

BORDER CROSSING – TEACHER SUPPLY AND RETENTION IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

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SYNOPSIS

It appears that there is increasing divergence in several aspects of education policy in England and Scotland. In particular the approach to the teaching workforce has been characterised by quite different priorities. The recently announced pay award in Scotland has even led to suggestions of the possibility of a significant northwards migration of teachers, at a time when there is increasing concern about teacher supply in England and, for the first time, some concern about supply in Scotland.

This paper presents a comparative analysis of recent and current policy initiatives on either side of the border as they relate to questions of teacher supply and retention. This will include a comparison of the policy contexts and institutional structures which bear on these matters, as well as the policies on initial teacher education, teachers' pay and conditions and teachers' career development.

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

The Scottish and English education systems have been separate and distinct throughout the development of the modern era. In the second half of the twentieth century, the Scottish system developed a reputation of high standards, 'firm discipline' and high participation rates in further and higher education. Writing their seminal text in 1988, *Governing Education*, McPherson and Raab confidently described the system as highly centralised.

The English system during the same period developed very much under the guise of a three way partnership between teachers, local education authorities and central government. This was the model of policy making which prevailed under the so-called social democratic settlement which had emerged after the second world war and was promulgated by commentators of the time, notably Kogan (1975).

However two major political developments have significantly influenced this somewhat simplistic account and to some extent have led to a reversal of these relative positions. The first is the interventionist onslaught on education in England by central government, incipient from the mid-70s and then reaching fruition in 1988. The second is the formal devolution of increased powers to Scotland as a self-governing component of the United Kingdom. Following the election of the Labour government in 1997, the Scottish Parliament was created in 1999, with its own Executive. Within the Executive an Education Department was established, replacing the education section of the former Scottish Office Education and Industry Department (SOEID).

While the Westminster-based Department for Education and Employment (DfEE)⁽ⁱ⁾ (and the DfE and DES before it) had no direct control of Scottish education, there is no doubt that the UK Treasury did. As Brown, McCrone and Paterson (1996) put it:

...any proposal to follow new policies in Scotland would be resisted by the Treasury if it seemed to have implications for educational expenditure in England and Wales. (p.109)

The new freedom from direct financial control which arrived in 1999 with devolution was undoubtedly crucial in the decisions about teachers' pay and conditions which have been made by the Scottish Parliament following the McCrone Report of 2000.

The approach to teachers' pay and conditions in England was very different, relying on a Green Paper, published in 1998 (DfEE, 1998), to set a modernising agenda, established very clearly by ministers themselves, and including many controversial elements.

The purpose of this article is to take the particular concerns about the supply, recruitment and retention of teachers and examine their current manifestations on each side of the border, in the hope of gaining insights into the connections between polity, policy and the experience of the teaching workforce. Clearly there are enormous differences of scale between the two nations and I will consider whether this accounts for some of the differences. However in the context of arguments about European harmonisation and about globalisation, these very questions of scale are increasingly being asked. The article looks at each nation in turn setting out the context of the education system before considering the issues of supply and recruitment, and pay, conditions and career development. I consider England first because that is where the supply issues have been most dramatically raised. Then, through assessing elements of convergence and divergence between the two settings, I ask what we can learn about trends in the nature of teaching and teachers in the 21st century.

ENGLAND

The national context

In England there are approximately 25000 schools maintained by state funding. The teaching workforce amounts to approximately 429000, including supply teachers (DfEE, 2001). Over 100 training providers provide about 95% of the new teachers, with a further 5% entering through employment based routes.

While the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) is responsible for ensuring there are sufficient teachers available, it gives the responsibility for allocating training places and recruiting trainees to the Teacher Training Agency (TTA), a Non Departmental Public Body, established by the Conservative Government in 1994 (see Mahony and Hextall, 2000). The TTA is also responsible for funding the provision.

The pattern of schooling is largely determined by the provisions of 1988 Education Reform Act, with four Key Stages of compulsory schooling and National Curriculum covering 11 subjects and a system of pupil assessment which contributes to the publication of results achieved school by school and to the identification of targets for the future. The schools are inspected on a cycle of 4-6 years by Ofsted (the Office for Standards in Education).

Key developments since the election of a Labour government in 1997 have included the promotion of literacy and numeracy through national strategies, requiring up to an hour per day being spent using particular teaching techniques to promote standards in these skills in primary schools. There has also been a considerable expansion of pre-school provision and the creation of a 'Foundation Stage'.

