

From scholar to craftsperson? Constructing an accountable teacher education environment in England 1976-2019

Abstract:

In this paper we aim to advance the understanding of the *institutional mechanisms* that have shaped the teacher education environment in England over the last forty years. Based on the analyses of policy documents and elite interviews rooted in a neo-institutionalist analytical framework, we argue that the changes from a laissez faire policy in the 1970s to one of strict oversight and accountability are linked to *mimesis* of a (global) New Public Management paradigm that has been supported by *coercive* control levers through inspections and prescribed standards. We found that the current environment was forged in three steps involving the government entering the game through certification and accreditation, shifting the *normative voice* of teachers by furthering the academic-practitioner split, and defining core landmarks of the profession through professional standards. Finally, we argue that the institutional changes have brought about a profound re-conceptualisation of the teacher, *from scholar to professional craftsperson*.

Keywords: neo-institutionalism; teacher education; public policy; causal mechanisms

Jo B. Helgetun^a * & Xavier Dumay^a

To appear in the European Journal of Teacher Education, Special issue: "Teacher Education, Teacher Professionalism and Research: International Trends" edited by Ian Menter and Maria Assunção Flores

^aGIRSEF, UC Louvain, Louvain la Neuve, Belgium

*Corresponding author.

Institute for the Analysis of Change in Contemporary and Historical Societies UC Louvain, Place Montesque 1, bte L2.08.04, 1348 Louvain la Neuve, Belgium.

Email: jo.helgetun@uclouvain.be

Jo B. Helgetun, is Doctoral Research Fellow at the University of Louvain. His current research focuses on the national trajectories of education policy reform and their embeddedness in the global education policy field, particularly teacher education policy in England and France. While his past work was on the new governance of Educational Research, comparing trajectories, turns and transformations in the United Kingdom, Germany, and Norway.

Xavier Dumay, is Associate Professor of Education at the University of Louvain. He has published extensively on issues related to educational policy, educational organisations and comparative education. His work focuses on the globalisation of education, the regulation of educational systems, labour markets for teachers and changing forms of education.

Funding details: The project leading to this article has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 714641)

Introduction

In this paper we analyse the development of teacher education (initial and continued) policy and levers of governing in England between 1976 and 2019, based on the conceptual framework derived from the theoretical work of W.R. Scott (2013), centred on in depth analysis of the institutional *mechanisms* shaping the policy environment. The purpose is as such to understand the underlying mechanisms that shape policy environments as *global trends* meet *local norms*, and infer how this affects the concept of the teacher, the voice of the profession, and how professionals and educationalists may affect a policy environment. Moreover, the research the paper draw on is part of a larger comparative project¹, and forms an integrated part of a study comparing the teacher education trajectories of England and France, therefore, to provide contrast in this paper we draw largely on developments in France in its introduction and discussion sections.

The interest behind our approach stems from how recent studies have found education, and particularly education policy, to be subject to globalized trends often found in other areas of public policy such as New Public Management (NPM) and neo-liberal reforms (Ball 2008;

¹ See [anonymised url].

Furlong 2013; Tröhler 2014), as well as national translations and bricolage of these trends (Maroy, Pons, and Dupuy 2016). Furthermore, there is a growing focus globally on teacher education and what models states should adopt, rooted for example in the PISA performance of some countries or the more recent TALIS or TEDS-M surveys of teachers that may highlight concerns within the profession such as workload. This is a particularly interesting topic at present with the teaching profession undergoing a crisis of recruitment and retention. Arguably, teacher education policy in England is an interesting case study for understanding these trends, as ‘evidence’ of ‘what works’ of both a national and international origin is used to legitimise both policy (Helgetun and Menter 2020) and a system that, as we shall see, goes against trends of ‘universitification’ and ‘masterfication’ of teacher education observed elsewhere in Europe in places such as France (Farges 2017; Prost 2014), Ireland (Heinz 2014), Norway (Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018), and francophone Belgium (Cattonar, Dumay and Dupriez in press).

Teacher education policy in England², as education policy in general, has undergone some dramatic changes since the mid-1970s. In the Department for Education’s own words (DfE 2019), England now has a school-led system that is both accountable and autonomous. Furthermore, as we shall show the teacher can presently be perceived as a self-improving professional, but with prescribed standards and a government driven professionalization process with teaching seen as a ‘craft’ learned on the job from other craftsmen as much as a scholarly academic profession learned in a higher education institution. In light of this, it is interesting to think of the rise in evidence based teaching discourse (Hammersley 2007), as the teacher, not the academic, takes the centre in professional development. These developments contrast with what Prime Minister James Callaghan in 1976 characterised as an unsupervised «secret garden of the curriculum» (Phillips 2001), at a time educationalists

² As education is a devolved matter in the United Kingdom, we can only lay claim to analyse ‘England’.

conceptualized the teacher as a scholar who just happened to be a teacher (Furlong 2001).

Central to successive governments' arguments supporting the shift towards increased accountability, was the fragmented nature of education and the need to establish government oversight for both economic and cultural reasons (Ball 2008).

Since the early 1980s there has been observed an increasing split between what can be characterised as university-based educationalists favouring teacher-scholars and school-based practitioners favouring teaching as a craft (Furlong 2001; Childs and Menter 2013). As argued by Murray & Mutton (2016), in England the pendulum between academia and school based focus in teacher education has seemingly swung towards the school through government intervention. These are contestations and tension that have also been observed elsewhere in the same time period (e.g., France – see Prost 2014), with effects on both teacher education and teacher professionalization. We may also observe a fragmentation that extends to the teaching profession, and the notion of ‘educationalist’, as a whole, which has lacked any significant unifying professional body or representation that may disseminate values at a *large scale* while unions have historically been reluctant to touch questions of teacher professionalization and educational practices (Carter, Stevenson, and Passy 2010). England has had the College of Teaching as a form of professional body, which was recently reconstituted as the Chartered College of Teaching (CCT), however its normative impact as a voice of the profession has been negligible over time, as has its membership count. Our analysis found the CCT to be very limited in terms of impact, and secondary to teacher education interest organisations such as the Universities’ Council for the Education of Teachers (UCET), or the National Association of School Based Teacher Trainers (NASBTT). However, it may also be argued that the CCT is on the rise, while UCET and NASBTT are becoming a voice of their own for the profession. If so, neither the CCT, UCET, or NASBTT are there yet, nor did they fulfil such a role during the long trajectory under study here.

Meanwhile, many lecturers even in universities were and are former teachers without research degrees nor a uniform approach to education in a somewhat fragmented discipline (Furlong 2013).

In terms of teacher education provision, an increasing amount of future teachers are being trained in ‘School-Centred Initial Teacher Training’ providers (SCITTs) rather than in universities (Beauchamp et al. 2015; Whiting et al. 2018). Another alternative provider since 2005 has been ‘Teach First’, a Master's program of leadership where graduates from ‘elite’ universities were to go on to teach in disadvantaged schools, after the model of ‘Teach for America’ (Whiting et al. 2018). Meanwhile, universities are arguably afraid of any coercive consequences should they push back against changes in teacher education (Furlong 2013), while many other educationalists such as teachers may feel little inclined to do so. This combination of fear and reluctance to push back has resulted in a split approach to how theory and practice should be (re)joined in teacher education (Mutton, Burn, and Menter 2016). In regulative terms, Government first attempted to establish control over ITT in 1984 with the creation of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE), who were to certify who could provide the Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) required to teach in state maintained schools (Barton et al. 1993)

In light of the interesting case presented above, in this paper we aim to advance the understanding of teacher education policies and their effects in England, by looking at the mechanisms that have enabled the change from laissez-faire to tight government control. More specifically, we contend that the multiple policies having marked this trajectory over the last forty years draw from the same root that is the incremental installation and legitimization of an accountability pathway structuring teacher reforms in England. We will show how a New Public Management (NPM) ideology centred on *measured* value for money together with an academic – practitioner split has enabled consecutive governments to shape the environment

through constraining action and structuring contestation, while reconstructing educational norms, resulting in government now characterizable as a ‘gatekeeper’ to the teaching profession and teacher policy. England, we argue, is ideal for this kind of study since as a pioneer of neo-liberal and NPM policies (Keraudren 1999) it has had time to institutionalise these ideologies in the education environment.

We thus contend that the progressive alignment of the regulative, the normative and the cultural-cognitive pillars (Scott 2013) and related mechanisms of change (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) significantly contributed to structure the current teacher policy environment characterised by a culture centred on value for money and contestation regarding the role of government, academia, and practitioners in teacher education. We identify central carriers corresponding each to one of the institutional pillars: instrumentation through certification and inspection (coercive pillar), idea conversion through clear blueprints (cultural-cognitive pillar), and norm building and substitution through legitimising new standards (normative pillar).

We will start by introducing our theoretical framework on the institutional mechanisms, followed by our methodology and data collection. We then present the empirical analysis followed by a discussion of the English case in regards to global trends of teacher education reforms.

Institutional mechanisms structuring and enabling change

Past research has found institutions and institutional environments as not only framed by formal rules and structures, but also as structured by informal norms, procedures, symbols, shared cognitions, practices, and behavioural patterns that structure social interaction (Scott et al. 2000). Moreover, policy has been found to be a carrier of norms, beliefs, and ideology just as much as an instrument of coercion (Helgetun, Powell, and Zapp 2018), that reflects the wider environment in which it was made (Ball 1993).

