GLOBALISING EDUCATION: HOW FAR IS THE 'TEACH' MODEL OF INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION TRANSFERABLE ACROSS NORTH AND SOUTH CONTEXTS?

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Abstract

Teach for All is an umbrella organisation developed by the founders of Teach for America and Teach First. Operating through sister organisations in Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, North America and South America, Teach for All promises to develop solutions to educational problems in diverse settings through training teachers according to common principles to work in schools in areas of disadvantage. For the first time, therefore, there exists a single international organisation offering a model of teacher education which claims to be transferable to any context in the world.

This study, through a focus on Teach South Africa in the Global South and the UK's Teach First in the Global North, seeks to examine these claims. In particular it investigates the extent to which the teacher training model has been transferred, established and embedded in what are culturally, economically, politically and historically very different nation states. CEOs, middle managers and teachers of the respective organisations were interviewed and Teach for All, Teach First and Teach South Africa web-sites were analysed, in order to gain an understanding of how the principles, aims and ethos are embodied within the organisation's different settings.

I argue that, while pervasive neoliberal ideologies along with a specific organisational discourse combine to create a set of circumstances in which Teach for All believes it can establish 'country proof' sister organisations anywhere in the world, the North in fact maintains and strengthens its privilege and power base in these relationships and they are not necessarily supportive of teacher development needs in the Global South.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Why would a German teacher end up undertaking research into the organisation 'Teach for All' with the inquiry question 'how far is the TEACH model of Initial Teacher Education transferable across North and South contexts?' Thinking back on it, the seeds were planted when I took part in a school German exchange project at the age of fourteen. My exchange partner, Ulli, came to spend two weeks with my family and with his long hair, tassel scarves, purple trousers and gentle way of being, challenged our preconceptions of Germans. We had been nervous about how he would cope with our slightly chaotic, messy, scruffy, dog-hair-covered household and family life and what on earth we would have in common. It was a relief to discover that actually he was really quite like us – he joined in with the games of cricket in the garden, got tired, washed, ate my mum's bizarre meals, found my dad's jokes funny and generally felt like a member of our family. We missed him when he left. Then it was my turn. In Hamburg, I discovered that breakfast meant garlic cheese and pumpernickel, 'cold' was something much colder than I had ever felt where lakes and even seas froze over, you never crossed the road on a red man, schools had no uniform and you could knit in class if you wanted to. I also discovered that people spoke softly and German sounded actually quite musical in contrast to the harsh, guttural language I had been exposed to from the war films on television.

Looking back on this, I realise that, although I was completely unaware of it at the time, I was going through a transformative learning experience (Mezirow, 1997) and I was 'learning to unlearn' (Martin and Griffiths, 2011). My preconceptions of what Germans and Germany were like were being challenged and I was reconstructing new ways of understanding 'German' which was complicated and difficult. 'German' was not just like the images of Hans and Lieselotte I had come across in my text books at school. If you were to ask me what Germans are like, I would not know where to start. I would flounder. I suppose that I was also grappling with what I had understood to be universal – that breakfast is cereal followed by toast and a cup of coffee – was being challenged. I was realising that our understandings of the world are based on our experiences of them, which is different in different contexts and timeframes. I was gaining a sense that our knowledge is partial, incomplete and context-bound.

It seems obvious now, that I would become as passionate as I did about developing a school exchange programme when I started working as a modern languages teacher. For me, it was of course about helping students to develop their German/English language skills. More importantly, though, it was about giving them the opportunity to challenge their preconceptions and to see that their way of living is not universal but that there are other ways of being in, experiencing, understanding and knowing this world that we shared. My hope was that if they got a sense of nothing as absolute, some might develop a

greater tolerance of difference which would then empower them to challenge prejudice and stereotyping throughout their lives. I suppose at the time I saw it as a key to unlocking ignorance and developing a greater awareness of a shared humanity. It became a mission for me as a teacher, feeding in to what I now consider to be a rather naïve but well-intentioned desire to do whatever was in my power to help to create awareness about our world. I wanted to shine a spotlight on social issues which teachers could address through their work with young people in schools. I wanted to do what I could to help to create a socially just world and to act as a role model in doing so.

The German exchange ran for years (and is still running). Families have come together, people have created new understandings of what it means to be English or German, a few have developed life-long friendships, where on-going communication and dialogue keep creating new, dynamic, hybrid spaces for refreshing and reshaping their understandings of each other.

Of course I jumped at the opportunity to become involved in a project for Initial Teacher Education (ITE) students when I joined the School of Education (SoE) at a university in the role of modern languages ITE tutor. The project involved beginner teachers volunteering in their summer holidays in schools in informal settlements in Mamelodi, a township in South Africa (SA). Not only did this project resonate with my passion for linking with people in different parts of

the world, it was also hugely exciting: SA was a 'developing country' with extreme poverty, a history of apartheid and the largest economic gap between rich and poor in the world. I now felt I could do something really meaningful: I assumed that time spent in township schools would undoubtedly stir up the beginner teachers' sense of outrage at the social injustice and spur them on to do something about it when they returned to the UK. They would become ambassadors for change, for challenging inequality and for inspiring their school pupils to do the same. An almost missionary zeal took hold of me. The students would fund-raise for the pupils and schools in SA and then spend two weeks of their summer holiday 'team-teaching' with SA teachers in primary and secondary schools, learning about the SA teachers' and pupils' experiences as well as teaching lessons about life in the UK.

After four years of involvement in the project, during which time approximately sixty ITE students visited Mamelodi and exactly three South African teachers came to visit the UK, I decided it was time to research into the impact of the project on the UK teachers. I wanted to explore what they went on to do in their teaching, as a result of the experience, whether they spread the word about poverty and inequality to their students and if so, what they did about it in their schools.

I never did this. Instead, the reading that I started to do for my Masters dissertation took me down a very different path. My eyes were

opened to the notion of a project such as the SoE one, (as unlike the German exchange, it involved countries that had been in a former colonial relationship with each other), being labelled 'neo-liberal' (Andreotti, 2007; Martin and Griffiths, 2011) and predominantly serving the UK teachers' interests (Zermach-Bersin, 2007). I started to explore postcolonial theory and read Edward Said's 'Orientalism' (1978) which helped me to develop an awareness of how in the West, we have framed our understandings of those in the rest of the world through a particular lens. This lens can mean that we see our Western way of life as universal and therefore judge other ways of living and being in comparison to our ways, rendering them 'other' and mainly inferior, lacking, deficient. I learnt that even the categorising of countries as 'developed' or 'developing' displayed an unspoken, paternalistic power imbalance with a Western assumption that there is an agreed understanding of what development means, with all countries aspiring to the same degree of (Western) development (Andreotti, 2007). I learnt that 'Global South' and 'Global North' are less value- laden terms than 'developing' and 'developed' when describing countries (Andreotti, 2007; Martin and Griffiths, 2011). I learnt that voices from the Global South are rarely captured, heard or valued in Western research (Spivak, 1988; Graves, 2007). I learnt that there can exist in the West, a polarised view of Global South/ Global North interactions as poor/rich; them/us; recipient/donor (Said, 1978). I read about Bhabha's notion of 'hybridity' (1990), Fiedler's 'postcolonial learning spaces' (2007: 50) and

Kapoor's non-dialectic space (2004), where polarised understandings are mixed and blended in order to create a new or third space in which people can create a different awareness of each other (as with the German exchange) and realised that the project did little to challenge stereotypes of UK and SA people and little to create a space for dialogue about such stereotypes and how we can move beyond them. This was another transformative learning experience (Mezirow, 1997) or 'light bulb' moment.

I now felt really uncomfortable about the project. It had developed into a tightly polished, packaged, almost conveyor belt experience. UK teachers planned sessions in advance of their visit, went in to the schools in matching orange tee shirts like an orange education army, spent two weeks in schools and then went on safari before flying home armed with stories and photos about their amazing, life-changing time in Africa. The SA teachers that they worked with were almost irrelevant to this experience. At the same time, I also felt inspired, in an almost religious way, by my new theoretical discoveries. I was motivated to turn the project into something more thoughtful for both the UK and SA teachers, where, similar to my experience with the German exchange, meaningful relationships and connections could follow which would help the participants to reconceptualise understandings of each other and challenge prejudices and stereotyping of the UK/SA if they encountered them in the future. I wanted the teachers to establish reciprocal, respectful, ethical

partnerships and to cascade these down to their respective pupils through meaningful pen-pal projects, video exchanges and on-going connections via social media.

Inspired by my reading, I completed my Masters dissertation with an outline for a project which embodied better practice for Global South/Global North teaching linking projects (Martin and Griffiths, 2011). There would be no charitable fund-raising. Instead, we would learn about the causes of poverty in order to teach this to our UK pupils so that they would be outraged enough to want to change the status quo. As a starting point, and mindful that this would also need critiquing, the project would be framed within a postcolonial theoretical perspective and the aims and structure of the project would be shaped by both Southern and Northern partners. Rather than a twenty UK to one SA teacher visit ratio, the visits would be beautifully reciprocal - five South African and five UK teachers. The project would build opportunities and spaces for dialogue and discussion into it, so that all teachers would be challenged to unpick how and why their understandings of the world had evolved and where prejudices and stereotypical representations of each other might have come from. They would be supported to develop new understandings of themselves and of their SA/UK partners which could snowball into respectful and reciprocal teacher to teacher, pupil to pupil, class to class and school to school links.

Around the same time as completing my Masters dissertation, my role within the SoE changed and I moved over from the PGCE to teach on the Teach First (TF) route into teaching. Anxious to 'put right' the Mamelodi project and buoyed by my new findings for South/North linking projects, I discussed with a colleague a way forward for a newly revised project. She told me that TF was actually under the umbrella of a much wider, global organisation called 'Teach for All' (TfA) and that there were organisations training teachers within the same ITE framework as TF all over the world. This training model, based on Wendy Kopp's 'Teach for America' (2011) involves charitable organisations recruiting top graduates from top universities, training them intensively for a short period, before placing them in schools in areas of disadvantage, where they work on a salaried, full-time basis whilst being prepared for 'leadership'. The graduates commit to their organisations and to teaching for a minimum of two years, after which they are encouraged to challenge 'educational disadvantage' for the rest of their lives, in whatever professional capacity they may so choose. It is this model of ITE that I refer to as the 'TEACH' model throughout this thesis.

Aware that I was keen to build on work done in SA, my colleague suggested that I contact Teach South Africa (TSA) to see if they would be interested in developing some kind of teacher collaboration. The CEO of TSA responded almost immediately to my initial tentative suggestion that we might develop a teacher linking

project and there then ensued a flurry of excited emails in which the TSA leaders and I collaboratively wrote and re-wrote the aims and ethos of a potential project. We would start encouraging interested participants to communicate with one another by creating a Facebook group in which they could discuss their work as beginner teachers in their different contexts. We would then follow this up with reciprocal visits which would involve pairing them up with a partner who they would stay with for the duration of their visit. The UK and SA pairs would team teach, discuss subject pedagogy and the successes and challenges of learning to teach within the TfA or 'TEACH' model of ITE.

I anticipated that UK and SA teachers and their respective TEACH organisations would be really interested in this project. I expected TfA to be very supportive of the project. I thought getting funding and interest from them would be relatively easy: the project would be a manifestation of the work that they appeared to be doing in creating a global network of teachers entering the profession within organisations with similar 'missions' of challenging educational inequality. I was wrong on many accounts.

This confronted me with the tension between my idealism and reality. The UK and SA teachers, whilst interested in the project in an abstract fashion, struggled to either find the time or the will to contribute to the Facebook group in a meaningful and consistent way. Despite numerous invitations for the SA teachers to come and visit the

UK first, their workload and the cost of the flights made this too difficult. People that I emailed at TfA made positive but politely uninterested noises about the project and wrung their hands when I asked for funding. UK teachers were put off going to SA by the cost and the time taken away from their summer holiday. I expand on the difficulties I had in getting the project up and running in chapter four. It was frustrating and time-consuming and I look back now and realise that no-one other than me actually really wanted it.

As I was grappling with the revised Global South/North linking project, starting in my new role on the TF route and gaining a sense of the global reach of the TEACH movement, I was also embarking on my Professional Doctorate in Education (EdD). The module assignments I wrote in years one and two explored issues concerning Global South/North linking. At the time, I planned to establish the TF/TSA link in order to research into the impact that a linking project framed within postcolonial theory would have on the teachers. I wanted to know if they could really develop meaningful, on-going, respectful and reciprocal relationships with their partners. Would they develop ongoing class links? Would they challenge pre-conceptions about life in their partner's country? Would they be in a position to teach about poverty and the causes of poverty? Would they find collective understandings about themselves as teachers and the work that they were doing that would transcend contextual and material differences?

As each new attempt to establish the TF/TSA linking project was thwarted, I also needed to think pragmatically: it was not looking likely that I would be able to set up a project to research at all. Discussions with my supervisor encouraged me to let go of the terrier-like grip I had on my Global South/North link focus and instead to expand my inquiry. I shifted my attention to the TEACH movement: a TSA/TF teacher linking project could act as a catalyst for a broader research project exploring the organisation TfA, rather than be the sole focus of my inquiry. After all, TfA is a global network of charitable teaching organisations with shared core values, mission and vision operating in thirty nine different countries. The organisation creates a transnational network of people situated within different nation states yet with a homogenous, overarching purpose and mission to overcome educational inequality and transcend historical, political, economic, cultural and geographical diversities.

It is this interest, a wonder whether it is actually possible for teachers to find common ground, despite different contexts - that is the pathway from me as German teacher to me as researcher into TfA. This is the route leading up to my inquiry question 'how far is the TEACH model of ITE transferable across Global South and North contexts?' I wanted to find out what similarities and differences there are, if any, between the seemingly homogenous global TEACH model in South Africa and in the UK. What it means to be a teacher working

within the TEACH model, despite different contexts. These are the questions which this thesis now explores.

The exploration is set out in the following way: chapter two develops and considers the umbrella TEACH organisation, Teach for All in greater depth and detail. It includes a review of the literature about TfA, TSA and TF and, because of its relevance to understanding Teach for All, I also include here data from an interview with the co-founder of TfA and from the TfA web-site. In chapter three I offer a brief overview of the history of initial teacher education in both SA and the UK. This serves to situate TSA and TF within their respective ITE contexts. I outline my methodological choices in chapter four and expand on the challenges of establishing the project, some of which I have already alluded to above. I also explain how I gathered my data sets, the coding and analysis of my data and the ethical issues I considered. Data gathered from the teachers and managers from TSA and TF, along with data from the TSA and TF web-sites are presented in chapter five. In chapter six, I review the work of some theorists of global education policy whose ideas have provided the theoretical tools for making sense of my data. In this chapter, I also write about critical discourse analysis as this had a role to play in helping me understand the data and think about the similarities and differences between the different TEACH models across Global South/North contexts and what it means to be a teacher working within a transnational model of ITE. Chapter seven links the theory in chapter six with the data sets

presented in chapters two and five and seeks to develop insights into the answer to my research question which asks how far the TEACH model of ITE is transferable across Global South and North contexts. The order of the chapters does not follow the conventional structure of a thesis. This was a deliberate decision to capture and reflect back to the reader the dynamic journey of the research process.

Thus far, I have used the terms 'developing', 'developed', 'Global South' 'Global North' to locate and define countries which sit within a particular economic relationship with one another. Andreotti (2011) outlines the problematic nature of terminology for countries. There are a number of terms that may be used to describe 'wealthy', 'developed', 'first world', 'Western', 'Northern' countries which have previously colonised on the one hand and 'poor', 'developing', 'third world', 'non-Western', 'Southern' countries which have previously been colonised on the other. Such definitions are also transient and temporarily located. Countries such as China, India, Nigeria, Turkey, Russia, Brazil and Mexico, for example, strengthen their economies and shift and develop their economic relationship with other countries around the world as I write this in 2016. Whilst it is important to acknowledge that any attempt to define and categorise a country in relation to other countries is problematic and complex, for the purposes of this study, I have grouped the thirty nine different countries within the TfA movement into 'Global North', 'Global South' and 'Emerging economies' (appendix 1a), drawing on Jim O'Neill's (2014) understanding and categorisation

of the current economic relationships between nation states. These terms are used throughout this thesis.

Chapter Two: Teach for All

Having grappled with a focus for my EdD thesis, I now needed to start addressing my overarching research question: 'how far is the TEACH model of ITE transferable across North and South contexts?' through starting to explore Teach for All. This chapter, then, brings together material about Teach for All. The material comes from a variety of sources: the website, data from an interview with the co-founder of TfA, literature by the TEACH organisation and literature about the TEACH organisation. Since TfA (and the TEACH movement more widely) are central to my investigation, it is necessary to explain what the organisation is, what it stands for, its principles, structure, ethos and functions. No description is entirely neutral, and certainly my interview with the co-founder left me with questions that I was keen to pursue. So this chapter is intended to offer a picture of what TfA is, but also to identify some ideas and themes that engage critically with the work, approach and remit of the organisation.

Teach for All web-site data and an interview with the Teach for All co-founder.

I wanted to gain an understanding of the principles of the organisation and how they are manifested in real terms. After much negotiation, I managed to set up an interview with the cofounder of TfA in the TF London headquarters in January 2015. I emailed him the interview questions in advance (appendix 2a) and he agreed to a thirty

minute meeting. In the event, the interview was deftly concluded within six minutes. The full transcript can be seen in appendix 2b. I also wanted to explore the TfA website and needed to make a decision as to which pages to look at and a site map of all the web-pages can be found in appendix 2c. I narrowed down the 'home' page, the 'about' page and its links plus the 'our network and impact' to examine. Further details of my methodological decisions relating to how I went about gathering and analysing my data are given in chapter four, but for the purposes of this chapter it suffices to say that the following categories emerged after organising the interview and website data into themes and codes:

A) Origins of TfA
B) Membership and Collaboration
C) Global community/networks/partnerships
D) Philanthropy
E) Rationale/'mission'
F) Commonalities
G) Future of TfA
H) Leadership
I) Messages about education

I now go on to illustrate the key points arising from the interview and website in relation to these categories.

