

Are we nearly there yet? 25 years of initial teacher education policy in Wales

Professor Trevor Mutton, University of Oxford
Dr Thomas Breeze, Cardiff Metropolitan University

ABSTRACT

Initial teacher education (ITE) policy in Wales over the past 25 years has, in many ways, reflected wider global concerns around the need to produce sufficient high-quality teachers to ensure that pupil outcomes are comparable with those of other nations, in order to enable Wales to remain economically competitive. Having inherited the legacy of Westminster ITE policies in 1999, there was no sudden move by the Welsh Government to reform existing provision, but three distinct ITE reviews over the decade from 2005 to 2015 have led to significant changes both in the structure of ITE in Wales, and the pedagogical approaches underpinning all programmes. We examine each of these three sets of reforms in relation to the distinct context, content and processes involved, as well the key policy actors, and discuss the evolution of ITE policy-making over the 25 years since devolution.

Keywords: initial teacher education, teacher education policy, teacher education Wales, policy reform in Wales

Introduction

When taking the long view of initial teacher training (ITT) or initial teacher education (ITE)¹ policy-making in Wales over the past 25 years, it seems clear that the approach taken by the Welsh Government has not been immune to wider global influences. Such influences have driven widespread policy reform in many countries across the world (Darling-Hammond and Lieberman, 2012; Kosnik et al., 2016; Menter, 2019), with these various reforms often demonstrating features of what Sahlberg (2011) has called the Global Education Reform Movement (or GERM), characterised by a focus on high-stakes accountability, a competitive market-driven approach to education, increased moves towards standardisation and, in terms of school education, a focus on raising achievement in core subjects. The driver for reform has, in many cases, been the perceived imperative to improve a country's performance in international tests, most noticeably the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). Cochran-Smith (2021) outlines the way in which success in these international test scores is understood by policy makers to be the key to a nation's success within a global economy. Improvement in a country's PISA ranking is, so the argument goes, determined by the quality of individual teachers which is, in turn, determined by the quality of teacher education. The result is that teacher education (and particularly ITE) has become 'a site of struggle internationally' (Ellis et al., 2019: 101). Tatto summarises the way in which this approach is realised, arguing that:

[A]s the nation state has taken more interest in teachers and their education as a possible vehicle to increase education's quality, it has in many cases also taken charge of teacher education reform using monitoring and accountability measures and performance standards as mechanisms to justify or jump-start drastic changes. (Tatto, 2006: 234)

Wales's nearest neighbour, England, has adopted a series of successive ITE reforms which have been well documented within the literature (see, for

1 In Wales, the term 'initial teacher training' (ITT) was replaced with 'initial teacher education and training' (ITET) and then initial teacher education (ITE). ITE is generally used throughout this article, except where one of the other terms is required for clarity or when using the name of specific policy documents.

example, Childs and Menter, 2013; Ellis and Childs, 2024; Spendlove, 2024; Mutton et al., 2021; Mutton and Burn, 2024), although the nature of these reforms (the deliberate marginalisation of university teacher education, the pursuance of alternative routes to qualification, increasing central control over the structure and content of ITE programmes) has led to England being seen as something of an ‘outlier’ even within the wider context of international policy and particularly within the UK (Loughran and Menter, 2019). The retention of the name ‘initial teacher training’ by policy makers implies a certain view about the process by which new teachers are educated when compared with those countries, such as Wales, which have replaced the word ‘training’ with ‘education’. Wales has, by contrast with England, taken a very different approach over the last 25 years. So, in what way specifically has ITE policy making in Wales evolved since devolution and what have been the key policy drivers during this period?

ITE policy in Wales since devolution – an overview

When the National Assembly for Wales took over responsibility for teacher education in 1999 there was a general continuation of the policies and practices that had, up until that time, been determined by the Westminster government’s Department for Education and Employment (DfEE), previously the Department for Education (DFE), and the Welsh Office. The main features of these policies were: an increasing focus on the nature of the ITE curriculum; revision of the Standards for the Award of Qualified Teacher Status (QTS); the role of schools in ITE, and the promotion of partnership working; and the development of alternative (employment-based) routes into teaching. In terms of partnership working, it was the implementation of Government Circulars in 1992 and 1993 that had brought about a statutory requirement for higher education institutions (HEIs) to enter into formal partnership arrangements with schools, with the expectation that the latter would take joint responsibility for the planning of programmes and for the ‘selection, training and assessment of students’ (Department for Education 1992: para. 14). Bassett (2003) identifies some of the challenges of implementing the new requirements in Wales (including the issue of adequate resourcing) and raises a number of important questions for the Welsh Assembly Government of the day as it was about to embark on a

consultation around potential revisions to the QTS Standards. Bassett (2003) highlights, moreover, that the initial consultation document signalled the expectation that, except in relation to specific issues such as the Welsh language, all ITE programme requirements and any revision to the QTS Standards would be broadly similar to the requirements that were currently in place in England.