We conceptualise institutional change as resulting from the interplay between mimetic, normative, and coercive mechanisms (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). We argue that each institutional pillar does not only involve specific rationale for legitimacy, but also relies on dedicated carriers that enable contestation or corresponding reasons for compliance (see table 1 further below). We consider the legitimatization process as happening through contestation over, and conformity towards, what is perceived as rationalized or prudent behaviour by obtaining cultural and ideational support (cultural-cognitive pillar), a right to speak normatively (normative pillar), or sanctioned legal authority to implement consequences through material coercion (regulative pillar) (Scott 2013). Coercion, as a mechanism, would thus rely on perceived ability to enforce a threat through control levers (e.g. prescribed requirements of behaviour supported by legal frameworks, or funding mechanisms tied to prescribed requirements), which causes compliance through fear of consequences and knowing who is in charge (Helgetun, Powell, and Zapp 2018). Meanwhile, a form of standards (purpose), or a shared *professional* code of behaviour, become strong normative carriers of socially accepted practice, enabling a normative mechanism to unfold (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Finally, the carrier of cognitive blueprints may be considered a key component of a mimetic mechanism. Cognitive blueprints refer to the systematic use and promotion of expressed ideas that different actors mobilise to advance their vision of societal problems and preferred solutions to these problems, often based on claimed evidence of ‘what works’ and cause mimesis (imperfect copying) of the blueprint's prescriptions (Scott 2013; Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018). As such, cognitive blueprints are “unbound” scripts of global or local origin that provide a roadmap as to how something should be done through claims of performance. E.g., the ‘Finish model’ of teacher education may be considered an important cognitive blueprint, as may a comprehensively structured emphasis on the teacher

as ‘knowing best how to teach’ as pushed in ‘The Importance of Teaching’ white paper (DfE 2010).

Cognitive blueprints are not only tools of actors to shape an environment, they do in turn also shape the actors themselves as rationalized ideas of ‘what works’ and practices become taken for granted as an environment is institutionalized (Scott 2013). Moreover, how professional standards and control levers can be utilized and legitimised depends in part on existing structures as formal and informal institutions both constrain, structure, and enable action (Kentikelenis and Babb 2019; Scott et al. 2000). Hence, there are important temporal elements to the unfolding of institutional mechanisms, as well as important overlaps (over time) between how organizational actors shape and are shaped by an institutionalized environment.

Importantly, the division of the pillar is primarily a heuristic tool, as the boundaries between the regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive aspects are fluid and often overlap (Scott 2013), while translations in the form of contextual adaptation (e.g. knowledge economy to knowledge society) have been observed to happen as cognitive blueprints encounter normative actors in education (Zapp, Helgetun, and Powell 2018). Lastly, we theorize contestation in the cultural-cognitive pillar, with cognitive blueprints, as the most likely initiator of change in the English teacher education environment due to the aforementioned ‘laissez faire’ approach prior to 1984.

Table 1: Institutional pillars and related carriers and mechanism

Pillar	Rationale for legitimacy	Carriers	Mechanism	Compliance
Cultural-cognitive	Culturally and ideationally supported	Awareness-raising through cognitive blueprints	Mimetic	Comprehension, shared understanding of good practice
Normative	Morally governed	Standardisation, professionalization (voice)	Normative	Social obligation, what is ‘right’
Regulative	Legally sanctioned	control levers	Coercive	Expedience, fear of consequences

In the cultural-cognitive pillar, we hypothesise that change will be rooted in a New Public

Management cognitive blueprint that pushes for ‘steering at a distance’ where central government governs through inspections and standards under the auspice of value for money (Keraudren 1999; Ball 2008). A second cognitive blueprint we hypothesise is a theory-practice split where the place of theory (academic education) is contested and opposed to the place of practical experience and guidance in teacher education. In the normative pillar, we hypothesise that a weak institutionalization of normative values due to a lack of standardisation in the environment (Furlong 2013) has enabled mimetic and coercive mechanisms to undermine and eventually replace existing norms. In the regulative pillar, we hypothesise that new control leavers centred on accreditation of providers to be able to certify teachers and inspections (Childs and Menter 2013) has over time enabled coercive change. These expected causes of change (table 2) constitute our a priori hypotheses that were deductively tested through process tracing to infer the presence and effect of the institutional mechanisms (Checkel and Bennett 2015).

Table 2: Expected causes of change

Pillar	Expected cause of change
Cultural-cognitive	NPM and theory-practice split as central blueprints
Normative	Weak profession based standardization and limited uniformity of professionalization process, leading to a undermining and eventual replacement of existing norms
Regulative	Control through accreditation and certification coupled with inspections

Data collection

In light of the analytical framework and research objectives, we opted to analyse in-depth all identifiable and directly relevant (that deal with teacher education and were available to the public) policy documents by the government department responsible for teacher education between 1976 and 2019 (annex table 1, N=36). We additionally analysed a series of reports and reviews (annex table 2, N=3), opinion pieces and letters from UCET and NASBTT, and speeches (annex table 3, N=2) to capture important elements external to the

core documents, and referenced the British Educational Research Association (BERA) presidential addresses between 1974 and 2018 to capture the ‘academic’ mood in relation to policy (annex table 4, N=34). The main advantage of covering 1976-2019, was that it enabled us to better understand and capture the run-up to the creation of CATE and the QTS and the evolution of policy since, while keeping in mind that ‘new’ ideas do not arise overnight nor are they the expression of a singular will, but rather reflect societal developments over time. The text analysis was supplemented by elite interviews (annex table 5, N=20) with relevant actors who either helped construct the original communications, or had expertise over the policy process due to ‘insider’ access from the early 1980s until 2019, that enabled us to triangulate between different sources until the intent and purpose behind policy became clear.

Our emphasis was on identifying the carriers and modes of compliance presented in table 1 above. As such, the analysis consisted of comparing pieces of evidence both to each other in order to determine similarities and differences across time and space (triangulation), and also to the analytical framework to determine impact on hypotheses and general propositions (annex tables 6 and 7). The analysis also drew on what was the perceived development of teacher education in relation to the education system, in historic lines from the 1944 Education Act onwards, to help us fully comprehend the long trajectory structuring the environment and understand the ‘policy text external’ factors at play (annex table 8).

An annex, containing a complete list of documents and actors interviewed (annex tables 1 to 5), and a summary of the descriptive and analytical coding (annex tables 6 to 8) can be found at www.teacherscareers.eu

We will now develop the mechanisms of institutional change as they unfold in three steps (see Table 3 further below). First, we explain how government entered the game from the early 1980s, relying mostly on instrumentation, certification and accreditation, and a NPM blueprint. Second, we analyse how the voice of teachers and teacher educators, mainly the

universities, was shifted by furthering the academic-practitioner split, thus redefining and aligning progressively the normative pillar on the coercive one. Finally, we explain how government conceived the teacher professional standards as a cornerstone of the new regulation of teachers and teacher education, which was made possible by government acting as gatekeeper and speaking in the name of the profession.

Empirical analysis

Government entering the game: instrumentation, certification and accreditation

Already in the white paper ‘Teaching Quality’ (DES 1983) government began a drive for more heterogeneity within the profession, coupled with the intent of unifying it administratively under one accreditation agency for ITT courses, and one professional certificate, the mentioned QTS, a certificate enabling a person to work as a teacher, which was implemented through Circular 3/84 the following year:

‘it is for the Secretary of State for Education and Science, in accordance with the Education (Teachers) Regulations and in consultation with the Secretary of State for Wales as appropriate, to say whether the course is suitable for the professional preparation of teachers and hence the conferment of qualified teacher status.’ (DES 1984 p18).

Moreover, through the white paper and subsequent circular the government introduced an accreditation agency for teacher education courses, the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) that had to approve any course that wanted to award the newly established QTS. Importantly, CATE was established at ‘arm's distance’ and staffed mostly by teachers, but with a clear hierarchy ending with the Secretary of State for Education. CATE designed the first ‘requirements’ and was responsible for them, under the Secretary of States’ approval, until 1989 (Circular 18/89) when they became published by the Department. In addition to this, in recent years there is also the OFSTED ITT inspection book to contend with.

Importantly, at its inception in 1984, CATE refused to accredit multiple courses, before relenting in 1985 due to backlash from the education sector. This then arguably established *levers of control* over education's central carriers of coercive change. These levers began a process of coercive change through fear of repercussions should government (CATE) prescribed standards not be met, resulting in a loss of the right to educate certified teachers, present even today as we shall see below.

CATE became the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) in 1994, the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) in 2005, the National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL) in 2012 and the Teaching Agency (TA) in 2018. The successive agencies' core functions have remained accreditation of provision (with added responsibilities of attributing training places since 1994) and recommending the awarding of the QTS. Importantly, the oversight of the agency must also be seen in relation to the coercive levers of inspection. CATE was to base decisions on *information* from Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) inspections from its inception, the TTA, TDA, NCTL, and now the TA are to base their decisions on *evidence* from Ofsted inspections. Therefore, we may argue that the creation of OFSTED in 1992 was just as important as CATE becoming the TTA. A fear of failing these inspections is according to our interviews with academics in both Russell Group and post-92 universities, and SCITT administrators, present across providers today. The Russell group is a gathering of 'elite research intensive universities' in the UK. Post-92 universities by contrast are universities that obtained their status following 'upgrades' of lower status higher education institutions, and conduct relatively limited research, with exceptions. (Zapp, Marques and Powell, 2018). For the universities, the fear is compounded by the relatively low status that teacher education departments often have in universities (A1; A2). The limited impact of structural change in this regard can also be related to the clarity of hierarchy, since only the Secretary of State can formally award the QTS, and remains final

arbiter of who can be certified as a teacher and who can be accredited as a provider of both ITT and CPD. Hence, the two basic components, accreditation of providers and certification of teachers in light of centrally prescribed regulations still to this day remain the central control mechanisms over initial teacher education.

