

PERSPECTIVE

Is initial teacher training failing to meet the needs of all our young people?

James Wetz



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Contents

Executive summary		3
1.	The proposition	5
	Why the need for radical change?	
2.	The social context	7
	What are the new challenges facing our teachers?	
3.	Initial teacher training	10
	Is this still relevant to the needs of our young people?	
4.	A theoretical framework	16
	How can we establish a coherent framework	
	for all those who work in Children and Young	
	People's Services?	
5.	An international perspective	21
	What can we learn from a European neighbour?	
6.	Recommendations	25
	What must we do differently?	
References		27



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His report Holding Children in Mind over Time was published in 2006, and in 2008 he authored and presented a Dispatches Programme for Channel 4 entitled 'Children Left behind'. His book Urban Village Schools – putting relationships at the heart of secondary school organisation and design, was published by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in November 2009.

His current research focus is the widening gap between those who are achieving in our secondary schools and those who are leaving with few, if any, qualifications. This research looks at the marginalised voices of young people and families who are disengaged from the present secondary school offer.

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Executive summary

1. Proposition

The proposition is that increasing numbers of young people are acting out 'attachment difficulties' which neither their families nor our schools know how to address and which our teachers are inadequately trained and resourced to attend to. The proposition explores whether our teachers are disadvantaged by inadequate and reductionist routes to Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) which provide them with neither the appropriate skills and understanding, nor the theoretical framework and practical experience, to secure successful educational and personal outcomes for disaffected and disengaged young people.

2. The social context

The argument here is that there are new professional demands on our teachers who are faced with a widening gap between those who are achieving in our schools and the growing disaffection, anger and alienation of a significant and increasing underclass of young people who are not achieving. National and international reports are highlighting our young people as some of the least well nurtured in the developed world. The statistics on abuse, mental health, youth justice, child well-being, poverty or absent fathers are indicators of levels of need in our young people that teachers have not had to address and support to such a significant extent before now.

3. Initial teacher education

Is it fair to describe our current and very diverse provision of initial teacher training as reductionist and instrumental, dictated by the standards agenda and statutory frameworks?

Do the revised Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status allow for the depth of understanding in developmental psychology and attachment theory that teachers need in order to support and educate our young people? What is there in the history of teacher training in the UK that can help us understand and inform necessary change?

4. A theoretical framework

A central question to be addressed is 'How relevant is the provision of initial teacher training, given the current context in which schooling in our inner cities and in communities which have high indices of deprivation, is no longer just an educational project but involves children's safeguarding, child and adolescent mental health, parent support and training?' The implication of this is not that teachers need to be social workers and therapists, but that they do need to have a therapeutic disposition informed by a professional understanding of developmental psychology and attachment theory.

5. An international perspective

Sweden is cited as an example of a country that has developed a framework which enables the integration of care and education. The development of the role of 'social pedagogue' provides a unifying professional model that underpins work with children across all sectors.

Training for staff in 'early years' services, schools, and school-age children's services has been unified and offers possibilities that could be adopted here.

6. Recommendations

The recommendations call for a paradigm shift in the provision of initial teacher training. Other perspectives, from related disciplines, as well as international models, need to be considered in the re-design of training provision for our teachers. Qualified Teacher Status should be part of a wider professional qualification covering all those who work in Children and Young People's Services with elements of shared 'foundation' training. We



should move away from talking about 'training teachers to work in schools' to 'developing professionals to work in children and young people's services'. This report highlights changes that need to be considered at all levels of the education community - there are urgent messages here for policy makers, local authority children and young people's services, university schools of education, training providers and school leaders. The recommendations are an urgent call for change before we exhaust our teachers and distance ourselves as a profession from those young people whose challenging behaviour is demanding a professionally informed response.



1. The proposition

'Children who have difficulties are often those with longstanding anxieties that relate to poor attachment and bonding in infancy... we need to look at new approaches to promoting resilience.' (1)

In what way do these words from Al Aynsley-Green, the Children's Commissioner, have implications for the initial training provision of our teachers? The argument put forward here by the Children's Commissioner is that early attachment shapes the anxiety or security of children and affects their capacity to adapt, to trust, to be curious, to be open to learning, to contain anxieties and to regulate emotions.

The challenge facing teacher training is that increasing numbers of young people are acting out 'attachment difficulties' which neither their families nor our schools know how to address, and which teachers are inadequately trained and resourced to attend to.

Is it possible to quantify the numbers of young people who find it just too difficult to engage with learning in our secondary schools? The headline statistics are difficult, rarely shared, express a litany of lost potential in our schools, and are later reflected in the very high numbers of young people who are not in employment, education and training when they leave school.

- Each year 20,000 young people give up on schooling by the age of 14⁽²⁾
- Each year 35,000 young people leave school without a single GCSE qualification and a further 140,000 leave with no GCSEs above Grade D⁽³⁾

Over the five-year cycle of secondary education that means:

- 100,000 give up at the age 14
- 175,00 leave with no qualifications, and
- over half a million young people have no GCSE grade above a D.

My assertion then is that the current organisation and design of secondary schools is not meeting the needs of all our young people.

Despite the best efforts of our teachers and our education system, there is a widening gap between the young people who are achieving in our schools, and the growing disaffection, alienation and anger of a significant and increasing underclass of young people who are leaving our schools with few qualifications, little chance of worthwhile employment, and no stake in mainstream society. The cost of the consequences of this is enormous.

Clearly not all young people presenting difficulties at secondary school present with attachment difficulties. In *Urban Village Schools* (4) I made clear that some young people may disengage from school out of boredom, refusing to play an educational game they find increasingly dull or irrelevant or that makes them feel inadequate. However, a significant number of the disaffected young are those who have lacked affection and are acting out a remembered hurt of separation, loss, neglect, abuse, or less than secure attachment, which our schools and our teachers often have neither the expertise nor resource to recognise and attend to.

John Bowlby's⁽⁵⁾ theory of attachment was first developed in the 1950s. The theory proposes that, unless children experience a secure relationship with an adult caregiver very early in life, they will struggle to develop normal social and emotional responses. Bowlby's theory of development recognised the primary influence of the infant-mother relationship on the successful adaptation of the young child.

But if as David Howe⁽⁶⁾ states, securely attached children represent only 55 to 65% of children in our schools, then there is a significant implication for equipping our teachers with the skills and understanding to address the needs of those with patterns of attachment from childhood which are less



than secure. This then becomes an essential priority of initial teacher training.

