School-led Initial Teacher Training: Why are schools so attracted to the idea of 'growing their own teachers'?

Joanne Hill, Newman University, UK
Email: Joanne.Hill@staff.newman.ac.uk

Abstract

School-led Initial Teacher Training (ITT) is not a new concept, the current position of schools in ITT has been developed in line with government neoliberal agendas since the 1980s. The origins of school-led ITT, however, can be traced back to the Monitorial system of the early nineteenth century where teacher helpers were drawn from more able pupils, replaced in 1846 by the Victorian Pupil-Teacher model (Dent, 1977). This paper focuses specifically on one recent school-led model, School Direct (SD), which promoted schools' role in recruiting, training and employing teachers as a means of 'growing their own'. The paper problematises notions of 'growing your own', questioning why 'growing' teachers has become a seemingly attractive model for schools.

The research basis for the paper drew on data from sixteen participants across four Teaching School Alliances (TSAs) which are school networks who developed and led SD training routes. It embraced multiple stakeholders' lenses, including both those involved in, and those experiencing training.

My findings conclude that there can be much advantage for schools in 'growing' teachers who know and can deliver school pedagogies from the start of their ECT year. However, this purpose of growing your own is very school-centred giving insufficient consideration of training teachers' needs. For trainees, SD experiences can be very uncomfortable, they describe the subjectivity of being 'moulded' to fit within schools' specific settings along with feelings of powerlessness to challenge pressures exerted on them.

This paper concludes by challenging both the concept and practice of 'growing your own' teachers, and questions the risk this poses for the teaching profession's systemic needs, as well as issues for the children it serves.

Key words

ITT, School Direct, Teaching School Alliances, growing your own, theory and practice, specific settings, school ready, being 'moulded', career pathway

Link to article

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Introduction

'It is a truth universally acknowledged', amongst teacher educators at least (Furlong, 2013), that recent governments, driven by neo-liberal agendas, have sought to reposition initial teacher training (ITT) outside the 'left-wing militant' university sector. Gove (2013) disparagingly referred to this sector as 'the Blob', and was of the opinion that its members 'praised each other's research, sat in committees that drafted politically correct curricula, and drew gifted young teachers away from their vocation and instead directed them towards ideologically driven theory'. He further proposed that ITT should be relocated more extensively in school sectors, and the latest iteration of this agenda is the new Institute of Teaching which promises to deliver 'evidence-based approaches to teacher training' (DfE, 2021), something seemingly presented as a newly conceived idea. Previous school-led ITT initiatives such as School Direct (SD), developed from the government's 2010 White Paper, have encouraged schools to recruit, train and employ their own workforce as a means of 'growing your own' (Taylor, 2015), but there is currently limited evidence exploring what it means to 'grow your own' teachers and why 'growing your own' might be preferable to existing university-led provision.

Universities have a history of over 130 years' involvement in ITT, their first real interest occurring following the 1888 Cross Commission Report (Dent, 1977). In 2010, ironically the same year of the White Paper promoting school-led ITT, Ofsted (2010:59) reported that, '(t)here was more outstanding initial teacher education

delivered by higher education-partnerships than by school-centred ITT partnerships and employment-based routes', leading one to question why current government emphasis is so heavily on the promotion of school-led ITT routes, such as SD, Teach First and the Institute of Teaching's potential development.

What follows is a literature review which considers ITT's current position and my positionality. The article then considers the research methods used and ethical considerations before a discussion of findings. My conclusion determines what 'growing your own' has come to mean and its implications for the teaching profession's future.

Literature Review

Approaches to ITT – Theory - Practice Divides

A central tension underpinning contemporary ITT approaches are questions of the separation or integration of theory and practice, which sometimes suggest 'practice as somewhat detached from theory' (McGarr *et al.,* 2017:48). University-led ITT criticisms suggest that trainees' learning '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' (Hagger and McIntyre, 2006:10-11). Cochran-Smith and Lytle's (1999) and Winch's (2015) research, however, focused on the different bodies of knowledge that teachers need and how they could best be developed by collaboration between School-Based Teacher Educators (SBTEs) and University-Based Teacher Educators (UBTEs) (Childs *et al.,* 2014*)*. Despite this the DfE (2012) announcement launching SD stated that the scheme was one through which schools would, 'lead the way they (trainee teachers) are trained', placing 'schools in the role of principal course designers and deliverers of ITT programmes' (Jackson and Burch, 2016:512).