Central to the control mechanisms were at first CATE criteria for accreditation of individual courses that could award the QTS, however, later this evolved into more systematic use of inspections as the institutions themselves (as opposed to individual courses) were accredited. The regulations and criteria have also evolved (through a short period of an imposed national curriculum between 1998 and 2002) into what is now known as teachers' standards to which teachers are to be educated. The teachers' standards contain 11 points a teacher must meet, eight on teaching and three on professional conduct, including a requirement to adhere to statutory frameworks published by government including how to assess and what curriculum to teach and to an extent how to teach it. Arguably, this is a joining of coercive and mimetic mechanisms, as control levers are given purpose and direction through a cognitive blueprint centred on steering at a distance and enabling measurements of value for money and quality. Thus, the agency was at arm's distance but with a clear hierarchy, and operated along lines of inspections and clear criteria that were predominantly determined by the DfE. Circular 18/89 ended the application of QTS from individuals and replaced non-standard routes with the licenced teacher route with regulations to be administered by the department, while the following circular 24/89 (DES 1989a) reconstituted CATE and noted that members of the council were to be personally appointed by the Secretary of State for Education.

Shifting the voice of teachers: the furthering of an academic – practitioner split

Historically, university-based educationalists were considered, to some extent, the moral governors of education together with the classroom teacher left to his/her own devices

'for better or worse' (A17). This to some extent changed with circular 3/84 and CATE, which was as mentioned staffed by teachers, and provided a new moral authority on 'good' practices in teacher education. In a blow to academic educationalists, circular 3/84 contained a requirement of recent classroom experience for ITT lecturers, which resulted in a scheme for 'retraining' academics, where they were sent back to school under the Renewal Of School Experience program (ROSE). Coupled with an emphasis on classroom experience for lecturers, the circular introduced a prescribed 'time-spent in schools' for trainees (set at that time as no less than 15 weeks for post-graduates in a one-year route), ushering in the current form of theory-practice relation arguably in favour of the practical. University-based PGCE students (the main route of teacher education) now spend roughly 2/3rds of their time in schools - 24 out of 36 weeks.

In addition to obtaining control over who could be a teacher with the creation of CATE and the QTS, the circular also made the QTS distinct from any academic degree through the phrase:

'the approval by the Secretaries of State of initial teacher training courses is distinct from the validation of courses for academic purposes.' (DES 1984 p18).

A line echoed in Circular 24/89, with an increased emphasis on the 'professional' standards of the teacher being the province of the reconstituted CATE and the Secretary of State for Education, and not academia.

'the accreditation of ITT courses is separate from their academic validation. Accreditation is concerned with the suitability of courses as a professional preparation for teachers.' (DES 1989b p.1)

Importantly, this division is present to this day 35 years later, furthering a central cognitive blueprint centred on division between academia and practitioners through coercive means.

Even though such extreme means as ROSE is long ended, the emphasis on the importance of schools in teacher education was restated in the current ITT requirements:

‘Provision that is not school-led must assure the significant role of schools in recruiting, selecting, training and assessing trainee teachers.’ (DfE 2017 p23).

This also constitutes a shift, from classroom experience, to school, and school leader, participation in designing and evaluating trainee teachers. Even though the recent and relevant experience is no longer a requirement, it provided an apt illustration of how far in a practical orientation teacher education could be pulled as coercion is coupled with a clear cognitive blueprint enabling mimesis.

A further shift in what was promoted as the ‘voice’ in teacher education happened gradually with the mentioned shifts from CATE to the TTA and the TDA, as teachers progressively became somewhat phased out. Importantly, the TDA became internalised into the DfE between 2010 and 2012 as it became the NCTL, which can be seen as a continued state centralization of the standardisation and professionalization of the teacher. With the internalization, the former ‘independent’ staff of the Agency as it was known became staffed by civil servants (initially through a conversion of employment status of existing employees). This resulted in what some of our insider-interviewees (A7; A12; A13) have characterised as a cultural change towards a civil servant mentality of ‘churn’ (frequent movement from one post to another). Furthermore, the changes have also led to a further anonymization of the staff, and protection under the civil service with some complications:

‘When the TDA existed, the people in senior roles were quite sort of public faces. You’d hear who the people were, on the website.’ (A12).

Meanwhile at present, an issue according to our interviews with at least some of the providers (A1; A10; A15) is getting in contact with the right people, thus further eroding non-invited academic and teacher voices access to policymaking, arguably rendering them mute.

Even though many of the staff did stay on with initially similar roles, by 2010 the number of former teachers employed had dwindled and any who found it hard to conform to the new practices were ‘retired’ or relocated, as they were unable to function in the new environment or disagreed strongly with the restructuring and having to deal more directly with policymakers and policy advisers. Central to the latter in the civil service was the requirement of a particular kind of ‘tact’ centred on keeping confidence since:

‘you have to learn to work with your minister in a way and if you can’t, you can’t do your job. So you know basically...Once they’ve lost confidence in you, you can’t really make anything happen and you sort of become unable really to function so you have to go, you have to move in some way.’ (A7).

Thus, old teachers and educationalists, particularly the ones who spoke up to ministers, saw their influence reduced and their employment at an end. Arguably, this illustrates a shift in normative legitimacy, as government can ‘silence’ dissenters in a way they could not in 1984. This was rendered possible by the gradual shift from the largely teacher-staffed CATE in 1984, to a civil service-staffed TA in 2019, as the mechanisms of change have unfolded incrementally to reconstruct the environment.

Speaking in the name of the profession: teacher professional standards as cornerstone

From the inception of the QTS and CATE, the Department for Education has furthered its agenda through the coupling of control levers, with calls for evidence of both value for money and school performance (quality of the teacher), an approach where accountability and the need for measurable evidence is framed as necessary to increase quality and cost

management. HMI was not only to provide information to CATE, but also to ensure that schools followed new regulations regarding the certification and training of teachers from 1984 onwards, with increasing efforts to standardise the teacher in 1989 (DES 1989) and in 1997/8 (the national curriculum in teacher education (DfEE 1998), with a slight roll back in 2002 followed by a return to standards as opposed to a curriculum with the 2002 instructive document ‘Qualifying to teach’.

A ‘simplification’ of the standards happened with the new coalition government in 2011 (DfE 2011), but the core emphasis and content largely remain the same. Further tightening happened in 2019, with the Core Content Framework for ITT providers (DfE 2019). In any event, core to ensuring quality has been the prescribed standards, initially legitimised through the presence of teachers in their formation (above), later through taken for granted practice of government responsibility over teacher education (see annex table 7).

Under this auspice, government has increasingly attempted to determine ‘value’, central for any notion of performance, through measurement mechanisms, blind to issues with what is measured, as education norms are gradually replaced by politico-administrative ones. As one central actor involved in both ITT and CPD put it when talking about recent developments in teacher education (2019):

‘I wish we would measure what we value and not value what we measure. And it happens all the time, it’s that people are so focused on outcomes which can sometimes be completely out of your control.’ (A4).

With such a regime of measurement and control levers centred on standards and inspections, government has no need for uniformity of structure, nor to view the system of teacher education provision as central. Instead, control and oversight is done through a clear

structure of accountability to prescribed standards, not through uniformity at the provider end.

As government put it:

‘Outcomes not methods ... The elected government should set out the outcomes – what needs to be achieved for the public money invested in education.’ (DfE 2016) p9)

This then helped to undermine established norms rooted in pedagogical process and traditional forms of ITT provision (e.g. universities), and further central oversight over teacher education even as the number and types of providers was multiplying (e.g. SCITTs). The alignment of pillars and related mechanisms allowed a continuation of the fragmented landscape of academic degrees, while legitimising approaches of instrumentality and shifting normative legitimacy in the form of who prescribes the standards. There appears to be an emphasis for evidence as a centre ground in legitimising government oversight, with evidence often determined by centrally prescribed standards, in line with a NPM blueprint, that is further enabled through limited alternative voices on the ‘good’ teacher. Moreover, today providers do not get set instructions on how to formulate courses such as a national curriculum on ITT, but the DfE publishes ‘supporting advice’ for providers, most recently the ITT Core Content Framework, which together with the OFSTED inspection handbook forms what are de facto instructions on the content and framing of ITT. These instructions are then enforced through inspections, not courts of law or any other sanctioning device for breach of a legal framework, and centre on the accreditation of the right to recommend graduates be awarded the QTS.