During this period, it was a number of reports following Estyn inspections of individual ITE providers in Wales that highlighted concerns both about the quality of school-university partnerships and the lack of apparent preparedness for teaching of some trainees² as they completed their ITE programmes (Grigg and Egan, 2020), prompting the first of three major reviews of ITE over the next 10 years. The first of these reviews was carried out by a team led by John Furlong, and its 36 recommendations (Furlong *et al.*, 2006) resulted in, among other things, the establishment of three regional centres across Wales, along with significant reductions in the number of trainees accepted each year (particularly for primary teaching, where it was recommended that numbers be reduced by 50%). The second review, again triggered to some extent by Estyn concerns about the quality of ITE provision but also by Wales's relatively poor performance in the most recent set of PISA results, was carried out by Ralph Tabberer in 2012, who judged that there had been slow progress in developing a more effective and more coherent approach to the training of teachers in Wales. Tabberer's report (2013) begins by setting the review within the context of the second McKinsey Report (Barber and Mourshead, 2009) and draws heavily on a series of OECD publications (Musset, 2010; Schleicher, 2013), thus demonstrating the influence of global factors in determining the report's 15 recommendations. One of these recommendations was that the Welsh Government should 'appoint a senior adviser with specific responsibility for ITT' (2013: 18), which it duly did with the appointment of John Furlong to the role in 2014. Furlong carried out his second review of ITE in Wales the following year and the subsequent report, *Teaching Tomorrow's Teachers* (Furlong, 2015), resulted in widespread systemic change, the rationale for which Furlong set out elsewhere (Furlong, 2016). The report produced nine recommendations, closely linked to a

2 We have used the term trainee where this reflects the terminology used in policy documentation at the time. The term 'student teacher' is also generally used, and has been the preferred designation during the recent reforms.

number of options for the Welsh Government to consider, resulting in a revised set of criteria for accreditation that all ITE providers would be required to meet, a revised set of Professional Standards for Teaching and Leadership (PSTL), an enhanced role for schools in ITE partnerships, and an increased emphasis on research and enquiry within teacher education programmes. Kirsty Williams, the Minister for Education at the time, signalled the link between high-quality teacher education and the delivery of the new Curriculum for Wales, saying that:

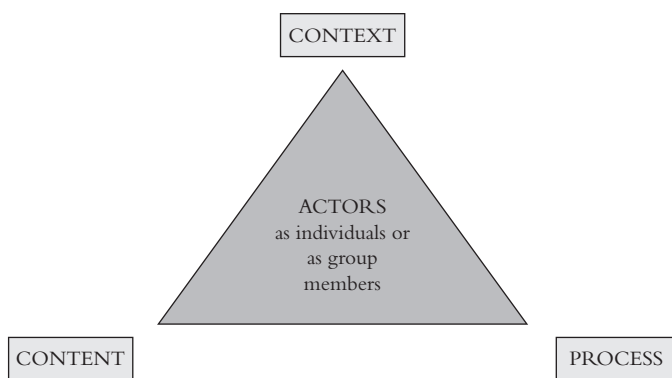
All teachers need to develop the right teaching and assessment skills to enable them to use the new curriculum to support learning and teaching successfully. (Williams, 2017, Cabinet Statement)

Central to these reforms was one key document – the *Criteria for the accreditation of initial teacher education programmes in Wales* (Welsh Government, 2018) which set out both the vision for teacher education in Wales, and the means by which this is to be realised. Furlong (2016) was clear that collaborative partnerships (Furlong et al., 2000) were at the heart of this reconceptualised vision, with programmes required to be underpinned by clear principles and an approach to teacher learning that required theory and practice to be fully integrated within a model of research-informed clinical practice (Burn and Mutton, 2015). Following this round of ITE reform in Wales, those who successfully achieved accreditation against the new criteria began to deliver their revised programmes from September 2019 onwards. All providers have subsequently been required to apply to the Education Workforce Council (the body responsible for ITE provider accreditation in Wales) for re-accreditation against the ‘refreshed’ criteria for ITE in Wales (Welsh Government, 2023) in order to continue providing ITE programmes after the expiry of their initial period of accreditation.

Methods

Our analysis draws on policy documentation produced by the Welsh Government and others between 1999 and 2024 that relates directly to ITE during the three key points of review and reform (see Appendix 1 for a full list). These policy documents fall into two main categories: first the reports of the three key policy reviews that have taken place (Furlong et al., 2006;

Figure 1. A model for policy analysis (adapted from Walt and Gilson, 1994).



Tabberer, 2013; Furlong, 2015); and second Welsh Government publications and related ministerial statements. Using a ‘mainstream approach’ (Browne et al., 2019: 1034), that is to say, one that addresses: the values at stake; which voices are heard; and how political priority is generated, we draw on Walt and Gilson’s (1994) policy triangle which is predicated on the idea ‘that an understanding of policy should be informed by an analysis of policy context, content, process and actors’ (Browne et al., 2019: 1036–7). Walt and Gilson present their model (originally designed for the analysis of health policy) as a triangle in which context, content and process are each shown at a different point of the triangle, within which policy actors interact with all three areas (see Figure 1).

