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Modes of Teacher Education

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The Modes of Teacher Education Project:
A Study of
British Initial Teacher Education in Transition

By

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What does politics have to do with it anyway? Why can't we just focus
on the academic, professional and technical issues in teacher education

- how best to prepare future teachers so they can help children and youth learn and develop? Isn't teacher education complicated enough without trying to place the field in the arena of politics? (Ginsburg and Lindsay 1995;3)

Introduction

As Ginsburg and Lindsay (1995) remind us, teacher education has, in recent years, become a highly politicised process in many countries in the world -both developed and developing. As a result it is now virtually impossible to focus on the academic, professional and technical issues in teacher education without confronting politics.

And no where is this more true than in the UK where changes in initial teacher education have gone hand in hand with broader educational reform. As Landman and Ozga (1995) note:

England may claim the dubious distinction of leading the world in the scale and scope of education 'reform', although there is strong competition from New Zealand (Dale and Ozga 1992) and Australia (Knight et al 1993). For 15 years, the Conservative Government of the United Kingdom has pursued relentlessly a complex and apparently contradictory program of deregulation and central control which has affected all areas of education provision (p24).

including, as they go on to explain, initial teacher education.

Within the space available, it is almost impossible to summarize the range and scope political intervention introduced since the Conservative Government first took an interest in initial teacher education in England and Wales in 1984. The number of policy documents - both official and semi-official - is enormous. One feature they have in common however, is that they have all, in different ways, served to enhance the contribution of schools to the teacher training process and progressively to reduce the role of higher education. For example, early circulars (DES 1984; 1989) sought to increase the length of courses and the number of days students should spend in school. They also sought to define the qualifications of higher education institution staff (insisting on 'recent and relevant' school experience) and to set out a preliminary curriculum for courses.   In addition, the 1980s saw the introduction of two important 'new routes' into teaching , (the Licensed Teacher scheme1 and the Articled Teacher Scheme2) both of which served further to develop the contribution of schools to the training process.

More recent interventions have significantly quickened the pace of change. Two more new routes into teaching have been established: the Open University distance learning scheme3 and, most controversially of

all, the SCITT scheme4 which allows consortia of schools to establish
their own training programmes. Two new Circulars have also been issued
(DEF 1992; 1993) which insist that all 'conventional' teacher education
courses should now be planned and run by higher education and schools
together. For example Circular 9/92, which relates to all secondary
training courses, states:

The Government expects that partner schools and HEIs will exercise a
joint responsibility for the planning and management of courses and the
selection, training and assessment of students. The balance of
responsibilities will vary. Schools will have a leading responsibility
for training students to teach their specialist subjects, to assess
pupils and to mange classes; and for supervising students and assessing
their competence in these respects. HEIs will be responsible for
ensuring that courses meet the requirements for academic validation,
presenting courses for accreditation, awarding qualifications to
successful students and arranging student placements in more than one
school' (DFE 1992: para 14).

The primary circular insisted on similar procedures.

The same circulars also established a competency framework which is
intended to cover all aspects of training in school and higher
education.   But perhaps the most significant aspect of the circulars
has been the Government's insistence that higher education institutions
now pay schools for their role in training. Fees to schools are
negotiated locally, but the average for the secondary PGCE is £1000 pa

- over 25% of the gross income. The implications for the character and
long term stability of higher education's contribution to initial
training are enormous and yet to be fully realised.

The working of these circulars are also being more thoroughly
'policed' than in the past. Between 1993 and 1995 all teacher education
courses were inspected by a reformed and more centrally controlled HMI
and 'quality' ratings applied; these inspections did much to encourage
rapid conformity to the new criteria. The formal requirement for the
newly established Teacher Training Agency (TTA) in future to relate
funding to those HMI defined quality ratings has also suggested a more
draconian response to non-conformity than in the past with the
possibility of numbers being cut, units of resource reduced, or in the
final resort, courses being closed. This too has done much to overcome
any possible resistance amongst those in higher education to the new
arrangements.