There are 150 Local Education Authorities in England which used to have considerably more power and influence than they do now. Their responsibilities for funding schools, for advising on curriculum and offering specialist services have largely been removed as legal obligations in a range of measures from 1988 onwards. The schools themselves now have major responsibility to administer their own funds and to ensure appropriate provision in the school. The key remaining function of LEAs is to monitor standards in the schools.

A General Teaching Council for England was launched in September 2000, with responsibility for establishing a register of teachers and for developing professional codes of conduct and dealing with some aspects of disciplinary procedures. The GTCE, however, is not responsible for the accreditation of initial teacher training

or even for defining the nature of Qualified Teacher Status. There are six trade unions/professional associations representing schoolteachers in England (two for headteachers and four for teachers), with two more representing teacher education lecturers in universities.

As suggested earlier, the making of education policy has become decreasingly pluralist since the 1960s and in the 1980s became extremely centralised and was characterised by confrontation and dispute between central government on the one hand and teachers and LEAs on the other. The central government thrust was one of marketisation which sought to liberate schools from 'producer control' (teachers and LEAs) and deliver them into the hands of parents as consumers. The centralised approach has not diminished since the election of a Labour government and while still including strong elements of market ideology has also introduced very explicit interventions into teaching methods, notably through the national strategies for literacy and numeracy teaching.

Supply and recruitment

Whether the shortage of teachers in England can be described as a crisis or not was a moot point during the 2001 general election. There is no doubt that shortages have been getting worse. The Government's own statistics from January 2001 suggest a total of almost 5000 unfilled vacancies, an increase of 2000 over the previous year (DfEE, 2001). However it should be noted that the 'regular' workforce had increased by 5600 over that same period (8000 if supply teachers are included). In two consecutive issues of the *Times Educational Supplement* in May 2001 (ie a period of two weeks) a total of 21000 posts were advertised.

The vacancies and shortages are not evenly spread. Particular geographical regions experience exaggerated shortages (eg London), while others may have almost a full complement (eg the Yorkshire and Humberside region had a vacancy rate of 0.3 compared with a London rate of 3.3 in 1999/2000). There are also shortages in particular subjects: maths, modern foreign languages, design and technology, science and recently English have all been designated 'shortage subjects' by the TTA. There are also shortages of applicants at particular levels, for example primary deputy headships and secondary headships. This phenomenon can be especially pronounced in denominational schools, where governing bodies are looking for high calibre staff with a particular religious commitment. Finally there are shortages in terms of the representativeness of the workforce. Minority ethnic groups are underrepresented, as are men (especially in primary but also increasingly in secondary) and there is a disproportionately small number of disabled people in the workforce.

Most recently attention has focused on the retention of teachers in the early stages of their careers, with Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools, Mike Tomlinson, suggesting that 40% of Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs) have left teaching within three years (Woodward, 2001). This is particularly worrying given the skewed age profile of the teaching workforce, with a disproportionate number approaching the end of their careers.

Numerous strategies have been developed by the TTA in an attempt to overcome the difficulties. These have included:

- financial incentives – training salaries, golden hellos;
- major advertising campaigns;
- targeted recruitment drives (eg at men and minority ethnic group members);
- promotion of part-time and distance learning routes;
- establishment of a Civil Service-style fast track;

- school-centred initial teacher training schemes;
- employment-based routes;
- Recruitment Strategy Managers.

Most of these have led to at least a short term improvement in the number of entrants into training and the government has been able to claim an overall increase in this figure. However the particular shortages identified above – geographical, secondary subject, positions of responsibility, denominational and representational – have each been resistant to treatment. In some instances the actions of the DfES and TTA are not helping to improve the situation. For example, there is very little regionality to their allocation of ITT places, in spite of the well established fact that beginning teachers are not very mobile. Similarly there is evidence that the impact of the QTS skills tests is to discriminate against bilingual and/or minority ethnic group members (see Hextall, Mahony and Menter, 2001).

The nature of teachers' work, pay and conditions

The government has taken a range of measures following the Green Paper to improve retention in the profession. If more teachers could be persuaded to stay longer in their careers, the difficulties would be far less. Nevertheless at the same time, official pronouncements are being made encouraging people to think of teaching as a short term career, that people might undertake partly in a spirit of public service, before or after undertaking more lucrative employment.