The formation of our teachers is not succeeding in enabling them to address the needs and behaviours of our less resilient young people who are unable to engage with the educational offer available to them in school settings where they may often feel insecure, unsafe, or where their sense of shame, humiliation and failure causes them to respond in unmanageable behaviour. Many of the young people who leave our secondary schools with few qualifications achieve well in our primary schools, despite the complex social environments that they have to contend with. Such young people are, I believe, institutionally excluded by the size and complexity of our secondary schools, which do not provide them with the appropriate professional responses from our teachers whose initial training has not prepared them for this work.

Research⁽⁷⁾ shows that for many of the young people who are failing in our secondary schools, their disaffection may be rooted in a lack of early affection, and their disengagement in a lack of early engagement. These young people are manifesting attachment anxieties related to the quality of relationships and experiences from early childhood, and such issues of 'affection' impact on their resilience to manage their school experience. If this understanding is not informing the initial training of teachers then we will fail to address young people's needs and we will place unskilled and ill-prepared teachers in secondary school settings which will overwhelm and exhaust them.

The proposition is that our current models of teacher training are becoming increasingly irrelevant to the needs of young people who are facing family and social breakdown and that there needs to be a radical overhaul of initial teacher training.



2. The social context

Why the need for a paradigm shift in the way we train our teachers, and what has changed that demands such radical reform?

The challenges facing young people, their teachers, their parents and their schools makes the need to review the way our key professionals, our frontline teachers, are trained, and makes the need to redefine their role an essential and urgent task. What are these challenges? I make no apology for restating here, albeit in summary and outline, the key premise for my argument for Urban Village Schools^(a). Here, however, the argument relates not to the redesign of our secondary schools on a human scale, important though that is, but rather to the implications for the initial training of our teachers.

Recent contemporary assessments of young people in the UK highlight an alarming level of need. Recent reports and reviews, whilst not reaching for descriptions of Britain as a 'broken society' or rehearsing the evidence that in the UK we may be in danger of 'folk devilling' our young people, do describe a picture that is acutely worrying. Reports such as the UNICEF report⁽⁹⁾ on child well-being, the Children's Society's Good Childhood report⁽¹⁰⁾, and the report of the Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health(11) on childhood abuse, amongst others, have all highlighted the plight of some of the most vulnerable young people. It is these analyses, these descriptions, these statistics, which I believe make the call for radical change to initial teacher training an urgent necessity.

I can only touch upon some of the relevant aspects of the most recent reports here, and in other places I and many others have set out the findings from these reports in greater detail to highlight the predicament of young people in the UK.

The purpose is to restate the changes in the social context and underline the challenges facing young people that we expect our teachers to make a professional response to – and then to ask if our initial teacher training provision equips and skills our teachers for the role they need to play.

Let me start with the 2007 UNICEF report (12). This report, an overview of child well-being in rich countries, described UK children as some of the least well nurtured in the developed world. The report sought to assess:

'whether children feel loved, cherished, special and supported, within the family and community, and whether the family and community are being supported in this task by public policy and resources'.

The findings showed that in the UK: child poverty had doubled since 1979; 16% of children were living in homes earning less than half the national wage; only 43% of children rated their peers as kind and helpful. On mental health it noted that 10% of all 5–16 year olds now have clinically significant mental health difficulties – ranging from anxiety, depression, over-activity, inattentiveness and anorexia, through to conduct disorders such as uncontrollable and destructive behaviour.

The report highlights that in nearly every survey the proportion of children with behavioural problems is at least 50% higher in families with single parents or step-parents than in families where both parents are still together. It also noted that by the age of 16, a third of British children are living apart from their biological father. Children whose parents separate are 50% more likely, says the report, to fail at school, suffer behavioural difficulties, anxiety or depression. These social indicators cannot be ignored by schools, nor can we continue simply to exclude those young people from our schools whose presenting behaviour becomes unmanageable, with the consequent costs in care and custody down the line. Costs which are highlighted by the



fact that nearly 100,000 young people entered the Youth Justice System for the first time last year⁽¹³⁾, and that over 80% of boys and well over 70% of girls in young offender institutions have been excluded from our schools⁽¹⁴⁾.

The second report I have chosen to highlight, to address the difficulties that our teachers now have to face, is the report of the Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health⁽¹⁵⁾. This report from the Lancet (2008) which published a series of papers in collaboration with the Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health, detailed the level of maltreatment of children, and identified that in the UK one in ten children suffers physical, sexual and/ or emotional abuse or neglect. In the UK, the report found that 10% of children suffered emotional abuse every year (defined as persistently being made to feel worthless, unwanted or scared); more than 15% suffered neglect (defined as the failure of their parents or carers to meet a child's basic emotional or physical needs or ensure their safety); and 5-10% of girls and 1-5% of boys had been subjected to penetrative sex, usually by a family friend or relative.

I do not believe this data is informing the design of initial teacher training. Our teachers need not only to be trained in how to identify such abuse in children and the skills and understanding necessary for first-line response, but also to understand how such abuse impacts on a child's engagement with their learning and the ways in which they can design and provide a learning environment which supports these children.

In 2006, The Children's Society launched the Good Childhood Inquiry⁽¹⁶⁾. The resulting report, *A Good Childhood: searching for values in a competitive age*, published in 2009, emphasised the impact of social inequality on educational outcomes in the UK. It reports a school system blighted by social inequality, and by the widening gap between those who are achieving well in our secondary schools and those who are not.

The report recommended that teachers should help children to develop happy, likeable social personalities, base discipline on mutual respect, eliminate physical and psychological violence from school, make Personal, Social and Health Education statutory and present sex and relationships education not as biology but part of social and emotional learning.

Again I ask: does the current provision of initial teacher training and the Professional Standards required for Qualified Teacher Status address these recommendations from the Good Childhood inquiry in sufficient measure?

There are significant implications for the formation of our teachers arising from this report and I would argue that a deeper understanding of child development and attachment theory would support teachers to address these implications.

So what do these reports tell us? They illustrate and detail the argument that teachers in our schools have new and important work to attend to in a role that is wider than simply classroom practice. Such are the demands of young people that have impacted on our schools that they have provoked a call to arms by teacher unions for parents to address their children's behaviour before some of our schools become overwhelmed. This response from teacher unions is understandable and is fuelled partly by those who make the argument that teachers are not social workers. This desperate plea from teachers for parents to take back control over their children is part of the argument for a paradigm shift in the training of our teachers.

