city. At the time of my research it worked with around 10 schools and had partnerships with two universities. Its SD provision was one university and it offered only training SD places.

There were a number of stakeholders involved in my research interviews, these included:

- 6x Trainee Teachers
- 1x NQT
- 2x Teaching School Managers – both Managers did not necessarily have QTS as their role was largely administration and management of the SD programme
- 2x SBTEs – both SBTEs had QTS and were involved in the delivery and the management of the SD programme
- 1x Mentor
- 2x Headteachers
- 2x UBTEs.

6.3. Data Analysis

The literature referred to throughout my data analysis is discussed in chapters 2 and 5.

6.3.1. Growing Your Own

6.3.1.1. Context

As previously noted¹⁰⁶, in 2010 the government made its position on the location of ITT clear when it declared that, “[t]oo little teacher training takes place on the job” (DfE, 2010a:19).

The outcomes of the newly proposed SD training route were also clear:

In recruiting and selecting trainees, schools will want to have in mind the suitability of candidates to train and teach in the particular environment of the school partnership. Throughout the process, schools should be aiming to employ trainees at the end of their training (DfE, 2013:30).

Schools were encouraged to select, recruit and train their own workforce for their community. This emphasis on employment denoted a significant departure from previous school-based ITT schemes such as the SCITT scheme, as it gave a much clearer expectation of the eventual employment of trainees by recruiting schools.

During the early years of SD 2013-2016 I became aware of the frequent use of the phrase ‘growing your own’ by those involved with ITT. In April 2014 Noble-Rogers¹⁰⁷ made use of the phrase at the Westminster Education Forum (Noble-Rogers, 2014) and again in December 2015 when reporting to the House of Commons’ Education Committee (Noble-Rogers, 2015). Taylor¹⁰⁸ used the phrase in January 2015 (Taylor, 2015) and the Headteacher Update online magazine referred to, “growing your own staff” in May 2014 (Headteacher Update, 2014). It was also referred to on several websites during 2016, for example, Bradford Schools Online (2016); Donohoe (2016); Swiss Cottage School (2016) and TES Institute Team (2016). In 2017 Noble-Rogers made a further reference about some of the

¹⁰⁶ Section 1.4.

¹⁰⁷ Executive Director of the Universities’ Council for the Education of Teachers

¹⁰⁸ Then Chief Executive of the National College of Teaching and Leadership

6.3.1.2. Meanings Behind Growing Your Own

Within my interview data two distinct purposes for growing your own emerged. Firstly, Hunters Mist TSA saw its purpose very explicitly at the far left of the continuum. Evelyn commented:

I think there's, there was probably, sort of, the, the altruistic view, it's putting something back into the profession but it's also quite a selfish point of view in that it's growing your own, isn't it? We're making sure that we are growing and developing the teachers, the sort of teachers that we want for our school [...] selfishly we're growing them so that we can have them, so that they can come and work in our schools and our children in our school can flourish and benefit from them.

This perspective was supported by the headteacher, Yvonne who stated:

Well, as a school we'd had trainee teachers from XX university and had started to become very interested in our involvement in their training, so this seemed like a natural progression and particularly being a Teaching School and our very purpose being growing staff. It seemed very logical that that would start right from student teachers.

I construed from these comments that Hunters Mist position their school setting as a distinct teaching CoP, they have confidence in the quality of the community and see it unquestioningly as a highly suitable environment to train teachers. This model of schools producing teachers sits well within Lave and Wenger's (1991) concept of CoPs where 'newcomers' enter the community as legitimate peripheral participants with a view to learning from 'old timers', eventually replacing some of the old timers' roles as the newcomers learn the community's expected practices. As such it can be argued to be a strong learning model, acknowledging the work of Brown et al (1989:2) that, "learning and cognition [...] are fundamentally situated". Although some researchers (Childs et al, 2014; Johnston, 2016) question whether trainees on placements, particularly PGCE, have sufficient time to engage fully in legitimate peripheral participation, Johnston (2016) suggests trainees' roles are more akin to 'guests' than newcomers as those in the community do not expect the trainee ever to assume a role as a full participant¹⁰⁹. Yandell and Turvey (2007), however, suggest that it is a strong model for trainee teachers and for TSAs such as Hunters

¹⁰⁹ Discussed earlier in sections 5.1.2 and 5.1.3.

Mist who described “*our very purpose being [...] growing staff [...] right from student teachers*” they have already determined the legitimization of the newcomer’s role and there is a vested interest in providing opportunities for the trainees to learn by, “*peripheral participation*” (Lave and Wenger, 1991:29).

Interestingly Hunters Mist acknowledged the fact that they could, or perhaps should, have entered ITT with a more “*altruistic view*” which may have considered the holistic needs of the profession, however, they are open about their intention to grow their own teachers, as “*quite a selfish point of view*”. The suggestion here is that Evelyn, SBTE, in particular, questions whether this should be the ‘moral’ purpose behind their involvement in ITT, this reflects Gu et al (2014:21) who found that TSAs have a strong sense of ‘moral’ purpose which is an, “*essential ingredient*” of TSA leadership. This is acknowledged by Evelyn who states that “*we have an obligation, a moral obligation under the Teaching School status to provide ITT, you know, for the wider profession*”. However, it does not deter Hunters Mist, however, from its purpose of “*growing them so that we can have them*”. I wondered in light of these comments if Hunters Mist had a divided moral purpose, the greater priority being their commitment to children, as such growing trainees, “*so we can have them*” reflecting the school’s commitment to children by providing them with what they consider are the best teachers. There are also suggestions here of the school’s assumed right of ‘ownership’ of trainees¹¹⁰. The purpose behind the involvement of Hunters Mist in ITT is shown in Figure 10.

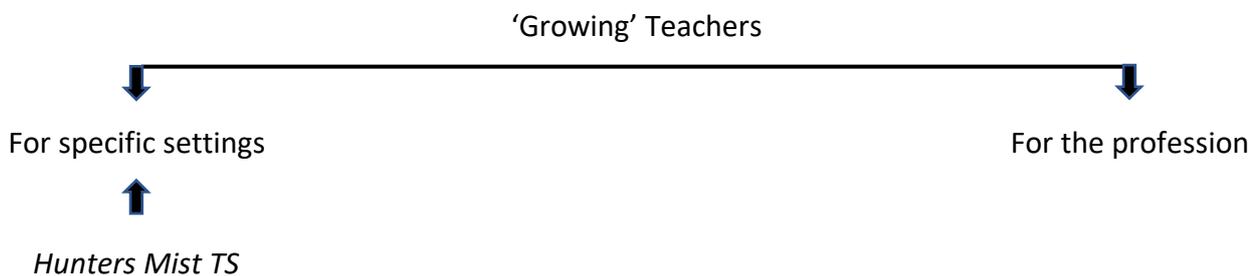


Figure 10.

¹¹⁰ Discussed in more detail in 6.3.2.5.

6.3.1.3. Growing Your Own – A Career Pathway

Welcome TS saw its purpose as longitudinal, they were interested in employing young graduates initially as TAs. During the autumn term they would support the TAs with their applications for ITT, before accepting them on to their SD programme and training them to teach in Alliance schools. Following successful completion of the ITT year they would employ them for their NQT year, and then, as Amy explained *“into the future so it’s all part of the whole career pathway and package”*. This inner-city TSA believed its geographical position was unattractive to applicants, leading to poor recruitment and this had been a key motivator in their interest in SD and to *“own them from the very beginning”*. Jack, headteacher, explained:

It's a bit like selling your house you know, once you get the people through your door, the trick is getting them in through the door, once they're in through the door fine and I have had very, very few people who've visited here and then not applied or decided it's not for them. The hesitation was, 'shall I go look in the first place, look at the postcode, look at the area phew, do I want to work there, maybe not.' So [...] once they've come here and had a look around then they think, 'Oh actually, yeah, it's okay.'

The stated purpose for Welcome TSA was to appeal to more trainees who would go on to find employment with the Alliance and would stay for the early part of their career and ideally longer. This career pathway positions Welcome TSA functioning as a small business in market-driven profession where they are competing for new teachers (Gerwitz and Ball, 2000). This position, however, suggests a level of ownership again¹¹² where trainee teachers are enticed into the Alliance and then kept *“into the future”*. As such it bears some resemblance to Fuller et al’s (2005:37) research where one company used an apprentice model as a vehicle, *“to address recruitment difficulties”*. It could be argued that this is a valuable motive for Welcome’s involvement in SD.

¹¹² As discussed in section 6.3.2.5.

6.3.1.4. *Growing Your Own - School Ready*

For Hunters Mist TSA, however, growing your own was far more school specific. As Elizabeth explained, this was about trainees being able to teach in her school the “*Greenbank way*” and to “*Greenbankise*” their practice. Louise explained that for her school growing your own meant, “*you can really embed [...] your school’s philosophy, your beliefs, your ethos and the values of the school and you can really make them sort of see through your eyes...*”. Noble-Rogers (2017:20) identifies this as one of the factors associated with schools growing their own teachers resulting in, “schools training teachers in their own image”. The danger inherent here acknowledged by Harris (2011) and Black-Hawkins and Florian (2012) is that school practices are often, “highly situated” and, “context bound” (Harris, 2011:29) and as such the extent to which those practices are transferrable is questionable. Louise’s comment that the purpose of SD to make trainees “*see through your eyes*” feels particularly uncomfortable in this respect. It suggests a form of governmentality where trainees will be expected to regulate their conduct ‘through the eyes’ of their trainer. The outcome of this position is to manage children, teaching and learning and relationships with others in one particular style, suggesting that trainees perhaps operate as ‘functionaries’ of the institution giving just the illusion that they are operating under their own determination, as such they are not just ‘docile’ bodies, however, but in a form of, “insidious ‘disciplined self-management’” (Ball, 2013:130).

The outcome of growing their own teachers for Hunters Mist offered a significant contextual specificity for NQTs and for the school too at the start of the NQT’s first year of teaching. For example, there was no necessity to explain the systems and processes the school used to new NQTs. As Elizabeth explained:

...with School Direct they can just run so that the teaching time [...] is used more effectively and the teaching and learning, I feel, is more confident and it’s more effective and the children progress more quickly because they have that grounding.

This was also explained by Natalie:

When you see it work you immediately see teachers who are perhaps equivalent to their second and third year after NQT because they really understand how the school works; so, they are teaching the children not learning the system.

It is easy to see how this can be a significant advantage for schools, children and trainees, as NQTs, trained through SD, have learnt from the expertise of experienced colleagues demonstrating 'knowledge-in-practice' (Cohran-Smith and Lytle, 1999) and have subsequently developed specific context-based craft knowledges that they are able to apply from the start of their NQT year.

There are, however, given the remit of this study, two questions that seem pertinent. The first is how far this acquisition of craft-based knowledge impacts on all trainees, for example, one school involved in my research decided to take four trainees as part of their placement offer in the same year. This was a two-form entry school, and despite having fairly extensive early years provision in addition to its fourteen primary classes, it was unlikely to be able to recruit four NQTs; in fact it recruited one. Whilst it is always difficult for schools to predict the number of NQTs they will need over twelve months before when recruiting to SD, it seems this school deliberately over recruited, and whilst it arguably offered a high quality placement experience, its over recruitment challenges the principle of growing your own tailored to your, "own school's requirements" (Taylor, 2012) for each of the four trainees. The second question is how long it might take an NQT who finds employment in a setting in which they have not had a placement experience to learn "*the system*" and how detrimental to children's progress this might be. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this current research, further research might consider the difference that NQTs from broader university-led training and those from SD in employment outside their placement schools take to settle into their first year.

Interestingly, Jack, who was firmly committed to Welcome's principle of recruiting and training for the inner-city, was more measured in his assessment of the impact SD training had on preparing NQTs for their first year. They were better prepared in:

...certain aspects [...] so for instance an obvious one would be EAL. Right so, because they've been through Alliance schools, it's not going to, knock them for six, that a new...two or three new kids have come in straight away from the Middle East and can't speak any English.

However, he also stated that a trainee who had training in a more affluent area than the Welcome partnership would bring other expertise, for example, dealing with challenging parents. In addition, he saw other benefits of recruiting trainees with experiences in more affluent areas in terms of their expectations of learners:

So I think what sometimes has helped, sometimes people have come from more affluent... have thought of, the year five child should be doing this and doing that and doing the other, and I think sometimes it's about showing them that you can still have high expectations for them.

For Jack, variety was “*the spice of life*” and he, therefore, saw a value in recruiting NQTs from a number of routes into teaching.

6.3.1.5. Growing Your Own – Being ‘Moulded’

Some trainees saw value in being ‘home grown’. For example, from the beginning of the training year Evie had identified the school that she wanted to work at as she explained:

So, we kind of went down a check list of things that we feel is important from a school and when I did that everything that I wanted was at the school I was going to be working at and I made it quite obvious that I would really like to work there.

Evie described how she had “*moulded myself*” to the school’s practice and had a “*vested interest in everything that they do*”. For Evie, the ‘figured world’ (Holland et al, 1998) of the school in which she wanted her first employment was the same as the school with which she would be training and in which she would have her main placements. Evie strongly identified with the ‘figured world’ that working at the school offered as, “*sites of possibility*” (Urrieta, 2007:109) where she could shape her identity and experience agency so that she could create a congruent professional identity with the school and herself in the process (Barron, 2016). Evie’s emotional knowledge of the institutional and cultural context on the social-political plane as identified by Zembylas (2007) was positive and had an equally positive impact on her affective domain. Although, it could also be argued that she lacked

confidence to consider herself working in alternative settings and needed the safety of belonging (Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Leary et al, 2013). It is interesting to note that Evie saw her own human agency in the process, she *“moulded myself”*, this was something she wanted to do because she so desperately wanted a job in the school. Evie’s strong desire to fit in *“I made it quite obvious that I would really like to work there”*, or be *“moulded”* to the school, suggests she saw fitting in and conforming as a conscious process and a desired ‘technology of the self’ (Lemke, 2000) that she could perform for her school.

By contrast, however, at the end of her NQT year, Molly saw the process of being moulded by the same school as Evie and to their *“values and visions”* less positively. She commented that *“they’ve kind of moulded you, [I] don’t really like that phrase”*. It was interesting that Molly felt uncomfortable, ‘not liking’ her own use of the word, *“moulded”*. In contrast to Evie she did not see she herself as the agent of this process but rather it had been enacted upon her, something *“they”* had done, suggesting that those managing the training exercised a form of Foucauldian disciplinary power on trainees, conforming their behaviours. I asked Molly to explain why she did not like the term ‘moulded’, she responded:

I’ve done a lot of placement here and then I’ve come...here [as an NQT], I haven’t seen how other schools might do things, so really for me I don’t know any different, other than when I went to [placement B] which did do very similar things to here. I don’t know any different so I kind of just gone through placement and gone through my first year thinking that this is how a school’s run which is absolutely fine, but, and all the visions and stuff here is the norm, not, not the norm but is what I see as the norm”.

This provides an interesting contrast to Evie’s view. It should be noted that, Molly’s placement B experience had not happened by luck, she has specifically requested her main placement (placement A) and her alternative placement (placement B) as was permissible for trainees to do by her TSA. The disappointment she felt that placement B did *“very similar things to here”* is indicative of the affective domain where Molly has a negative emotional response to the breadth of opportunity that was afforded her. Overall, Molly’s reflection on her ‘moulding’ to her employing school suggests a far more considered and mature one than the earlier reflection of Evie who was just at the end of her training and still in the exciting period of taking up her first post. Molly, a year further on in her career,

may already be considering her longer term career ambitions and talked about the limitations of the training process where she has not “*seen how other schools do things*” and did not know “*any different*”. Her thinking is in line with the findings of Flores and Day (2006) of early career teachers finding that socialisation into school’s “*vision and stuff*” resulted in feelings of conservatism and compliance. Molly recognised that she knew only “*the norm*” of her ‘figured world’, whilst acknowledging that it was not “*the norm*” of the wider professional context.

Molly’s voice is really powerful. Her use of the word “moulded”, like Evie’s, suggests a reference to the way in which she was governed and the impact this has had on her ‘technologies of self’ (Lemke, 2000). This form of governance has been leading and controlling and produced in Molly a ‘moulded’ teacher to fit in with the school’s practices. From my knowledge of Molly, I suspect a year earlier her feelings were similar to Evie but after the passage of time and starting to think about her career ambitions Molly expresses dissatisfaction with the product of her SD training suggesting an ‘identity dissonance’ (Warin et al, 2006). In the reproduction of the narrow conditions of her school setting Molly sees herself now as being limited in a ‘cage of the soul’ (Wenger, 1998:85). This reflects the idea that whilst schools have been encouraged to design teacher training programmes to, “their own school’s requirements” (Taylor, 2012) the longer term impact on trainees’ breadth and depth of understanding of teaching and learning has been reduced to a parochial fit with school’s practice and it is unclear how easy they will find the transition, if they take it, to another school.

6.3.1.6. *Pre-Established Relationships*

Some other trainees also questioned the process of being ‘home grown’. Three participants were on the salaried route with Longfield TSA. In total six trainees had been trained in 2016-17 with Longfield TSA and most were well known in other roles before they started training. The model the participants described was similar to Welcome TSA where TAs or unqualified teachers already in post were encouraged to apply for SD. This had been something of a surprise to Amanda who was a career changer and who expected the salaried route to be a route for career changers:

I think in my head when I understood the School Direct salaried, the way I looked at it was the salary is to bring people out of those careers, those other skills, into teaching [...] But, actually [...] it's about home grown teachers. It's about taking your really good support staff and mentoring them into a teacher.

In fact, this relationship between SD salaried and career changers is not just one from 'Amanda's head'; it was explicitly stated by the DfE (2013:5) in relation to the SD salaried route, "[p]rospective candidates are expected to be career changers, who can bring valuable skills and experience to the profession". Whilst this research is on a small scale it is notable that both the TSAs involved offering salaried places predominately recruited from their own pool of TAs or others in unqualified teacher roles. It is important to state that my analysis does not seek to suggest that this was not a valuable thing to do, and that these trainees will not be an asset to the profession. In this part of my analysis I seek, however, to draw attention to SD as a potentially diminished route into teaching limiting opportunities for candidates with external valuable skills who might previously have applied to the GTP which SD salaried was supposed to replace¹¹³.

The trainees in Longfield TSA stated that they could understand the motivation of their schools wanting to provide a route for support staff into teaching, however, they were more questioning of the close relationships this engendered and whether this gave unfair advantage to those recruited this way. William explained that:

[They] have very much been always in that comfort blanket and they've been out of it for maybe six weeks when they did their second placement but, you know, your mentor is someone that you've known for a long period of time. You're going to stay on the year after so it's all very much kind of, I got the impression that, just do what you need to do and then it's fine.

William's reference to those support staff now training through the SD training route just doing "what you need to do", suggests a limited performance and a conflict of interest for those making the assessment of the trainees. The implicit meaning here seems to be that if the home grown trainees simply follow direction they will have an easier route to

¹¹³ It was notable that one of the Teaching Schools involved in my research was so concerned about the loss of opportunity for career changers that they established a School Direct part-time route to capture this market.

qualification. Tobias referred to this more explicitly, feeling that he had been unfairly treated compared to another member of his cohort who had transitioned from being a TA:

I think, there was some sort of favouritism or something, going on at the school, because I'd not started there long and the other Schools Direct trainee had been there three years prior to me. Relationships had been made and whatever else, and I just thought it was a bit of bias because his mentor was his friend and so on. Obviously, those relationships shouldn't be crossed and whatever else I don't think it was too professional.

In the relationship of the “mentor” as “friend” commented on by Tobias there is a suggestion of what Hollinsworth et al (1993) referred to as ‘relational knowing’¹¹⁴. Relational knowing can bring a deeper knowledge relating to each other’s beliefs and experience and a sense of independency leading to greater value and respect. The ‘interpersonal comfort’ this affords can also lead to increased, “social support, role modelling and acceptance” (Allen et al, 2005:158). For those unable to access the same depth of relationship with their mentor, such as Tobias, this can, however, have a negative impact on their affective domain leading to a sense “of favouritism” that results in frustration for Tobias and a strong sense of discomfort. There is a deeper lying undertone to this observation by Tobias in his use of the term “bias”, that this might be in relation to the assessment of the other trainee. Tobias felt quite strongly that professional boundaries had been “crossed” suggesting an unfairness and through his use of the term “obviously” that it is beyond doubt that this should not have happened. It is outside the remit of this research to determine whether there was any biased influence in the assessment of trainees in mentor-mentee relationships categorised by ‘relational knowing’, however, in school-led systems with such an emphasis on ‘growing your own’ it is one to be carefully considered and not something that the current managers of SD, in this research, referred to.

The strength of feeling revealed by the three trainees from Longfield TSA about the difference in relationships and treatment of ‘home grown’ trainees was, perhaps, inevitable and quite powerful. Amanda suggested that the difference between those recruited from outside school settings and those home grown from within resulted in “two very different interpretations of School Direct”. Having recognised that training their own ‘home grown’

¹¹⁴ Discussed in section 5.7.7.

staff was the most popular choice for salaried SD trainees at Longfield, Amanda suggested that if she had applied this year *“I’m not sure I would have been accepted because I’m not a support staff who’s been home grown and pushed forward by school”*. There is a suggestion that the recruitment process has not been as open as it should have been. Amanda’s use of the term *“pushed forward”* suggests an unfair advantage for these ‘home grown’ trainees. Johnston (2016:536) considered trainees’ experience in CoPs who were, “denied legitimacy” or became, “marginalised” as a result of poor acceptance in the school’s community and the impact this has on their trajectory from the periphery to more central positions as teachers. In the context of this research, however, I argue that the emphasis in the Longfield trainees’ accounts appears to be on the opposite occurring with ‘home grown’ trainees gaining more control and agency over their training than other trainees and making more rapid progress to central CoP positions. However, this results in a negative impact on other trainees which then seems to result in their relative, “marginalisation” Johnston (2010:316) or, “sheltered introduction” (Fuller et al, 2005:58)¹¹⁵. William keenly felt this inequality suggesting that for ‘home grown’ trainees there was *“a massive head start”* because *“they’d worked there for years and they went in first day and it was just kind of like going back after the holidays”* compared to his experience which *“was just like starting a new job”*. The impact on the affective domain of an inferior status feeling of some trainees may have made learning comparatively difficult (Shoffner, 2009; Johnston, 2016). It is clear to see the advantages to the schools of ‘home grown’ previous employees making accelerated progress and it is not suggested here that is undesirable to do this, what this research seeks to question is whether the ‘home grown’ trainee model, which appears as a sub-group of SD training, is acknowledged or even considered for its impact on other trainees in the training programme and what can be done to support them.

6.3.1.7. *Belonging to the Locality*

A further feature of ‘growing your own’ for trainees was the desirability of being trained in the local area. In the response to both years of my survey a high proportion of SD trainees (including salaried and training route) explicitly stated that they wanted to stay in their

¹¹⁵ Discussed in section 5.1.4.

locality to train. This is supported by the statistical data where 87.6% (2016) (Figure 12) stated that being trained in close proximity to their home address was important or very important and in 2017 the figure dropped but only slightly to 81.3% (Figure 13).

Figure 12. Bar Chart showing the importance of candidates' home proximity to the schools in the TSA 2016.

When selecting your choice of a School Direct route how important was the proximity of the partner schools to your home address.

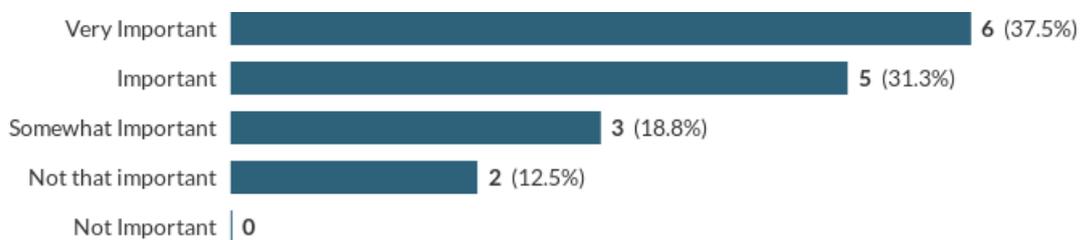
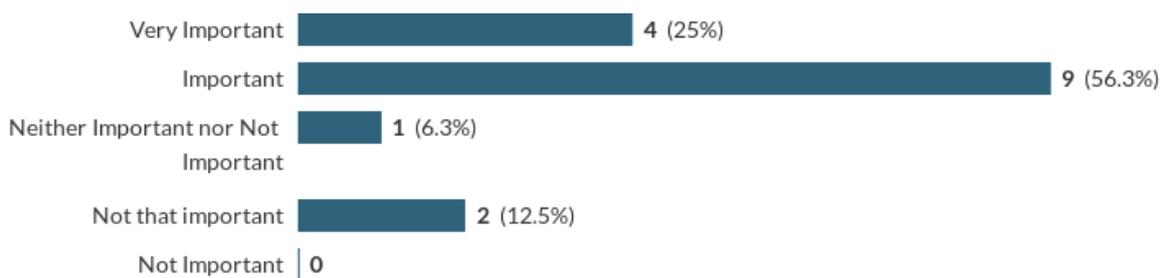


Figure 13. Bar Chart showing the importance of candidates' home proximity to the schools in the TSA 2017.

When selecting your choice of a School Direct route how important was the proximity of the partner schools to your home address.



Like Gu et al (2014), I found training teachers for their local community was a strong incentive for TSAs. For Welcome TSA, in particular, recruiting local trainees who already understood the inner-city community was highly desirable because of their knowledge, understanding and perhaps affinity to children's needs in that community. Ussher's (2016:11) research, moreover, found that trainees who were familiar with their placement

school offered a, “range of opportunities including building teaching capacity in the local community”.

Natalie, UBTE, reflected that wanting to train locally was a life-style choice or self-survival choice for trainees (Kaldi and Griffiths, 2013) she stated that:

People are applying to a school within their locality and imagine themselves working in the locality and so that's much more likely it seems to me to be someone who's mature and settled in a life, in a locality and thinks “oh yeah, I could teach here, I can get to that school and that's what I want to do.”

The importance of knowing where placements would be resonates with Kaldi and Griffith's (2013) findings¹¹⁶ that maturer trainees applying to ITT are concerned that school experiences will be more challenging to manage than academic demands, suggesting they are likely to give school localities greater focus when selecting where to study. A trainee commented “*I really liked the fact that even before starting the course you knew which schools you would be training in*”. There is further evidence to support the suggestion that trainees were making life-style choices with one trainee wanting “*to know where my placements would be due to family commitments*”. This also supports the widening participation agenda for non-traditional students who can be operating within, “narrowly circumscribed spaces of choice” (Reay, 2003:308)¹¹⁷.

For SD trainees their self-focus appeared to be one around how they would balance the training programme commitments with other family and life commitments (Reay, 2003; Brooks, 2012; Kaldi and Griffiths, 2013). Emma had also noticed this in SD cohorts stating that:

The ones that I've come across perhaps the ones that have had children, they've got a degree already, obviously, and they have been working in industry or wherever else, they've got their children and perhaps it does just fit in with their life style where they can work round their children.

¹¹⁶ Discussed in section 5.2.4.

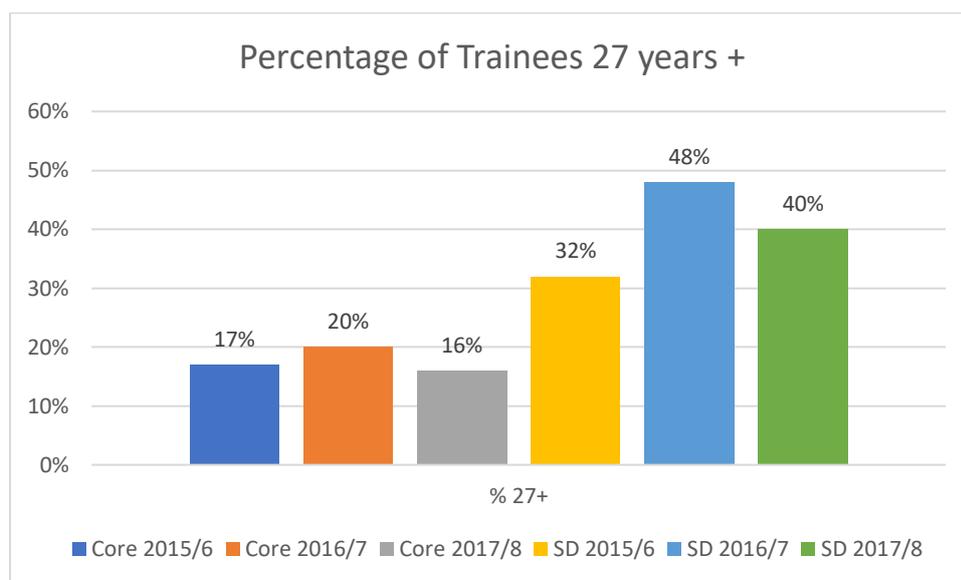
¹¹⁷ As discussed in section 5.2.4.

The suggestion by Natalie and Emma that SD was attracting more mature candidates to teaching was supported by the characteristics data gathered from the cohorts 2015-16, 2016-17 and 2017-18 (Table 2 and Figure 14).

Table 2. Candidates' age on entry to core PGCE and SD, 2015-16 to 2017-18

Programme	Core PGCE			School Direct		
	2015/6	2016/7	2017/8	2015/6	2016/7	2017/8
Entry year	2015/6	2016/7	2017/8	2015/6	2016/7	2017/8
<24	102	75	108	22	10	19
24-26	53	31	44	8	6	9
27-29	16	12	10	5	3	6
30-34	8	7	9	2	6	8
35+	7	7	10	7	6	5
Total students	186	132	181	44	31	47
% 27+	17%	20%	16%	32%	48%	40%

Figure 14. Candidates' age on entry to core PGCE and SD, 2015-16 to 2017-18



The data gives a picture of growing your own as bringing more mature entrants to the profession who live in the area and are likely to be familiar with the locality in which they are training. This is a positive outcome of the SD model offering better opportunities to mature, non-traditional applicants who wish to train as teachers (Duckworth et al, 2016), although as suggested earlier¹¹⁸ my data indicates that it is a more limited route for career changers.

¹¹⁸ In section 6.3.1.6.

6.3.1.8. Growing Your Own Salaried Trainees

The workload expectations by schools of salaried route trainees were remarkably higher than training route trainees. This may have been because schools were more likely to be familiar with the trainees before they began training and had pre-established ideas of their capabilities from their prior roles or because of the differing nature of the relationship as the schools were funding their salaries. The higher expectations resulted in teaching timetables with a greater percentage of teaching than would normally be expected from SD training route or PGCE core trainees. SD training route and PGCE trainees teaching expectations typically start around 50% and build incrementally to 80% by the training end. In comparison Tobias reported:

Tobias: I was the class teacher...there was no one else in there it was always me 100% of the time.

Me: From the autumn?

Tobias: From the autumn yeah, I was... basically taught 100% throughout the whole year.

Initially Tobias seemed to be operating in a condition of 'false consciousness' (Bull, 2017) he suggested that as he had three years of experience of unqualified teaching, including six months teaching in year six at his main placement school, that it was in his best interests to "actually be a teacher, a practising teacher within that setting" and teaching as much as possible. However, as he received feedback from his mentor about his teaching, he became frustrated about how he could improve his practice without wider opportunities and appeared to cast off the 'subordination of false consciousness' (Lawler, 2011):

I was getting picked up on things, like you need to model this better and things like that but I didn't have anyone to model from at my first school because I was the class teacher [...] so, when they would pick me up on things and say you need to do an observation on this, I wasn't being given the time, or the resource, or the ability to do that.

What is troubling here for me is the role that the school took in its control over Tobias' training. The school's view of ITT gave Tobias access to only one form of knowledge, that of context-bound, 'knowledge-in-practice' (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999) at a time when Tobias had little lived experience from which to make 'common sense' (Winch et al, 2015)

or comparative judgments about the practice he was experiencing. It is likely that Tobias, therefore operated in a state of, “blind experimentation” (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999:269). Those leading the training did not even view teaching as a craft learnt by observation (Gove, 2010) as Tobias was given no opportunity to observe others teach. There appeared to be a belief that learning was simply, “situated in practice” and an “independently reifiable process” (Lave and Wenger, 1991:35). The anomaly is that Tobias has been allocated a mentor who observed his teaching but left him with no opportunity to act on advice given. Tobias’ ability to learn from ‘old timers’ and engage in legitimate peripheral participation through the observation of pedagogic models of what ‘real’ teachers did (Johnston, 2016) was severely restricted, resulting in what Childs et al (2014) called ‘workplace performance’ rather than ‘workplace learning’. This appears as the worst form of exploitation in SD and it is difficult to understand how or why the school believed that Tobias could learn from this experience.

I argue that this use of Tobias by the school comes as an unimaginative response to the direction of the DfE (2012) that schools should, “lead the way” in training teachers giving schools the belief that they could manage the trainees in any way they chose. Schools are allowed to appoint trainees to positions that are not supernumerary and in a climate of new managerialism this can lead schools towards a focus on cost-effectiveness, a concern for efficiency and an ‘institution-needs’ perspective (Gewirtz and Ball, 2000). This wider economic climate can impact on the use of power within the organisation or community (Fuller et al, 2005) and can be understood as a form of Foucauldian sovereign power, where training is at the will of the school’s authority figures, and denies Tobias opportunities for human agency and to develop his professional capital.

This sovereign power exerted over the Longfield trainees was common to all three trainees in my research. William explained that although at the start of the year he had been given a developmental teaching timetable when he went back to his main school for his final summer term placement, they gave him a 100% teaching timetable. In addition, he described being given limited support “*it was, ‘Here’s an example of some planning and here’s the curriculum, off you go.’ It was pretty much like that*”. This disengagement by the placement school arguably limited William’s ability for decisional capital as he was not able

to engage in critical deliberation with more experienced colleagues (Nolan and Molla, 2017) which potentially disconnected him from, “developing a full, rich understanding of the community and its practices” (Johnston, 2016:539). William was, therefore, left to make decisions independently, limiting his confidence. In addition, William experienced extreme feelings of powerlessness because he was a salaried trainee and had accepted a job in his main placement school:

Cos, for me, it was, well, I don't really want to rock the boat because, ultimately, they're going to sign me off and...if I'm a willing donkey and I do what they ask and take a job then, really, they'll sign me off and it will be all right. So, it was just, kind of...do what you're asked and then it'll be ok.

