Teacher Training in England and Wales: Past, Present and Future Perspectives

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Abstract

Policy, theory and practice in initial teacher education in England has a long history of turbulence. This paper reflects upon this history and examines those key aspects of initial teacher education which have shaped past, present and future developments. Following a brief historical overview of key developments in the field, the issue of where best to train the teacher – in school or in an HEI – is considered. Then, the content of training, and those qualities and skills most desired in the new teacher are discussed. Finally, there is some informed speculation about possible future developments in teacher training in the rapidly changing world of the twenty-first century.

Introduction

Initial teacher education in England is currently undergoing yet another process of policy reform, the culmination of a long period of transformation over the past twenty years. Looking further back at the history of teacher education over the past century and a half, it is clear that this history is a turbulent and contested one. Questions as to the form and nature of a professional training, the essential skills, knowledge and attitudes desired of an effective teacher, the most suitable locus of expertise, the relative roles of participants and the balance between theory and practice, are certainly not new or recent, but have long been rehearsed by educationists, policy-makers, teachers and trainers alike. In the context of teacher training past and present, any sense of a coherent, consistent or united system of training, in which the various academic, practical and theoretical strands have been successfully reconciled has proved an elusive goal. Arguably the current juncture of teacher education is fraught with fundamental tensions. Increasing government control of teacher education, a significant emphasis upon school-based professional training, a much greater diversity of work-based routes into the teaching profession, a mandatory

national curriculum for trainee teachers and assessment against prescriptive standards and recently expected outcomes, have all contributed to a climate of uncertainty, anxiety, hostility and ideological polarization, particular in relation to higher education institutions which have long had the responsibility for training teachers.

This paper, which reflects upon past, present and future aspects of teacher education in England and Wales, comprises four main parts. First, there is a historical overview of key developments in the field. Secondly, the issue of where best to train the teacher – in school or in a higher education institution (HEI) [1] – is considered. Thirdly, the content of training, and those qualities and skills most desired in the new teacher are discussed. Finally, there is some informed speculation about possible future developments in teacher training in the rapidly changing world of the twenty-first century.

Historical Context

It is not within the scope of this paper to present a complete, chronological history of the subject of initial teacher training (ITT). This has effectively been done elsewhere. (Jones 1924, Rich 1933, Tropp 1957, Gosden, 1972) To locate and contextualize the paper, however, a brief historical overview of the main trends in the history of teacher training over the past two hundred years is outlined.

Two important themes emerge from the history of teacher training in the past two hundred years. The first, frequently described in the literature using the metaphor of a swinging pendulum, refers to the dominance at different times of a school-based/apprenticeship or a college- or university-based model of training. The movement between these approaches, largely chronological, with school-based/apprenticeship models dominating in the nineteenth century and college- and university-based models dominating for much of the twentieth century, has witnessed a clear return to a more school-based approach in the past twenty years, with some transitional overlapping in between. This oscillation raises important questions about the balance between educational theory and practice and shifting priorities in teacher training policy and practice over time. (Gardner 1993) The second concerns the complex relationship of teacher training to much broader educational and social developments and priorities. The history of teacher training is inextricably linked with the history of state education, particularly in relation to the expansion of secondary

education for all in the early to mid twentieth century and later to the broadening of access to further and higher education in the post 1960s period. Entwined with these main themes are a range of other complex issues such as the nature, status and control of the teaching profession by the government and other agencies, entry and exit requirements, supply and demand, funding and remuneration and differential expectations for teachers in the range of sectors catered for, such as nursery, primary, secondary and further.

The concept of a formal system of teacher training was a novel one at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Prior to this time, teachers serving the upper and middle classes usually boasted Oxbridge degrees and clerical status, whilst those serving the lower classes merely had to be literate and numerate. From 1805 onwards, the advent of mass organized elementary schooling for children of the working classes, led by the principal religious societies, created an urgent demand for new teachers. This demand provided an impetus for the introduction of a brief and basic form of school-based training in which existing and aspiring teachers alike, were able to learn the practical mechanics of the monitorial system – a system which enabled vast numbers of pupils to be instructed by very few adult staff. Throughout the 1820s, 30s and 40s a formalized network of denominational residential teacher training colleges emerged to meet the growing demand for qualified teachers. Training was, however, brief with minimal emphasis upon academic and intellectual stimulation.