Three ITE policy moments

The Furlong Review, 2005

The Terms of Reference for the 2005 review of ITE in Wales indicate that the focus was primarily on addressing issues of capacity and the supply of new teachers within Wales in order to meet the needs of Welsh schools. At the time, the fact that a significant number of trainees were leaving ITE programmes without having secured a post in Wales was of concern not least because of the resource issues involved. The report

(Furlong et al., 2006) states that figures for the previous four years indicated that those securing a teaching post in Wales after qualification ranged between 28% and 43% for primary, and between 54% and 57% for secondary, although employment statistics by individual provider did not seem to be available. As in England, there was also government interest in exploring, through the review, the potential for developing alternative routes to achieving QTS, such as the Graduate Teacher Programme or the Registered Teacher Programme, in order to increase the supply of teachers in shortage areas, particularly some secondary school subjects. Finally, the review was charged with looking at issues around quality of provision across all programmes. The wider context of the review was the vision for education in Wales set out by Jane Davidson, Minister for Education, Lifelong Learning and Skills in the policy document *The Learning Country* (National Assembly for Wales, 2001), which Daugherty and Elwyn Jones (2002) argue 'represents the first fruits of policy development from the Assembly administration in the new era of political devolution' (109). This was followed five years later by *The Learning Country: Vision into Action* (Welsh Assembly Government, 2006), which acknowledged that:

improving the quality of initial training, induction and continuous professional development of teachers and post-16 education and training staff has an important part to play in achieving our goals. (17)

The ITE policy context was therefore situated within the wider ambition to improve education provision (and particularly school provision) across Wales, but also reflecting the inherent assumption that education (and teacher education) policy in Wales needed to diverge from the legacy of policies established by the Westminster government (Rees, 2007). The report of the review (Furlong et al., 2006) highlighted what appeared to be fairly widespread concerns around both quality and quality assurance within and across programmes but was also clear that ITE provision in Wales had to develop a different approach to that being followed by the English government at the time. The authors were therefore keen to frame the problem not as one of quality control, but instead as one of the nature of the ITE curriculum and partnership working. The following quotation from the report is lengthy, but encapsulates the thinking behind many of the review's recommendations. It argues that the problem needs to be re-framed so that it focuses on:

the challenges facing HEIs and schools in working together to develop high quality school-based teacher education and training. Above all, this means developing the school-based component of the ITT curriculum that currently is commonly viewed and referred to as ‘school placement’ or ‘school experience’. While the Standards provide a framework of learning outcomes and a means by which the competence of trainees may be assessed, they do not constitute a curriculum. An ITT curriculum embraces both what needs to be learned and the learning processes that will facilitate that learning. The priority task, we believe therefore, is to develop a planned, structured curriculum for ITT that covers the trainees’ experience in schools as well as in the college. We are firmly of the view that issues of quality control and assurance are secondary to the development of rich learning opportunities within the system. (Furlong et al., 2006: 71)

While the review addressed many other areas (funding, alternative routes into teaching; induction provision, revision of the QTS Standards), it had two radical recommendations. First that there should be a significant reduction in trainee numbers over a period of five years – a 50% reduction in primary and a 25% reduction in secondary. Second, that ITE provision in Wales should be totally re-organised and that:

Wales should establish three main Schools of Education and that HEFCW should, in the future, assign ITT numbers to each of these three Schools with a view to ensuring strong, regionally based provision that meets the national need. (Recommendation 14)

Most of the recommendations outlined in the report were broadly accepted by the Minister for Education, albeit with some provisos.

The review itself was set up to be independent, evidence-based and was to be carried out in a consultative and collaborative way, eliciting a wide range of stakeholder views (as evidenced in Annex B of the report which outlines all of the review activities). Those commissioned to carry out the review subsequently produced an analytic account of their experiences (Furlong et al. 2007) in which they highlight the complexity of the policy review process and point out:

a paradox in policy analysis, arising from a mismatch between notions of how the policy process should work and its actual messy, uncertain, unstable and essentially political realities. (117)

Their account reveals the tensions inherent in ‘rational’ policy making and the often competing interests of those involved in the process, confirming Cairney’s assertion that ‘comprehensive rationality and the policy cycle’ is something of a ‘fiction’, to be understood as an ‘ideal-type to compare with more realistic stories of complexity and unpredictable policymaking’ (p.201). While Furlong et al. argue that their review did provide ‘an opportunity for a wider range of “voices” to be heard in the policy debate’ (p. 130) they also acknowledge the influence on the process of other actors, such as ‘civil servants (especially the Inspectorate), professional organizations and trade unions and local education authorities’ (p. 130) in what was recognised to be a high stakes exercise.