This is an explicit form of ‘wage labour’ where, “the will of one person (the worker) is subordinated to that of another (the employer)” (O’Connell Davidson, 2014:522). The power of those within this school CoP lies with the, “masters’[...] at centre” (Caillard, n.d:4). I feel strongly that William’s powerful reference to himself as “*a willing donkey*” is indicative of the impact the situation had on his affective domain. It suggests that William saw himself as having limited professional identity and no human agency by which to alter his position. This is in contrast to his second placement experience (placement B) where he commented “*I felt more calm...I didn't feel as uptight*”. What is surprising is that despite the treatment he received he decided to take a job at the main placement school. Although his use of language perhaps gives some insight as he states that he needed to “*do what they ask and take a job*” because then “*they'll sign me off and it will be all right*”. The relationship between these two parts of William’s discourse I find really disturbing, I argue that this is further example of Foucauldian sovereign power with William’s obedience to the central authority figure i.e. the school leaders to “*do what they ask and take a job*” is being governed by fear that not to do so may impact on his final assessment against the Standards.

The power exerted over William by the, “masters’ [...] at centre” (Caillard, n.d:4) in what I conceptualise as a troubled placement also manifested itself in other ways. William explained that when he returned to his main school for the final placement he was asked to write the school reports for his year five class, a class he had only known for six weeks and something William had never done before. It is also something that would not normally be

an expectation of a core PGCE trainee. William tried to invoke human agency by asking for support “*I’d said to my line manager, “Can you give me some examples of yours, yeah, can you give me some examples of yours?”*” But this support was not forthcoming “*Two weeks later, didn’t get anything so you just do it off your own back*”. The reference William makes to his “*line manager*” is unusual for a trainee teacher and suggests that William has no concept of this person as mentor either offering a “*humanistic approach*” or a “*situated apprenticeship perspective*” (Wang and Odell, 2002) instead this is a ‘manager’ who directs him to undertake activity without support. It also suggests that his line manager also does not see him or herself in a mentoring role. This is suggestive of lacking a strong relational bond with his manager impacting again on the affective domain and which may well have limited his capacity to learn effectively (Johnston, 2016).

In a similar way to William’s description of himself as a “*willing donkey*” Amanda described herself as “*cheap labour*”:

I’m not sure my school maybe realised how much support we do need going through for means of another word, we are just cheap labour, aren’t we; we are an unqualified teacher...being salaried I think there’s been a lot of times throughout the course that you’ve kind of gone well yeah, I have just got to put up with that, because you’re being paid and we should be grateful for that.

Amanda’s suggestion that trainees should be “*grateful*” because they are being paid despite what they have to “*put up with*” is evidence of what Fuller et al (2005) suggested was an uneven distribution of power within the community, with trainees having no human agency or recourse to social capital with which to respond to the demands made on them. It also indicates the pressure placed on the affective domain, in particular of Amanda in this example. Whilst she feels unfairly treated, she also feels she should be “*grateful*” which suggests an inner conflict tension that SD salaried can create and one that would have an emotional impact for her. Unsurprisingly Amanda had decided early in her training year that she did not want employment at her main placement school¹¹⁹. There is also the suggestion that the school did not fully understand what becoming involved in SD would require.

¹¹⁹ Discussed below in section 6.3.1.9.

Overall, in the narratives of Tobias, Amanda and William what is intriguing but also quite worrying is that there was so little resistance to the power exerted on them as trainees. The influence of the salary made all three comment in similar ways to Amanda that they had just “got to put up with that, because you’re being paid”. The role of Elaine, their UBTE, in supporting their experience is also interesting. Ideally, Elaine’s role should have presented an opportunity for the trainees to utilise social capital. Whilst William stated that he had not told Elaine about his difficulties both Tobias and Amanda were clear that Elaine was aware and spoke of her ‘support’:

Tobias: I think without me having to say too much, [Elaine] was able to pick up on what was going on there and, you know, she was really supportive, and checked in and made sure I was all right so, yeah, really, really helpful

Amanda: I think for me [Elaine] was always aware of, kind of my, concerns, or how I’d found it from early days [...] she’s always been there and coming in extra and kind of really supported me through it.

Elaine also commented that she had made additional visits to the schools as a result of an insufficient number of observations being conducted by them “I’d said I would go and do extras if that’s what it took because I wasn’t going to let them fail for lack of observations”. Elaine’s reference to the fact that she was not “going to let them fail” is perhaps indicative of her attempt to establish some human agency to try and support the trainees who she knew were having difficulties. Elaine was aware that there were problems “it was their home schools where the problems were”. Her responses when considering some of the trainees specifically suggested anxiety, for one trainee she regretted them having to return to their main placement school (placement A) as they had been doing better at their second school (placement B), she commented that “had they been in that other school all the way through I think they’d be even better now”. There was a clear suggestion that placement A had negatively impacted on the trainee’s progress. It was clear that Elaine felt she had limited human agency to impact on the trainee’s experience in placement A, even though she felt this was detrimental to their progress. This seems to indicate a division between school and university limiting the social connections which might have supported Elaine’s agentic behaviour. There is also an impact on Elaine’s use of social capital within the, “field of power” (Schinkel and Noordegraaf, 2011:68) where it might seem that the school held the ‘sovereign power’ by virtue of the fact that they paid the salary. I argue that this limited

Elaine's potential to engage social capital to attempt to improve trainee conditions and is something that UBTEs need to consider.

6.3.1.9. *Employment Tensions*

For salaried trainees, the notion of being home grown could also lead to further tension if their eventual employment for their NQT year was not in the school which had been funding their salary. Amanda expressed her discomfort at having to tell her main placement school that she had accepted a job at another school:

I [...] got offered a job at my second placement and then another school, which I took, but then I was worried about returning to my salaried school to discuss...I knew like for a long time that I hadn't wanted to work there but I didn't have to have that conversation in the end because they didn't have a space and I think, I didn't even feel comfortable enough to kind of have that conversation about next year but I'm quite lucky I think that I just didn't need to in the end

Tobias spoke about how he had grappled with feelings of 'obligation' to the school funding his salary:

...it was sort of a question of obligation, do we stay because we've been given this opportunity through this school or do you go for somewhere where you know you're going to make more of an impact, or you're going to have a better teaching experience?

It is clear that Tobias had a habitus-field lack of fit with his main school as he felt a "better teaching experience" was to be found elsewhere and he struggled with a sense of what 'ought-to-be' (Bourdieu, 1977). However, he was unable to talk to his main school about his decisions or seek their support. Although he acknowledged there was a broader collaboration of teachers in the partnership to whom he could have turned for advice, he expressed suspicion about what their motivations or allegiances might be "I guess you don't know exactly who you are talking to a lot of the time. You don't necessarily know what the schools want". This suspicion evident in Tobias' reluctance to talk to his partnership school is highly concerning and suggests an unhealthy environment illustrative of the, "petty power

games” as discussed by Johnston (2010:313) and may be a deliberate act by those leading SD maintain control over their employees (O’Connell Davidson, 2014)¹²⁰.

This level of mistrust and discomfort is likely to have had an impact on Tobias’ emotional well-being as well as the development of his teacher identity. It is reassuring that Tobias felt comfortable in turning to what he described as his “*unbiased*” UBTE for support about his employment dilemma, positioning university as neutral, detached and, in this example, potentially a more professional space in which trainees can seek advice and guidance (Harris, 2011; Browne and Reid, 2012). There is also a further suggestion of ownership of trainees by schools with Tobias suggesting not knowing “*what the schools want*”. This presents itself as a form of governmentality as Tobias is likely to have attempted to regulate his behaviour to try and fit with what the school “*wants*” as a ‘technology of self’ (Lemke, 2000). As Tobias tried to find his position within the community, he was subject to pressure to conform and suppress difference (Linehan and McCarthy, 2000) as such he invoked his own “*manipulated and manipulating self*” (Hodges, 1998:289) in trying to match his professional identity to what the school “*wants*”. I argue that this kind of conflict places far more pressure on SD trainees as opposed to university-led PGCE trainees as they can either be in a position where they are hoping or vying for employment, I saw this in the case of Evie and Molly who tried to ‘mould’ their identity to fit¹²¹ or for the Longfield trainees as a result of obligation where they attempted to match their habitus-field to demonstrate ‘gratitude’ for being paid a salary whilst training.

6.3.1.10. Summary

In this research the theme of growing your own has produced a mixture of responses. The participants in school leadership roles presented a clear idea of what growing their own meant, it was to produce teachers ready to be employed in their school or Alliance. For trainees such as Evie this had been a positive experience and she had succeeded in making herself employable and employed by her school. For other trainees experiences were not so

¹²⁰ Discussed further in section 6.3.2.

¹²¹ Discussed in section 6.3.1.5.

positive and especially for salaried trainees who felt that they had been denied training opportunities. This dichotomy adds to the complexity of the question raised in this section's context¹²² about the purpose of ITT and whether it should be training teachers for specific settings or for the professional as a whole. What is clear is that there is currently no one consistent purpose with variation between TSAs and university-based training. This issue will be addressed further in my overall conclusion.

¹²² Section 6.3.1.1.

6.3.2. *Belonging and Ownership*

6.3.2.1. *Context*

During my PhD study I worked with TSAs, one in particular, recruiting SD trainees. One of the selling points presented repeatedly at recruitment events was the notion that as a SD trainee you ‘belonged’ to the TSA. Prospective SD candidates were not to be ‘just a student’ in the sense that other ITT students might be, but would be treated at what seemed to be a more elevated level, as a member of staff. This section of data analysis, therefore, investigates notions and concepts of belonging and also explores where belonging may become something more possessive by TSAs such that there becomes a sense of ‘ownership’. Notions of belonging are interpreted in different ways and from multiple perspectives. The sense of ‘belonging’ as relevant to this research includes the various CoPs to which trainees felt they belonged; the ‘nurturing’ of trainees possible as part of close relationships with TSA managers or ‘Significant Others’ (Borich, 1999); personalisation of training by trainees and, in some cases, a sense of ‘proprietary rights’ over trainees exercised by TSA managers.

Learners can belong to a number of CoPs¹²³. They can simultaneously, “have access to, or can cross boundaries to, other communities of practice within or beyond the organisation” (Fuller et al, 2005:54). I have chosen to focus on three key CoPs, arising from my data (Figure 15).

¹²³ Discussed in section 5.1.2.

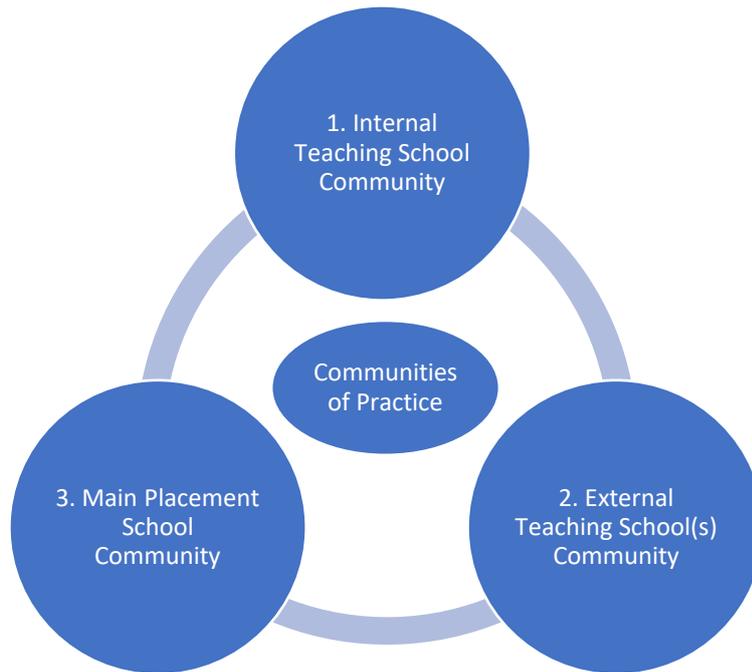


Figure 15. – *Communities of Practice in this Research*

6.3.2.2. *Community of Practice One – Internal Teaching School Community*

This community was created by each TSA. Most numbers were small, around six to eight trainees, although because of the cap on recruitment by the DfE in 2015-16 one community in 2016-17 had only three trainees. The TSAs usually had a lead teacher or manager who either delivered the training of a PGCE module called ‘The Highly Employable Teacher’ (HET) themselves or coordinated delivery of it by SBTEs. This module was largely a professional studies module and was usually taught one afternoon a week throughout a significant part of the year. The lead teacher or manager usually acted as a ‘super’ mentor or ‘Significant Other’ (Borich, 1999) to trainees.

TSA lead teachers or managers (hereafter referred to as trainers) identified the sense of belonging to TSA communities very positively, Louise stated:

...you are part of the school straight away [...] we say this to the students you’ve another family, you’ve got your university family and you got your school family, you’ve got your School Direct family...

Louise's perspective of her and other's "family" relationships with students is interesting. From one perspective it evidences a strong feeling of care for trainees making up for what Tett et al (2017) suggested were some of the shortcomings of university provision in its reliance on reactive rather than proactive support for students. Louise's sense of family presents a strong humanistic approach to her mentor relationship (Wang and Odell, 2002) which has potentially positive outcomes on how trainees adjust emotionally to teaching and can improve attrition.

From my insider research perspective, however, I argue that trainees' university relationship is not an equivalent 'family' model to the one Louise suggests as a "School Direct family". Whilst Tronto (2010) saw advantage in using family life as a model in institutional contexts for some elements of good care, she cautioned against oversimplifying the model and neglecting to make explicit the purpose, power and particularity of relations needed¹²⁴. The danger for Louise, and trainees, is that she has adopted a strong matriarchal relationship, she labels herself with the identity of 'mother' as an assumed natural state¹²⁵ (Gee, 2001). Louise's affinity to this maternal identity leads her to position herself as head of the "School Direct Family" and as a result she increases trainees' expectations of her authority and their dependence on her, producing a very inward looking culture which Atkinson (2000a) argues makes it more difficult for trainees to adapt to other settings and form relationships with other mentors.

Evelyn's perspective on belonging to TSAs was:

The one thing we've just said to our candidates for next year is we will treat you as a member of staff, we expect you to behave as a member of staff [...] you'll never be labelled as 'a student' within our school [...] you're not the person sitting in the corner of the staffroom who has to have the coffee cup, you know, with stains round it. I think that also encourages the students, [...] to behave [...] like a real teacher.

Evelyn's identification imposes on trainees what Gee (2001:99) called "institution-identity". As Ussher (2016) found, identification of students as staff can have a very positive effect on trainees who are given access to resources, including other teachers. Institution-identity as

¹²⁴ Discussed in section 5.7.5.

¹²⁵ Discussed in more detail below in section 6.3.2.6.

staff members increases trainees' access to social capital and human agency in placement settings. Trainees commented very positively on this identification¹²⁶. However, institution-identity in school settings which are related to employment, such as SD, can lead to what DeWalt (2008:1367) calls, "self-regulation" where trainees shape their behaviour to conform to school practice as staff members rather exercising the concomitant freedom to try new ideas and practices which might be expected of students. Johnston (2016:540) suggests that an acceptance of the, "warp and weft" of communal life within a setting is essential in the ways in which trainees establish their identity as potential teachers, however, in a SD system that timetables trainees' school experience predominately in one setting¹²⁷ it can also lead to what Fuller et al (2005:57-58) refer to as, "sheltered introduction" and, "narrow experts".

Interestingly, unlike the trainers, the trainees made very few comments about their sense of belonging to TSA communities suggesting perhaps that the intensity of the relationship as a small family did not have the same positive impact. Positive comments were *"I think the way you feel that you are in this little group is really helpful"* and *"It was nice to have only the eight of us in a small group, made it more personal."* There were, however, a few significant negative comments, for example, Naomi stated:

I think the way that everyone works together and everyone in the Alliance is sort of 'pally' [...] I think people did hold back complaints that they might have possibly made otherwise [...] especially because a big part of Moreover's push anyway is that you'll apply for jobs in the Alliance and probably get jobs in the Alliance, so you don't want to be marked out as a troublemaker.

Naomi's comments about the Alliance as being "pally" and not wanting to be seen as a "troublemaker" are highly concerning, and I argue indicate Foucauldian disciplinary power in the hands of the TSA trainers who hold the employment potential in abeyance resulting in trainees making judgements that it may be determinantal to their future employment to make complaints. In this respect the dominant group, the TSA trainers, determines the way to function, what Kamoche et al (2014:994) refer to as a, "cultural arbitrary" and trainees regulate their behaviour to be acceptable to those holding power, developing appropriate,

¹²⁶ Discussed in more detail below in section 6.3.2.4.

¹²⁷ Discussed in more detail in 6.3.2.7.

“technologies of self” (Lemke, 2000:12). They are prepared to accept poor conditions or practice about which they could otherwise complain for fear of reprisal from the TSA. I argue that this demonstrates the imposition of disciplinary power by TSA trainers with significant impact on the trainees’ affective domain, mental health and well-being, which some of them make more palliative by assuming benign familial roles.

Naomi explained the amount of scrutiny she felt under, which had worked well for her because she had been successful in gaining NQT employment in the TS, but it was not always as advantageous for trainees:

It did feel like a sort of a year-long interview process and I was really relieved that I got mine [her job] early on because up until the end of January it felt like I was just under, you know, under everyone's watch.

By her reference to “a year-long interview process” I understood Naomi to be referring to something that felt like an audition process where her performance and conduct were continually under ‘panoptic’ scrutiny (Foucault, cited in Bourke et al, 2013) altering the manner in which she behaved and submitting to the norms of the institution. Naomi went on to compare her experience and security of being in university training with the HET module training experience delivered by the TSA:

...if you come to university for lectures, you know, these aren't the people that are giving you the job so you can ask silly questions and say silly things and it doesn't matter as much. And they'd [Moreover TSA] sort of say things like, 'you can say, say what you want in here,' within reason, you know, but then because I was working at Moreover I knew that everyone was talking about the people who were in the HET sessions and that they were making their judgements about people; it's like a pre-interview process for them, it's very 'networky,' which worked to my advantage, but I'm not sure if it's worked to everyone's advantage.

Naomi’s comment that she overheard other trainees being discussed in judgmental ways is again concerning and I argue also suggests another Foucauldian concept, that of holding ‘sovereign’ power over trainees by trainers making decisions about trainees’ human capital, and ‘talents’ held by individuals (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012; 2013). According to Naomi’s account there is a level of deception as TSA trainers invite trainees to say “*what you want in here*” later used in detrimental ways to make judgements. In this way power in the community resides with what Caillard (n.d:4) calls “masters of the discourse at the centre”

holding sovereign power over trainees. Naomi's reference to "a pre-interview process" indicates that TSA trainers are selecting trainees for employment based on long term scrutiny of their progress and performance, and exchanging that information in 'networks'. I argue that this suggests what O'Connell Davidson (2014:516) calls, "wage labour" with trainees being seen as a group where potential employability is a commodity to be determined by TSA trainers. The false sense of familial support and security by TSA trainers is alarming, encouragement is given to trainees to "say what you want" which is later used in "judgements about people" which may not be to "everyone's advantage" moves beyond what Johnston (2010:313) referred to as "petty power games" and constitutes an abuse of 'sovereign' power. How far trainees other than Naomi were aware of threats behind the encouragement to "say what you want" is not possible to determine but the enormous and unrelenting pressure of panoptic surveillance preying on trainees' insecurities potentially had significant impact on desires to belong (Baumeister and Leary, 1995), health and well-being and ability to function (Brown et al, 2007). Even for Naomi as a trainee selected for employment by the TS and who determined that judgements made had "worked to my advantage" it was still likely that she would experience some insecurity instigated by her desire for continued acceptance by those she would be working with impacting on her sense of identity (Johnston, 2016).

Interestingly UBTEs, Natalie and Elaine, commented positively on the sense of belonging engendered by TSAs and promotion of identity (Ussher, 2016). Natalie commented that:

I think there's another advantage where, right from the start it's about belonging and about feeling part of something, you know, of a school and a TSA, so I think that identity, they're very clear, right from the start "Oh, well I'm a School Direct", or "I'm a [school name]" or "I'm a [school name]" so they, they cling to that identity and that can help, you know, to boost confidence

It is interesting that Natalie suggests that belonging to TSA CoPs might "boost confidence" in juxtaposition to Naomi's earlier account. However, after the initial positive response, Natalie ended by commenting, "but there is a higher attrition rate with School Direct as well so it doesn't always work, does it?" indicating she is aware of some inherent disadvantages that might be felt by belonging to such a close group. The data available during my data collection 2015-16 and 2016-17 does not allow me to distinguish between core PGCE and SD

trainees' progress. Data available for 2017-18 (Table 3), however, showed that whilst the percentage of SD trainees who have now completed is slightly higher (91.48%) compared to core PGCE (91%), numbers of withdrawn trainees was also higher for SD (4.3%) compared to core PGCE (3.7%). Moreover, the greater impact of supporting trainees who eventually withdraw from smaller cohorts may have contributed to Natalie's perception of higher attrition rates for SD trainees.

Table 3: Status of Primary PGCE trainees at HEI Case Study in September 2019

Primary PGCE			
Entry year:		2017/18	
Core	Cohort Size	189	
	Completed	172	91%
	Enrolled	3	1.6%
	Interrupted	7	3.7%
	Transferred		
	Withdrawn	7	3.7%
SD	Cohort Size	47	
	Completed	43	91.48%
	Enrolled	1	2.1%
	Interrupted	1	2.1%
	Transferred		
	Withdrawn	2	4.3%

6.3.2.3. *Community of Practice Two – External Teaching School(s) Community.*

In addition to Internal TSA communities trainees also spoke about meeting together without TSA staff, externally and often at university. The trainees sometimes referred to the entire community of university SD primary trainees which numbered forty-four in 2015-16 and thirty-one in 2016-17.

Trainees, most frequently, identified membership of these communities as support networks, *“And you're stuck together so I mean...it's when you go into the library and you see someone from Schools Direct, then instantly you just go and talk to them, even if it's about assignments, or anything really”* (William) and *“we had this dialogue between ourselves so it was easy to help each other or just to advise each other on what's good, or what's bad or what to do next”* (Tobias).

There was a positive feel to the community described by trainees as one in which learning was situated in practice and trainees were mutually supportive (Wenger, 1998; Hodkinson and Hodkinson, 2004). However, William's reference to being "*stuck together*" I argue suggests a dependency that is a necessity perhaps for survival outside the TSA community. Use of the word "*stuck*" also indicates that membership of this community is not about self-selection, it is determined by those who are recruited to SD routes. It is not fluid, once recruited trainees belonged to these small CoPs for their entire training.

For Amanda the externality of these communities from TSAs was very important, in her account she expressed a sense of release:

The six of us keep getting together, it's kept us sane throughout the year. Just to be able to talk freely more than you know, that you can't when you're out in schools and let off that steam.

Amanda's use of the term "*to talk freely*" here is significant and reflects Naomi's comments about dangers of talking freely resulting in "*judgements about people*". Amanda's reference thus presents a second example of the pressure of panoptic surveillance that can constitute being part of TSA communities. I argue that this form of disciplinary power results in governmentality in which trainees adapt their behaviour demonstrating 'technologies of self' (Lemke, 2000) indicated by Amanda's comment that "*you can't when you're out in schools*", but have the behavioural freedom outside school to "*let off that steam*". The repressive nature of this controlled behaviour in school resonates in the desired act of trainees to "*keep getting together*" which is followed immediately by Amanda's comment that this "*kept us sane*" suggesting that without the external context trainees would perhaps have been driven in some way 'insane'. External TSA communities are devoid of panoptic surveillance and present trainees with opportunities to "*talk freely*", which are denied to both sets of trainees in Naomi's and Amanda's internal TSA communities. I argue that the impact of this internal pressure on emotions and emotional states of trainees is significant and presents the potential to impact on the affective domain and abilities to develop as teachers (Shoffner, 2009; Johnston, 2016).

6.3.2.4. Community of Practice Three - Belonging to the Main Placement School

Belonging to their main placement school received many positive comments from trainees. As, CoP One¹²⁸, there was an especially strong sense that being treated as a staff member rather than a trainee was important. Alyssa commented “*you’re known as a person...you’re not just a trainee*” and Evie:

There was not one time where I felt that I was a student, I always felt that I had every opportunity that the staff members did, being invited to all the staff briefings, all the meetings after school and even little things like being given the staff handbook with the planners in and things like that, I think you felt very much a part of it from day one.

Whilst this explanation of institution-identity affords a strong sense of potential for human agency in SD contexts, at the same time it raises questions about why it is not possible or desirable to offer this for trainees across other training routes. There is a suggestion here of managerialism, managing identity as a modality of control. By giving trainees the institution-identity of staff, trainers can manage ‘the insides’ of trainees ensuring commitment to the institution’s mission and corporate goals (Ward, 2011; Lynch, 2014). ‘Belonging’ is, therefore, arguably less important for trainees who are not part of SD training routes, there is perhaps less impetus to manage them because there is lower expectation of longer term relationships through employment. Ussher (2016) identified this idea of investment as a form of loyalty, with SD trainees demonstrating loyalty to schools for having selected them, and mentors demonstrating loyalty to trainees through commitments of time and energy. Investment, however, can also suggest ownership¹²⁹.

As Ussher (2016) found, however, for most trainees being familiar with their main school and knowing the children gave a strong sense of professional identity, belonging and human agency. Naomi initially talked about this very positively as a strength of her training:

...feeling that I belonged there, because we started right at the beginning of term I got to go to two inset days at the beginning of term and then I was there every

¹²⁸ See section 6.3.2.2.

¹²⁹ Discussed below in section 6.3.2.5.

Wednesday in the morning before the placement started so by the time I started the kids knew me and I knew them [...] I felt sort of comfortable by the time I had to start.

However, later in the training programme this sense of familiarity became more uncomfortable for some trainees. In particular, Naomi explained that when she returned to her main school for her final placement, she already had accepted a job there for September, and as a result put herself under pressure to perform as though she had already completed the training:

I think when I first started at the beginning of this term I felt like, I don't know why I had this mentality, but I guess it was a natural way to feel was just 'oh, well, they've given me the job now, they'd given it to me months beforehand so I have to be...I just have to do it now.'

What Naomi presents is a confusion of identity, or what Warin et al (2006) label 'identity dissonance'. In the 'figured world' of placement (Urrieta, 2007) Naomi steps out from the 'actual self' into her projection of her 'ideal self' (Lauriala and Kukkonen, 2005). Her target of what might be achievable in future she applies to being able "to do it now". The pressure is increased for Naomi because of what Childs et al (2014:29) call the, "public arena of the classroom" and, "witnessed failure", when her lesson did not go as well as she had hoped, she explained:

So I didn't seek advice, so my first observation was terrible, really terrible and then I had the embarrassment that everyone, not all, but some people would know and I'll still be working there in September

I argue that for Naomi completing her final placement in the school where she has gained employment increased a sense of panoptic surveillance which left her feeling 'embarrassed' about what people "would know" and because she would not be leaving and taking employment elsewhere this knowledge would be sustained. This emotional response of "embarrassment" is typical of what Leary et al (2013:610) refer to as desire for, "interpersonal acceptance" which Naomi feared has been disrupted and left her feeling under pressure impacting the affective domain and her ability to develop as a teacher (Shoffner, 2009).

Naomi's realisation that she had over projected her ability to that of her ideal self eventually helped her to rationalise her 'workplace performance' (Childs et al, 2014). She was able to reconceptualise her identity to one that was more in line with her developmental stage, restoring balance between her ideal and actual selves:

I'm now over [it] but it was, it was hard because I felt like I had to be good enough then not that I had to be good enough in September which was several months down the line.

6.3.2.5. *Belonging or Owning?*

The closeness of relationships between TSAs and trainees led me to consider differences between belonging and ownership, and the advantages and tensions these notions might create. School leaders, on occasion, talked specifically about owning their trainees, for example, Amy, when asked about why the TSA had become involved in SD stated, "*The opportunity for our trainees to be in school more and to own them from the very beginning*". Later Amy made a second ownership reference "*The real benefits are things like the fact that you're owned by the school immediately*". I argue that this suggests trainees being viewed as a commodity, a form of 'wage labour' (O'Connell Davidson, 2014) with TSAs having ownership over trainees' labour, a number of whom in this Alliance were salaried. Notions of ownership by TSAs suggest expectations of ways in which trainees will behave during their training and what schools might expect in return. There is a distinct sense in SD, I argue, of a new managerial focus on product and output (Lynch, 2014) and the 'investment' TSAs have made. They have given time to 'input' into trainees but also have a specific 'output' in mind, which is trainees becoming new teachers for their schools. When asked about the benefits of SD Amy explained:

I think that is a massive, massive benefit because not only does it give you that security and the opportunity to sort of get...to, to be a member of staff...

Managers in this way evoke the idea that trainees get some benefit from being treated with the same rights and respect as members of staff (institution-identity) which was

commented on positively by trainees¹³⁰. But, I argue, there was also a sense that having been given the “*massive benefit*” of being treated as a staff member trainees were expected to act as staff members and to demonstrate the same loyalty and commitment to the school as other staff members (Ball, 2003; Ussher, 2016). This expectation came as a result of TSAs having selected trainees, based on prejudgements of their cultural and social capital when determining placement¹³¹. This led to anticipation of longer term relationships with their “*member of staff*” than the training year, also leading to expectations that trainees would show the same level of personal investment in the school that selected them (Ball, 2003). I argue that what was overlooked by school leaders in their exercise of ‘sovereign power’ over trainees’ placements was that actual staff members who demonstrated loyalty and commitment, one would expect, made their own selection at application of where they might want to work, most trainees had not had this option. What Amy refers to as “*security*” is an intriguing point; the reference seems to be to “*security*” for trainees but in what sense they were ‘secure’ is not entirely clear. I argue, however, that the “*security*” offered actually came in the form of ownership, trainees were owned and secure as long as they conformed to expectations and proved themselves to be ‘docile bodies’ (Foucault, 1977; Ball, 2003). Amy explained that schools saw a distinct difference in their relationship with SD trainees than with other trainees:

...it means the schools invest in the trainees much more than they do, someone who comes on a placement on...a PGCE or whatever.

An initial distinction I note here is in the reference to SD trainees as “*trainees*” as opposed to “*someone*” who might come on placement from another route suggesting a much stronger identity relationship with SD “*trainees*”. With this relationship, however, I argue, comes the question of what schools who “*invest in the trainees*” are going to expect in return for their investment. As Marx (1887) argued this could be the power of command over the person of the worker by employers, or in the case of SD, either those managing the training or headteachers making financial investment. Increased authoritative control by headteachers as managers as a result of NPM (Gewirtz and Ball, 2000; Ball, 2003; Taylor, 2007) positions headteachers as ‘technicians of behaviour’ (Foucault, 1977; Ball, 2003)

¹³⁰ Discussed earlier in section 6.3.2.4.

¹³¹ Discussed in section 5.4.3.

leading them to expect trainees' behaviour, as return for investment, to be what Nolan (2016) describes as a "habitus-field" fit presenting itself as doxa (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Headteachers, as managers (Wright, 2001; Ball, 2003; Taylor, 2007), expect all workers to feel accountable but at the same time committed and loyal to the organisation. I argue that this places pressure on trainees to adopt without question the beliefs and norms of their school setting, they should present a, "comfortable, non-conflicting habitus-field fit" (Nolan, 2016:319) in their schools. This in turn places pressure on them to conform to the school doxa as, "an uncontested daily lifeworld" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:73) doing what they feel they ought to be as dominated participants representing, "the most absolute form of conservatism" (ibid:74). This pressure is not so evident for core PGCE trainees who see their placements as more temporal, usually without expectation of employment and have more exposure to different settings. The domination of SD trainees by TSAs was visible but was misrecognised so that it was not perceived as a power, instead it formed a, "hidden persuasion" (ibid:168) which, I argue, positions trainees' participation beyond 'belonging' to a state of 'ownership' representing the greatest form of control.

The suggestion of ownership with unsalaried trainees came from Louise, an SBTE, who began her explanation of the appointment of an ex SD trainee to an NQT post at her school as "*she was ours*". Although Louise meant this reference as a positive sense of belonging to the school, I felt there was an insidious sense of ownership behind it. The school had invested in the training and now had a sense of right to her labour as "*ours*" subordinating the will of the trainee or labourer to the will of the employer (O'Connell-Davidson, 2014). Louise explained further that:

I think because we'd grown her, so to speak, she was just ready to go and there wasn't that anxiety for her or for us, thinking we've got a new member of staff, how are they going to settle in? We knew she would.

Again, the insidious undertone behind the idea that "*we'd grown her*" is powerful. Louise made an attempt to excuse it "*so to speak*" but the idea was there that they had exerted power to shape and mould the trainee during her training to the institution's mission so that there was no question that she would not fit into their school practices. I argue that this is a one sided institution-needs perspective with a concern for efficiency and cost-effectiveness

(Gerwartz and Ball, 2000) which represents a new managerial perspective on the output of investment (Lynch, 2014). There was significant focus on employers' needs rather than employees or SD trainees, despite one reference to there not being an "anxiety for her" the remainder of the focus was on the school's benefit "she was ready to go" and "there wasn't an anxiety...for us", "We knew she would" fit in to their, "doxic society" (Lawler, 2011:1423). This led me to consider what would happen if trainees did not fit their placement field. Natalie talked about this occurrence as a challenge for SD trainees:

The biggest disadvantage [...] is that if there's a personality clash within the teaching school or within the placement school, there's much less chance of coming out of it and talking to someone, you know, going to people outside that situation, and that does happen and it can be really difficult to help schools and trainees find a way through it.