By 1840, concern had mounted over the ability of the emerging training college system both to cope with the heavy demand for new teachers and to produce teachers of a sufficiently high standard of academic and professional quality to serve the expanding elementary sector. A major difficulty concerned the relative lack of education of candidates for the new training colleges. A solution to the problem was found in the creation of the pupil-teacher system, formally instituted by the government in 1846. It was designed both to raise overall standards of instruction provided in elementary schools and to boost the recruitment of able candidates for the training colleges. Pupil teachers were usually apprenticed for five years, commencing at the age of thirteen. In effect, the pupil-teacher system operated a closed system of schooling and professional training from within the elementary, and predominantly working-class, world within which it existed. A fundamentally school-based apprenticeship model of initial teacher training, it bridged the age gap between leaving elementary school and

entering training college. Bright, aspiring elementary pupils could learn on the job, through classroom observation and practical experience of supervised teaching, whilst at the same time receiving further personal instruction from the head teacher of their school. Pupil teachers were examined annually by Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMI) and their progress, both academic and professional, was regularly monitored. At the close of the apprenticeship, trainees were expected to compete for Queen's Scholarships which subsidized the best students to attend residential training colleges and acquire full certificated status. Not all pupil teachers were formally trained and certificated and many teachers in elementary schools worked as uncertificated assistants, their pupil-teacher apprenticeship having been their sole form of professional training. With the expansion of educational provision in the 1870s and 1880s, under the newly constituted school boards, the original pupil-teacher system was criticized for its narrowness, poor quality and standards of recruitment, and low levels of professional and academic instruction and vision. Not surprisingly, there was a movement either to reform or replace it with a better alternative.

By the late 1880s, motivated by a desire to remedy the weakness of the original pupil-teacher system, small scale, collective, central classes for pupil teachers had evolved nationwide into fully-fledged pupil-teacher centres. Pupil teachers, under the new centre model would experience up to half of their training in school-based practice and half in specially designated centers, staffed by the cream of the elementary teaching profession, where they would receive an academic and professional training. The development of these centres led to a new and more sophisticated model of professional training under the apprenticeship model, with a much more rigorous commitment to the raising of professional and academic standards and aspirations within the emerging profession. Centres were not, however, a standardized national phenomenon. By the end of the nineteenth century, although just over half of the pupil-teacher population was attached to a centre, many pupil teachers, particularly those in rural areas and those attached to less wealthy denominational schools, still served under the old model. (Robinson, 2000-2004)

At the same time as the pupil-teacher system was being modernized with the introduction of the centres, another important initiative was being put into place. In 1888, a government inquiry into state education, the Cross Commission, advocated the training of teachers in universities and the setting up of educational faculties to foster the academic study of

education and research. The rationale behind this initiative was to drive up academic standards within the teaching profession. In 1890 the government drew up regulations for the administration of grant aid to day-training colleges in connection with the universities and university colleges. These were specifically concerned with initial teacher training but students had access to other university lectures and were able to take degrees in conjunction with their professional work. A number of training routes subsequently developed, including one year courses for graduates as well as two and three year courses - subsequently extended to four years - for those who wanted both graduate status and a teaching qualification. At the same time the old teacher training colleges, separate from university departments, continued to train teachers. Consequently, a dual system of professional training in training colleges and university departments emerged.

The 1902 Education Act, which made newly constituted Local Education Authorities (LEAs) responsible for providing training and instruction for teachers, paved the way for reform in teacher training and sealed the movement towards a more college- or university-based approach to initial training. The pupil-teacher system was abolished in the early years of the twentieth century in favour of an extended secondary education for prospective teachers. Replacement bursar and student-teacher schemes, introduced in the first decade of the twentieth century, retained residual elements of the apprenticeship model of training embodied in the original pupil-teacher system, but the main priorities shifted towards a college-based hegemony which continued until the late 1980s.

During the interwar period, there was considerable professional debate about the appropriate balance of theory and practice in teacher training courses, with fears being expressed that the pendulum had potentially swung too far away from the practical requirements of teachers' work. The Board of Education gradually relinquished its control of the examination of student teachers to the universities, signalling a much closer involvement of the universities in the examination and recognition of qualified teachers. Educational reorganisation after 1944 marked the abolition of an uncertificated route into the teaching profession, the ultimate vision being an all-graduate profession.