What is increasingly clear is that schooling in our inner cities is no longer just an educational project, but it involves children's safeguarding, child and adolescent mental health, and parent support and training. This is not an argument that teachers should be social workers or clinicians or therapists. However what it is an argument for, is that teachers and schools need to have a therapeutic disposition informed by a professional understanding of the theoretical framework of developmental psychology and attachment theory. It is



unacceptable for routes to qualified teacher status not to have this at the heart of their provision. What therefore can we learn from the history of the provision of initial teacher training and how relevant is the current provision to the needs of our teachers and our young people?



3. Initial teacher training

How relevant is our current provision to the needs of our new teachers, given the context in which they are working?

What is the historical context for initial teacher training that has brought us to where we are? Why are changes necessary to initial teacher training? Where does current initial teacher training provide teachers with an understanding of attachment theory, of learning in and through relationships?

At the heart of the present difficulties is the chasm that exists between conceptualising teachers as learning mentors empowered to build robust and influential attachments with young and disengaged teenagers, and our current training regimes that emphasise subject-centred pedagogy and classroom management skills.

Of course, it is easy to caricature our current provision as reductionist, instrumentalist and hidebound by the language of statutory frameworks, standards, accreditation, evidence, and skills. Such a caricature is easy because so much of what we ask beginning classroom teachers to be and to be able to do – the revised *Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status* (17) – is largely about lesson planning, delivery, pupil testing, recording and reporting rather than understanding how to work with young people.

Some of the *Professional Standards* do deal directly with *Relationships with Young People*. Standard Q1 requires teachers to have high expectations of pupils and Q2 directs teachers to demonstrate positive attitudes and behaviour. Standard Q18 obliges teachers to understand how young people develop and how progress and development are affected by a range of influences. Under a heading of *Health and well-being*, Standard Q21 calls for teachers to be aware of national policies and to identify and support those whose progress is affected by personal circumstances. Finally,

Standard Q31 requires teachers to establish classroom discipline to manage learners' behaviour.

However these *Professional Standards* – the ones that are most meant to pertain to relationships and young people's well-being – are written in the language of control and not care; in the language of knowing about managing young people, not knowing young people; in setting teachers at the heart of the educational process, rather than young people at the heart of teaching. Why is this?

A very brief look at the history of secondary school teacher training allows us to begin to highlight what has been lost and gained over time in the way teacher education has been changed and influenced both by providers and more recently by governments of both persuasions. It is largely an erratic and incoherent narrative of change. It has seen teacher training provision let go, over time, some significant strengths. Latterly it has retreated into a set of professional standards and competencies that if persisted with will reduce teachers to the role of technicians. So what has been lost and what has been gained by the changes to initial teacher training over time? What originally was seen to be the role of the teacher in relation to the young?

The influence of the Churches

The Churches have had an important influence on the heart and minds of young people, and so invested heavily in teacher training institutions with marked similarities to seminaries and university colleges. Teaching as a religious mission was as important as the noblest classical tradition of mentoring. For much of the nineteenth century Churches were largely responsible for the training of teachers. Teaching as religious mission became teaching as vocation, as strong as any calling to the cure of the sick or the care of souls. This language of religious mission and vocation persisted for a long time. In my



own case, I remember my education tutor at the London Institute in the early 1970s being asked to put two of us forward as newly trained teachers for consideration for appointment in a comprehensive in South Bristol with over two thousand pupils and describing one of us to the headteacher as being motivated by a sense of Methodist mission, and the other by Catholic conscience.

Training colleges, many with Church foundations, used to run courses of two. three or four years' duration and emphasised pedagogy, the art of teaching and related subjects, psychology, teaching as a social act, ethics, logic and principles, and the work of educational thinkers and reformers. Secondary training was often integrated with primary training in junior-secondary qualifications and new teachers were certificated with the academic parts of the course often validated by a nearby university or a national system of accreditation. In the early training colleges teaching was developed as a profession rather than a vocation and focused on two elements: a set of professional understandings about how to teach and being a professional subject specialist with expert knowledge.

The influence of government reports

In 1963 the Robbins Report (18) established what has become the traditional pattern of teacher training, by recommending that teacher education should become a graduate profession. Since 1972, teacher education has been integrated into higher education following the recommendations of the James Report⁽¹⁹⁾. This resulted in the development of university-based rather than collegebased higher education courses leading to qualified teacher status and, as previously mentioned, recognised degree qualifications. In order for B.Eds (a typical award) to take an equal place with other degrees it was necessary for universities to demonstrate the academic validity of these three- or four-year undergraduate courses; that they had a demonstrable theoretical authority, capable of being organised into standard forms of knowledge and of being examined

at levels commensurate with other degree courses. Three- and four-year undergraduate secondary courses existed alongside one-year postgraduate certificate courses open to those holding good honours degrees in school subjects.

In January 1992, the then Secretary of State for Education, Kenneth Clarke, announced that initial teacher training for the secondary sector should be increasingly provided in schools. Responsibility was given to new government agencies and to universities to develop schemes and models of working that would deliver the policy requirement for much longer periods of training in schools. Many alternatives were considered including: attaching college staff to schools; developing teaching schools (rather like teaching hospitals); centring the student in a school or a consortium of schools and buying in university expertise; basing the experience in schools using teachers as mentors and forging more formal links between schools and universities.

When the Department for Education Circular 9/92⁽²⁰⁾ published lists of competencies expected of newly qualified teachers, we see a distinct break with much that had gone before. Any institution providing training was obliged to establish courses which would enable trainee teachers to acquire a set of competencies within the context of much increased amount of time in schools and under the direct supervision or mentoring of serving teachers.

The Department for Education specified five umbrella competencies that are listed here, along with brief summaries provided by Stephens and Crawley⁽²¹⁾ These competencies covered: Subject knowledge (know your subject well); Subject application (teach your subject well); Class management (teach your subject in a purposeful, orderly environment, which promotes effective learning); Assessment and recording of pupils' progress (identify your students' levels of attainment and keep systematic records of their performances); and Further professional development (realise that initial teacher training



is the first stage of a process of continued training that will proceed throughout your professional career).

Following the publication and implementation of these competencies, perceptions of teaching appear to change again from 'teaching as a profession' to 'teaching as a craft'. I would argue that training provision on courses satisfying the 1992 competencies became reductionist, functional and dependent upon evidence of acquiring craft skills. The most recent revision of these competencies is the Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status (2008)(22) mentioned at the beginning of this section. Although some of the revised standards are 'headed-up' as dealing with relationships and pupils' well-being, it is my view that little has changed; that the standards and competencies remain focused in knowing, teaching and assessing a subject. The teacher as classical mentor, as a person of mission or vocation, even as a professional has been replaced by that of successful teacher as a skilled artisan.