Concerns about schools' increased roles through SD, however, were raised by Boyd and Tibke (2012:42) who identified 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), suggest that. whilst local knowledge in schools 'is immediate and concrete' it can also be 'incomplete (…) and insular', and Knight (2015:146) raised concerns about school-led ITT being, 'the mere reproduction

of the status quo', suggesting that SD training could become aligned to practice in particular settings rather than for the whole profession.

Additionally, research has drawn attention to schools' conflicting priorities where the primary function is children's education. 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 SBTEs' timetables could be, 'too overloaded with everyday work and conflicting priorities to be sustainable'. These conflicts in function could lead to potential risks, for example, the time required for ITT against competing priorities such as children's learning needs in performativity cultures (White *et al.,* 2015; Johnston, 2016).

Jackson and Burch (2019:140) argue that '(t)he academic role played by teacher educators is an under-researched area'. However, 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'.

School Direct ITT – A Vehicle for Growing Your Own

In 2010 the government's position on ITT's location was clear, it declared that, '(t)oo little teacher training takes place on the job' (DfE, 2010:19; Gove, 2010). The outcome, SD, was to focus on '..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). This emphasis on employment denoted a departure from previous school-led ITT schemes such as SCITTs, as it gave a much clearer expectation of trainees' eventual employment by training schools.

During 2013-2016 there became a frequent linking of the phrase 'growing your own' to SD training. In April 2014 Noble-Rogers, Executive Director of the Universities'

Council for the Education of Teachers, used the phrase at the Westminster Education Forum (Noble-Rogers, 2014) and in December 2015 when reporting to the House of Commons' Education Committee (Noble-Rogers, 2015). Taylor, then Chief Executive of the National College of Teaching and Leadership, 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 further reference to some of the advantages and limitations of schools, 'growing their own teachers' (Noble-Rogers, 2017).

Teaching Schools were established by the 2010 White Paper and formed alliances with other schools (TSAs) to lead on aspects of teacher training and development. The TSAs used 'growing your own' positively, suggesting a sense of purpose in their SD training models, perhaps related to their 'moral purpose' as identified by Gu *et al.* (2015:21). Elsewhere in the sector, however, it was used with more caution, with Noble-Rogers (2014:5-6) stating that:

> Growing one's own teachers is an attractive concept. But it carries with it potential risks: training for the here and now rather than the wider system and the future; institutional conservatism; lack of consistency; the removal of national levers; and possibly the loss of the concept of teaching as being a unified profession.

Noble-Rogers' (2014) statement underpinned contemporaneous discussions, specifically the concerns that 'growing your own' represented a parochial approach to training teachers for specific school settings, as opposed to broader ITT focused on training for a national profession with shared values and knowledge.

Positionality

This research came from my passion for primary ITT. My career in teaching began in the early 1990s and I had my first trainees in my second year. I have been involved in ITT as class teacher, mentor and currently UBTE. I value equally practice-based learning in schools and learning in universities focused on research and scholarly

discourse. Government ideologies moving ITT towards school-centred teacher training seeming to minimalise or even exclude university-led study 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). SD's introduction was a further test of my values, but also seemed to offer opportunities for schools and universities to work with new synergies to create innovative programmes. I wanted to be involved from the start, to influence and to know more about how these programmes would develop.

Methods

To explore the various meanings behind 'growing your own' teachers I used an interpretivist paradigm focused on bringing meaning to the phrase's use by analysing the subjective experiences of those involved in ITT and, in particular, SD (Pring, 2015). I considered it important to explore the meaning's breadth across a variety of different stakeholders. As a result, my research included interviews with SBTEs who were usually senior leaders and who managed and often delivered SD training, TSA administrators or managers who organised SD recruitment and sometimes arranged training programmes, UBTEs working with TSAs, headteachers who invested in SD training and employed its trainees, as well as a mixture of first year Early Career Teachers (ECTs), previously known as Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs), and trainees who had trained through SD.

My research involved sixteen participants from across four TSAs (all anonymised). Two of the TSAs, Hunters Mist and Moreover, offered only SD training places, which meant trainees on these programmes paid fees to universities who then shared the income and training programmes with the TSAs. One TSA, Longfield, offered only SD salaried places, which meant it paid trainees' fees and provided them with a basic salary during their training. Welcome TSA offered a mixture of salaried and training SD places.