The post-war period witnessed the expansion of education as a field of study both within the universities and training colleges to embrace broader philosophical, historical, sociological and comparative

approaches. Throughout this period the universities tended to be associated with post-graduate, secondary training courses and the training colleges with non-graduate primary training courses. Following the Robbins Report on Higher Education in 1963, attempts were made to bring teacher training into a much closer and coherent relationship with the universities, both administratively and academically. The four year B.Ed degree was introduced for selected students in the training colleges. In 1972, recommendations from the James Report, meant that teaching was to become an all-graduate profession.

The period from the late 1980s to the present has been characterised by a move towards greater government control of teacher training with the traditional hegemony of college and university-based provision eroded in favour of a renewed interest in school-based/centred apprenticeship models of initial professional preparation in partnership with existing and new providers. Reformed models of training include an increasingly prescriptive approach, with the introduction of a mandatory national curriculum for trainees and a standards-driven model of assessment for the final award of qualified teacher status, monitored and reviewed by various new government agencies including the Teacher Development Agency (TDA) and the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED). What was perceived by the government as overly theoretical approaches to teacher training, which once dominated university and college-based courses, have now been replaced with greater emphasis on relevant practical classroom skills and techniques, and more recently professional values. Moreover, the range of routes into teaching has been significantly expanded with a greater emphasis on work-based placements and training through the Graduate Teacher Scheme, the Employment Based Route, and the flexible PGCE.

School versus HEI?

The shift in the early 1990s away from the hegemony of college or university-based ITT towards school-based models based on partnerships between schools and HEIs has been well documented. Since the speech by Kenneth Clarke, the then Secretary of State for Education, at the North of England Conference in January 1992, ITT has been subjected to numerous legislative and policy changes which have increasingly emphasized the value of school-based practical training. In 1992 Clarke argued that the training of teachers should be

80 per cent school-based and that schools should be selected for this purpose according to government-based criteria. The model would only work effectively with much closer, formalized partnerships between schools and HEIs, based upon a more equitable distribution of funding, with schools being paid for taking student teachers, and the development of a new professional role for serving teachers – the school-based mentor. Circulars 9/92, 14/93 and 10/97, which established the frameworks for partnership and set out the criteria against which student teachers should be assessed legislated for this change. The Teacher Training Agency (TTA) was set up by the government in September 1994 to regulate the framework of partnership between schools and HEIs and to draw up new standards for the training of teachers. Currently the TTA, which was renamed the Teacher Development Agency (TDA) in 2005, to reflect its broader responsibility for the whole of teacher professional standards and development, is pushing further its commitment to school-based teacher training. All providers must work in partnership with schools and actively involve them in the planning and delivery of ITT, and in the selection and assessment of trainee teachers. ITT providers are responsible for drawing up partnership agreements which make clear to everyone involved each partner's roles and responsibilities and set out arrangements for preparing and supporting all staff involved in training, making clear how resources are divided and allocated between the partners. In addition to a model of ITT based upon partnerships between schools and traditional providers in the HEI sector, the TTA is committed to developing more diverse routes into teaching through entirely school-based programmes. Central to the initiatives in ITT during the past decade, and closely aligned with broader developments in the modernisation of the teaching profession, is the relocation of the serving teacher to the heart of the professional preparation of the next generation of teachers. Arguably this is a fairly radical departure from much of the established practice and policy of the twentieth century.

The politics and rationale for this shift towards school-based training have been much debated. (Richards, Simco and Twistelton, 1998, Furlong 2002) Generally, commentary and analysis of developments in ITT in the past decade, mostly generated by professional teacher trainers from within the HEI sector, has been negative and critical at worst and cautious and sceptical at best.(Booth, Furlong and Wilkin 1991, McBride 1991, Furlong and Smith 1996) Indeed, critics of HEIs might argue that much of the critique of new departures in teacher education policy has been undertaken by self-interested members of the

higher education community, with a vested interested in their own position. Nevertheless, the rigid government control over the nature and outcomes of training, brought about without adequate consultation with HEIs or schools has been one focus for concern. The apparently wholesale rejection of educational theory, at least at the initial stage, and the expertise of the HEI sector in favour of a highly technicist skills-based framework, has been criticized. The nature of the relationship between higher education and schools in respect to teacher training has been debated and the diversity in the degree and nature of partnerships between schools and HEIs highlighted. Recent research raises important concerns about the viability of school-based training for purely practical reasons and cites problems with support, time, expertise, commitment and priorities. (Furlong and Smith 1996, Campbell and Kane 1998, Maynard 2000, Hobson 2002) In essence, the rhetoric of partnership has been called into question. This critique and counter-critique of current developments in ITT will doubtless continue as providers and stakeholders affirm and reaffirm their respective roles, positions and responsibilities, and as government agencies continue to implement reforms which are by their very nature politically and ideologically driven.