Over an 11 year period then, state intervention in initial teacher
education has been dramatic. And it was in order to monitor the impact
of these politically driven changes in initial teacher education,
that the Modes of Teacher Education project (MOTE) was established in

1991. MOTE is collaborative project funded by the ESRC (Economic and
Social Research Council) involving representatives from three
institutions of higher education. The aim of the project is to monitor
change in initial teacher education in England and Wales over a five
year period and to explore the implications of those changes for the
nature of the professionalism of the next generation of teachers. In
this paper we intend to give an overview of key aspects of the project,
highlighting our empirical approach and our theoretical perspectives.

Conceptualising the policy process

In trying to conceptualise the influence of politics on teacher
education, we have found it useful to draw on Bowe and Ball's (1992)
three stage analysis which distinguishes the 'context of influence,
the context of text production and the context of practice'

The first context, the context of influence, is where 'policy
discourses are constructed.' (Bowe and Ball, 1992: 20). This is the
arena of both formal and informal political debate. The second context
concerns the text itself. Policy texts - '''official' legal texts,
policy documents, formally and informally produced commentaries which
offer to "make sense of" the "official" texts' (20/21) - follow from
that political debate and come to 'represent' the policy.

At a general level, a substantial literature on the first two contexts
 of teacher education policy already exists in Britain. For example
Furlong 1991; Wilkin 1992; Gilroy 1992; Moore, 1994; Barton et al 1994;
Mahony and Whitty 1994; Landman and Ozga 1995 and many others have all
explored the relationship between key policy texts and different
dimensions of the New Right's educational discourse. For example
Landman and Ozga suggest that there have been two dimensions of that
discourse which have been influential on initial teacher education -
that of the 'modernisers' and that of the 'cultural conservatives'.

'Modernisers support changes in curicula and examinations that place
much greater emphasis on competences, skills and flexibility..in
conjunction with this agenda for reform they have taken on the
professionals and seek to erode the links between higher education and
professional training. They wish to establish competency -driven,
fragmented and relatively content-free forms of professional training

with a heavy emphasis on process and outcome. The insertion of such a
doctrine into training is significant because of the impact that it is
thought it will have on the process of schooling.

The modernisers have, however, encountered opposition from those who
wish to reassert the primacy of traditional immersion in the revered
cannon of academic subjects as the informing principles of education

(including teacher education). These cultural conservatives associate discipline-based study with moral education ,ordered thinking and the re-establishment of certitude and traditions threatened by progressive educational ideologies and cultural diversity. It will be readily apparent that there is some difficulty in reconciling these reforming tendencies'. (Landman and Ozga, 1995;25)

While we recognise the critical importance of this form of policy analysis, our particular research question concerning the impact of such policies on emerging forms of professionalism demands more detailed work. In order to answer our research question, we have had to move beyond generalised commentaries to a consideration of Bowe and Balls' third context - the context of practice. As they note, it is not possible to 'read off' the implications of policy change directly from political discourse or from texts; the context of practice needs to be studied in its own right.

The key point is that policy is not simply received and implemented within this arena; rather it is subject to interpretation and then 'recreated'.....Practitioners do not confront policy texts as naive readers, they come with histories, with experience, with values and purposes of their own. They have vested interests in the meaning of policy.....The simple point is that policy writers can not control the meanings of their texts. Parts of texts will be rejected, selected out, ignored, deliberately misunderstood, ...interpretation is a matter of struggle. (p22)

A full appreciation of the implications of 11 years of Government intervention in initial teacher education in the UK for emerging forms of professionalism therefore demands a study of the ways in which course leaders have interpreted Government policies and how their professional aspirations have been realised in practice. Official texts and official commentaries (by for example HMI) will of course be influential in what is finally produced, but so too will be teacher educators' own values as well as a range of other constraints.

Data Gathering

In order to document the implications of the most significant of these policy texts for the 'context of practice' in England and Wales, the MOTE project has employed a two phase research strategy. The first phase of our work was undertaken in 1991 and 1992, immediately prior to the Government's most recent and most radical set of regulations governing initial teacher education (DFE 1992, 1993). The second phase of research is currently on going and is monitoring the impact of the changed regulations on the context of practice.