To summarise our analysis and connect description to the inferred unfolding of mechanisms, table 3 below presents the process of transformation as teacher education in England moved from laissez faire and ‘the teacher as scholar’ towards strong government control and teacher as a professional craftsperson. In step A, we note the early evolutions of accountability combined with neo-liberal ideations and tensions within the sector, followed by

a consistent approach to restructure the environment through an emphasis on neo-liberal and NPM ideology that helped further undermine the position of academics when coupled with tensions within the profession and academia and strong coercive control levers rooted in the rationalized need for accountability. Step C draws on these ideological contestations, and note how coercive effects helped transform the norms in an environment as the ‘pillars’ align and cause new forms of conformity in order to obtain insider access.

Table 3: Causal chains

Causal chain process step A →	Causal chain process step B →	Causal chain process step C →	Outcome (also process step D for future developments) →
Shift from Keynesian demand management to Neo-liberal reforms.	A consistent cognitive blueprint: NPM – value for money and outcome focus under politico-administrative supervision	Control through accreditation, inspection, and transparency – standards and OFSTED	Politico-administratively prescribed standards denoting the ‘good’ teacher.
Tensions and rift between academia and practitioners (politicised, fragmented views on education)	Normative legitimacy of NPM in part due to teachers staffing CATE. Compliance with norms – initial stability for practitioners	Furthering of the academic – practitioner split – rise of alternative provision further limiting the role of academics	Fragmented provision of teacher education, but systemic unity at the top with a clear hierarchy.
A perceived need for increased oversight in education (end the secret garden of the curriculum)	Undermining of academic normative legitimacy through academic – practical split in certification	Rewriting of norms resulting in new performance based approaches	End of teacher involvement in accrediting teacher education providers and formulating teacher standards.
Mechanisms unfolding	Mimetic and coercive effect on the normative environment	Emergence of new norms, normative change supported by mimetic and coercive mechanisms	Pillars aligned, reduced contestation between them, but also firm borders between insiders and outsiders

Discussion

In this paper, we aimed to capture the institutional mechanisms that have played to transform the teacher education environment in England from a laissez faire policy in the 1970s to one of strict oversight and accountability. As Ann Childs and Ian Menter (2013) did before us, we point out the centrality of CATE and the control mechanisms instituted alongside it in comprehending the future of teacher education in England due to the coercive

power it grants government. The legitimacy of these control levers we found to be rooted in two cognitive blueprints, one centred on the importance of establishing value for money, and the other of government as responsible for the professional certification of teachers. The eventual institutionalization of these blueprints, our analysis shows, are related to a continued split between those in favour of universities and those in favour of school based teacher training, as well as what one BERA President, Pamela Lomax (1998), called 'the research community's failure to constrain its disagreements'.

Our analysis illustrates that the government-driven professionalization of teachers in England, if initiated through coercive mechanisms of control in the 1980s and supported by NPM blueprints, has also been legitimised by a progressive substitution of professional norm production that relied itself on changing conceptualizations of the teacher. From 'scholar' to 'expert' in the 1980s followed by 'competent practitioner' in the 1990s (Furlong 2001), teachers may now be characterized as a 'self-improving craftsperson'. Here we note some ambiguity, on the one hand 'craft' has been pushed as an expression of why teacher education should be school-based and disconnected from academe by politicians (Childs and Menter 2013). On the other hand it can also be seen as a recognition of the limits research and evidence may have in teaching (Alexander 2001), i.e., being a research informed 'scholar' is not sufficient to make a good teacher. We use "craftsperson" to mean the latter, that teaching is increasingly becoming seen as both a science and an art. The progressive disconnection of teachers (as professional group) from both the politico-administrative circles and the universities produced an apparent paradox where teachers are expected to professionalise based on research and evidence, while the role of universities in training and foci of norm generation has been undermined. As such, our findings are consistent with what is observed elsewhere in education, where NPM logics erode educational norms (Ball 2008), but also

denote the importance of a split approach to education and the lack of strong educational blueprints as a counter-weight to the politico-administrative ones.

In addition, we found that cognitive blueprints are not only shaped by normative environments and the actors within them (Zapp, Helgetun and Powell 2018), but that they can also shape, translate, and undermine norms. In line with our hypothesis (table 2 above), norms can be undermined and re-institutionalized based on a clear cognitive blueprint, at least if it is coupled with effective coercive mechanisms. Moreover, the analysis indicates that in the regulative pillar the control, levers centred on accreditation and inspection were legitimised by the mentioned cognitive blueprints and their mimetic process. Finally, we showed that the mechanisms worked incrementally, and that the reconfiguration of the teacher from scholar to self-improving craftsperson could likely not have happened if the education environment did not have sufficient time to institutionalize to these new norms and practices. To employ a counterfactual, if alternative cognitive blueprints had to a large extent contested the NPM and theory-practice split ones, thereby denying them sufficient legitimacy to fully unfold over time and legitimise coercion centred on accreditation and inspection, the past norms would likely have remained intact. Alternatively, had the old norms been further entrenched, they could perhaps have more sufficiently translated the cognitive blueprints through a process of bricolage (Campbell 2004). Thus, the capacity of existing practices to ‘dent’ new cognitive blueprints seemingly depend on their degree of institutionalization, and the degree of contestation in the cultural-cognitive pillar. Moreover, cultural-cognitive contestation is likely more effective when framed as a cognitive blueprint rather than loosely articulated ideas. Hence, pillars have profound effects across their boundaries, with cognitive blueprints enabling profound changes not only on practices and expectations but also on taken-for-granted conceptualizations, standards, and norms in an environment, in line with past observations and theorizations by W. R Scott (2013). Hence, we may hypothesise that strong

counter-blueprints rooted in the normative environment at the time may have further dented the unfolding of reforms.

In conclusion, the call for a shift from a *laissez faire* approach to education in the 1970s coupled with NPM ideals of measurable oversight impacted teacher education through providing legitimacy for new control levers centred on government provided standards and information from inspections. Entwined with the process of accountability and centralization of power, the normative view on what a teacher is and who has a right to speak on teacher education has shifted dramatically from academia and high performing teachers to an emphasis on high performing school leaders so designated by the Department for Education. The result is an environment in which the DfE acts as a gatekeeper to determine what values and competences (standards) a teacher should be taught, where reviews may be undertaken, such as the 2015 Carter review (Mutton, Burn, and Menter 2016), but the validity of the reviews themselves must be brought under question as political considerations (government desires) have been found to dictate what can and cannot be included (Helgetun and Menter 2020).

To add a comparative outlook and some thoughts on future research, it would appear that England suffers in part from a lack of union interest in teacher education (Carter, Stevenson et al. 2010), as can be found in France where unions champion countervails to government as a counter-power (Seguy 2014), and facilitate discussions on what a teacher is and ought to be, in relation to his education (Prost 2014). As well as a lack of independent bodies, with a legal status ensuring they have a say, that may arbitrate discussions relating to education and the role and place of the (professional) teacher within it, or teaching councils as can be found in England's neighbours Ireland and Scotland (MacBeath 2012). The lack of such voices as unions, or other independent bodies representing teaching, may arguably reduce the voice of the profession when government becomes a gatekeeper. However,

England also has for all purposes a policy of a singular teacher profession as can be seen from the QTS covering all teachers, a difference from the hard divide between primary and secondary teachers found for example in France, where socio-economic and cultural distinctions persists alongside structural divides against government desires for the opposite (Farges 2017). It would also seem England is an example of academic freedom crashing against government desires for control over teachers (Furlong 2001), an experience that may increasingly become an issue in France where teacher education is moving towards increased integration within the university structure as government simultaneously seeks to increase central control and harmonize curricular content through the ongoing INSPE reforms. Furthermore, England is not the only case where government exercises strong control over teacher education and accreditation, this is also the case in Norway, France, and Ireland amongst others (Heinz 2014; Voisin and Dumay 2020), nor is teaching the only profession under such state control. However, resistance from academia towards how the state governs teacher education seems comparatively high in England. We would imagine much interesting research could be done following up on these treads. Moreover, England is here characterised by its strong traditions of academic freedom, its history of low state intervention that has undergone dramatic accountability changes, and tensions between research and practice, that may unfold differently in other contexts. However, further comparative analysis is needed to verify these propositions. The insights here presented may also serve to inspire reforms that aim to centralize the teaching profession, and unify it, or as a warning to those who would rather emphasise a profession or academia led model.

Acknowledgements:

We would like to thank Katharine Burn for her help in identifying and obtaining documents for analysis. We would also like to thank John Furlong, Ian Menter, and Justin J. W. Powell for providing feedback on various draft versions of this paper. We would

additionally like to thank the TeachersCareers team for helpful advice during the research process. Lastly we would like to thank our reviewers and interviewees for their time.