Origins of Teach for All

The co-founder spoke of 'we' being approached by

> 'some social entrepreneurs in Germany, Australia, Estonia who were interested in and had heard about TF and wanted to do a similar programme in their countries'

he added:

> 'then I called the head of Teach for America, Wendy Kopp, who had started speaking to India and I think one or two other countries that had expressed interest in their model and we said why don't we get McKinsey, who agreed to give us some pro bono support to look at how we can help these countries together and let's just come up with a new organisation that would serve as some sort of, sort of link or network you know, that they could all be members of'.

In the Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) section of the web-site, the founding of TfA was described in the following ways:

> 'Teach For America founder Wendy Kopp and Teach First founder Brett Wigdortz co-founded Teach For All after fielding numerous requests from social entrepreneurs around the world who wanted to create similar organizations that would expand educational opportunity in their own countries. Since its launch at the Clinton Global Initiative in September 2007, Teach For All

has grown to include more than 35 partners on five continents that are pursuing a similar approach to working towards educational equity and excellence for all of their nations' children'.

Membership and Collaboration

In terms of the membership of TfA, the co-founder spoke of:

'some sort of norms that everyone tries to hold to'.

This was expressed more explicitly on the TfA web-site in the FAQs section:

'Social entrepreneurs from around the world interested in pursuing Teach For All's unifying mission in their countries express their interest to Teach For All specialists based in their regions. Our staff provides extensive support to immerse them in understanding the Teach For All mission and our unifying programmatic and organizational principles, and to help these entrepreneurs as they develop their business plans and build the local support and capacity necessary to launch their programs. Once organizations meet the partnership criteria, Teach For All welcomes them into the network'.

The web-site provided information as to the 'core values' 'common mission' and 'unifying principles' which include 'programmatic

principles' and 'common organisational design features' that member organisations commit to 'abide by' and are 'united by'.

'The Global Advisory Council', comprised of twenty individuals

> 'provides input on strategic decisions and helps to broaden support for the TfA approach around the world.'

The collaborative gains from being members of TfA were expressed by the co-founder as:

> 'it's just great seeing some really great teachers around the world who are now working together in different ways'.

He explained that

> 'there is one global conference each year and then I think one regional conference each year and then they try to find different ways to help people meet from different countries from around the world … you can meet some really inspirational people from all over the place'.

Collaboration was also mentioned on the web-site:

> 'TfA facilitates connections through global and regional conferences, peer-to-peer visits, and online platforms that enable our partners' teachers, alumni, and staff to connect with and learn from each other'.

There was no evidence of 'peer to peer visits' on the web-site. In the video featured on the 'vision and mission' and 'home' pages, Wendy Kopp, co-founder of TfA stated:

> 'the solutions are shareable… But as part of a global network where they're sharing solutions with each other, it has just such accelerating potential'.

Global Community/Networks/partnerships

The TfA 'home' page had, written in large font: 'The Global Network for Expanding Educational Opportunity', underneath which there was a world map with a dot in the location where there was a member organisation. The reader is able to click on the dots to see the name of the member organisation and to 'read more'. In 2016, there was no dot in South Africa or link to TSA.



The world 'global' was used on the web-site in relation to:

'global community';

'global platform';

'global conferences';

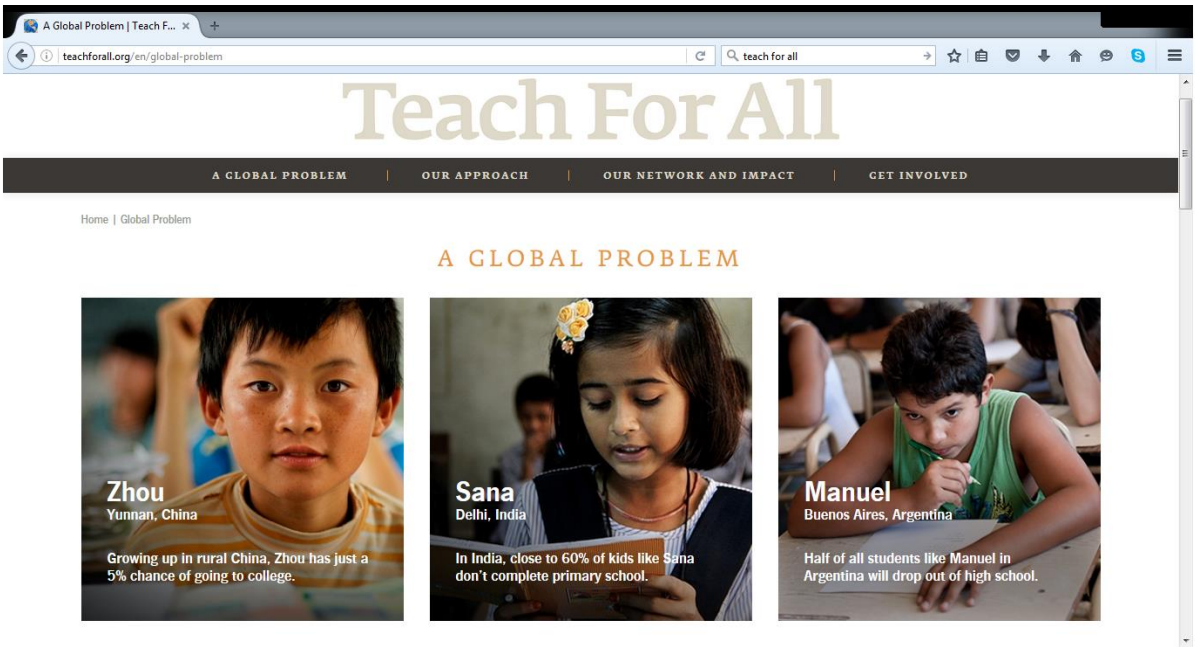
'global resources' and

'global scope to provide professional development'.

'Global champions' were the funders who

'have committed at least one million dollars of annual funding to TfA'.

Inequity in educational opportunity was seen as 'a global problem'



and there exists a 'Global Advisory Council' as mentioned earlier.

On its 'diversity' page was pledged a commitment to

> ‘model the world we envision – a globally interconnected community in which individuals of all backgrounds are fully engaged and contributing to their full potential’.

The co-founder stated:

> ‘it’s kind of nice to have that global link and to be part of a global sort of community’

and he spoke of ‘TfA’ as

> ‘a network of charities that are committed to addressing educational disadvantage in their own countries … TfA is a network of these, these charities around the world’.

The word ‘network’ also appeared frequently on the web-site:

> ‘we value strength and diversity across the network’;
>
> ‘TfA provides a global platform that enables network partners to connect with and learn from each other’;
>
> ‘TfA provides direct support by identifying insights from across the network’;
>
> ‘once partners have joined the network, TfA works to ensure that they can grow sustainably’.

There was also mention on the web-site of working with

'emerging entrepreneurs … we help these potential partners understand the network's unifying principles'.

Partners then were the thirty nine member organisations plus the 'five streams' of funders of TfA:

'Major Gifts, Individuals and Foundations';

'Regional Support';

'Corporate Partnerships';

'Government and Multilateral Partnerships'

and 'Friends of Teach for All'.

Philanthropy

As mentioned above, the co-founder spoke of McKinsey agreeing to give 'pro bono support' in setting up TfA.

Along with the funding sources outlined in the section above, there were listed, ranked and categorised according to the amount of the donation, a number of different funding sources. The rankings were as follows:

'GLOBAL CHAMPIONS – our global champions have committed at least $1 million in annual funding to Teach for All';

'PARTNERS – our partners have committed at least $500,000 in annual funding to Teach for All';

> ‘SUPPORTERS – our supporters have committed at least $250,000 in annual funding to Teach for All’;
>
> ‘STRATEGIC PARTNERS – our strategic partners offer significant ‘in- kind’ support across key areas’;
>
> ‘FRIENDS OF TEACH FOR ALL – our Friends of Teach for All have committed at least $5,000 in annual funding to Teach for All’.

The TfA ‘home’ page had the logos of the following organisations in the bottom left hand corner: Exxon Mobile; Robertson Foundation and Deutsche Post DHL group.

The co-founder stated:

> ‘it’s funded by donors so, so, the connecting organisations sort of the, the secretariat is funded by philanthropy, yeah’.

He went on to discuss a softer notion of philanthropy, less concerned with money and more focused on an idea of altruism:

> ‘Well I mean I guess for our teachers and for teachers around the world, they are joining a mission, you know a programme has a really strong, charitable mission, to make change happen, so everyone joining, I think does it because they want to make that impact, help children from low income communities. I guess that’s the philanthropic background’.

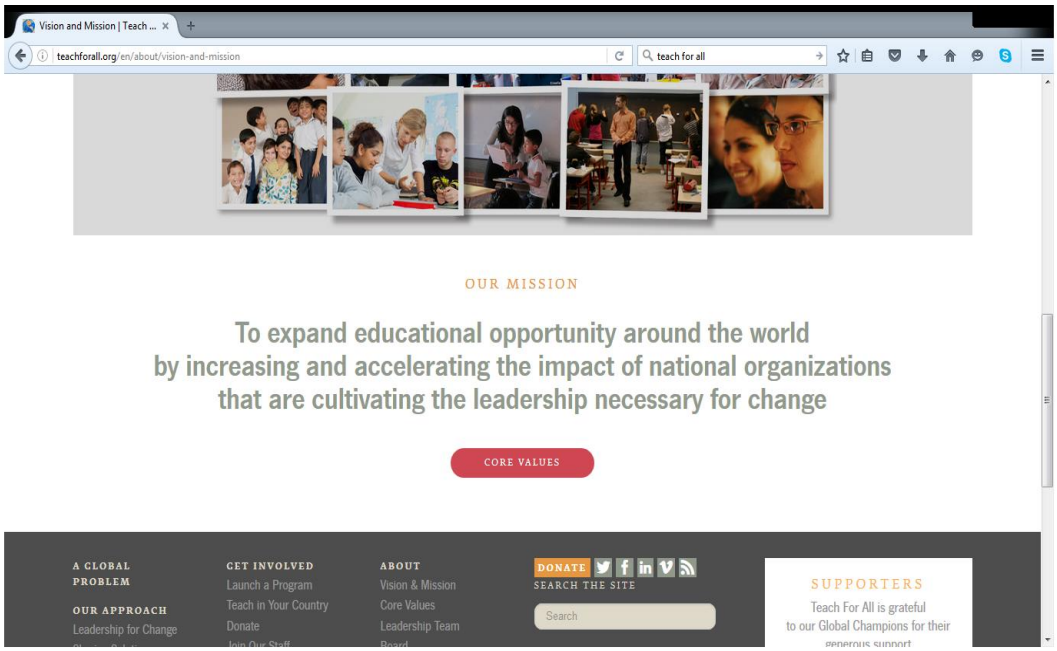
Rationale/Mission

Under the heading 'Vision and Mission' in large print was the statement:

'one day all children will have the opportunity to attain an excellent education'.

Lower down the 'Vision and Mission' page under 'our mission' was the statement:

'To expand educational opportunity around the world by increasing and accelerating the impact of national organisations that are cultivating the leadership necessary for change'.



From this page was a link to 'core values' where the following 'values guide how we engage together across the global network':

'transformational change'; 'constant learning'; 'mutual responsibility' and 'sense of possibility'.

The co-founder mentioned:

> 'these are people who make a real impact in schools, in their own country, all over the world',

and he spoke of

> 'these great people around the world who are all committed to addressing educational disadvantage in their own countries and you know each programme around the world is creating local leaders who are going to hopefully close the gap in their countries and be teachers and leaders in that country who will help children from poor families get a great education'.

Commonalities

Along with 'unifying principles', 'core values' and 'mission' indicated in sections above, common features of member organisations were expressed as follows by the co-founder:

> 'what's common is that you know, these are people who make a real impact in schools in their own country all over the world and erm, I think that's really exciting, yeah'.

He went on to say:

> ‘it’s slightly different in different countries but I think the commonalities are looking for leaders, looking for people who make real change happen, who are committed to closing the gaps and ensuring that children from low income communities succeed at the highest levels’.

In the video on the ‘home’ and ‘about’ pages, Wendy Kopp stated:

> ‘TfA is a network of countries around the world that are enlisting their country’s most promising future leaders and tackling educational inequity. They’re going out recruiting their top recent college graduates, asking them to commit two years of teaching in high need communities in pursuit of really important immediate impacts for the kids growing up today and also in pursuit of really important long term impact, cultivating those teachers for a lifetime of educational leadership and advocacy that they’ll be a force for long term fundamental change against this problem’.

In the FAQ’s section, there was a statement about ‘our approach’ not always being appropriate:

> ‘There may be contexts in which our particular approach might not make the most sense—we rely on local leaders to make that determination’.

This, however, is tempered by the following statement:

> 'This said, we've seen our approach work in very diverse contexts. Indeed, as education is the building block for societies around the world, it's a universal idea that we should channel our most promising future leaders towards improving it'.

Future of TfA

Asked about the future of TfA, the co-founder stated:

> 'I think the future for TfA is really helping the programmes get more successful, and building, you know stronger programmes around the world. And helping you know, the teachers make a bigger impact in the classroom and just helping everyone learn from each other, everywhere, yeah'.

The web-site anticipated:

> 'growing to approximately 40 network partners by the end of 2015'

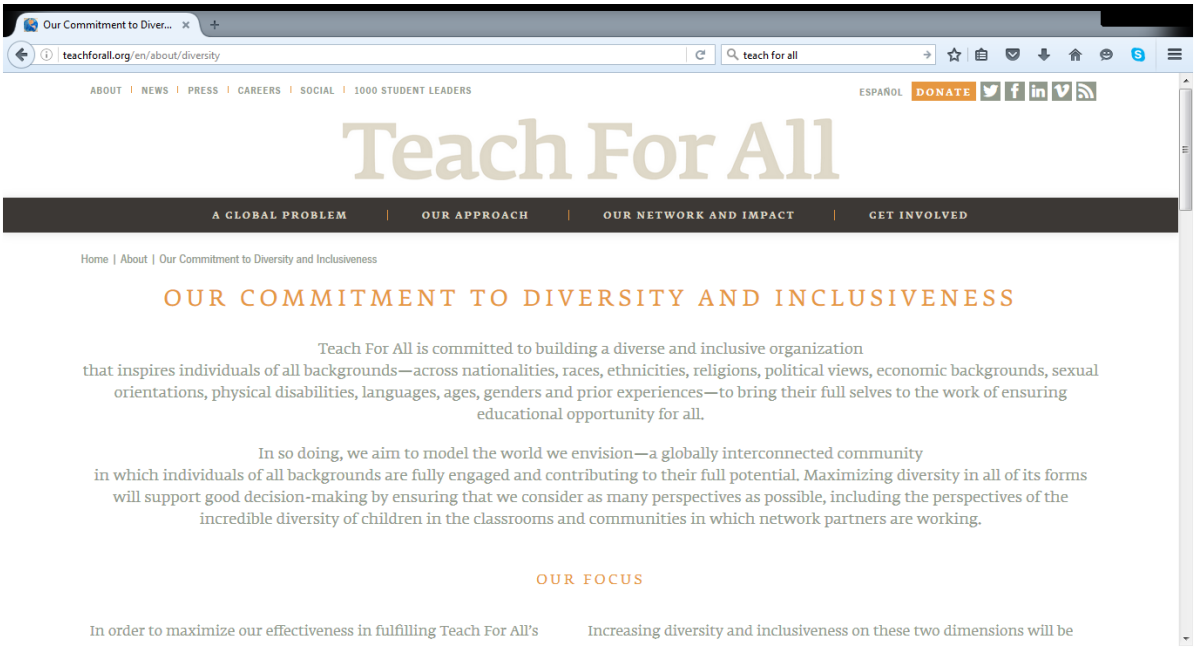
and stated:

> 'We are particularly focused on supporting the development of the approach in the Middle East and Africa, where we seek to address the profound educational opportunity gaps in these regions, while also gaining exposure to the perspectives and

innovations that partners in those regions will surely contribute'.

On the 'diversity' page was pledged the following aspiration:

> 'To move ahead on this journey towards greater diversity and inclusiveness, all of us who are part of Teach for All must reflect on the ways in which diversity is central to our work. We must engage in an ongoing discussion and consideration of the ways in which our own background influences our perspectives and the ways in which we're received, and of why increasingly diverse representation and inclusiveness is important. In the context of deepening understanding of the role of diversity in our work, we must ask ourselves what we can do—as individuals, as teams, and across our organization—to increase the diversity of our talent pipelines and the inclusiveness of our culture'.



Leadership

As noted above, the co-founder spoke of 'looking for leaders … to make real change happen', he emphasised that 'each programme around the world is creating local leaders'.