In 1991, we undertook a national survey of all initial teacher
education courses available at that time including the newly created
Licensed Teacher scheme . This survey was followed up in 1992 by case
studies of a stratified random sample of 44 higher education provided

courses plus 5 Licensed Teacher schemes. The case studies involved
interviews with course leaders, lecturers, teachers and students. As a
result of this earlier work, the research team produced a 'topography'
of initial teacher education (Barrett et al 1992a; Whitty et al 1992;
Miles et al 1993), a survey of 'new routes' into teaching (Barrett et
al 1992b) and an evaluation of the the Licensed Teacher scheme (Barrett
and Galvin 1993). In addition, a paper which drew on case study
material to explore the development of 'partnership' between higher
education based courses and schools was presented at the 1993 BERA
conference and subsequently published (Furlong et al 1995a).

A second phase of the project commenced in 1994 and is including a
follow up to this earlier work with further case studies of many of the
original 49 courses and a second national survey. In addition, a sample
of 'graduates' from the 49 original courses were asked to complete
questionnaires at the end of their course and at the end of their first
year of teaching.

Sampling and fieldwork
The original sample of 44 higher education led courses selected in
1992 were chosen as a stratified random sample on criteria devised as a
result of our first national survey: 24 were 'conventional' initial
teacher education courses (1 year Post Graduate Certificate of
Education (PGCEs), 4-year BEd and BA(QTS) degrees); 20 were
'non-conventional' courses (shortened BEd degrees; 2 year PGCE
conversion courses; articled teacher schemes and part time courses).
Courses within each group were further sampled on a number of other
criteria including course size, institutional type, geographical
location, degree of 'school-based ness' (calculated as the number of
days spent in school) and degree of 'targeting' of student recruitment.

By spring 1995 when we returned to these courses for our second round
of fieldwork, nine of the original sample courses had closed while
others had opened. It therefore became necessary to 'repair' the
original sample. The most significant changes were that all articled
teacher schemes were in their final year while two quite new routes had
been added to provision - the Open University PGCE and SCITT schemes.
In order to maintain comparable sampling of geographical location and
institutional type, articled teacher schemes and other 'closed' courses
within the original sample were replaced by comparable courses within
the same institution (e.g. Primary articled teacher schemes were

replaced by Primary PGCE courses). In addition Open University regions
and 3 SCITT providers were added to the sample.

Of the 47 higher education based courses within the repaired sample, 12
were chosen for more detailed analysis. Members of the research team
visited these 12 courses on two occasions in Spring 1995. During their
visits, they conducted semi-structured interviews with the course
leader, at least one other lecturer, a mentor and a group of students.
In addition they sat in on at least one taught session in the
university or college and one in a partner school. These observed
sessions then became the focus of further discussion and interviews
with the participants. For the remaining 35 courses, data was collected
through a single semi-structured telephone interview with the course
leader. The second national survey is currently taking place.

Preliminary analysis

By by the end this year we will therefore have extensive national

survey and case study data on initial teacher education throughout
England and Wales collected at two significant historical junctures -
1991/2 and 1995/6.
From the wealth of data we have collected, the focus of much of our
analysis to date has been on the development of 'partnerships' between
higher education institutions and schools in initial teacher education
schemes. As we indicated above, the promotion of greater involvement of
schools in initial teacher education has been a constant theme of
Government intervention since 1984. In exploring this issue, our first
step has been to propose a number of 'ideal typical' approaches to
partnership. For example, in 1992, (Furlong et al 1995a) we suggested
that there were a range of possible 'ideal typical' strategies
developed by courses in attempting to meet the Government criteria for
the involvement of schools in force at the time. In the Figure 1 below,
they are represented as positions A- D.