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ANNEX

These are to be hosted on (authors website)

Annex Table 1: Public government documents analysed

Name	Relevance	Author	Year	Type	Political party in power
Teaching quality	White paper - Proposed CATE and professional certification of teachers	DES	1983	Targeted discussive	Tory

				document³	
Circular 3/83 The in-service teacher training grants scheme	First in a year ‘series’ of CPD policy, focused on retraining teachers to become English or Maths teachers	DES	1983	Targeted instructive document⁴	Tory
Circular 3/84 Initial teacher training: approval of courses	Established CATE and professional certification of teachers	DES	1984	Targeted instructive document	Tory
Circular 4/84 The in service teacher training grants scheme	Second in the CPD series – includes retraining to science	DES	1984	Targeted instructive document	Tory
Circular 3/85 The in service teacher training grants scheme	Third in the CPD series	DES	1985	Targeted instructive document	Tory
Circular 1/86 The in service teacher training grants scheme	Fourth in the CPD series	DES	1986	Targeted instructive document	Tory
Circular 6/86 Local education authority training grant scheme	Fifth in the CPD series – changed name to local education authority training grant scheme - shift towards more general CPD	DES	1986	Targeted instructive document	Tory
Circular 9/87 Local education authority training grant scheme	Sixth in the CPD series	DES	1987	Targeted instructive document	Tory
Circular 5/88 Local education authority training grant scheme	Seventh in the CPD series	DES	1988	Targeted instructive document	Tory
Circular 18/89 The education (teachers) regulations 1989	Standardisation of ITT routes leading to QTS	DES	1989	Targeted instructive document	Tory
Circular 24/89 Initial teacher training : approval of courses	ITT course accreditation criteria	DES	1989	Targeted instructive document	Tory

³ Targeted discursive documents lay between the broad and targeted instructive documents as they discuss policy, justify it, and sets out some instructions on a narrow field within education, here with direct focus upon teacher education. Some of these come in the form of consultation plus response, here they are analysed as one due to the interconnected nature of the documents.

⁴ Targeted instructive documents give instructions (sets policy) on a narrow range of topics, directly relevant to teacher education

Education and training for the 21st century	Education plan	DES	1991	Broad document⁵	Tory
Administrative Memorandum 2/92 Induction of newly qualified teachers	Revokes formal induction, instructions for NQTs	DfE	1992	Targeted instructive document	Tory
Circular 9/92 Initial teacher training (secondary phase)	introduced new criteria and procedures for ITT (secondary only)	DfE	1992	Targeted instructive document	Tory
Circular 14/93 The initial training of primary school teachers: new criteria for courses	introduced new criteria and procedures for ITT (primary only)	DfE	1993	Targeted instructive document	Tory
Circular 7/96 Use of supply teachers	Supply teachers regulation – QTS	DfEE	1996	Targeted instructive document	Tory
Circular 13/96 Grants for education support and training	Thirteenth in the CPD series	DfEE	1996	Targeted instructive document	Tory
Excellence in schools	First labour white paper on education – teacher education said to be central for the whole document by its author	DfEE	1997	Broad document	Labour
Circular 10/97 Teaching : high status, high standards	Requirements for ITT courses	DfEE	1997	Targeted instructive document	Labour
Circular 4/98 Teaching : high status, high standards	Requirements for ITT courses	DfEE	1998	Targeted instructive document	Labour
The Education (Induction Arrangements for School Teachers) (England) Regulations	(re) introduction of a formal induction year for newly qualified teachers	DfEE	1999	Targeted instructive document	Labour
Qualifying to teach: Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status and	New standards – introduced « teach first » - shift from national curriculum and attempts to control	DfES	2002	Targeted instructive document	Labour

⁵ Broad documents discuss and present policy across the whole of education, if included here they have a direct impact upon teacher education policy. They differ from the targeted papers due to their focus not being primarily on teacher education.

Requirements for Initial Teacher Training	‘methods’ to only focusing on ‘outcomes’				
Every child matters	new focus upon family and children – inter professional working	DfES	2003	Broad document	Labour
The Professional Standards for Qualified Teachers Status and Requirements for Initial Teacher Training	a revised version of the Teacher Standards	TDA	2008	Targeted instructive document	Labour
The importance of teaching	White paper – presents the school-led system	DfE	2010	Broad document	Tory-LibDem Coalition⁶
Training our next generation of outstanding teachers strategy and consultation report	Strategy on ITT – SCITTs becoming more central – emphasis upon world leading system and comparison to other countries	DfE	2011	Targeted discussive document	Tory-LibDem Coalition
Teacher’s standards	Reduced the teachers standards from 33 to 8	DfE	2011	Targeted instructive document	Tory-LibDem Coalition
A guide to School Direct	A guide to school direct schemes	DfE	2013	Targeted instructive document	Tory-LibDem Coalition
Gov response to the Carter review	Governments response to the Carter review recommendations	DfE	2015	Targeted discussive document	Tory-LibDem Coalition
Education Excellence Everywhere	White paper, led to a re-evaluation of the QTS and induction through consultation	DfE	2016	Broad document	Tory
Initial teacher training criteria and supporting advice Information for accredited initial teacher training providers	Instructions for ITT providers – how ITT is to be done	DfE	2017	Targeted instructive document	Tory

⁶ According to one of our interviews (A14) the LibDems had a direct impact on the Carter review (2015) as can be seen in the government response, where the coalition partners cannot agree on something of little significance. This was apparently a political demonstration rather than a disagreement over substance.

Strengthening Qualified Teacher Status and improving career progression for teachers Government consultation	Proposed changes to the QTS and the introduction of two certificates, one after ITT and one after completion of induction	DfE	2018	Targeted discussive document	Tory with DUP support⁷
Strengthening Qualified Teacher Status and improving career progression for teachers Government consultation response	Kept the QTS as is, extended induction from 1 to 2 years in length	DfE	2018	Targeted discussive document	Tory with DUP support
Teacher recruitment and retention strategy	New strategy for teacher recruitment and retention, CPD and ITT central elements of the strategy	DfE	2019	Targeted discussive document	Tory with DUP support
Early Career framework	New structure for induction, attempts to link ITT, induction, and early CPD	DfE	2019	Targeted instructive document	Tory with DUP support
Core content framework	Follows up on the early career framework, more targeted at initial teacher education. Normative pressure regarding methods in ITT and teaching.	DfE	2019	Targeted instructive document	Tory with DUP support

Annex Table 2: Reports and reviews

Name	Purpose and relevance	Main Author	Year published
The Robbins report	To review the pattern of full-time higher education in Great Britain and in the light of national needs and resources	Professor Lord Robbins, London School of Economics professor	1961
The James Report	Who should do ITT, role of local authorities and universities in ITT	The Lord James of Rusholme, Vice-Chancellor of the University of York	1972
The Carter Review	ITT fact finding, inform new ITT policy	Sir Andrew Carter, school leader	2015

⁷ The DUP supply agreement seems irrelevant in relation to education.

Annex Table 3: Speeches

Name	Purpose	Orator	Year	Note (relevance)
Callaghan's Ruskin Speech	End the secret garden of the curriculum	James Callaghan, Prime Minister for Labour	1976	First time a sitting Prime Minister spoke on Education (see e.g. Furlong 2001)
Blair's Ruskin speech	Presented his vision for Britain should he win the upcoming election: Education, education, education – introduction of political knowledge economy	Tony Blair, leader of the opposition, Labour	1996	A hallmark speech before the upcoming 1997 election, presented the 'knowledge economy' and a firm focus on education. The PM was to be held personally responsible for education.

Annex Table 4: BERA presidential addresses

All inaugural presidential addresses in BERA between 1974 and 2018

Year	Author	Name	Notes
1974	John Nisbet	Educational research: The state of the art	Speech at the inaugural meeting of BERA on the 5 th of April 1974 – a focus on growth, trends, and structure in educational research
1975	Edgar Stones	The colour of conceptual learning	Focused on psychology and education, children's learning and the school. Differences in ability and differing pedagogical approaches in this regard.
1976	Jack Wrigley	Pitfalls in educational research	Methodology of educational research, nature of educational research, risks in educational research.
1977	Brian Simon	Educational research: which way?	Classifying educational research, open-ended focus. What is education, what should educational research aim at. Perceived dominance of psychometrics. Educational research and policy also a central theme.
1978	Jim Eggleston	The characteristics of educational research: mapping the domain	Methodology of educational research. Follows the debate from last year's address.
1979	Lawrence Stenhouse	The study of samples and the study of cases	Purpose of educational research as applied, but one that must work for both researchers and practitioners. Bridging this 'divide' important
1980	Bruce Choppin	Is education getting better?	Is education getting better? Little evidence either way. Favouring examination and oversight under a

			single national body, thinks BERA should play a role here.
1981	E. C. Wragg	From research into action	Influence and role of educational research in education.
1982	Peter Chambers	Democratisation and pragmatism in educational research	Linking research and experience is important. Repeated attacks on teacher education and educational research.
1983	Sara Delamont	A woman's place in education: myths, monsters and misapprehensions	Education and gender. First female president
1984	David Hamilton	Bread and circuses: some challenges to educational research in the 1980s	Role of BERA following new landscapes after SSRC closure. Education of teachers and other degrees in education. Looks to the future
1985	Brian Wilcox	Research communities, the white paper chase and a new research ecumenism	A focus on the education research community and government policy on education
1986	Bryan Dockrell	The assessment of children's affective characteristics	The moral nature of education and child impressions in school.
1987	Patricia Broadfoot	Educational research: two cultures and three estates	Brings up hostile environment for educationalists under the Tories since their election in 79.
1988	Jack Whitehead	How do we improve research-based professionalism in education? A question which includes action research, educational theory and the politics of educational knowledge	BERA as a forum for testing new ideas. BERA also a forum for protecting academic freedoms and conduct educational inquiries.
1989	John Elliott	Educational research in crisis: performance indicators and the decline in excellence.	Critique of government, lack of funds in educational research. Impact of policy on 'excellence in research'.
1990	Sally Brown	Effective contributions from research to educational conversations: style and strategy	Views from the 'other side' draws on her own experiences as a former Scottish civil-servant and quango work, and a return to academia.
1991	Michael Bassey	Creating education through research	Educational research and how to 'construct' education for the future
1992	Caroline Gipps	The profession of educational research	Educational research and policymaking - both in a crisis. Need to assert academic autonomy.
1993	Wynne Harlen	Developing public understanding of education – a role for educational researchers	Follows from Gipps. Educationalists must understand the policy process. Educationalist – policymaker relations
1994	Jean Rudduck	Enlarging the democratic promise of education...	Historical look, work of national commission on Education (1993) – politics and education
1995	Roger Murphy	Like a bridge over troubled water: realising the potential of educational research	Role and purpose of BERA - its future, and educational research