Indeed, 'leaders' and 'leadership' are words which appeared repeatedly on the web-site:

'cultivating the leadership necessary for change';

'fostering the leadership development of staff, participants and alumni';

'we believe our approach to leadership development is integral to addressing both educational inequity and its root causes';

'foster leadership development';

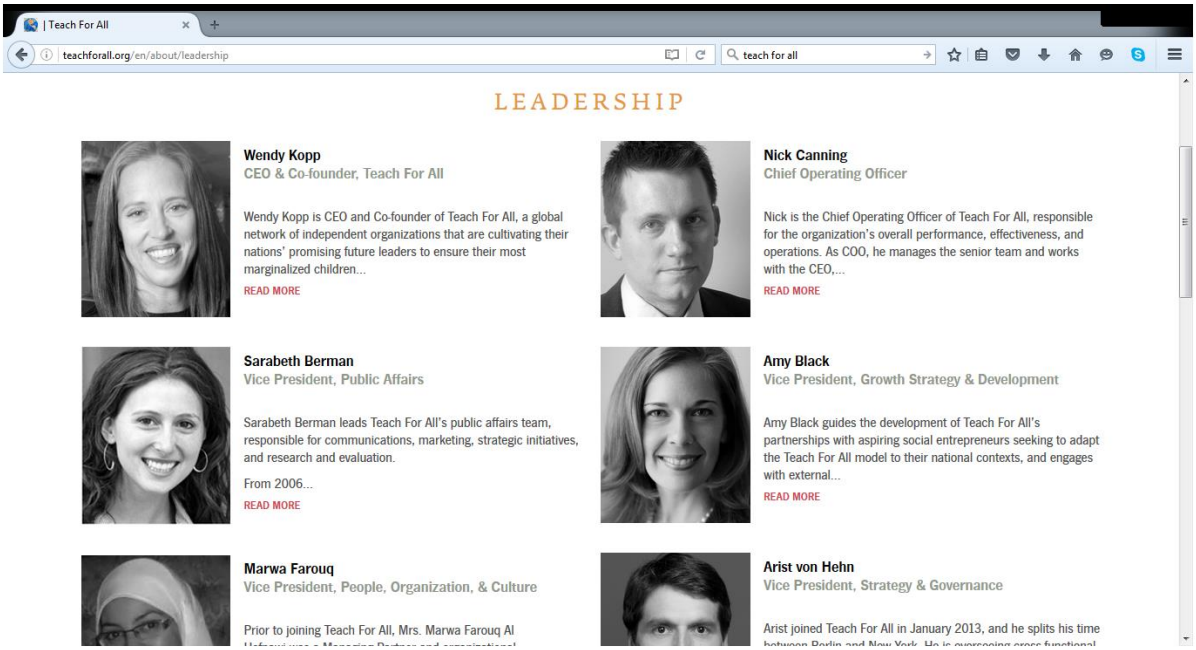
> ‘leadership development is at the core of this approach’;
>
> ‘we collect and analyse data from our partners in four areas in which TfA seeks to accelerate their progress: Scale, Participant Impact and Learning; Alumni Leadership and Organizational Strength’

and reinforced in Wendy Kopp’s statement on the ‘home’ page video as mentioned above, where she spoke of

> ‘enlisting their country’s most promising future leaders’

and ‘cultivating those teachers for a lifetime of educational leadership’.

The ‘leadership team’ page of the web-site shows photos, roles and career histories of the nine members of the TfA leadership team, eight of whom are white with American or European heritage. Three of the nine members of the leadership team have been or still are involved in Teach for America, one was a former business analyst for McKinsey and Company.



Messages about education

The co-founder spoke of 'help(ing) children from low-income communities'. Indeed he mentioned 'low income communities' three times and 'closing the gap' twice. He also spoke of 'addressing educational disadvantage'.

The first link on the left hand side under the heading 'TEACH FOR ALL' on the 'home' page was 'a global problem' and Wendy Kopp in the video on the 'home' and 'about' pages spoke of 'this problem'.

Also on the web-site was the statement:

> 'we believe that educational inequity is a global issue that not only affects local communities but also impacts our collective welfare by dividing societies and weakening economies'.

References to education on the web-site were also as follows:

> 'the magnitude of educational need';
>
> 'working towards educational equity and excellence for all of their nation's children'

and 'there are similarities in the root causes of educational inequity around the world and we've found that solutions are shareable across borders'.

The interview with the co-founder of TfA and browsing the TfA website certainly helped me to start to gain a sense of the organisation's key messages and principles and the ways in which it presented itself to the world. Yet I found myself frustrated by the co-founder's responses. I felt as though I was climbing up a glass pyramid, unable to gain a foothold onto anything in particular. I did not feel as though I was really any further in gaining an insight into what the organisation actually was. I now turned my attention to studying literature by and about TEACH in an attempt to deepen my understanding.

TEACH literature

Teach South Africa, Teach First and the other thirty nine 'network partners' within Teach for All (TfA, 2016) across the globe are ITE programmes based on the Teach for America model, which was originally conceptualised by Wendy Kopp in her 1989 Princetown thesis

(Ahmann, 2015; Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016; Blumenreich and Gupta, 2015; Cumsille and Fizbein, 2015; Friedrich and Walter, 2015; Kopp, 2011; McConney, Price and Woods-McConney, 2012; Price and McConney, 2013; Rice, Volkoff, Dulfer, 2015; Scott, Trujillo and Rivera, 2016; Straubhaar and Friedrich, 2015), before being realised in 1990 with financial support from Exxon Mobil (Exley, 2014). The programmes constitute 'a significant pathway into teaching' in their respective countries (Rice et al., 2015: 497). There is a body of literature concerned with Teach for America, written since its inception in 1990 (McConney, Price, Woods-McConney, 2012), yet in 2016, material on Teach for All is scarce (Blumenreich and Gupta, 2015; Exley, 2014; Straubhaar and Friedrich, 2015). TfA was established in 2007 by Wendy Kopp and Brett Wigdortz, CEOs of Teach for America and Teach First respectively. Its vision is that 'one day all children will have the opportunity to attain an excellent education' and its mission is 'to expand educational opportunity around the world by increasing and accelerating the impact of national organisations that are cultivating the leadership necessary for change' (TfA, 2016). The model is described by Straubhaar and Friedrich as: 'non-profits aspir(ing) to reduce educational inequality in a given country by recruiting high-achieving graduates from prominent national colleges to teach in high needs schools for two years' (2015: 2). Price and McConney claim that organisations under the TfA umbrella have a shared 'set of beliefs about schools and teaching … which constructs schools, students,

teachers and teachers' work in a particular and deliberate way' (2013: 99). This is echoed by Friedrich and Walter who write about TfA as 'a unique enterprise (with) a very clear model for training specific kinds of people to become specific kinds of teachers for specific populations to produce specific solutions' (2015: 2).

This 'unique enterprise' (Friedrich and Walter, 2015: 2) was launched at the Clinton Global Initiative in 2007 (Lalonde et al., 2015; Olmedo, Bailey and Ball, 2013) and, along with its sister organisations, is noted as embodying a neoliberal ideology by Ahmann (2015), Barnes et al. (2016), Blumenreich and Gupta (2015), Friedrich and Walter (2015), Lalonde et al. (2015), McConney et al. (2012), Price and McConney (2013), Rice et al. (2015), Scott et al. (2016) and Straubhaar and Friedrich (2015), in order to offer solutions to educational inequality. 'On the heels of nearly a decade of Reaganomics and Thatcherism', TfA arose in an era that was increasingly dominated by political and social ideologies promoting individualism, social entrepreneurialism and a marketised economy (Price and McConney, 2013: 99). Its focus on the individual, choice, deregulation, competition, corporate style leadership, business and market forces have been noted repeatedly (Ahmann, 2015; Friedrich and Walter, 2015; Rice et al., 2015; Scott et al., 2016) with critics claiming that these may actually exacerbate the very issue of inequality that the organisation seeks to address (Barnes et al., 2016; Rice et al., 2015). The organisation's success in securing governmental, corporate and

philanthropic support has also been commented upon (McConney et al., 2012; Scott et al., 2016), along with its 'highly successful and internationalised marketing strategy' (Price and McConney, 2012: 105). Quoting DeLissovoy (2015: 49), Barnes et al. consider Teach for America's 'neoliberal charge' to be a deliberate move to 'aggressively privatize public and collective spaces, relationships and institutions' (2016: 4), which is echoed by Price and McConney who write of 'an ideologically driven and deliberate neoliberal attack on public education, teachers, teacher professionalism and working class or 'other' communities' (2013: 98).

The apparent universality of a neoliberal discourse which is simply accepted as 'a pervasive and common sense version of the whole of human existence' is discussed by Price and McConney (2013: 111) and that there now exists a global neoliberal educational policy reform agenda based on the tenets of deregulation, marketization and choice is suggested by McConney et al. (2012), LaLonde et al. (2015) and Olmedo et al. (2013). This global education reform movement allows nations with often very different issues and contexts to embrace the same basic principles for changing and developing their education systems (LaLonde et al., 2015) and TfA is considered to be a major force at the heart of the movement with its 'network partners' (TfA, 2016) forming an interconnectivity across the globe. LaLonde et al. claim that TfA has helped to spur a 'massive, global Intermediary Organisation Network' (2015: 17) that 'operates as a mechanism by

which global neoliberalism takes root' (2015: 11). Concurring with this notion are Olmedo et al., who discuss how TfA instils a 'set of values, perspectives and pedagogical beliefs' in the participants and ambassadors of the different national programmes (2013: 494) and Ahmann, who refers to TfA as 'an organisation that transplants one collection of ideas, assumptions and structures of school reform across the globe' (2015: 5). This, Ahmann posits, is enabled by a 'shared problems, shared solutions' story or discourse which is spread in the organisations' documentation and web-site narratives (2015:3). Indeed Wigdortz, in his book 'Success against the odds - five lessons in how to achieve the impossible: the story of Teach First', exclaims 'the revolution has truly gone global' (2012: 240).

Whilst it has been hailed as 'one of the most successful and influential movements in global education' (Blumenreich and Gupta, 2015: 87) and 'a remarkable success story' (Labaree, 2010: 48) as well as being acclaimed for its 'remarkable global expansion' (McConney et al, 2012: vii), there is also criticism of the way in which TfA is considered to spread a Western hegemony. Here, 'West' does not refer to a 'geographical direction' but instead to the 'white, English speaking developed world' (Blumenreich and Gupta, 2015: 90). In their analysis of institutional discourses of Teach for America and Teach for India, Blumenreich and Gupta conclude that the globalisation of TfA is simply a replication of the American model and therefore a 'neocolonial kind of monoculture' (2015: 95). Ahmann reflects this as he writes of the

'decidedly western dominant cultural form' of TfA, which is 'decked in the hallmarks of western philosophy'. He writes of the distinctive features of this philosophy as being: a focus on the individual as an agent of change; an evangelist attitude towards spreading a belief in the power of democracy and an almost 'Victorian commitment to the powers of science and numeracy' (2015: 5). These sentiments are also echoed by LaLonde et al., who write about TfA as 'a new form of imperialism and colonization' (2015: 4).

Refuting TfA's claim to be apolitical, Scott et al. suggest that by offering a solution to educational inequality, the organisation is inherently political (2016). Others argue that the organisation's implicit neoliberal, social entrepreneurial and individualistic ideological underpinnings mean that systemic, societal causes of educational inequality such as poverty, distribution of resources, violence, language, social and emotional issues and racism are overlooked or dismissed as irrelevant (Barnes et al., 2016; Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016; Scott et al., 2016).

Spurred on by a 'widespread perception of a growing shortage of teachers' in science, maths, special educational needs and in 'hard-to-staff' schools, along with a concern about the quality of teachers in schools (McConney et al., 2012: 9), ITE in the modern global educational landscape is currently undergoing rapid changes (Straubhaar and Friedrich, 2015). The TEACH movement has specific

'beliefs about teaching' (Price and McConney, 2014: 99). There is an expansion of fast-track routes into teaching, the most 'aggressive' of which are the TfA schemes which are characterised by their 'ultra- fast entry into teaching' and a philosophy of attracting the 'best and the brightest' into 'poor-to-staff crisis schools' (Price and McConney, 2013: 98). These schemes, critics argue, set themselves against traditional routes into teaching, creating a binary of 'traditional' versus 'alternative' routes into teaching (Barnes et al., 2016; Blumenreich and Gupta, 2015; Labaree, 2010; Lalonde et al., 2015; McConney et al., 2012; Rice et al., 2015) with TfA 'embed(ding) a critique of the traditional teacher' (Olmedo et al., 2013: 495) and rendering the large percentage of traditionally trained teachers as second rate – 'teacher education is for losers; winners take the fast track' (Labaree, 2010: 52). Blumenreich and Rogers (2016: 24) argue that the 'hero' teacher and improvement of teacher quality (Lalonde et al., 2015) are considered to be the solutions to educational inequality within the TfA model of ITE. Teachers are 'at the root cause for student achievement or failure' (Lalonde et al., 2015: 18) and 'external variables and structural factors … should not prevent even the most disadvantaged from making an enterprise of themselves and from being successful' (Olmedo et al., 2013: 496). Championing business-inspired approaches, Kopp has laid the blame for educational inequality largely at the feet of policy makers who support teachers' unions and urban teachers (Scott et al., 2016). With this narrative come the following messages: traditional ITE does

not work; traditional ITE students are not as academic as those within the TfA movement; subject knowledge and general intelligence are enough to be successful as a teacher and school-led teacher development is sustainable (Lalonde et al., 2015). The epistemological base to TfA, Lalonde et al. argue is 'idealism, deficit lenses, meritocracy and a view of communities of color as desperate' (2015: 17).

Nonetheless, TfA has, according to some commentators, 'accomplished the impossible' by making the teaching profession attractive to a large number of people who could easily choose other high-achieving career options (Labaree, 2010). It has done this through successful marketing which appeals to a make-a-difference sense of social justice and altruism (McConney et al., 2012; Rice et al., 2015) and a 'saving children' approach (Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016: 21) or 'moral project' (Ahmann, 2015: 3). In Australia, the recruitment campaign is framed as 'ambition meets conscience' (Rice et al., 2015: 498). Labaree suggests that Teach for America has 'staked out a position for itself as the Harvard of teacher preparation programs' (2010: 54) with Kopp having successfully cultivated an 'aura of selectivity' and a widespread perception of the teaching profession as a high status, prestigious career (Blumenreich and Gupta, 2015: 93). The TfA marketing campaign has been described as a 'persistent effort to attract "desirable" groups or individuals into teaching in the belief they are uniquely qualified by way of their pedigree, background or personal

characteristics to improve the educational status quo' by Blumenreich and Rogers (2016: 2).

Privileging character, elite education and personal attributes over university -based preparation and the idea of a specific body of knowledge for teaching (Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016), TfA has a unique model for training teachers which 'redefines the recruitment, funding and training of teachers' (Lalonde et al., 2015: 11). Whilst this varies slightly from country to country (McConney et al., 2012) - Teach for America initially had no university involvement, Teach South Africa has only two weeks initial training before ambassadors start working in schools, Teach First has university partnerships and six weeks of inaugural training - the principle is the same. Recruitment is targeted at the 'best and the brightest' (Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016; Hutchins et al., 2006) who then have a brief training programme before starting salaried full time work teaching in schools. The short training programme has been critiqued as 'distilling teaching to a very myopic and oversimplified recipe' (Jameson-Brewer, 2015: 1), 'minimalist and highly technicist' (McConney et al., 2012: vii), a 'taxonomy of disconnected teaching techniques' (Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016: 4) and for implying that few specialist skills are actually needed to teach (McConney et al., 2012). The assumption with this model of training is that 'teaching could be 'picked up' on the fly by 'smart' people (Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016). There exists an uneasy relationship with universities with Teach for America supporters concluding that a

different model of teacher apprenticeship is needed as university schools of education do not adequately prepare new teachers for their first years of teaching (Scott et al., 2016). Wigdortz writes: 'part of the problem was the cultural differences between the educators at the university and our management consultant mind-set at Teach First' (2012: 186).

What good teaching and learning look like is highly contested and therefore models which claim to embody 'what works' are often considered by policy makers to be of high value. With the current educational reform policy climate prizing decisions based on evidence and accountability, TfA has carefully positioned itself as an exemplar of 'what works' (LaLonde et al., 2015) by producing a number of different studies providing qualitative data which indicate its efficacy (McConney et al., 2012). 'Can Early Career Teachers be Teacher Leaders?' is a study undertaken by Muijs, Chapman and Armstrong which concludes that TF participants have a positive impact on the grades of their students and the teachers that they work with (2013). Walker, Southcott and Sharp undertook a research project into the impact of non-teaching ambassadors (2013), funded by TF. Downloadable off the TF website (TF, 2016) is the 'Impact Report' containing 'independent research (which) shows that our teachers are increasing the GCSE results of pupils in low-income communities across the UK' (TF, 2016a: 1). Yet the effect on student achievement of TfA teachers is inconclusive and considered to be varied and controversial (Exley,

2014; LaLonde et al., 2015; McConney et al., 2012; Scott et al., 2016). McConney et al. suggest that studies are 'often commissioned by schemes themselves and often funded by one or more philanthropic foundation' (2012: 3) and that there is insufficient evidence to conclude that TfA teachers are better or worse than their traditionally trained peers in raising student attainment (2012). Scott et al. suggest that Teach for America has presented its research findings in a way that amplifies the findings that indicate the superiority of corps members' effectiveness whilst minimising the limitations of the research methods involved (2016: 10). Little attention is given to the established body of empirical research documenting the impact on achievement and attainment of systemic issues of class, race, ethnicity and language (Lalonde et al., 2015).

In their article 'Making all children count', Friedrich and Walter argue that 'data' is the 'common set of discursive practices' within TfA and that TfA has developed 'data-dependent conceptions of teaching and learning'. Quoting Popkewitz (2011), they suggest that data helps teachers and organisations within TfA find commonalities beyond the local idiosyncrasies, giving them a common language. This, along with international academic league tables such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), supports 'universalizing statement(s) about (shared) problems and solutions' (2015: 5). Scott et al. write that the most prominent issue in education policy and discourse is student achievement on standardized assessments and

that what is required by funders and reformers is performance-based accountability and systems which demonstrate growth and reward. This, they argue, has shifted debates away from questions about the equitable distribution of resources towards questions about accountability and management (2016). Blumenreich and Gupta argue that TfA relies on high-stakes tests which are 'assumed to yield a reliable, unproblematic measure of both student performance and good teaching' (2016: 92). Good teaching, they point out, is not measured by how well a teacher creates an interesting, relevant curriculum for their students, or by how a teacher develops positive relationships with families and carers (2016).