One interesting element of the critique of school-based ITT, is the idea that it somehow reverts back to an inadequate and flawed historical legacy – that of the pupil-teacher system of the nineteenth century. (Maynard 2000). Similar arguments, which dwell on the current futility of resurrecting the failures of the past have been used to denigrate other policy initiatives, such as performance-related pay, the articled teacher and SCITT schemes. (Wragg 1984, Robinson 2000b, McCulloch 1997) From a historical perspective, this type of critique, designed mainly for its sensationalist impact, is unhelpful. Not only does it demonstrate the lip-service paid to the historical dimension in education, but it draws upon inadequate and untested historical 'myths' about earlier models of school-based teacher training in order to undermine recent developments. In the context of school-based ITT, the historical myth resurrects the lore of the atheoretical, unprofessional and crude 'sitting by Nellie' school of learning to teach. Clearly developments in school-based ITT since the 1990s do resonate with earlier historical models of training and this is a cause for regret by some commentators. (Pollard 1994) However, rather than viewing the historical version of the story of ITT as deficient and lacking, my own research on the pupil-teacher centres has uncovered some of the more positive aspects of embryonic forms of school-based partnership in ITT. This is not to suggest that

historical models were not without their own weaknesses and flaws. It would be impossible as well as ahistorical to seek to transpose the concept of the late nineteenth-century pupil-teacher centre into current practice. Yet, rather than present the historical in terms of retrogressive, unfavourable comparisons it might be more helpful to rethink the recent shift towards school-based training as part of a much longer historical and professional tradition of the teacher as trainer.

The apprenticeship model of training characterized the first century of formalized professional preparation. This model was refined under the pupil-teacher centre regime of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and evident in residual forms of school-based training in the bursar, rural pupil teacher and student teacher schemes until 1939. During this extensive period the teaching profession itself played a major role in the preparation of the next generation of teachers. For much of the remainder of the twentieth century the locus of control in ITT rested with colleges and university departments, but the serving teacher as supervisor and adviser to trainee teachers was still a critical feature of the training process, as were links between schools and HEIs. Long before the conservative government of the early 1990s commandeered the shape and form of teacher training through a programme of legislative reform, there had been calls for the greater involvement of schools and teachers in the training process. In 1972, the James Report suggested that schools be more involved in planning and supervising practical work and in the early 1980s, HMI proposed the strengthening of partnerships between schools and training institutions. These were carried through in practice with the well-known partnership initiatives of the Oxford internship scheme and the Sussex partnership model. Developments since 1992 have a well-established historical legacy.

If a more positive version of historical models of school-based teacher training exists, then what might it offer to current practice? The answer to this question lies in the reconstruction of the teacher as trainer in the form of school mentor and in the nature of partnerships between schools and HEIs. Husbands has argued that, 'At the heart of the development of the "partnership" model of initial teacher education lies the role of the "mentor".'(Husbands 1991:28) This role, and perceptions of it by mentors, students and HEI tutors has been subjected to some scrutiny in recent years and the research findings raise some interesting issues. On a positive note, professional mentors value opportunities afforded by their role for professional and career development, either through