The interview themes remained consistent for all participants, but questions were adapted to be relevant to their role. Below are the themes and some example questions for trainee teachers:

1. *Understanding of SD at application*
    - How much did you know about different routes into teaching when you made your application?
    - Why did you think that SD was the most appropriate route for you?
2. *Understanding of SD on entry*
    - When you started training how much similarity/difference were you expecting from the core PGCE?
    - In what ways did SD match or differ from your expectations?
3. *Evaluation and comparison of SD*
    - What do you consider have been the strongest/weakest features of your SD training?
    - How valuable do you consider the relationship between theory and practice when training? What should the balance be?
4. *Preparedness of trainers*
    - How well supported did you feel by your teachers/mentors/trainers?
    - How well prepared were they for their training role?
5. *SD and employability*
    - How instrumental was SD in helping you to find employment?
6. *Values for the profession*
    - How important do you consider it is for our profession that all teachers have a teaching and learning qualification?

The approach taken to interview data analysis in my research was thematic analysis following a reflexive/organic approach as identified by Braun and Clarke (2006). I coded using what Braun and Clarke (2013) refer to as 'complete coding', this approach looks for anything and everything of relevance to the research question in the data.

My research was small scale and did not seek to produce findings that were generalisable. Instead, I embraced notions of relatability (Bassey, 2001). As a result, I leave it to 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' (Dzakiria, 2012:45).

Ethics

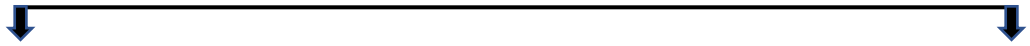
Hammersley and Traianou (2012) summarise the main ethical issues in social research as: risk of harm, autonomy and informed consent, privacy, confidentiality and anonymity. The key ethical 'dilemma' for my research was situated in my dual role as UBTE involved in SD training and researcher. In my UBTE role, some of the research participants had trusted that I was part of the team delivering the highest quality of training. As a result, it was important that my research was clear about its evaluative nature and that, before consenting, participants understood my research outcomes were likely to highlight both positive and negative features of SD training in order to contribute to deeper understandings of how teachers should be trained.

Webster *et al.* (2014) highlight the ethical considerations around relationships that researchers develop with participants. It was important for my research to acknowledge the sensitivity about relationships that were already established. Holian and Coghlan (2013:410) state that the advantages of established relationships in research are 'pre-understanding, role duality, access and politics' and that the disadvantages are 'influence, expectations and role ambiguity and conflict'. 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'.

Findings and discussion

The central question for my research examined what 'growing your own' teacher meant and, more specifically, for whom they were being grown. The model of SD promoted recruiting and training new teachers for individual school settings, contrasting with university-led training which seemed to be about training teachers more generally for any setting within the teaching profession. These different purposes can be illustrated in the following continuum (Figure 1) which positions 'growing

teachers' for specific settings at one end and at the other, 'growing teachers' more generally for the profession.



For specific settings For the profession

Figure 1 'Growing' Teachers

Some literature referred to in my discussion stems from a theoretical underpinning rather than the earlier review in relation to ITT; all are included in the reference list.

Meanings Behind Growing Your Own

I asked the participants across all the stakeholder groups what they understood by the phrase 'growing your own'? Their responses gave a clear indication of what they believed the purpose of SD ITT to be. Hunters Mist TSA, for example, saw its purpose very explicitly at the far left of the continuum (Figure 1) as indicated by Evelyn, an SBTE:

> *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.*

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 were open about their intention to grow their own teachers as, "*quite a selfish point of view".* The suggestion here, however, was that Evelyn, SBTE, questioned whether this should be the 'moral' purpose behind their involvement in ITT, reflecting Gu *et al.* (2014:21) who found that TSAs had a strong sense of 'moral' purpose which is an 'essential ingredient' of TSA leadership. This was acknowledged by Evelyn who stated that *"we have an obligation, a moral obligation under the Teaching School status to provide ITT, you know, for the wider*

profession". It did not deter Hunters Mist, however, from its purpose of "*growing them so that we can have them".* It appeared that Hunters Mist had a divided moral purpose, the greater priority being their commitment to children, as such growing trainees *"so we can have them"* reflected the school's commitment to children by providing them with what they considered were the best teachers. My interpretation of the purpose behind the involvement of Hunters Mist in ITT is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2 'Growing' Teachers

By contrast, Welcome TSA, which was situated in a large city centre, saw its ITT purpose more broadly in terms of serving all its inner-city Alliance schools' needs. Amy, a TSA manager, stated:

> *Without wishing to be insulting to university colleagues they* (the headteachers) *felt that sometimes the NQT's* (ECT's) *who are coming to them had had quite a general training but weren't necessarily equipped specifically with the skills needed to address the issues that we face in our schools, because we particularly have a designation focused on inner-city XX which obviously has very specific challenges.*