Whilst governments may consider the TfA programmes as an effective way of combatting teacher shortage and improving the quality of the teacher workforce (Rice et al., 2015) and perhaps lessons can be learnt from the recruitment approaches taken by TfA programmes (Cumsille and Fizbein, 2015), there are many who question whether the quality of preparation within the TfA programmes is enough to support good teaching (Rice et al., 2015). Criticisms of the programme are that TfA teachers are not prepared for schools, many do not stay in the profession long (turnover is costly) and that TfA programmes threaten to undermine the teaching profession and devalue public education (McConney et al., 2012). It has been suggested that the programme is 'insulting to teachers, harmful to students and a serious threat to the viability and credibility of (traditional) teacher education programmes'

(Labaree, 2010). Some have depicted the programme as a 'cult' which wields 'enormous power over policy makers' whilst 'experimenting' on children 'from the poorest communities with inexperienced teachers' (Exley, 2014: 1). Barnes et al., whose work analyses Kopp's (2011) book 'A Chance to Make History' through a critical race theoretical lens, perceive Teach for America as 'a sick patient wholly convinced they are a doctor with a cure (which) risks exposing healthy communities to a virulent strain of unconscious racism' (2016: 4). Nonetheless, teachers educated in alternative routes, including through TfA programmes are, in 2016, an established part of the landscape of teacher education (McConney et al., 2012) and there exists an ongoing debate about alternative versus traditionally trained teachers which continues to raise important questions about the ways in which to prepare beginner teachers for the profession (Blumenreich and Gupta, 2015).

Seeking to develop a 'specific kind of teacher' (Friedrich and Walter, 2015: 2), TfA aims to attract the 'best and the brightest' (Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016) into its programmes. Quoting figures of applicants to the TF programme from 'Russell Group' universities and Oxford and Cambridge, Wigdortz writes 'in less than a decade, teaching in a school with a low-income intake has become the most prestigious employment opportunity in the country for top graduates who don't want to become accountants!' (2012: 162). Underpinning the organisation is the assumption that 'high-performing college grads can drastically improve their students' performance and reduce the

achievement gap between the rich and the poor' (Straubhaar and Friedrich, 2015: 2). With their work framed in heroic terms, TF emphasises the importance of a teacher-leader who is entrepreneurial, enterprising, competitive and innovative (Price and McConney, 2013; Scott et al., 2016) embarking upon a 'crusade for justice' (Friedrich and Walter, 2015: 5), a noble, missionary-like 'redemptive community service through giving back to the community' (Price and McConney, 2013: 105). Friedrich and Walter write of the emergence of 'a new privileged agent for social change' (2015: 7) and the production of a 'new subjectivity'. This new subject is a person who is a social entrepreneur, distrusts large bureaucracies and uses her/his unique disposition, social/cultural/economic capital and will power to take innovative and risky approaches to solving issues. S/he is supported by a community of similar individuals whom 's/he can rely on without losing faith in the power of one' (2015: 5). This teacher's role, Friedrich and Walter suggest is to 'gather and analyse data, using this activity to improve practice, scaffolded by proven methods for capturing the minds of students' (2015: 5). Concurring with this notion of the teacher's job as being driven by data, Olmedo et al. refer to the TfA teacher as 'forged and produced in the image of performativity' (2013: 497). Membership of a TfA organisation offers what Sassen (2006) calls a 'transnational citizenship identity' (cited in Ahmann, 2015: 3). Questioning what is meant by 'best', Blumenreich and Rogers suggest that 'best' is often served as a proxy for privileging race, gender and

class (2016) as echoed by Ahmann who suggests that there is an underlying 'white saviour' master narrative (2015: 15) and Barnes et al., who question the mismatch between teacher profile and student demographic (2016). They argue that there are problems with sending predominantly white, affluent beginner teachers 'to offer unsolicited service to predominantly non-white schools and communities' (2016: 4) and that the schools are simply being sent 'privileged college grads, driven by their own self-interest, with an inflated sense of their own ability, blind to the racism locked into their everyday thinking about the world' (2016: 14). Blumenreich and Rogers reflect this concern, quoting Marcella Spruce's New York Times Editorial in which she suggests that there is an underlying arrogance on the part of the organisation and its participants that allows them 'Indiana Jones fashion' to breeze in to rescue failing schools (2016: 15).

As noted above, some commentators consider that implicit in the TfA ideology is a denial of systemic, societal causes of inequality with the emphasis instead on a 'good teacher' as all that is needed to overcome educational inequality. This, critics argue, leads to a sense of 'hyper- accountability' in the teachers (Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016; Jameson-Brewer, 2015; Price and McConney, 2013). In a study which explores the histories of corps members from the first Teach America cohort of 1990, Blumenreich and Rogers discovered that most of those involved in the study felt that they had not succeeded. Teaching and the environments in which they were working presented 'more

challenges than they could handle' (2016: 17). They write of corps members feeling as though they were complete failures, embarrassed that they were unable to do what they had been hyped to do and unable to admit to others and to colleagues that they were having problems. One teacher is quoted as saying 'we were so full of ourselves' (Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016: 16).

Commentators note the short-term commitment of the TfA programmes (two years) with Olmedo et al. claiming that TF's Leadership Development Programme produces a 'new kind of professional and teaching subject' (2013: 497). There is an emphasis in the TfA materials on the transferability of skills, attractive for those who consider teaching to be a 'stepping stone to a different career' (Price and McConney, 2013: 106). TfA teachers do not stay in teaching for long and see their time within the organisation as an opportunity for 'short courses, networking and future career options' (McConney et al., 2012: v). Many of them move into leadership roles in policy, business and education after they have completed their two year teaching commitment (Rice et al., 2015). Labaree writes of TfA teachers as moving on 'to their real life of work with high pay and high prestige' after their two year stint doing good as a 'kind of domestic Peace Corps' (2010: 48), which is echoed by Scott et al. who write of participants viewing their time in teaching as an interim period before continuing on to more 'high prestige' career options (2016: 15). Blumenreich and Gupta question whether Teach for India should

borrow a model which provides 'social capital to an already well-positioned elite' (2015: 94).

TfA teachers are actively encouraged and supported to go on to leadership roles in law, government, policy and business and are expected, within their leadership role, to continue to challenge educational disadvantage (Rice et al., 2015). The assumption is that they will know what needs to be done about educational inequality from their two years' teaching in the classroom and will be in a position to bring about change. Rice et al. (2015) undertook a study of seventy six candidates from the Teach for Australia programme to examine the teachers' perceptions of the causes of low achievement in disadvantaged schools. They wanted to gain an understanding of the types of beliefs the candidates would take with them into future leadership roles. They discovered that other than one participant suggesting that in order to overcome educational inequality there was a need to 'stop all funding to private schools', the overwhelming response was that 'exceptional teachers' were the answer to educational inequality. This study serves to support Lalonde et al.'s claim that TfA produces corps members who 'embody neoliberal assumptions about meritocracy and credentialism as means and method of individualistic economic competition' (2015: 2) and James-Brewer's suggestion that leaders go on to 'push Teach for America's agenda of privatized schools, standardized tests and a de-unionised teaching corps' (2015: 1). He quotes Teach for America alumna Catherine Michana as saying:

'Teach for America members do not work in the service of public education… they work in the service of a corporate reform agenda that rids communities of veteran teachers, privatizes public schools and forces a corporatized, data-driven culture upon low-income communities with unique dynamics and unique challenges' (2015: 1).

Peer-reviewed research into the TfA networks is scarce (Blumenreich and Gupta, 2015; Exley, 2014; Straubhaar and Friedrich, 2015). This brief consideration of some of the key published sources has explored what is written about: the nature of the organisations within the umbrella of TfA; the way in which teaching and teacher education is constructed and the identity of the TfA teacher. In searching for literature focusing on Teach South Africa, no sources came up. There are also no links to research on its web-site (TSA, 2016) as there are for Teach for All (TfA, 2016) and Teach First (TF, 2016). Teach South Africa is named in passing and in list form as one of the TfA sister organisations in Cumsille and Fizbein (2015), Friedrich and Walter (2015), and Lalonde et al.'s (2015) journal articles. Otherwise it is conspicuous by its absence.

Chapter Three: Initial Teacher Education in South Africa and England

In 2017, Teach South Africa and Teach First are both in a position to offer, in their different contexts, a route into teaching based on the same TEACH model. This is a relatively new phenomenon: Teach South Africa took in its first cohort of 'ambassadors' to be trained to work in schools in 2007, with Teach First starting with its inaugural 'participants' five years earlier in 2002.

I now wanted to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the ways in which TfA could set itself up as a seemingly homogenous organisation within different national ITE contexts. In order to do so, I needed to increase my understanding of the different historical journeys that ITE has had in both South Africa and the UK. I wanted to see how TfA could smooth over any potential political and historical differences in order to gain a foothold in teacher training in such diverse arenas. This chapter, then, explores the histories of ITE in the respective contexts of SA and England in order to establish how the two quite different fields of ITE became fertile for the TEACH organisations to flourish.

Initial Teacher Education in South Africa

The South African National Department of Basic Education web-site (2016) has the statement 'every child is a national asset' at the top of the web page. A few clicks are needed to get from the home page to

the section on ITE (Educators/Initial Teacher Education) where the phrase: 'MAKE A DIFFERENCE … BECOME A TEACHER' can be found. Here, 'ten good reasons why you should consider teaching as a career of choice' are given, and the 'approved initial teacher education programmes/qualifications to be completed at a university' are presented in a table. These approved programmes comprise of: a four year Bachelor of Education degree (B.Ed.); 'a three or four years Bachelor's degree in fields suitable for admission to the one year programme: Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE)' and a 'one year Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) for graduates whose degree includes majors that allow admission to the PGCE' (ibid.). The reader can download a pdf document 'Information Guide on Initial Teacher Education' (DBE, undated) which outlines a choice of 'phases' (key stages/ages) to train for and institutions in which to train. Also downloadable is a pdf document which provides details about the Funza Lushaka bursary scheme (DoE, undated), a 'multi-year programme which promotes teaching in public schools' and is available to 'enable eligible students to complete a full teaching qualification in an area of national priority' (DBE, 2016). The current situation for people wishing to become teachers in South Africa is therefore fairly coherent: two different routes into teaching via a university education, with funding available for those going on to teach 'national priority subjects' (including African Languages, English, Mathematics, Natural Science and Technology) in public schools.

This reveals a situation which is far removed from the deeply fragmented and racially divided system for training teachers (DoE, 1995; DBEHET, 2011; Modiba, 1997; Pendlebury, 1998; Robinson, 2003; Samuel, 1998; Sayed, 2002; Schafer and Wilmot, 2012; Wolhuter, 2006) which existed from the earliest stages of teacher education in South Africa (Wolhuter, 2006), until the rise of a democratic government and the end of the apartheid era in 1994.

Pre- 1994 ITE in South Africa

Wolhuter maintains that formal schooling for whites only is mentioned as first starting in 1658 as Dutch colonisers established the East Indian Company in what is now Cape Town (2006). The colonial government became involved in supplying education to white children, with teachers for the white only schools imported from firstly the Netherlands and then, after 1810, from England. With the large numbers of missionaries from Europe coming to South Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century came the establishment of formal education for the 'non-white' population through the churches (Wolhuter, 2006). Teachers were trained through a teacher/pupil 'monitor system' (Wolhuter, 2006: 125) whereby a teacher worked as mentor to an apprentice. The first formal teachers' training colleges for whites were established towards the end of the nineteenth century 'in the major towns of Cape Town, Wellington, Grahamstown and

Robertson' (ibid.), with the 'monitor system' in place in the missionary schools.

The Boer war (1899 – 1902) led, in 1910, to the establishment of the Union of South Africa with its four provincial governments: Cape Colony; Orange Free State; Transvaal and Natal. The 1910 constitution 'assigned responsibility for white education to these four provincial governments' (Wolhuter, 2006: 128). The responsibility for 'non-white' education remained with missionary schools until the rise to power of the National Party in 1948, which, with its rigorous racial segregation programme known as apartheid, created ten autonomous 'homelands'. Each 'homeland' was established for particular ethnic groupings, with its own government, school, teacher education and university system (Wolhuter, 2006: 129) and the 1953 Act on Bantu Education finally shifted the responsibility for black education including teacher education, from church to provincial government. The foundations for the fragmented, racially divided, incoherent, localised system which is critiqued so fiercely in the literature (DoE, 1995; DBEHET, 2011; Modiba, 1997; Pendlebury, 1998; Robinson, 2003; Samuel, 1998; Sayed, 2002; Schafer and Wilmot, 2012; Wolhuter, 2006) were evidently in a position to become entrenched from this point onwards.

Teacher education was often the only route into higher education and therefore upward social mobility for black South Africans (DoE, 2011). As a consequence of this, teacher training colleges

'mushroomed' in homelands (Wolhuter, 2006: 128) and this led to teacher supply outstripping demand and high black teacher unemployment. Colleges, classified as part of the college /school sector which trained mainly primary and some secondary teachers (DoE, 1995, DoE, 2011) were the 'poor cousins' to universities and technikons (institutions which offered practical higher level qualifications) which belonged to the HE sector (Pendlebury, 1998). The latter had higher academic entry level requirements, higher exit level qualifications and were dominated by whites training at both primary and secondary level (DoE, 1995; DoE, 2011). The teacher training colleges, by contrast, are depicted as having a 'rigid and overburdened timetable' with 'atomistic and doctrinaire' conceptions of professional knowledge (Pendlebury, 1998: 337). Commentators critiqued the teacher education colleges' unreflective pedagogies which supported rote- and teacher led-learning whilst reinforcing the need for pupils to be submissive in the face of authority (Modiba, 1997; Pendlebury, 1998; Samuel, 1998; Schafer and Wilmot, 2012). Critics argued that these colleges therefore served to support and maintain the apartheid status quo.

Educational disparities were institutionalised and systemic during the apartheid era: in 1993 the annual per capita spending on a black pupils was ZAR 1659, coloured pupils: ZAR 2902; Indian pupils: ZAR 3702 and white pupils: ZAR 4372 (Pendlebury, 2006: 130). Disparities between white and black teachers' qualifications and pay already apparent became a cause for organised protest in the wake of the 1976

Soweto riots when black teachers demanded equal pay to white teachers. Parity was only granted for teachers with university or technikon qualifications which led to a demand for re-skilling, up-grading opportunities for black, college-educated teachers (Modiba, 1997). A plethora of unregulated distance- learning courses and initiatives were established to meet the needs of inadequately prepared teachers, with some of these offered by NGOs and private initiatives (Modiba, 1997, Pendlebury, 1998).

At the end of the apartheid era then, teacher education was blighted with urban/rural and ethnic divides and gross disparities concerning career paths, funding, governance, administration, resources and pedagogies (Pendlebury, 1998). Some well-positioned teacher educators were starting, in the declining years of apartheid, to 'challenge the system' by forging institutional partnerships among colleges and between colleges and universities (Pendlebury, 1998: 335).

Post 1994 ITE in South Africa

The 'policy euphoria' (Samuel, 1998: 578) or 'frenzy of policy documents and acts' (Sayed, 2002: 382) that followed the election of the ANC had education at the heart of the post 1994 reconstruction project as it was considered to be pivotal for realising objectives of interracial tolerance, a democratic culture, national unity, economic growth and national development (Wolhuter, 2006). The Committee

on Teacher Education Policy (COTEP), formed in the dying years of the apartheid system and regarded with suspicion by innovative teacher educators, played a key role in shaping post 1994 developments in South African ITE. It recommended: conducting an analysis of all South African teacher education institutions; developing a national qualification framework for teachers, and bringing in national governance structures for teacher education. The first tasks of the newly formed Department of Education then, were to commission the 'National Teacher Education Audit' in 1994 (DoE, 1995; DBEHET, 2011; Modiba, 1997; Pendlebury, 1998; Robinson, 2003; Samuel, 1998; Sayed, 2002; Schafer and Wilmot, 2012; Wolhuter, 2006), produce the White Paper on Education and Training in 1995 (Schafer and Wilmot, 2012) and pass the National Education Policy Act in 1996 which allowed ministers to determine national education policy, including a curriculum framework for teacher training programmes (Wolhuter, 2006). The first ever National Curriculum in South Africa - 'Curriculum 2005' - was outlined in the White Paper (1995). This was a politically driven, socially reconstructionist curriculum, intended to 'unite all people as equals in a democratic and prosperous South Africa' (Schafer and Wilmot, 2012: 44). A radical departure from the earlier content- led apartheid curricula which were underpinned by a positivist epistemology and behaviourist learning theory, 'Curriculum 2005' was informed by a progressive discourse of human rights and social justice. The emphasis was on non-authoritarian classrooms with active, 'invisible' teachers

supporting visible learners in constructing their own knowledge, which they demonstrated through showing 'competences' (Schafer and Wilmot, 2012: 44). A radical overhaul in both pre-service and in-service teacher education was clearly needed for the curriculum to be rolled out and implemented effectively (DoE, 1995; DBEHET, 2011; Modiba, 1997; Pendlebury, 1998; Robinson, 2003; Samuel, 1998; Sayed, 2002; Schafer and Wilmot, 2012; Wolhuter, 2006).

The National Teacher Education Audit (1994) highlighted 'dismal and inefficient' teacher education 'barring a few pockets of excellence' (Samuel, 1998: 577). The colleges which catered for black student teachers were expensive to run (they had a tutor: student ratio of 1: 10 compared to 1:20 in the universities) and catered mainly for arts and humanities with the consequence of a chronic underdevelopment of maths, science and technology (Sayed, 2002) in the black teacher population. A 'Proposal for a research and development programme in Teacher Education in South Africa' was conducted by a consortium comprising: the Centre for Education Policy Development; Centre for Evaluation and Assessment; Human Sciences Research Council and the South African Institute of Distance Education (2005). The proposal highlighted the need for research and development under six key themes: supply and demand of teachers; institutional culture and governance; design and delivery of ITE programmes; quality improvement of teacher education programmes; improving the management of the impact of HIV and AIDS in schools and developing

reading literacy in schools and teacher development (CEPD et al, 2005: 2).

In the meantime, a number of different structures came into being with a view to creating a nationally coherent, unifying and professional framework for education and ITE. The South African National Qualifications Framework was legislated for in 1995 (DoE, 1995; SANQF, 1995) and was informed by qualifications authorities in Scotland, New Zealand, Canada, Germany, Ireland and England (Isaacs, 2008; SAQA, 2015). The South African Council for Educators was established in 1996 with a 'core mandate of promoting professionalism within the teaching profession' (SACE, 2015: 7). 'The Norms and Standards for Teacher Training' were declared in 1998, revised in 2000 and again in 2006 (Schafer and Wilmot, 2006; Wolhuter, 2006). These were subsequently amended to the 'Minimum Requirements for Teacher Education' in 2011, revised in 2011 and again in 2014 (DHET, 2015).