It is difficult to be clear about what had resulted in what Natalie calls "a personality clash" or how this manifested, however, Natalie further commented that, "they [school and trainee] felt let down by each other" suggesting that the trainee's doxic practices did not meet with those of the school's institutional habitus resulting in challenges to help the "schools and trainees find a way through it". The trainee had not met school expectations, perhaps from a heterodox position of competing ideas, or a resistance of the, "master of the discourse" central power (Caillard, n.d:4). Likewise, neither had the school met trainee expectations, impacting the affective domain with the trainee feeling "let down". There is also a sense of disappointment for the school that they had been "let down" by the trainee after all their professional, emotional and perhaps financial investment in them. What is particularly significant here is Natalie's comment that for SD trainees "there's much less chance of coming out of it" than for core PGCE trainees, it is not so possible to approach "people outside that situation" the implication being that issues need to be resolved within the TSA or not at all.

As a result of 'ownership' by TSAs, my findings suggest that when there was a habitus-field misfit or a conflict of doxic practices there is more pressure on SD trainees compared to core PGCE trainees to make transition to the field or, as a likely alternative, to withdraw from the course (Hughes, 2010). This again may account, in part, for SD higher attrition

rates¹³². Natalie concluded that, “*I think in the core PGCE we can sort those things; it is less likely to happen because the [school-trainee] relationship isn’t as close*”, suggesting that there was not such an investment for university-led PGCE trainees, resulting in greater tolerance of any of habitus-field misfit, as there is no employment expectation so that PGCE trainees do not have to meet the institution’s mission. Core PGCE trainees, perhaps, are more willing to accept the ‘ought-to-be’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) of placements knowing that they are short term, situated practices and that they leave after a matter of weeks. A final alternative for university trainees is that schools may be more willing to let trainees leave placement, a rare but possible occurrence for university-led placements. Schools have not invested in core PGCE trainees in the same way as SD and are more comfortable to sever relationships. Relationships with core PGCE trainees are, therefore, very much altered by a lower sense of investment on behalf of schools.

The sense of ‘ownership’ represented as a form of ‘entitlement’ by TSAs is, I argue, a highly concerning feature of SD models. SD schools’ expectations of what they are entitled to as a return for investment presents an enormous pressure for trainees to conform and to become ‘docile’ to the training school’s practices. Not to do so results in tension and at worse ‘power games’ (Johnston, 2010) resulting in hostile training environments for trainees¹³³.

6.3.2.6. *Nurture*

The term ‘nurture’ appeared frequently in data collected during 2016-17, particularly at Hunters Mist TSA. It was worthwhile, therefore, to endeavour to unpick what TSAs mean when they refer to notions of ‘nurture’.

When asked about the benefits of SD training, Louise commented that:

That nurture again, the fact that straightaway they feel part of it and I think it comes through right from day one from when they enquire to when they leave, you know, it doesn’t stop, it doesn’t end.

¹³² Discussed in section 6.3.2.2

¹³³ Discussed in more detail in section 5.7.3.

This statement is further evidence of Louise's humanistic approach to mentoring¹³⁴ (Wang and Odell, 2002) in her role as 'Significant Other' (Borich, 1999) for trainees, rather than placement mentor. Her position as 'Significant Other' privileged her role as emotional support, and underplayed her role as assessor; these two positionalities having potential to be in conflict with one another (O'Brien, 2010). The assessment role fell to placement mentors as 'Salient Others' (Borich, 1999). Louise did, however, teach the trainees as part of the HET module, giving her mentorship a situated apprenticeship dimension, but one removed from direct classroom practice. Borich (1999) suggests that the 'Significant Other' for trainees is 'unconditionally valued' leading, I argue, to a sense of Foucault's concept of 'pastoral power' with Louise caring for the, "bodily actions and souls" of her flock (Foucault, 1978:183). Pastoral power is very focused on individuals which Louise was able to achieve because of the low numbers in SD cohorts¹³⁵. The role of 'pastoral power' requires, "a constant, individualised kindness" (McCuaig, 2007:286), this was a role that Louise gravitated towards, she described that she "*thoroughly enjoyed it*". The trainees became part of Louise's SD family¹³⁶ and as such she was able to exercise, "minute and careful jurisdiction" (Golder, 2009:167) over their development seeing herself in the role of caring parent. As part of this 'jurisdiction' Louise described how she offered care for SD trainees in ways she would not normally, as she stated, "*advocate*":

I'll give them all my mobile number, you know, if they need me I'm there and it's not something that, you know, I would advocate doing but it's something, that, for me that's part of the whole thing is that they have got somebody else that they can turn to should they need to.

The statement that "*if they need me I'm there*" presents a very close "personal connectedness" (Ferrier-Kerr, 2009) and differs from usual mentor relationships by emphasising personal rather than professional needs (Wang and Odell, 2002). There was hesitancy in Louise's comment that "*it's not something that, you know, I would advocate*", a recognition perhaps that in making herself so available she was overstepping the boundary of usual mentor relationships. However, it was something that she wanted to do from a

¹³⁴ Discussed in section 6.3.2.2.

¹³⁵ At the time of the interview (2017) the cohort had just three trainees

¹³⁶ As discussed earlier in section 6.3.2.2.

personal perspective that *“for me that’s part of the whole thing”*, this was what Louise determined was important. Louise’s caring, I argue, represents what Noddings (1984) suggested as ‘motivational displacement’ she justifies the actions that she would not normally *“advocate”* by giving primacy to the needs and goals of the cared-for (Noddings, 1984; Goldstein, 2002). But by doing so it seems that Louise uses ‘motivational displacement’ to justify her own satisfaction in her role, giving her the ‘thorough enjoyment’ referred to above. The identity adopted by Louise was an intense one, her position was one not only of a ‘spiritual guide’ but also a maternal parental role in which she describes herself as a *“mother hen”*:

... [name of trainee], bless her, sent me a photo of the three of them on their Graduation Day, which was just, you know, [...] I felt like a mother hen, it was just fantastic and I think you do build up a bond that may be you wouldn’t necessarily get with other courses.

In the above comment the identification of *“mother”* by Louise presents the nature of care given as modelled on a family. This conflicts with Tronto’s (2010) belief that institutional ‘family’ care needs to be explicit about positions of *“purpose, power and particularity”* which is not one that is assumed as a part of a biological family but one that requires careful professional determination. Louise’s reference to the *“bond”* she formed with trainees was significant, she acknowledges that it was not a usual relationship, one that *“you wouldn’t necessarily get with other courses”*. Again, there is acknowledgement that the relationship she had with trainees was beyond what is normally professionally expected. The closeness of this ‘bond’ suggests the possibilities engendered by pastoral power to get to know the detail of trainees’ lives, *“their innermost secrets”* (Foucault, 1983:214) which, I argue, is beyond knowledge needed for successful professional mentor-trainee relationships. I also argue that it is not desirable as it alters the nature of relationships such that in her maternal role there is also a sense in which Louise infantilises trainees as she compares their well-being to children’s:

...but nurture, you know, it’s something, that, you know, this is what we did for the children but, you know, it’s also something we need to give [...] to our students and to really, sort of look after their well-being

Again, Louise's perception of her role suggests 'motivational displacement' (Noddings, 1984) as reason for her actions it is for 'them' to "*look after their well-being*". However, this infantilisation of trainees, brings into question the nature of the professional caring relationship and whether as 'mother' and 'children' the caring becomes one-sided with displays of affection such as the sending of the graduation photograph as reward for the carer. I question whether this is a healthy relationship in teacher training, one which should foster proactivity as a professional value rather than dependence (Chandler et al, 1990; Atkinson, 2000a) which may be symptomatic of one-sided caring relationships. Louise's relationship with trainees, therefore, can be said to be a form of pastoral power (Foucault, 1978) in which she cares for the 'souls' or well-being of trainees. The role of pastoral power can result in relationships of "individual obedience", with trainees regulating their conduct. As such, I argue, it is a form of control, although Louise probably does not recognise it as such, where she is in a surveillance role monitoring trainees' behaviours.

Louise's assumed professional identity was that of a "much-loved nurturer" (Atkinson, 2000a). Whilst this position offers a high level of emotional support and is an example of social-emotional interactions as a relational plane (Zembylas, 2007), it also had potential to lead to complacency on the trainees' part if they became over-reliant on the mentor (Atkinson, 2000a). Louise suggested that levels of support offered were not just limited to her, she referred to, "*the fact that they can call on people left, right and centre, there's so many people, so many experts within each school that they can go to*". Whilst this presents a strong sense of an effective CoP offering agentic opportunities for trainees, the phrase "*left, right and centre*" also suggests an availability that is not common mentor practice, and perhaps caused an imbalance to the three aspects of nurturing environments of structure, direction and support as presented by Atkinson (2000a) resulting in an underdeveloped sense of autonomy for trainees.

As an insider researcher I knew that two of the 2013-14 Hunters Mist SD cohort (representing 29%) left their schools at the end of their teaching second year, one for an education related job overseas and the second to take a post as a Higher Level TA, the latter was quite clear that teaching had been more challenging than expected. I asked Louise why

she thought this had happened, which prompted her to reflect on whether levels of nurture she had provided as part of training were available for NQTs:

When they are out in the real world and they have got their first job and they have got those responsibilities sometimes I think it can be a little bit daunting for them [...] maybe, the nurture still isn't there for them and I think they still need that in their first few years, that guidance, that, you know, it doesn't need to stop as soon as they've got that first job because it's still a learning journey, isn't it?

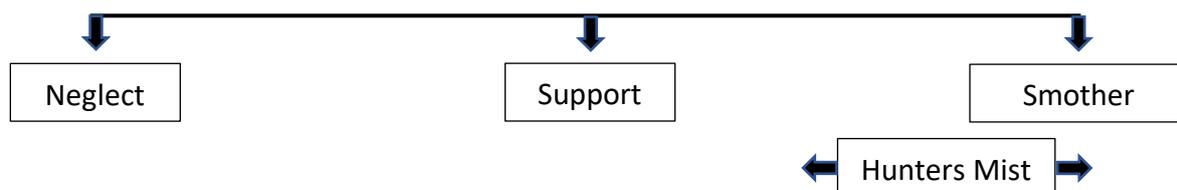
Emma, also at Hunters Mist, made a similar reflection:

They probably don't see the whole picture until they are actually thrown into employment and maybe if we do nurture them too much, they've got that support all the time, when they go out on their own to teach...obviously you've got your other teachers to support you but you are a teacher now so you're not going to get that nurture and that support as you would as a student.

Both the phrases “the real world” (Louise) and “the whole picture” (Emma) suggest a recognition that trainees are being ‘nurtured’ to a point whereby they do not develop sufficient levels of autonomy, self-efficacy (Atkinson, 2000a) and resilience during their training to cope with the full demands of being NQTs.

The relationship between Louise and trainees at Hunters Mist was multi-complex. Louise acknowledged it as one that is not common in ITT but also saw the care of her ‘flock’ as very positive and a personally rewarding experience. This research, however, has revealed a very different and perhaps also damaging nature of relationships between trainees and mentors acting as ‘Significant Other’, one which sits between levels of support and closer to the smothering of trainees’ development. Figure 16 attempts to illustrate the impact of the multi-complex relationship between Louise and trainees at Hunters Mist TSA.

Figure 16. Relationship Continuum Between Hunters Mist SBTE and Trainees.



It is not the act of 'nurturing' itself that presents the problem, Atkinson (2000a), Harlow and Cobb (2014) and Johnston (2016) all refer to 'nurturing' trainees as a positive construct. What I question here is the nature of nurturing practice and who is determined to be the beneficiary. Whilst Louise's behaviour suggests 'motivational displacement' in her offering of care. Her hesitancy about practices that she does not normally "*advocate*", that "*you wouldn't necessarily get with other courses*" suggests that she also questions the manner in which she offers her services as carer as well as mentor. Louise's reference above to the non-ending relationship between herself and trainees "*it doesn't stop, it doesn't end*" is perhaps indicative of her personal fulfilment from the relationships she establishes and her desire that such relationships do not 'end'. This position presents itself as the opposite of Ferrier-Kerr's (2009:792) research into the, "personal connectedness" of mentor-trainee relationships and adds to the mentor's role as one who sees their focus on professional practice to one that has a desire to know trainees on personal, more familiar levels. As a result, one can argue that the professional identity Louise makes for herself as a "*mother hen*" and trainees as her "*family*" is inappropriately dominant, her level of support could smother trainees to the point that they lose potential for autonomy and self-efficacy and become overly dependent (Atkinson, 2000a). "*To nurture them too much*" (Emma) becomes synonymous with 'to smother'. Trainees are not prepared for the "*real world*" as might have been the outcome for the two trainees who left after teaching two years.

Interestingly, but perhaps unsurprisingly given her experience of ITT, it was Natalie (UBTE) who raised questions about support levels given to trainees by TSAs, commenting that:

School Direct schools sometimes make too many allowances. I've had conversations with schools, "that just imagine if this was an NQT, would you let them do this?"[...] I don't think that's fair to trainees, I don't think that's fair to schools either and sometimes schools aren't fair to themselves because [...] they don't give them [trainees] a proper view of what it's going to be like.

It was clear that Natalie had an expectation of professional support levels trainees should be given in order to develop the autonomy and resilience needed to be successful NQTs. The schools she referred to are outside the Hunters Mist partnership and are evidence of another TSA partnership which may be overcompensating for trainees' needs. The nature of care demonstrated through the making of "*too many allowances*" presents training as one

which shelters trainees from the demands they will experience as NQTs the “*proper view of what it’s going to be like*”. This may represent an alternative form of smothering care. Natalie tried to get the SBTEs to project their thinking of what is required of NQTs “*just imagine if this was an NQT*” to design the training and support in preparation for this role. As an outcome of this research I argue that the potentially ‘smothering’ levels of nurture and care presented in SD partnerships are in danger of creating what Fuller et al (2005:57-58) identify as “*narrow experts*” which may impact on performance and retention in early career stages.

6.3.2.7. *Personalisation of the Programme*

Another frequent term used by subjects in my research was ‘bespoke’ in relation to their TSA training. Some trainees had potential to personalise programmes on request.

Both Yvonne and Louise at Hunters Mist referred to ‘bespoke’ training packages offered. Yvonne defined ‘bespoke’ as:

...it’s that personalised approach and [...] it’s the trainee feeling at the centre, really, so that they’re not part of a big machine, that it feels very, very personal, very individualised and it feels like a seamless package that wraps around them.

Louise commented on the “*‘bespokeness’ of the course that, you can [...] listen exactly to what they’re needing and what they want and maybe offer extra sessions*”

The responsiveness of trainers in altering the programme as a result of trainees’ needs was well received by trainees, Evie commented that:

I think it’s versatile because it’s this bespoke training, isn’t it? So from day one when I had my first meeting [...] at Hunters Mist where we sat down and spoke about everything being very much for you, what do you feel that you need from this point moving forward.

Tobias made some similar comments:

They would ask us, they'd say what do you want to...what is it that you need some more work on [...] because there aren't so many of us they could tailor it and it's a lot easier that way.

In considering the value of tailoring programmes I argue that it is relevant to consider Biesta et al's findings (2015; 2017)¹³⁷ that as a result of shifts towards greater centralised teacher control through externally imposed systems, teachers no longer have clear educational philosophies, and as a consequence focus on short-term rather than longer-term goals. This raises questions about the nature of bespoke programmes created by TSAs and how far they might be focussed on technical skills rather than educational philosophy¹³⁸. Many of the comments, from TSA leaders and trainees, about their tailoring of programmes were centred around the trainees' perceived needs. Yvonne articulated this specifically, "*the trainee feeling at the centre*". The agency for these bespoke sessions, therefore, originated with trainees. I argue that the influence of trainees' habitus on their requests, however, should be considered, that is how far desire for training was shaped by their often ill-informed assumptions of what teaching is.

The trainees, however, felt very confident about this potential to influence their training. Evie, in particular, commented on the security that came from her relationship with Louise, "*I felt very comfortable to say what I felt I needed*". This is a positive impact on the affective domain created by Louise to support learning conditions for trainees enabling them to move beyond what Feiman-Nemser (2001b:1033) called, "norms of politeness". It is also a strong example of the potential of trainees had in this context to achieve human agency in their professional development. Biesta et al's (2017:51) research, however, regarding, "age-effects" and, "generation-effects" of agency, I argue, raises questions about who should have the greater agency to decide what trainees might or should need as part of ITT. For example, Evelyn described an occasion when trainees had requested more teaching about phonics:

¹³⁷ Discussed in section 5.6.3.

¹³⁸ Discussed in more detail in section 6.3.3.3.

I thought we'd done a lot of phonics but apparently, they want more, so that's things that you have to, you know, that you have to take into account, don't you, you have to listen to them.

The strength of the trainees' human agency is recognised in Evelyn's statement "you have to listen to them". Trainees' wants or requests were responded to without question although Evelyn did suggest some reservation "I thought we'd done a lot of phonics", however, the trainees' request was acceded to "but apparently, they want more" which resulted in her providing more phonics training. Being an experienced UBTE, influenced by both the "age-effects" and "generation-effects" of agency (Biesta et al, 2017:51), led me to question whether the trainees' power of human agency was justified. I questioned whether they 'needed' more phonics training or was this request positioned more in line with trainees' 'wants' (Gough, 2003; Lavers, 2007) resulting from a lack of confidence or teaching assumptions shaped by habitus. I suggested to Evelyn that perhaps the trainees' request for additional phonics training suggested an insecurity, reflecting the current profile of phonics teaching in media and policy discourse, impacting on perceptions of 'need' as individualistic 'want' (Gough, 2003; Lavers, 2007). Evelyn showed an awareness of this in response to my question but had acquiesced nonetheless to the trainees' human agency:

Possibly, possibly [...] I didn't have a deep enough conversation to sort of [...] ascertain why, but just generally around the room that was the one thing that came up. But like you I thought we did that quite a lot. And yes [...] maybe it's media hype, it's a little bit of a worry that they don't feel quite confident enough to go in and teach a phonics lesson.

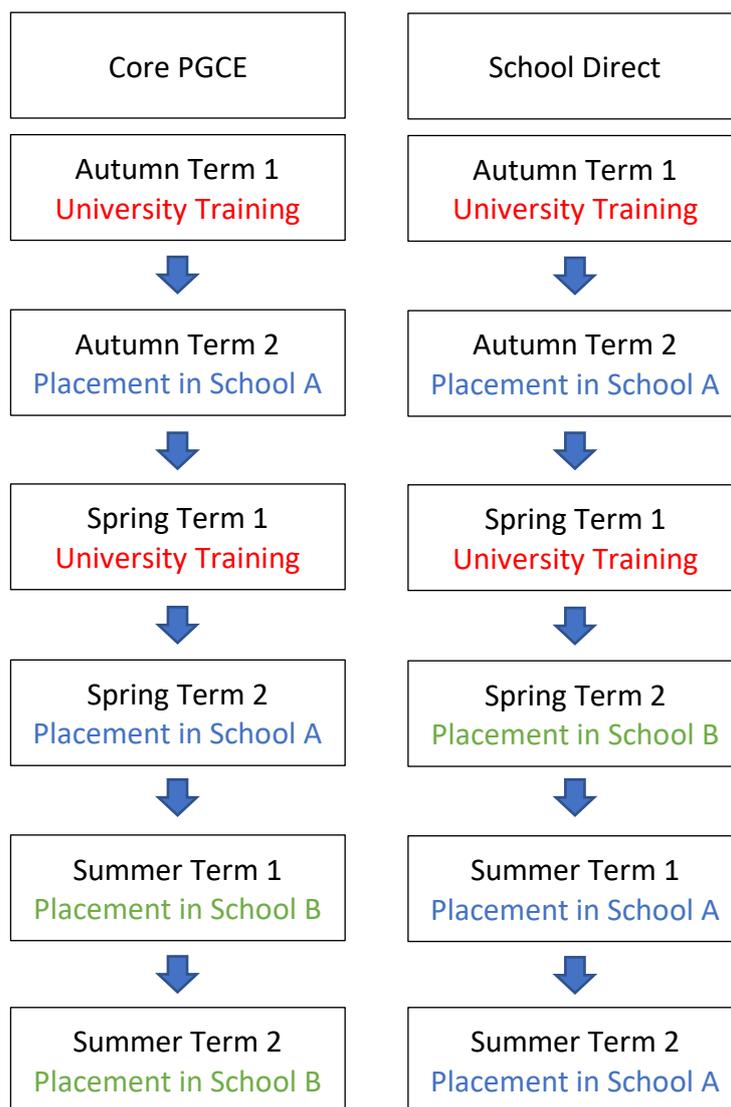
Evelyn's uncertainty about the reason the trainees had requested more phonics training positioned her as someone now who questioned its validity "I thought we did quite a lot". Without the support of the expert practitioner the position of this request as 'need' is highly devalued (McGregor et al, 2009). The immediacy of Evelyn's acquiescence to the trainees' human agency, I argue, raises questions about her professional confidence as SBTE to distinguish between what trainees 'want' or 'need' as part of well-developed ITT programmes. This trainees' power to drive curriculum content is very significant and I argue highly questionable given the lack of iterational and projective aspects (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998) of their agency as teachers. Evelyn was a relatively new SBTE transitioning from a position of a "first-order practitioner" with established skills and knowledge about

children as successful learners to a, “second-order practitioner” developing her knowledge of what trainees need to be successful (Murray and Male, 2005:126). The bending of her will to do as she is bid by trainees, I argue raises questions of how Evelyn had been supported in her transition to SBTE, her understanding and confidence of what effective ITT is¹³⁹.

This discussion about programme personalisation has very much been focused on tailoring to trainees’ perceived wants over needs (Gough, 2003; Lavers; 2007; McGregor et al, 2009). However, it can also be argued that TSAs also personalise programmes to their own wants and needs, which might not be isomorphic to trainee wants and needs. Personalisation of the programme to TSA wants or perhaps need for new teacher recruitment is illustrated by the fact each of the TSAs involved in this research rejected the university’s placement model in favour of their own. I argue that this is a further example of Foucauldian (1977) sovereign power resting in the hands of headteachers making decisions. The university model divided time on placement roughly evenly, with placement A being in one school during the second half of autumn term and the second half of spring term, and placement B being both halves of summer term, producing roughly an equal balance between two schools. Instead, each of the TSAs planned their placement experience to be an A-B-A model, where placement A started in the second half of autumn term after which the trainees went to placement B at an alternative school in the second half of spring term before returning to placement A (the original school) for both halves of summer term (Figure 17). This gave the SD trainees three half terms in their placement A and only one in placement B.

¹³⁹ Discussed in more detail in section 6.3.3.6.

Figure 17. Comparison of core PGCE and SD placement models.



Regardless of whether trainees were on salaried routes or training routes, the reasons TSAs gave for the departure from the core PGCE model was that they ‘wanted’ trainees to spend the majority of their experience in placement A schools so that they were well known and well established with a view to subsequent employment. I argue that this returns to NPM principles, discussed earlier¹⁴⁰, with the schools seeking to mould trainees to be teachers specifically for their schools (Ward, 2011). There is also a continued focus on SD schools’ return on their investment. By investing in the trainees’ training over three half terms of the year schools have an expectation that they will accept the school’s mission and corporate goals as a form of doxa, demonstrating this through commitment and loyalty to the school (Ball, 2003; Ussher, 2016). By keeping trainees at the same school for a long as possible

¹⁴⁰ As discussed above in section 5.8.3.

there is greater potential for TSA managers to secure ‘personalistic power’ over the self of workers or trainees (O’Connell-Davidson, 2014). The trainees, however, commented negatively about their short experience in placement B, two examples are as follows:

The second placement [placement B] where I was at a different school...could have been extended slightly [...] it was a five week, a seven-week placement, two weeks settling in and then five weeks of actually teaching. I didn’t feel that was long enough [...] I could have had a little bit longer and I think especially getting to know the school as well. It would have benefited myself to have a little bit longer there.

I think the problem with the sandwich placement [placement B] [...] was that [it] was only five weeks so I’ve only done five weeks of key stage one teaching and it takes you about three weeks to get used to that so I’d say I had two good weeks of really having a go at it, whereas obviously the longer placements having it over autumn and spring [on the core PGCE], gives you more time with that.

A number of researchers (Hiebert et al, 2002; Harris, 2011; Black-Hawkins and Florian, 2012; Knight, 2015)¹⁴¹ have raised concern about the “reproduction of the status quo” (Knight, 2015:146) that can result from trainees spending too much training in one setting. I argue that this is a particular feature for SD training models which are highly influenced by the desire of school leaders “to grow your own teachers” (Taylor, 2015)¹⁴². When trainees are offered only a short period of time in alternative settings, they have limited opportunity to extend and enrich their personal identities and risk becoming replicates of a ‘growing your own’ school-led system of ITT.

6.3.2.8. Summary

Notions of ‘belongingness’ in all their complexity have produced a mixed picture from analysis of my data about what this meant for trainees and those involved in their training. Where it worked particularly well belonging assisted trainees in movement from legitimate peripheral participants to becoming integrated practitioners in school settings (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Positive feelings of belonging gave several of the trainees stronger sense of identity, human agency and social capital, however, tensions in the sense of belonging appeared where relationships became too close and trainers operating as ‘Significant

141 Discussed in section 2.1.3.

142 Discussed in section 6.3.1.

Others' disempowered trainees in their ability to perform in their role independently. The closeness of some SD relationships within TSAs leads me to concerns of panoptic surveillance, with trainees being observed with a view to employment in intense and specific ways. In addition, the sense of ownership by some of the school leaders evidenced forms of control which limited trainees' potential for professional identity growth and broader craft knowledge of teaching, raising questions about who owns ITT programmes, and how they should be constructed¹⁴³.

Finally, whilst TSAs market themselves strongly on the advantages of belonging to a small school community, where trainees will have a strong personal identity, this can have very mixed outcomes. In general, the balance of this appears to be more positively weighted towards the perspective of the TSA trainers, and far less positive for trainees. I argue that universities could do more to market the positive dual role aspect they offer¹⁴⁴, of personalised support along with large and multi-faceted CoPs, that trainees interrelate with and find their autonomy and identity therein as part of a more unified, fully conceptualised and operationalised developmental approach.

¹⁴³ This is explored further in the 'Division of Academic Labour' section 6.3.3.

¹⁴⁴ Explored in my conclusion sections 8.3. and 8.4.

6.3.3. Division of Academic Labour

6.3.3.1. Context

The implementation plan of the White Paper (2011) set clear expectations of how the new SD scheme would enable schools to become more involved in ITT, it proposed to:

- a) make it easier for schools to lead teacher training;
- b) encourage more universities to follow the example of the integrated working of the best University-school partnerships;
- c) focus ITT on the skills and knowledge that trainees will need most once they are working in the classroom as qualified teachers (DfE, 2011a:11).

This led to TSAs and their accrediting partners, often universities, working together to discuss the content of their SD training programmes and to determine who would be responsible for which aspects.

During 2016 a university involved in this research had a PGCE module, HET¹⁴⁵ which covered areas such as safeguarding and child protection, behaviour management, collaboration with parents, anti-bullying, and tackling homophobia. The HET module was non-credit bearing and assessed via trainees meeting the Teacher Standards. Judgements were made by the classteacher and mentor for each trainee, moderated by UBTEs. There was an option for TSA partners to deliver the taught elements of the HET module rather than trainees attending university. This was a very popular option, all TSA partners, for which this was applicable, opted to deliver the HET module in schools¹⁴⁶. By the end of 2017, however, the Primary PGCE course leadership had decided to withdraw the option for TSAs to deliver HET. Although TSAs could deliver a programme of their own, this would now be additional to the PGCE programme which all trainees would receive in entirety¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴⁵ Discussed earlier in section 6.3.2.2.

¹⁴⁶ Discussion of the development of new SBTE roles is located in section 2.1.4.

¹⁴⁷ Reasons for this decision are explained in my data analysis section 6.3.3.5 below.

6.3.3.2. *Specialists, Experts and Reality*

In interviews conducted with school partners and trainees, I became aware of participants' frequent use of the terms 'expert', 'expertise' or 'specialist'¹⁴⁸. The use of terms 'specialists' and 'experts' in my interview data appeared to be in relation to what teacher educators, from TSAs or universities, were contributing to training. Whether used explicitly or implicitly, there appeared a clear demarcation of what each partner offered. Notions of specialists, experts and expertise permeated the data in this section of analysis, and were often used in juxtaposition with notions of 'real' or 'reality', with school partners suggesting that the term 'reality' related to classroom practice. This section of analysis interrogates what is meant by these terms, and how division of academic labour of ITT is conceived by various stakeholders involved in my research.

6.3.3.3. *Division of Labour*

In the division of labour for its SD programme Welcome TSA saw a clear distinction between what it offered and what their university partner offered. Jack, headteacher, explained:

I'm happy with, you know, the uni's like yourself. You're covering the uni, the theory bit, great, and I know that they will have to do assignments [...] that's fine, that's grand, for me personally I'm not too hung up on it and so I think it is important and of course they will be more effective in the classroom if they understand.

It can be argued that Jack's connection between 'effectiveness' in classrooms and 'understanding' relates to the assumption, "teachers who *know* more teach better" Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999:249, original italics). Jack, however, is ambivalent about the value of theoretical knowledge in ITT which he referred to as "*the theory bit*" and on one hand he is "*not too hung up on*" but on the other will make trainees "*more effective in the classroom*". The suggestion is that Jack's understanding of theoretical knowledge needed by trainees is underdeveloped. It not clear which epistemologies of knowledge he unconsciously draws on but he does not appear to have a secure pedagogical framework to consider what the theoretical content of training should be. Childs et al, (2014) suggest that partnerships between schools and universities can operate without fundamentally

¹⁴⁸ Critical interrogation of these terms is located in section 5.9.

questioning teacher education pedagogy philosophy; Jack's vagueness may represent this issue. Despite lacking a clear theoretical framework, however, Jack divided ITT pedagogy between what the university would be involved in and what he was more "*interested in*":

So I'm happy that uni's...because you guys understand the level of theoretical and the Masters level and level 7s and, you see, all the stuff that writing has to be at, as an ordinary headteacher I am happy that I haven't got to be too involved with that I'm more interested in what they're like in reality.

To conceptualise the distinction Jack, an experienced headteacher, makes it is valuable to draw on Cochran-Smith and Lytle's (1999) concepts of '*knowledge-for-practice*' and '*knowledge-in-practice*'¹⁴⁹. The focus in ITT on '*knowledge-in-practice*' or craft know-how was very much the agenda of the Coalition government who initiated SD (Hargreaves, 2011). Jack seems to relate the theoretical side of ITT pedagogy as '*knowledge-for-practice*' and something that "*you guys understand*", a reference to UBTEs. Whereas Jack positions his professional identity as "*an ordinary headteacher*" suggesting a hierarchal relationship between his perceived practitioner identity and that of UBTEs where his identity is "*ordinary*" and UBTEs in some way '*extraordinary*' and elevated. As opposed to theoretical training, Jack suggests that his involvement in ITT will be in what trainees are like "*in reality*". By '*reality*' Jack seems to refer to trainees' practice in classrooms. His use of "*reality*" positions classroom practice as '*real*' and by implication training by UBTEs as divorced from reality and '*unreal*'. Jack's use of "*reality*" could be argued to represent layered or competing ontologies of reality (Bhaskar, 2002) where, "[m]ultiple possibilities either cohere or compete within an '*open system*'" (Doherty, 2020:191). Jack's binary perspective reinforces the practice-theory debate in ITT¹⁵⁰. Whilst Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) posit that it is very limiting to attempt a clear distinction between theory and practice, Jack drew a distinction between what is taught by universities and what is delivered in schools:

I value the university input, however that's structured, however it happens, because I can't and I don't think we at [school name] are the right people to be giving them that. I think that's the bit that comes from, from higher ed' so I prefer what we've got this combination of the University, the academic rigour the... 'what does research tell

¹⁴⁹ Discussed in section 2.1.6.

¹⁵⁰ Discussed in section 2.1.2.

us bit' married to the practical reality of this is [city name] today and this is what your classroom's like.

Jack's suggestion is that university training happens separately from practice and by the "right people" who are UBTEs and not teachers in school. He conceptualises university training as being highly academic and theoretical, "Masters level and level 7". Jack seems to relate this 'high' academic level to something evidenced in writing, he makes two references to theory being related to "they will have to do assignments" and "all the stuff that writing has to be at". Assumptions that only written aspects of ITT are related to masters level were identified by Sewell, (2012) and Knight, (2015). This level of academia is something that teachers are not able or confident to deliver, perhaps because Jack does not conceive of them as being 'academic' enough? There is some resonance here to Murray and Male's (2005) "first-order" to "second-order" practitioners, reflecting the transition of teachers to teacher educators. Jackson and Burch (2016:517) argued that it should not be assumed that highly skilled teachers can automatically deliver the, "pedagogical criticality" of masters level work, suggesting that Jack is right to have some caution about whether his staff could automatically deliver at level 7. Jack's view is that in the 'marriage' between universities and schools, schools deliver "practical reality", training in such areas as "phonics" or "outdoor learning". Jack, therefore, has a clear binary viewpoint which separates the nature of training into two distinct factions that can be taught discreetly. He explained:

I think the fact that a lot of the people, practitioners in schools are delivering, not that particular word, but delivering that bit of the programme so I know that [...] most schools in our Alliance are, you know, reasonably successful schools, they probably know what they're talking about, about phonics, or they know what they're talking about outdoor learning and I think it's good for the trainees.

Interestingly Jack's suggestion is that when it comes to training about phonics or outdoor learning practitioners know "what they're talking about", which suggests he thinks UBTEs do not, perhaps because they are no longer practitioners in the field. My research has not attempted to investigate in detail the content delivered by SBTEs, however, a number of researchers (Loughran and Berry, 2005; Loughran, 2006; Lunenberg and Korthagen, 2009; Brown and Reid, 2012; Boyd and Tibke, 2012; Knight, 2015) have suggested the challenge of teacher education as one that involves articulating 'knowledge-in-practice', a difficult and complex task and one that requires time for professional development and scholarship, to

avoid training as simply an introduction to good practice. The preference Jack demonstrates for practitioners *“talking about”* rather than *“delivering”* leads to questions about whether training offered by the TSA is essentially ‘good practice’ craft knowledge that teachers have not had to develop or prepare for theoretical ‘delivery’, as was found by Van Velzen and Volman (2009). This is not to devalue teachers’ expertise who have extensive classroom ‘knowledge-in-practice’, but rather to question whether taught sessions are the most effective model for teaching craft-based knowledge, which Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) suggest should be coached and not taught, and Childs et al (2014) suggest should take place in informal learning spaces in which explicit mediation can be facilitated and could be strong practice in SD training routes.