Initial teacher education today

For a number of institutional and economic reasons three or four-vear undergraduate secondary teacher training courses have now all but disappeared. The one-year postgraduate route has become the most popular course or route. Perhaps little about secondary teacher training can be changed when much of the preparation of secondary classroom teachers is now 'shoehorned' into one 36-week course leading to a postgraduate or professional graduate certificate of education including qualified teacher status. It should be noted that training can also be undertaken in schoolcentred schemes or through graduate teacher programmes leading to qualified teacher status, usually without additional academic credit.

I do not want to indulge in a nostalgic harking back to a presumed better age of training, for there have been many changes over time that have improved the status and professionalism of the teaching community. However it is instructive to review the history of teacher training to highlight its strengths and weaknesses over time.

The lack of a coherent narrative of change

My argument is that it is difficult to find a coherent narrative in all these changes to teacher training – a narrative that might have seen the design of training linked to meeting the changing needs of young people and the support they need on the journey from childhood to young adulthood. It is difficult to see where thought has been given to managing changes that are informed by the best of previous provision. What has been gained and what has been lost? Has the shortening of professional training for teachers improved provision? Has the move away from the classical notion of the teacher as mentor or a sense of religious mission or of vocation affected the outlook of teachers or changed their role to the detriment of young people? What has been gained or lost by training teachers for early years, primary and secondary on different courses? Have recent reviews shifted thinking in any significant way?

The Rose Review

The Rose Review of primary education (2009)⁽²³⁾ makes clear the importance of the training and formation of our teachers quoting the report by McKinsey and Company in 2007 on 'How the world's best performing school systems come out on top' which said that 'the quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers'. The Rose Review also emphasises that our teachers must have a strong foundation in their understanding of childhood and the development of the child and how this will impact on their future schooling and young adult life.

The Review argues that the 'curriculum that primary school children are offered must enable them to enjoy this unique stage of childhood, inspire learning and develop the essential knowledge, skills and understanding which are the building blocks for secondary



education and later life.' The report underlines that to 'achieve this, the new curriculum must be underpinned by an understanding of the distinct and interlocking way in which children learn and develop – physically, intellectually, emotionally, socially, culturally, morally and spiritually between the ages of 5 and 11.'

Sir Jim Rose emphasises that each stage of childhood is distinctive and teachers need to understand and pay attention to the needs and opportunities that arise at each of these stages. This is such an important point. The core task of schooling is learning, but to be able to support this task in their pupils, our teachers need to make the connection between the social and emotional development of children and their engagement in learning. Is this part of the understanding and training that our training providers include, not only for early years and primary, but, importantly, for our secondary teachers?

The Cambridge Primary Review

The Cambridge Primary Review⁽²⁴⁾ published in October 2009, and all too quickly rejected by the DCSF, whilst focusing on primary education, does also take into account the importance of teacher training and the provision of and quality of teacher training.

Whilst applauding the dedication of the teaching force, the report contests the claim that England's teachers are 'the best-trained ever' on the grounds that it cannot be proved and encourages complacency, and that certain vital aspects of initial teacher training have been neglected. It calls for initial teacher training to prepare teachers for a greater variety of classroom roles.

It rejects training for mere 'delivery' or 'compliance' and urges that more attention be given to evidence-based pedagogy, subject expertise, curriculum analysis and the open exploration of questions of value and purpose. This latter point comes close to my arguments that we need a coherent theoretical framework to inform the policy and practice in our schools and the initial training of our teachers.

The report takes a strong stand. It queries the value and empirical basis of the current Training and Development Agency standards for professional certification and advancement, finding them out of line with research as well as too generalised to discriminate securely between the different professional levels. It recommends their replacement by a framework which is properly validated against research and pupil learning outcomes. It urges the end of a 'one size fits all' provision of continuing professional development and commends an approach which balances support for inexperienced and less secure teachers with freedom and respect for the experienced and talented.

Of considerable importance also, the Cambridge Primary Review provides another strong voice calling on government to encourage multi-agency working across the boundaries of education and care. This is one of the most important statements on initial teacher training within the report. It is in line with the development in Sweden of 'social pedagogy' and is closer to my argument that schooling is no longer just an educational project and that we need to reshape our training so that it integrates education, personal development and care.

Related developments from the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) and from the Children's Workforce Development Council (CWDC)

It is perhaps too early to say whether the new Masters in Teaching and Learning (MTL) developed by the Training and Development Agency for Schools⁽²⁵⁾ will predicate its curriculum on these principles – integrating education, personal development and care – as its focus would seem to be on classroom based professional practice. The 2007 Children's Plan: Building Brighter Futures⁽²⁶⁾, like the Rose Review, identifies a world-class workforce as 'the single most important factor in delivering our aspirations for children.' It is a missed opportunity not to be seeing the connections between initial teacher training and the new developments for training social



workers, for example, with the Newly Qualified Social Worker (NQSW) pilot programme (27).

The recent benchmarking exercise by the Children's Workforce Development Council (CWDC) looked at how far each of the 152 children's trusts in England and Wales (28) had progressed towards an integrated workforce. In an article for a Guardian 'Society' supplement in November 2009⁽²⁹⁾ Julie Nightingale, commenting on the CWDC review, argued that 'at the heart of this successful integration is the need to persuade all staff, whether they are specialist social workers, nursery nurses or teachers or otherwise working with children, that they are part of a unified workforce.' She highlights the beginning of the changes that will be necessary and cites Northamptonshire where a common induction programme is being introduced across all staff who work with children and young people, which will be delivered to all newcomers in multiagency groups.

Kate Yates, the commissioner for the Northamptonshire Children and Young People's Partnership stresses in relation to this initiative that 'It is important that people recognise that they are working with the same children and young people as other people, so they need that common ground.'(30) This is a step forward but is only at the very beginning of the work that is needed – and the necessary changes in culture, structure and provision that will mean a paradigm shift for training providers.

Another voice in this debate that has come from the recent research, supported by the DCSF, is the 'Working Together' 2007 report of the Thomas Coram Research Unit (31) based at the Institute of Education at London University. This is a secondary analysis of labour force statistics, covering social care, childcare, nursing and education which updates an earlier mapping of the English care workforce (Simon *et al.* 2003).