This focus on inner-city "*specific challenges*" suggested the need for trainees to have the necessary 'craft knowledge' of inner-city schools' contexts (Hagger and McIntyre, 2006). Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999:250) conceptualise craft knowledge as 'knowledge-in-practice'. Amy was respecting inner-city teachers' expertise suggesting that they possess a valuable knowledge form for those training and potentially to be employed in inner cities. This reflected the DfE's direction underpinning SD, that trainees would be employed by the schools recruiting and training them (DfE, 2013). This broader rationale for their involvement in ITT placed Welcome TS somewhere

more centrally located on the continuum, as it saw its role as *"creating teachers we need",* not for specifically named schools but more broadly for inner-city schools, something they argued universities were not doing effectively as trainees had a non-specific skill set. It also suggested a more defined purpose with a focus on local communities, which underpins Lave and Wenger's (1991) concept of *Communities of Practice* where newcomers to communities such as Welcome TS are being trained by 'old timers' to meet the community's regional needs (Figure 3).

Figure 3 'Growing' Teachers

Growing Your Own – A Career Pathway

In addition, Welcome TS saw its purpose as longitudinal: they were interested in employing young graduates initially as Teaching Assistants (TAs). During the autumn term they would support the TAs with ITT applications, 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 as ECTs, and then, as Amy, TSA manager, 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 SD interest. Jack (headteacher) explained:

> *It's a bit like selling your house you know…the trick is getting (people) 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 positioned Welcome TSA functioning as a small business in a market-driven profession where they were competing for new teachers. As such it bears some resemblance to Fuller *et al.*'s (2005:37) research where a company used an apprentice model as a vehicle 'to address recruitment difficulties'. This arguably was a valuable motive for Welcome's involvement in SD.

For Hunters Mist TSA, however, growing your own was far more school specific. As Elizabeth (SBTE) explained, this was about trainees being able to teach in her school the *"Greenbank way"* and to *"Greenbankise"* their practice. Louise (SBTE) explained that for her 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 (2011:29), is that school practices are often 'highly situated' and 'context bound', 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"* felt particularly uncomfortable in this respect. It suggested a form of governmentality where trainees are expected to regulate their conduct 'through the eyes' of their trainer (Perryman *et al.*, 2017). 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' (Ball, 2013:130).

The outcome of growing their own teachers for Hunters Mist offered a significant contextual specificity for ECTs and for the school too at the start of the ECT's first year. For example, there was no necessity to explain the school's systems and processes to new teachers. As Elizabeth (SBTE) 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.*

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

Interestingly, Jack (headteacher), 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 ECTs 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 trained in more affluent areas than Welcome TSA 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 there was a value in recruiting ECTs from several different routes into teaching.

Growing your own – Being 'moulded'

Amongst the SD trainee participants, some saw an inherent value in being 'home grown'. For example, from the beginning of the training 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".* Evie strongly identified with the idea of a 'figured world' where training and being employed by the same school offered a 'site of possibility' (Urrieta, 2007:109), one in which 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. Evie's emotional knowledge of the institutional and cultural context was positive and had an equally positive impact on her affective domain, that is, her feelings, emotions and attitudes. Although, alternatively, it could also be argued that she lacked confidence to consider herself working in different settings and had a disproportionate need for the safety of belonging. 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 she had identified as right for her. 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 desired 'technology of the self' (Lemke, 2000) that she could perform for her chosen school.

By contrast, however, at the end of her first ECT 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".* Molly clearly 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. When asked to explain why she did not like the term 'moulded', Molly responded:

> *I've done a lot of placement here and then I've come to here, 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 provided an interesting contrast to Evie's view. Molly's placement B experience had not happened by chance, she had 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 suggested 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 have already been considering her longer-term career ambitions and talked about the limitations of the training process where she had not *"seen how other schools do things"* and did not know *"any different".* Her thinking is in line with Flores and Day's (2006) findings of ECTs where 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 use of the word "moulded', like Evie's, suggested 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 had 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 suspected that a year earlier her feelings were similar to Evie, but after the passage of time and now starting to think about her career ambitions Molly expressed 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 saw herself now as being limited. The implication being that whilst schools have been encouraged to design ITT programmes to their own school's requirements (Taylor, 2015) the longer-term impact on trainees' breadth and depth of teaching and learning understanding has been reduced to a parochial fit with school's practice leading one to question how they would find the transition, if they took it, to another school.