A further point is in relation to Jack’s hesitancy about university input *“however that’s structured, however it happens”*. There is a strong suggestion that Jack does not know what the university does, a continuation, perhaps of the earlier vagueness he showed regarding teacher education pedagogy. Amy, from the same TSA, reflected specifically that she did not *“know enough detail about the university PGCE”*. These responses support the finding of Zeichner (2002:61) that schools, in particular, and universities are, “mutually ignorant of each other’s work” and what Childs et al (2014:30) refer to as a, “marriage of convenience”, rather than a true partnership. This is of significant concern for a coherent and well-coordinated programme of ITT and one in which all elements of the programme inform and support each other¹⁵¹.

Amy added more insight into training delivery by SBTEs when she explained that in setting up the programme:

...we looked at the level six assessment and identified actually that within the Alliance the majority of that we had the expertise to deliver and so we, we drew up the programme [...] so that we’ve got a situation where if someone who normally delivers can’t deliver we’ve got the PowerPoint we’ve got the resources, you know, it’s ready to go, kind of thing.

¹⁵¹ This issue is considered further in my conclusion, section 8.3.

Amy's description of "expertise" here raises questions about whether she conceives expertise to reside in the teacher delivering training or in the materials which any teacher can deliver. As an insider researcher I was aware that this TSA struggled to release teachers to deliver training, an area of concern raised by Boyd and Tibke (2012), and so putting the materials together had been a priority to support staffing of SBTE delivery. The expertise for Amy appears, therefore, to be contained in the materials' content "we've got the Powerpoint" and "it's ready to go". This suggests that if materials can be delivered by a number of SBTEs because "someone who normally delivers can't deliver" the content is more likely to be technical, craft-based knowledge rather than 'knowledge-for-practice' (Cochran and Lytle, 1999) developed by specialised reference to research and scholarship and best delivered by the author. Despite the caution of Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) that craft-based knowledge is better coached than taught, there could be much merit in the sharing of 'knowledge-in-practice' in this way. The issue here may be more about how much of theoretical university-based training has been replaced with what appears to be craft-based training.

Later Amy gave some further idea of what the expertise that schools held looked like when she explained:

We know what expertise there is in the schools as well, and just being able to share that with the trainees and that's something that the trainees often comment on. A while ago we made a video for YouTube and one of the trainees, it really sticks in my head, she said it's amazing these people come to us and that very morning they've been in the classroom teaching the children in an Alliance school and then they're there with us teaching us about the things that they've done.

Amy's reference here to school expertise as something SBTEs are "just...able to share" echoes Jack's reference to "talking about". Again, this suggests the dissemination of craft-based knowledge or what Hagger and McIntyre (2006:34) referred to as, "cookbook specifications". Amy's description of how SBTEs are teaching children in the morning and then trainees in the afternoon is indicative of the limited time SBTEs have to give to professional learning (Hagger and McIntyre, 2006; Boyd and Tibke, 2012). Amy presents expertise as "the things that they've done" but not any meta-cognition or understanding about the "things" that they do or what Collins and Evans (2007:2) suggest is understanding

of, “what it is to know or not know what you are talking about”. The SBTEs who have been part of this research are also usually operating in isolation (White et al, 2015), there has been no suggestion as to how they have been trained for their role, in fact it is unlikely that they have¹⁵².

Expertise as something practically based also emerged from another TSA, Louise explained that:

...when I’m talking about what we offer and I think it’s because [...] we’re there, day in, day out, living and breathing the school, the school life, the children, what the expectations are; I think we can bring that reality to the course in general.

Here is further reference to “reality” as something that university training may be lacking and something that “we” SBTEs can offer. Lunenberg and Korthagen (2009:228) posit that the “real world” of schools is about experience, it is related to the know-how of teaching, again this refers to the craft-knowledge of teaching or ‘knowledge-in-practice’. The information completed by Hunters Mist TSA¹⁵³ for their teaching of the HET module suggests a strong emphasis on craft-based knowledge. Although the template¹⁵⁴ has been populated with pre and post sessional reading, the content tends to be entire texts or website references rather than focused sections and it is not clear how these are to be critically reflected on and interrogated in taught workshops, suggesting that they are not. Again, whilst the value of teachers sharing their craft-based expertise with trainees is not questioned as a valuable part of training in this thesis, broader questions are about whether this content is best taught in a decontextualised way (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999; Hagger and McIntyre, 2006; Childs et al, 2014). In addition, one could argue that school-based training increases, decreasing university-based training, has focussed on, “merely eliciting experienced teachers’ craft knowledge” (Knight, 2015:147) adding weight to the suggestion by Gove (2010) that teaching is merely a ‘craft’ is and potentially indicative of the teaching profession devaluing itself as a profession *per se* with a reduction in professional capital.

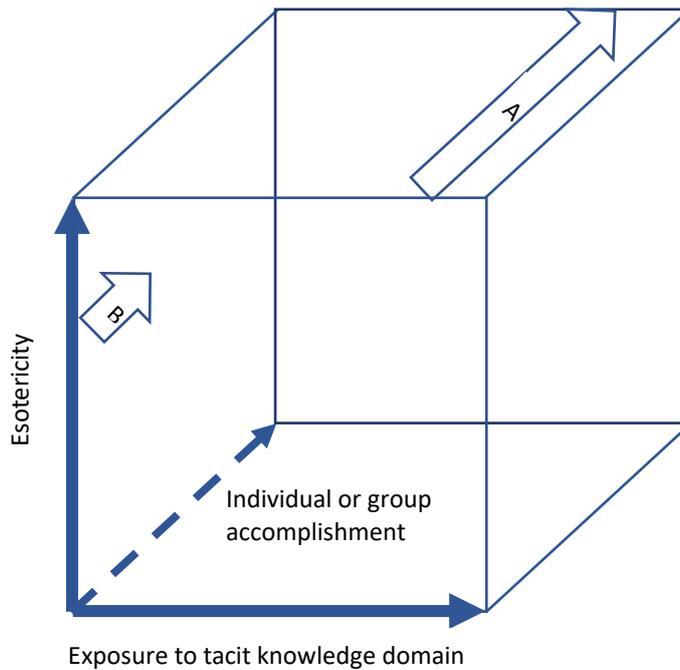
¹⁵² As is discussed in more detail in section 8.6.

¹⁵³ Appendix 1.

¹⁵⁴ Which is the University’s template.

Collins (2013:254) posits that knowing a subject becomes an expertise through three dimensions: esotericity, accomplishment and enculturation¹⁵⁵. Collins (ibid) represents these three dimensions as an Expertise-Space Diagram. This model (Figure 18) is adapted and used here to represent teacher expertise.

Figure 18. Teacher Expert Space Diagram.



Arrow A represents a teacher’s craft-based expertise. It is assumed that the teacher represented has a high degree of knowledge about teaching and learning in their classroom, as ‘knowledge-in-practice’ (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999). They are, therefore, at the top of the esoteric domain. They are also highly accomplished in their practice, as a result the arrow stretches to the back of the model at the highest point of individual accomplishment. They have worked at their school for some time and have been highly exposed to the tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1966; Collins, 2013) of the school’s CoP, however, because teaching is a largely solitary profession with classroom-based teachers spending most of the day working in isolation from other professionals (Feiman-Nemser, 2001b), arrow A does not quite reach the far right of this domain. Arrow B represents the teacher as SBTE. The assumption here is that they are new to their role, as might be expected in SD programmes. How far they are positioned on the esoteric domain depends on how the SBTE conceives their role. A teacher

¹⁵⁵ Discussed in section 5.9.

educator would be at the top of the esoteric domain but if a new SBTE still conceives their role as working alongside adult learners as mentors or helpers (White et al, 2015), it can be argued that they are less advanced along the vertical domain. SBTEs also have very limited access to the tacit knowledge domains of other teacher educators through a CoP or multiple CoPs, perhaps only meeting the university tutor allocated to their school placing them nearly completely at the far left of this domain. As a result, individual accomplishment, as illustrated in the depth in the ESD, is also very low. These two arrows might represent what Murray and Male (2005) refer to as ‘first-order’ practitioners (arrow A) and ‘second-order’ practitioners (arrow B). It is clear that the dominant form of teacher expertise is craft-based, ‘knowledge-in-practice’ which is why the teachers in this research seem to draw on this as their form of ‘expertise’ as SBTEs and as Van Velzen and Volman (2009) found. This thesis argues that SBTEs who do not fully recognise or have time to develop ‘knowledge-for-practice’ as a fundamental part of ITT and who have limited access to ITT CoPs are challenged in their development as teacher educators.

Natalie, a UBTE, was aware of craft-based knowledge delivery from school-based colleagues. She explained that what UBTEs had to offer was more time to engage with scholarship and research evidence. She felt that SBTEs were not given the same time to research and plan their training and that this was a weakness:

If there is one thing that I don't think schools do as well as people who have got the time to sit and think a little bit and I think that when you're working in a university [...] you do have time to sit and think and you do have time to read and look and it can help you make better decisions. And I think that what School Direct does is get very busy teachers to plan sessions and doesn't give them enough time to plan it and really think about it...I don't think research is given a place in it because the people planning it don't have time to research themselves too often.

Having the time to “think a little bit” and “time to read and look” is challenging for teachers to find time to be able to do (Hagger and McIntyre, 2006; Boyd and Tibke, 2012). Time to think can be argued to be a way of conceptualising critical reflexivity reflecting Natalie’s professional capital. Natalie presents the opportunities of working in a university as a CoP offering occasions to “think” and “sit” resulting in “better decisions”. It is not clear what these “decisions” refer to but the following comments about SBTEs having limited time to “plan” and “research” suggests that decisions relate to teaching content. This research

suggests that SBTEs could benefit from spending periods of time with their university colleagues and perhaps for universities to offer training or parallel teaching in different settings, this is an area of development also suggested by White et al (2015). Natalie's comment that "*time to read and look*" can "*help you make better decisions*" is indicative of the difference scholarly activity can make in assisting teacher educators to make decisions about what teacher education pedagogy should include and how to teach it¹⁵⁶.

6.3.3.4. *The Role of the University*

A number of trainees articulated clear differences in their training between what they were taught in university and what they learnt in TSAs. William explained that his teaching experience in a year six classroom at the start of the academic year had been of a very narrow curriculum "*I wasn't seeing the thematic lessons or anything else really other than maths, English and science.*" He commented that university training had equipped him with a breadth of subject experience that he was lacking but that it was sometimes frustrating that schools were not always resourced adequately for him to be able to deliver what he had learnt:

It was a bit idealistic in the sense that, the PE lessons were great that they [the University] did and what we saw...and then the reality is you get into the PE cupboard and there are two bean bags, a football that's deflated and you think there's so much that they've given you...the University has given you all the sort of knowledge and everything to go out and do it but then you get into reality and it's like it's just not possible...

William's reference to "*reality*" related to his experience when out in placement (Lunenberg and Korthagen, 2009), interestingly this suggests that what is learnt at university is not 'real' as it does not reflect the resources to be found in placement settings. There is some overlap here with the views of Jack in relation to reality being centred around classroom practice discussed earlier¹⁵⁷. William's reference to his university training as "*idealist*" suggests that the UBTEs have not been clear about what "*learning to teach ought to involve*" (Hobson, 2003:258). However, I argue that one key aim of university-based teacher education is to

¹⁵⁶ Explored in my conclusion, chapter 8.3.

¹⁵⁷ Section 6.3.3.3.

teach about possibilities (Orchard and Winch, 2015) in relation to teaching and learning so that trainees can adapt to what they experience in various settings, as well as knowing what else they might be able to achieve with the right/enough resources. Chandler et al (1990:131) found when trainees' actual experience produces a, "reality shock" they turn back to their college or university training. This is illustrated by Amanda who, despite the breadth of knowledge she experienced in university training, found that on placement she was limited to teaching from schemes of work:

I got into schools with schemes which, again, was completely new to me so then I think you're given all these ideas and tools [in university training] then in some subjects then handed a book [in school] with effectively like a script in it and I found quite hard and I really struggled because I found planning from a scheme so much harder because you weren't allowed to use kind of your ideas or all those resources.

Despite this experience or, "reality shock" (Chandler et al, 1990:131) Amanda refers to what she has learnt at university as the material from which she will draw inspiration for her NQT year. This 'ideal' material will now become valuable in a different setting (Smith and Hodson, 2010).

So I kind of look forward next year, I haven't got any schemes and I quite look forward to that kind of creativity and being able to look back on my lecture notes and think all right what did, you know, we talk about in that, you know, when we did a poetry lesson what can we, what tools can I use?

In addition, William spoke of the specific content of the training that the University needed to cover along with the fact that his appreciation that it did not always need to be immediately useful to him but forms part of a developmental repository of professional capital:

I mean some lectures were admittedly they were quite boring but it's just the nature of what we're doing, it's education, we're being educated about education. So somewhere along the line you're going to sit there and think this is a bit boring but equally it has probably benefitted me in the long run and lectures that I thought were awful I've taken stuff out of and probably used it now.

Whilst it is not quite clear what William means when he refers to "being educated about education" it is possible that it is a reference to what Orchard and Winch (2015:16-17) call, "conceptual knowledge", that is how we think about education and the principles that

underpin practice. This broader conceptual knowledge of education is part of university training and it is understandable that William may not have initially understood the value of what he was learning, although it is reassuring that “*in the long run*” he is now using some of this content, suggesting the life-wide utility of a broad theoretical ITT framework. This reflects the research of Knight (2015:151) who found that it was not until they were NQTs that ex-trainees recognised university training as, “a much richer source of learning”.

Some trainees went beyond the content and breadth of what had been covered by university to talk about the specialism or expertise universities offer as opposed to what TSAs offer. Naomi made a direct comparison between university training and school experience. Her first reference is to university training commenting that:

...the big focus in our maths lectures here has been on teaching maths correctly and not teaching what you think is correct maths, that isn't, you know, misconceptions about shape, the list is endless, we've done so much. And that's been really important to me because the, the lecturers have emphasised it so much that I've really cared about making sure I've done it right...you know, they've explain to us why it matters because if you teach it wrong one year the child just keeps...and later on those misconceptions do make a difference

What Naomi seems to value here is conceptual knowledge, the understanding of principles underpinning practice in relation to children’s misconceptions. Naomi valued understanding the implications of teaching maths incorrectly so that a child applies misconceptions to future learning, compounding and exacerbating problems. University maths tutors have given this particular ‘emphasis’ believing that it is an important part of conceptual pedagogic knowledge and this has had a significant impact on Naomi’s affective domain “*I’ve really cared about making sure I’ve done it right [...] why it matters*”. Naomi then compares this training with school experience:

I think if you haven't learned about those basic things which no one in school is going to sit you down and tell you that, and you might work with a teacher who happens to do a shape lesson correctly and you see them do it or you might work with one who does it wrong. Those are important basics that people ought to know, I think.

This comment of Naomi’s that in school “*no one...is going to sit you down and tell you that*” suggests that this is not the expectation she had of her TSA, they do not teach the conceptual knowledge that she had been learning in university. In fact, she reflects that in

practice teachers may not have the same conceptual knowledge that she now has and this might result in inaccurate delivery “*does it wrong*”. The suggestion behind Naomi’s comment here is that the mathematical wider conceptual knowledge resides with university ‘expertise’ rather than schools’. The challenge as argued by this thesis is how they can be brought together.¹⁵⁸

Two participants referred specifically to the specialism or expertise of the University. Firstly, Alyssa commented on how much she enjoyed being taught HET by her TSA, but went on to compare this learning with university training “*The things that we covered at university, we had to come to university for really. I don't think we would have learned as much if we had stayed in school to do those*”. When asked to elaborate she responded, “*Just because like we have the tutors that have got the specialist knowledge, so we've had their input really. I think if we just did it at school we wouldn't have those people.*”

Alyssa’s reference to university “*specialist knowledge*” is a further suggestion of the distinction between ‘knowledge-for-practice’ (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999) or ‘conceptual knowledge’ (Orchard and Winch, 2015) delivered by UBTEs and ‘knowledge-in-practice’ (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999) or craft-based knowledge (Hagger and McIntyre, 2006) delivered by SBTEs.

Secondly Molly at the end of her NQT year commented that:

I do still think going to university and having a lecture and speaking to people who are experts in those areas is still really important because it's given me ideas as well that I've been able to bring back to class...I do think that you need that from the specialist side.

This again reinforces the research of Knight (2015) and the value given to theoretical training by NQTs at the end of their first year as something that has “*given me ideas*” and stimulated thinking, contributing to professional capital.

¹⁵⁸ Explored further in my conclusion, section 8.3.

6.3.3.5. *The Role of the Teaching School*

Some trainees spoke very positively about the training they had received from TSAs. Alyssa commented that *“We did a lot of observing in HET sessions so we talk about something and then go and see it in practice, which was good because it was, it was nice to be able to, like, see it being put into practice rather than just being told about it.”* In addition, Evie referred to *“having the opportunity to observe these lessons happening”*.

The opportunity for TSAs to create links between theory and practice is a very powerful one. Boyd and Tibke (2012:42) argue that the potential of schools' involvement in ITT could make it more, *“realistic and more pragmatic”*. The reference to realism would seem to resonate well for TSAs and would suggest a framework such as the one alluded to by Evie and Alyssa where practice discussed in TSA training is then observed in children's classrooms. It is interesting that Alyssa's comment about what happens in HET sessions as being *“we talk about something”* is reminiscent of Jack's reference to *“talking about”* and Amy's to *“just...able to share”* and still suggests training taking place in TSAs is largely craft-based. The opportunity, however, to observe and then have a discussion, facilitated by SBTEs as more knowledgeable others (Vygotsky, 1978), seems to offer much potential and value to trainees as opposed to *“just being told about it”* which would seem a reference to university based training. Alyssa's comment that the ability to observe practice is one that is not usually emulated by university settings supports Knight's (2015:157) argument that UBTEs could do more to shape trainees' expectations of what university training is trying to achieve as a, *“framework of understanding”* to avoid negative preconceptions about knowledge production. Observation as an ITT model is supported by Edwards (2014:50) who advocates that trainees do learn by example, however, she goes on to argue that trainees need help, *“drawing connections from what [they] have observed”*. The question here might be of the nature of connections SBTEs are able to facilitate based on their access to scholarship and depth of professional knowledge which is more likely to reside in UBTEs.

In contrast to Evie and Alyssa, Tobias described a very different model of HET delivery *“It was sort of like we were taking it on ourselves to sort of control our education and being in*

control of that we were making of it what we could". When asked to explain what he meant by 'control' he explained that:

We would go and visit schools within our partnership and [...] they would say today's an assessment day and so we would go and view classes or we would make our own case studies, it would just be a workshop for the whole day, not necessarily led by anyone, there would be moments of dialogue between us and the leaders of the workshop but apart from that it was between ourselves, like conducting studies and figuring it out and what was best practice and what wasn't good practice. I think that was, that was really valuable to us because it was almost like it was real rather than theoretical, it was like we were doing it so it was real life practice as well.

The model of learning adopted by this TSA presents concepts of learning as simply situated in practice¹⁵⁹. With the exception of "*moments of dialogue*" with SBTEs this model of learning is entirely independent of stimulation by a more knowledgeable other (Vygotsky, 1978) developing critical thinking and reflection. The agency that Tobias talks of as "*control*" is illusory as Tobias and the other trainees have limited control over training which has been determined by SBTEs. Tobias' references to "*view[ing] classes*" and "*figuring it out*" do not present strong models of learning for teaching (Edwards, 2014). Learning by observation is limited to what trainees see and are capable of recognising and does not offer opportunities for guided critiques, alternative ways of approaching things and presentation of best practice informed by research (Harris, 2011). Whilst Tobias talks about this experience as "*real*" as opposed to "*theoretical*" this simply appears to indicate that at this stage of training he undervalues the importance of theory or 'knowledge-for-practice' alongside 'knowledge-in-practice' (Knight, 2015). Tobias' reasoning, arguably, presents itself as a form of false consciousness (Bull, 2017) where those in control of training act in self-interest by choosing not to deliver a training programme, facilitating time for other activities and Tobias along with other trainees believe that the alternative which is learning from "*view[ing] classes*" and "*figuring it out*" is in their best interests as developing teachers. Tobias' habitus is shaped by his three years as an unqualified teacher which influences his belief system about what he needs from ITT. What is powerful about this example is that later in the interview Tobias demonstrated much higher levels of meta cognition, he reflected on his university training, offering the following perspective:

¹⁵⁹ Also discussed in section 6.1.3.8.

Having to come here [to university] there was just a multitude of different opportunities, of experiments [in science] that you could do or ways to approach it, they were all ideas we could use, different teaching techniques and things like that, things we wouldn't necessarily be getting in the HET module because we were sort of conducting our own and we were getting shown here, we were being shown good practice and all those other different ways to model them, explore our teaching so that was quite good.

Lawler (2011:1424) argues it is possible to cast off the subordination of false consciousness with, “the correct analysis of the achievement of sufficient knowledge”. Tobias identified that the university training taught “*different teaching techniques*” this taught experience was something that he got from university but did not get from his HET school-based teaching because there “*we were sort of conducting our own*”. Tobias then distinguished school-based experience from university training where “*we were being shown good practice*”, which taught him different ways to “*model*” and “*explore our teaching*” these were areas of practice Tobias had previously suggested he needed more support with but was not getting from school¹⁶⁰. Tobias’ reference to being able to “*explore our teaching*” at university compared to “*figuring it out*” in HET suggests a much clearer and guided mode of learning which moves, “away from normative to ground breaking and research informed practice” (Browne and Reid, 2012:507). Tobias, moreover, makes a positive distinction that his university training was “*quite good*” in comparison to his school-based training.

Not all trainees were positive about their experience of the HET taught module by their TSA. Naomi commented that “*I felt like it was just repeating things that we done in much more depth at university*”. This statement adds further weight to the argument developed in this analysis section that UBTEs underpin their teaching with scholarship and professional knowledge adding “*more depth*” that it is difficult for SBTEs to have time, access or perhaps understanding of the value to develop (Hagger and McIntyre, 2006; Boyd and Tibke, 2012)¹⁶¹.

In 2016 the PGCE course leadership team developed a new programme which did not include a HET module that SD partners could deliver¹⁶². Natalie, UBTE, offered her

¹⁶⁰ Discussed in section 6.1.3.8.

¹⁶¹ This is discussed in more detail below in section 6.3.3.6.

¹⁶² As referred to in section 6.3.3.1. (context section) of this analysis

perception of the school-led HET quality of delivery and why the course team had decided that SD trainees would now receive all modules alongside core PGCE trainees. She explained that:

I think some providers, some partners were much better than others but, I think part of what can happen on those professional studies input is about systems, that school's systems rather than, rather than much more of an overview, so that trainees were being trained sometimes to, to say track progress and assessment using a particular system then going into a school where that system didn't apply.

Natalie's comments about training by schools being focused on "a particular system" reflects concerns raised by Knight (2015:146) that school-based training leads to, "mere reproduction of the status quo" being aligned to what works in particular settings rather than for the profession as a whole. This, in turn, could lead to consequences for the portability of ITT qualifications as the teaching of situated practices makes it more difficult for trainees to transfer learning to other settings "where that system didn't apply" (Harris, 2011; Black-Hawkins and Florian 2012; White et al 2015). These limitations can produce what Wenger (1998:85) referred to as a, "cage of the soul" which reduces potential for professional capital in teaching. Having been invited by Taylor (2012), however, to design training programmes "tailored to their own school's requirements" it seems an inevitable outcome that this is how schools have designed their programmes. Indeed, the discourse of, "growing your own" encourages schools to teach primarily their own systems, what Noble-Rogers (2017:20) referred to as in "their own image" leading to parochialism and institutional conservatism.

6.3.3.6. *Becoming a School-based Teacher Educator*

Both SBTEs, Evelyn and Louise, talked about how they had developed in their roles and how much they enjoyed it. Evelyn stated:

I like the training anyway, I like working with adults and, you know, the relationships you build and the dialogue you can hold with them [...] how they, they grow to...to love being in the classroom...that is something I enjoy seeing in them and when they come back and tell you about the successes that they've had.

Evelyn's transition from a 'first-order' to 'second-order' practitioner (Murray and Male, 2005) had happened as a result of the introduction of TSAs in 2012. Evelyn worked part-time and had no children classroom-based teaching. She worked exclusively with adults and at the time of interview had three years' experience as SBTE and seemed well established. Interestingly her comments about working with trainees are based on experiential learning, that is trainees' "successes", her comments do not relate to trainees' "conceptual knowledge" (Orchard and Winch, 2015) and suggest that her identity is still far more as a mentor, teacher or helper than a SBTE (White et al, 2015). This lack of identity is problematic for SBTEs and can impact their understanding of the training they provide as a craft-based practice¹⁶³.

The TSA environment to which Louise belonged changed dramatically between 2016 and 2017 with a new building being constructed that could host up to forty people and which was resourced as a learning classroom for adults. It bore a number of similarities to classroom environments I was familiar with in university. Louise was new to her role as a SBTE when interviewed, having been in the post for just one year. She described the process by which she had become a SBTE:

It wasn't something that I took on lightly when I was first approached about it, [...] I'm very much very positive about most things but that I thought I just need to take a few days just to really think it through, it was such a big ask.

The decision for Louise to become a SBTE was very much influenced by the key figure (Holme et al, 2016) of her headteacher who was the 'author' of the position and the 'rights and responsibilities' that went with it in the form of institutional-identity (Gee, 2001). The institutional-identity that Louise assumed was in line with the identities of other teachers who had TSA roles for continuing professional development and school-to-school support. Louise's role was also influenced by her institutional habitus. Louise had never taught at any school other than Hunters Mist and had a long history of conformity to its doxic practices and expressive order (Reay et al, 2005). Louise's hesitancy at taking the role taking a few days "to really think it through" and acknowledging that "it was such as big ask" are, according to Murray and Male (2005), common to those considering the move to being a

¹⁶³ Discussed in section 6.3.3.3.

SBTE and indicative of Louise's understanding that this would be something different from her usual classroom based role, as a first-order practitioner. This is further indicated by Louise's comments about her adult teaching experience which were:

...out of my comfort zone, I'm not a natural orator, I don't feel naturally confident in front of grown-ups, whereas, you know, put me in front of 500 children and it's not a problem, but even though it's just three of them [trainees], it's still a bit daunting

Louise recognised that the skills to teach adults are different from those required to teach children which are nonetheless "*not a problem*", however, her "trials of transition" (Field, 2012:811) focus in on her skills of presentation as an "*orator*" not, despite being a year into her role, on the skills needed to develop her professional and conceptual knowledge of teaching and learning (Orchard and Winch, 2015). This suggests that her, "substantial self" (Murray and Male, 2005:126) as SBTE is influenced by her habitus, both personal and institutional, also shaped by her previous beliefs about herself in the role of mentor and then transferred into the field of teaching trainees. Although she comments on a change in her 'actual' and professional identity (Lauriala and Kukkonen, 2005; Holme et al, 2016) "*I've seen a change in me personally, professionally, I just feel a lot more confident*", this change relates to her 'confidence' and does not appear to relate to changes in skill or practice.

Louise clearly gets value from her new role, which she views as a reinvention, "personally and professionally" (Holme et al, 2016:345) and something she will continue to do as a career path:

I feel it's something I can envisage me doing long term now; that's where I see my career going, [...] may be not lecturing but that sort of path of sort of nurturing the teachers of the future because I've just thoroughly enjoyed it this year, got so much from it.

Louise made an interesting distinction between what she saw as part of her new role "*not lecturing*" but rather "*nurturing the teachers of the future*". As with Evelyn this suggests that Louise sees her role more as mentor or helper than a distinct one as SBTE (White et al, 2015). It is also a further indication of the type of teaching that Louise undertakes with

trainees, she does not purport to 'lecture' and is more likely to be a conduit for craft-based knowledge¹⁶⁴. Louise concluded by stating:

I've been very fortunate that the three students that we've had, how fantastic they were, that's been a fantastic start for me, which means that when I take on the next sort of year, of sixteen students, hopefully, that it won't be as daunting and it will be just as pleasurable for me and for the school, hopefully, we'll get a lot from it.

Louise's role had developed and been influenced by the close relationship she had with just three trainees; this influenced her teaching approach which she felt would develop as she took on sixteen trainees. What is interesting here is that the outcomes for Louise were very personal to her affective domain "*pleasurable for me*", "*won't be as daunting*" and not about a contribution to the wider profession of teaching, which forms part of UBTEs' professional capital. Her reference to the 'pleasure' for the school and getting "*a lot from it*" stem from the school's belief in growing their own teachers¹⁶⁵. One could, therefore, anticipate that Louise's teaching of craft-based knowledge is likely to produce teachers who are ready to take on teaching roles in her own school rather than for the profession as a whole .

Some trainees' comments about their experience of the school-based module, HET, indicated a lack of understanding from SBTEs about how to develop modular content for adult learners. Naomi suggested that the content of the module was confused and lacking in structure:

So sometimes HET would be about SEN or about behaviour management and I kind of understood why that fell under the HET umbrella and other things I didn't really know why, why we were there. It sometimes just felt like time out of class, which was nice but, I guess, not as valuable as it could have been. [...] there's still never was a clear picture or route throughout the year of what's going to happen [...] I don't think they knew.

This reflects the point made earlier that the rapid creation of SBTE roles left little time for the schools to consider what an ITT curriculum should contain. Amy reinforced this in her comment that they had "*just sort of developed it as we've gone along.*" Neither did this

¹⁶⁴ Louise's identity in a nurturing role is discussed in more detail in section 6.3.2.6.

¹⁶⁵ Discussed in more detail in section 6.3.1.2.

rapid movement leave much time for training in the skills and knowledge that SBTEs need (Jackson and Burch, 2016). This is very different from the induction of practising teachers as UBTEs, where they are enculturated into teacher educator CoPs and supported, often with reduced timetables, by UBTE colleagues as they transition into their new roles.

In addition, Naomi's comment about the focus of her school-led training returns to the argument of Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) that 'knowledge-in-practice' should be coached and not taught:

So, you know...for me the focus was in the wrong place because I didn't really want to sit there listening to someone tell me that you have to teach this in this phase, and that in this phase, well I knew that and I could've looked it up kind of thing.

Naomi's comment is that she did not need to be taught about the phases of the new curriculum which she could have learnt for herself reflecting her belief that the outcome of her learning would be seen in her application to practice. Hagger and McIntyre's (2006:33) concept of, "professional craft knowledge" makes a similar point that teacher expertise is, "context related" and must be found, "embedded in the practice of individual teachers". Naomi's reference to sitting "there listening to someone tell me" suggests that the delivery model did not engage her in critical reflection, as she was simply given curriculum knowledge that she could have accessed when preparing for practice. For Hagger and McIntyre (2006:81) removing knowledge such as this from the immediacy of teaching leads to, "decontextualized talk about teaching" which in turn leads to questions about whether this is the most effective way for SBTEs to teach. For Hagger and McIntyre (2006:169) the, "single most effective" model of student learning is in the context of the classroom with SBTEs making explicit their professional craft knowledge alongside examples of practice and other sources of knowledge such as research leading to theorised talk or vice versa. Either way this thesis argues that both forms of knowledge are important in learning to teach.

6.3.3.7. Expectations of School Direct

As discussed in my methodology¹⁶⁶, judgements of effectiveness are problematic because of the multiple experiences and habituses of participants. When asked whether SD was a more effective training route unsurprisingly participants' responses were varied.

Evie was very confident in her response and related effectiveness to the personalisation of the training:

Everyone has found it to be a very positive experience. Everyone's been given the opportunity to do what they need to do, it's been very bespoke which I think is a very good thing, I'm very passionate about it now. I think I'd speak to anyone about it, how it benefits you as a professional.

Questions of agency in relation to the personalisation of the SD programme, however, have previously been discussed¹⁶⁷. Evie's reference to the benefits it brings to individuals "as a professional" probably reflect her professional, personal and institutional habitus which are interrelated and inform each other but result in assumptions that craft-based training is the most dominant form of training needed to develop as a teacher.

Molly, who was concluding her NQT year, was equally positive and her response reflects the amount to which she had been prepared for her school's systems and processes. This results in a good outcome for notions of growing your own¹⁶⁸:

I think it will come out that it's more effective than the PGCE route and a better way to become a teacher...I do think it is a better route for you to feel more prepared for the job because I don't feel like I've come up against any...I mean there's been odd things but things that I suppose if you look at the grand scheme of things are quite minor, so things like the Christmas play, I didn't have a clue what I was doing, but for the things that actually being in the classroom and the teaching and the approaches and having the confidence to try things and not be worried if they didn't work, I feel like it prepared me very well.

Molly's perspective of 'effective' ITT as one that enculturates trainees in to the school's systems and practices such that she knew how to approach everything except "the

¹⁶⁶ As discussed in my Methodology, section 3.2.

¹⁶⁷ In section 6.3.2.7.

¹⁶⁸ As discussed in sections 6.3.1.1. – 6.3.1.5.

Christmas play” reflects the social-political plane where she has developed a strong emotional connection with her knowledge of the specific institutional and cultural context she has been trained in and the, “politics of pedagogies” (Zembylas, 2007:358) in her school setting. The suitability of the growing your own approach, however, is questioned by this research¹⁶⁹.