structured mentor training, work with students and HEI tutors and stronger links with the research culture of HEIs. The benefits to the profession of close involvement with intending and new teachers is celebrated by the TDA in its drive to develop more school-based training. The professional benefits to teachers of close involvement with the initial training process and the opportunities for refining their own practice, sharing expertise and meeting a broader constituency of professionals engaged in the process is not a novel concept and has long been recognized. Research has also suggested that the mentor-trainee relationship and affective and interpersonal factors is crucial to the success of school-based training. The difficulty with this situation is the potential for a lack of consistency or standardisation between schools and training situations, based upon highly personal considerations. It was the unique and special relationship or bond between apprentice pupil-teacher and expert practitioner that was deemed so important to the success of nineteenth-century apprenticeship training. However, it was also recognized that in practice this relationship often failed, depending on the personalities involved. The introduction of the pupil-teacher centre, almost as a broker in this relationship, brought about considerable benefits and took the pressure off the teacher as a trainer yet still retained a strong relational element. Much of the research on mentoring draws attention to the difficulties faced by mentors in relation to time, workload and divided loyalties. Partnerships where mentors are fully supported and time for mentoring is adequately funded are usually more effective and influence the quality of mentoring in schools. Other research suggests that mentors are uncomfortable with delivering on theory and would be happier for students to be located in an HEI for the more theoretical aspects of their training.(Furlong and Smith 1996). This suggests that a balanced model of ITT which draws upon the craft and art expertise of the schools and the science expertise of the HEI is preferable. This resonates with ideas put forward at the turn of the twentieth century by educationists seeking a science of teaching which was fully rooted in its art and craft. This was the kind of model which was emerging within the pupil-teacher centres over a century ago, but which was not allowed to develop. Neither was it applied consistently or in a standardized fashion. Existing research into current forms of school-based ITT all points to the need for highly sophisticated partnerships between schools and HEIs – partnerships which go beyond formalized administrative arrangements and allow genuine participation, involvement, decision-making and creation of effective training situations. Whether or not

such partnerships can be properly developed and sustained remains to be seen, but if they do they will represent another important chapter in the long history of the teacher as a trainer.

Knowledge and Skills for Trainee Teachers

The period from the late 1980s has witnessed an increasing state regulation in all aspects of public sector services. During the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s the well-documented regulation and control of ITT by government agencies, including the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) the TTA and OFSTED, marked a significant change in the culture of ITT which for decades had enjoyed relative freedom to determine the knowledge base and content of courses for students in training.(Emery 1998, Richards *et al* 1998) These policy changes reflected broader concerns with accountability, performance management and the raising of standards across a range of public sector services, of which education and teacher training were a part. Under CATE, established in 1984, the idea of establishing a set of competences against which student teachers could be assessed emerged and these were applied loosely and on a voluntary basis by accredited institutions. (DES 1984) Circulars 9/92 and 14/93 formalized a shift towards school-based training through a partnership model of provision and shaped OFSTED inspection arrangements for ITT. (DfE 1992, DFE 1993). Under these arrangements it was important to ensure consistency between providers, not only in the delivery of agreed courses, but also in terms of the expectations and competences of newly qualified teachers and how these were assessed and moderated across the diverse spectrum of provision.

The TDA has the authority to award student numbers to training providers based on OFSTED inspection and other performance indicators and thus has considerable power and control. In February 1997 the TTA produced proposals for a training curriculum and standards for new teachers which specified the standards required for the award of QTS as well as amendments to intake requirements and ITT National Curricula for Primary English and Mathematics. These were subsequently published by the DfEE in July 1997 as Circular 10/97, *Teaching: High Status, High Standards.*20 These were further amended under DfEE Circular 4/98 and incorporated four broad areas of assessment including Subject Knowledge, Planning, Teaching and Class Management, Monitoring Assessment, Recording and Reporting,

and Professional Issues, which were broken down into over 80 specific criteria.(DfEE 1998) Students were then to be graded against each of these standards on a scale of 1-4 ranging through very good, good, satisfactory and unsatisfactory. OFSTED was then charged with ensuring that grades awarded to students were appropriate and consistent and that training providers were complying with the TTA's requirements. Following a review of Circular 4/98 in 2001, a revised document was introduced in September 2002. This revision of the standards claimed to take greater account of professional values, interpersonal skills and inclusion issues than previous versions. The current standards against which student teachers are assessed and graded are broken down into discrete units under three broad headings: Professional Values and Practice; Knowledge and Understanding; and Teaching. Behind this framework is the hope that, ' ...all new teachers have the subject knowledge and the teaching and learning expertise they need, and are well prepared for the wider professional demands of being a teacher. They will also help to ensure that training tackles issues such as behaviour management and social inclusion'.(TTA 2002) A model of teacher training has now emerged which is centrally controlled through inspection, school-based and skills-oriented, and which places a high premium on subject knowledge. Never before has there been so much detailed prescription of what student teachers should be taught, should know and should be able to demonstrate in terms of technical skills and competence. The TDA is currently consulting on yet another revision of the standards, alongside a whole range of standards to be applied to the teaching profession at various stages of development to be implemented in 2007.