The Tabberer Review, 2011

What, then, led the Welsh Government to carry out a further ITE review just seven years later? In terms of content, the remit of this second review makes clear that it was to have a very different focus: not the rationalisation of provision in order to address issues of over-capacity (training too many teachers for the needs of Welsh schools), as had been the case in 2005, but rather addressing issues around:

- a) the quality and consistency of teaching, training and assessment in ITT
- b) ITT course structure and the coverage of specific issues in ITT (Tabberer, 2013: 4)

This was to form part of a wider ‘multi-faceted reform plan designed to raise standards in Welsh schools’ (Tabberer, 2013: 2) deemed necessary as a response to Wales’s recent ‘disappointing results from international assessments of student performance’ (7). As noted above, the review was highly influenced by wider global considerations, drawing heavily on policies and practices emanating from the OECD (in particular, Musset, 2010 and Schleicher, 2013) and focused specifically on addressing the ‘ultimate question’ as to ‘whether ITT is capable of playing the part that it should in raising standards in Welsh schools’ (7). Tabberer indicates that it is ‘reasonable’, therefore, to assess ITT in Wales ‘against an international quality benchmark’ (8) and is clear that the starting point for the review is that the ‘evidence from inspection and self-evaluation shows that ITT provision in Wales is not meeting the standards set by the highest performers globally’ (14). The context was therefore one in which the drivers for reform were both external (international comparisons) and

internal (Estyn reports that highlighted strengths, but also some areas of concern). There is little to discern in relation to the process of the review; whereas the report of the Furlong Review (2006) had set out in meticulous detail the wider consultation process, Tabberer (2013) mentions only a few specific organisations in the acknowledgements section of his report (referring in general to senior colleagues in these organisations who provided support), and speaks warmly of visits to ITT centres, as well as noting discussions with other related stakeholders. There is, however, little evidence cited to support the conclusions and recommendations in the report. There is, however, little evidence cited to support the conclusions and recommendations in the report, such as the assertion that ‘there are historical and structural reasons for the fracture between ITT and research, and the position has possibly got worse since the Furlong Review in 2006’ (24). Instead, the report contains a large number of statements indicating what ITT ‘should do’ or other normative formulations such as ‘it would be helpful if ...’. Whilst undoubtedly drawn from the review evidence, it is not always clear what specific evidence is being drawn on in relation to the review’s conclusions and recommendations.

As for the key actors involved in the process, the Tabberer review follows the model for education reviews in Wales more generally, that is to say, inviting an independent expert to lead the review process. In this case, the report appears very much to have been authored by one individual and there is little sense of ‘messy’ policy making or any conflicting perspectives.

The Furlong Review, 2015

Within three years the Welsh Government had embarked on yet another ITE review. Following one of the key recommendations of the Tabberer review, the Welsh Government appointed an ITT Adviser for Wales – namely Professor John Furlong, who had led the 2005 review. Furlong’s report to the Minister for Education a year after his appointment as ITT Adviser picks up where Tabberer left off, and focuses on ‘evidence about the current strengths and weaknesses of teacher education and training in Wales’ (Furlong, 2015:1), before proposing a range of options for the Welsh Government to consider. The focus of the report is wide-ranging, addressing the need that Furlong identifies for significant re-structuring at all levels, a new set of professional standards for teachers and school leaders, a radically revised set of accreditation criteria for ITE providers

(Welsh Government, 2017), and a reconceptualisation as to how ITE would operate in Wales from 2019 onwards, particularly within a partnership model which was to reflect what was mostly a new approach to ITE pedagogy. Research was to play a central role in provision under the new criteria. The Welsh Government did not ostensibly set the parameters for *Teaching Tomorrow's Teachers*; rather the content of the report was determined by Furlong's analysis of the challenges identified over the previous decade.

Teaching Tomorrow's Teachers (Furlong, 2015) also has to be considered in relation to the wider vision for education in Wales (Evans, 2022) and in particular the proposed changes to the school curriculum that had been proposed by Graham Donaldson's review in 2015. Furlong acknowledges the implications of the implementation of the new school curriculum for both ITE and teachers' continuing professional development, but *Teaching Tomorrow's Teachers*, like the Tabberer Review before it, highlights what it sees as the urgent need for Wales to address wider global imperatives. More specifically, this would include responding to the challenges emerging from the OECD country-specific report on Wales (2014) which re-affirmed the quality of the teacher as the single most important determinant in pupil learning and achievement and that 'raising teachers' and leaders' professional capital will therefore be important to improving the performance of the Welsh school system overall' (OECD, 2014: 67). One aspect of professional capital, it argues, is 'human capital', which 'refers to the quality of teachers' initial training and ongoing professional development; their skills, qualifications and professional knowledge' (67). Thus, ITE has an important part to play in realising Wales's global potential. Furlong also draws, like Tabberer, on continued Estyn calls for more consistency in the quality of ITE nationally (Estyn, 2013).

