

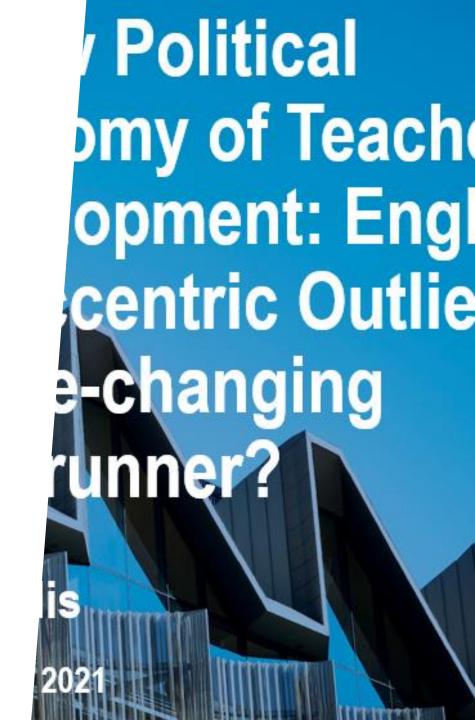
I would like to acknowledge the lands on which I speak today and recognise that sovereignty was never ceded.

I would like to specifically acknowledge that the Wurundjeri and Boon Wurrung people, communities of the Kulin Nation, are the ongoing custodians of the lands on which Monash University now stands.

I and my colleagues pay our respects through our research, teaching and learning to their Elders, past and present.

With teacher quality so tightly linked to social outcomes and economic measures, teacher education is once again the focus of intense political and policy activity around the world. In this webinar, Professor Ellis will draw on data from the Political Economy of Teacher Education (PETE) project that reveals a new and distinctive situation in England where the state is seeking to exert even tighter control over what is taught to pre-service teachers, how and where, through a number of unprecedented and potentially innovative means. The webinar will raise the question: is the situation in England just a feature of the highly idiosyncratic policy sphere in England or a forerunner - or omen, even - of new developments around the world where states seek to use teacher education as a key economic, social as well as education policy tools.





# **PETE**

### The Political Economy of Teacher Education

Dr Sarah Steadman, KCL Warwick Mansell, Education Uncovered Professor Tom Are Trippestad, HVL Professor David Spendlove, Manchester

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# **VIV ELLIS**

EDUCATION ACADEMIC

BOOKS CHAPTERS CCNU KEYWORDS TEDX

ecent peer-reviewed research articles can either be downloaded dir or via the journal home page. If you don't have institutional access send me a message using the contact form and I will send you a coontact form to request other papers from before 2019.

& Ellis, V. (2021) 'Teaching Quality, Social Mobility and 'Opportunity' ir ne Teaching and Leadership Innovation Fund', *European Journal of Teal*: https://doi.org/10.1080/02619768.2021.1901078

dman, S. & Mao, Q. (2020) 'Come to a screeching halt': Can change in turing the COVID-19 pandemic be seen as innovation?, *European Journa cation* DOI:10.1080/02619768.2020.1821186

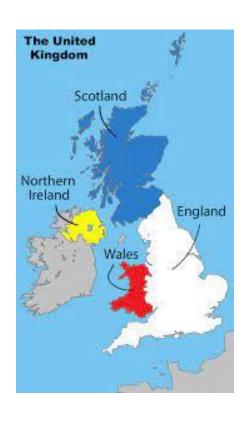
nsell, W. & Steadman, S. (2020) 'A New Political Economy of Teacher ent: The Case of the Teaching and Leadership Innovation Fund', *Journal Policy* DOI: 10.1080/02680939.2020.1717001

spendlove, D. (2020) 'Mediating "School Direct": The Enactment of a Reform Educators in England', *British Educational Research Journal* DOI: perj.3607

... the interaction of political ideas and economic processes within the cultural context of education systems and the distribution of power and privilege within those systems. It differs from the networks approach of Ball (e.g. Ball & Junemann, 2012) by asking 'whether changing patterns of participation are matched by changing distributions of resources and capabilities' (Goodwin, 2009, p. 685). It also differs from Gunter's interrogation of the broader politics of education (e.g. Gunter, 2018) by engaging with the complexity of the education economy *as* an economy (Robertson & Dale, 2015).











- Teacher education for nation building
  - e.g. Colonial contexts 'creating good British subjects'
- Teacher education as a necessary part of a mass public education system
  - Public education systems as part of state 'welfare state' social policy infrastructure
- Teacher education as a tool of economic as well as social policy
  - 'Quality' = effectiveness and efficiency within a neoliberal imaginary





- Neoliberalism marketisation (privatization)
- Conservatism privatization (marketisation)
  - Varieties of conservatism (e.g. in England, Burkeans tradition – and Peelites - individual enterprise)
    - The rise of traditionalism ('trad') vs. progressivism in English educational (social media) discourse
      - Traditionalism (Teitelbaum, 2020)
  - The 'reluctant state' (Ball)
  - The 'authoritarian state' (Poulantzas)





a curriculum market. In an interview I conducted with him in 1989, he explained:

we have a bloody state system, I wish we hadn't got. I wish we'd taken a different route in 1870. We got the ruddy state involved. I don't want it. I don't think we know how to do it. I certainly don't think secretaries of state know anything about it... and we tyrannise children to do that which they don't want to do.<sup>22</sup>

Later in the interview, Sir Keith made an argument against compulsory education.