The background to the 2007 report states:

'This latest analysis takes place at a time when a clear policy agenda -Every Child Matters - has emerged that presumes social care, childcare, education and health services and their workforces should be working together in an integrated way to achieve common outcomes for children and young people. This presumption is given force by a range of measures including the development of a Children's Workforce Strategy, a Common Core of Skills and Knowledge for the Children's workforce, team working, and multi-purpose children's settings. As it becomes more normal to think and develop policy for the 'children's workforce', it becomes more important to look across the diverse occupations that constitute that workforce including those that work in schools."

To this I would add that we also need a common discourse concerning the child that informs the foundation training of those involved in children and young people's services, and that we should see this training as more than just practitioner competencies, a training that shares a common theoretical framework that underpins policy and practice.

Much of the foregoing argument about reconceptualising the structure and organisation of initial teacher training leads to a powerful and disturbing idea, namely that defending the status quo is not a logical, practical or moral alternative. Rather, the argument demands changes, not only to our schools but also to our expectations of how we see the role and tasks of the teacher; changes which will have significant implications for initial teacher training.



I have described this narrative and history of changes to initial teacher training as erratic and incoherent. My argument is also that the social context in which teachers are now working has changed significantly. The demands and challenges that teachers face from increasing numbers of young people who present with attachment difficulties has not been reflected sufficiently in the training provision of our teachers. What is needed is a coherent theoretical framework which can inform the policy and practice of our training providers and which can be relevant not only for our teachers but also for all those who work in children's and young people's services. It is to this theoretical framework that I turn next.



4. A theoretical framework

What is the theoretical framework that might underpin initial teacher training and inform its policy and practice?

There are deeply problematic and competing discourses shaping English education at this time. If this position remains unresolved it will have a detrimental impact on our teachers and our schools. The current orthodoxy is of a predominantly functionalist and utilitarian model of state education and this dominant discourse is in tension with the Children's agenda (as represented by Every Child Matters) and the Community agenda (as encapsulated in the duty to promote community cohesion).

What are the implications of this tension for our teacher training providers? What would initial teacher training look like if we redressed the balance away from the functional and utilitarian approaches now being pursued, and instead designed and organised initial teaching training based on applying the factors that we know make for a successful childhood – and made learning in and through relationships a key design principle of the formation of our teachers? What are the factors that will enable teachers to attend to the needs of the young people they wish to engage in learning?

At the heart of this is that our teachers need to understand how children learn; what enables infants and children from their earliest years to have that trust, curiosity and openness to take the risk to learn, to experience success in learning; and why a significant number of children find this just too difficult to manage.

If we were to do this we would not be using language of 'equipping our young teachers to deliver the national curriculum'. Rather the prospectus for initial teacher training would be highlighting courses which enable teachers to understand how young people learn in and through relationships, how they as teachers can provide young people with a 'secure base in relationships' from which their pupils

can explore and return, how they can act as 'containers' for their pupils' anxieties, how they can support a 'holding environment' in which issues can be addressed, challenged and supported, and how they as teachers can be helped to create for young people an experience of living in a community which they can take into their young adult lives.

This language of 'attachment theory', (with its key concepts of a 'secure base in relationships', 'containing anxiety', and a 'holding environment') plays little if any part in initial teacher training at secondary level though it is significant in the training for 'early years teachers'. My belief is that it is an essential theoretical framework that should be at the very heart of initial teacher training for secondary school teachers informing its policy and practice. Without such understanding our teachers at best become little more than technicians transmitting knowledge and competencies in an emotional vacuum and at worst find themselves in a disruptive maelstrom which may be damaging for themselves as teachers as well as for their pupils.

As has already been noted, David Howe, in his book *Attachment Theory for Social Work Practice* published in 1995⁽³²⁾ suggested that securely attached children represent only 55% to 65% of children in our schools. My argument is that those with attachment difficulties struggle in our schools and our teachers are simply not trained or resourced to attend to their needs. Our teachers, working with young people with attachment difficulties and/or who have been emotionally and physically neglected or abused, will find that for young people even to begin to trust in another adult is a huge task.

Our initial teacher training providers need to refocus and work intelligently with new teachers on understanding why the disaffected and the difficult to engage are so disaffected and difficult to engage. Our teachers need to have an understanding



about why children want to learn in the first place, what impacts poor attachment in the early years has on later engagement and how they as professional teachers can address the needs and behaviours of these young people.

If there are two main institutions that support young people on a safe journey from early childhood to young adulthood – the family and the school – and if the family is distressed and unable to provide the love, care, boundaries and consistent parenting then the school becomes hugely important – and makes schooling more than just an educational project.

This is not about blaming teachers for failing to respond to these young people's needs, or blaming schools for excluding those whose behaviour become impossible to contain. The argument is that we need to resource our teachers better through training and ongoing support so that they have all the knowledge, skill and understanding that they need to interpret and respond to challenging behaviour and enable these young people to reach young adulthood with good qualifications and with an attitude and resilience to their future lives that is of benefit to both themselves, their future families, and to the wider community.

In the journal *Attachment* Rachel Wingfield⁽³³⁾ highlights a key concern in all this:

'It deeply concerns me that, so many years after the birth of attachment theory, an understanding of the impacts of separation and loss and trauma are still missing from any understanding of disaffected or so called anti-social behaviour in our young people.'

Wingfield makes the point that John Bowlby, (5) in his theory of attachment, highlighted, namely, that we have a basic need for secure relationships and that society needs to provide a culture of stability, inclusion and belonging for its children. Yet such understanding of Bowlby's work and that of Winnicott (34) is a minimal feature in the initial teacher training courses or programmes that offer routes to qualified teacher status.

This not a marginal issue of course content on teacher training courses when we realise that it is part of our failure to equip our teachers with the skill and understanding they need as professionals to support our vulnerable and less resilient young people in the UK. The situation is nothing short of a scandal which we constantly sidestep, despite a plethora of research reports which reveal difficulties which our major institutions find difficult to respond to.

Key players whose behaviour needs to change dramatically to address the findings of these research reports are the teacher training providers, and those responsible for designing the ways in which new teachers are able to achieve qualified teacher status.

The outcomes of a successful childhood are not Level 4 at Key Stage 2 or the number of GCSE passes at Grade C and above. These may be helpful guides as to the attainment levels in specific subjects, but they diminish the role of teachers and reduce the whole educational project to a narrow utilitarian process. The outcomes of a successful childhood should be central to the educational project and to informing the training of our teachers. These outcomes would include enabling young people to have the capacity to trust, to be open to learning and manage the inherent risks involved in learning, to contain anxieties in the face of threat, and to regulate emotions.