The consequences of this flurry of policy and subsequent re-structuring of both education and ITE were profound. The merging of colleges and universities quickened pace until 1999 when the then Minister of Education declared the intention to incorporate all remaining colleges into universities. By 2006 there were no colleges left and all teacher training was undertaken in 24 universities across South Africa (Wolhuter, 2006). In 2017, according to 'the Information Guide on

Initial Teacher Education', there are 22 public higher education institutions (HEIs) in South Africa that offer teacher qualifications. There is also the option to study at a private HEI although the guide advises that prospective students check that the institution is 'accredited and registered with the Department of Higher Education and Training' (DBE, 2012: 5).

The 'Curriculum 2005' with its shift away from subject content and rote learning, teacher-centred pedagogies to an emancipatory 'outcomes based education' required a radical overhaul in the curriculum for teacher education. Rather than rigid divisions between academic versus applied, theory versus practice and head versus hand, which, according to the 1995 White Paper on Education 'have grown out of and helped to reproduce very old occupational and social class distinctions' (DoE, 1995: 9), teacher education programmes were required to shift to a competence based approach. Theory and practice were to be integrated, reflective competence was encouraged and supported and practical teaching ability was to be integral to any programme (CEPD et al, 2005). The 'Norms and Standards' assigned seven roles to educators: learning mediator; interpreter and designer of learning programmes and materials; leader, administrator and manager; scholar researcher and lifelong learner; community, citizenship and pastoral role; assessor and learning area/subject/discipline/phase specialist (DoE, 1995:1).

Along with an overhaul of pre-service teacher training, came a major national up-grading programme for under-qualified in-service teachers (Modiba, 1997; Schafer and Wilmot, 2012). As mentioned above, distance learning programmes had already been established following the Soweto riots in 1976 and demands for black/white teacher pay equality. The Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) programme was developed to allow in-service teachers to up-grade from a three year to a four year qualification. Often provided by NGOs and private organisations and with a lack of guidelines from the 'Norms and Standards', the programme was initially incoherent and problematic. Between 2006 and 2008, there were over 69 different ACEs on offer with 290 specialisms. The ACE programme is, in 2016, still available for in-service teachers (DBE, 2016).

Challenges in ITE in South Africa

Whilst the development of ITE in South Africa has been documented in a fairly instrumental fashion above, this has of course not been without its share of challenges. The radical shift in curriculum and pedagogy, drawn primarily on Western curriculum models, 'imported and hybridised for South Africa's specific needs' (Schafer and Wilmot, 2012) has been described using Popkewitz's term as 'an indigenous foreigner' (2000: 4). Schafer and Wilmot consider the tension inherent in new ideologically shaped curricula which attempt to both socially reconstruct as well as meet the needs of global competition (2012). They suggest

that values such as human rights, freedom of speech and social justice which underpin both the new democracy and curricula in South Africa, whilst possibly desirable, are actually 'western liberal values associated with late modernity'(2012: 45). These values infer a 'universal subject' who may not be adopted or validated by the South African population in general or the teaching population more specifically.

Shifting from a traditional to a modern way of being has posed immense challenges for teachers. Robinson (2003) and Schafer and Wilmot (2012) suggest that the processes by which teachers redesigned their programmes were not considered properly at policy implementation levels. Robinson, for example, suggests that teacher educators rushed to keep their programmes viable whilst cutting conceptual corners in their re-designs and so created 'a façade of reform' rather than a genuine sea change (2003: 23). Schafer and Wilmot (2012) argue that there still exists a lack of coherence in the quality of PGCEs at different institutions: in 2006, thirteen out of twenty two HEIs did not meet the minimum requirements for the programme. Where strong practice is to be found, it is in the historically advantaged white universities. Here, the internationalisation of the curriculum has been lauded for teachers' acquisition of transferable skills giving them 'international prize', access to global markets and ultimately leading to a 'brain drain' as successful teachers seek better pay and opportunities elsewhere in the world (Schafer and Wilmot, 2012: 50).

Teacher recruitment is an ongoing challenge, with a fall in teacher graduates from 70,000 in 1994 to 5,942 in 2009. The Integrated Strategic Planning Framework for Teacher Education and Development in South Africa 2011 – 2025 comments on an '*absolute* shortage of teachers and a *relative* shortage of teachers qualified and competent enough to teach specific subjects or learning areas (primarily mathematics, the sciences, technology and languages)' (DBE, 2011: 15). The number of black graduate teachers is also a concern. 50% of the 2,100 PGCEs awarded in 2006 were awarded to whites who are unlikely to go on to teach in township schools with a predominantly black demographic. Schafer and Wilmot argue that there is a real need to entice students into the profession who have cultural and linguistic profiles which mirror those of their students (2012). In an effort to address the country's teacher supply needs, a new model of 'teacher training leadership' has been developed whereby secondary school graduates are employed as assistant teachers in schools whilst they study for formal qualifications through distance courses (Wolhuter, 2006). This is, however, limited to historically affluent white schools as the individual school needs to pay for this out of school funds (ibid.).

This very brief review of the literature concerning ITE in South Africa suggests that the teacher education system suffered from financial and structural inequalities similar to those that affected the school system under apartheid. Inferior black teacher education was located in colleges in 'homelands', while superior white teacher

education took place in universities. There was no centralised control of teacher education. Instead, it was organised and funded through provincial governments and as a consequence, there was a lack of parity in both the qualification levels of entry into the profession as well as qualifications upon completion. There was a dire shortage of black teachers for maths, science and technology as the colleges offered courses mainly in the arts and humanities. Practising teachers, particularly those working in predominantly black schools were often under-qualified and, although there were opportunities for up-skilling through distance learning courses, these lacked overall coherence. Much was done post 1994 to develop a coherent national strategy for education and teacher education as these were seen as powerful vehicles for social reconstruction (Schafer and Wilmot, 2012). The college/university divide was phased out by locating all teacher education in 22 universities across eight provinces and two clear routes for becoming a teacher were established: a four year B.Ed; or a PGCE upon completion of a three or four year university degree. Attempts to standardise teacher education courses were made through the initial 'Norms and Standards for Teacher Educators' and subsequent 'Minimum Requirements for Teacher Education Qualifications' although there are still large disparities in the quality of provision. The Funza Lushaka bursary was introduced in 2006 to offer a financial incentive for student teachers going on to teach in a public school and to help to address the dramatic fall in applicants to the profession. Nevertheless,

there remains a shortage of black student teachers and specialists in maths, science, technology, English and African languages. According to the Integrated Strategic Planning Framework for Teacher Education and Development in South Africa, '5,000 new mathematics educators are needed' (2011: 33) and 'of 5942 graduates in 2009, only 168 qualified to teach in an African language (ibid: 36). Existing teachers and teacher educators were expected to fundamentally re-think often deeply entrenched approaches to teaching and learning in order to implement the 'Curriculum 2005', which has had patchy results (Robinson, 2003; Schafer and Wilmot, 2012).

Teach South Africa is conspicuous by its absence in all of the literature explored. TSA is mentioned in neither the Department for Basic Education web-pages and downloadable information on routes into ITE (DBE, 2016) nor The Integrated Strategic Planning Framework for Teacher Education and Development in South Africa 2011 – 2025 (DBE, 2011). Despite recruiting top black graduates from good universities in shortage subjects, the organisation does not appear to have been factored into official planning and policy development at the national level.

Initial Teacher Education in England

Browsing the Department for Education's 'Get into Teaching' web-pages, a prospective student teacher would be drawn to the slogan: 'teaching: your future/their future' and then prompted to

'choose an age group and subject and explore the different training courses' (Teaching Agency, 2016). With the lure of 'a tax-free bursary to support you' or the opportunity to 'earn a salary while you train', the prospective student teacher is then prompted to consider two 'training options': the first 'school led training' and the second 'university led training'. Following the link to 'school led training', the reader is then informed that this is the route for her/him 'if you want your training to be based in a school where you will be part of school life and work with experienced teachers from day one'. 'University led training' is pitched at those who 'want (their) teacher training to be based at a university' (ibid.). The binary of school versus university illustrated on the Department of Education's website (2016) is an area of contestation apparent in the literature (Beauchamp et al, 2015; Blake and Lansdell, 2000; Cochran-Smith, 2005; DCSF, 2008; DfE, 2016a; DfE, 2016b; DfE, 2015; DfE, 2010; Furlong et al, 2000; Furlong, 2013; IOE, undated; Jeong, 2009; Landman and Ozga (cited in Ginsburg and Lindsay), 1995; Menter et al, 2006; Ofsted, 2008; Pimm and Selinger (cited in Roth) 1999; Power and Whitty, 1999; Robinson, 2006; Tatto and Furlong, 2015; UCET, 2012; UCET, 2016). Robinson writes of ITE having a 'turbulent and contested' history (2006: 19) with a 'swinging pendulum' of dominance between school based and university based models of teacher training at different times in England, whilst Furlong et al. write of ITE as 'the subject of massive change' (2000: 18). Referring to relevant literature, this review now explores the landscape

of ITE in England from the eighteenth century up until the publication of the 'James report' in 1972 (DES) in the first section and ITE in England from 1972 up until 2010 when the coalition government came into power in the second. The final section considers ITE in England from 2010 up until January 2017.

Pre - 1972 ITE in England

Whilst there is 'no truly satisfactory general history of teacher education in England' (Thomas, 1983: 69), Jeong, in his exploration of teacher policy in England (2009) provides an overview of initial training systems that existed prior to the implementation of the first government qualifications for teachers in 1846 (Jeong, 2009; IoE, undated). Early attempts to develop formalised teacher education came in the establishment in 1698 of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledges (SPCK), which provided charity schools for the children of the poor (Jeong, 2009). The founding members of the SPCK considered teaching to be 'a skilled craft that demanded training' and attempted to establish a 'normal school' for such purposes. Their attempt failed due to lack of funding (Jeong, 2009: 55). At the turn of the nineteenth century, Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster established the 'monitorial system' whereby able pupils were used as 'monitors' to teach and support their peers, under the guidance of their school teachers. Established during the industrial revolution, with increases in population in towns and the new industrial areas, the system was considered to be

an economical way of staffing elementary schools in the face of teacher shortages, as the monitors did not need to be paid. It spread throughout England as well as in to the continent and colonies, lasting until the 1830s. In 1798, Lancaster established the first teacher training college at his father's house in Southwark, where the 'monitorial system' was modelled. This then moved to Borough Road, London in 1808 and can be considered as the first steps in the establishment of the long-standing tradition of teaching apprenticeships in England and the 'prototype of teacher training in England' (Jeong, 2009: 57).

The first state intervention into teacher training came about in 1846 as the 'monitorial system' was revised to the 'pupil-teacher system' (Jeong, 2009; Robinson, 2006). The 'pupil-teacher system' aimed to overcome the shortcomings of the 'monitorial system' which relied on young children only slightly more academically advanced than their peers, and instead selected high-achieving thirteen year olds for a five year apprenticeship with a teacher. An inspector would examine the apprentice at the end of every year against a set syllabus, and, if successful at the end of the five years, the apprentice could sit the competitive Queen's Scholarships examination. Successful candidates were entitled to a three year course at a teacher training college after which they became certified teachers (IoE, undated; Jeong, 2009). Those failing the exam could take up roles as 'uncertified' or 'assistant' teachers in grant-aided elementary schools (IoE, undated: 1). State intervention in teacher training then strengthened progressively. The

Revised Code was brought in in 1862 abolishing the Queen's Scholarship and introducing restrictions in the syllabus for teacher training alongside the abolition of fixed-rates of pay for those involved in the 'pupil-teacher system' (IoE, undated; Jeong, 2009). The 1870 Elementary Education Act created a need for many more teachers and in order to meet this need, allowed pupil-teacher colleges to pass teachers after only one year of training. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMI) was also given powers to lower the standard for teacher certification and to recommend for certification, without exam, those serving as 'uncertified' or 'assistant' teachers (IoE, undated: 1). As a consequence, the number of certified teachers rose from 12 467 to 32 128 in the ten years from 1870 (IoE, undated: 2).

The 1888 Cross Commission advocated for teachers to be trained in universities along with the establishment of university education facilities to foster the academic study of education and research in order to improve academic standards (Robinson, 2006). After recommendations from the Royal Commission on the Working of the Elementary Education Act, universities became involved in teacher education in 1890. Students could take an undergraduate as well as a graduate course, HMI could inspect the courses and the curricula had to have approval from the Department of Education (Jeong, 2009). The age for participation in the 'pupil-teacher system' was raised to sixteen in 1903 and a 'bursar system' introduced in 1907 to provide a financial incentive for prospective pupil-teachers to stay in full time education

until they had completed secondary school, rather than leaving at a younger age to earn money (IoE, undated; Jeong, 2009). By the start of the twentieth century then, there was a dual system of teacher training: the teacher training colleges, where 'pupil-teachers' gained the 'Teachers' Certificate', maintained by the Local Education Authorities that had been established in 1902, and University Training Departments (Jeong, 2009; Robinson, 2006). A professional debate about the balance of theory and practice began during the inter-war period as fears were expressed that the 'pendulum' had swung too far from the practical requirements of teaching (Robinson, 2006: 23).

The next major overhaul of teacher education came as the Fleming Committee was established in 1943 to consider the ways in which to address the post-war teacher supply shortage. The committee recommended the introduction of an emergency training scheme which was endorsed in the 1944 Education Act (IoE, undated; Jeong, 2009). Under this scheme, students who had completed just secondary education could train to be a teacher by completing a 48 week college or university based training course which included a period of twelve weeks' teaching practice. Upon completion of the 48 weeks, the student teachers were assessed as having either passed or failed the course, or were referred for more training (Jeong, 2009). The emergency scheme lasted until 1951 and was criticised by Graham Little, MP, for having 'diluted' the teaching profession (Jeong, 2009: 73).

The 1944 McNair report into 'the present sources of supply and methods of recruitment and training of teachers' (Jeong, 2009: 70) called for the establishment of Area Training Organisations (IoE, undated), to bring universities and teacher training colleges into closer collaboration; this resulted in many universities developing 'Institutes' or 'Schools' of Education as discrete departments. The report also recommended that teacher training should be a three year course but this was not implemented until 1960 (IoE, undated; Jeong, 2009). The three year course was also promoted by the National Advisory Council on the Training and Supply of Teachers (NACTST), founded in 1949 to advise the Minister of Education on teacher quality, supply and demand (Jeong, 2009). 1961 saw McMillan appoint a Committee on Higher Education; this resulted in the 1963 Robbins report which proposed a long term plan for expanding higher education (HE) to promote access to HE for the post war generation of school-leavers (Jeong, 2009; Robinson, 2006). The report also recommended the introduction of a four year BEd course which was implemented in 1964 and the shift of control of teacher training colleges from local authorities to the universities (ibid.).

Along with the introduction of the three year college and four year BEd courses was a change in the curriculum. Three core areas were to be included: education theory; methods of teaching and subject knowledge. This led to concerns amongst existing teachers, parents and the general public that the courses had become too

academic and theoretical and were not preparing teachers sufficiently well for the practical realities of the classroom (Jeong, 2009). Furlong et al. describe the Robbins report as an expression of a cross-party socially democratic ideology which influenced the conception of teacher education (2000). The curriculum shift is viewed as a re-defining of teacher identity, with the teacher cast as a professional and as someone whose 'strong personal education' outweighs a need for practical training (Furlong et al., 2000: 19). The role of agencies such as the Universities Council for the Education of Teachers (UCET) grew in the 1960s and 70s. These agencies were established, in the wake of the Robbins report, to devolve 'responsibilities for policy and planning in academic, administrative and financial realms' (Jeong, 2009: 80) and the provision of teacher education expanded consistently until 1972 (Jeong, 2009).

1972 – 2010 ITE in England

Furlong et al. consider the 70s to be a period of 'ideological confusion' (2000: 20) in which a variety of stake-holders: teacher educators; teaching unions; HMI and education philosophers could take a lead in shaping the practice of teacher education. This led, according to Furlong et al., to considerable variations in ITE provision in terms of the balance of theory and practice and time student teachers spent in school (2000). They argue that leading professionals in the debate on teacher education were starting to change the vision of teacher

professionalism from that of 'personal intellectual development to one of professional competence' (Furlong et al., 2000: 21). At the same time, the relationship between schools and colleges/universities was being redefined with the emergence of the language of 'partnership' (ibid.).

In 1972, Margaret Thatcher, the then Secretary of State for Education, appointed the James committee to inquire into the education, training and probation of teachers in England and Wales (Furlong et al., 2000; Jeong, 2009; Robinson, 2006). The James report (DES, 1972) recommended that teaching should become an all-graduate profession (Robinson, 2006), as well as suggesting that two new bodies should be established for overseeing the recognition of all professional teaching qualifications and for making recommendations on the planning of teacher education systems (Jeong, 2009). Callaghan's seminal speech at Ruskin College in 1976 led to a concern that ITE might shift from 'numbers and supply' to 'content and organisation of the courses' and 'criteria on which professional recognition is given' (Jeong, 2009: 90). In 1983, the Thatcher government produced a White Paper which set out proposals for criteria for the accreditation of ITE courses (cited in Jeong, 2009).