The process by which Furlong came to his conclusions was very much determined by his own thinking ('the analysis and proposals contained in this report are my responsibility and mine alone' (2015: 2)). Although he reports having had discussions with a wide range of stakeholders, including Welsh Government which, he says 'scrupulously' observed his independence (2), this very much appears to be a process led by one key actor, since this was the policy-making model determined by government. As noted above, the report had significant implications for the ITE sector in Wales, not least because it led directly to the publication of new accreditation criteria (Welsh Government, 2018) and a

re-conceptualisation of teacher learning within school-university partnerships.

Discussion

The most recent set of ITE reforms became inevitable after Estyn's 2010–15 cycle of inspections (see Estyn, 2015). The 2014–15 Annual Report made it clear that the previous reforms had been successful in relation to reducing the number of newly-qualified teachers produced by Welsh ITE institutions, and de-duplicating programmes provided by adjacent HEIs. However, HEIs involved in the reforms had focused on these administrative changes to the exclusion of any strategy for development of high-quality education. Combining HEIs to create regional centres had diverted the energies of leaders towards the creation of administrative and quality-control layers to enable this, distracting them from producing and sustaining a clear vision for teacher education.

In defining an aspirational set of demands for ITE (see Furlong, 2015), subsequently realised through the criteria for the accreditation of ITE programmes (Welsh Government, 2018), Wales's vision for ITE was in many ways moving in step with its ambitious vision for the curriculum in schools (Donaldson, 2015; Welsh Government 2020). In seeking to emulate research-informed, collaborative partnership approaches such as the Oxford Internship Scheme (Benton, 1990; Burn and Mutton, 2015), policymakers in Wales hoped to transplant a 'relatively small-scale' and 'well-resourced' model (Ellis, 2010: 107) to a whole country, rendered even more labour-intensive through the need to deliver it in two languages. Since the introduction of the reformed ITE programmes in Wales in 2018, a limited amount of early data from Estyn inspections, as well as Education Workforce Council (EWC) monitoring and reaccreditation events, has become available. These data indicate mixed success in the endeavour so far, with geography and scale becoming important factors. While larger providers are able to provide capacity (both in the university and across the wider partnership) in setting up a partnership, this does produce challenges for ensuring consistency of provision. The 'lead school' partnership approach built in to the ITE criteria means that, by definition, there are also 'non-lead' schools which may be at risk of having a 'peripheral' status, taking longer to assimilate developments in teacher education pedagogy within programmes that

have been co-constructed between the university and lead schools. Meanwhile, smaller ITE partnerships, especially those facing significant geographical challenges (with fewer student teachers and commensurately fewer staff), have found it noticeably more difficult to meet the new aspirations for ITE in Wales.

Concerns continue to be expressed about the education system in Wales more broadly, namely the widening attainment gap between rich and poor (Rees and Rees, 2023) the country's low standing in PISA compared to the rest of the UK (Senedd Research, 2023) and an ongoing perception that school curriculum reforms, as they stand, risk exacerbating inequity and incoherence in the pupil experience (Power et al., 2020). These concerns are linked to a lack of high-quality professional learning, teacher autonomy and teacher workload capacity (Hughes and Lewis, 2020; Sinnema et al., 2020; Evans, 2022). At this point in time, ITE may find itself at an important juncture – either being relegated to the policy background in the face of greater concerns elsewhere, or being seized upon by policymakers as a proxy for addressing issues within the wider education system, with the temptation for further change to be implemented in order to give the appearance of positive action for the education system at large. A comparison between the Welsh Government's 2017 and 2023 versions of the ITE Accreditation Criteria shows an increase in the number of individual criteria, and points to the possibility of a 'checklist' approach which aims to address much more complex and deep-seated problems in the wider teaching profession through their inclusion in ITE curricula. This would be in marked contrast to the school curriculum framework, where specific content remains undefined. Additionally, it is important to bear in mind that existing pressures in schools, including funding shortages (Scott et al., 2024), post-Covid recovery (Marchant et al., 2021), and an ongoing recruitment and retention crisis (Ghosh and Worth, 2020), have an impact on schools' capacity to develop the partnership model further at pace. All of these factors point to a need for ITE partnerships to develop in a sustainable way, taking account of both universities' and schools' capacities when setting the pace of change.

Wales has, nevertheless, adopted a less adversarial approach to ITE policy-making than has been the case in England (see Ellis, 2024 for an overview of the latter) and has so far resisted the temptation to de-couple the award of QTS from an academic qualification, gained through participation in a university-based ITE programme. The move to

school-based teacher education in England has been significant, but has not resulted in improvements to teacher recruitment. Instead, it has led to more fragmented provision through a range of different routes into teaching (Whiting et al., 2016), with policy driven by a market-led model and ultimately leading to the recent ITT Market Review (DfE, 2021) which has had far-reaching consequences. The move by Estyn towards more longer-term, dialogic inspection (Estyn, 2023) which results in a narrative outcome is, perhaps, another indication of this less adversarial approach.