I accept that it is not only teacher education that needs a paradigm shift and that major changes in our secondary school design and organisation are going to be necessary if we are to create human-scale settings where professional communities of teachers are able to attend to the level of need that has been identified in our most disaffected and disengaged young people. Certainly we must give teachers the working conditions and the structures that are helpful - a manageable number of young people to relate to, the time for reflection, and the quality supervision that they require in order to promote young people's emotional engagement with learning. However we must also enter into an



immediate and far-reaching conversation with training providers about the way we currently address the formation of our new teachers for the challenges they will face in secondary schools.

What we are currently working with is a narrowing of the teacher's role, a discrediting of the tutor's role, and an anxiety of teachers not to define themselves as social workers. This has left training providers confused about what they should be doing and reaching back to the recognisable essentials of subject delivery and behaviour management both of which can be performance assessed and measured.

It is time for a major rethink, a national conversation, with teacher training providers needing to understand that their mission and their practice needs to be widened. Schooling is more than just an educational project, and we need to recognise that it involves child development, children's safeguarding, child and adolescent mental health, and parenting support and training. We need to be integrating education, development and care as the key elements of initial training for all teachers and not just for early years professionals.

In exploring the importance of this argument for a theoretical framework to inform the design of initial teacher training, let me call upon some expert witnesses.

The Learning Relationship

Biddy Youell is a consultant child and adolescent psychotherapist and in her book *The Learning Relationship* (35) she asks that essential question which should be running through all initial teacher training provision – 'what makes children want to learn in the first place?' How many new teachers have considered this, and its partner question 'What prevents young children learning in our schools?'

Youell goes right back to the earliest experiences and relationships of infancy and argues that as the mother provides the infant with a relationship that works well – or

well enough – so the baby begins to take in an experience of 'being thought about 'as a basis for the development of the capacity to think. She sees these very early sustaining relationships informing resilience, creating attachment, and developing a strong sense of identity and self-esteem. By contrast, she suggests, an absence of this experience of 'containment', of 'being thought about' creates an infant who may be vulnerable to feelings of 'primitive anxiety' – primitive anxiety that overwhelms. Our teachers need to have this depth of understanding to inform their work with children and young people.

How many of our teachers and school leaders understand the importance of anxiety – 'an unavoidable part of learning and development'? How many understand that the challenge is to 'harness anxiety in the interest of learning and creativity'?

So what can teachers and schools do to work with those children who present with 'initial deprivation'? If our initial teacher training provision does not make this level of understanding a primary task then our teachers will find themselves at sea without any knowledge of why the young people they are struggling to educate in the classroom are acting out remembered hurt from early childhood experiences. Attachment theory could provide teachers with a deeper insight into why children learn, and why for some, learning becomes a significant challenge which from time to time defeats them causing them to retreat into unmanageable behaviour.

Essentially, Youell is making psychoanalytic ideas available to non-clinical settings. Whilst recognising that teachers are not therapists, Youell does draw attention to the 'therapeutic potential' of the relationships between teachers and pupils. Our teacher training needs to be predicated on these ideas, so clearly set out by Youell, developing in teachers an understanding that behaviour is a communication about need; that anger and rage may represent a primitive anxiety about survival in the face of threats and might also be seen as defensive and protective behaviour; that separation and loss in a child's life can lead to a fear of destruction and to



panic. This might enable a more informed professional response to such behaviours. This is however a very challenging perspective for teachers to accept, faced as they are with demands that exceed their resources and initial teacher training which may exacerbate rather than support their chances of responding appropriately.

Indeed, as Youell acknowledges, many teachers cannot afford to open themselves up to children's emotional experiences or the reality of their home lives for fear of being overwhelmed. She suggests this may be why so many interventions in schools follow a strictly behavioural line, setting targets and relying on tariffs of rewards and sanctions. This leads to a splitting in the approaches taken by teachers within schools – a potential conflict between 'tough love' and a 'therapeutic disposition' towards the child.

Children's disposition to learning

My second expert witness is Alan Sroufe, Professor of Child Development at the University of Wisconsin. In 'The Development of the Person' (36) he has also highlighted that there are links between attachment experience and children's disposition towards learning, and that children who have experience of secure maternal attachment are 'involved with their teachers'.

In contrast to this positive picture of engagement in learning, Sroufe notes that children with a history of:

'anxious attachment are less ego resilient and are more dependent, show more negative affect and negative behavioural signs, show less positive affective engagement with others and are less popular with their peers. In general they are emotionally less healthy than children with a history of secure attachment.' (37)

A major part of my argument for a paradigm shift in the way we design our initial teacher training provision is the scale of the problem which teachers have to address as they seek to engage young people who have patterns of attachment difficulties. Where these young people with attachment difficulties create a critical mass in our schools they threaten to overwhelm even the most therapeutically disposed schools and make them reach for punitive sanctions and exclusions.

Attachment in the classroom

Educational psychotherapist Heather Geddes, my third witness, argues that attachment theory might help us to construct a model of schooling as a 'secure base' in which young people can work effectively – emotionally and cognitively – in a setting which offers them safety, security and stability.

Heather Geddes' book, Attachment in the Classroom' (38) is an important reader that should be part of the formation and training of all teachers. In this book she explores not only a general principle but looks in detail at how the presence of the teacher, the needs of the child, and the demands of the learning task can leave children with a sense of achievement, agency, enhanced resilience and a positive engagement with learning.

She explores this model not only for securely attached children, but also for children who have insecure attachment styles, be they avoidant, ambivalent, or disorganised. This is not the current language of one-year teacher training courses or ongoing professional development, yet it needs to be if we are going to be able to re-engage disaffected young people within our schooling system. Awareness of the behaviours and responses associated with patterns of attachment difficulties would help teachers to be sensitive to young people's anxieties in the face of challenges evoked by learning and school environments.

The writings of such expert witnesses such as Biddy Youell, Alan Sroufe and Heather Geddes should be central to the formation of our teachers. But the national picture of initial teacher training with its focus on professional standards or competencies is not embracing this. We need a coherent theoretical framework to inform the policy and practice



of our teachers and the work of Youell, Sroufe and Geddes should be informing the content of our initial teacher training. At the start of this section of the report I made the case that it is not only teachers' formation that should be influenced by a coherent theoretical framework, that of attachment theory, but that this should be true for all those who work in children and young people's services. This prompts the question of whether we need to adopt the example of children's services in Sweden where they have developed the concept of 'social pedagogy'.