A study of teachers in London (Hutchings *et al*, 2000) indicated that those who were leaving teaching or just changing jobs were often doing so because they were disenchanted, either with 'management' and/or with the workload for teachers which had increased so much over recent years, together with a sense of innovation overload. The highest rated reason for leaving the profession for other work was the lack of creativity and autonomy in the occupation. Certainly the way in which teaching has been redefined through the establishment and implementation of various sets of 'standards' – the initial one being for qualification – has radically altered the way in which the work is defined. The bureaucracy deriving from these standards and from target setting, assessment and monitoring of literacy and numeracy strategies has frequently been cited as a significant factor which pushes teachers out of their profession.

As yet there is little evidence that the measures introduced following the Green Paper are having any positive influence on supply, recruitment or retention. The introduction of a culture of 'performance management' has been hailed as leading to an improvement in teachers' esteem and professionalism. In a current ESRC study on the impact of Performance Threshold Assessment⁽ⁱⁱ⁾, my colleagues and I have found many headteachers who do believe this, but as yet few teachers who feel positive about the new procedures which have to be gone through in order to get a significant pay rise. The attempts to bring a clearer career progression into the profession also tend to be met with cynicism by teachers. The standards for headship and for advanced skills teachers and special educational needs co-ordinators (SENCOs) may have given those who have gained them a real sense of achievement but they do not appear to have helped teachers at large.

Summary

In England then there is a deepening crisis in teacher supply, caused both by the increased requirements of the education service and by the high numbers of early departures from the profession. There continue to be major problems about the esteem and status of teachers, with too many new initiatives apparently acting as disincentives

to career development within teaching. Finally, there is still little evidence of a co-operative or evidence-based approach to policy development as it affects teachers.

SCOTLAND

The national context

Scotland has about 2400 primary schools with 23000 teachers and 460 secondary schools with 26000 teachers, making 49000 teachers altogether. Each school is located in one of 32 Education Authorities. There are currently 7 initial teacher education providers, all of them now universities, following a series of institutional mergers.

The General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS) was established in 1966 and has considerably more powers than the new equivalent in England. For example it is responsible for the accreditation of initial teacher education courses and plays a major role in all policy developments affecting the nature of teaching. There is one dominant professional association/union for schoolteachers in Scotland, the Educational Institute of Scotland (EIS), with a smaller union for secondary teachers, the Scottish Secondary Teachers' Association (SSTA) also playing a significant role.

Schooling is divided into two phases, Primary and Secondary, with a broader based postcompulsory curriculum than occurs in England. There are also notably higher participation rates in higher education, where it is the norm for honours degree courses to last four rather than three years.

The school curriculum is subject to 'Curriculum Guidance 5-14', which is not a statutory order. The primary curriculum includes environmental studies, covering social studies, history, geography and science. The assessment system is less centralised than that in England but does include some national tests under the Target Setting initiative. The major public examination though is not until the age of 15 /16 when students sit their Standard Grade. In the post-compulsory phase they may move on to take Higher and Advanced Higher Grade Certificates. The administration of these exams by the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) has been the subject of considerable controversy, leading eventually to the replacement of the first post-devolution education minister in 2000 (Paterson, 2000). It may well have been this debacle which was a major influence on people's disappointment with what had been achieved in education by the Parliament, as revealed by an opinion poll in late spring 2001, at the time of the institution's second anniversary (Denholm, 2001).

However education policy making in Scotland had been significantly less influenced by the ideological enthusiasm of the Conservatives in Westminster than it had in England. The well established policy network of SOEID officials, HM Inspectorate, Education Authorities and the GTC (see McPherson and Raab, 1988 and Humes, 1986) had successfully delayed or resisted altogether attempts to introduce parallel policies north of the border. The best example of this was the case of the Scottish equivalent of Grant Maintained Schools, which was slow to be introduced and then attracted only two schools to opt out of local authority control, to become 'self-governing'. There is no doubt that this network has been extremely powerful in Scotland and it has been suggested that Westminster governments could only expect to implement change successfully when these key players had been persuaded. Kirk (1997) has suggested that in the case of teacher education reform this network was a three way nexus of political, professional and academic groupings. Humes (1986) refers to 'the leadership class' in Scottish education, suggesting that there is an elite within the Scottish establishment which has a very profound influence on policy. Whilst some may wish to celebrate the Scottish success at resistance to ideologically driven change, others have pointed out that not only may this be a deeply conservative context, but also that it is one which is far from transparent. Humes and Bryce put it thus:

This consensus is often presented as a distinctive and positive feature of Scottish education but it has a downside as well. It can lead to complacency and a failure to question existing practice in the fundamental way that may be needed. (Humes and Bryce, 1999, 105)

Paterson has also pointed out that the grouping consists predominantly of white men. Referring to Humes' analysis, he says the leadership class is as unrepresentative as elsewhere:

male-dominated, middle-class, white, defensive, and by no means encouraging of popular participation. (Paterson, 1997, 151)

The vigour with which the Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) has approached its new responsibilities has challenged the conservatism and has claimed much greater openness and accountability to parents (but see Schlesinger *et al*, 2001). One example of this is the 'distancing' of the Education Inspectorate (HMIE) from the Education Department by turning it into an agency.

Supply and recruitment

It is the responsibility of the Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) to ensure the supply of teachers. The allocation of initial teacher education places is actually made by the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council (SHEFC), but this is done on the basis of guidance given by SEED. SEED in turn is advised by the Planning Group on Teacher Supply⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾. The membership of this group (which is chaired by a SEED representative) includes representatives from SHEFC, the Association of Directors of Education, the GTCS, Universities Scotland, the teaching unions and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE). This Group undertakes a Teacher Workforce Planning exercise each year. As with the English system, there has hitherto been very little explicit attention to regional matters. The system is based on national school population forecasts and trends of departure from and return to the profession. It is apparent however that the system does attempt to take account of specific significant developments. For example, in the current year the impact of the McCrone settlement (see below) gets very careful attention (SEED, 2001). It has been estimated that the implementation of the McCrone agreement will create a need for an additional 4000 teachers over the next five years. The system also includes explicit consideration of the availability of supply teachers, something that is left very much to the market place in England. On a national scale, there has been little evidence of a shortage of teachers. Indeed, as recently as 1997, one commentator suggested: 'The problem in Scotland currently is the large number of unemployed teachers' (Clark, 1997, 103).

If, in common with England, there has hitherto been little attention to regionality, that issue has been starting to emerge. A new system was piloted from May 2001, which involves an attempt to keep the information base more up to date by collecting a return on the teaching workforce twice rather than once each year. This pilot has been established with five Education Authorities including urban centres (Glasgow and Edinburgh), mixed areas (Stirling and Fife) and rural communities (Western Isles). There are huge geographical areas which are not directly served by an ITE provider, notably the Highlands and Islands, but also to some extent the Southwest of Scotland. It is indeed in these areas where shortages are beginning to occur (one school in Stranraer was recruiting from Northern Ireland, Geddes, 2001). News reports in 2001 suggested that new policy developments aiming to address these issues were likely (Munro, 2001).

The system essentially allocates a total number of primary (divided between undergraduate and postgraduate) and secondary places to providers. Since 1999

however, in an attempt to safeguard secondary subjects where numbers of applications have been low, SHEFC has required a specific proportion of places to be allocated to 'priority subjects'. In 2001 the proportion was 60% and the subjects were: computing, English, mathematics, modern languages including Gaelic, Gaelic medium history and geography, music, physics, religious education and technological education.

As yet there is no major concern about the availability of applicants for senior posts, although there has been a training scheme for headteachers (SQH) which is in general similar to that in England (NPQH). Nor has there been any expression of concern about issues of representation, in spite of clear evidence of increasing feminisation of the workforce. In primary schools in 1998 there were 1600 males compared with 21000 female teachers. From 1990 to 1998 the percentage of women in the secondary school workforce increased from 46 to 53. In 1998, 351 secondary schools had male headteachers, compared with 38 where the heads were women. Similarly, attempts to recruit disabled people or from minority ethnic groups have not been visible, at least nationally^(iv). The concern about increasing the number of Gaelic teachers does suggest some awareness of linguistic diversity (although this is not matched by a similar commitment to teaching community languages from the Indian sub-continent). The age distribution of teachers in Scotland has a similar profile to that in England with more than 60% being in the 40-54 age range.

One of the outcomes of the McCrone report was the setting up of an enquiry into initial teacher education, with the education minister suggesting that he had some concerns about the system. The first phase of the study, carried out by Deloitte and Touche (2001), has already been published (I discuss this and related matters in more detail elsewhere, Menter 2001). There is increasing reference to 'flexible routes' into teaching (including part-time and distance learning) and a number of 'concurrent' courses already exist, enabling intending secondary teachers to study simultaneously for a degree and a teaching qualification.