Other participants felt that the success of the SD route depended on the school delivering the training. Yvonne commented that *“I believe so but School Direct can look very different in different establishments and I think that’s the crux of it”*. Yvonne’s comment here relates very much to the concerns of Boyd and Tibke (2012) about the variety of contexts and approaches that would emerge by different TSAs wanting to do things in their own way. To some extent this has been ameliorated by universities making their SD contribution as a core template to ensure that trainees get essential elements of ITT which schools can then embellish. There are, however, still quite a number of different training approaches offered by TSAs which challenge the concept of teaching as a “unified profession with shared values and knowledge” (Noble-Rogers, 2017), However, the current review of ITE content may well help to bring more of a consistent structure to programmes (Noble-Rogers, 2019). Yvonne’s suggestion that SD can look *“very different in different establishments”* could also relate to the management of trainees by different schools. Some schools use trainees as forms of ‘wage labour’ (O’Connell Davidson, 2014)¹⁷⁰ where they are exposed to sovereign power and left with limited or no agency but to show obedience to central authority figures. This unsatisfactory situation is difficult to challenge in SD relationships, particularly where schools are paying trainees’ salaries. Variable quality in placement experiences, however, is not unique to SD as is discussed in Johnston’s research (2010; 2016). Two trainees (Amanda and Naomi) saw the potential of variable placement quality as possible on either route:

I’m not convinced you’ll find any difference [...] If it means whether...how good people are in September in their NQT year I think the type of school people have trained with will be a much bigger factor, a much bigger influence than, than whether they did School Direct or PGCE. (Naomi)

¹⁶⁹ Conclusion, section 8.7.

¹⁷⁰ Discussed in section 6.3.2.5.

Whether it's a more effective training route, I don't know, because from a university point of view like we've said it's been very similar, we feel exactly the same as PGCE students when we're here. It's only then when we go out to our schools again but then it depends on the quality of your school. (Amanda)

Both these comments relate to the quality of mentor support from a humanistic approach and its impact on the positive affective domain of trainees, facilitating their development (Shoffner, 2009). They also reflect the situational apprenticeship approach (Wang and Odell, 2002) giving trainees access to legitimate peripheral participation and opportunities to develop professional capital. Both trainees had experienced difficulties in their placements¹⁷¹ but did not relate these directly to SD, feeling they were equally applicable to PGCE training. Their perspectives could, however, be challenged as the panoptic surveillance experienced by Naomi and the feeling of “cheap labour” as felt by Amanda in my experience are not common to the same degree for PGCE trainees. Rather the temporary status of placements on PGCE routes can affect the “desire of acceptance” (Leary et al, 2013), which can give PGCE trainees greater access to social capital and human agency than SD trainees¹⁷².

Interestingly, both TSA managers, Emma and Amy, reflected that they did not know enough about the PGCE route in order to make a firm comparison:

Emma - So, from my outlook, from what we do here, it's better but then I don't know enough about PGCE's to compare, I don't think.

Amy - I think there are real benefits that School Direct brings that a university PGCE doesn't offer. I don't know enough detail to be honest about university PGCE to say, but I'm sure there are things that university PGCE offers.

As discussed earlier¹⁷³ in relation to Jack, headteacher, the responses of Emma and Amy reflect the outcomes of Zeichner's (2002) research which found that teachers did not understand what university's role was. Perhaps, disturbingly, at the point of interview four to five years had elapsed since the start of the training programme and neither TSA manager seemed at all aware of the role the university performed. This presents SD as a

¹⁷¹ As discussed in sections 6.3.1.8. and 6.3.2.4.

¹⁷² Discussed in section 6.3.2.5.

¹⁷³ In section 6.3.3.3.

fragmented model of ITT, one that operates in silos between TSAs and universities, with potentially the only participants who have a complete picture being trainees, who have more limited decisional and professional capital by which to comment on its value as an ITT route.

The TSA managers also referred to a lack of clear expectation at the start of their involvement. Amy referred to the fact that their induction to SD had been fast paced and they had developed their role over time:

I don't think I could really say what my initial expectations were. I don't think I really knew that or thought about that and because we got involved in School Direct in the pilot year, as you know, that was done like five months after everyone else had recruited and it was very kind of fast paced and we we've just sort of developed it as we've gone along. So it's a lot more, there is a lot more work to it than perhaps we would have thought I suppose that's all I can say.

A similar comment was made Evelyn who felt she had only considered her role as part of SD and did not have an understanding of the overall picture:

I feel that I probably didn't know as much as I thought I did about the process and about the whole scheme [...] I had to learn what to expect and what it was all about so things changed along, you know, along the way, my perception of what it was changed along the way.

Whilst the TSAs had been able to offer a definite reason as to why they wanted to become involved in SD relating to preparing trainees to teach either in the inner-city or in their specific schools¹⁷⁴ questions about whether the training route was living up to expectations seemed to reveal for some school trainers and leaders that beyond the initial purpose there was a lack of clarity about what they had expected from their involvement. This lack of clarity does not present a strong sense of purpose, further evidence of a fractured system which is not clear about what it intends to achieve.

¹⁷⁴ See sections 6.3.1.2. – 6.3.1.4.

6.3.3.8. *Summary*

The areas I have explored in this section seem to reveal a lack of clarity about what stakeholders, particularly, school trainers and leaders involved in SD are trying to achieve. There were comments about when TSAs first became involved in SD as being quite rushed, and whilst there were references to expertise and specialists, it was not clear how these concepts were defined. There did not seem to be a coordinated, underpinning concept of what SD was and what the pedagogic content of its training should be. The respondents who gave the clearest answers about the pedagogic content in this study were trainees who seemed quite confident about the significantly different delivery from TSAs compared to universities, and most felt that these roles were not interchangeable. The data suggests that what school-based participants meant by 'reality' in ITT is craft-based knowledge which is situated in context.

6.3.4. Values for the Profession

6.3.4.1. Context

Teaching is a craft and it is best learnt as an apprentice observing a master craftsman or woman. Watching others, and being rigorously observed yourself as you develop, is the best route to acquiring mastery in the classroom (Gove, 2010).

This quotation, referred to earlier in my thesis¹⁷⁵, has import because Gove's perspective had a significant influence on ITT in subsequent White Papers (2010; 2011), and the development of the SD training route in 2012¹⁷⁶.

What the White Paper (2010:19) valued about preparing teachers was clear in the comment that "too little teacher training takes place on the job" because "we know that teachers learn best from other professionals". Whilst the White Paper valued graduate level entry into teaching, its consideration of the necessity to hold a qualification in teaching and learning was ambiguous. By the time of the Carter Review of ITT ¹⁷⁷ (DfE, 2015:61) there was direct questioning of the value of PGCE routes, "[w]e are concerned that there may be a misconception among trainees that perceive the gaining of a PGCE as more important than gaining QTS when, of course, it is the status of QTS that qualifies a teacher". Carter (DfE, 2015:69) recommended that, "[w]e would like applicants to understand that QTS is the essential component of ITT and that a PGCE is an optional academic qualification".

Added to this were the voices of politicians other than Gove, who supported an anti-training agenda based on their own experiences of educational privilege (Ball, 2009; Critchley, 2018). Nick Gibb (2010), stating that, "he'd rather see an Oxbridge graduate with no PGCE teaching physics than a qualified teacher from a 'rubbish university'" (cited in Williams, 2010)¹⁷⁸ and Boris Johnson (2013) stated, "I think back to my own childhood and the people who taught me and many of them didn't have an educational qualification at all, some of them were in Japanese prisoner of war camps...and they were fantastic" (cited in BBC News, 2013). These

¹⁷⁵ In sections 1.4 and 3.6.

¹⁷⁶ Discussed earlier in section 1.4.

¹⁷⁷ Also discussed in section 2.2.2.

¹⁷⁸ Also discussed in section 2.3.5.

statements demonstrate what appears as breath taking ignorance of the value of a qualification in teaching and learning and an arrogance about the experiences of an elitist education.

This raises questions about which ITT discourses those developing SD privileged, and what the teaching profession valued about ITT and the status of the profession. After 2012 as TSAs were established and began to seek accrediting partners for their SD route, I spent a lot of time being interviewed by TSA managers about my university's 'offer', which led me to question what managers, as gatekeepers to the profession, valued. This became a theme in my research and extended from managers to all research participants.

6.3.4.2. *Should all Teachers have a Qualification in Teaching and Learning?*

The necessity of all teachers having a qualification in teaching and learning produced the most positive response of all questions about professional values for ITT. This represented a distinct disjunction from the Carter Review (DfE, 2015:69) which presented QTS as the only, "essential component" of ITT. Fourteen of the sixteen interviewees felt it was important that all teachers have a qualification in teaching and learning, with only Alyssa and William expressing doubt or negativity.

Alyssa suggested that:

I think [...] the qualification in teaching and learning is important in the fact that [...], you've got all the...like theory things but [...] I think you probably could, [...] be a successful teacher without doing that, I'd say, if that's not what you wanted. I think I've probably learned more and benefited more from the school-based training and that's prepared me more to be a teacher than the PGCE stuff.

Alyssa's response reflects Jackson's (2009) and Knight's (2015) findings that trainees undervalue the place of academic training in ITT. In a culture of 'growing your own' teachers, this view is reinforced by schools in that concepts of 'growing' teachers result in practice-based knowledge development. Alyssa's reference to having benefitted more from "school-based training" also reinforces the outcomes of Smith and Hodson's (2010) and Knight's (2015) research that trainees only value theory when it is situated in their

practice¹⁷⁹. The inherent danger, however, is that ITT is bounded by the socialising effects of schools which “close down on complexity” (Edwards and Protheroe, 2003:231) and focus on ensuring trainees fully conform to school practice. This seems to be what Alyssa conceptualises as “*a successful teacher*”, reflecting Gove’s (2010) view of teaching as a predominately craft-based profession and the reductionist view of teacher as technician (Leaton Gray, 2007).

William gave a mixed response to the value of a teaching and learning qualification; initially he was very positive:

I enjoyed the academic side [...] I’ve enjoyed that and the studying element to it. I think I’ve learned a lot from assignments, [...] I think I would see it [ITT] without the PGCE as a bit of a cop out and a bit of...not the full qualification.

My positionality regarding ITT values academic training as critical, in this respect William’s response is heartening. His reference to having “*learned a lot from assignments*” contrasts with research suggesting that trainees do not value their academic learning (Grossman, 2008; Smith and Hodson, 2010). In addition, his reference to “*the studying element*” suggests that he values ‘knowledge-for-practice’ (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999) as an important part of ITT. William’s suggestion that to be a teacher without a PGCE is “*a bit of a cop out*” and “*not the full qualification*” suggests a position which sees teaching as requiring a knowledge corpus (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999; Winch, 2004; Knight, 2015), again, something I value. By implication William’s comments reflect the notion that to have a body of knowledge¹⁸⁰ acquired through PGCE study elevates teaching status to that of a profession (Winch, 2004) and counters Gove’s (2010) suggestions of a craft situated in practice.

However, when asked if all teachers should have a teaching and learning qualification, William reflected on his experience of meeting colleagues without such qualifications:

I think it’s a difficult one because I’ve got experience of working with staff that were either support staff or were unqualified teachers and they were really, really good

¹⁷⁹ As discussed in section 2.2.3.

¹⁸⁰ Discussed in section 2.1.6.1.

they were brilliant teachers and they were brilliant with children. And their subject knowledge, to the extent that they needed it, was fine.

William's reference to his "*experience*" makes it clear that he focused on specific ex-colleagues. His reference to this question being "*a difficult one*" to answer may be indicative of some conflict in his thinking, that although his previous response indicated the value he gave PGCEs, he is now sympathetic in his thinking about his ex-colleagues who did not have this qualification and for whom he clearly had high regard. He makes some interesting points, first of all he referred to both "*support staff*" and "*unqualified teachers*" as teachers. It is unlikely, however, that support staff, in particular, assume the teacher's full role. The second part of his comment perhaps helps to unpack William's meaning as he referred to these ex-colleagues as being "*brilliant with children*". The idea of being 'brilliant' with children suggests a much less complicated and challenging role than that of teacher. It suggests someone with a specific focus on engaging children, but without the wider, more demanding aspects of the teaching role with its associated accountability. My thesis argues that teachers need academic training in teaching and learning. William may be conceiving his ex-colleagues' practice as drawing from '*knowledge-in-practice*' rather than '*knowledge-for-practice*' (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999). This is supported by his comment suggesting they needed and used a more limited breadth of subject knowledge, described as "*fine*" and restricted to "*the extent that they needed it*". This reduced expectation of how these ex-colleagues 'needed' subject knowledge again suggests they are not acting in a teacher's full role and for me the necessity of a higher level qualification in teaching and learning is reduced.

The responses to my question asking do all teachers being require a qualification in teaching and learning in the first year of my online survey (2016) was 100% positive, ranging from somewhat important to very important (Figure 19). The second year (2017) of my survey also produced a very positive response of 92.7% with just one neutral response, 6.3% (Figure 20).

How important is it for all teachers to have a qualification in teaching and learning, for example the PGCE or the 3 year BA in Primary Education as opposed to a route that awards qualified teacher status only?

Figure 19 – 2016.

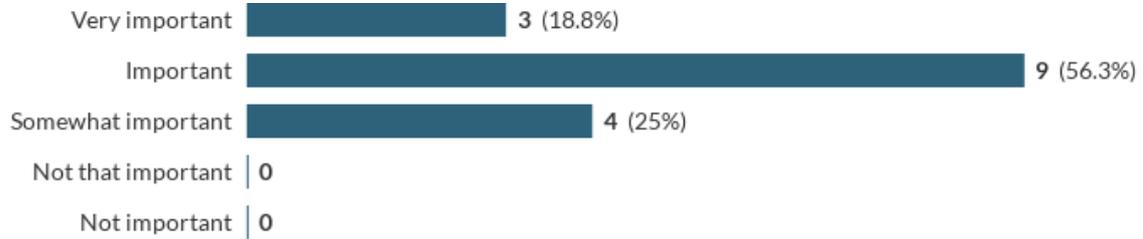
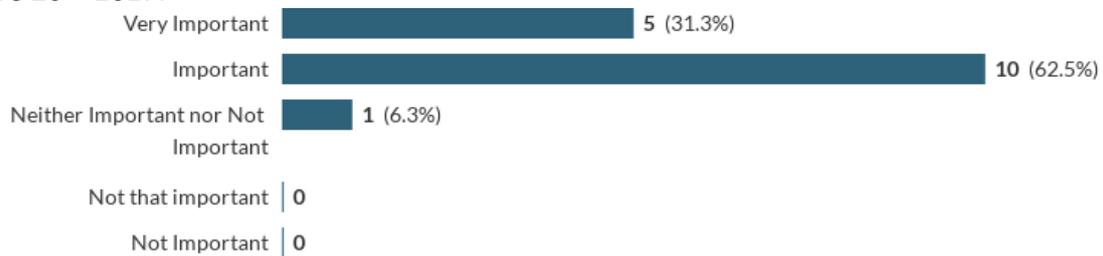


Figure 20 – 2017.



Beyond the mixed responses of Alyssa and William, discussed above, there was strong support from all remaining interviewees that teachers should have a qualification in teacher and learning. This suggests a position where the participants in my research see teaching as a profession requiring understanding of a distinctive knowledge base (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999; Winch, 2004; Knight, 2015). Yvonne referred to herself as a ‘professional’, commenting that it was, “*Vital, that’s it really, yes I think, you know, we’re professionals, we’re struggling sometimes with parents and...to do...really have that recognition*”. Yvonne’s comment here about “*struggling...with parents*” is interesting. I am aware as an insider researcher that when Yvonne first took up her post as headteacher she took a different approach to managing parental relationships from her predecessor. Her habitus was shaped by the fundamental principle that her staff should be allowed to do their jobs by exercising professional and decisional capital (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012; 2013) and without bending to what she saw as unreasonable parental pressure. This led to a period of turbulence and some difficult relationships with a minority of parents who challenged her approach. The shift in styles of headship can be related to what Gewirtz and Ball (2000) identified as a shift from ‘welfarism’ to ‘new managerialism’, where Yvonne’s focus became more about an institution-needs perspective than the previous headteacher. Yvonne’s hesitation at the end of her comment “*and...to do...really have that recognition*” with its emphasis on

“recognition” suggests the challenge that she underwent regarding her promotion of professional capital (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012; 2013). It is argued here that the devaluing of teaching as a profession along with the lack of respect for her professional capital underlies Yvonne’s claim for *“recognition”* and reinforces her belief in a recognised qualification for teachers which she emphasised so strongly as *“vital”* as bringing status to the profession.

Louise’s response to whether all teachers should have a qualification in teaching and learning also highlighted the importance for her of teaching as a profession:

Because it is a profession [...] you should be held accountable by your education, yourself, you know, you need to show that you are of a certain level, that you can undertake study that’s credited, I just think it’s important, I think if anyone could just walk in off the street and do it then it demeans our profession

Louise’s response touches on the value of human capital within professional capital (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012; 2013), she reflected on the attributes that individual teachers needed to demonstrate that *“you should be held accountable”*, *“you are of a certain level”* and that *“you can undertake study”*. Louise’s is another view which supports the idea of knowledge for teaching that must be ‘studied’ and should be challenging *“of a certain level”*. Her suggestion that one should be *“held accountable”* does not determine by whom but suggests that society, other than politicians determining policy perhaps, expect teachers to have achieved an acceptable level of *“education”* as a profession. Her reference to the threat to the profession of someone who *“could just walk in off the street”* and teach underpins the theory of knowledge as proposed by Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) that distinguishes teachers from laypersons.

Jack’s (headteacher) initial response to the question of whether he thought all teachers should have a qualification in teaching and learning was equally positive *“Yes, personally I would”*, however, this altered as he considered the pressures he was under recruiting to his expanding all-through school.

My preference is, is probably still got a combination of some uni aspect to it and the practical side in the school, but at the end of the day I need people in, in classrooms teaching. So if I could get, if someone came through a different route but could still

do the job in the classroom, you know I'm not saying...fundamentally we need, we need people, and it's going to get worse, we need more teachers.

Jack's response is interesting, whilst he clearly values the PGCE qualification characterised as professional capital, the *"uni aspect to it"*, he is prepared to compromise his values to recruit much needed teachers. Jack's hesitancy, *"you know I'm not saying..."* seems to suggest his reluctance to reach such a compromise, however, *"fundamentally"*, he asserts, *"we need people"*. I argue that because the government has consistently prioritised 'on the job' craft-based training over the number of new teachers needed, recruitment has fallen since SD was introduced (Taylor, 2018). This places headteachers such as Jack under pressure to recruit *"more teachers"* bringing people into the profession without a qualification in teaching and learning, which Jack indicated was his clear preference, *"personally I would"*.

Jack's 'personal' values, his professional capital and those of Yvonne who described the necessity for a qualification in teaching and learning as *"vital"*, I argue have a far greater right to exercise experiential, iterative, projective and practical-evaluative dimensions to agency (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998) than politicians who drive policy. Their values are compromised, however, by politically driven initiatives based on an ideology which undervalues the complexity of what teaching involves and instead seeks to address the teacher supply crisis as a, *"quick fix" rather than in a strategic manner*" (Thomas, 2018:257). Jack's reluctant but unquestioning compromise of his value of a teaching and learning qualification to recruit much needed teachers who can in some way *"do the job"* suggests what Jackson (2009) refers to as a new uncritical acceptance of government policy. It is a form of Foucauldian disciplinary power (Perryman et al, 2017) regulating Jack's behaviour

In contrast, I was reassured by Natalie's (UBTE) strong sense of the need for professional capital to challenge government initiatives that did not match her values. The need for teachers to exercise their professional capital I argue to be extremely significant. Natalie described the requirement of new entrants to have a qualification in teaching and learning as *"hugely important"* and for the cultural resources (Biesta et al, 2015) to *"challenge"* those areas impacting on her professional capital:

And I think, much as I don't like the way governments change things, I think that is part of the challenge of working in the educational environment that we work in.

As suggested by her comment below Natalie was open about the current climate as being one that is driven by government policy that directs or as she suggests 'pushes' the teaching profession to behave in certain ways and against what she valued as professional capital.

So that you kind of feel that you're being pushed about the way to teach writing and the way to teach reading and that can stop you as a teacher.

This, I argue, enacts a form of Foucauldian disciplinary power. The curriculum frameworks forced on teachers by governments since the 1980s telling them what and sometimes how to teach (Ball, 2003; Critchley, 2018) along with increasing accountability have led to the deskilling of teachers who then often uncritically accept this direction. The 2010 governmental teaching as 'craft' position, suggested that teachers do not require a deep and philosophical understanding of teaching and learning which might then lead to questioning policy. Unlike those directly in the teaching profession, Natalie, UBTE, perhaps unsurprisingly, exhibited a desire for agency. In teaching she felt the force of 'disciplinary power' exerted upon the profession as *"being pushed"*. Natalie's reference to being stopped *"as a teacher"* had a clear resonance that her professional capital, her status *"as a teacher"* was being undermined by government policies. I argue that in her role Natalie has a better and more informed understanding of teaching strategy, in this case for reading and writing, than government strategy. Natalie suggested a need for professional capital, informed by research and teaching experience, as a means by which to respond to governmental 'pushes':

...and you think, "Do you know what, I know this isn't going to work and I know I've got to do something different here and I know that because..." and that's where research comes in and because it's at those moments that you have to go back to something and check up on your beliefs.

The importance of a qualification in teaching and learning for Natalie gave her the professional confidence to be able to say, *"I know this isn't going to work, and I know I've got to do something different here"*. For Natalie this goes beyond 'knowledge-in-practice' but draws upon 'knowledge-for-practice' (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999) underpinned by her knowledge from *"research"* giving Natalie confidence to be able to support what she

believes “*I know that because...*”. Within the context of this research this is very significant, I argue that if teachers as a profession submit to the view of teaching as a craft only and one which does not require a body of knowledge to underpin it (Winch, 2004), then we rely on knowledge of teachers as being only ‘knowledge-in-practice’. Furthermore, Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) and Hagger and McIntyre (2006) argue that ‘knowledge-in-practice’ is difficult for teachers to articulate and for Harris (2011) and Hawkins and Florian (2012) it can be limited to settings. As this research concludes¹⁸¹, much of the training provided by SBTEs appears as craft-based learning and lacks underpinning research, which devalues teachers’ ability to be able to assert, as Natalie confidently did, “*I know that because...*” Natalie referred to ‘knowing because’ as “*where research comes in*”, she justified her knowledge because she has a metacognition that is underpinned by educational philosophy and theory giving her ability to ‘know’ beyond context what will work and what will not work. Natalie argued that teachers need to underpin their practice “*on some constructs*” to be able to articulate the conditions under which something might work (William, 2006; Biesta, 2007) or not, stating that:

I don't think teaching is a craft that you can learn just by watching someone do it. I think you need to have, I think you need to build it on some constructs, I think you need to be able to articulate what it is you're doing sometimes and why you're making some decisions.

Natalie’s reference that you “*have to go back to something and check up on your beliefs*” has strong resonance with Winch’s (2004) argument for a body of knowledge in teaching but also with Cochran-Smith and Lytle’s (1999) argument that teachers need continually to update their knowledge by engagement with research, resulting in ‘knowledge-of-practice’. As a profession, this thesis argues¹⁸², teachers should not lose sight of the potential of professional capital underpinned by the cultural resources (Biesta et al, 2015) of teaching and learning research knowledge to reinforce agency (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998), offering the potential for personal resistance in spite of the dominant governmental discourses impacting on teaching strategy.

¹⁸¹ In section 8.3.

¹⁸² Discussed in my conclusion, section 8.4.

So, I do think that without it [‘knowledge-for-practice’] you would probably be...because we’re in a political profession, we’ll be pushed along roads that we don’t want to go along.

Natalie’s reference to being “*in a political profession*” suggests her recognition of a form of Foucauldian disciplinary power resulting from the impact of government policy by which teachers are potentially victims themselves of symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Natalie recognises this as being “*pushed along roads*” but it is the ability to recognise that these are roads that “*we don’t want to go along*” that is significant as it indicates that as a collective of individuals there is potential for teachers to mobilise resistive “vehicles of power” (Foucault, 1980). I noted with interest that it was a UBTE who articulated the rights of the profession in a way that was not evident in the discourse of other experienced teacher participants, particularly headteachers. I argue that this indicates the confidence that comes from belonging to communities of research practice where ‘knowledge-for-practice’ and ‘knowledge-of-practice’ (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999; Winch et al, 2015) are part of daily discourse. As a result, I argue¹⁸³ that university academics should support teacher colleagues presenting as ‘allies of agency’ against government strategy rather than ‘enemies of promise’ as they were once labelled (Gove, 2013).

It adds strength to the argument of this research that the value of teachers having a qualification in teaching and learning came from all categories of participants. Evelyn, a SBTE, for example, argued that primary teachers did not need degree level subject knowledge but did need a level of understanding about how children learn:

But you don’t necessarily need to have, you know, degree level knowledge of geography and history but I think you do need to have degree level understanding of how children learn and how they work to be a good teacher...

Evelyn’s argument here centres around what Shulman (1986) referred to as ‘pedagogic content knowledge’, that is the ability of teachers to know how to use subject knowledge in ways that make learning meaningful and engaging for children. For Evelyn that knowledge has to be in depth “*degree level understanding*” supporting arguments for the academic award of the PGCE which offers trainees, “the opportunities to undertake academic studies

¹⁸³ Developed further in my conclusion, 8.4.

in education, to gain an underpinning knowledge of education and to synthesise theory with practice” (Thomas, 2018:248)¹⁸⁴.

For Elaine, UBTE, the PGCE taught in university was about breadth of theoretical understanding:

I think that theoretical aspect is important so you know why you're doing things and if you were in a school and just learning from the school's practice then you become that school's teacher and whatever way they do things, is the way you do things...I think you need that wide variety of understanding of why you are doing things rather than you are doing things because the school does it that way. You need to have that wider understanding of what you're doing.

Elaine's concerns here reinforce those of Hodson et al (2012) and Johnson (2016) that school-based learning results in replication of school practice leading to Knight's (2015) concerns of reproducing the 'status quo' and Noble-Rogers' (2014) in relation to "institutional conservatism" as Elaine suggests "*whatever way they do things, is the way you do things*". As Edwards (2014) argues, trainees need help to understand motives of why practice happens as it does. Childs et al (2014) argue, moreover, that this understanding is best achieved by explicit mediation (Wertsch, 2007) and at a distance from practice. It is university training that offers trainees opportunities to critique and explore alternative approaches underpinned by varieties of practice, "gathered through research and educational networks" (Harris, 2011:30).

Amanda, trainee, not only valued the theoretical understanding that her PGCE programme had given, she also could see how this could have altered her practice in previous roles:

I've taught in schools but actually then come and do your PGCE [...] and, you know, you're so much better equipped that they're just poles apart, what you were doing I think then if you underpin that with all your theoretical knowledge then you can say you're teaching, does that make sense?

Amanda's comment that her knowledge before the PGCE and knowledge gained through the PGCE are "*just poles apart*" suggests understanding of the difference between craft-based knowledge and theoretical understanding. In addition, Amanda's reference to

¹⁸⁴ As discussed in section 2.2.3.

theoretical knowledge giving her an understanding of what teaching involves on a metacognitive level and enables her to “say you’re teaching”. This is hugely significant supporting a key argument of this thesis which values the place of academic training and reinforces Knight’s (2015) findings that trainees come to value the depth of knowledge that they receive from UBTEs as having a significant impact on their performance in classrooms.

In summary although there were some, limited, conflicting tensions in the value of all teachers having a qualification in teaching and learning, overwhelmingly the value to the profession of the qualification and the underpinning theoretical knowledge it would bring received endorsement by the majority interviewed who viewed it as “vital” (Yvonne) and “hugely important” (Natalie) and far removed from the optional extra suggested by Carter (DfE, 2015)¹⁸⁵.

6.3.4.3. ITT at Masters Level?

In contrast to the value of the qualification in teaching and learning for all teachers questions of whether teaching should be an all Masters level profession produced more mixed responses. For trainees there was a view that coming back to university to study for a PGCE should necessarily be at a higher level than undergraduate study. They did not question whether the PGCE should be at Masters level, it was what they expected:

I would only have wanted to enter working up to Masters level because why would I enter you know anywhere else?...I think it’s more your personal and professional development where you’re entering. (Amanda)

Amanda’s response presents quite a transactional view of the qualification at Masters level, there is not a strong sense of what it might contribute to thinking and practice, instead it is more related to her professional capital of what is important for teacher status (Vialle et al, 1997; Revell, 2005; Gleeson et al, 2017; Thomas, 2018).

¹⁸⁵ Discussed in more detail in section 2.2.2.

Tobias and Alyssa also presented a somewhat transactional view of Masters level qualification with Tobias suggesting that Masters level was an “incentive” and Alyssa that it “means more”:

Tobias - I think the idea of doing it at masters level is... I know it's exciting because I think it's a step forward isn't it? You don't want to be staying at the same plateau. I think the idea of the PGCE with that masters incentive, the credits are there, sort of pushes you to sort of go, ok well if you had coasted at undergrad you can't now because it's the next step.

Alyssa - I think because we've already done a degree it's, it's more work it means obviously it's got to be at a higher level hasn't it? But it's nice to know that it means more and is recognised as a harder thing and like a higher qualification.

There was, however, some recognition by both Tobias and Alyssa that study at Masters level would present more challenge than previous study. Alyssa suggested that it would be a “harder thing” and Tobias suggested that whilst you might have been able to ‘coast’ at undergraduate level, “you can’t now because it’s the next step”. Alyssa referred to a “higher level” and Tobias valued not “staying at the same plateau”, both indicating understanding of the challenge that comes with moving from undergraduate to postgraduate study. In these responses both trainees seem to suggest that, beyond the value of the qualification itself, study at level 7 would enhance their understanding and practice (Thomas, 2013; 2018), developing their ability to think deeply and critically and with some originality of thought (Sewell and Larkin, 2019). Tobias suggested that this was “exciting”, an indication of positive impact on his self-esteem (Thomas, 2018). Whilst there was clearly a perceived value of Masters level study, lack of direct comment about the impact of such learning on practice by trainees could reflect what Thomas (2018:253) suggests as a, “failing in ITE” practice, and Knight (2015), who argues that UBTEs need to do more to facilitate trainees’ understanding of how Masters level study enhances practice.

For Evie wanting to study at Masters level was a sign of commitment to the profession:

I think that separates the ones who really want to do it, are quite passionate about the profession from those that maybe are doing it because of the six weeks, and it's almost a back-up plan rather than an actual passionate career. So, I think that, yeah, I think Masters level is quite important and I like it, I'm quite happy to have it, I'm quite proud to have that.

Evie's response is very affirming, she was clear that the award of PGCE at Masters level reinforced her professional capital (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012; 2013), she was *"quite proud to have that"* it enhanced her self-esteem (Thomas, 2018). Her sense of pride also suggests, as with the trainee responses discussed earlier, a recognition that study at Masters level had enhanced her knowledge and understanding, and made her engage more critically with her development. Evie's suggestion that knowing that the PGCE is at Masters level *"separates the ones who really want to do it"* reinforced her sense of professional capital, that teaching is a profession to which only candidates who are prepared to make commitment to Masters level study should be recruited. The suggestion behind Evie's response, as Amanda's, is that she saw teaching as an, *"aspirational and inspirational career"* attracting her to the idea that it is at Masters level (Nunn, 2017:62).

In addition to enhanced professional capital, reassuringly a few participants commented that having studied at Masters level would improve practice. This reflects my position about the value of ITT at Masters level¹⁸⁶. Naomi commented that Masters level would enable her to be *"capable of being critical in an academic way"*. Naomi's reference to 'criticality' as 'academic' suggests both a value of 'knowledge-for-practice' (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999) and of university training, that engaging with knowledge beyond craft-based wisdom produces critical thinking (Sewell and Larkin, 2012). Naomi refers to this critical ability as *"the nous"*:

...you need at least, the like 'the nous' to hear what someone says and to think actually I think you're completely wrong about that...because...

Naomi's confidence to feel that she can challenge comments of others as being *"completely wrong"* suggests a strong feeling of empowerment as the result of her *"nous"*, evidence of a sense of professional autonomy (Winch et al, 2015) and professional capital (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012; 2013). Naomi's emphasis on her ability to challenge other's thinking *"because"* refers to her knowledge base developed either through knowledge-for or of-practice (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999) by which she can justify her thinking. This affords her opportunities to challenge notions of a 'single best way to teach' model adopted by

¹⁸⁶ Discussed in section 2.2.3.

many beginning teachers (Vialle et al, 1997). Naomi presents her 'actual self' identity (Lauriala and Kukkonen 2005) as being a "bit of a snob" about the value of academic learning reflecting her belief in professional capital as opposed to the anti-intellectual discourse propagated by a government who believe teaching is learnt by watching others at work (Gove, 2013).

Natalie (UBTE) commented that:

I think to be a successful teacher you've got to construct your own picture of what teaching and learning is about and I think that's what Masters study does for you.

Natalie's reference to 'constructing' a picture suggests opportunities to understand "teaching and learning" not only as it is in the moment but also to inform future practice which Sewell and Larkin (2012) posit is part of Masters level study. Natalie links Master level study to 'success' in teaching acknowledging the value of developing critical thinking to respond to complex challenges (Nunn, 2017) and suggesting this is better preparation for teachers (Revell, 2005) facilitating improvements in practice (Thomas, 2013) and career development (Thomas, 2018). Alyssa reflected that studying at Masters level had improved her writing skills supporting Thomas' (2013) argument that training at Masters level enables trainees to articulate their knowledge in ways that make it more accessible to others and also themselves.

Elizabeth, SBTE, commented on the impact of Masters level study on reflective practice:

I haven't got Masters because that wasn't available to me when I was a student teacher, but I think if I'd done it I think that I would have been a much deeper thinker

Elizabeth clearly values the benefits of Masters level study in developing critical reflection, as a "deeper thinker". Her comment that this opportunity "wasn't available to me" suggests a sense of regret, that her professional capital values teachers' capability to be engaged in criticality. This was reinforced by her following comment:

I think it would have made me reflect on my practice a lot more, and...analyse what I was doing and the impact of that and, as a senior leader that's what you have to do, you have to, don't you, you have to look at what you've put into action and what is the impact of that, has it made any difference and I think that the earlier that they

can start to do that, then the more rounded a teacher they will be and the more effective they will be.