Conclusions

ITE policy-making in Wales under devolution has had to respond to a number of challenges which have not been unique to Wales, but which have required a particular Welsh solution. As has been the case elsewhere, the key focus has been on the capacity to produce sufficient numbers of high-quality teachers to meet the nation's needs. Policies, driven by both national and international imperatives, have thus focused on both structure and programme content, whilst always taking account of the distribution of provision across what remains a small but geographically challenging country. The first solution to the structural problems that characterised ITE during the first few years of the devolved government, whilst taking quite radical measures to address the issue of over-capacity, failed to achieve any noticeable increase in quality. It took a decade and a half before a particular vision for ITE could become part of the wider vision for education in Wales. Even then, the model for policy reform retained one of its characteristic features – the appointment of an external, independent expert to provide the policy solutions. It is perhaps inevitable that ITE partnerships between universities and schools would lie at the heart of Furlong's 2015 report, given his interest in partnership working over such a long period (see for example, Furlong et al., 2000), but this new way of conceptualising the role of partnerships was further influenced by the evidence from the BERA-RSA Inquiry (2014), which he had also led. This resulted in the conceptualisation of ITE in Wales as a pedagogical endeavour, informed by the best available research. One significant factor over the past 25 years (and in direct contrast to what has happened in England) has been that policymakers in Wales have retained the

award of QTS with the requirement to attend a university-based ITE programme leading to an academic qualification, thus maintaining the link between academic study and practical experience that is at the heart of any integrated partnership model. It is encouraging, from our perspective, that Wales has been determined to pursue approaches to ITE that are rooted in collaborative partnerships in which:

teacher education is a collective, co-constructed endeavour to which each partner brings unique forms of expertise and perspectives that are subject to change in an ongoing collaborative and dynamic process. (Universities' Council for the Education of Teachers, 2020)

The question now is whether such approaches are given the time to become fully embedded before policy-makers decide that, for whatever reasons, another round of ITE review and reform is required.

References

- Barber, M. and Mourshed, M. (2007). *How the World's Best Performing School Systems Come Out On Top*. London: McKinsey and Company.
- Bassett, P. (2003). Initial teacher education and training: A new opportunity for partnership in Wales. *Wales Journal of Education*, 12 (2), 4–12.
- Benton, P. (ed.) (1990). *The Oxford Internship Scheme: Integration and Partnership in Initial Teacher Education*. London: Calouste Gulbenkian.
- BERA-RSA (2014). *Research and the Teaching Profession; building the capacity for a self-improving education system. Final report of the BERA-RSA Inquiry into the role of research in teacher education*. London: BERA.
- Browne, J., Coffey, B., Cook, K., Meiklejohn, S., and Palermo, C. (2019). A guide to policy analysis as a research method. *Health promotion international*, 34 (5), 1032–44.
- Burn, K., and Mutton, T. (2015). A review of 'research informed clinical practice' in initial teacher education. *Oxford Review of Education*, 41 (2), 217–33.
- Cairney, P. (2018). Three habits of successful policy entrepreneurs. *Policy & Politics*, 46 (2), 199–215.
- Cochran-Smith, M. (2021). Exploring teacher quality: international perspectives. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 44 (3), 415–28.
- Darling-Hammond, L., and Lieberman, A. (2012). Teacher education around the world. What can we learn from international practice? In: L. Darling-Hammond and A. Lieberman (eds), *Teacher Education around the World: Changing policies and practices*. London: Routledge, 151–69.

- Daugherty, R., and Jones, G. E. (2002). The learning country. *Wales Journal of Education*, 11 (1), 107–13.
- Department for Education (DFE) (1992). *Initial teacher training: Secondary phase*. Circular 9/92. London: DFE.
- Department for Education (2021). *Initial teacher training (ITT) market review report* <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/initial-teacher-training-itt-market-review-report>. Retrieved on 19 May 2024.
- Donaldson, G. (2015). *Successful Futures: Independent Review of Curriculum and Assessment Arrangements in Wales*. <https://www.gov.wales/sites/default/files/publications/2018-03/successful-futures.pdf>. Retrieved on 19 May 2024.
- Ellis, V. (2010). Impoverishing experience: The problem of teacher education in England. *Journal of education for teaching*, 36 (1), 105–20.
- Ellis, V. (ed.) (2024). *Teacher Education in Crisis: The State, The Market and the Universities in England*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Ellis, V., and Childs, A. (2024). Introducing the crisis: The state, the market, the universities and teacher education in England. In: V. Ellis (ed.), *Teacher Education in Crisis: The State, The Market and the Universities in England*, London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1–26.
- Ellis, V., Steadman, S., and Trippestad, T. A. (2019). Teacher education and the GERM: Policy entrepreneurship, disruptive innovation and the rhetorics of reform. *Educational Review*, 71 (1), 101–21.
- Egan, D., and Grigg, R. (2020). The History of Initial Teacher Education in Wales: Lessons from the Past? *Wales Journal of Education*, 22 (1), 7–36.
- Estyn (2015). *Annual Report of HM Chief Inspector of Education and Training in Wales 2014–15*. https://www.estyn.gov.wales/system/files/2020-07/ESTYN_Annua%2520Report%25202016%2520FINAL_ENGLISH_Accessible_WEB.pdf. Retrieved on 19 May 2024.
- Estyn (2023). *Inspection for the future*. <https://www.estyn.gov.wales/inspection/inspecting-future-2024-2030>. Retrieved on 18 May 2024.
- Evans, G. (2022). Back to the future? Reflections on three phases of education policy reform in Wales and their implications for teachers. *Journal of Educational Change*, 23 (3), 371–96.
- Furlong, J. (2015). *Teaching Tomorrow's Teachers. Options for the future of initial teacher education in Wales. Report to Huw Lewis, AM, Minister for Education and Skills*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- Furlong, J. (2016). Initial Teacher Education in Wales – a rationale for reform. *Wales Journal of Education*, 18 (1), 45–63.
- Furlong, J., Barton, L., Miles, S., Whiting, C. and Whitty, G. (2000). *Teacher Education in Transition: Reforming professionalism*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Furlong, J., Hagger, H. and Butcher, C. (2006). *Review of Initial Teacher Training Provision in Wales: A report to the Welsh Assembly Government*. Oxford: University of Oxford, Department of Educational Studies.