A website called 'teachinginscotland' was launched in October 2000. It is designed to promote teaching as an attractive career, in a similar vein to much of the TTA advertising which has featured in England for a number of years. There has also been a billboard advertising campaign.

The nature of teachers' work, pay and conditions

A set of professional competences was introduced into initial teacher education in 1993. There are also academic benchmarks established by the QAA which guide the design of courses and student assessment. Although the concept of standards is being developed (eg Standard for Full Registration, Standard for Chartered Teacher and Standard for Headship) these are far less prescriptive and constraining than those in England. Neither in Scotland has there been the same emphasis on literacy and numeracy (although there has been heavy emphasis on ICT). In other words, there has been far less experience of bureaucratisation than has occurred in England. Without doubt though, the most significant difference which has emerged has been the McCrone agreement. The Scottish Executive accepted most of the proposals contained in the report produced by a committee chaired by McCrone into pay and conditions. These included the establishment of a 35 hour working week for all teachers, including no more than 22.5 hours contact time. It also gives teachers a 21% pay rise staged over three years, clearly considerably above the rate of inflation. These improved conditions were introduced without any deal on performance management or thresholds. It is indeed the envy of English teachers (McAvoy, 2000). The concept of a chartered teacher was also introduced and a review of Continuing Professional Development (CPD) is underway under the oversight of a Ministerial Strategy Committee. More recently however, there has been growing concern about the apparent lack of will for implementation in some quarters.

Summary

While there is growing concern about teacher supply in Scotland this could not be described as a crisis and steps are being taken to address the concerns. Whilst the teaching workforce in Scotland might be described as being more fulfilled and satisfied than its English equivalent, there have been some suggestions in the press and by some politicians of growing public concern about the quality of education. At least until the time of the creation of the Scottish Parliament and the Education Department of the Scottish Executive, there has been a culture of close co-operation and collaboration. Whether that will be sustained much longer is a fascinating question. Certainly the McCrone settlement indicated continuing positive relationships, but the enquiry into initial teacher education perhaps carried more of a mixed message, with the suggestion that those engaged in initial teacher education may not be closely in touch with the realities of contemporary school life.

Since McCrone reported and SEED established its responses, the biggest difficulty emerging has been that of securing the guaranteed induction year employment. Many Education Authorities have found it difficult or impossible to meet this commitment. It is this difficulty which appears to have led to the sudden and unanticipated reduction in initial teacher education intakes announced early in 2002 by SHEFC in response to the advice of SEED. There is also a serious impact on those newly qualified teachers who have as yet been unable to find permanent employment and have been in supply contracts. Many of these fear for the loss of any teaching work from September 2002.

CONVERGENCE OR DIVERGENCE?

Although superficially it would appear that Scotland is beginning to face some of the same problems in supply and retention as England, what emerges from this overview is a range of significant differences in how these problems relate to the wider pattern of teachers' work and employment. Some of the same promotional activities designed to interest people in teaching are being adopted in Scotland, but the fundamental approach to the questions of the employment and status of teachers was approached in a much more direct and open manner. The emphasis is on rewarding teachers and creating better conditions, rather than on setting new hurdles and attaching conditions to every small improvement or opportunity.

It is, however, true that there are some serious unacknowledged problems within the Scottish education workforce - issues of representation, for example, have hardly been touched on and yet the dominance of white males in positions of authority is very clear. In the long term an even more significant issue may be the alleged complacency within the establishment – even under the new post-devolution settlement. This is hard to judge, because the rate of change in England has been enormous by comparison with any other European nation and has not always actually had popular support, in spite of the claims which politicians have made. If radical change were necessary in Scotland, how would we know and then how would it be achieved?

If we accept that the contexts are very different and largely diverging there are nevertheless some aspects of the Scottish approach which would seem to be of potential help in England. This would include:

- more imaginative approach to the structure of University-based ITE courses (eg 'concurrent degrees');
- more autonomy for Higher Education Institutions in recruitment onto different courses;
- a greater role for the General Teaching Council;

- a greater role for local education authorities;
- greater attention to the organisation and deployment of supply teachers;

and most importantly:

- a more collaborative approach to strategic planning of teacher supply.

If the account offered thus far is correct, there are several questions which arise.