Elizabeth's comment that *"the earlier that they can start to do that"* supports the findings of the BERA-RSA (2014:12) inquiry that ITT, as I also argue, is the best place to develop these, "skills and predispositions" and reinforces professional capital. Elizabeth's value of acquiring research skills 'early' is in contrast to the movement of the Teacher Standards for trainees away from valuing, "relevant recent research" (DfEE, 1997:8) in schools to the more nebulous suggestion that teachers, "demonstrate a critical understanding" of curriculum development (DfE, 2011c:S3)¹⁸⁷. In contrast Elizabeth acknowledges the value of Masters level study in enabling teachers to *"look at what you've put into action"* but most importantly to be able to see the *"impact of that"*. Her comments reinforce the arguments of Sewell and Larkin (2012) and Thomas (2013; 2018) that Masters level study enables teachers to think deeply and critically and to demonstrate sound judgement and initiative in practice, which is also my position¹⁸⁸. In addition, Elizabeth links these capabilities to those of leadership *"as a senior leader that's what you have to do"* emphasising the argument of Sewell and Larkin (2012) that the ability to synthesise knowledge and understanding of education through skills of critical reflection are qualities needed in leadership. Elizabeth also attributes the skills afforded by Masters level study to producing *"more rounded"* and *"effective"* teachers (Revell, 2005) suggesting a strong sense of professional capital (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012; 2013) that Masters level skills can bring to the practice of teaching.

In contrast, however, Jack, headteacher, perceived that having a higher qualification had limited impact on teacher's practice.

It makes no difference to me if I'm comparing you and you as two candidates for a job, if you've got a masters and you haven't [...] if I had to choose between that teacher [with Masters] and person X [without Masters] the person that I might want to guarantee as my next year leader, might be the other person because [...] that person might be the right one for me who connects better with the kids, so that other person might write the best research paper and give the best reasoned argument and might win the debate, that person might connect with the kids better.

¹⁸⁷ As discussed in section 2.2.4.

¹⁸⁸ Discussed in my conclusion, section 8.4.

Jack's comments suggest a lack of understanding about the value of the skills acquired as part of Masters level study can have on classroom practice. This limits his sense of what constitutes professional capital (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012; 2013) that education to Masters level facilitates. Jack presented the gains of Masters level study as being written, for example, producing a "research paper" or verbal, for example, producing "the best reasoned argument" or winning "the debate" without any understanding of the skills or knowledge involved in writing papers or in reasoning at that level and how they might relate to practice. The implicit outcome that the Masters educated teacher might "win" debates as a result of deeper engagement with research and academic writing to inform argument (Thomas, 2013) did not seem to occur to Jack. Jack's comment that the "right" person for his "year leader" job as the one who "connects better with the kids" presented no clear definition of what he meant by 'connect'. There was, certainly, no sense that his use of 'connection' means skills of criticality and reflection that are argued to be the outcomes of level 7 study (Thomas, 2013; 2018; Nunn, 2017), or the ability to exercise informed judgement and tested initiative (Sewell and Larkin, 2012). On a surface level the ability to 'connect' with children could be argued to belong to those employed as workers in a range of roles largely unconnected to education, such as children's entertainers or child minders, jobs with much lower demand for knowledge than teaching. Jack's meaning behind his use of 'connect' might, however, refer to a sense of 'knowledge-in-practice' (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999), positioning this as the most valuable source of knowledge which Winch et al (2015:209) suggest results in, "distilled theoretical knowledge" relying too heavily on common sense without ability to understand the motivations behind common sense actions, which comprise complex theoretical perspectives (Widdowson, 1984). This can result in teaching being reduced to homilies, maxims and reactive behaviour (Winch et al, 2015). Jack's conclusion was as follows:

And so it's the people that connect with the kids better that are usually going to win out...it's nice to have the critical thinker, it's nice to have the person who can put a research thing together and encourage other staff, it's great, but if push came to shove I want the person who connects with the children most.

As it is teachers who "connect with the kids better" who in Jack's view "win out" his professional capital devalues the place of academic learning in ITT. Indeed, Jack is prepared

to employ teachers without a qualification in teaching and learning if they could “do the job in the classroom”¹⁸⁹ which reflects his view of craft-based, ‘knowledge-in-practice’ (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999). Jack’s ‘institutional-identity’ (Gee, 2001) of research engaged teachers as something that he could only describe as “nice” and producing a research “thing” gives it very low status. His use of the word “nice” does suggest that he sees criticality as adding value but it is not crucial to the job of teaching. Through his limited value of research engaged teachers as simply acting as ‘encouragement’ for other staff Jack presents a very limited understanding of what this might be encouraging them ‘to do’ other than to acquire a higher qualification, there is no sense that he understood the impact this might have on classroom practice and, as concluded by the BERA-RSA inquiry (2014:3), on the quality of children’s learning, “in the classroom and beyond”. Jack’s professional habitus with regard to research practice strongly reinforces the view of Leat et al’s (2013:8), “anti-pathetic” teachers to learning and Feiman-Nemser’s (2001b:1021) view that lack of research engagement often results in teachers’ desire to maintain the, “status quo” and is deeply disturbing against my argument of the status of the profession needing to be one that exhibits the agency of professional capital against the, “monologic voice of policy” (Leat et al, 2013:7).

6.3.4.4. *Teachers as Researchers*

Most of the participants in this research thought it was very important that teachers were actively engaged in research. I also support this position. The positive responses given by participants to teachers’ engagement with research suggests they value its contribution to professional capital (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012; 2013).

Elizabeth explained the benefits for trainees of experiencing research practice:

I think so because they need to know, they need to see it happening, they need to see it in action and see for themselves; it’s all very well me saying, “Oh, well, if this happens, this is going to happen,” [...] but when you do it and see it for yourself it’s much more fixed in your head, isn’t it, and you can see the point of it more [...] you learn a lot more from it because you’re involved in it and you can see the nuances of the children and the

¹⁸⁹ Discussed in section 6.3.4.2.

way that they interact with each other and the way that they interact with activities in that particular thing.

Elizabeth's support for research engagement suggests teachers should be active participants and not just consumers. Whilst she suggested that given her experience, she may be able to predict outcomes of classroom practice "*if this happens, this is going to happen*" the inherent value is in trainees discovering outcomes from research independently because "*you learn a lot more from it*". The value of active engagement by teachers in research as argued by my research is supported by researchers including Vialle et al (1997); Medwell and Wray (2014) and the BERA-RSA (2014) inquiry. Elizabeth's understanding of the value of active research is articulated in her comments surrounding the depth of knowledge acquired "*you can see the nuances of the children and the way that they interact with each other and [...] with activities*". She presented research as enabling trainees to see salient features of impact and to challenge and authenticate their understanding of teaching and learning (Winch et al, 2015). This is possible because "*you can see*", research engagement makes trainees observe closely and in different ways the impact of teaching and learning in different contexts. Elizabeth argued that this level of detail and depth of understanding does not necessarily result from normal classroom practice, 'knowledge-in-practice', because it requires trainees or teachers in general to "*focus so clearly*":

Whereas you would see that within your classroom practice, but you might not focus so clearly on that whereas you would if you were doing that action research.

Elizabeth seemed to value what Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) suggest as 'knowledge-of-practice' although she fell short of suggesting a CoP in which new teachers, experienced teachers and perhaps university-based educators work together (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999) leading to greater potential for professional capital (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012; 2013). Elizabeth, however, did promote the value of active research engagement for herself:

It really makes you think, it's...it makes you think anyway in your practice of being a teacher, and it does make you very, very reflective.

Elizabeth acknowledged here how engagement in research made her think differently about her "*practice of being a teacher*" (Sewell and Larkin, 2012). It enabled her to move beyond

what Winch et al (2015:6) suggest as an, “executive technician” approach to teaching and to position Elizabeth as someone who seeks to understand and interpret for herself:

...if you have that research base, it makes you ask questions and it makes you compare things...

In her ‘questioning’ and ‘comparison’ Elizabeth appears enabled to interrogate and form critical judgements about what works and why in her particular situation resulting in a model for professional change and learning (Leat et al, 2013) which this research argues is essential for teachers’ professional agency. It also gives her potential beyond reproduction of the, “status quo” as warned against by Feiman-Nemser (2001b:1021). Elizabeth’s final comment in relation to her research activity suggested a legitimisation of practice:

...it makes you look at that research and think, “Ah, I’ve actually seen that happen” and so I think it’s really important to have.

Elizabeth’s reference to “that research”, she explained, was to her recent involvement with a ‘Maths as a Specialist Teacher’ training course through which she had engaged with relevant research and also conducted action research. Her comparison between what she had found in research literature “that research” and what she observed in her practice “I’ve actually seen that happen” suggests a value in comparing her practice with that of others and increased propensity for professional capital. It could be argued that such legitimisation also suggests greater potential for human agency (Lane and Sweeny, 2019) in relation to her learning. Elizabeth’s final observation that this is “really important to have” suggests she recognises a value in her professional capital development (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012; 2013) that engagement in research is something that is beneficial as a teacher and as a school leader and contrasts with the earlier views of Jack.

Natalie, UBTE, also expressed a view of teachers’ involvement in research in relation to social capital in that teachers needed to “look up and listen to what other people are thinking and doing and saying” which in turn could have positive impact on their decisional capital (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012; 2013). Natalie also suggested that engagement in research could lead to a legitimisation of practice “sometimes all research does for you is say ‘yeah, that’s right, I came to that conclusion myself but actually, I was right because look at

this.” Again, this suggests empowerment from engagement in research (Winch et al, 2015) as an enabler to judge your practice as “right” or at least in line with outcomes of the research of others, “because look at this” offering teachers greater potential for informed professional agency and decisional capital. Finally, Natalie positions teachers as researchers in a form of, “affinity-identity” (Gee, 2001:105):

So, I believe if, if we’re in teaching then we’re researchers and learners.

I feel there is there is strength in Natalie’s assertion of the word “then” by which she suggests that there is no question of the relationship, if you are a teacher you are also “researchers and learners”. This view presents a strong sense of what Natalie’s professional capital (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012; 2013) means to her, namely that research is part of the teaching profession, which, it can be argued, results in teaching being recognised a professional activity (Widdowson, 1984).

In contrast to Natalie, however, Evelyn, a SBTE, although agreeing that it was important to have an interest in research, did not think it necessary that all teachers needed to be actively involved themselves as long as they noted other’s research.

I think there has to be an element of that in the profession but do all teachers have to take that route? Or is it enough for some people to do that and then disseminate their findings?

Interestingly the BERA-RSA (2014:12) inquiry purports to support this view that not every teacher should be required to be, “actively and continuously” doing research as a result of workload. The emphasis here I hope to be on the word “continuously” as other research argues for the importance that teachers are producers and not just consumers of research (Widdowson, 1984; Vialle et al, 1997; Medwell and Wray, 2014; Nunn, 2017).

Yvonne, headteacher, also argued that not all teachers needed to be actively involved in research:

I suppose as long as you’ve got a sufficient drive and body of people to lead it then other people can benefit from it can’t they and don’t have to necessarily be engaged in it.

The authority of Yvonne as head teacher here undervalues the potential of teachers as researchers as an institutional-identity (Gee, 2001). Her superficially benign reference to the way in which other teachers might “benefit” from research activity also suggests lack of understanding of the power of research to impact on practice, although there was also some hesitancy in Yvonne’s thinking as she went on to suggest that “but I guess you own it more...if you are engaged in it yourself.” She is also somewhat equivocal indicating that perhaps she feels some personal tensions around the issue.

I feel that the equivocal status given to research by both headteachers, Jack and Yvonne, discussed in this section of data analysis is concerning. Without the authoritative endorsement of the value of engagement in research from headteachers there is risk of losing its status from the teaching profession, as well as the power of research to position teachers as agents and not objects of reform (Winch et al, 2015). Moreover, I argue that this leads the teaching profession to become servants of the political masters who issue the “monologic voice of policy that insists ‘thou shalt’” (Leat et al, 2013:7) without any potential for the voice of resistance. I argue that teachers have become compliant in their acceptance of the externally managed vision of professional expertise (Ball, 2003 and Furlong, 2013b)¹⁹⁰ as an ultimate form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) being applied to them¹⁹¹.

6.3.4.5. *The Balance Between Theory and Practice*

Despite some of the reservations concerning the theory-practice gap that have been expressed by many researchers over recent years (Grossman, 2008; Furlong, 2015; Korthagen, 2017)¹⁹² a number of my research participants were largely positive about the place of theory in the SD programme. Whilst Yvonne, as discussed earlier, was equivocal about the value of teachers being research active, in contrast she saw the place of theory in ITT as “crucial”, she explained that:

¹⁹⁰ Discussed in sections, 2.3.4. and 5.8.3.

¹⁹¹ Also discussed in my conclusion, section 8.4.

¹⁹² Discussed in section 2.1.2.

It's absolutely crucial and it's, it's symbiotic as well it's not one before the other is it? [...] it's sometimes being able to apply the theory in practice or sometimes perhaps the other way round so that when they're at uni and looking at specific area thinking 'oh yes I've seen that' [...] that continual back and forth that really embeds their understanding and the learning.

Yvonne's "symbiotic" view of theory into practice and practice into theory places a strong claim for theoretical training where trainees apply learning to what they see in practice and are encouraged to critique and explore alternatives (Harris, 2011). Yvonne referred to learning to teach as a reification process, a "continual back and forth" between theory and practice. This process offers the opportunity for trainees to move away from 'normative' practice in schools and to consider wider research informed practice (Reid, 2012) beyond their own teaching experiences. As argued by Boyd and Tibke (2012) there is real potential from the closer involvement of schools in SD to support trainees' understanding of practice in this way alongside their study of teaching. This can only be achieved, however, through close partnership and knowledge of each other's practice between schools and universities which has not been evident in the data collected in this research¹⁹³.

In an alternative position to Yvonne's "symbiotic" relationship between theory and practice, both Louise and Alyssa, whilst believing that the programme had an appropriate balance of theory and practice, felt that theoretical training was best placed at the start, Louise stated:

...it's really important that they've got that grounding and that understanding and that knowledge and I think it's great that they have that as a big sort of package at the start of the year because I think they need it; if you were to leave it till later on it will be too late but I think we have got the balance right.

Alyssa had a similar view about front loading university theoretical training:

Then we came in again after, into university in January, and then I was sitting in some of those lectures and thinking I wish I'd had known this before or this would have really be useful on my placement before Christmas, so I think maybe you could think about blocking all the university before they send...I don't know I don't know how it would work but, there were times when I thought I wish I'd known this before

¹⁹³ As discussed in sections 6.3.3.3 and 6.3.3.7.

The views of Louise (SBTE) and Alyssa (trainee) suggesting front loading of pedagogical theory conflict with Korthagen's (2001) 'realistic' model of teacher training, which suggests that training should be individualistic and guided by a trainee's wish to develop theoretical constructs to understand their practice (Knight, 2015; Korthagen, 2016). It is difficult to be precise about why having theoretical training at the start of the year was seen to be so important to Louise and Alyssa. It may have something to do with the type of knowledge that UBTEs deliver which Louise refers to as "*that knowledge*", as perhaps distinct from knowledge she delivers as part of SBTE training. This, I would argue, suggests a value in 'knowledge-for-practice' as opposed to craft-based knowledge that has been suggested is the content of school-based training programmes¹⁹⁴. Alyssa's comments also raise questions of agency, and whether although Alyssa asserts that she wishes she had "*known this before*", she should have greater agency than teacher educators to determine what trainees might, or should need as part of their ITT programme¹⁹⁵. There is, therefore, potentially, a failing on the part of teacher educators, both university-based and school-based, to know the detail of the whole learning programme (Zeichner, 2002)¹⁹⁶, and to explain the learning model as a 'framework of understanding' to trainees, so that they are clear about the SD programme's approach to knowledge production (Hobson, 2003; Knight, 2015). The comments of Louise and Alyssa demonstrate a value of university-based training in delivering theoretical knowledge as "*a big sort of package*" that trainees need.

Finally, in contrast, some participants, such as Molly (NQT), felt she had learnt more from practical school-based sessions as opposed to 'theoretical' university-based ones, she explained that:

I think, going back to practice in school and university, I valued more the practical side in class than the stuff in uni. I'm not saying the stuff in university [...] isn't needed, because I think it is but I think I probably got more from being in the classroom...I think it prepares you more, the more you're in the classroom, prepares you for your next year.

¹⁹⁴ In section 6.3.3.5.

¹⁹⁵ Also discussed in section 6.3.2.7.

¹⁹⁶ Also discussed in sections 6.3.3.3. and 6.3.3.7.

It is important to note that Molly did not dismiss the importance of university training “*I’m not saying the stuff in university [...] isn’t needed*” but she gave greater value to learning that she has done in the classroom “*I think it prepares you more*”. It is interesting that in terms of the ‘preparation’ that Molly has undergone in the classroom she only related this to “*your next year*” and makes no reference to her classroom experience preparing her for a career in general. Molly also emphasised the terms ‘got’ and ‘prepares’ “*I probably got more*” and “*it prepares you more*” in relation to her school-based experience, the focus being on preparation and perhaps the acquiring of specific knowledge rather than a holistic approach to ITT. This point is supported by some of the earlier discussion¹⁹⁷ where Molly made reference to her school-based experience preparing her for specific teaching approaches of her classroom, such that the only things she was not prepared for were quite minor like “*the Christmas play*”. Molly’s ‘value’ here is very supportive of a growing your own model where she views her ‘preparation’ to work in specific school settings is rated more highly than other aspects of training. This is highly suggestive of parochialism and institutional conservatism (Noble-Rogers, 2014; 2017). Molly appears to have been complicit in her limited training with belief that it “*prepares you more*” for what she expected. It is also likely that at the end of her first year of teaching in the same school in which she spent most of her training Molly has not yet been exposed to much challenge in her understanding of practice. Questions of whether Molly will readily find her skills transferrable are yet to be seen (Harris, 2011; Black-Hawkins and Florian, 2012; Noble-Rogers, 2017) but as a result of limited challenge in her first year Molly has yet to draw on wider resource bases of her training which, when and if she does, may result in some alteration of her values (Chandler et al, 1990; Smith and Hodson, 2010).

6.3.4.6. Summary

This section of the analysis produces some strong evidence in favour of all teachers having a qualification in teaching and learning. Participants in this research certainly did not view teaching as purely a craft-based profession, and there was a strong sense of professional capital about the standing of the profession as one that has a strong knowledge base

¹⁹⁷ In section 6.3.3.7.

(Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999; Winch, 2004; Knight, 2015). There was, however, a caveat to this position, as it was dependent on a strong teacher supply model giving headteachers recruitment choices, the recent recruitment shortages (Taylor, 2018) could potentially lead headteachers to compromise their ideas about professional capital in order to recruit teachers to classrooms. This presents a form of governmentality where policy makers reinforce their craft-based position because teacher recruitment shortages present limited choices for teaching vacancies. There was also fairly strong evidence that training should be at Masters level, particularly from those who had been recently part of a PGCE course where it seemed to be an expectation. There were similar positive, if somewhat ambiguous, feelings about the value of research in the profession. Disappointingly, it seemed the further removed from practice participants were, for example headteachers, the lower the 'perceived' value of research. This presents significant challenge for the development of positive habitus and institutional-identity (Gee, 2001) promoted by headteachers in schools, particularly disappointing given the optimism demonstrated by trainees.

7. Conclusion

Growing Your Own: The Impact of School Direct on the Training of Primary Teachers.

My thesis has sought to contribute to new knowledge through the exploration of four key themes:

- growing your own
- belonging and ownership
- division of academic labour
- values for the profession.

Each of these themes provides an analytical framework by which to examine critically the phenomenon of SD. My research exposes the complexities of the relationships within SD models to which trainees 'belong' or are 'owned' and the impact these have to facilitate or inhibit trainees' learning and development. Meanings underpinning participants use of 'expertise' or 'specialism' to describe what SBTEs and UBTEs contribute to SD are explored to provide nuanced insights into how these perceptions and related assumptions shape training. My participants evaluate what they value for the teaching profession in light of the view that teaching is a craft best learnt by observation (Gove, 2010). Finally, the impact of a model based on the premise of growing your own teachers is analytically explored to reveal the potential but also, significantly, the limitations of SD as a practice-based ITT route. I discuss the main findings of my research in this chapter.

7.1. *Who Owns the Teaching Profession?*

My research journey has led me to reevaluate government's significant influence on ITT since the 1980s as part of its neoliberal education policy. Governmental policy has resulted in the reduction of the Civil Service's deliberative function, and more significantly, the removal of local government, which has meant that governmental influence on recent education policy, in particular ITT, has been remarkably unconstrained. Critchley (2018) argues that prior to

1997 the Civil Service, “traditionally performed a key function of providing Ministers with non-ideological expertise, a moderating influence, and an intellectual challenge”. They were consultative and prepared to listen, and, where needed, enlist the support of expert groups, but have been replaced by Special Advisors (SPADs) who, often young (Yong and Hazell, 2014), are likely to come from the same ideological background as Ministers. SPADs have become gatekeepers to the advice presented, developing a role that not only spins policy serving their Minister’s political interests, but also forms policy (Critchley, 2018). Added to this disturbing picture, for me, is the removal of Local Education Authorities who Critchley (2018) argues were, “significant cross-party players in the education system, with a closer, and better, view of the reality of school life than Ministers, SPADs and DfE officials could ever have”. Their removal has been replaced with groups of schools such as Multi-Academy Trusts, who are entirely dependent on the DfE for funding and, “controlled by businessmen who see their role as subcontractors to central government” (Critchley, 2018). As my research has shown, this fragmented, neoliberal marketplace education landscape, where the government has tried to position teacher training, has disempowered the teaching profession.

My research argues that the impact of this neoliberal agenda has resulted in high emphasis on measured teacher performativity and accountability ensuing a culture of anxiety and fear (Beer, 2016) and teacher regulation that is hardly conducive to a confident profession, let alone one with the self-assurance to be able to critique and challenge governmental policy. I believe that teaching as a profession is one that has lost its voice. As my research argues, ‘knowledge-for-practice’ and perhaps more importantly, ‘knowledge-of-practice’ (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999), gives teachers confidence to speak with authority about teaching and learning and what works in practice. It gives them the confidence to challenge the, “monologic voice of policy that insists that ‘thou shalt’” (Leat, 2013:7). This was missing in the voices of many of the teachers who engaged in my research, although still present in the disregarded “Blob” of university tutors who were openly discredited by Gove in 2013 (McIntyre et al, 2019).

7.2. *One Vision of ITT*

This thesis suggests that the way forward for ITT is for education specialists, teachers, and university tutors, to stand independently from government to reevaluate what education and training is needed for new entrants to the profession. As Cochran-Smith (2005:6) argues, “who among us would stand against the idea that what happens in teacher education programs should have a demonstrable impact on what teachers actually do in classrooms and on what and how much students learn?” This research has shown, however, ITT through SD has been persuaded by policy that suggests that what works best for the profession is to, “grow your own” (Taylor, 2015) resulting in modalities of control (Lynch, 2014) by schools over trainees as acceptable practice. The government’s ideological position on teacher training which pushed teachers overnight to become SBTEs has also led to teachers, as shown by my research, who have had little time to develop a clear understanding of ITT pedagogy, potentially reducing it to, “technical rationalist tasks” (Furlong et al, 2006:41) and with limited knowledge of what they as SBTEs as distinct from UBTEs offer. If a consensus on ITT is not currently possible, what my research has clarified for me is what I think is important in the training of new teachers which I explore in the following sections.

7.3. *What Types of Knowledge do New Teachers Need?*

This research has questioned the types of knowledge that new teachers need and who should deliver that knowledge. I argue that new teachers need exposure to experienced teachers’ practical wisdom, they need to learn practical skills and strategies that motivate children by working under guidance in classrooms. This on its own, however, is simply not enough; no two lessons are ever the same. A craft worker can make common sense judgements, based on experience and intuition (Orchard and Winch, 2015) but this, I argue, is an unreliable basis for all pedagogical decisions which inform and develop teaching practice. Rather, teaching is a profession which requires a body of theoretical knowledge, and this knowledge should be underpinned by research and evidence. This, I argue distinguishes teaching as a profession from laypersons, and sits in stark contrast with the views expressed by Gibb (cited in Williams, 2010) and Johnston (cited in BBC News, 2013)

extolling unqualified teachers' virtues. Given the wealth of evidence in existence about what makes good practice in teaching and learning I argue that it would be presumptuous in the extreme to set that aside and proceed only on the basis of personal classroom experience (Kirk, 2011). The knowledge base, 'knowledge-for-practice' proposed by Cochran and Lytle (1999) needs to be consciously taught, and one of my research findings is that does not happen as part of the school input into SD training programmes. Whilst I argue that the training offered by SBTEs has value, there is evidence from this research's participants that it does not draw on the wealth of research informed evidence that is offered by UBTEs. SBTEs deliver what they know best, which is situated practice, and my research questions how much university-based training has been replaced by this alternative delivery, potentially resulting in a training overbalance in favour of situated and context-specific training.

This research argues that opportunities to do something different with pedagogic knowledge for SD training seem to have been missed, perhaps because of the rapid implementation of the scheme by the government, aiming but failing to remove universities from ITT, which has driven a division between school and university partnerships, separating practice. In fact, it would seem that the long debated theory-practice gap has widened as a result of SD. The rushed, hostile, ill-conceived project of SD has not enhanced pedagogic delivery of ITT, but driven it into two camps, leaving trainees unable to utilise different kinds of teaching knowledges, and trying to make sense of what is valuable in learning to teach.

Schools and university partners need to understand and to explore each other's expertise in real and coordinated ways as a true partnership. Universities could do much more to support SBTEs to acquire the andragogic skills needed to train adults and develop more research informed practice and schools need to develop a detailed understanding of what universities offer. This could result in a more harmonised approach to training between TSAs and universities with the opportunities to unpick notions of expertise and to value them. As a result, there could be more consistency in explaining to trainees what their training programme aims to do, and how they will be exposed to different knowledges, when, where and why. Trainees could then understand and value the knowledges they will

gain during their training year, and how and when these knowledges will impact on their practices as NQTS and further into their careers.

7.4. *The Value of Research*

My research argues that Masters ITT programmes present integrated and symbiotic models of learning, potentially bridging the 'so-called' gap between theory and research (McIntyre, 2005; Jackson, 2009). The skills of criticality and thinking deeply developed through study at Masters level enhance judgement and initiative in practice, and support teachers at all stages of their career, and as this research argues, especially at senior leadership. Strong partnerships between universities and schools are needed, acknowledging the concerns of researchers including Shulman (2004:534) who refers to school's socialising influence as an, "elastic cord", Gewirtz et al (2009) who cautions that teachers can be limited to implementing policy, and Jackson (2009), who suggests that schools are too accepting of government directives. As a result, taking my cue from Knight (2015) I argue that ITT at Masters level would be most effectively be led by UBTEs. Universities could do more to promote the skills and expertise they have to deliver Masters level ITT. The development of research based practice takes time, as do the skills of classroom practice. To do both effectively in a one-year programme is challenging, and I suggest that consideration should be given to the development of a two year Masters level PGCE programme advocated by Orchard and Winch (2015).

This research argues that a body of knowledge for beginning entrants to the profession, and continued engagement in research activity are important for the professional standing of teachers (Vialle et al, 1997; Revell, 2005; Gleeson et al, 2017). To achieve greater agency as a profession, however, much more needs to be done to encourage senior leaders to see the value of all teachers being actively engaged in research rather than just research consumers. This would help teachers regain their voice in current accountability and regulation climates (Sachs, 2016) and challenge politically imposed initiatives. This teacher empowerment could be supported by university tutors working in collaboration as 'allies of agency' presenting opportunities for 'knowledge-of-practice' production between trainees, teachers and tutors.

7.5. *Familial Communities of Practice*

My research has shown that small school communities of teacher training rather than being warm, familiar centres of experience for trainees, can sometimes be hostile environments where trainees feel under intense panoptic surveillance pressure. Some employing schools, in this research, saw their ownership of trainees in unhealthy and overbearing ways, to SD trainees' detriment, limiting opportunities for learning. My research shows that the over enthusiasm of some trainers can lead to environments where the 'Significant Other' role (Borch, 1999) becomes overly maternal and can seem to limit trainees' self-efficacy development (Atkinson, 2000a) which should sustain them in their early years as teachers. I argue that universities could do more to support transition of first-order to second-order practitioners (Murry and Male, 2005) and to help them to understand their role beyond mentors or helpers (White et al, 2015), and to redefine it as a newly created role. This could be through opportunities for new SBTEs to have experiences in university teacher educator CoPs working together with UBTEs.

Through my research I argue that in redefining their roles SBTEs need to understand 'relational knowing' conflicts (Hollingsworth et al, 1993; Young et al, 2004). If schools home-grow their own staff from unqualified teacher positions, I question how they ensure impartiality and develop relationships that are different from those held before. My research does not suggest that this is not possible, rather that it has been given insufficient attention in practice. As my research has demonstrated, trainees who consider themselves as not having 'relational knowing' advantages' in mentor-mentee relationships believe there to be inequalities with those trainees who do. There were strong feelings that this was unjust, and I question whether SBTEs are aware of these inequalities, and whether they understand the impact.

7.6. *Becoming Teacher Educators*

My research has shown that the creation of the SD training route with its drive to position schools as the leaders of the ways in which trainees are trained (DfE, 2012) instantly created a new role of SBTEs. Overnight, it would seem, schools became the, "principal course

designers and deliverers of ITT programmes” (Jackson and Burch, 2016:512), but without any consideration of the skills and knowledge these new roles would need to function effectively. School-based participants in my research acknowledged that their programmes had evolved from a reactive model of developing training as they ‘went along’. This appears in stark contrast to the processes and structures that universities must go through when writing a new programme or making significant changes to an existing one. Teaching in a school-based model really has come to be seen as a, “craft” (Gove, 2010) that can be designed and taught by anyone with classroom practice. This concept of teacher training makes two underlying and, I argue, incorrect assumptions, the first being that teachers of children can easily make the step to the methods and principles of andragogy, and, secondly that making explicit teacher’s tacit knowledge or, “wisdom of practice” (Shulman, 2004) is an easy thing for teachers to do, whereas as Hagger and McIntyre (2006) posit this is actually a difficult task to accomplish. In addition, the potential of school-led training to bring together the theory-practice divide in teacher education that has been debated for the past fifty years (Grossman, 2008) is lost when SBTEs do not see theoretically informed teaching as part of their role.

7.7. Does the Profession Really Want to Grow its Own?

This research argues that against the backdrop of neoliberal agendas schools have become very individualised and focussed on institutional needs (Gewirtz and Ball, 2000). The advantages to schools, and impact on children of having home-grown teachers with the skills and understanding of school’s practice in relation to teaching and learning from the very start of their NQT year are indicative of schools’ priority, putting children’s needs first and foremost and highly influenced by performativity and audit cultures (McNamara et al, 2014). I argue that as a result, most SD training models are completely insular (Hiebert et al, 2002), SD models that focus on individual school needs have something of a vague assumption that schools’ ‘self-interests’ will deliver impersonal, professional benefits to trainees (Gewirtz and Ball, 2000). At a time of teacher shortages, it is concerning that schools seemingly prioritise individuated and localised growth of their own teachers, regardless of limitations on identity and craft knowledge, over teacher supply. The risk being taken by SD models is immense, producing new teachers through technocratic and skills-

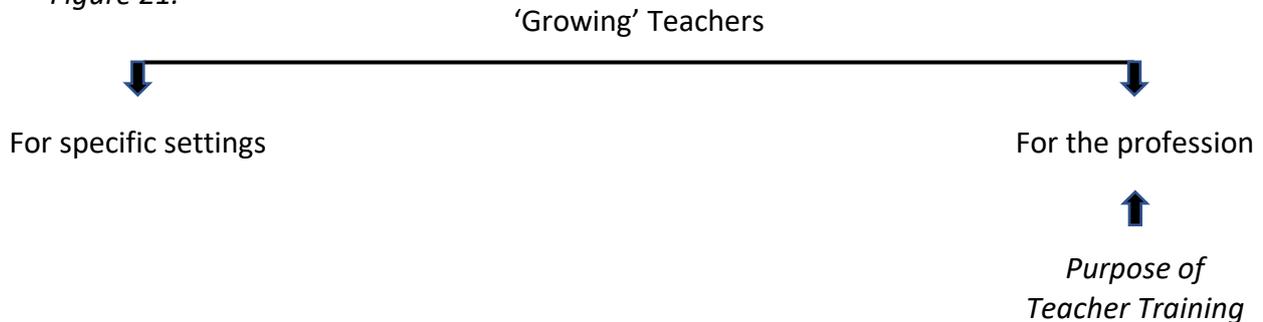
based processes (Taylor, 2007) without vision for the profession's needs or individual trainee's needs other than in single school contexts. This research questions whether it is right for trainees to 'mould' themselves or be shaped to work in single school environments. As a profession I argue that consideration needs to be given to whether this 'cloning' of school-specific teachers is a model sufficient to meet the diverse needs of our society's children.

Furthermore, my research argues that, in a neoliberal market driven educational agenda, education has been fragmented into school silos, often with Academy Trusts at the centre. By drawing teacher training into these compartments, training processes are also fragmented, and there is significant danger that the profession loses coherence as a unified whole (Noble-Rogers, 2017). Trainees involved in my research were keenly aware of this, and articulated concerns about individualistic teacher training. My research has also shown that schools teach from within situated contexts and I argue that growing trainees in just one image cannot be good for the profession as a whole. My research, replicating the findings of, *inter alia* Flores and Day's (2006) research has shown that, training teachers who are socialised in school-specific norms and doxa, can result in feelings of conservatism and compliance. I argue that they are not likely to become teachers who feel able to think for themselves, critique, challenge and attempt to shape policy. What has intrigued me as part of this research is how complicit those leading SD are in their acknowledgement that they 'selfishly' grow teachers for themselves, and how reluctant they are to consider the outcome of this for trainees that they do not employ.