Fig 1: Models of Integration and Partnership in ITE (1992 data)
(Furlong et al 1995a)

What we found was that with one or two well publicised exceptions
(e.g. Benton 1990), the majority of teacher education courses in
England and Wales were, at that stage, based in position A - they
placed students in school for the legal minimum of time and higher
education remained dominant in defining the training agenda. They were,
we suggested, pursuing a principle of 'integration' rather than
partnership. What they were aiming to integrate was the student's
training experience in the higher education institution with the world

of the school. In order to do this, tutors presented sessions within
the higher education institution that were highly practically oriented;
they adopted pedagogies that were designed explicitly to model
classroom teaching; they set and marked school based assignments for
students to undertake while they were in school; they took
responsibility for supervising students on teaching practice and they
had primary responsibility for assessing students both in their written
work and in their practical teaching competence. Although much of the
course was closely related to the world of school, for the most part,
the formal responsibilities of teachers in the planning, provision and
assessment of training was minimal.

As we noted above, more recent Government intervention has had the
intention of further increasing the role of schools in the training
process. It is therefore unsurprising that in our most recent
fieldwork we found that virtually all secondary courses and the vast
majority of primary courses would now claim either to be working in
partnership with schools or in the final stages of transition. By
September 1996, when the primary criteria come into full effect, that
transition is likely to be complete. 'Integration' as an approach to
course design has has been replaced by partnership and teachers are now
significantly involved in a range of different aspects of courses
including planning, teaching and assessment. However, what
partnership actually means varies considerably.

Once again, as a result of our field work we have begun to identify a
range of 'ideal typical' new course models that are starting to
emerge, each of them involving different approaches to partnership. In
a recent paper, (Furlong et al 1995b), we characterised them as
'collaborative partnership', 'HEI-led partnership'; and 'separatist
partnership'.

Figure 2: ITE relationships between higher education institutions and
schools (1995 data) (Furlong et al 1995b)

Figure 2 sets out a continuum of possible relationships between higher
education institutions and schools. One end of the continuum represents
the 1992 position - with higher education institution based models of
'integration'. At the other end of the continuum there are those SCITT
schemes where higher education institutions have no formal
responsibility (though they may be bought in on an ad hoc basis).
Neither model can be characterised as partnership in that partnership
necessarily, we would suggest, involves some degree of joint
responsibility for course provision. The three emerging models of
partnership represent different positions on the higher education
institution to school continuum. They are discussed in more detail
below.

Collaboration is probably the model of partnership that is best known within the literature. It is epitomised by the Oxford secondary PGCE (Benton 1990) but is now emulated by a number of other courses either in their programme as a whole or in specific aspects of it. As McIntyre (1991) has argued, at the heart of this model is the commitment to develop a training programme where students are exposed to different forms of educational knowledge, some of which come from school, some of which come from HE or elsewhere. Teachers are seen as having and equally legitimate but perhaps different body of professional knowledge from those in higher education and students are expected and encouraged to use what they learn in school to critique what they learn within the higher education institution and visa versa. It is through this dialectic that they are intended to build up their own body of professional knowledge. For the model to succeed, teachers and lecturers need opportunities to work and plan together on a regular basis; such on-going collaboration is essential if they are to develop a programme of work for the student that is integrated between the higher education institution and the school.

The HEI-led model of partnerships is, we would suggest, fundamentally different from the collaborative model in that it is indeed led by those in the higher education institution though sometimes in collaboration with a small group of teachers acting as consultants. The aim, as far as course leadership is concerned, is to utilise schools as a resource in setting up learning opportunities for students. Course leaders have a set of aims which they want to try and achieve and this demands that schools act in similar ways and make available comparable opportunities for all students. Within this model, quality control - making sure students all receive comparable training opportunities is a high priority.

The final model of partnership is a separatist one where school and higher education are seen as having their separate and complementary responsibilities but where there is no systematic attempt to bring these two dimensions into dialogue. In other words there is partnership but not necessarily integration in the course; integration is something that the student him or herself has to achieve. Interestingly this is the model of partnership that is put forward within Circulars 9/92 and 16/93 - a clear division of responsibilities between school and higher education institution is envisaged. Within our sample of courses it seemed that such a model might emerge either from a principled commitment to allowing schools the legitimacy to have their own voice or as a pragmatic response to financial constraints.