Firstly, what does this comparison tell us about European 'harmonisation'? Much of what is happening to the polity of Scotland must be of interest to emerging states and regions within Europe. As Paterson (1997) has suggested:

Learning to negotiate and learning new ways of relating political processes to individual identities are problems which Scottish education has had to cope with for some time, and are common problems now faced by policy-making throughout Europe. (153)

There would seem to be fewer useful lessons for Europe from the English experience. This is somewhat paradoxical given the Green Paper commitment to a world class and modernised teaching force for a world class education.

A second question (alluded to earlier) is whether the very scale of operation may be a determining factor. Is it simply too much to expect that a workforce of more than 400000 can be organised and managed in a manner which is flexible and responsive enough to the needs of a contemporary education system? Certainly the closeness of the policy community and the workforce in Scotland can lead to cosiness, but it also appears to facilitate a more responsive and sensitive approach to teacher supply issues. The locus of control in England has become exaggeratedly centralised in the last 15 years or so. Lawn (1996, 113-114) has referred to the creation of the 'postmodern teacher' as part of a flexible, differentiated workforce. However, while this development may have created a situation where government can claim responsibility for improved standards of literacy or numeracy, it has to an extent been at the cost of efficient organisation and management of teachers as a national workforce. There is little benefit from a flexible workforce, when there are not enough teachers to meet the supply requirements of the schools.

Thirdly, what does this scenario tell us about globalisation in education? In the European context much has been made of the mobility of workers. However, with the exception of teachers of European modern languages, there is little actual evidence of significant employment of teachers from mainland Europe on either side of the border. On the other hand, what *has* been happening to a very significant extent in England, particularly in London and the southeast, has been the employment of teachers from other continents. The large numbers of antipodeans in London schools was a feature of the London study referred to above (Hutchings *et al*, 2000), and the press has reported increasing numbers of teacher recruitment campaigns in developing countries and countries in transition, such as India and South Africa. This form of teacher mobility is very clearly a feature of globalisation, driven by economics and leading to powerful cultural processes (although interestingly it is often overlooked in analyses of globalisation of teachers, eg Robertson, 2000). As with more traditional aspects of the economic relations between first and third world, the ethics of the enterprise are extremely dubious.

CONCLUSION

There are teacher shortages emerging in many parts of the 'developed' world. England and Scotland are not alone in this respect. Nevertheless it is striking how the problems are constructed so differently in the respective contexts of two nations within the same state. To what extent Scotland's more comfortable position can be related to

the history of the struggle for independence from southern influence is a question worthy of serious investigation. The critical role of education in the formation and reproduction (or transformation) of national identity is part of the reason why - along with the legal system – its development has historically been very distinctive. On the other hand, why is it that (Westminster) governments which claim to be so deeply committed to education have not been able to generate a greater consensus between policymakers and practitioners?

As well as looking at the policy making processes and the relationship between the policy community and the workforce, such a study needs to focus in on the nature of teachers' work and how it has been changing. Through an improved understanding of these relationships, the ability of those responsible for teacher supply might develop a more effective approach towards securing stability.

In his review of the question of convergence or divergence of education systems within the UK, Raffe suggests that it is perfectly possible for some dimensions to move together while others move apart:

...any conclusions about convergence or divergence depend on the dimensions of change that are being examined and the period of time. (Raffe, 2000, 24)

This paper has suggested that in facing a common problem – that of teacher supply and retention – the two systems under review display some significantly divergent features, while simultaneously displaying some similarities. Many of the similarities can be seen to be manifested way beyond these islands and are part of global phenomena (see Smyth *et al*, 2000; Robertson, 2000). The divergences nevertheless may provide some significant insights to the nature of the developing post-devolution political settlement in the UK.

NOTES

- ⁱ The Westminster based government education ministry has had a series of name changes over the last thirty years: The Department for Education and Science, The Department for Education, the Department for Education and Employment and was renamed the Department for Education and Skills in 2001.
- ⁱⁱ 'The impact of Performance Threshold Assessment on teachers' work', ESRC R000239286, based at University of Surrey Roehampton, Professor Pat Mahony, Professor Ian Menter and Ian Hextall.
- ⁱⁱⁱ At the time of writing this Group is being reconstituted.
- ^{iv} Recent initiatives from the EIS and from the GOALS consortium (a West of Scotland access initiative) are seeking to address the under-representation of members of ethnic minority groups.

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