This research questions what the purpose of teacher training should be, and is unconvinced by the guidance of Taylor (2012) that training should be for, "school's requirements". My position is to argue that teacher training should be for the profession as a whole, giving trainees the agency to teach in any setting, and with a range of applied and theoretical bodies of knowledge to benefit, "the quality of the teaching force and its societal status" (Winch, 2004:187). One of the outcomes of this research, therefore, is to align with Noble-Rogers (2017:18), who stated that growing your own can lead to "parochialism, institutional conservatism [...] and the undermining of teaching as a unified profession with shared values and knowledge". On the continuum developed to illustrate the data on this issue, this

research argues that teacher training’s purpose should be on the far right of the continuum meeting the profession’s needs as a whole (Figure 21).

Figure 21.



7.8. Research Questions

My research set out to explore the following key questions:

RQ1. How do Teaching School Alliances approach the training of primary teachers through School Direct?

RQ2. What contribution can and/or should Higher Education Institutions make to School Direct?

RQ3. Why do primary schools involve themselves in School Direct, and why do candidates apply to it?

My research concludes that TSAs have established themselves rapidly as providers of ITT. They have much to offer ITT, but without clearly identifying the teacher education pedagogy they offer and its relationship to university provision, they and universities have failed to capitalise on the potential for high quality training that could have been developed. Instead SBTEs offer context-bound forms of “professional craft knowledge” (Hagger and McIntyre, 2006:33) in their classroom based training that could be better developed working alongside trainees in practice.

TSA's approach to ITT is conflicted, understandably, schools' primary function is their commitment to their children, it is logical, therefore, that they must of necessity prioritise the needs of children over trainees' training experiences. Furthermore, there is evidence in my research that TSAs driven by imperatives of efficiency and cost-effectiveness (Gewirtz and Ball, 2000) have developed a sense of proprietorial rights over trainees leaving trainees feeling as an "unwilling donkey" or "cheap labour" and having negative training experiences.

HEIs have a distinct role to play in SD ITT, they provide safe spaces for trainees to critique their practice against research informed knowledge. Universities offer existing research and new research creation against which trainees can, "test the authenticity of their own claims and of those made by others" (UCET, 2020). Universities offer more than the 'training' of teachers, they offer teacher education as a, "multidisciplinary and collaborative field of inquiry, and a source of knowledge generation" (ibid).

Schools involve themselves in SD as a way to 'grow their own', they see SD as way of producing teachers ready to teach in their school settings. This research found two approaches to growing teachers, those of growing teachers for regions and those of growing teachers for specific settings. Although I consider there is more merit in training for a region both approaches can lead to parochialism and institutional conservatism and the undermining of, "teaching as a unified profession with shared values and knowledge" (Noble-Rogers, 2017:18). Candidates are attracted to SD because they have been sold a concept of teaching as a craft (Gove, 2010) that they will learn through 'hands on' experience, they are not encouraged to appreciate teaching complexity and underpinning bodies of knowledge to understand practice in classrooms and to develop their own. The attraction of belonging to small communities undervalues the breadth of experience that comes from the layering of realities offered by larger university led CoPs. Small communities can be small microscopic, uncomfortable places to be.

My research also intends to speak to international audiences focussed on teacher reform and the growth of school-led ITT practices. The United States, in a similar way to the UK, has for the last two decades been calling for a deregulation of teacher education, "closing down on allegedly poor quality college and university programs, and creating greater market

competition” (Zeichner and Conklin, 2016:2). Policy discourses emanating from the US presenting teacher education as a ‘problem’ needing to be fixed (Cochran-Smith et al, 2020) have resonance with those drawn on by this research in the UK. Some comparison of SD can be made with American new Graduate Schools of Education (nGSEs) which operate independently from universities to offer teacher certification and masters degrees. Like SD, nGSEs have considerable variation in practice (ibid). The nGSEs have also impacted on the English teacher education system by influencing the development of the Institute for Teaching (IfT) (2017), later assimilated with Ambition Institute, which modelled itself on Relay, a large nGSE. The IfT conceived of teaching as a skill learnt and improved by practice, much like an athlete (Ellis et al, 2019), a concept that fits well with Gove’s (2010) premise that teaching is a craft.

8. Recommendations for Stakeholders

My research journey has led me to the following recommendations that I believe stakeholders should consider:

8.1. *Government*

- When promoting SD government should recognise that it has failed to make teacher training completely school-led through SD. There is less difference between core PGCE and SD training than candidates expect, and perhaps government desired.
- Government should give greater value to teaching as a profession, and recognise that it requires academic 'knowledge-for-practice', as do other professions such as law or medicine.
- Government should recognise that TSAs want to work with university partners. The TSAs recognise that the university has an expertise to offer which they value even if they cannot clearly articulate what it is.
- Government should recognise that it has destabilised the ITT market and should abandon its growth of SD and leave ITT to recover, perhaps even reducing SD training numbers.

8.2. *Universities*

- Universities should make explicit what they offer, the knowledge informed by scholarship and discourse of teacher educator CoPs, in contrast to schools whose main priority is children's education.
- What have universities done, or could be doing, to support teachers transitioning to be second-order practitioners, how have they facilitated this process and could there be opportunities to come and work with teacher educators in universities?
- How could universities monitor the experiences of trainees and ensure that UBTEs have the social capital to intervene when trainees, salaried in particular, are being

given extensive teaching timetables that impact on their training entitlements, such as the ability to observe other practice?

- Universities should consider how they utilise their professional capital to critique government policy, and to support schools in doing so.
- Universities working with their school partners should clearly determine the body and type of knowledges required by teachers as part of their initial training and seek ways to increase knowledge partnerships with schools such as Masters' Hubs.

8.3. *Headteachers*

- Headteachers should consider that growing teachers in your own image presents a limited form of ITT, and question whether this is what is systemically needed for the teaching profession as a whole.
- Headteachers should be aware that as schools become clusters either through Multi Academy Trusts or TSAs they are likely to train teachers to fit within their cluster, perhaps, as in this research, with a focus on inner-cities such as Welcome. This may offer a wider set of contexts than training for specific schools, but still loses the coherence of training for teaching as one profession.
- Headteachers need to consider the impact of established relationships when they train their existing staff, such as TAs, to be teachers. They need to consider what can be done to ensure professional judgements that fair and impartial, and also how these familial relationships are perceived by other trainees?
- Headteachers should be helped to understand the value that teachers who have studied at Masters level and/or engage in research bring to classroom practice.

8.4. *School-based Teacher Educators*

- SBTEs should consider how they have developed practice as a teacher educator and how this differs from their previous roles as teachers.
- SBTEs should reflect on the types of knowledge that they deliver, and how these can best be delivered.

- SBTEs should have a shared understanding with their universities partners about which types of knowledges are important in ITT, they should then be clear about what university trainers are delivering and vice versa.
- SBTEs should consider whether they over-cosset trainees, in seeking to nurture them, do they in fact they smother them, leading to over dependency, so that trainees are not as well prepared for the reality of being independent teachers.

8.5. *SD Trainees*

- SD trainees should understand what it means to belong to small ITT communities. Belonging to small communities is not always a positive experience. Trainees need to consider what it might mean to be under continual close scrutiny by a small number of trainers within TSAs.
- SD trainees have to consider the limitations of being trained to teach in one specific school setting, being moulded and shaped to conform to single setting practice is a reductive way to learn to teach.

9. End Note

In seeking to understand the phenomenon of SD in a government driven school-led system of teacher training my research questions whether we have lost sight of what we are preparing teachers to be able to do. With the focus on preparing 'home grown' teachers to meet schools' needs what seems to be missing from discourse around education are broader concepts of society's future and the need to develop teachers who prepare children to meet that future. Concerningly the World Economic Forum (2015:1) has reported that:

To thrive in a rapidly evolving, technology-mediated world, students must not only possess strong skills in areas such as language arts, mathematics and science, but they must also be adept at skills such as critical thinking, problem solving, persistence, collaboration and curiosity. All too often, however, students in many countries are not attaining these skills.

To prepare children for an unknown future society we need teachers who understand the purposes of education and have the flexibility, knowledge and skills to equip children for an ever changing world. To develop in children such skills as 'critical thinking' and 'problem solving' teachers themselves need to be engaged, critical thinkers. To deliver an education that meets children's needs teachers must be empowered professionals whose research informed expertise influences and informs education policy and practice. This requires teacher training that moves beyond the narrowness of situated practices and instils in teachers a career long passion for engaging with *knowledge-for* and *knowledge-of* education practice.

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Appendix One- Hunters Mist HET Module Plan

	EDU7177
Module Title	Highly Employable Teacher
Module Subset	
Taught Time	2.5 hours for duration of the course
Key Text(s)	<p>Briggs, M., Woodfield, A., Swatton, P. & Martin, C. (2008) Assessment for Learning and Teaching in Primary Schools. SAGE Publications.</p> <p>Bryan, H., Carpenter, C. & Houlton, S. (2010) Learning and Teaching at M-Level: A Guide for Student Teachers. SAGE Publications.</p> <p>Mist, D. (2010) The Guided Reader to Teaching and Learning. Taylor & Francis.</p> <p>McLachlan, C., Flear, M. & Edwards, S. (2010) Early Childhood Curriculum: Planning, Assessment and Implementation. Cambridge University Press Textbooks.</p>

PGCE Primary & Early Years Module Guide

	Pre-Sessional Reading	Session Title/Objectives	Workshop Content	Post Sessional Reading	Teacher Standards
1		Introduction to Learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What makes Outstanding Teaching and Learning? • How can we identify learning in the classroom? • Overview of most up to date OFSTED criteria for outstanding learning. 	<p>Outstanding Teaching: Engaging Learners (Outstanding Teaching (Crown House Publishing)) [Paperback Andy Griffiths and Mark Burns</p> <p>http://acceleratedlearning.com/primary/index.html</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Set high expectations which inspire, motivate and challenge pupils 2. Promote good progress and outcomes by pupils

2		What makes a GOOD lesson (Interviewerint observations)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-discussion about 'Looking for Learning' • Interviewerint classroom observation followed by focused discussion about new learning 	http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/resources/framework-for-school-inspection	2. Promote good progress and outcomes by pupils
3	http://www.teachfind.com/national-strategies/challenge-and-engagement-classroom-learning	Challenge and Engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why do we need to challenge pupils? • How do we challenge pupils? • How do we engage all pupils? (Are they busy doing or busy learning?) 	The Highly Engaged Classroom Robert J. Marzano, Debra J. Pickering Marzano Research Laboratory	1.Set high expectations which inspire, motivate and challenge pupils
4	http://www.slideshare.net/suziea/effective-questioning	Questioning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding of BLOOMS Taxonomy of Questions • Levels of questioning • How does good questioning move learning on? 	A Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing: A Revision of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives by Lorin W. Anderson, David R. Krathwohl, Peter W. Airasian and Kathleen A.	2. Promote good progress and outcomes by pupils
5	http://www.tes.co.uk/teaching-resource/Differentiation-in-Action-Primary-6084160/	Differentiation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is 'Differentiation'? • Introduction to VAK • Using multiple Intelligences in the classroom to differentiate 	Differentiation and Diversity in the Primary School Eve Bearne Taylor & Francis, 4 Jan 2002	5.Adapt teaching to respond to the strengths and needs of all pupils

	http://www.ehow.com/info_7980290_learning-styles-primary-classroom.html				
6	Assessment for Learning and Teaching in Primary Schools (Achieving QTS Series) Mary Briggs, Angela Woodfield, Peter Swatton , Cynthia Martin	Assessment for Learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding Assessment for Learning and Assessment of Learning • Developing a Success Criteria to use for assessment • Effective Marking for Learning 	Assessment for Learning: Why, What and How? Dylan Wiliam Institute of Education, University of London, 2009	6. Make accurate and productive use of assessment
7	http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/resources/managing-challenging-behaviour	Managing Challenging Behaviour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visit to SLD School • Learning walk and discussions at Oakwood Special School 	Dean, Intervieweran. (2012). Improving Children's Learning. Routledge Chapter 7: Classroom Management	7. Manage behaviour effectively to ensure a good and safe learning environment
8	http://www.ppds.ie/pcsparchive/EAL/Practical%20ideas%20to%20facilitate%20the%20EAL%20child%20in%20the%20classroomMT.pdf	Accelerating Progress for EAL Learners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At Bluecoat Federation -Content to be confirmed 	Teaching Bilingual and EAL Learners in Primary Schools: 9780857257499 By Jean Conteh	2. Promote good progress and outcomes by pupils 5. Adapt teaching to respond to the strengths and needs of all pupils

9	http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/resources/framework-for-school-inspection	Lesson Observations: Looking for Learning with an EYFS focus • Include session on PDP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revisit session 1 –how have our opinions of Outstanding Teaching and Learning altered? • Pre-lesson discussion about ‘Looking for Learning’ • Interviewerint classroom observation followed by focused discussion about new learning • 	Outstanding Teaching: Engaging Learners (Outstanding Teaching (Crown House Publishing)) [Paperback Andy Griffiths and Mark Burns	2. Promote good progress and outcomes by pupils
10	Creating a Learner-centred Primary Classroom: Learner-centred Strategic ... By Kath Murdoch, Jeni Wilson	Host school focus on planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Content to be unique to host school – focusing on how planning is done and what is needed 	Robinson, C, Bingle, B & Howard, C (2013) Primary School Placements: A critical guide to Outstanding Teaching. Chapter 6 Planning and Assessment	4. Plan and teach well structured lessons 3.Demonstrate good subject and curriculum knowledge
11		Managing other adults in the classroom At Greenbank School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How to use TA support effectively • Supporting groups • Intervention 		8. Fulfil wider professional responsibilities

12	http://www.nurturegroups.org/pages/what-are-nurture-groups.html	Nurture Groups in the primary setting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are Nurture groups? • Supporting children with social/emotional/behavioural needs 	http://www.nurturegroups.org/pages/what-are-nurture-groups.html	5. Adapt teaching to respond to the strengths and needs of all pupils
14		Lesson Observations: Looking for Learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre-discussion about 'Looking for Learning' • Interviewer in classroom observation followed by focused discussion about new learning 	http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/resources/framework-for-school-inspection	2. Promote good progress and outcomes by pupils
15	Teaching Early Years Foundation Stage edited by Interviewer Basford, Elaine Hodson	Early Years and Foundation Stage – Best Practice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Session with an Early Years Lead Teacher • Looking at the curriculum • Looking at best practice 	https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/early-years-foundation-stage-framework--2	2. Promote good progress and outcomes by pupils
16		Accelerated Learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is 'Accelerated Learning'? • VAK • Multiple Intelligences • Mind-mapping 	http://acceleratedlearning.com/method/index.html	2. Promote good progress and outcomes by pupils
17		Smart board Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accredited Smartboard Training at 'Beginners Level' 		3. Demonstrate good subject and curriculum knowledge
					1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8

Additional sessions to be added as required in the New Year:

- 1. Set high expectations which inspire, motivate and challenge pupils**
- 2. Promote good progress and outcomes by pupils**
- 3. Demonstrate good subject and curriculum knowledge**
- 4. Plan and teach well-structured lessons**
- 5. Adapt teaching to respond to the strengths and needs of all pupils**
- 6. Make accurate and productive use of assessment**
- 7. Manage behaviour effectively to ensure a good and safe learning environment**
- 8. Fulfil wider professional responsibilities**

Appendix Two – Sample Participant Invitation to Interview Letter

Wednesday 29 June 2016

Dear XX,

You are invited to take part in the research project titled:

School Direct: For Better or For Worse? An investigation into the effectiveness of School Direct as an initial training route for Primary School Teachers taking place at XX University.

The project is part of my study towards a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) qualification and it aims to investigate the following key areas:

1. To analyse the qualities and challenges of implementing a School Direct training programme
2. To judge the effectiveness of School Direct as a route for Initial Teacher Training
3. To compare and evaluate School Direct with other forms of training

The research project will consider the positive and negative aspects of the School Direct training route and will make comparisons with other training routes into teaching. If you agree to participate in this project I would like to conduct a semi-structured interview with you. This interview will last no longer than an hour and if you give your consent, will be recorded.

This research has been given approval by the Faculty of Health, Education and Life Sciences Ethics Committee. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw consent at any time and to withdraw any unprocessed data previously supplied. The final report will be submitted as a doctoral (PhD) thesis, in addition, the findings or parts of the findings may also be presented at conferences or in journal articles.

All data will be anonymised and presented confidentially in all modes of dissemination used for the project. Your responses will only be referred to as the views of Headteachers involved in School Direct. Anonymised quotes from the interviews may be used in publications.

If at any stage you have any concerns about the research project and your participation in it you can contact me directly – XX

Thank you.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Joanne B Hill". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looped initial 'J'.

Appendix 3 – Interview Themed Questions

Trainees

1. *Introductory questions/warm ups etc.*
 - How has your placement been going?
 - Tell me about your class.
2. *Understanding of SD at application*
 - How much did you know about the different routes into teaching when you were making your application?
 - What did you know especially about the School Direct route?
 - Why did you apply for School Direct?
 - Why did you think that SD was the most appropriate route for you?
 - Who gave you advice when choosing a route? How valuable was that advice?
3. *Understanding of SD on entry*
 - When you started your training how much similarity/difference were you expecting from the core PGCE training route?
 - In what ways did the course match or differ from your expectations?
4. *Evaluation and comparison of SD*
 - What do you consider to have been the strongest features of your SD training route?
 - What do you consider to have been the weakest features of your SD training route?
 - Do you think you will be better prepared for teaching than trainees completing the core PGCE route? What makes you think this?
 - How valuable do you consider the relationship between theory and practice when training to be a teacher? What should the balance be?
 - How important is research as part of your training? And for teachers in general?
5. *Preparedness of trainers*
 - How well supported did you feel by your teachers/mentors/trainers in schools?
 - How well prepared were they for their training role?
 - Were there any challenges that your teachers or mentors faced in their roles?
 - How well supported did you feel by your university tutors?
 - How well prepared were your university tutors for the SD training route?
6. *SD and employability*
 - Have you been successful in finding a job for September?

- How instrumental was/has been the SD training route in helping you to find employment?

7. *Values for the profession*

- How important do you consider it is for our profession that all teachers have a qualification in teaching and learning?
- Would you have considered SD as an AO route?

8. *Conclusion*

- How would you answer my research question?
- Anything I haven't asked you that I should have?

NQTs

1. *Introductory questions/warm ups etc.*
 - How has your first year been going?
 - Tell me about your class.

2. *Understanding of SD at application*
 - How much did you know about the different routes into teaching when you were making your application?
 - What did you know specially about the School Direct route?
 - Why did you apply for School Direct?
 - Why did you think that SD was the most appropriate route for you?
 - Who gave you advice when choosing a route? How valuable was that advice?

3. *Understanding of SD on entry*
 - When you started your training how much similarity/difference were you expecting from the core PGCE training route?
 - In what ways did the course match or differ from your expectations?

4. *Evaluation and comparison of SD*
 - What do you consider to have been the strongest features of your SD training route?
 - What do you consider to have been the weakest features of your SD training route?
 - Do you think you were better prepared for teaching than trainees completing the core PGCE route? What makes you think this?
 - Are there any other routes into teaching that you consider particularly successful? Why?
 - How valuable do you consider the relationship between theory and practice when training to be a teacher? What should the balance be?
 - How important was research as part of your training? And for teachers in general?

5. *Preparedness of trainers*
 - How well supported did you feel by your teachers/mentors/trainers in schools?
 - How well prepared were they for their training role?
 - Were there any challenges that your teachers or mentors faced in their roles?
 - How well supported did you feel by your university tutors?
 - How well prepared were your university tutors for the SD training route?

6. *SD and employability*

- How instrumental was the SD training route in helping you to find employment?
- How valuable do you consider it to gain your first post in the schools who supported your training? Are there any disadvantages?

7. *Values for the profession*

- What do you consider to be the essential elements of any teacher training programme?
- How important do you consider it is for our profession that all teachers have a qualification in teaching and learning?
- Would you have considered SD as an AO route?

Classteachers/mentors

1. *Introduction/warm ups*

- How has ?? been settling/getting on?
- Have you been pleased with the progress they are making?

2. *Understanding of SD and preparedness*

- How much did you know about SD before becoming involved?
- Which teacher training route did you do?
- How have you been involved, supervision, training, both?
- How well were you prepared for your role?
- How well were you supported in your role for example were expectations clear, did you have sufficient time?
- What have been the benefits for you have you gained new skills or knowledge?

3. *Evaluation and comparison of SD*

- What do you consider the benefits for the SD trainees to have been?
- What have been the advantages and disadvantages?
- How does SD compare to other routes into teaching? i.e. How would you evaluate it against other routes?
- Are there any other routes into teaching that you consider particularly successful? Why?
- How would you evaluate the progress made by the SD trainees against other trainees on other routes?
- How valuable do you consider the relationship between theory and practice when training to be a teacher? What should the balance be?
- How important is research as part of teacher training? And for teachers in general?

4. *SD and employability*

- What do you consider should be the responsibility of the training schools in assisting the trainees to find employment?
- What do you perceive to be the advantages and disadvantages of trainees gaining employment in the schools where they trained?

5. *Values for the profession*

- What do you consider to be the essential elements of any teacher training programme?
- How important do you consider it is for our profession that all teachers have a qualification in teaching and learning?
- What are your thoughts about SD as an AO route?

School Managers

1. *Introduction/warm ups*
 - How have the trainees been settling in/getting on?
 - Have you been pleased with the progress they are making?

2. *Reasons for involvement and experience of set up*
 - Why did you/your school become involved in SD?
 - What were your initial expectations of the programme? How far has it lived up to/deviated from expectations?
 - How have you found your role in selection and recruitment of the trainees?
 - How have you found your role in establishing the training programme?

3. *Running the programme*
 - How do you feel the SD programme is going?
 - What have been the biggest surprises about the running of a teacher training programme?
 - What have you enjoyed most about working with the trainees and what have been the challenges?
 - How have you found your relationships with your partner schools?

4. *Evaluation and comparison of SD*
 - How do you think SD compares to other routes into teaching?
 - What are the advantages?
 - What do you consider to be the key elements of a teacher training programme?
 - Are there any other routes into teaching that you consider particularly successful? Why?
 - How would you evaluate the progress made by the SD trainees against other trainees on other routes?
 - How valuable do you consider the relationship between theory and practice when training to be a teacher? What should the balance be?
 - How important is research as part of teacher training? And for teachers in general?

5. *SD and employability*
 - What do you consider should be the responsibility of the training schools in assisting the trainees to find employment?
 - What do you perceive to be the advantages and disadvantages of trainees gaining employment in the schools where they trained?

6. *Values for the profession*

- What do you consider to be the essential elements of any teacher training programme?
- How important do you consider it is for our profession that all teachers have a qualification in teaching and learning?
- What are your thoughts about SD as an AO route?

University Liaison Tutors

1. *Introduction/warm ups*

- How have the trainees been settling in/getting on?
- Have you been pleased with the progress they are making?

2. *Understanding of SD and impact on role*

- How much did you know about SD when you became a liaison tutor?
- How long have you been an SD liaison tutor?
- What has been your role with your SD partner?
 - Recruitment and selection
 - Training programme
 - Personal tutor
 - Link tutor
- How has your knowledge of SD developed?
- How have you developed or adapted your skills and knowledge in relation to SD?

3. *Evaluation of SD and comparison*

- What do you consider the benefits for the SD trainees to have been?
- What have been the advantages and disadvantages?
- How does SD compare to other routes into teaching? i.e. How would you evaluate it against other routes?
- Are there any other routes into teaching that you consider particularly successful? Why?
- How would you evaluate the progress made by the SD trainees against other trainees on other routes?
- How valuable do you consider the relationship between theory and practice when training to be a teacher? What should the balance be?
- How important is research as part of teacher training? And for teachers in general?

4. *SD and employability*

- What do you consider should be the responsibility of the training schools in assisting the trainees to find employment?
- What do you perceive to be the advantages and disadvantages of trainees gaining employment in the schools where they trained?

5. *Values for the profession*

- What do you consider to be the essential elements of any teacher training programme?

- How important do you consider it is for our profession that all teachers have a qualification in teaching and learning?
- What are your thoughts about SD as an AO route?

Headteachers (who employ SD)

1. *Introduction/warm ups*

- How is ?? settling in?
- How many NQTs do you have this year/previously?

9. *Reasons for involvement and experience of set up*

- Why did you/your school become involved in SD?
- What were your initial expectations of the programme? How far has it lived up to/deviated from expectations?
- How have you found your role in selection and recruitment of the trainees?
- How have you found your role in establishing the training programme?

10. *SD and employability*

- What do you consider should be the responsibility of the SD training schools in assisting the trainees to find employment?
- What to you perceive to be the advantages and disadvantages of trainees gaining employment in the schools where they trained?

11. *Evaluation of SD NQT against other routes*

- How well prepared do you feel the SD NQT was for his/her first year in teaching?
- How would you evaluate his/her preparedness for teaching against your experience of NQTs from other training routes?
- Were there any aspects of the SD training route that you felt enhanced employability?
- Are there any other routes into teaching that you consider particularly successful? Why?

12. *Values for the profession*

- What do you consider to be the essential elements of any teacher training programme?
- How valuable do you consider the relationship between theory and practice when training to be a teacher? What should the balance be?
- How important is research as part of teacher training? And for teachers in general?
- How important do you consider it is for our profession that all teachers have a qualification in teaching and learning?
- What are your thoughts about SD as an AO route?

13. *Conclusion*

- How would you answer my research question?

- Anything I haven't asked you that I should have?

Appendix Four – Sample Interview Transcript

Elizabeth (pseudonym)- 19 July 2017

*** Please note all proper nouns are removed or replaced with pseudonyms.*

Interviewer: I'll just get started by asking you about how XX's getting on. Is she settling in?

Elizabeth (0:10): She's doing really, really well; her confidence from the start of the year when she first came to us to the end is just phenomenal. I don't know how she's got from that young lady to the one that she is now, because she's really, really blossomed and I think she can see that in herself as well.

Interviewer: Fantastic; I was just trying to remember then, but I think I've remembered now, you didn't have any School Direct NQT's this year, did you?

Elizabeth (0:38): We had..

Interviewer: You had XX and XX the year before.

Elizabeth (0:41): Yes, we did, we had XX.

Interviewer: Yeah, of course and how's that year gone?

Elizabeth (0:48): Yes, she's done really well. At the moment, she's poorly, she had her tonsils out recently. She's coming back to us on Friday. She was away longer than we expected she would be because she wasn't that good. Yeah she's doing well, she's doing ok. She's in year 2 so very stressful with everything and the moderation and record keeping and evidencing and so on, but she's done really well. The moderators came in and were really, really happy with everything that she'd done so...

Interviewer: Do you finish on Friday or are you going on until Tuesday?

Elizabeth (1:18): The children finish Monday, then we're in for an Inset on Tuesday.

Interviewer: XX who's just left us from Hunters and I can't remember which school he went to, they were asking at Hunters yesterday but my colleague's Chair of Governors there, we do get around a bit, and they've had Ofsted today, they've had a Section 8. They're RI, coasting RI so they were expecting it but not particularly today.

Elizabeth (1:49): Right at the end of the term that's really horrible isn't it?

Interviewer: And they wanted to turn it into Section 5 just because they want to get it over with, they're very happy with their SATs but I think it's going to stay as Section 8. The Ofsted team, well the Ofsted lead inspector is saying that they don't do a Section 5 in the last week. But they'll do a Section 8.

Elizabeth (2:07): That's a little bit unfair isn't it really?

Interviewer: It's a horrible way to end term.

Elizabeth (2:11): Yeah, oh dear.

Interviewer: It was close enough for you

Elizabeth (2:16): Yeah, yes it was but that is quite horrible.

Interviewer: Ok, right if I can take you back on a memory test for a moment and do feel free to pause or recall just as much as you can but the first question I wanted to explore with you is how and why did you first become involved in School Direct?

Elizabeth (2:33): Well it was actually because when I gained the Deputy post here School Direct was already here and had been happening for a couple of years so I came into the role really as Deputy, previous to that I hadn't been involved in School Direct at my other school, we had students and NQT's but mainly through the straight PGCE route or BEd, never through School Direct. So, it was quite interesting when I came into this position that I would be mentor and Induction Leader for School Direct so it was very interesting to see the difference between the students.

Interviewer: Ok, I'm going to ask you a bit about that in a minute. Do you know what attracted Greenbank then, are you aware of why they became involved before you got here?

Elizabeth (3:22): I'm not really sure about that. I think it's probably the fact that the School Direct students spend a lot of time in school on their placement and they're able to get to know the school so well and from things that [HT name] has said to me, I think that is the draw for Greenbank that you're able to...and hopefully at the end of it you then can appoint them if you have a position because they already know your school so well and that's the beauty of it, because you know that student, you've known for almost a year from that point to that point when you're beginning to think about taking people on. So, they're not an unknown person as an NQT might be if you're interviewing and you brought them in.

Interviewer: So that phrase, 'growing your own' is used quite a lot in relation to School Direct, does that kind of capture what you see it to mean?

Elizabeth (4:18): Yeah, we say we 'Greenbankise'. Yeah, we take those people in and they get to know the routines of the school, the ethos, the way that we work and we can use that opportunity, because we have such a long transition period, we have 5 weeks of transition where the children will be with their new teacher for 4 mornings for 5 weeks that gives that School Direct student, if they're coming to us, because by that point hopefully we'll have taken them on as a member of the team, it gives them the opportunity to get to know their children, so they'll have done the groundwork already, they've got all their behaviour management strategies in place, they've got assessment for learning, they know, pretty

much where the children are. So you haven't lost that time at the start of the year. So, for us, that's the main benefit.

Interviewer: Was that just not possible to do before School Direct? When we had the PGCE route and the BA route as the main routes into teacher education, could you ever have gathered those students in earlier or did you just find that that was a very difficult thing to have them released?

Elizabeth (5:26): I think that we did because we have we do still have people coming in who aren't, who weren't School Direct students, they're still coming in as NQT's and they're still will come in for days or for a few weeks beforehand and they will spend time with the teachers of that year group and they'll spend time with the children who they're going to be working with. But I think it's a fact that you'll have had all those discussions and they've had the chance to teach, that's the difference whereas an NQT from another area from a PGCE, who has done placements in a different school they haven't taught the 'Greenbank' way. That sounds a little bit strange but every school has its own way, don't they and they have their own vision, they have their own curriculum and the way they expect things to be taught and, although we can do inductions for those people it's...I don't think that's as valuable as if you were to ask somebody to teach the children and to actually go through that process because it's that doing isn't it, if you're doing it you're more likely to take it in and be more comfortable with it. So I think there is scope for doing that and we do do that with students who aren't School Direct but it's...I don't think it's as deeply ingrained as it is with School Direct students.

Interviewer: So, have you noticed a difference in your NQT's then, if you compare with School Direct, are they better, more effective in their NQT year than you'd say that trainees from other routes have been?

Elizabeth (7:05): I think so yes; they're more confident in the situation because they've had that time to assimilate all the information, there's less time wasted with teaching and learning, so they're able to pitch the work at a more appropriate level for the children more quickly than if they were not School Direct. They are also able to teach in the 'Greenbank' way and to have the idea of what a lesson should look like and what kind of things need to be involved in that and what's the curriculum. Specifically, because we're an academy our curriculum isn't vastly different to the National Curriculum but in our foundation subjects we have learning units that are taught slightly differently than they might be in another school. So, if somebody else has done a placement somewhere else they're going to be learning all those new things, where that School Direct person doesn't need to, they'll know that we've used Talk for Writing and they'll have experienced that, they'll know we use RWI and they'll have experienced that and all of the other interventions and schemes that we use, Pen Pals, they'll know how to use that. Whereas from some other school, they'll come in and I'm doing induction with those people and I'm saying do you know this, have you come across this, have you come across this? And you're having to explain that to them and then allow them to have a go at it beforehand whereas we don't need to with School Direct they can just run so that the teaching time is not...is used more effectively and the teaching and learning, I feel, is more confident and it's more effective and the children progress more quickly because they have that grounding.

Interviewer: Ok. I just wonder where...what your view would be on some of the national anxiety about School Direct that suggests that the training that happens through School Direct is too narrow and so that training schools, the training of trainees in schools in which they're likely to have employment doesn't give them the advantages of bringing in additional breadth. So I'm hearing a real passion in what you're saying about how quickly they can pick things up. So I'm wondering if you don't feel as strongly that the trainees from other routes are bringing you additionality in terms of a wider understanding of schemes, whether that's not having the same impact, perhaps?

Elizabeth (9:25): Yeah, I think...it is positive that somebody from another setting is coming in with those ideas, but I think because they are NQT's and they have so much to take in when they come to a new school, that sometimes those things can get lost, especially if they're not very confident within themselves as teachers. So, some people will come in and they will be bold and they will take their class and say OK, I'm going to try this because I know it worked somewhere else but actually others might not, so if that's the case and you've got somebody who isn't very confident and they're just getting into the role of teaching and learning and making sure they're making the most of it for those children sometimes those...the breadth that they have doesn't always come out. It doesn't mean, it depends on the person, depends very much on the person and how confident they are, I feel. But I can understand where they'd say well, you've only ever been to two schools so how can you have that...but, I think, for me to be able to take on and use new initiatives you have to be a confident enough teacher within your own self first before that breadth can sometimes come out. Does that make sense?

Interviewer: It does. And probably you feel the same then about the comparison with the core PGCE, because the big difference with the core PGCE is the balance of time in the two schools is equitable, so they do about the same, well you know how it works, they do the autumn and spring in one school and the summer...it's going to change slightly next year, but that's been the way it's been up until now. And so that...so they have two quite equal sets of understanding of the systems that they see in the different schools but what you're really talking about is the advantage that it gives to School Direct students knowing as you call it, the 'Greenbank' way.

Elizabeth (11:22): Yes, yes I think it is, it's because it's the confidence that person has within themselves and it doesn't matter how many experiences you've got, if you're not confident enough to try it and keep going with it until you feel that...it's difficult for them to judge sometimes, I think. I'll try it a couple of times but if it doesn't work then I'm going to give up because I don't...you know, that's not working for me and it's not working quick enough so I'm going to...because they haven't got that experience of actually you need to give it that little bit longer, and that's ok to give it a little bit longer to allow that to assimilate and if you're in a new school, you're in a new setting, you're trying to impress somebody, I think, I don't know, some people I feel wouldn't bring in all of their knowledge that they have from elsewhere and, as you say the PGCE it's similar anyway.