It is important to emphasise that these models of partnership are indeed ideal typical. Any one individual course may well embody more than one particular model - either in different parts of the course or

for particular groups of students. Mixed models are currently not
uncommon. Moreover it was apparent from our research that many courses
were still in the process of transition, moving from one model to
another in all or some aspects of their programmes.

From our extensive data base therefore we have tried (an are still
working) to identify a number of ideal typical models that characterise
the courses that have been developed at two important junctures in the
policy process - 1991/2 and 1995/6. These models represent the
'contexts of practice' that have emerged following significant
Government intervention. Yet our research question demands more than a
mere characterisation of courses; we now have to go on to explore the
implications of these new forms of training for the professionalism of
the next generation of teachers. That demands a rather different
analytical process; it demands an exploration of the 'discourses of
professionalism' made available within different course models. In the
final section of this paper, we provide a preliminary outline of the
notion of 'discourses of professionalism' that we are currently
developing as a tool for analysis.

Discourses of professionalism

The notion of discourses we are adopting is derived from the work of
Foucault (1981; 1986). For Foucault, as Weedon (1987) explains,
discourses,

are ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices,
forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such
knowledges and the relations between them. Discourses are more than
ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of
the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the
subjects which they seek to govern (Weedon 1987;108)

Within the world of teacher education there are obviously a range of
competing professional discourses that are made available to students.
Each professional discourse offers to makes sense of educational
experience, to provide 'recipes' for professional practice and above
all to construct the subjectivity of student teachers (their own sense
of professionalism) in different ways. Our question concerning the
impact of changing forms of initial teacher education on teacher
professionalism can therefore usefully be understood as a struggle
between competing discourses of professionalism.

Before we can understand the implications of particular course models
for emerging forms of professionalism, we therefore need to begin at a
theoretical and empirical level by trying to clarify :

a) the range of different discourses of professionalism (embodied in

language and practices) currently made available to students teachers
in different programmes;

b) the factors that might make particular forms of professional
discourse more or less powerful   in the formation of a student
teachers' professional identity.

What discourses of professionalism are currently available within
initial teacher education?

This is a question that we will be addressing theoretically and
empirically over the coming months. However, tentatively we would
suggest that the following discourses are likely to be influential
though there may well be others.

Grand narratives of theory
Traditionally, higher education has seen its task as to introduce
student teachers to professional discourses based on theoretical
'grand narratives' (Lyotard 1992).   In education, theory has largely
been understood as a moral science. The grand narratives of theory are
based on the application of science but it is recognised that this is
not sufficient. Fundamental ideological positions which inform
professional debate at a theoretical level - liberal education, social
reconstructionism, progressivism - are explicitly based on moral
assumptions; science and theory are understood and discussed within
these moral frameworks (Usher and Edwards 1994). Like most modernist
grand narratives, they are all concerned the improvement of society. It
has, for example, been assumed that if students are introduced to the
thought of Vygotsky or Piaget there would be an improvement in their
practice. That theory is 'improving' has been widely accepted in
higher education even though the precise mechanisms to conceptualise
its relationship to practice remain subject to dispute.

While the focus of much theoretical educational discourse has been
progressive and has to a degree served the interests of less powerful
groups in society, it is important to recognise that at the same time,
theoretical discourse has been used by those in higher education to
secure and maintain their power through their control over the
production of knowledge and qualifications.

Technical rationalism
Like the grand narratives of theory, technical rationalism is concerned
with the improvement of educational practice but is silent on the moral
dimension of educational thought. No questions are asked about what
constitutes 'improvement' or who wins or looses as the result of any
one educational policy. Technical rationality is therefore
disempowering to practitioners.