The 1980s, considered by Furlong et al. to be a 'major site for ideological struggle between the government and others, especially ITE providers' (2000: 2) saw a number of different changes in ITE. Furlong

et al. (2000), Landman and Ozga (1995), Pimm and Selinger (cited in Roth, 1995) and Menter, Brisard and Smith (2006) view this period as one which indicates the influence of neo-liberal thinking. Landman and Ozga argue that the 'New Right' oversaw a 'sustained programme of legislation which was a deliberate attempt to 'erode professional autonomy' as well as 'regulate the teaching workforce' and 'enforce accountability from teachers, parents and school governors' (1995: 23). Pimm and Selinger support this by pointing out that the language in government education documents changed from this period onwards, to that of the market economy to include words such as: 'choice', 'competition', 'consumers', 'market-place', 'deliver', 'purchase', 'quality assurance', 'provider', and 'management of resources' (1995: 48). Key changes in the 1980s included the establishment of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) in 1984 (Furlong et al., 2000; Jeong, 2009; Robinson, 2006) with a remit to establish a set of competencies for assessing student teachers (Robinson, 2006). The one year PGCE and BEd courses were revised to include government specification of the course content (Furlong et al., 2000; Jeong, 2009). In response to shortages in teacher recruitment, there was diversification in the routes into teaching with shortened BEd courses; part-time PGCEs and conversion courses for graduates wishing to teach shortage subjects. At the end of the 1980s, the school-based 'articled teacher' and 'licensed teacher' routes to Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) were introduced (Furlong et al., 2000). By the time of the ESRC funded

Modes of Teacher Education (MOTE) research project, (1991 – 1992), almost 99 percent of ITE took place in HEIs, with one percent through the licensed/articled teacher schemes through schools and LEAs (Furlong et al., 2000). The latter implied 'a different vision of professionalism', were 'pragmatic and rooted in the experience of particular schools' and served to challenge traditional HEI supported notions of teacher professionalism (Furlong et al., 2000: 65). This was also the start of a pendulum swing (Robinson, 2006) back to school-based teacher education which has continued up until the time of writing in January 2017.

In 1992, Lawlor, an outspoken critic of teacher education (Furlong et al., 2000) argued for the abolition of PGCE and BEd courses and for all teacher education to be situated in schools (Jeong, 2009). Clarke, the then Minister for Education, issued a set of proposals for a radical reform of ITE with increased emphasis on practical, school-based training (Furlong et al., 2000; Jeong, 2009; Robinson, 2006). Partnerships between schools and HEIs were to be formalised, there was to be a more equitable distribution of ITE funding between schools and HEIs and the professional role of school-based mentor was to be developed (Robinson, 2006). A flurry of policy then ensued (Furlong et al., 2000). CATE was replaced in 1994 by the Teacher Training Agency (TTA), (changing again to the Teacher Development Agency (TDA) in 2005, then Teaching Agency (TA) in 2010, then National College of Teaching and Leadership (NCTL) in 2013 (Beauchamp et al., 2015)),

and had responsibility for teacher recruitment and supply, funding of teacher education and accreditation of ITE courses (Furlong et al., 2000). The Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) was established in 1992 with an OFSTED ITE inspection framework produced in 1993 (Furlong et al., 2000; Jeong, 2009; Robinson, 2006) to 'ensure compliance' (Blake and Lansdell, 2000). School Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT), a programme in which schools were responsible for the training of student teachers, was introduced. Under this scheme, schools received money directly from the government which they could use at their own discretion, choosing whether to involve an HEI or not (Jeong, 2009).

The New Labour government in 1997 with its 'third way' ideology, continued to maintain the focus on 'market mechanisms', 'forms of new managerialism' and teacher 'professionalism' that had emerged in the 1980s (Furlong, 2013: 32). In order to maintain a competitive market between schools and HEIs in ITE, the Graduate Teacher Programme was introduced in 1998, the PGCE Flexible in 2000 and Teach First and fast-track routes for highly able graduates in 2002 (Furlong, 2013). The TTA produced proposals for a detailed training curriculum and standards for new teachers in 1997 (Robinson, 2006) and a prescriptive ITE curriculum for Maths, Science, English and ICT was introduced, although this was abandoned in 2002 and replaced with a document entitled 'Qualifying to Teach' (Furlong, 2013; Jeong, 2009). Blake and Lansdell consider this to be the imposition of a

'centrally driven view of the best way of training a teacher' (2000: 64) which was again evident in the Strategies Programme for in-service teachers (2000 – 2010) as the 'government took it upon itself to define what effective pedagogy should be' by issuing 'prescriptive strategies to develop more direct control of teachers' classroom practice' (Furlong, 2013: 36). Numeracy, literacy and ICT skills tests were introduced for applicants to any teaching routes in 1998, in the same year that 'golden hello' financial incentives were introduced for graduates of shortage subjects, differentiated according to their degree grade level. The White Paper 'Being the Best for our Children' (DCSF, 2008) announced the introduction of the government- funded Masters in Teaching and Learning (MTL) representing 'a significant new investment in the skills of the school workforce' in order to 'achieve a workforce that is truly world class' (DCSF, 2008: 16). Furlong et al. suggest that the 'enhanced role of schools in ITE' was achieved neither gradually, nor consensually, but instead was a 'unilateral government intervention of a quite unprecedented kind' (2000: ix).

2010 – early 2017: ITE in England

The Coalition Government's 2010 White Paper acknowledged that teacher education in England had become school-based whilst indicating that still more was needed (Furlong, 2013). School Direct was introduced – a programme encouraging schools to become accredited providers and enabling them to select and train teachers

without HEI involvement (ibid.). Funding for the MTL was scrapped (DfE, 2010) as were DfE-funded bursaries for graduates with a degree lower than a 2:2. An independent review of ITE, the Carter Review (2015), stated that the 'move towards school-led ITT has had benefits' (DfE, 2015: 6), whilst emphasising that partnership (between HEIs and schools) is 'the key' (DfE, 2015: 3). The conservative government's White Paper 'Education Excellence Everywhere', produced in March 2016, proposes to 'raise the bar for new teachers' (DfE, 2016a: 32) and 'continue to move to an increasingly school-led Initial Teacher Training (ITT) system' (DfE, 2016a: 24). Whilst there is still a role 'for high quality universities in ITT with a strong track record in attracting well-qualified graduates', as these will be able to establish 'centres of excellence in ITT', the actual accreditation of teachers will no longer be with universities, but instead 'these decisions on teacher accreditation will now be for schools and head teachers, giving greater decision-making powers to those who know best' (DfE, 2016a: 33) as QTS is replaced with a 'stronger, more challenging accreditation based on a teacher's effectiveness in the classroom, as judged by great schools' (DfE, 2016a: 24). A 'National Teaching Service' was to be established to 'support elite teachers and strong middle leaders to move to work in some of the nation's most challenging areas', as well as a 'College of Teaching', a professional organisation 'along the lines of the Royal Medical Colleges' (DfE, 2016a: 13). This proposal is welcomed by UCET, 'provided that the independence of the college is not undermined'

(UCET, 2016a: 5). The idea of the National Teaching Service has, during the time of writing however, been retracted by the May Conservative Government's Department of Education as in its trial year, only 24 teachers applied to the scheme (Adams, 2016b).The White Paper pledges to 'improve the quality of training' with all new teachers entering the classroom with 'advanced subject knowledge, practical behaviour management skills, and a greater understanding of evidence-based practice' (DfE, 2016a: 28). Jacqui Nunn subsequently produced a document entitled 'the benefits to individual teachers, to schools and to the teaching profession of Masters level Initial Teacher Education' (Nunn, 2016).

This necessarily brief overview of the complex field of literature concerning the development of ITE in England has served to tease out the following issues: a tug-of-war between school-based and university based teacher education with increased government control (Menter et al., 2006); the development of a deliberately diversified provision supporting a neoliberal market-based approach; on-going attempts to define and redefine curriculum content for ITE with a theory/intellectual activity versus practice/craft contestation (Beauchamp et al., 2015; Furlong, 2013) and similar attempts at defining teacher 'professionalism' in terms of the quality of qualifications upon entry into the profession and achieved outcomes upon successful completion of QTS (Furlong, 2013).

The symbiotic and dynamic nature of the relationship between political and historical paths, education systems and the shape, form and practices of ITE is apparent from the literature (DoE, 1995; DBEHET, 2011; Modiba, 1997; Pendlebury, 1998; Robinson, 2003; Samuel, 1998; Sayed, 2002; Schafer and Wilmot, 2012; Wolhuter, 2006). ITE does not exist in a vacuum but instead is pounded by numerous influencing political, geographical and social forces. My exploration of the above literature indicates that Teach South Africa is not yet featuring as a viable ITE route for prospective SA teachers, whereas Teach First is a major player in what is now a school-based ITE culture in England. Nonetheless, each organisation has managed to establish itself, with varying degrees of success, within its respective context.

Chapter Four: Methodology

The next steps for me in my inquiry into how far the TEACH model of ITE is transferable across North and South contexts were to devise a robust research design. This chapter outlines the methodological decisions taken, along with the processes pursued and issues reflected upon, as I gathered and analysed my data. I begin by outlining the questions, context and theoretical underpinnings of my research. I reflect on the problematic journey of accessing participants and gathering data and I also outline my position as researcher, the reliability and validity of my research and the ethical considerations undertaken. I discuss coding, thematising and analysis of the data sets in the final section of this chapter.

Research questions

'Good educational research', according to Paechter, should have research questions that are made clear and if this is not possible, then the exploratory nature of the research needs to be exposed (in Sikes, Nixon and Carr, 2003: 110). The research questions for this project were indeed exploratory and evolved due to changes in circumstances as the inquiry progressed. The original overarching question for this research was:

'What does it mean to be a 'Teach for All' teacher?'

At the point of embarking on the research, both TF and TSA were sister organisations under the Teach for All umbrella (appendix 1a) However,

as the research progressed and it emerged, as detailed further on in this chapter, that TSA was no longer in the Teach for All network, the research question was changed to:

'How far is the TEACH model of ITE transferable across North and South contexts'?

As a way of really trying to gain insight into the transferability of the model, the following sub-questions were formulated:

'What are the similarities and differences between the 'TEACH' models in different North and South National contexts?'

and

'What does it mean to be a teacher working within such a transnational model of ITE?'

I had already explored data arising from the TfA web-site, an interview with the co-founder of TfA and sources concerning TEACH and I now wanted to try to get more of a sense of how TEACH presents itself to the outside world. What are middle managers' and teachers' understandings of and connections to TSA and TF respectively? What are their understandings of the work that they do, along with their understandings of the particular ethos and focus of their TEACH organisations? What are their particular constructions of teaching and of themselves as teachers? Do they feel a part of a global endeavour or not? If so, how and why?

Theoretical Underpinnings

In keeping with my passion, as mentioned in my introduction, to do what I can to challenge inequality and to work towards a socially just world, this research sets out to be 'critical research' which Kincheloe, McLaren and Steinberg have called a 'form of social or cultural criticism' (cited in Denzin and Lincoln, 2013: 341). It seeks to question assumptions about power, knowledge and values, in accordance with Griffiths, who suggests that these are 'particularly relevant to educational research' (1998: 67). Remaining 'sceptical about the possibility of researching universal truths or objective facts' (Griffiths, 1998: 45), knowledge in this research is not seen as a universal epistemic reality out there, waiting to be discovered (Kupferman, 2013) as a precious, antique clay pot might be unearthed by an archaeologist with specialist equipment and expertise. Keeping with the clay pot analogy then, knowledge is considered to be a pot which is still under construction, made up of a myriad of tiny offerings of clay, each from a different person. Each person's clay offering is unique, depending on the nature of the earth from which it was dug, the age of the clay and the ways in which it has already been manipulated and moulded in their hands. In other words, knowledge in this study is considered to be very much located in its temporal and spatial context as well as being contingent on the perspectives and interpretations of those who contribute to it (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999).

I also note in this research that within the Western academy (higher education institutions situated within the Global North), some people's 'clay offerings' hold more value and importance than others. Perhaps on some, the glazing and paintwork is deemed to be superior, so they form the part of the pot which gives it its shining, colourful glory and identity to the outside world. Other clay offerings may be considered to be inferior or lacking, perhaps due to their colour and texture and may end up being ignored, thrown away or relegated to forming the base of the pot which nobody really sees or notices. Indeed Griffiths writes of the language of academics as being 'part of the conversational style of a relatively powerful group of people which can be used to exclude others' (1998: 34), a view that is reflected by Kincheloe et al. who assert that gender, class and race oppressions may often be unwittingly reproduced in mainstream research (in Denzin and Lincoln, 2013), and Tuhiwai-Smith who writes of the globalisation of Western culture and knowledge as reaffirming 'the West's view of itself as the centre of legitimate knowledge … the source of 'civilised' knowledge (1999: 63).

My earlier exploration of existing literature into and by TEACH organisations has already highlighted the dearth of perspectives of those in TEACH organisations in the Global South. This work, then, attempts to forefront the 'pot base' or those that may otherwise be excluded from, or oppressed within mainstream Western research (Griffiths, 1998; Kincheloe et al. in Denzin and Lincoln, 2013), by

including South African perspectives rather than just UK ones. I attempt to use critical theories (Kemmis, 2001), in particular postcolonial (Bhabha, 1990; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988) and critical race (Delgado, 2012 and hooks, 2003) theoretical underpinnings in order to do so. Postcolonial theory (Bhabha, 1990; Fanon, 1965; Mbembe, 2001; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988; Young, 2003) suggests that there currently exists a legacy from colonial times which continues to manifest itself in the beliefs, understandings and constructions of realities of those living in countries that were formerly colonially intertwined. Notions of a 'third' or 'hybrid' 'space' (as opposed to polarised binaries of 'us/them', the 'west/the rest') (Bhabha, 1990) and the capturing of 'Southern' or 'subaltern' voice (voices from those from the Global South who are otherwise marginalised in research within the Western academy) (Graves, 2007; Spivak, 1988) are particularly important considerations within postcolonial theory. Critical race theory, a branch of postcolonial theory, is a theoretical perspective, arising out of the Critical Legal Studies movement in America in the 1970s (Cole, 2012). It forefronts the notion of 'white supremacy' as a key factor in historical and current societal inequalities and 'race' related oppressions and disadvantage (Cole, 2012; Delgado and Stefancic, 2012; hooks, 2003; Mazko, 2008). These theories are useful in challenging and exposing traditional power/knowledge paradigms (Foucault, 1989; Said, 1978) in which the voices and values of those in the Global North are

generally given more weight within the Western academy than those in the Global South (Graves, 2007; Martin, 2011; Spivak, 1988).

My approach for analysing data - critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2010) - also comes from a critical paradigm and will be outlined in chapter six. My intention throughout this research is to try to uphold an anti-oppressive ideology which values mutuality, respect, reciprocity and dignity (Ledwith, 2007), influenced by Tuhiwai-Smith's 'decolonising methodology' - one that aims to acknowledge unequal power relationships through a lens of postcolonial and critical race theories. I would have liked to develop a really radical research design which could have offered an alternative to the Western academy's account of what counts as valid research. Yet this turned out to be overambitious and lacking pragmatism. Instead, as revealed in this chapter, I hold dear to my commitment to gathering South African voices and perspectives. I acknowledge (and explore in greater depth further on in this chapter) that capturing voices is in and of itself a problematic endeavour as it is too easy to homogenise the concept of 'Southern voice', when indeed each individual voice represents a unique reality (Chadderton, 2011). Here, the Southern voices captured are those of a rather privileged elite from one small area of one African country. Nonetheless, I set out to ensure that there is some parity between South African and UK perspectives represented here.

Context

As outlined in my introduction, I established a link with the leadership team of TSA in order to set up a beginner teacher linking project with participants on the TF and TSA programmes as an extra-curricular, professional development opportunity for those involved. This also proved to serve as a good site and opportunity for the gathering of data for this research. In January 2014, email and Skype connections with the leadership team at TSA were made and we discussed mutually agreed aims and a framework for a potential collaborative project (Burr, 2008; Martin, 2011; Oxfam, 2007). Following an announcement about the project, seven Teach First teachers volunteered to be paired up with seven interested Teach South Africa teachers. They were to communicate via Facebook and email and then visit each other's contexts (appendices 3a and 3b). The original intention was that the TSA teachers would visit the UK in the spring 2014 with a return visit by the TF teachers in summer 2014 but as our plans developed, despite initial enthusiasm, no TF teachers applied to the project. Keen to understand why the teachers did not share my enthusiasm for such an opportunity, I sent out a questionnaire to ascertain why those who had shown an interest did not apply and received four responses (appendix 3c). It appeared that the cost of the project was a major barrier and so I made the decision to delay the visits until spring and summer 2015 with a view to trying to secure some financial support towards it. I was hoping to involve TF

and TSA teachers who had originally shown an interest and started communicating via email and Facebook.

As the collaboration developed into the next academic year, it became clear that other than one TF and one TSA teacher, those that had originally shown an interest in hosting a TSA teacher and visiting SA in the summer made their excuses and backed out of the project. Funding for a visit was, at that stage, not forthcoming (TF and TfA were not interested in supporting the project financially, or indeed in any way and I did not approach TSA for potential funding) and now in their second year of the TF programme, some of the TF teachers were moving out of teaching or taking on responsibility within their schools which left them with little or no capacity for extra-curricular ventures.

There then followed a few desperate attempts to get TF teachers interested in taking part: I offered it to the new cohort of TF participants (2014) now in their first year of the programme; I applied for a university grant and was successful. Yet even with an offer of £600 towards costs, only two TF teachers applied to the project. Wracking my brains further, I then decided to offer the project as a TF 'Summer Project' (Teach First, 2015) to TF teachers within the East Midlands (EM). A few teachers within the TF programme but in regions other than the EM applied to the project but they were not who I was looking for as it was important for the project that they were working in schools in the EM. This was to create a hub of teachers within a close

area who were all linking with TSA teachers, for further potential research, not directly relevant to this inquiry. I eventually managed to secure enough funding to raise the amount offered to participants to £1,000 per person. Virtually fully- funding the project costs seemed to be the only way to make it work. At last, five TF teachers, then approaching the end of their first year on the TF programme, asked to be part of the project. I staged an application process but the reality was that anyone showing an interest in the project was 'in'. They were invited to join what remained of the Facebook group with a view to using it as a medium for communicating with soon-to-be-assigned TSA partner teachers. The plan was now for TF teachers to visit SA in August 2015 with TSA teachers paying a return visit in spring 2016 and for teachers to communicate about issues in teaching and learning in their respective contexts in the meantime.