1996	Donald McIntyre	The profession of educational research	Identity of researchers and BERA – relatable to purpose
1997	Margaret Brown	Educational researchers in universities: the condition of the workforce	Implications in the Dearing report, experience and qualifications of staff – from junior researcher to professor. Education compared to other disciplines in the University.
1998	Pamela Lomax	Working together for educative community through research	Disagreements in education, folk devils, the media and ‘problems’ in education. Primarily: The problems with ‘unconstrained’ disagreement in educational research
1999	Peter Mortimer	Does educational research matter?	Educational research, purpose and value. Set in the context of national and international economic developments. Impact of research on policy
2001	Anne Edwards	Responsible Research: ways of being a researcher	Educational research an engaged social science. Importance of ‘close to the field’ research. How Educational Research can inform policy.
2003	John Furlong	BERA at 30. Have we come of age?	Increasing demand for research based evidence. Accusations of poor quality and lack of impact. Plurality of approaches to educational research.
2005	Geoff Whitty	Education(al) research and education policy making: is conflict inevitable?	The role of educational research in policymaking. Policymaker and researcher relations.
2007	Pamela Munn	Building research capacity collaboratively: can we take ownership of our future?	Education and public policy. Knowledge creation. Quality and usefulness of educational research.
2010	John Gardner	Educational research: what (a) to do about impact!	Utility and value of social sciences research (education).
2013	Ian Menter	Educational research – What’s to be done?	Contributions educational research may make to policy development in education.
2015	Gemma Moss	Knowledge, education and research: Making common cause across communities of practice	Knowledge, education, and research – how these concepts can mean different things for policymakers and practitioners.
2017	Gary McCulloch	Educational research: Which way now?	Early years of BERA and its foundation. Unresolved issues, way forward.

Annex Table 5: List of interviewees:

A 1: Senior academic, Russell Group University

A2: Academic, Russell Group University

A3: ITT interest group organization representative, former TTA, external government advisor

A4: ITT interest group organization representative, former head of teacher education in a SCITT, external government advisor

A5: Local councilman and analyst
 A6: Senior academic, post-92 university, external government advisor
 A7 Senior Civil servant, DfE
 A8: State employee working on education
 A9: Interest organization employee
 A10: researcher in education
 A11: head of a MAT and SCITT, works with the teaching schools alliance
 A12: Senior civil servant, DfE – former TDA
 A13: Senior civil servant, DfE – former TDA
 A14: Head of a MAT and SCITT, external government adviser
 A15: researcher in education
 A16: Researcher, government adviser
 A17: Senior academic, Russell Group University, involved in British teacher education policy
 A18: Responsible for ITT and CPD at a major MAT, former Teach First employee
 A19: Civil servant, DfE
 A20: Union policy adviser

Annex Table 6: Coding approach summaries ITT documents – development of institutional pillars and mechanisms over time

Data source	Links	Carriers summarised	Compliance summarised
Teaching quality	Is referred to in Circular 3/84	Regulative: presented QTS and what became CATE - HMI to inspect schools to ensure QTS requirements are followed - however, document is discursive, link to Circular 3/84 control levers Normative: Importance of teacher's recognised. Cultural-cognitive: Importance of accountability in education. Role of government to ensure quality.	Regulative: N/A here – see circular 3/84 Normative: Government lacks legitimacy, teachers have it. it is important to have high demands of teachers (moral arguments) Cultural-cognitive: shared need for public services (such as education) to be accountable – some efforts to justify it.
Circular 3/84	Refers to 'Teaching quality (DES 1983)'	Regulative: Creation of two control levers, required accreditation of ITT courses through CATE in order to grant QTS. Certification, QTS required in order to teach. Clear accountability from provider to CATE to DES. Secretary of State for Education is the one who awards the QTS. Legally sanctioned by law. Normative: academia moral authority on academic degrees, CATE as staffed by teachers moral authority on professional degrees.	Regulative: Enforcement through HMI inspections and requirement of accreditation, clear consequences. Application procedures and 'interviews' to ensure compliance Normative: Teacher's know the classroom better than academics – practical argument. 'High performing' teachers the

		Academics need relevant classroom experience to even train teachers (ROSE) Cultural-cognitive: need for accountability, need to ensure quality, the importance of schools in teacher education. Cost concerns (This dimension is weak in this document, but strong through the direct link to ‘teaching quality’)	recognised voice of the profession. Cultural-cognitive: Similar to developments elsewhere in public policy – perceived need for central oversight and cost management. Also important to ensure quality in Education - link to teaching quality important here. Central efforts to justify why the QTS is needed (fragmented profession, quality, costs etc.)
Circular 18/89	Supplements 3/84 and later 24/89	Regulative: DfE control over standards, emphasis on certification, accreditation, and accountability line/hierarchy. Higher education sole providers of QTS. ‘probationary’ teachers – induction, a new form of control Normative: Universities seen as a legitimate actor, cannot be ignored. Continued emphasis on teachers knowledge and expertise (professional competences) – left undefined by government, but central through the probationary period Cultural-cognitive: push of academic – practitioner split, emphasis on the classroom and the role of schools regarding professional competences. Need for accountability, need to ensure quality, the importance of schools in teacher education	Regulative: loss of accreditation remains a real possibility, increased emphasis on inspections. Normative: still strong position for teachers and academics, cannot be ignored Cultural-cognitive: clear and comprehensive frame rooted in issues of quality assurance, to be handled through standards, accreditation, and the role of schools in training teachers. Emphasis on teacher’s as knowing ‘what works’
Circular 24/89	Replaces Circular 3/84	Regulative: Reconstitutes CATE – same control levers (accreditation, certification (QTS), inspection), Sec of State in charge (appoints) Normative: School teacher’s are the voice of education. Sec of State ‘expects’ in relation to how the DES	Regulative: Role of inspections restated – fear of consequences. Sec of State as final authority. Normative: Sec of State claims some moral authority and expertise – contestation

		interprets education. The purpose of education a state-prerogative. Cultural-cognitive: push of academic – practitioner split, emphasis on the classroom and the role of schools regarding professional competences. Need for accountability, need to ensure quality, the importance of schools in teacher education. Some increased emphasis on ‘evidence’	Still recognised role for teachers through CATE. And role of schools (partnerships) in ITT Cultural-cognitive: continuation of existing lines, increasing understanding. Not yet fully taken for granted. References to Government and HMI ‘evidence’. Emphasis on teacher’s as knowing ‘what works’
AM (administrative memorandum) 2/92	Replaces part of circular 18/89	Regulative: end of ‘evaluation’ at the end of induction Normative: induction maintained, role of teacher’s and schools in teacher education reinforced Cultural-cognitive: induction as an ‘aid’ rather than evaluation device, still within an academic-practitioner split due to the emphasis on a necessity to continue training after the end of the academic course	Regulative: reduced ‘toolset’ Normative: continued evolution of teacher’s as a self-referring profession (importance of practical knowledge) Cultural-cognitive: does not break with any developments observed in other documents, but adds little as well.
Circular 9/92	Replaces circular 24/89 for secondary teachers	NB: secondary teachers only Regulative: restatement of control levers, accreditation, role of CATE, and HMI. But accreditation now granted to a whole institution (e.g. university) rather than on a ‘by course’ basis. Normative: increased focus on schools’ role in ITT, at the expense of academia Cultural-cognitive: continuation of previous trends	Regulative: clear standards, inspections, Sec of State in Charge. But applies to whole institutions, different form of evaluation, but base compliance remains the same. Normative: Role of state more prominent, teacher’s still the core ‘voice’. Academia still has a role Cultural-cognitive: further institutionalization of accountability, academic-practitioner divide, role of inspections. Emphasis on teacher’s as knowing ‘what works’

Circular 14/93	Replaces circular 24/89 for primary teachers. Of importance across 9/92 and 14/93: split requirements, but same QTS	NB: primary teachers only Regulative: restatement of control levers, accreditation, role of CATE, and HMI. But accreditation now granted to a whole institution (e.g. university) rather than on a ‘by course’ basis. Normative: increased focus on schools’ role in ITT, at the expense of academia Cultural-cognitive: Importance of accountability to ensure quality pushed, academic-practitioner divide present	Regulative: clear standards, inspections, Sec of State in Charge Normative: Role of state more prominent, teacher’s still the core ‘voice’. Academia still has a role Cultural-cognitive: further institutionalization of accountability, academic-practitioner divide, role of inspections.
Circular 7/96	None	NB: Supply teachers only Regulative: supply teachers should have QTS – inspectors will check Normative: need for quality, and government as quality assurer through QTS institutionalized Cultural-cognitive: push of accountability through inspections (NPM)	Regulative: fear of inspections Normative: QTS pushed as ‘stamp of quality’ – moral implications, teachers should have the QTS no matter what. Cultural-cognitive: accountability through inspections and prescribed standards. (limited attempts to justify)
Excellence in schools	Referred to in circular 10/97	Regulative: none on teachers, continuation Normative: importance of teacher education – the white paper emphasised teacher training as the core of all their initiatives in education Cultural-cognitive: knowledge economy, need for standards and accountability of teachers and their training	Regulative: N/A Normative: teacher education, and by implication its quality, a key part of education (normative/moral argument) – it is right to have high demands of teacher training Cultural-cognitive: presentation of ‘knowledge economy’ – need of accountability and why it is important restated – clear frame