Critiques of this skills-based model, mainly by teacher educators in HEIs, largely refer to Circular 4/98 which was viewed as reductionist, technicist and highly politicised, and aimed at 'de-professionalising' and disregarding the professional expertise and autonomy of the field. Questioning the basis and rationale upon which the standards were drawn up Richards, for example, has argued that this standards driven model is more about bureaucratic systems of assessing, recording and reporting and highly instrumental perceptions of teaching and learning than about holistic professional development. According to Richards, Circular 4/98 was devoid of any real intellectual, moral, social, ethical or relational dimension and failed to recognize the extreme complexity of the teaching and learning process. It atomised teaching into easily measurable components which took more account of the end-product rather than the process of professional development. (Richards *et al* 1998

and Richards 1999, Furlong 2002) Simco extends this critique to problematize the very idea of viewing the craft of teaching as a set of technical skills, to be easily measured.(Richards *et al* 1998) He argues that technical skill should not necessarily imply an intellectually impoverished model and highlights the profound complexity of developing core teaching and management skills in the classroom, without which any teacher would be unable to function and suggests that the '...straightforward language of the TTA standards is seductive in terms of the amount of expertise which each standard represents'.(Richards *et al* 1998: 123)

Setting aside for one moment the immediacy and complexity of the political agenda which has shaped recent developments in the provision of ITT, and stepping back from current critiques of a standards-based model of assessing student teachers' competence, mainly by teacher trainers in HEIs, is it possible to observe any continuities between the more informal assessment criteria used by training providers in the early years of the twentieth century and those used today? Assessment criteria, such as those used in the current standards model and those used historically, serve as crucial indicators of what constitutes the basic requirements for effective teaching. Whilst the very process of setting out such requirements necessarily implies some oversimplification or reduction of the process of teaching into a shared set of behavioural skills to be learned, practised and honed by student teachers, surely there has to be some base line or starting point from which newly qualified teachers can then move forward and develop further their professional role. Furthermore, the possession of a set of core technical teaching skills, such as the ability to structure, sequence and deliver a lesson, use questions effectively and differentiate work according to the ability of the pupils, does not preclude creativity, imagination and personal influence.

In my book *Power to Teach* I developed a historical model of how student teachers received their professional training in the period 1870-1920. (Robinson 2004) One focus of the study was to analyse how student teachers were assessed in an attempt to understand how judgements were made about teaching competence and what values lay behind any assessment framework. I compared data on excellent, middling and failing students in the training college system, which was not standardised in the way that professional training is today, to identify a set of core professional principles which were inherent in the system. These included Planning/Preparation, Subject Knowledge,

Teaching, Class and Behaviour Management, Relationships with Children, Personality, and Professional Promise. Comparing the current standards with the seven professional categories identified in the historical study suggests a high degree of consistency in terms of what is and what was expected of student teachers, with some exceptions. Given the different wording and ordering of criteria over time, these categories loosely correspond with the current standards in relation to Professional Values and Practice (1), Knowledge and Understanding (2) and Teaching (3). In relation to the historical category 'Relationships with children' it is possible to see some connection with the current model under Professional Values and Practice, 1.2 which requires teachers to treat pupils consistently, with respect and consideration and concern for their development as learners. The emphasis on Knowledge and Understanding in the current standards relates to subject knowledge in the historical model, though clearly the current model is more detailed and relates to National Curriculum requirements. There is greater correlation between the Teaching dimensions, under the current categories of 3.1 Planning, expectations and targets and 3.2 Teaching and class management. For example the importance of planning and preparation is underlined in both models, with an emphasis on the setting of clear aims and objectives. Under item 3.3, Teaching and Class Management, there is a correlation between the ability of teachers to set high expectations for pupils' behaviour and establishing a clear framework for their behaviour. The historical model placed much greater emphasis on technical teaching strategies such as exposition, questioning and narration, but this is implied in the current model via the general application of effective teaching strategies. Item 3.2 of the current standards 'Monitoring and Assessment' is not apparent in the historical criteria, and neither, of course, is the emphasis on the use of ICT, though it is possible to substitute this in the historical model with the emphasis on blackboard skills.