- Furlong, J., Hagger, H., and Furlong, C. (2007). Politics and evidence-based policy-making: the review of initial teacher training provision in Wales. *Wales Journal of Education*, 14 (1), 117–32.
- Ghosh, A. and Worth, J. (2020). *Teacher Labour Market in Wales Annual Report 2020*, National Foundation for Educational Research. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED608761.pdf>. Retrieved on 19 May 2024.
- Hughes, S., and Lewis, H. (2020). Tensions in current curriculum reform and the development of teachers' professional autonomy. *The curriculum journal*, 31 (2), 290–302.
- Kosnik, C., Beck, C., and Goodwin, A. L. (2016). Reform efforts in teacher education. In: J. Loughran, and M. L. Hamilton (eds), *International Handbook of Teacher Education*, vol. 1. Singapore: Springer, 267–308.
- Loughran, J., and Menter, I. (2019). The essence of being a teacher educator and why it matters. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, 47 (3), 216–29.
- Marchant, E., Todd, C., James, M., Crick, T., Dwyer, R., and Brophy, S. (2021). Primary school staff perspectives of school closures due to Covid-19, experiences of schools reopening and recommendations for the future: A qualitative survey in Wales. *PLoS One*, 16 (12), <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0260396>
- Menter, I. (2019). The Interaction of Global and National Influences. In: T. Tatto and I. Menter (eds), *Knowledge, Policy and Practice in Learning to Teach: A Cross-National Study*. London: Bloomsbury, 268–79.
- Musset, P. (2010). *Initial Teacher Education and Continuing Training Policies in a Comparative Perspective: Current Practices in OECD Countries and a Literature Review on Potential Effects*. Education Working Papers, 48. Paris: OECD.
- Mutton, T., Burn, K., Thompson, I., and Childs, A. (2021). The complex policy landscape of initial teacher education in England: What's the problem represented to be? In: D. Mayer (ed.), *Teacher education policy and research: Global perspectives*, Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 57–71.
- Mutton, T. and Burn, K. (2024). Does initial teacher education (in England) have a future? Invited submission to *Journal of Education for Teaching*, special issue 50 (2), 214–32.
- Power, S., Newton, N., and Taylor, C. (2020). 'Successful futures' for all in Wales? The challenges of curriculum reform for addressing educational inequalities. *The Curriculum Journal*, 31 (2), 317–33.
- Rees, G. and Rees, T. L. (2023). Educational Inequality in Wales: Some Problems and Paradoxes. In: G. Rees and T. L. Rees (eds), *Poverty and Social Inequality in Wales*. London: Routledge, 71–92.
- Sahlberg, P. (2011). *Finnish lessons: What can the world learn from educational change in Finland?* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Schleicher, A. (ed.) (2012). *Preparing Teachers and Developing School Leaders for the 21st Century: Lessons from around the world*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