5. An international perspective

Learning in and from Sweden

The UNESCO policy brief on early childhood (No 13/May 2003) (39) tells of how in Sweden prior to 1996 there were three main professions in the care workforce: pre-school teachers who worked in early years and with younger children in school; schoolteachers who worked with children who were in compulsory education; and pedagogues who worked in children's services with school-age children but outside of the formal education system.

In this policy brief Peter Moss, of the Thomas Coram Research Unit, points out that the three professions in Sweden used to be trained separately, and that although teachers had a higher level of training and pay, the differences were not great, with all three professions trained at a higher education level for at least three and half years, and preschool teachers and pedagogues working with children outside of the education system for at least three years. In 1996 this was radically changed and a new training system was introduced in 2001, which covered those working with children from birth to 19 years of age. As Peter Moss states clearly: 'The three main professions and training systems are becoming one profession with one system of training. All students will now do a degree course of at least 31/2 years, and that all graduates will be called 'teachers'.'

Moss also describes the content of the common training:

'Eighteen months of the course involves common studies taken by all students – whether proposing to work with 18 month olds or 18 year olds. This general field of education, according to the Swedish Ministry of Education should comprise, on the one hand, areas of knowledge that are central to the teaching profession, such as teaching, special needs education, child and youth development, and on the other

hand interdisciplinary subject studies. The remainder of the course involves more specialised studies: for example, in early childhood work and in particular subject areas. Students do not have to decide the work in which they will specialise as teachers until after they have started their training'.

This Policy Brief concludes with a comparison of provision in Sweden and England. In the paper Peter Moss makes the telling point that 'reforms at practitioner level depend on several conditions, including shared concepts and public investment. Integration in Sweden has been supported by re-thinking concepts of the child and of learning and by a well established concept of pedagogy, which addresses children and young people holistically and aims to support their all round development.' By contrast Peter Moss argues that practice in England reflects a deep seated conceptual split between 'childcare and education'. He concludes by stating that 'Lifelong learning starting from birth and blurring of borders - between formal and informal learning and between care and education - requires a wide view.' He calls for 'a holistic approach to children and young people's needs to be matched by a reformed workforce, in which differences in training, status and pay, between those working with younger and older children disappear.'

It seems to me that the Swedish concept of 'social pedagogy' touches upon three issues that have been running through the argument in this report. Firstly it is based strongly in 'attachment theory'; secondly it argues that there should be a common understanding of 'the child' by all those who work in Children's Services; and thirdly schooling is more than just an educational project and should be taking on the wider role of integrating education, personal development and care.

What then is the assessment of the Swedish approach? Why is it that international assessors identify that children in Sweden



feel more secure and are less likely to act out unmanageable behaviour in their schools? What is it in the more integrated system of monitoring and care of individuals in Sweden that enables young people to succeed with greater ease in their education system? In what ways are their teachers better equipped and better supported to nurture children in realms including, and beyond, their academic achievement?

Part of the answer to these questions is that learning in schools in Sweden is seen as just one facet of a child's overall development and that the approach to teacher training reflects this. The evidence of the success of Sweden with the care and education of its children comes from the reports of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development⁽⁴⁰⁾ which has highlighted the positive approach that is taken towards the care and support of its children.

[I]t has been said that the merit of any nation may be judged by how it treats its children – particularly the poor and needy. If that adage is true, then Sweden sits on an international pinnacle. Nothing honours Sweden more than the way it honours and respects its young.

Whilst, as we have seen, the UK flounders at the bottom of the UNICEF report into the welfare and happiness of children, it is this integrated, holistic system that ensures Sweden is second overall, and in the top third in five out of six scales investigated by the OECD, topping three of them. Out of the 18 countries investigated, Sweden comes fifth in the ratings for Educational Well-being. England comes 17th.

The Swedish system of pre-school education is outstanding.... The [OECD review] team was profoundly impressed by the omnipresent spirit of respect and trust that characterised Swedish early childhood services.... The review team was [also] impressed by the diversity of pedagogical efforts, the diversity of programmatic initiatives and the diversity of pre-school structures.... The intellectual probing coupled with the desire to work with new ideas all signal a system that is dynamic, not static...

Social pedagogy – a European approach

At the heart of Swedish service integration is the idea of social pedagogy. Petrie, Boddy and Cameron (41) investigated this concept in a range of European countries to establish some commonality of meaning. Their research also exposed the semantic differences between the European and the English understanding of 'pedagogy'. In Anglophone countries, 'pedagogy' refers to didactics – the 'science' of 'teaching', and methodologies employed by teachers and places of 'learning'. By contrast, other European countries describe 'pedagogy' as the work of services that are 'socially provided'.

As a field, social pedagogy can accommodate provision such as childcare, youth work, family support, youth justice services, secure units, residential care and play work – services that, to British eyes appear somewhat disparate. The use of the term 'pedagogy' allows for a discourse that can rise above differences based on, for example, the age of those who use services or a service's immediate goals; it permits any particular provision to be located in the context of a wider social policy towards children.

In Sweden 'social pedagogy' encompasses what Petrie et al call 'education in its broadest sense' or 'bringing up children in a way that addresses the whole child'. This, then, begins to explain the integration of services and



training to accommodate a more rounded approach to child welfare. Social pedagogy is the driving force behind reform in Sweden. It is not surprising then, given our limited interpretation of 'pedagogy', that our teacher training reflects a conservative system, predicated on methods of teaching and learning that are largely out of date and based on the delivery of an assessable curriculum. It also explains, without this commonality of understanding and practice, why our children's services are as fragmented as they are.

Social pedagogy, the pedagogue and attachment

It could be argued that the Swedish system offers a working model of attachment theory in educational settings. When families and home life cannot offer a secure base in relationships or contain the anxiety presented by a child, it is incumbent on schools and other key professionals to support the individual child. Social pedagogy, as a binding theoretical concept, aims to address the development of the whole child and recognises the value in the shared responsibility between children's services professionals and the home. Claire Cameron's work (42) refers to attachment specifically, whereby pedagogues recognise the importance of building relationships:

Under pedagogy, attachment to an adult provide[s] emotional security, and [is] a means of coming to know an individual in his or her context, for mutual enjoyment of "being together", as groups of staff and children.

The pedagogue then becomes the key attachment figure, offering a secure base in relationships for children, containing and monitoring anxieties. Their teamwork and open dialogue with teaching staff, families and other services keep the child well known and consistently thought about.