From the outset of discussions with the leadership team of TSA, I mentioned that I was studying for a doctorate and would be interested in interviewing TSA teachers and managers. This was received positively. Shortly before the UK visit to SA in August 2015, I emailed the participant consent form and the research information sheet (appendices 3d and 3e) over to the leadership team. At the time, these still had the original research question: 'what does it mean to be a 'Teach for All' teacher?' framing the research inquiry. The CEO and middle manager of TSA met up with us the evening that we arrived in SA and discretely and quietly informed me that they no longer wished

to be part of the research project. This was devastating at the time, due to my commitment to an alternative 'decolonising methodology' (Tuhiwai- Smith, 1999) and the ensuing gathering of 'Southern voices' (Graves, 2007; Spivak, 1988). There was a possibility at this stage to re-scope my research inquiry completely and to focus on some aspect of TF only, bypassing the lack of data from TSA members. This would, however, have felt as though I was compromising on my social justice principles and desire to undertake critical research and that I would no longer be aligning myself 'in opposition to social forces that increase the gap between rich and poor and between North and South' (Nixon, Walker and Clough in Sikes et al., 2003). I did not want to give up on my wish to bring perspectives from TSA into the research. During the first week in SA, I reiterated my request to interview members of the organisation and was invited to meet, at the end of the week, with the founders and management from TSA to discuss their decision to not participate in the research.

The meeting revealed that actually, contrary to my prior understanding and information on the TfA web-site as I had started out on my research (appendix 1a), TSA was no longer part of the umbrella organisation TfA and therefore for TSA managers and teachers to participate in research exploring what it meant to be a TfA teacher would be, in their view, dishonest. Expressing my surprise and embarrassment that I had not been aware that TSA was no longer within TfA, and keen to explore the reasons why, I again had to pursue

different options for gathering data which are detailed in the section below.

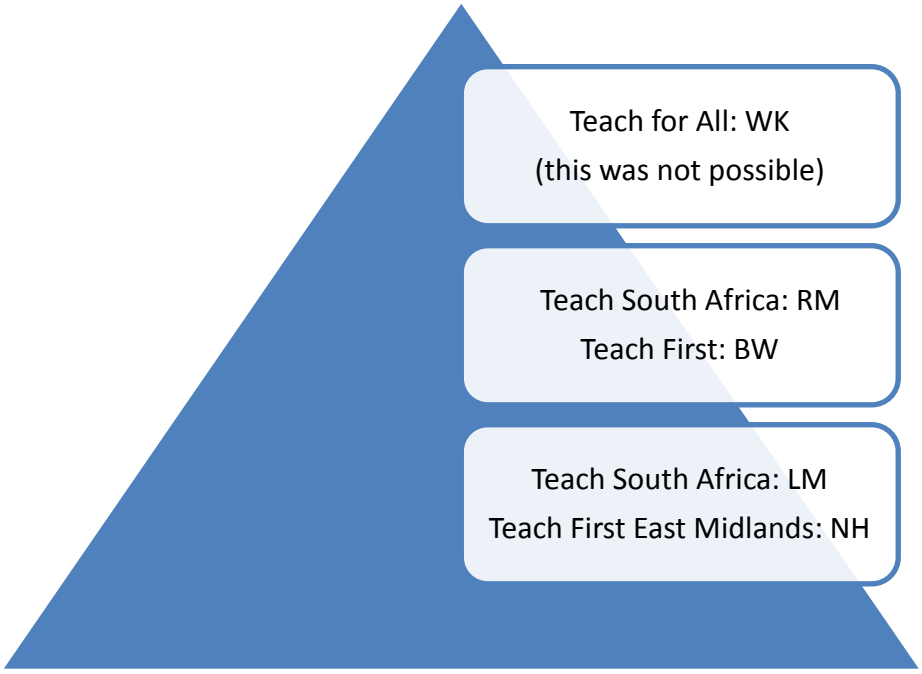
The establishment of the TF/TSA teacher linking project as a vehicle through which to gather data for my original research question transpired to be a meandering path fraught with pot holes and hurdles to be navigated. Nonetheless, I have attempted here to be open and transparent about the 'exploratory' (Paechter in Sikes et al., 2003: 110), messy nature of this process and the ways in which I deviated and branched out from the original path in order to be responsive to the TSA and TF participants' needs as well as staying true to my desire to undertake 'critical research' (Kincheloe et al. in Denzin and Lincoln, 2013) and to present Southern perspectives and voices as equally valid as Northern perspectives and voices. It cannot be ignored that, to my surprise, I discovered that Northern voices were almost as elusive and difficult to capture as Southern voices.

The data gathering process

Access to respondents

Briefly mentioned above is the fact that as this research progressed, I experienced obstacles which forced me, as researcher, to re-assess and recalibrate both my research questions and my data gathering methods. This process reflects Gherardi and Turner's reassuring depiction of research as 'a human enterprise, fraught with all of the personal, emotional and political difficulties displayed by any

human undertaking' (in Miles and Huberman, 2002: 84). At the outset of my research, the intention was to gather data from the Facebook group populated equally by both TSA and TF teachers and from the TfA, TSA and TF web-sites. I also planned to interview the CEOs of TfA, TSA and TF as well as a group of both TSA and TF teachers. As the research progressed, it became clear that only one TSA teacher was contributing to the face-book group conversations and the CEO of TfA did not respond to my requests to interview her. Keen for there to be symmetry with the professional levels and number of respondents from TSA and TF, I took the decision to interview instead the co-founder of TfA, who had responded to a request to be interviewed and a regional lead from TF and from the equivalent role in TSA. At this stage, I still intended to interview eight TSA teachers (when over in SA) and eight TF teachers (appendix 2a and illustration below). The gathering of data from the TfA, TSA and TF web-sites was still possible.



Teach South Africa teachers*	**Teach First teachers***
- **SG** - **CD** - **NM** - **RM** - **TL** - **3 more**	- **EC** - **NL** - **KB** - **RB** - **AD** - **3 more**

***Names of teacher research participants may change as the group evolves between now and August 2015 as the project develops.**

Leaders/Teachers at different levels of the organisations are going to be interviewed.

(original plan for data sets, 2015).

I drafted research questions (appendix 3f) with a view to conducting semi-structured interviews and interviewed the regional lead from TF in his workplace in the UK. I also interviewed two TF teachers who had initially shown interest in the TF/TSA linking project and had contributed to the Facebook group conversations. I anticipated interviewing the equivalent of regional lead within TSA and TSA teachers when over in SA in the summer of that year. As outlined earlier, my wish to interview TSA respondents was initially thwarted. For reasons neither explored within the research, nor made clear by the leadership team of TSA, they had not told me of TSA's changed relationship with TfA before we set off for SA, despite being informed as to what the research questions and intentions were. Janco, one of the TSA teachers and only TSA contributor to the face-book group conversations, was happy to be interviewed when we were in SA but we could not find a mutually convenient time. I had underestimated the demands that running a linking project would make on my time and availability when over in SA. On the ninth day of our ten day visit, Lindelane (leadership team, TSA) agreed to participate in an unstructured, open interview. I left SA having secured only one interview and a dearth of data capturing the Southern voices that were so important to the integrity of the project.

The research had become a 'messy, puzzling, intriguing kind of research' (Gherardi and Turner in Miles and Huberman, 2002: 90) which was not going as planned and which required 'an openness of

mind … (and) a faithful attention to the sensations offered in the field situation' (ibid.). I was determined not to give up. Once back in the UK, I met with my supervisor and discussed changes to my research questions. Luckily, Janco agreed to setting a date and time for a Skype interview and, informing Lindelane of the revised overarching research question, found that she was happy for me to send out a questionnaire to the whole cohort of TSA teachers. The questionnaire encapsulated many of the originally planned interview questions but removed questions about TfA, in an attempt to reflect TSA's recently revised relationship with the umbrella organisation yet still capture views on themselves as part of a wider global educational TEACH movement (appendix 3g) and complement my newly revised research questions. I set out a table of respondents to ensure that there was an element of symmetry with respondents from both TSA and the TF (see table below).

Jenny Elliott EdD data sets

UK		**B interview** Board member Teach for All	**South African**	
	N interview TF regional Director		**L interview** TSA Director	
E interview UK participant 2nd year (involved in the project from its conception)				**S interview** TSA ambassador 3rd year (involved in the project from its conception)
K interview UK participant 1st year On project				**S Questionnaire** TSA ambassador 1st year On project
C interview UK participant 1st year On project				**M Questionnaire** TSA ambassador 1st year On project
K interview				**L Questionnaire**

UK participant 1st year On project				TSA ambassador 1st year On project
A interview UK participant 1st year On project				**P Questionnaire** TSA ambassador 1st year On project (needs chasing)
Facebook data from conception of the project up until the present (didn't use)				
Teach for All website Teach South Africa website Teach First website				
e-mail correspondence with TF and TSA people (didn't use)				
Field notes from meetings in South Africa (didn't use)				

Also:

K interview: was initially interested in the project and then withdrew

N interview: was initially interested in the project and then withdrew

P interview: TF 1st year on project: not transcribed

True to Kincheloe et al.'s idea of 'actively construct(ing) our research methods from the tools at hand' (in Denzin and Lincoln, 2013), it was necessary for me to adapt and change the way in which data was gathered for this project so that I could respect the respondents' wishes and reflect their circumstances and situations. Ideally I would have liked to have conducted semi-structured interviews with eight TSA and eight TF teachers and the CEOs of TfA, TF and TSA. I would have liked to have gathered data from a Facebook group where TSA and TF teachers contributed regularly and in equal measures. Instead, I conducted semi-structured interviews with the cofounder of TfA, a regional lead from TF and eight TF teachers. I conducted an unstructured interview with the equivalent of the regional lead in TSA and a semi-structured interview via Skype with a TSA teacher. Five questionnaires were completed by TSA teachers and returned to me. The balance between Northern and Southern perspectives was not as even as I had originally hoped.

Punch and Oancea write of the importance of sampling decisions: choosing which people to interview and in which settings (2014). Yet the pre-planned and deliberate choices as to who will be interviewed, when, where and for how long each person will be interviewed, how access to the interview situation will be organised as set out by Punch and Oancea (2014) were a luxury that was entirely thwarted in relation to the TSA respondents for the reasons explained above. The sample of respondents for this research is therefore a

mixture of 'purposive', deliberately targeted for the research (the cofounder of TfA and leaders from TSA and TF) and 'convenience' (ibid: 211), where advantage is taken of events and situations which circumstantially arise (TF teachers who 'applied' to the project and TSA teachers who responded to the questionnaires).

The gathering of data from the TfA, TSA and TF web-sites was the only data set that had remained relatively unproblematic throughout the data-gathering stages of this research. There are issues to consider with all of the aforementioned methods of gathering data, some of which will now be addressed below.

Interviews, questionnaires and documentation

Interviews are the most common data collection tool in qualitative research (Punch and Oancea, 2014; Silverman, 2014). They are considered to be a method which is particularly attractive to researchers 'who want to explore voices and experiences which they believe have been ignored, misrepresented or suppressed in the past' (Byrne, 2004 cited in Silverman, 2014: 171) and therefore appropriate for the critical approach that this project was attempting to encompass. Interviews are also considered to be particularly useful for accessing respondents' values and attitudes which may be difficult to capture through observations or questionnaires (ibid.). They were therefore a relevant method as I was keen to explore how respondents felt about their relationships to their respective organisations and their

understandings of themselves as teachers. There is a spectrum of the range of types of interviews, stretching from very tightly managed and controlled at the one end to open-ended at the other (Silverman, 2014). My research methods included semi-structured interviews and one open ended interview. The semi-structured interviews had open questions which were planned in advance (appendix 3f), in collaboration with my supervisor, to ensure certain issues could be addressed (Bell, 2014) as well as allowing for some probing (Punch and Oancea, 2014; Silverman, 2014). The open-ended interview with Lindelane took place in a fast-food outlet in a shopping mall in Soweto in which a discussion was had over a full-English breakfast and some savoury croissants. I simply let her talk about her passion for TSA and education and offered responses and probing questions (Silverman, 2014) when it felt appropriate. All the interviews were recorded (using a mobile phone application) with the consent of the participants, who were given a clear indication of where the data would be stored, how long it would be stored for and who would be allowed access to it (Bell, 2014; BERA, 2011; Punch and Oancea, 2014; University of Nottingham, 2016). Respondents were subsequently sent the data files and transcriptions of their interviews.

Whilst it has been suggested that 'no special skills are required' for interviews (Silverman, 2014: 168), this idea is challenged by Punch and Oancea who indicate that interviews are not unproblematic and that good communication and listening skills along with the ability to come

up with follow-up questions are particularly important in unstructured interviews (2014). Issues of the time and location of the interview can impact upon the data (Bell, 2014; Silverman, 2014) along with the 'nature of the rapport established' (Punch and Oancea, 2014: 183) between the interviewer and respondent. The relaxed 'breakfast chat' with Lindelane, for example, at a place of her choosing after a week of us spending time together and forging a good friendship, allowed for an outpouring of thoughts, reflections and even at one point, tears, as she spoke passionately about her work. This was very different from the co-founder of TfA's abrupt, polished, emotionless responses in an interview which was scheduled for thirty minutes and completed in six, as we sat as strangers in his open-plan office, with him smartly-dressed, distracted and very clearly in 'work-mode'. Context clearly has a role to play as illustrated by Rapley who writes 'we are never interacting in a historico-socio-cultural vacuum, we are always embedded in and selectively and artfully draw on broader institutional and organisational contexts' (2004: 26, cited in Silverman, 2014). The relative status of interviewer and respondent also has a role to play (Bell, 2014, Silverman, 2014), with issues such as power, social class, race, ethnicity and gender influencing the interview dynamic. It is not possible to escape the 'interactional nature of interviews' (Silverman, 2014: 168) and it has been suggested that an exploitative relationship between researcher and researched rooted in 'race' and former colonial relationships of paternalism and inequality may exist unseen within the

Western academy (Foucault, 1989). As interviewer, I occupied several different roles in relation to the individual respondents – my positioning will be examined in more detail below – and I will never know the ways in which my presence was perceived and constructed by respondents and the impact that this may have had on the ensuing data. Interviewer bias also has a role to play (Bell, 2014) as the interview 'is not a neutral tool' with the interviewer 'creating the reality of the interview situation' (Punch and Oancea, 2014: 191).

Punch and Oancea consider questionnaires as written interviews (2014) and I was relieved to have responses to the questionnaires I sent out to the SA teachers in lieu of the thwarted interviews. This questionnaire, however, did not allow for the following up of ideas, the probing of answers, the investigation of motives and responses and the capturing of 'tone of voice, facial expression, hesitation and so on' that are all possible with face to face interviews (Bell, 2014: 178). The questions were as close to those in the teacher face-to-face interviews as possible, with open questions requiring verbal responses (Bell, 2014). Interviews via Skype allow researchers to access respondents all over the world at little cost and at their own convenience (Bell, 2014) yet the Skype interview with Janco had challenges of spatial and temporal separation (Watson, 2015). The interview was constantly being interrupted due to internet connectivity issues and a riot taking place outside his Soweto flat.

Whilst Bell defines a 'document' as 'an impression left on a physical object by a human being' (2014: 124), what is understood as 'document' for this research are the TSA, TF and TfA web-sites. On-line research has become ever popular recently (Bell, 2014) and the web-sites explored for this research serve to also provide audio and visual evidence which, along with the sites' written words, could prove useful for triangulation (Punch and Oancea, 2014) and validity, as discussed in greater depth below. They are 'inadvertent sources' (Bell, 2014: 127) as they were produced for the practical and contemporary purpose of giving information to interested parties about the nature and function of the organisations rather than being deliberately produced for research purposes. As such, the 'evidence' found within them and presented in chapter six, is considered to be 'unwitting' (Bell, 2014: 129) in that the researcher extracts meaning from the document which is not necessarily intended by the author.

Researcher positioning, ethical considerations and research validity

Researcher positioning, ethical considerations and research validity are not separate, discrete, disconnected entities. Instead, they intertwine and influence each other, as articulated by Kupferman: 'one's position in relation to the work being done is central to the trustworthiness and the conclusions drawn' (2013: 11).

Positionality/'locus of enunciation' (Kupferman, 2013: 14)

Concurring with Sikes, Nixon and Carr's view that 'reflexivity should be an inherent and ubiquitous part of the research endeavour' (2003: 34), there is a need for me, as researcher, to be reflexive and self-critical in relation to my own position within the research process (Esposito and Evans-Winters, 2007; Ledwith, 2007). This serves to expose how my background, heritage, experience and world views, already alluded to in chapter one, may be acting as a lens through which the research is interpreted (Esposito and Evans-Winters, 2007). Griffiths suggests that researchers need to recognise their own 'espoused values and politics' as these affect their choices of methodologies. She argues that taking an explicit stance 'helps to reduce bias' (1998: 133). Yet where would I start with this? Whilst I could inform the reader that I am a white, UK-born, middle-class, heterosexual, environmentally concerned, socialist voting woman with a strong sense of 'social justice' and a wish to expose inequalities, who works with beginner teachers and is studying at doctoral level within the Western academy, there are also many of my life experiences and values that are not revealed here. Even what I have revealed about myself is likely to be absorbed, constructed and viewed by the reader and research participants in different ways, depending on individual understandings of, and relationships with, ethnicity, class and race (Griffiths, 1998). Writing of the nuances and complexities in relation to one's position, Kupferman argues that declaring one's position assumes

a 'fixed essence' which acts as a 'pre-existing condition' and allows 'little room for manoeuvre' (2013: 14). Challenging binaries of insider/outsider research and opposing the notion that those from within the Western academy are not in a position to engage in research with 'indigenous' communities as suggested by writers including Bridges, (2001), Spivak (1988) and Tuhiwai-Smith (1999), Kupferman posits the idea of 'locus of enunciation' instead of 'positionality' (2013: 14). This, he suggests, allows the focus to be more with the *place and time* from which someone is researching, rather than *what* someone is. Kupferman's concept of 'locus of enunciation' could also be a convenient defence against potential criticism of him, as a white male, researching 'indigenous' communities within Micronesia. As a white woman, however, the notion of 'locus of enunciation' is more comfortable to me as I attempt to gather 'Southern voices' from South Africa (explored in greater depth below). It bypasses the need to over-think racial and heritage differences and ensuing accusations of exploitation (Chadderton, 2011). Instead it allows me to focus on my research respondents sharing with me an identity as educators working within TEACH organisations in different parts of the world, in 2016. I do, however, need to articulate that I am very aware of my own white, Western privilege and as a result, I am particularly sympathetic to perspectives from the Global South as a means to start addressing colonial oppressions. As a previous modern languages teacher and a university ITE tutor, with experience of working on the PGCE ITE route,

where teaching is considered to be a long-term, sustainable profession, I am sceptical about short-term, school-based teacher training routes such as Teach First. Undoubtedly, this acknowledged 'locus of enunciation' (Kupferman, 2013: 14) will impact on my choice and interpretation of literature and data explored in this thesis.