Technical rationality can be utilised to serve a range of different
interests - those interests may be more or less progressive. However
what it does do is conceal the interests that it serves.   As a
discourse it is powerful in that it remains closely linked to common
sense; who could not want to improve education? Nevertheless its
silence on the moral dimension of education is highly significant. A
view of professionalism that is concerned with efficiency but does not
at the same time insist that teachers themselves have a role to play in
the discussion of the ends of educational practice is one that is
valuable for a bureaucratic state. A professionalism that is technical
rather than moral is more easily adaptable to the current policy
concerns of the day. (Furlong 1991)

It is important to re-emphasise that students can be exposed to
particular discourses through social practices as well as language.
This is particularly significant in relation to technical rationality.
Few people lecture students teachers on the value of technical
rationality as a discourse of professionalism. Nevertheless today's
students are constantly exposed to the approach through the social
practice of competency frameworks, quality assurance mechanisms and in
school, ever more technical assessment procedures.

Common sense
Common sense is probably the most powerful educational discourse to
which student teachers are exposed. It is constituted through
'experience' in school. The fundamental feature of common sense as an
educational discourse is that it 'naturalises' educational practice
(Weedon 1987). Pupils are introduced to students as having particular
abilities; curricular are presented as ready made constructions of
educational knowledge. The common sense that students are introduced to
will inevitably be influenced by that which is established within their
school. As such it may be progressive, regressive, well justified or
not as the case may be. But whatever its origins, it is introduced to
students as 'natural'. In assessing the impact of school-based forms of
teacher education it is important to bear in mind that the forms of
common sense professionalism that students are exposed to in school
will vary historically. Schools are very different institutions from
even 10 years ago and this is the common sense to which students are
currently exposed.

As a discourse, common sense necessarily favours the status quo. It is
perhaps for this reason that it has in the UK been sponsored by the New
Right (O'Hear 1989; Lawlor 1990) in that it is assumed, often wrongly,
that common sense, is innocent of the moral and theoretical assumptions
that the New Right reject. In supporting school-based training, the New
Right over look for example, the fact that primary students are likely

to be exposed to a stronger not weaker concern with 'child centred'
practice.

Reflective practice
There is another form of educational discourse in initial teacher
education which represents a synthesis of theoretical and common sense
approaches to educational knowledge. As we indicated above, this is
the position that is most clearly articulated within the well known
Oxford PGCE course. As McIntyre (1991) explains, within that course
(theoretically at least) students are introduced to different form of
educational knowledge - some highly theoretical and some highly
practical. What they are encouraged to do is to use each form of
knowledge to critique the other. What they learn in higher education is
used to critique what they experience at school and what they learn in
school is used to critique what they learn in higher education.
Through this dialectic they are intended to produced their own
particular understanding of the educational principles on which to base
their practice.   As an approach it draws its justification from
Schon's (1983; 1987) 'relfection-on-action'.

Like theoretically informed discourses, reflective practice has been
particularly sponsored by those in higher education - many lecturers
are committed to it in principle but it is also important to recognise
that it serves their interests by helping form powerful new alliances
with teachers in schools.

Discourse and power in the construction of professional identity
These then are some of the most obvious discourses of professionalism
made available to students within teacher education. In the coming
months, we intend interrogate our data more closely in order to to
refine and develop our understanding of them. However, if we are to
understand the influence of these different discourses on the
construction of student teachers' notions of professionalism, then we
must do more than simply 'map' the different discourses to which
students are currently exposed. The reality is that during the course

of their training, student teachers are likely to be exposed to
multiple discourses, but some will be more powerful than others in the
development of their professional identities. If we are to understand
their impact we therefore need to identify the different ways in which
discourses can exert power over student teachers. Again we need to
develop an ideal typical analysis derived from our data but we might
speculate that the following will be significant.

a) discourses can be influential because they are backed up by overt
power - for example higher education still uses the power of assessment
to insist that its chosen forms of professional discourse are taken
seriously by students. It does this through written assignments,

taking a lead in teaching practice assessment etc. In short, there is
a range of 'technologies of control' that powerful groups can use in
insisting that their chosen form of discourse is taken seriously even
if it is not believed in.