Whilst there is anxiety in teachers from the UK not to define themselves as social workers, Sweden has embraced the therapeutic disposition or potential in teachers –

although Swedish teachers would consider themselves neither therapists nor social workers. However at Stockholm University it is expected that teachers acquire a special pedagogical competence, that is, 'specific training which enables the trainee teacher to identify frequently recurring problem situations in school and to be able to help children in obtaining the support and help they need'. (43)

An integrated approach to children's services – where are we in comparison?

Our interest in Sweden's educational provision needs to go beyond that of politicians who might present this as a model of free market education with multiple providers and forprofit opportunities that would be motivators for driving up standards. If we are to see schooling as more than an educational project, like Sweden, we will also need to rethink our theoretical and socio-cultural attitudes towards schooling, within the broader context of children's services. In order to implement the principles and intentions laid out in Every Child Matters, for instance, the same kind of holistic attitude towards children's services found in Sweden – and the training therein – will need to be adopted.

Currently, children's services in the UK remain too disparate for this to happen easily. Integration has begun to take place in the form of 'Children's Centres' or Sure Start centres, albeit in the most deprived areas of the country. Extended Schools Provision/Partnerships also reflect a move towards offering a range of services under the same school roof. However, without the theoretical drive – that of a shared language and understanding of what makes for successful child development – they could struggle to offer a cohesive experience for individual children.

Teaching is not an isolated profession in its practice and should not be considered as such at the point of training. There are signs that this is changing – for example the recent rebranding of the National College for School Leadership to include Directors of Children's



Services and the General Teaching Council's Code of Conduct and Practice for Registered Teachers which identifies co-operation with other professionals in the children's workforce as one of its eight principles. Whilst these are important signals they do not go to the heart of the problem. We must take note of our international neighbours, even if the sociocultural climate is not exactly transferable. Sweden has managed wholesale reform, based on principles of the general and holistic welfare of children. We must do the same, and not react to teacher shortages, an economic climate or the financial workings of initial teacher training providers as the founding principles for the formation of our teachers.

Whilst this section has focused on the work in Sweden, this is not the only European country where these developments are taking place. Claire Cameron at the Thomas Coram Research Unit at the University of London Institute of Education⁽⁴⁴⁾ cites Denmark as a focus of new policy and practice in this area and her assessment identifies four key findings from her research which are pertinent to the argument being made here and with which I will conclude this section:

- As an occupational model pedagogy can be a way of building a unified children's workforce. It offers a general way of working from which specialist skills and knowledge can be developed.
- Pedagogic education and employment is popular in many European countries because it offers a high-level education with opportunities for advancement.
- One in four Danish pedagogue students is male: the status and opportunities for professional development, and thinking about the job as pedagogy rather than just care can attract a more diverse range of entrants.
- A pedagogic approach implies a high level of commitment to training and development with at least three years of initial training.



6. Recommendations

What then must we do differently?

Let me re-state the proposition. The proposition is that increasing numbers of young people are acting out 'attachment difficulties' which neither their families nor our schools know how to address and for which our teachers are inadequately trained and resourced to attend to. The proposition suggests that our teachers are disadvantaged by inadequate and reductionist routes to Qualified Teacher Status which provide them with neither the appropriate skills or understandings, nor the theoretical framework and practical experience to secure successful educational and personal outcomes for disaffected and disengaged young people.

To address the proposition I have detailed some of the social contexts and new challenges that are facing teachers and young people in our schools; I have revisited the history of our initial teacher training provision to get a sense of what has been gained and what has been lost by the changes we have made over time; I have looked at a theoretical framework based in attachment theory that might underpin our initial teacher training programmes; and I have explored a possible model of social pedagogy being developed in Sweden which I feel could contribute to a new approach.

In the light of this, what then might we do differently to ensure better provision for young people and their families by providing improved approaches to initial teacher training?

I wish to make four recommendations to those with responsibility for education policy and planning, to those who design and provide initial teacher training, to those who have a primary concern for research, and to school leaders and practitioners.

What then might we do to address these concerns:

 We need a national conversation about the content and provision of initial teacher training

The purposes and role of initial teacher training should be reviewed and re-designed to reflect the changing role of schools whose primary task needs to be that of integrating care, child and adolescent development and education. This review should include a close study of international models of provision for children and young people.

 We should see the model of Children and Young People's Services as the framework within which teacher training is designed and organised

Teaching is not an isolated profession in practice and should not be considered as such at the point of training. We should move away from training teachers to work in schools to developing professionals to work in Children and Young People's Services. Qualified Teacher Status should be part of and in addition to a wider professional qualification for all those who work in Children and Young People's Services. We should require those seeking Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) to also achieve Qualified Professional Status for Children and Young People's Services (QPS/CYPS).

 We should adopt a shared theoretical framework to inform the training of all those who work with children and young people

The course content for training of professionals to work in Children and Young People's Services needs to be based in developmental psychology and attachment theory with a common theoretical framework shared by all those who work with children and young people.



 We should move to enabling University Graduate Schools of Education to widen their scope and provide a three year foundation training for all those who work in Children and Young People's Services (Graduate Schools for Children's Services)

The importance of training and research and more in-depth course content that is common to all those working with our young people should be returned to the university providers who should re-conceive the scope of their provision to include shared foundation training for all those who wish to work in Children and Young People's Services as well as for the specific role of teacher.

No longer...

- No longer can we continue to train our new secondary school teachers only as primarily subject specialists. Schooling is more than just an educational project and our teachers need a more comprehensive formation.
- No longer can those who enter the profession do so without a deep and secure grounding in developmental psychology and child development, and without an understanding about how frameworks such as attachment theory and psychodynamic thinking should inform not only policy and practice within education but also be at the very heart of the design and organisation of our schools.
- No longer can we ignore models of training being developed by our European partners. We need to look at how far out of line we are compared with international models of training. Here in the UK the need is greater because the behaviour which a significant number of our young people are acting out is intelligence for us about how much we need to rethink the way those who work closely with young people need to be trained and supported in their work.

- No longer is it sufficient to keep adding new centrally designed initiatives and often very costly short-term interventions to hold together the decaying emotional fabric that constitutes the lives of many children in our schools.
- No longer should we ignore the hurt and exhaustion that the drama of school failure inflicts on so many young people and their teachers and which inadequate teacher training can only contribute to further.

Here I have argued for a major rethink about the way we design and organise the formation of our teachers if they are to be able to play a role in adapting our schools to new realities, and to be part of the central mission of our schools – to support pupils on a safe and enhancing journey from early childhood to young adulthood.



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