Circular 10/97	Replaces circulars 9/92 and 14/93 – links to ‘excellence in schools’ for legitimacy	Regulative: increased emphasis on standards, control levers remain accreditation, certification, inspection. Normative: professional aspects of teaching considered central, this is handled through schools. Emphasis on schools as ‘custodians’ of the professional aspects of teaching. Professional aspects central to ITT (PGCE). Partnerships between universities and schools important Cultural-cognitive: accountability central, importance of education and the teacher for the country’s economy (knowledge economy), importance of schools in ITT.	Regulative: fear of inspections, clear hierarchy, clear standards Normative: Mainly a legitimiser of approaches, it is important to have high demands of teachers (moral arguments). Academic side not mentioned – academia ‘not important’? Cultural-cognitive: Accountability and standards clearly defined, also attempted legitimised through emphasis on schools and teachers expertise.
Circular 4/98	Restates circular 10/97 and expands on it Last ‘circular’	Should be seen as an extension of 10/97 – 140 pages long of standards, standards, standards	N/A – see above
The Education (Induction Arrangements for School Teachers) (England) Regulations		Regulative: (re)introduces induction as mandatory, NQTs are required to pass their induction year – appeal body = Secretary of State for Education Normative: increased emphasis on school-based teachers as the professional educators of teacher’s Cultural-cognitive: academic-practitioner split, ITT as one part in academia (initial) and one part in schools (induction).	Regulative: fear of failure, clear hierarchy with sec of state as final instance of appeal. Normative: importance of practical experience Cultural-cognitive: teacher education seen as comprised of both an academic and professional component, clear understanding as to why this is so – emphasis on teacher’s as knowing ‘what works’
Qualifying to teach: Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status and	Replaces circulars 4/98 and 10/97	Regulative: end of national curriculum, ‘return’ to standards – in essence the control levers remain accreditation, certification, inspection – clear hierarchy still with Sec of State in charge even	Regulative: inspections and standards Normative: ITT providers are legitimate as ‘experts’ on ITT – a right to define methods is theirs. But

Requirements for Initial Teacher Training		though it is a TDA publication (Sec of State still signed it) Normative: recognition of individual needs and that ITT providers know what they are on about. Cultural-cognitive: references the current system as ‘what works’ due to perceived increases in standards and attainment.	outcomes is for the state to determine, as custodians of the nation. Cultural-cognitive: standards work – All should aspire to them.
Professional standards for Qualified Teacher Status	Reformulates and directly relates to Qualifying to teach.	Regulative: sets out the standards trainee teachers must meet to be awarded the QTS – accreditation, certification. Sec of State in charge. Link to induction – ITT providers required to inform NQTs about induction. Increased reporting demands, to demonstrate providers meet requirements. clear hierarchy still with Sec of State in charge even though it is a TDA publication (Sec of State still signed it) Normative: Emphasis on the Initial-induction link, as well as the place of schools in ITT. Added some new ‘certificates’ in a ladder, but the QTS is still at the heart of the profession Cultural-cognitive: changes justified in part due to ‘internal’ evaluations and reviews – all behind a veil. Emphasis on ‘evidence’ in addition to inspection results. Value for money traits more prominent than before	Regulative: Emphasis on inspections and criteria that must be met. Fear primary coercive compliance mechanism. Normative: authority still given largely to school based practitioners, particularly through emphasis on induction. QTS is argued to be at the heart of the profession, so any ‘good’ teacher should meet the teacher standards, always. Cultural-cognitive: an emphasis on ‘evidence’ of what works.
The Importance of Teaching		Regulative: limited, some focus on OFSTED in relation to education in general Normative: Incredible emphasis on education being left to the professionals, this includes ITT – a stated aim is to increase school-led provision Cultural-cognitive: large emphasis on evidence of ‘what works’ – mostly centred on profession led	Regulative: N/A Normative: Teaching is a craft, teacher’s and high performing school leaders know best. First true articulation on ‘high performing schools’ (circular 3/84 focused on high performing teachers) as a central ‘voice’ in ITT.

		ITT, CPD, reduction of direct government intervention in favour of a 'distant' approach ensuring quality. Framed under 'learning on the job', so continued academic-practitioner divide, but with more direct language	Cultural-cognitive: emphasis on 'evidence' and references to what works, particularly what works elsewhere (Finnish model) - first attempt to use 'academic' style references to legitimise approach
Training our next generation of outstanding teachers	Relates to 'The importance of teaching'	Regulative: Accreditation (QTS), standards to be met, inspections Normative: high focus on 'elite' and high performing teachers, schools, and school leaders as the 'experts' on education and by extension ITT and CPD Cultural-cognitive: high focus on teachers, limited references to academia. Pushes the importance of quality (accountability to ensure this), but a first recognition of recruitment (quantity) issues. Main focus on PGCE, limited focus on B.Ed	Regulative: focus on inspection and performance compared to standards. Also recruitment becoming a factor Normative: high performing, and 'elite' are key words for the right to 'speak' on education and ITT/CPD – all as measured by government criteria. Cultural-cognitive: focus on schools and school led ITT as 'what works' – accountability seems taken for granted, almost an afterthought that is and will be present.
Educational Excellence Everywhere	References the Carter Review and the Gov. Response to the review.	Regulative: limited, some focus on OFSTED in relation to education in general – questions replacing the QTS with a different form of certification – but core function would still have remained. Focus on outcomes, not methods. Normative: ITT is improving, doing well, but can do better – legitimises current system. Cultural-cognitive: Continuation of 'the importance of teaching' – focus on schools, the use of evidence, emphasis on ensuring quality. Emphasis on high performance and elite performers. Extreme focus on 'outcomes'	Regulative: Government in charge, failure to comply leads to loss of accreditation and right to train teachers. Normative: Current system is working and is supported by the high performing school, developments supported by Andrew Carter, the highest performing school leader. Cultural-cognitive: the government's policies is largely 'what works' – Outcomes is what matters in education.

ITT criteria and supporting advice		Regulative: instructions for OFSTED and ITT providers – OFSTED are to ensure the advice is ‘mostly’ followed Normative: an emphasis on these standards as the right approach to ITT – especially regarding reading (systematic synthetic phonics) – also restatement of teaching as an all graduate profession. Universities have a place, BUT before ITT (subject knowledge) Cultural-cognitive: academic-practitioner divide, place of university is in partnerships and as subject knowledge experts. NB: Normative and cultural-cognitive becoming blurred – old norms undermined	Regulative: fear of inspections, clear criteria and standards. Normative: Universities used as ‘subject knowledge’ experts rather than ‘education’ experts – a push of government and their ‘advisers’ as true experts on ITT Cultural-cognitive: a joining of ‘what works’ as a taken for granted presentation of teachers and school leaders as ‘profession’ experts (teaching is a craft) – further legitimised normatively by a redefinition of the role of academia.
Teacher recruitment and retention strategy	Linked to the Early Career Framework	Regulative: accountability not to be reduced, OFSTED inspects, Government denotes standards Normative: focus on CPD and life-long learning as central aspects of the teaching profession. Recognises some ‘leading’ voices in education Cultural-cognitive: accountability cannot be touched (taken for granted), a need to engage with CPD more.	Regulative: fear of inspections, government standards and possible sanctions remain in place Normative: CPD can help to develop the profession, attract new professionals, and keep teachers in schools – do CPD a normative prescription. Academia recognised to an extent through Sam Twiselton – who was also on the Carter review Cultural-cognitive: accountability taken for granted as a necessity.
ITT Core Content Framework	Linked to the Early Career Framework and Carter Review	Regulative: ITT standards still the core requirement for the QTS Normative: this document primarily operates here – denotes what good ITT is and how good ITT should be done	Regulative: Inspections remain core mode of compliance. Normative: a normative language centred on the one hand on research findings, and on the other on government definitions

		Cultural-cognitive: high emphasis on ‘evidence’ of what works in teacher education. The document centres on perceived problems in ITT identified mostly in the Carter Review NB: pillars align, limited direct attempts at ‘undermining’ existing practices.	of stated targets and perceived issues. Cultural-cognitive: The document claims the issues identified in the Carter review have now been addressed through the Core Content Framework and the Early Career Framework – so doing what they prescribe is ‘what works’
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Annex Table 7: Analytical summary