Growing your own salaried trainees

The SD salaried route trainees' teaching timetables were markedly more demanding than the training routes. This may have been because schools were more likely to be familiar with the trainees before training and had pre-established ideas of their capabilities or because of the differing nature of the relationship as the schools were funding trainees' salaries. Not only did SD salaried trainees have a greater percentage of teaching than would normally be expected from SD training route, it was also greater than PGCE core trainees. An example of an SD training route and PGCE trainees' teaching timetable would start at 50% and build incrementally to 80% by training end. In comparison Tobias (trainee) reported, *"I was the class teacher…there was no one else in there it was always me 100% of the time…From the autumn… I … basically taught 100% throughout the whole year."*

Initially Tobias seemed to be operating in a condition of 'false consciousness' (Lawler, 2011); he suggested that as he had three years' 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 teach as much as possible. However, as he received feedback from his mentor about his teaching, he became frustrated about how he could not improve his teaching without wider opportunities and 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 of note here was the role that the school took in ITT giving 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 was likely that Tobias, therefore, operated in a state of 'blind experimentation' (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 1999:269). Those leading the training did not even seem to 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 was that Tobias had been allocated a mentor who observed his teaching but without giving him opportunity to act on advice. Tobias's 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) suggest is 'workplace performance' rather than 'workplace learning'. This appeared as the worst form of exploitation in SD and it was difficult to understand how or why the school believed that Tobias could learn from this experience.

This power exerted over the salaried trainees was common to all three of the trainees located in one TSA. 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 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 was 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 community of practice lies with the 'masters'(…) at centre' (Caillard, n.d:4). William's powerful reference to himself as *"a willing donkey"* was 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 was 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 this treatment, he decided to take a job at the main placement school. Although his use of language perhaps gave some insight as he stated 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 was uncomfortable, with William's obedience to the central authority figure, i.e. the school leaders, to *"do what they ask and take a job",* seemed governed by feelings that not to do so may impact on his final assessment against the Teachers' Standards.

The power exerted over William by the 'masters' (…) at centre' (Caillard, n.d:4) in what I conceptualised 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?"* 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"* was unusual for trainees and suggested that William had no concept of this person as his mentor in the traditional sense of ITT; instead this was a 'manager' who directed him to undertake activity without support. It also suggested

that his line manager did not see themself in a mentoring role. This was suggestive of a lack of 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, another salaried trainee, 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 were 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 indicated the pressure placed on the affective domain, in particular of Amanda in this example. Whilst she felt unfairly treated, she also felt 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 school. There was also the suggestion that the school did not fully understand what becoming involved in SD would require.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I argue that SD's development, against the backdrop of neoliberal agendas, had led schools to become very individualised and focussed on their own institutional needs. 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 first ECT year are indicative of schools' priorities. They put children's needs first and foremost and are highly influenced by performativity and audit cultures. I argue that as a result, most SD

training models are completely insular (Hiebert *et al.*, 2002), focussing on individual school needs which suggests an assumption that schools' 'self-interests' will deliver impersonal, professional benefits to trainees. This training process, especially for salaried trainees, can result in very limited and negative experiences.

I argue that SD risks producing new teachers, through technocratic and skills-based processes, that are unlikely to be empowered to think for themselves, critique, challenge and attempt to shape policy. My position is to argue that ITT 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 *et al.,* 2015). On the continuum of ITT's purpose, I believe that ITT should be on the right-hand side of the model in order to meet the profession's needs as a whole (Figure 4).

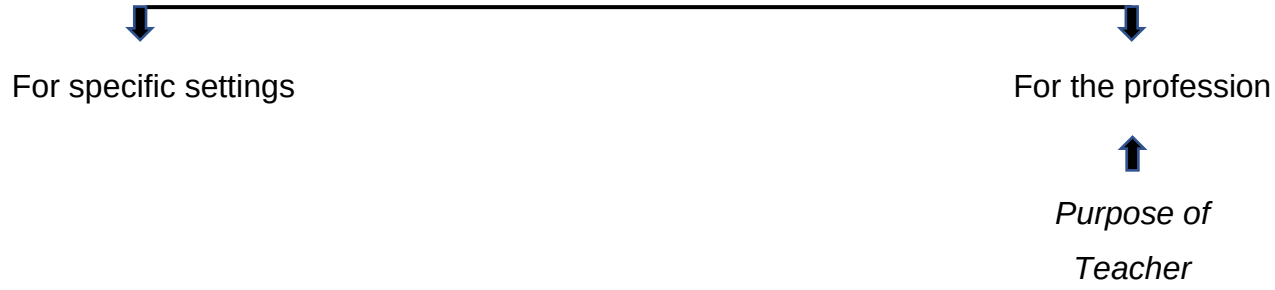


Figure 4 'Growing Teachers' '

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