- Scott, S., Limbert, C., and Sykes, P. (2024). Work-related stress among headteachers in Wales: Prevalence, sources, and solutions. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, 52 (1), 208–29.
- Senedd Research (2023). *How did Wales perform in PISA 2022?* <https://research.senedd.wales/research-articles/how-did-wales-perform-in-pisa-2022/>. Retrieved on 19 May 2024.
- Sinnema, C., Nieveen, N., and Priestley, M. (2020). Successful futures, successful curriculum: What can Wales learn from international curriculum reforms? *The Curriculum Journal*, 31 (2), 181–201.
- Spendlove, D. (2024). The state of exception: How policies created the crisis of ITE in England. In: V. Ellis (ed.), *Teacher Education in Crisis: The State, The Market and the Universities in England*, 43–62.
- Tabberer R. (2013). *A Review of Initial Teacher Training in Wales*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- Tatto, M. T. (2006). Education reform and the global regulation of teachers' education, development and work: A cross-cultural analysis. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 45 (4–5), 231–41.
- University Council for the Education of Teachers (2020). *UCET Intellectual Basis of Teacher Education (IBTE) position paper*. <https://www.ucet.ac.uk/11675/intellectual-base-of-teacher-education-report-updated-february-2020>. Retrieved on 19 May 2024.
- Walt, G., and Gilson, L. (1994). Reforming the health sector in developing countries: the central role of policy analysis. *Health policy and planning*, 9 (4), 353–70.
- Welsh Government (2017). *Criteria for the accreditation of initial teacher education programmes in Wales*. <https://gov.wales/initial-teacher-education-programmes-accreditation-criteria>. Retrieved on 10 May 2024.
- Welsh Government (2020). *Curriculum for Wales. The journey to 2022*. <https://hwb.gov.wales/api/storage/cbe5e2c9-16cf-4eb7-87a1-c1a64fc598d8/the-journey-to-2022.pdf>. Retrieved on 19 May 2024.
- Welsh Government (2023). *Criteria for the accreditation of initial teacher education programmes in Wales*, Welsh Government circular document no: 002/2023. <https://www.gov.wales/sites/default/files/publications/2023-05/for-ite-programmes-accredited-to-commence-from-1st-september-2024.pdf>. Retrieved on 10 May 2024.
- Whiting, C., Black, P., Hordern, J., Parfitt, A., Reynolds, K., Sorensen, N., and Whitty, G. (2016). *Towards a new topography of ITT: a profile of Initial Teacher Training in England 2015-16*. An Occasional Paper from the IFE No. 1, Bath Spa University, <http://researchspace.bathspa.ac.uk/8254/1/8254.pdf>. Retrieved on 19 May 2024.
- Williams, K. (2017) Cabinet Statement – *Progressing our ambitions for initial teacher education ITE*. <https://gov.wales/about/cabinet/cabinetstatements/2017/initialteachereducation/?lang=en>. Retrieved on 10 May 2024.

*Appendix 1: Key ITE policy documents in Wales 1999–2024
(in chronological order)*

The following list is not exhaustive, but represents an overview of the key documents related to ITE policy in Wales.

- National Assembly for Wales (2001). *The Learning Country – a Paving Document*.
- National Assembly for Wales (2005). *Consultation on Qualified Teacher Status Standards and the Requirement for the provision of Initial Teacher Training Courses*.
- HEFCW (2005). *Initial Teacher Training (ITT) Partnership: Consultation Outcomes and Next Steps*.
- Welsh Assembly Government (2006). *The Learning Country: Vision into Action*.
- Furlong, J., Hagger, H., Butcher, C., and Howson, J. (2006). *Review of Initial Teacher Training Provision in Wales*.
- Welsh Assembly Government (2009). *Employment-based Teacher Training in Wales A revised Scheme and proposed changes to the administrative arrangements*.
- Welsh Assembly Government (2009). *Becoming a Qualified Teacher: Handbook of Guidance*.
- Welsh Government (2011). *Consultation Document: Updated qualifications regulations for school teachers in Wales*.
- Welsh Government (2012). *Consultation – summary of responses: Updated qualifications regulations for school teachers in Wales*.
- Tabberer (2013). *Review of Initial Teacher Training in Wales*.
- Welsh Government (2013). *Review of Initial Teacher Training in Wales – Recommendations and Welsh Government response*.
- Estyn (2015). *Annual Report of HM Chief Inspector of Education and Training in Wales 2014–15*.
- Furlong (2015). *Teaching Tomorrow’s Teachers*.
- Lewis (2015). *Cabinet written Statement*.
- Welsh Government (2015c). *New Deal for the Education Workforce: Effective Use of Data and Research Evidence*.
- Welsh Government (2016). *Taking Wales Forward 2016–21*.
- Williams, K. (2017). *Cabinet written statement*.
- Welsh Government (2017). *Education in Wales: Our National Mission. Action Plan 2017–21*.

- Welsh Government (2017). Criteria for the Accreditation of Initial Teacher Education Programmes in Wales.
- Welsh Government (2017). Consultation Document: New Professional Standards for Teaching and Leadership in Schools, Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- Welsh Government (2017). Connecting research and teacher education. Quality enhancement for ITE Partnerships. Information document no: 197/2017.
- National Assembly for Wales, Children, Young People and Education Committee (2017). Report on the Teachers' Professional Learning and Education Inquiry.
- Estyn (2018). The professional learning continuum: mentoring in initial teacher education.
- Welsh Government (2018). An introduction to the professional standards for teaching and leadership.
- Welsh Government (2018). New Support for Education Leaders.
- Welsh Government (2018). Response to the Estyn thematic report on ITE and mentoring.
- Welsh Government (2023). Criteria for the accreditation of initial teacher education programmes in Wales.