Significantly, two interconnected areas which exist in the historical model and which are not made explicit in the current model relate to professional presence and professional promise. It is interesting that within the historical context, when assessments were made on student teachers' professional persona and professional promise, the language used to describe such qualities was rich but highly value-laden, so for example, 'vigour, determination and energy' were common descriptors for 'A' or 'B' grade students and 'lifeless, inert and lacking in force' for 'D' or 'E' grade students. Judgements made in this context appear to be highly personalized. There is something about these categories of

professional persona and professional promise which is much less tangible and difficult to define or accurately measure than, for example, in the category of planning and preparation. This is because these categories are less to do with technical skills than they are to do with a much broader sense of what historically was defined as the power to teach, a quality which embodied a range of technical competences and personal qualities.

In comparing the broad categories of assessment for student teachers in the past with those of today, it has been possible to observe a range of consistencies which indicate that, in spite of significant changes over time to the social, political, economic and technological context of teaching, there remains a shared basis for defining a base-line of core pedagogical requirements for newly qualified teachers. These relate to good subject knowledge, thorough preparation and planning of lessons or sequences of lessons, appropriate class and behaviour management to create a positive working environment, knowing and understanding the learning needs of individual children, and the ability to communicate effectively in the classroom context to stimulate learning. A major difference is that the historical model was not formalized or mandatory and relied on the sharing of good practice and shared understanding between training providers, guided and moderated by HMI. One of the main issues in the current application of the standards model has been the grading of student teachers against the standards to the satisfaction of OFSTED and the TTA. The historical analysis has looked at the grading of students, and shown that there was consistency between those providers identified in the study in their grading of students. It is not, however, possible to test the accuracy or the degree of this consistency or to comment upon its wider application. A major difference between the historical model and current practice is the extent to which the assessment of student teachers against base line criteria is part of a much broader political and policy-driven concern to raise educational standards in general and to raise standards of teaching in schools. It is also important to note that the new standards link ITT with further professional development, providing a ladder of career development previously missing. This idea of formalised continuity from initial training to further professional development might be thought to be an important development.

The Future – Towards Resolution?

If one of the objectives of undertaking a historical analysis of teacher education policy in England is to understand better current developments, then another might be to provide a useful window on the future. Looking ahead, will the swinging pendulum of the twentieth century continue into the twenty first and will there be some effective resolution between those competing elements of professional preparation which have been played out in the story of teacher education to date? Recent education policy developments, if properly implemented, have the potential to radically transform the whole landscape of the English education system as it is currently known. The concept of personalized learning, with schools increasingly taking responsibility for brokering the individual learning plans of their students in a diverse range of learning contexts which are shaped by increasingly sophisticated learning technologies, will generate a very different role and position for the teacher. (DfES White Paper 2006) Embedded still, as we are, in a system which has been characterized more by continuity than radical change or transformation over the past 150 years, it is difficult to imagine what this role might be and how such future professionals will be trained.

The TDA has started to look ahead in its 'Futures: Teaching 2012 and 2020' project, which brings together representatives from all major agencies involved in teacher education and teacher professionalism to engage in blue skies thinking about the transformed educational landscape of the future. What is clear is that there will continue to be a diversity of routes into teaching, but quite how school-based training will be shaped in a society in which the whole concept of the school as we know it likely to be transformed is more difficult to envisage. The language being used in the futures project describes the future teacher as a learning coach, a broker for learning, a mediator and an enabler - a leader of inter-professional teams and expert practitioners in the assessment and management of personalized learning. How this develops, and what the future holds for the profession and the training of teachers remains to be seen. I am confident, however, that one central continuity, which has characterized the past and present and will characterize the future, whatever the context, will remain – and that rests on the relational context of the teaching and learning experience. For teacher education to be effective in properly preparing teachers, there will need to be a balance of core knowledge and skills together with an understanding of those more elusive 'personal' qualities, that

together make a teacher best equipped to deal with learners in the changing education system.

NOTES

1 A list of abbreviations used in this paper is provided below:

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CATE	Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education
DES	Department of Education and Skills
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
HEI	Higher Education Institution
HMI	Her/His Majesty's Inspectorate
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
LEA	Local Education Authority
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
SCITT	School Centred Initial Teacher Training
TDA	Teacher Development Agency
TTA	Teacher Training Agency

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DES, (1984) *Initial Teacher Training: Approval of Course (Circular 3/84)* (London: DES)

DFE (1992) *Initial Teacher Training: Secondary Phase (Circular 9/92)* (London: DFE)

DFE (1993) *The Initial Training of Primary Teachers (Circular 14/93)* (London: DFE)

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