Ball, 2012





#### **Welfare state**

'A concept of government in which the state plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of its citizens'

- education, health, housing, pensions, insurance

Market ('liberal') model – outsourcing, public-private financing

Conservative critique – 'coddling the poor' (Spencer); encouraging 'fecklessness'/lack of individual responsibility





#### **Shadow state**

Outsourcing public service responsibilities previously held by the state to non-state providers.

Defined by Wolch (1990) as:

a para-state apparatus comprised of multiple voluntary sector organisations, administered outside of traditional democratic politics and charged with major collective service responsibilities previously shouldered by the public sector, yet remaining within the purview of state control (Wolch, 1990, p. 4)

Driven by neoliberal commitments to the market as a lever for efficiency as well as conservative concerns about the interventions of the state into all aspects of people's lives.





# Teacher professional development and the shadow state I (1997 – 2010)

The National Strategies (1999 – 2010), initiated by Tony Blair's first government

£3.8 billion in funding

Highly distributed PD through mediating shadow state structures (e.g. Capita) with over 2000 advisers employed in local areas

Providers selected through competitive tendering

Robust models of public sector procurement





## Teacher professional development and the shadow state II (2010 -)

Global financial crisis

Ten years of austerity policies

'Selective dismantling' (Wolch, 1990) of key institutions that have provided democratic oversight for the state's delivery of public services

Cultural conservatism – traditionalism, restorationism









## The Teaching and Leadership Innovation Fund (2017)

CPD for teachers in designated 'Opportunity Areas' (incl. high levels of child poverty)

Education Secretary Justine Greening described teachers as 'the experts driving social mobility' (Greening, 2017)

Teaching quality increases social mobility

Framed as a crisis of social mobility requiring radical, urgent action

68 tenders (applications for funding), including 15 universities and 2 local authorities/school districts





Organisation	Funding awarded	Response to request to	
		participate	
Institute for Teaching	£6.4 million	Declined	
Teach First	£3.9 million	Nothing received	
Institute of Physics	£2.7 million	Accepted	
Ruth Miskin Training	£1.6 million	Declined	
STEM Learning	£1.4 million	No response	
The Teacher Development	£1.3 million	Declined	
Trust			
Tom Bennett Training	£952,000	No response	
EdisonLearning UK	£950,000	Accepted	



Type of enterprise	TLIF organisation
Entrepreneurs	Ruth Miskin Training; Tom Bennett
	Training (TBT); EdisonLearning UK
Scholarly enterprises	Institute of Physics (IoP); STEM Learning
Enterprising charities	Institute for Teaching (IfT); Teach First;
	Teacher Development Trust (TDT)



Autonomous shadow state	Intermediate shadow	Co-created shadow state
structures	state structures	structures
Institute of Physics (IoP)	Ruth Miskin Training	Institute for Teaching (IfT)
(scholarly enterprise)	(entrepreneur)	(enterprising charity)
STEM Learning	Teach First	Teacher Development Trust
(scholarly enterprise)	(enterprising charity)	(TDT)
		(enterprising charity)
EdisonLearning UK		Tom Bennett Training
(entrepreneur)		(TBT)
		(entrepreneur)



## A new political economy of teacher development

A qualitative shift in the mechanisms and ethos of educational privatisation – a 'process of substitution' (Ball, 2010)

Structural reconfiguration of governance – less open, less deliberative

Driven by an historical fault-line in conservatism ('free market/strong state', Hall, 2011)

Interdependent relations of power and privilege ('cronyism'?)

Experimental – fragmented and fragile

Against a background of significant school reform





**England - Eccentric Outlier or Game-changing Forerunner?** 





#### COVID-19

The turn to remote learning

IFT entrepreneur creates Oak National Academy – immediately awarded £300k then £4.34 million

Meanwhile a consortium of professional associations proposed something at lower cost and only received an acknowledgement (Mansell, 2020)

IFT entrepreneur awarded the Order of the British Empire in the COVID-19 Honours List





## Waste, Negligence and Cronyism: Inside Britain's Pandemic Spending

In the desperate scramble for protective gear and other equipment, politically connected companies reaped billions.

By Jane Bradley, Selam Gebrekidan and Allison McCann Dec. 17, 2020







Thank you for the invitation and for listening!