Claim	Result	Indicator	Key pieces of evidence
Control levers pushed an academic - practitioner split cognitive blueprint	Holds	Teacher standards, requirements of practical experience, rise of SCITTs	Teaching quality, circular 3/84 - every ITT instructive or discussive document since - see annex tables
Control levers were pushed by a NPM cognitive blueprint	Holds over time	Control levers initially enabled steering at a distance, while over time enabled direct provider-central authority links and, progressively take the form of standardisation to enable establishing value for money	NAO 2017, circular 3/84, circular 18/89 and 24/89 (standards set by DfE, not CATE/TTA), circulars 10/97 and 4/98, DfE 2010 and DfE 2011
control levers will not change if they can push government cognitive blueprint(s)	Holds, weak inference – needs more evidence	accreditation and certification coupled with inspections and standards has remained the control levers	Circular 3/84, DfE 2017, DfE 2018
Undermining of norms will a) require normative legitimacy to begin with	Holds	teachers staffed CATE, failure of national ITT curriculum due to lack of fit for academic purpose. Reception of ITT core content framework and early career framework	Teaching quality, circular 3/84, circular 4/98, DfE 2019b, DfE 2019c, interviews (A3; A7)
Undermining of norms will B) overtime mean initial normative legitimacy no longer required	Holds, but weak counterfactual - hard to test	TDA internalisation and end of teacher involvement. However, we cannot rule out this happening without preceding normative change.	Interviews (A3;A7;A12;A13)

Elements of the cognitive blueprints will over time become taken for granted	Holds	Need for accountability no matter what, importance of established value for money, differentiation between academia and practitioners and their role in ITT	DfE 2019a, NAO 2017, Carter review and gov. Response. Interviews (A1; A2;A3;A4;A6;A14;A17)
Mechanisms were entwined	Mostly Holds	Impossible to truly separate one from the other over time. However, normative and coercive mechanisms were separable due to the regulative nature of the environment. Cultural-cognitive pillar legitimised coercion and undermined the existing normative environment.	Annex tables

Annex Table 8 Events and government actions of relevance

Year	Action	Remarks	Relevant for
1944	Education act	Created an inclusive model of education. Low level of central control over teachers	Education system
1963	Robbins report	Divided Educational Research (ER). Four disciplines sociology, psychology, history, and philosophy central to education at this time	Educational Research. - ITT
1976	PM James Callaghan's speech at Ruskin College, Oxford	A call for direct gov. intervention in Education, a novelty at the time. First time a sitting Prime Minister spoke about Education. Education became nationally significant for Labour and the working class.	Approach to governing.
1982	Schools council abolished	Schools council disbanded in 1982 by the Secretary of State for Education and Science, Sir Keith Joseph. Replaced it by two separate nominated bodies which would be responsible for the curriculum and examinations. Increasing the possibility of the DfE directly controlling examinations and the curriculum.	Teacher's work Education governance
1984	Creation of CATE and QTS	Created the current control levers in ITT	ITT
1986	First Research Assessment Exercise	Impacted how ER and ITT was conducted. Rise of the market and competition. Also increased quality in ER.	ER and ITT
1988	Education Act	Established the current education system – lay ground work for SCITTs and academies (as grant maintained schools). Changed direction of English education policy from social democratic to neo-liberal New Public Management inspired ideals. Came	Entire education system, education governance,

		about nine years after the Tory party first won power, and four years after ITT was restructured in circular 3/84. – extensive groundwork likely to have taken place prior. Created the Local Management System of Schools (LMS) which was useful for the later creation of MATS and local funding/direct funding to schools. Kenneth Bakers move towards a national curriculum also influenced in part by a teacher's strike over pay and conditions in 85-86	teacher policy.
1992	University reform	Upgrade of colleges into universities. Academic drift. Final end of 'Teacher Colleges'.	ITT and ER
1992	Creation of OFSTED	Created through the education (schools) act the same year	Education inspections
1992	Education (Schools) Act 1992	A subtle move away from central control. Local and parental control (also present in the policies of the current Tory government). Created OFSTED	schools
1995	Comment by HMCI Chris Woodhead	15 000 teachers were labelled as useless by Her Majesty's Chief Inspector, Chris Woodhead. He was retained when Labour came to power.	Teachers
1997-8	National curriculum in ITT	A standardised curriculum in ITT, ensuring that the same was taught across ITT providers. Ended in 2002. This was pushed by the TTA who wanted a common set of standards in ITT.	ITT
1997	Change in government	Labour takes over after 18 years of Tory rule. One of Blairs main focuses in opposition was 'Education, Education, Education' – However they focused on adding new policies, not changing or revoking past Tory ones. NPM but of a different character. Neo-liberalism as a tool not an end in itself. On the other hand, others have called it neo-liberalism by stealth.	All sectors of public policy
1998	Teachers: meeting the challenges of change – policy paper	A policy paper addressing the need for a new professionalism in teaching. – Further oversight from the 'outside world' education seen as too closed. A continuation of Callaghans speech and the policies of Thatcher. Education too important to be left to the educators.	Teachers, ITT
1999	Signing of Bologna declaration	Move towards harmonized higher education in Europe. However, credits are still counted and talked about using the old English system, not ECTS for example. PGCE is a 4 th year post graduate degree, not conformed to the 3+2+3 system of Bologna.	ITT
2000	Participated in PISA	In line with governing by numbers ideology	Education system

2000	Performance pay	To increase recruitment and retention. In line with governing by numbers ideology	teachers
2000	Creation of academies	Based on the old grant school idea, labour introduced the concept of academies which were put into place in 2002	Education system
2002	End of national curriculum in ITT	Accordign to Furlong (2013) this marked a turning point in Labour strategy, when ITT alone was seen as not enough to target teacher autonomy (in line with governing by numbers ideology and a desire for central control, not autonomy)	ITT
2003	Framework agreement	An agreement between government, the employers' association (the National Employers' Organisation for School Teachers (NEOST)) and teachers' unions (except for the strident National Union of Teachers). Was aimed at reducing teachers workload to improve student learning. Based upon a report from price waterhouse cooper	Teachers
2006	The Education (School Teacher Performance Management) (England) Regulations 2006	Required school governing bodies to 'establish a written policy ('the performance management policy') setting out how the performance of teachers at the school [was] to be managed and reviewed. Showed how Government faith in teachers remained minimal	Teachers and schools
2008	Financial crisis	Lack of funds for social policies – eventually austerity	All social policies
2008	Education framework	Led up to the Master in teaching and learning. Was written by two voices	ITT and further teacher education
2009	Master in teaching and learning	Had its gov. funding cut in 2010 by Michael Gove. But some programs still exist through internal university funding. Current debates touch upon the need to extent the PGCE from 1 year to a full 2 year masters	ITT and further teacher education
2010	Change in government	Tory and Lib Dem coalition take over after 13 years of Labour rule. Tory dominance in education. Coalition policies driven by ideology across social policy domains.	Education system
2010	The importance of teaching white paper	Major reversals of Labour policies. Emphasis upon School based training (later SCITT) and academies Decentralisation and centralisation of policy both at the same time (DfE – Schools). Autonomy and Accountability of equal importance	ITT – Inspections – School system - recruitment

2010	Austerity	Restricted funding. Pay cap on public employees (teachers)	All public services
2010	Academies Act	Act containing benefits for schools converting to academies. Tory policies quoted the autobiography of Tony Blair.	Education system
2010-2015	Five year policy goals	https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/2010-to-2015-government-policy-teaching-and-school-leadership/2010-to-2015-government-policy-teaching-and-school-leadership (accessed 02.12.2019)	ITT – Inspections – School system - recruitment
2011	Policy on SCITTS	Paper outlying the SCITT policy – increasing focus upon SCITTS. SCITTS were created by Kenneth Baker in the late 80s however, and was encouraged by both Labour and the TTA according to Furlong (2013). UCET is also pro-SCITT. Issue is with the Univ-SCITT link and the PGCE. Partnerships an increasing issue.	ITT - recruitment
2015	Carter review	A review of how to structure ITT – what constitutes good/excellent ITT. Work began in April 2014 (under Gove). Is seen as remarkably nuanced and somewhat neutral. But also written with multiple voices.	ITT
2016	Education Excellence Everywhere white paper	Poorly written. Three different types of citations used. BERA president Ian Menter felt used and abused by the paper (https://www.timeshighereducation.com/blog/use-misuse-and-abuse-research-education-white-paper accessed 02.12.2019). Continuation of decentralisation and centralisation of policy both at the same time (DfE – Schools). Autonomy and accountability	Education system and ITT
2016	Snap election	‘Hung’ Parliament, Tory minority with DUP support. Backbenches (and whole of parliament) increasing in importance – see King 1976	All politics
2016	End of 2010-2015 policies	Change of tact reported in interviews. Justine Greening new Sec of State, Theresa May new PM.	ITT – School system
2017	Scrapping pay cap	The end to the teachers pay cap starting with the 2018/19 pay round. Mentioned in a letter from Elizabeth Truss MP, to Patricia Rice on the 21 st of September 2017	Teachers and recruitment
2018	Recruitment Crisis	Recruitment targets not met for fifth year in a row. However, still adequate numbers according to the government. In addition, the recruitment numbers themselves have in the past been criticised as inaccurate and randomly chosen. Thus if it is a true	ITT

		crisis, or a political crisis remains to be seen. Staffing issues are at present not reported.	
2018	Retention crisis	Teachers retire early, or change professions, at an increasing pace. This is according to unions due to workload and work conditions.	School system - CPD