b) discourses can be more or less influential in constructing
subjectivity depending on the mode of transmission chosen. In relation
to teaching, this might direct us to look at pedagogies - active
pedagogies are more likely to be influential than passive ones (Usher
and Edwards 1994). In other areas of influence one might look at the
mode of transmission say between the higher education institution and
the school in the construction of mentoring.

c) discourses can be more or less influential depending on the extent
to which they relate to an existing felt needs at an emotional level -
the extent to which they operate on 'desire' (Benvenuto and Kennedy
1986). For example when discourses relate to existing strongly held
moral or political positions or when they 'recognise' feelings of
exposure and vulnerability in the process of learning to teach
(Furlong and Maynard 1995) they are likely to be particularly
influential. Of course desire can also be created, as it has been
traditionally in higher education, by good teaching which arouses
curiosity and interest. However, in British initial teacher education,
there are increasingly less opportunities for such arousal; utility
reigns supreme.

Conclusion

The last 11 years has been a period of dramatic change in initial
teacher education in Britain. At the beginning of the 1980s, initial
teacher education seemed a relatively quiet backwater of the education
service; highly diverse as a result of being managed autonomously by
institutions of higher education. Just a decade later we have have a
highly centralised system. For those of us professionally involved in
initial teacher education, each passing month seems to see the birth of
yet more 'technologies of control' set up by the Department of
Education and Employment, or its teacher education qango the Teacher
Training Agency; the aspiration to manage the system is relentless.

Of course, as we noted at the beginning of this paper, initial teacher
education is not the only area of educational policy to be taken into
central control. On a wide range of issues, the Conservative Government
has, since the late 1970s, sought to 'rein in' the autonomy of the
teaching profession. But state intervention in initial teacher
education, as Wilkin (1992) argues, is the last, and certainly the
most ambitious, attempt to challenge the autonomy of the profession. It
is apparent that through their growing intervention in the detail of
courses, the Government are claiming a right to control more than the
hours teachers work; they are claiming the right to control more than

what teachers teach. Through their progressive intervention in this
sphere, the Government are claiming the right to have a say in the very
construction of the professionalism of the next generation of teachers:
to determine what they learn, to determine how they learn it and to
determine the professional values to which they are exposed. As such,
state intervention in initial teacher education represents an even
greater challenge to professional autonomy than the establishment of
the national curriculum; it goes to the very heart of professionalism
itself.

Yet as we have also argued, even the most determined policy makers find
it almost impossible to insist on a particular reading of their policy;
they find it hard to control the 'context of practice'. And our
preliminary findings would suggest that in many cases, the discourses
of professionalism to which students are being exposed within the new
forms of initial teacher education may well disappoint the aspirations
of many of those on the New Right. Whether or not this turns out to be
the case, what is clear is that the stakes are indeed high. Our
aspiration through the MOTE project is to make sure that changes to
professionalism, whatever form they take, are fully understood by all
of those with an interest in education.

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1 The Licensed Teacher Scheme, established in 1989, was a radical departure in terms of training routes. It allows mature entrants (over 24) with a minimum of two years higher education, to be recruited directly to positions in schools and provided 'on the job' training by their employer.

2 The Articled Teacher Scheme, was established at the same time as the Licensed Teacher Scheme. In the scheme, which ran from 1989 - 1994, students were offered a two year PGCE in which 80% of their time was spent in school. The scheme was relatively generously funded: students received bursaries rather than means tested grants and mentors in schools were paid for their work with students.

3 The Open University now offers distance learning primary and secondary PGCE courses. Students have school experience in schools of their own choosing; both they and their mentors are supported by distance learning materials.

4 SCITT schemes (School Centred Initial Teacher Training schemes) are
a radical new form of school led provision. Through the SCITT scheme,
consortia of primary or secondary schools are allowed to offer
post-graduate training to students. The schools, rather than higher
education institutions, receive the fee income; the consortia may if it
wishes, buy some elements of training from higher education.