Interviewer: It is similar, it's just an equal balance between the two schools.

Elizabeth (12:14): Whereas, I suppose, if I...if you take on a School Direct student, they've had two experiences, haven't they? They've had their middle experience and the one with us, whereas as a PGCE would have three, I'm guessing because you'd have two for the PGCE and then your one for your new job, wouldn't you?

Interviewer: Yes, so you'd get a different...unless you got a job in one of the schools that you've had experience which happens doesn't it?

Elizabeth (12:33): Yes, yes

Interviewer: That's how I got my first job, so it's quite common. Is there a particular School Direct type of student do you think? Or is it a route that would suit any type of student?

Elizabeth (12:48): I think...I think it has to be a student who is able to get involved, I don't think it's something for somebody who...although, saying that I have had a student this year who wasn't going through the School Direct, it was a different set but it was kind of quite similar, she did have a very long placement with us, yeah, I suppose it was very similar to School Direct, it wasn't PGCE, it was very similar to School Direct but I think you need to be able to get in there, to be confident, to work with teams of people, you have to be open to having lots of information from lots of different people, I think. It's difficult; that's a difficult question; I've never thought of it before.

Interviewer: Well, one of the things I'm noticing and I don't know the answer so please don't think that I've got an answer in my head, because I genuinely don't, but one of the things I'm noticing from the data, is that School Direct is attracting a slightly more mature candidates. Do you have any thoughts behind....

Elizabeth (14:02): The students that we've had have not particularly been mature, they've been student age as you would expect, younger student age, and they've all done really well. So I don't know if I can really comment on that as well as...because, do you know what I mean we haven't really had experience of it, but I can understand why it might because of the fact that it is there's less of a university side to it and more of a teaching side to it, so if you've been out of education for a long time that's going to be more appealing because you might have less of the university and less of the essay writing and so on, so I can understand why that might attract the more mature person but I haven't had that experience because all the people have been younger.

Interviewer: I think the cohort for next year on the whole are more mature, I was looking at them last week, don't know which ones you're having or who you've got.

Elizabeth (15:02): We've got XX and is there a XX?

Interviewer: Yes, there is a XX.

Elizabeth (15:13): So we've got XX from September and then we've got XX in the Spring.

Interviewer: Do you know what XX's age profile? Is she...?

Elizabeth (15:17): She is younger.

Interviewer: So you're not picking up the mature ones then?

Elizabeth (15:22): No, no.

Interviewer: We'll have to explore that.

Elizabeth (15:29): Why aren't they coming to us? What is it about us? We're too scary.

Interviewer: The other thing you might have noticed, that stands out to me, in particular, when I look at the School Direct cohort that we're having. I've only got [university name] data to compare with, is that they tend to be very white, British heritage and, again, I'm not sure why that is. I'm not sure if anyone can tell me. I'm just asking if anyone has a thought why that is?

Elizabeth (15:57): I don't know. Maybe, I wonder if the route through School Direct, I don't know, I'm just hypothesising really, the route through School Direct because it's not linked as closely to university and all of that side of it, maybe it's seen as like, a softer route. Does that make sense? Because you've got...it's not so academic, maybe, I don't know, I might be wrong because things might have changed in PGCE, that now it's very different but I did PGCE and it was very academic and...

Interviewer: It is.

Elizabeth (16:29) Is it still the same? So I wonder whether people think "oh, well if you're going the School Direct route you're not really learning to be a teacher because you're not doing so many assignments, you're not in university as much." I wonder whether that's anything to do with it and whether the culture in of...different cultures, maybe they see that as...I don't know.

Interviewer: No, neither do I. I'm just I'm trying to just find out why it is that it's attracting, it seems to attract mature, far more white British heritage and slightly more male, not much, there's not much in it, but slightly more male orientated...the three key factors about it at the moment?

Elizabeth (17:10): Maybe they feel more comfortable in being in a school environment, you never know, do you? Maybe they know other people who've gone through the route and so if you've got lots of white British already who have done it and they know and they've got family members or anything that have...maybe it's word of mouth. An interesting question.

Interviewer: Interesting to watch the profile because, I think, if I say to you, do you think School Direct meets the needs of your school, I know what you're going to say.

Elizabeth (17:36): Yes, absolutely, yes, definitely.

Interviewer: If I ask if it meets a national profile, as a profession I start to have some reservations about a...

Elizabeth (17:52): Yeah, yeah.

Interviewer: A predominately white, British heritage, route into teaching. Although I don't have a problem about it bringing males or mature people in because I think those both need to be teachers.

Elizabeth (18:01): Yeah, absolutely, definitely.

Interviewer: So, it's got a skewed sort of cohort compared to core PGCE. We'll see how that goes. So how about the experience of working the Hunters Mist model, has that got it right in terms of what you expect the training to be?

Elizabeth (18:21): I think so, yeah. I think, I think it works in that they've got that one person who, or that one place that delivers all...you know, all the lectures and so on and that they...whenever they've come to me it seems that they're quite happy with the lectures and the way that that's working, and they're happy with the organisation through Hunters and so on and so, yeah, I think it's been, it's been ok.

Interviewer: Ok. Any suggestions of anything you would change about the training, anything that you would do differently with it?

Elizabeth (18:55): I don't think so. I like the way that it's organised, how you go from the one and then a different school setting and then back again. Because I think that gives them, that gives them the chance to have a look at something else and then at the end of the placement come back to the familiar school and then give that familiar school their all, if that makes sense, they everything they take from the second setting added to what they took from the first and then and bring it back and assimilate all that and make sure that it's really concrete. So, I do quite like the way that it does that.

Interviewer: Ok. What about the routes into employment? Is that...that's worked quite well for you here at Greenbank.

Elizabeth (19:38): It has, yes.

Interviewer: How involved, how involved have you been in helping the trainees find employment?

Elizabeth (19:46): XX, am I allowed to say names? (Interviewer: Yeah) I know you'll take them out anyway. XX came to me, I think she'd been to university and uni were saying you need to start thinking about applications and so on. You know, there's going to be jobs coming out and you don't want to be the last ones, you need to start thinking about it. And she came to me and said can you give me a little bit of advice, what do you think I should do and so on and I kind of just said to her, "Well, you know, you need to have it in mind, I said, there will be other opportunities as well, but at the same time you need to start

thinking about your application, think about what you want to write.” And I gave her some pointers on the things she should include. So, I suppose that’s...I think she’d come to me as her mentor previously and felt comfortable doing that. So, I was quite happy to help her with that because we weren’t at the point of knowing then what we were doing anyway so I would never, ever put anything in the way of any of the School Direct students because, at the end of the day, that’s their future. Whether we want them to come to us or not, we always would do. We might not have a position for them. So there is, I would never, ever put anything in their way and I’m their mentor first and foremost and although I am deputy of Greenbank and I’d want the best for Greenbank, I’m also their mentor and that’s important that they know that they can come to me to help them in the wider sense of their career not just talking about Greenbank and that’s it.

Interviewer: There was an expectation initially with School Direct that they would be employed in the schools that trained them.

Elizabeth: (21:28) Ok

Interviewer: You would probably say that’s unsustainable because as you’re saying you don’t know..

Elizabeth: (21:30) Yes

Interviewer: whether you will have a job. Do you feel adequately involved in the recruitment of them because you do look at them with a view to them being Greenbank employees in the future, if they’re right and if you possibly can be. Do you feel you have enough of a role in the selection of the trainees?

Elizabeth (21:48): When they come to us to begin with, do you mean?

Interviewer: When they’re recruited into the Hunters Mist...

Elizabeth (21:54) I think we did before, I think [HT name] used to be involved in the interview panel and I don’t think she was this time. I think it is, I think it’s beneficial if we’re thinking, and, like you say, it is...we are still thinking that we might have...and we have every time, every year we’ve had School Direct students we have taken them on into the school anyway; so we would always have that in our heads at the start of the year or the previous year we’d be thinking well, you know if we are going to have anybody with us we want to be able to be involved in that picking process because I think there is always a massive chance that we would want to have them with us. So, yeah, if we could be I think that would be really beneficial but, at the same time, I know that’s difficult, you can’t get 25 schools around the table, you know, when, doing the interview process. So, I can see things from both points of view; if it was able that we could do that and be involved in that process, that would be wonderful. So I know I’ve been involved in NQT pool interviews before now and so there have been three or four of us around a table and we’ve interviewed each one. Whether that would be available to do something like that, like a round robin kind of interview system, I don’t know. But, I think if we could be involved in it that would be ideal.

Interviewer: It's worked quite well, hasn't it? The match has seemed to work.

Elizabeth (23:20): Yeah, I think it's only this year where we've not been involved in the interview process of which student we wanted; in previous years we have done.

Interviewer: Would you feel any sense of conflict if you didn't think they were suitable for Greenbank and still that expectation in terms of the NCTL that you as a group of schools are going to find them employment.

Elizabeth (23:46): I think it might be difficult to begin with because I think, you would have to, within yourself; personally, I know, everybody here at Greenbank would do their very best for any student that we had I know that, whether they're coming to us at the end or not, we just would do that. But I think the way, the provision that you give to them might take longer to put into place because if you haven't been involved in that interview process, you've got to get to know that person and their strengths and their areas for development, which you might have had a bit of a head start on if you'd been in the interview process. Does that make sense? So for me it's more of a practical thing that actually is this person right for us. And you might find that they're not right for us at the end, do you know what I mean?

Interviewer: Is that how you feel then about finding them a job somewhere else; you're not going to find them a job...

Elizabeth (24:40): No.

Interviewer: but supporting them to find...

Elizabeth (24:43): Oh, I would still support them, whatever it was, whether they want to stay with us or if they didn't, you know, if it wasn't the place for them. I think they would know whether it was the right place for them once they'd been teaching here for a certain amount of time and we'd know because sometimes will people grow into that role; sometimes you know straight away, don't you, that they're not for your school and you do know that and at other times they will grow into that role and so I don't think you can decide that from the moment that you see them, because an interview is very...it's on one day, it's like a test: they might be fantastic but actually in the classroom they might not be so and you might have to do a lot of work with them; it doesn't guarantee that they are going to be fantastic teachers does it, when they do a good interview. So, you know if we weren't there it doesn't necessarily mean they aren't going to be right for us. Does that make sense?

Interviewer: It does. Just thinking about the trainees, we had one in particular in this...from last year's cohort who actually hasn't been successful so she's going to take the award, or she has been given the award but without QTS by that means she's done all the academic work which means she can have the PGCE but it won't come with QTS. It's a huge shame and really difficult.

Elizabeth (25:55): But the right thing for her I would have thought and for schools in the future.

Interviewer: It's just thinking about that, that potential challenge that might come through School Direct, which you haven't particularly had yet, but should she have been just about successful there would have been a hesitation about offering her employment at Hunters Mist and those students that are just not good enough really but have just about met the threshold but are coming out with your seal of endorsement as a group of schools...

Elizabeth (26:30): If I had doubts about any...and this has happened with previous students, not from School Direct but for other students, if there's any doubt about anybody's capability then that is flagged up to whichever organisation they are with, and I've had to do that a few times. We have had students here who it just wasn't right for them and we've kind of led them towards that point and then they've decided it wasn't for them and come out of the process. Or there's been times where somebody isn't very, you know; they're a little bit wobbly so we've talked to their induction...I can't think of the word, their, the people that they're with and we've said, you know, we've have concerns but at the end of the day, I will put across those concerns to that provider and they will come in and make their judgement on it as well and to me, it's a two way process, it's not just me making that judgement it's the provider as well, and if the provider feels that they can give them enough support from the point that they leave us to wherever it is they're going, then that's up to the provider, but I will have flagged up that there is an issue with this student and I will have given everything that I could possibly have given in terms of support for that student and I will do that wholeheartedly as long as they are engaged with the process. But that depends, doesn't it, on the person but I will always make the provider very well aware of exactly how it's going and give them all of the information and be very, very honest about it. Because I always think of my daughter, if my daughter was being taught by that person would I be happy or not and that's my yardstick and if I'm not happy with that, you know, and even though they can grow into the role, I think from a year from that point to the end, in School Direct because they have been so immersed in teaching, it's not like PGCE, is it? Because they are so immersed in that role that I think by the end of that year, if they haven't got it then it would be very difficult for them to pull it back. I don't know, it's not the same for everybody is it? But I think you know when somebody isn't right and isn't going to be able to pull it out and you know the people who can, they just need a bit of shock? If that makes sense? I feel I sound horrible, I sound really horrible.

Interviewer: But it's all about the children in the end isn't it?

Elizabeth (29:10): Yeah, and I wouldn't send anybody out of this school as a student with the seal of approval if I didn't feel that they were...without the providers knowing about that. Does that make sense?

Interviewer: Makes perfect sense.

Elizabeth (29:25): There's no student who would go out of here that I worried about without anybody knowing that I was worried about it and without them knowing that they were on a cause for concern or some kind of risk of not passing, they would know.

Interviewer: Ok.

Elizabeth (29:43): That's very depressing, isn't it?

Interviewer: Yeah. I know how much you value the School Direct route. Are there any other routes that you think are particularly successful at training teachers? So when you are interviewing NQT's are you swayed by any of the other routes?

Elizabeth (29:58): I think BEd because of the length of time, not so much in the university, although I think that is important because they have had more of the groundwork in terms of the academic, it's the length that they've had in school. I think BEd's over PGCE just because of the time they've got in school.

Interviewer: Ok. So that's something you might note. Do you think School Direct is long enough, do you think it could be a longer training period?

Elizabeth (30:26): Well, for all the School Direct students that we've ever had, it's been long enough for them because they have made the progress from the starting point which, they were actually, most of them were really, really good anyway to begin with. I think they come in at a different starting point because of your interviewing process. I think students at PGCE level are very, have very different skill base to School Direct students. I think they, they haven't got so far to go to be a good teacher by the end of it. Does that make sense?

Interviewer: Ok, yes.

Elizabeth (31:06): So, for those people that I've worked with at Greenbank from September to the July has been long enough for them and they've made that progress really successfully within that short space of time. But I don't know whether, and I'm not blowing my own trumpet here, I don't know whether it's because of the way that we all...everybody supports in Greenbank, because we are so "hands on" and anybody, and it's the same at Hunters, I can bet, that anybody will help anybody and because we've got that good practice that they can just go anywhere they want to and they've got that good grounding. And I think any school that takes on a School Direct student with a view to taking them on will do that because they want to invest in it, don't they? So, I think that's part of it, the fact that you're looking at taking them on as a member of your own team as well, I think that's got a lot to do with it. Although I would put in 100 per cent anyway but I think there's that extra little bit that says, "Oh, you know what, these are going to be with us," so, whether rightly or wrongly.

Interviewer: And they become, I was just thinking, they become quite a tight little group. This year because of the cap, it was never supposed to be a three but they were a three. But even that group that we met the other day that eventually, I'm not sure they were all there but most of them were, I think, but they will be a group of sixteen and they'll become a self-supportive little group.

Elizabeth (32:32): Definitely; that little three have been, haven't they? I think that's probably because there's only a few of them and they've kind of had to, because there's only the three. I think the fact that there's so many of them and they'll have so many different experiences, won't they and which will really help, I think. It will be interesting to see how they get on.

Interviewer: Thinking about your perspective about what makes effective teacher training, how do you see the balance between the theoretical side of learning about the principles of teaching and learning, the way children learn and the psychology of children and the practical side. Do you have a clear view of what that division might be? In terms of the percentage of time on the programme?

Elizabeth (33:10): I think, I think the more time spent in schools the better personally. You've got to have that basis, you've got to have that little bit of background knowledge so you know where it's all coming from, so you know what the research is saying, because you can't do anything without research, because what's the point? So you have got to have that basic knowledge and they have to have that and they have to be able to make the links as well between that and school; so you have to have some of that in, but I think the more you can spend in school the better. So, I'd say, I don't know. What is School Direct at the moment, is there a percentage? So it would be 25...20 per cent uni isn't it?

Interviewer: They do, it's just under 33, I'd say about 30 in the new programme about 30 per cent training with the university and then Hunters Mist lead a lot of it but I know if you more people involved there will be more training on top of that's led by the schools, done in the schools

Elizabeth (34:13): I think it's good because they get that overall view because at the end of the day they might not...if they do get...if they get a position with us, great but it doesn't mean they're going to stay with us and they have to have that overall view of schools and teaching. So I don't think you could have a programme where it's just school-based and that is it because I think that puts the NQT student at a disadvantage because they've got to have that breadth of knowledge over a number of different institutions, you know. I know you've had a special school, haven't you, two special schools this year, you know and that is...and you've had primary and infants, infant and juniors and primary which are very, very different, then you've got some two-form entry, some single-form entries, you've got different catchment areas and I think they have to experience that really, because at the end of the day, even if they are here with a view to them being in this school, they might decide not to. I know there were some students, not from School Direct, who have gone back to where they live because that's better for them because their family are there. So there's other things, aren't there that can be involved.

Interviewer: There are. I was just thinking then when you were talking about the fact that you couldn't see an exclusively school-based system, how you feel about or as a leader, or as a member of our profession, we belong to the same one, how important is it that all teachers have a qualification in teaching and learning Do you feel that that's something every teacher in our primary sector should have?

Elizabeth: (35:55) Yes, I think so, yes, I think you've got to have that basis, you've got to have the understanding. You have different experiences within schools don't you? You have different members of staff, different people that you're observing and, hopefully, every person will be showing quality first teaching but it doesn't necessarily mean that they are, we haven't had that experience here but if I'm thinking outwardly. Does that make sense? I think they have to have some kind of qualification to say that they have gone through all of that and that they've been seen as satisfactory and that they are able to do the job. It's a hard job, it's not easy is it?

Interviewer: if it were me, I wouldn't go and see a doctor who didn't have a qualification in medicine...

Elizabeth (36:42): Ah, absolutely not!

Interviewer: I think it would be great to know that doctor had worked alongside a really experienced doctor (Elizabeth 36:44: Yes) a learnt a lot and had a variety of experiences but I still wouldn't go and see a doctor or a lawyer without qualifications in the law. But that's for me. I'm not supposed to be answering the question.

Elizabeth (36:56): I agree with you, I agree with you, I think it's...yeah, also for the other teachers who have gone and done that qualification and then you've got someone in there who hasn't got that qualification, "Ah, hang on a minute, that's not fair, is it really?" There's that as well, isn't there, that aspect to it.

Interviewer: It's about the standing of our profession.

Elizabeth (37:18): Absolutely.

Interviewer: That they're all trained with a qualification in teaching and learning.

Elizabeth (37:24): Nobody could come in off the street and do this job, just like that, like a doctor wouldn't be able to do that, would they?

Interviewer: No, Troops into teaching but...let's not go there...Mums' army a while back. How about research, that's not just been a teacher training driven growth area that's something the NCTL have been particularly pro-active about. How do you see research in general but I'm particularly interested in research as part of the teacher training programme?

Elizabeth (37:56): I think that's important, yeah, I think it's important because...it's like, it's all very well going and trying things out but, actually, if there's no base...I think it's really important; I've recently done a MAST course, a few years ago now, I finished it two years ago which was Maths and the Specialist Teacher, I'm sure you've come across it, and all of the research, it really makes you think, it's...it makes you think anyway in your practice of being a teacher, and it does make you very, very reflective but, actually, if you have that research base, it makes you ask questions and it makes you compare things and it makes you look at that research and think, "Ah, I've actually seen that happen" and so I think it's

really important to have, for them to be looking into different theories and different things that happened and what has been brought out of that. I think it's really interesting as well but maybe that's just me.

Interviewer: And being actively involved in research in the classroom themselves; is that as important?

Elizabeth (39:21): Yeah, definitely, yeah, I think so because they need to know, they need to see it happening, they need to see it in action and see for themselves; it's all very well me saying, "Oh, well, if this happens, this is going to happen," but you are not going to take it in unless you actually see it for yourself. It's quite interesting, when XX did her, she did a little action research group for Science and she was looking at practical versus academic and just sitting and not doing any activities. I could have told her and she already had an hypothesis that the active would be better. I could have told her that but when you do it and see it for yourself it's much more fixed in your head, isn't it, and you can see the point of it more, I think, and you can see, you learn a lot more from it because you're involved in it and you can see the nuances of the children and the way that they interact with each other and the way that they interact with activities in that particular thing. Whereas you would see that within your classroom practice, but you might not focus so clearly on that whereas you would if you were doing that action research.

Interviewer: And you have to be able to say why, don't you? You have to be able to say why...you might instinctively know it's going to work better to have more practical activities but to be able to articulate why that worked better. And that actually takes me on, because that takes you on to the skills of these sort of sophisticated, critical, analytical thinking that deepens with level seven, which is Masters level. So that's the next question. In Finland, as you probably know, all teacher training is at Masters level. Is it important for us to think about...how important is it for us to have training at Master level, because typically most of the Post Grads you get from wherever they come from will have got Masters level credits and any Under Grads you've employed won't have Masters level credits. So how important is that Masters 'ness' to us in teacher training?

Elizabeth (41:20): I think it's quite important, I think, I haven't got Masters because that wasn't available to me when I was a student teacher, but I think if I'd done it I think that I would have been a much deeper thinker; I think it would have made me reflect on my practice a lot more, and, like you say, analyse what I was doing and the impact of that and, as a senior leader that's what you have to do, you have to, don't you, you have to look at what you've put into action and what is the impact of that, has it made any difference and I think that the earlier that they can start to do that, then the more rounded a teacher they will be and the more effective they will be.

Interviewer: Really interesting, thank you.

Elizabeth (42:02): But it's very hard work and I think the younger you do it the better it is.

Interviewer: You could say the same about your PhD!

Elizabeth (42:13): You're very brave, XX, very brave.

Interviewer: Nearly got there, so thank you ever so much (Elizabeth 42:19 Oh, wow!) just a few more questions left.

Elizabeth (42:21): It's making me think, XX, really making me think!

Interviewer: And you probably do operate at Masters level by the way, you don't have to have the qualification to be the sort of person who thinks, reflects and analyses.

Elizabeth (42:33): Yeah, that's true, that's true.

Interviewer: Although you can still get trained, if you want to be part of the Hub come to Hunters Mist, if you want to come and join our Masters Hub.

Elizabeth (42:42): Oh, well I might think about it.

Interviewer There's a very particular question that I'm interested in and you will have a perspective on this, I hope, because you know one of the people that I think about and they're the cohort that trained '14 to '15 and there's no secret here, XX was part of that cohort and there was another trainee part of that cohort as well called XX. They were a cohort of 7 and the similarity between XX and XX is that both of them are no longer teaching in British state schools at least; they've both come out of that. XX has decided to take a position as a Teaching Assistant and XX, I believe is abroad at the moment...

Elizabeth (43:21): Yeah, [name of country].

Interviewer: Is there anything we can learn from what, in very bland terms, is a loss to our profession of two people. And from a cohort of 7 that's statistically quite significant. Anything we can learn from their experience in their training year that might have impacted on whether they were still working as teachers for us now?

Elizabeth (43:49): It's a difficult question. I can't talk for XX specifically but I think a lot of it was things that were coming from the Government on high, and the way that education was changing, so I don't know whether there's anything in particular on the course that you would be able to do about that other than talking more about the correlation between the Government and Ofsted, the curriculum and their control over...I mean that...I don't know about the other gentleman, what his reasons were, but I think it was kind of more that than to do with the actual course, I think.

Interviewer: It's an interesting one, because XX I do know and I haven't seen him for a while, I saw him a year ago and he was one of the people I unsuccessfully recorded so he came to talk to me in his NQT year (Elizabeth: It's a shame) I will see a lot more of him because the Teaching level position that he's got is at [school name]. But in the emails that we've had I've got a keen sense that it comes out of what you're saying, that it's the extra imposition that's being put on him as a young teacher and when [university name]'s Ofsted comes that will be the sort of data that they will pick apart and they will want to know whether did we adequately...firstly did we select trainees that were robust enough and in the training

year did we give them the skills to equip them to be resilient and robust, so I'm...I don't think I've got the answers either before you say well what is the answer? I don't know but those are the questions that I'm asking about those two.

Elizabeth (45:47): It's difficult, isn't it? I mean I've heard from, about, other teachers that they...students, that they've gone into it and that they've realised that the workload is so huge that actually it wasn't what they had originally thought but...how...it's difficult I think because on School Direct that is, I think, the best way of seeing the workload of a teacher. That's what I personally think, because you're in it and because you are doing it day to day and you're seeing the teachers alongside you doing it day to day. I think it's the most transparent way of seeing the workload and the way...maybe that's why, maybe it's so scary because it's...you are straight in it now and this is it, you are doing it, do you know what I mean? Whereas I would have thought it would be more scary the other way as a PGCE student. Who actually, "Ok I've done my PGCE year, everything's rosy. Oh, and now I'm a NQT and Oh, my lord, this is nothing like I expected it to be". Do you know what I mean?

Interviewer: It is, isn't it because I understand completely what you're saying and for a PGCE trainee, they may not be expected to take on some of the responsibility that a School Direct trainees take on because they just don't know the systems and the processes well enough and it's too much for the teachers, understandably, to equip them with that rather than just do it for themselves, so there's probably a bit of a protective net around PGCE students which there isn't going to be for a School Direct student. But still we lost, from that particular cohort, such a high percentage so early. So, I don't understand but I think you would be right to say for XX and like you say you can't speak for XX, I can't really speak for XX, I think, at the bottom of it is the work/life balance.

Elizabeth (47:45): Yeah. And I think a lot of it is, is to do with education generally and that, there have been, particularly in that year, may be it's because of this, there were so many changes in education within that year. You know, we had Assessment and I know that had been on the cards for a while, but it depends on your school; if you had only just started to bring in those changes, new National Curriculum, so many differences in expectations of the children and XX was in a Year 2, I don't know what XX was in, (Interviewer: Year 2, I think) so, those, do you know what I mean, those expectations that had been changed, so many different changes by the government, all made at once. We're more robust to it because we've probably gone through it two or three times and we're used to government changes, that things will be thrown at us and we just have to...whether we agree with it or not, we just have to go with it and keep the best that we possibly can for the children here who are in our care. So we're kind of used to that, aren't we? Whereas maybe these students weren't and there was a lot in that particular year, there was a lot of government change, wasn't there?

Interviewer: That's interesting; I hadn't connected that but that is very interesting. I'll ask XX a bit more when he gets to XX.

Elizabeth (49:04): Because I think, because of all the changes, within Assessment in general, there were so many mixed messages coming from the DfE that experienced teachers were finding it difficult to know what they needed to do and, if experienced teachers are finding it

difficult...but you can kind of just laugh it off and go, "Oh, well, they'll change it again, come on, what we going to do now?" Because you're used to change, aren't you, as an experienced teacher but, as a student, when you've already got so much change going on in your head and you're learning everything about the profession, maybe that was just a bit, a step too far. I don't know, I don't know.

Interviewer: A strength of School Direct though, one of the things I can celebrate when I eventually write my 80,000 words is the fact that XX didn't get lost, because he was in that little cohort of 7 and because, the relationship that he maintains with me, but that didn't, didn't...that just meant that I picked it up early, I found out quite early that he was going to wobble and think about coming out. But then, through Yvonne and through the Teaching School Alliance there was an opportunity, he was interviewed and he now has, it's not just a TA post but a HLTA and so we kind of looked after him and he's still with these schools and that's really quite powerful.

Elizabeth (50:30): You see I don't think whether XX from the beginning of when she started training, I don't know how early it was that she already had it in her head that she wanted to go somewhere else anyway. Does that make sense? Because she'd been with the people in Romania for a very long time, before she became involved with School Direct, so it could have been that that was her plan all along, I don't know. So sometimes it is just to do with that person, isn't it? That for any reason, maybe it was just her way of getting into teaching and then getting her qualification but then she'd always thought that she was going to go and do it elsewhere, I don't know. She just has that to fall back on, I don't know. I can't speak for XX.

Interviewer: Ok. Last two questions: the first one we're just going to remind you on this piece of paper of my PhD title, "For better or worse, an Investigation into the Effectiveness of School Direct as a Training Route for Primary School Teachers" What do you think that the answer to my question is going to be? What do you think I'm going to find out?

Elizabeth (51:37): Hmm, I think you're going to find out that it is effective, yeah, that it is. I think in terms of the people that you're talking about who haven't continued, maybe it's just down to that person because I feel that School Direct is very sound and that if I had a choice and personally I was a Head Teacher in another school I would always go to School Direct.

Interviewer: Good, I'll hold you to that! Well one day, if that happens.

Elizabeth (52:17): You never know, it might be a few years yet XX.

Interviewer: Well we'll see.

Elizabeth (52:21): But I'd really...and I know that [HT name] rates it greatly, she really does because of that fact that you can...they are home grown aren't they really? And even if they don't stay with you they've got that good grounding of good teaching and learning and that's at the end of the day you can't...if somebody has that grounding it doesn't matter

how they...how you dress it up and how you do it within your school, you know, AfL, that circle, Plan, Do, Review if they have that, they can apply it anywhere can't they?

Interviewer: OK. And my last question is, is there anything I should have asked you, that I haven't asked you? Anything that you think would be worth me thinking about or knowing about your experience.

Elizabeth: (53:07) Not that I can think of. You've asked me some very searching questions, Interviewer. It's really made me think.

Interviewer: You've been fascinating to listen to.

Elizabeth: (53:23) I hope it's been helpful.

Interviewer: Very. Now you have heard the questions are you still all right...

Elizabeth (53:26): Yes, that's absolutely fine.

Interviewer: Anonymous use of that...fabulous

Elizabeth (53:30): Absolutely, as long as XX's name isn't going to be included that's fine.

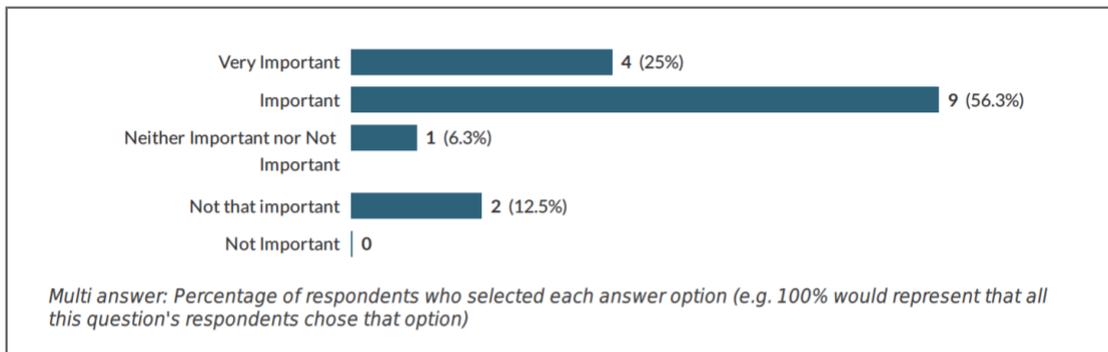
Interviewer: No, no student's name, no XX, no XX, no XX, none of that.

Appendix 5 – BoS Survey 2017

Examples of rating scale questions.

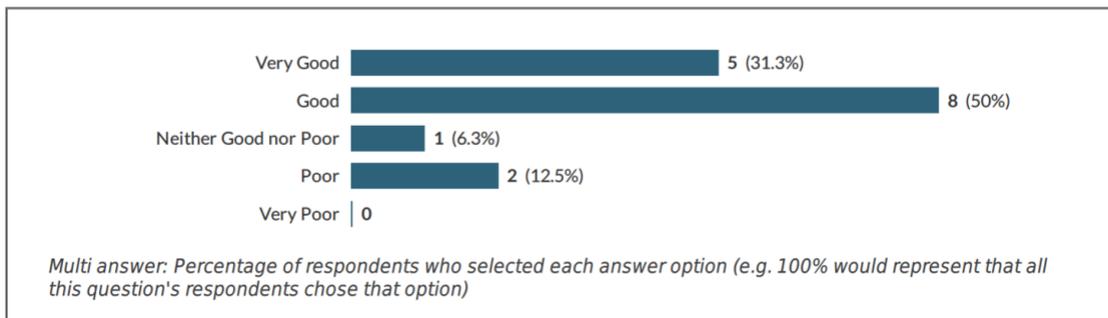
- 10** When selecting your choice of a School Direct route how important was the proximity of the partner schools to your home address?

10.1 Importance



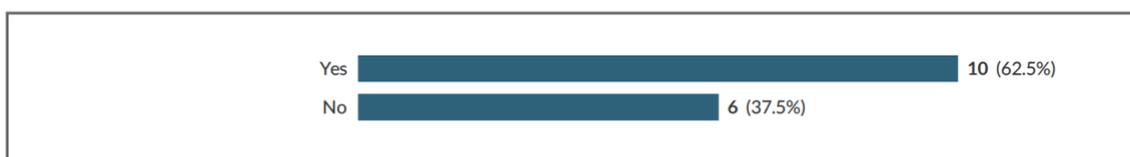
- 11** How would you rate your understanding of the School Direct route at interview?

11.1 Understanding



Example of dichotomous scale question.

- 18** Do you think your classteacher (s) and mentor (s) have a clear understanding of your School Direct route?



Example of open question text responses.

14. How effective is the training in the HET module?

Showing all 9 responses	
Some good learning points but possibly could be more embedded with suitable tasks to action which fit in with placements.	184195-184188-22061091
Getting a personalised approach to discuss aspects that I need further training on has boosted my confidence.	184195-184188-22061873
It has been invaluable - really useful to my understanding of the profession and professional development - much better than any university module!	184195-184188-22067441
By having HET sessions at school, we have the opportunity to ask more questions and learn more as it is a small group.	184195-184188-22094840
The HET module was the most enjoyable and informative - the module applied real life school contexts to make the learning real.	184195-184188-22207800
Sessions have been very informative and links have been made in classroom training.	184195-184188-22217075
very helpful seeing other schools	184195-184188-22414068
Fantastic HET module delivered by a range of schools within the partnership.	184195-184188-22414658
My school offer weekly CPD training as well as weekly NQT time. Additional training has been offered to me and I've been on an overnight residential trip to London to visit a school for the deaf.	184195-184188-22458566