Ethics

Chadderton asserts that all research could be seen as exploitative as it involves power imbalances (2011) and the possible acting out of privilege (Ledwith, 2007). Herein lie the key issues to be considered with regards to ethics. The relevant ethical processes and procedures for the research were of course adhered to, as outlined by my institution (University of Nottingham, 2016) and the British Educational Research Association (2011). Yet it could be argued that the issuing of research information sheets and participant consent forms and the gathering of signatures from respondents and ethics coordinators, whilst undeniably necessary, as they respect and protect participants by using agreed standards (Plowright, 2011), are simply systems of institutional compliance. Processes such as 'informed consent' are presented as unproblematic which upon deeper examination would be revealed as 'unworkable': researchers can rarely fully comprehend what participation may mean for the participant and what the outcomes might be for the individuals involved (Locke et al., 2013: 109). Suggesting that 'situated ethics', contingent on the nature

and location of the research are needed, Piper argues that in many cases institutions' ethics committees act simply as guardians for what counts as research (2011: 27).

In order to maintain the integrity of this research which, as stated earlier, aims to situate itself within a critical theoretical framework and 'decolonising methodology' (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999), it is also necessary to consider the wider ethical implications of the research, such as who are the benefactors? (Ledwith, 2007; Locke et al., 2013) and whether the research is actually 'doing good' and benefitting the respondents in positive ways, rather than just 'doing no harm'? (Piper, 2011: 25). What 'doing good' actually means and how to gauge, measure and assess the 'doing good'-ness of the research is not, however, made clear by Piper. Similarly, attempting to unpick what is meant by 'benefitting' from the research (Locke et al., 2013) is problematic. Whether this means societal, political, professional, financial, personal or other benefits and over what time-frame is not explained.

'Southern voices' is a blurry concept which spans all three terrains of ethics, researcher positioning and research reliability and validity. A white, Western woman interviewing South African participants could be considered to be an example of 'the most privileged students utiliz(ing) the knowledge and indeed lives of others as objects for their own knowledge production and skills development'

(Jefferess, 2008: 135). This links back to earlier questions about who stands to benefit from the research (Ledwith, 2007; Locke et al., 2013) and supports Spivak's cry for western academics to stop undertaking research in the Global South (1988). The notion of Southern voice is explored in more detail below.

Who owns the data and how it can be used subsequently are also issues to be considered (Howe and Moses, 1999). All respondents had copies of their interview transcripts/questionnaires and most of them were sent copies of the audio recordings (this was not always possible due to internet issues and the size of the files) and whilst they were informed that the original audio files would be destroyed by me, I did not presume to tell them what they should do with their copies. All respondents were sent their transcripts and given a date by which to challenge, edit or change (Howe and Moses, 1999) any sections where they believed they were misrepresented, yet it was me, as researcher, who set a response time which may not have been appropriate for all respondents and me, as researcher, who will take credit for, and stand to benefit professionally from, the successful completion of this work.

Validity and Reliability

It is noted that 'there are widespread concerns about quality' in qualitative research, which unlike quantitative research 'aim(s) to provide an in-depth understanding of people's experiences, perspectives and histories in the context of their personal

circumstances' (Spencer, Ritchie, Lewis and Dillon, 2003: 6) and 'seek insight rather than statistical analysis' (Bell, 2014: 24). In 2003, the Cabinet Office produced a quality framework for assessing research evidence with four underpinning principles: is the research contributory in advancing wider knowledge; defensible in design; rigorous in conduct and credible in claim (Spencer et al., 2003)?

Concurring with Denzin and Lincoln who claim that 'all observers view an object of inquiry from their own vantage point in the web of reality' (2013: 354), I have attempted above to expose, to a certain limited extent, my social, gendered, political and professional positions as researcher, in order to create transparency for the reader and credibility with my claims (Spencer et al., 2003). I accept Chadderton's view that 'research is inevitably a representation of others rather than a reflection of their reality' and am aware of, and need to expose, the limitations of my attempts at making meaning out of interviews, questionnaires and web-site data. Returning to the clay pot analogy discussed earlier, where the whole pot is constructed from lots of different pieces of clay, I argue that my 'objects of inquiry' are not one homogenous entity but instead are 'part of many contexts and processes … (are) culturally inscribed and historically situated' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013: 354). This, Denzin and Lincoln argue, undermines traditional understandings of triangulation (2013). Nonetheless and as outlined above, I have attempted to gather data systematically and with symmetry from respondents in sister organisations in a SA and UK

context as well as documentary evidence, with a view to having some attempt at triangulation and ensuring rigour in the conduct and design of the research (Spencer et al., 2003).

Capturing 'voice' is problematic (Chadderton, 2011) and 'Southern voice' even more so as it is a construct that cannot be homogenised (Burr, 2008; Graves, 2007; Spivak, 1988). The notion of 'authentic voice' does not exist as each voice brings with it different, shifting experiences and perspectives. Voices are 'plural, dynamic, contradictory and incomplete' (Chadderton, 2011: 10). It is necessary to expose the fact that only seven TSA voices were captured for this research (six black and one white, five female and two male) and nine TF voices (all white, seven female and two male). All of those voices were from university-educated professionals who are members of organisations that recruit participants from elite universities. From this perspective, it could be suggested that the TF and TSA respondents are representative of one group. Questioning this assumption, however, I concur instead with the notion that voices and the language that is conveyed by the voice do not necessarily reflect reality accurately and that subjectivity cannot be fully captured or understood (Chadderton, 2011), let alone homogenised for generalizable conclusions.

This research does not make claim to a single truth (Ledwith, 2007) but instead, aware of, and rendering transparent my position as gatherer and interpreter of the data, I have presented here for the

reader 'located, partial truths' (Chadderton, 2011: 10). I have captured views from individuals of the nature of their understandings of themselves as teachers, their organisations and their work. From these and from a consideration of the web-site data, I have pieced together a sense of the ways in which the TEACH model may be transferable across North and South contexts. Flawed as it may be, I have attempted to capture 'Southern' voices, knowing that this has not yet been done in extant research relating to the TEACH model. In this way, I have contributed a small clay nugget to the advancement of wider knowledge (Spencer et al., 2003). Accepting that there is 'no hope of doing perfect research' (Griffiths, 1998: 142), I nonetheless suggest that the four principles underpinning the quality framework for assessing research evidence (Spencer et al., 2003) are evident within the design, structure, conduct and outcomes of my research.

Analysis of Data

Coding and thematising

I now consider the first two stages of Miles and Huberman's (1994) three stages of data analysis: 'data reduction' and 'data display'. Having already explored the data from the interview with the co-founder of TfA along with that from the TfA web-site in chapter two, I take the following data sets in turn: Teach First teacher interviews and Teach South Africa teacher questionnaires; Teach South Africa and Teach First middle leader interviews and Teach South Africa/Teach First

web-sites. With each data set, I firstly outline the process of deconstructing the data: taking them in; digesting them, taking them apart (Wellington, 2015: 261) and the ways in which they were 'coded' and 'clustered' (Miles and Huberman, 1994). I then go on to 'put(ting) them back together' (Wellington, 2015: 261) by presenting them as 'fairly, clearly, coherently and attractively as possible' (ibid: 265). The challenges of manipulating qualitative data have been written about by researchers including Silverman (2014), Denzin and Lincoln (2013), Huberman and Miles (2002), Bell (2014) and Wellington (2015) and I am aware that there is 'no one 'right' way' (Wellington, 2015: 275). Accepting that my own prior understandings will have helped to shape what I have heard, seen and written about and that all the interpretations presented within this chapter are incomplete, provisional and unfinished (Huberman and Miles, 2012), I nonetheless attempt, through a systematic, meticulous, painstaking and thorough examination of the data, to be 'true to' them (Wellington, 2015: 274) and to represent them faithfully and fairly (ibid.).

Teach First teacher interviews and Teach South Africa teacher questionnaires

The seven interview transcriptions and five questionnaires were read and re-read until themes started to emerge. It would be satisfying to claim that the themes were not pre-established but instead were derived 'a posteriori' from the data (Wellington, 2015: 267). This

would, however, be untrue, as I am aware that rather than appearing magically and independently of me, the 'emergence' of themes and the subsequent coding and categorising of them was entirely dependent on my judgement as researcher (ibid.). The capturing of themes and subsequent codes can be seen in appendix 3h. Immersion in the codes, along with discussions with an academic colleague who had also considered emerging themes from three interviews and two questionnaires in order to avoid my complete subjectivity (Richards, 2009), allowed for the creation of clusters of codes and then twelve categories arising from the clusters. The categories are as follows:

A) Teacher identity

B) Philanthropy

C) Emotions about teaching

D) Money

E) Context and government

F) Teacher professional and personal development

G) Views of teaching

H) Messages about Teach South Africa/ Teach First

I) Values of and in education

J) Networks

K) Teaching as a global profession

L) 'Odds and ends' (Bell, 2014: 248)

The data relating to each category will be presented in the first section of chapter five.

Middle Leader Interviews

Interviews with the managers of Teach First and Teach South Africa were analysed after an analysis of the TF teachers' interviews and TSA teachers' questionnaires. The ensuing themes which were extracted are likely to have been influenced by the 'hermeneutic cycle' (Miles and Huberman, 2012: 354), whereby the analyst brings expectations of emerging themes forward from analysis of a previous data set to the one in hand. Nonetheless, upon reading and re-reading the interview transcripts, I came up with slightly different categories than with the teachers' interviews and questionnaires. The capturing of themes and subsequent codes were then categorised as follows:

A) Teacher development

B) Partnership/influence/networks

C) Classroom context/impact

D) Messages about Teach First/Teach South Africa

E) Type of teacher

F) Messages about Teach for All

G) Global reach

H) Philanthropy

I) 'Odds and ends' (Bell, 2014: 248)

These are presented in the second section of chapter five.

Web-sites

Both Teach First and Teach South Africa web-sites were explored carefully and it became apparent that this was a labyrinthine task. The sitemaps for both web-sites can be seen in appendix 3i which gives an indication of the shape of each site and the key issues addressed via the different pages and links. Two web-sites appear when 'Teach First' is put into an internet search engine. One appears to be an advert as it has an 'Ad' symbol next to it, indicating that money has been paid to ensure a place near the top of the search engine listings: 'teachfirst.org.uk – Careers with Teach First' and the other appears without an 'Ad' symbol, indicating a more general, information-giving web-site: 'Teach First'. A decision was taken to explore, for the purposes of this study, data arising from the latter web-site although it became evident that clicking on the 'charity' link of the former web-site takes the reader to the latter web-site anyway. I also decided to explore data arising from the first three pages of the Teach First and Teach South Africa web-sites respectively, to ensure that there was some element of parity despite the asymmetry, different content and presentation of the sites. After the 'home' page on the 'Teach First' site come the 'about' and then the 'careers' pages, reading

across the top from left to right. Following on from the 'home' page in the same order on the Teach South Africa site come the 'about' and 'the TEACH experience' pages. It is these six pages only that I explored in order to gather data for this study.

Trawling through the designated pages brought forth a number of different messages, images and video/audio recordings. Themes were drawn out from this data which were then coded and put into the following categories:

A) Teacher Identity
B) Learner Identity
C) Teacher Professional Development
D) Educational Context
E) Partnerships/Networks
F) Philanthropy/charity/funding
G) 'Odds and ends' (Bell, 2014: 248).

Data from these categories is presented in the third section of chapter five.

The decision to use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an analytical tool for my data was made at a later stage during my research. So that this thesis better reflects the evolving timeline and dynamic nature of my research journey, I therefore explore the rationale for using CDA later on in chapter six.

Chapter Five: Findings

As outlined in the previous chapter, I gathered data as a means of developing an insight into the overarching research question 'How far is the TEACH model of ITE transferable across North and South contexts'? I grapple with this question in greater depth in the last section of chapter seven. The findings presented in this chapter offer information in relation to the two sub-questions that underpin the broader questions: 'what are the similarities and differences between the TEACH models in different North and South national contexts?' and 'what does it mean to be a teacher working within such a transnational model of ITE?'

The findings are presented in three different sections based on data arising from the teachers' interviews and questionnaires, data arising from interviews with the managers from TSA and TF and data arising from TSA and TF web-sites. As this is a comparative study, I separate the findings into Northern and Southern categories.

Findings from the Teach First teachers' interviews and Teach South Africa teachers' questionnaires

Approaches to categorising, clustering and thematising the interviews and questionnaires have been outlined in the previous chapter along with a list of ensuing themes. Findings in relation to prominent themes are now presented, with the Northern teachers'

interviews reported first, followed by the Southern teachers' interview and questionnaires.

Teach First teachers

Backgrounds and reasons for going into teaching

When reflecting on their own experiences of school, an awareness of their privilege is evident. Nell and Helen referred to their own experience of education as being 'lucky' and 'sheltered', whereas Jo's experience was different:

'I went to a really, really awful state school, where I went to secondary school and it was basically, it's a classic TF school, a very disadvantaged, socially disadvantaged area. The, basically the students all fed in from this one estate which was quite rough'.

She continued on to say 'I somehow managed to get straight As, straight A stars, but it was very much off my own back and from the support of my parents and at home'. Keziah's experience was mixed. Whilst she spoke of her time as at school as:

'privileged …always at the top of the school and the classes',

she emphasised:

'it wasn't at a private school and I was at a school like this'.

Two of the teachers spoke explicitly of CV - enhancing activities which they did whilst at university, as illustrated by Kathy:

> ‘I worked for widening participation when I was at uni, so I was an English tutor. I did that once a week’,

and Helen:

> ‘when I was at uni, one of my friends worked for a charity in Loughborough … I had a connection there’.

There is a sense that the teachers chose to go into the Teach First programme from a position of having a number of different options, almost like wealthy consumers choosing how to spend their money. Nell illustrated this:

> ‘Everything else I was just really apathetic about. I kind of saw these programmes and thought… yeah, I might apply and never really got round to it. TF was the only application I thought ‘yeah, I’ll answer those questions cos I’ve got things I wanna say”,

as did Keziah:

> ‘I couldn’t decide between teaching and law’

and Helen:

> ‘So I wanted to either work, teach in prisons or in like a PRU and that had been my kind of career path for a little bit while I was going through university and then at the end I thought actually, I want some more formal kind of training’.

Values of and in education

Nell commented about education not being 'right' and 'everyone, all teachers know it's not right'. Helen echoed this sentiment:

> 'I was so surprised really and shocked that there could be so much apathy and disengagement with education … everybody deserves a quality education, wherever they're brought up, whoever they're brought up by, you know, whatever their circumstances'.

Reflecting the same sentiment but presenting 'barriers' rather than opportunities, Nell stated:

> 'you find that all pupils are the same and there's the same barriers … that is part of the barrier that means the mission isn't being completed'.

The entitlement to, and 'power of' a good teacher appeared in the data with Helen claiming:

> 'everyone has the right to education and the right to a good teacher, you know'. Jo commented:

> 'if you have great teachers, everything else can follow, the thing you need is great teachers'.

Language concerning education in relation to performance was evident in the interviews. Nell in particular spoke of a 'monitoring body',

'Ofsted', 'scrutiny', 'quality of the training' 'measuring impact' 'putting figures to the government', having to have 'a standard' and 'raising stakes for the quality of teaching'. Jo and Keziah mentioned having to 'get grades'.

Teacher identity

Nell mentioned that the TF package was an incentive to enter the profession when she would otherwise not have considered teaching:

> 'Er, I never had planned to be a teacher. I'd never explored those options. It was TF the company that gave a presentation that sold me on this idea of teaching';

as did Kathy:

> 'I was always warded off teaching by my mum who is a teacher but I was just really kind of captivated by the vision of TF'

and Ellie:

> 'I guess TF that, that's the part of it that drew me towards it, rather than being in love with a subject or whatever, or wanting to be a teacher'.

The TF package as compared to the PGCE route appeared to also have been an incentive for the TF teachers and an aspect that had helped to shape their identities as teachers. Nell stated:

'It's the challenge of going into a school, teaching straight away, not, not faffing about with too much training, just, yeah, taking things straight away and being independent from day one'.

This was echoed by Ellie:

'I felt ready to go straight into the classroom, I didn't want to, like, have a year of theory, cos I knew that would probably frustrate me, I knew that I was a practical learner, so just felt ready to go straight in there and challenge a bit as well, appealed to me, I suppose';

Jo:

'I would never have gone into teaching if it was to go an academic route, I wasn't prepared to go back in again and have to pay fees and then have to do the essays and everything and all the paperwork'

and Keziah:

'I didn't want to be in university any more once I'd finished, so this was going in and getting started'.

Nell considered the PGCE route to be less challenging:

'If I wasn't wanting the challenge as much, I would go down the PGCE route'.

The lack of fees plus the incentive of a salary are factors which appeared to have made the TF programme appealing to some: Dawn who had already been working for a couple of years said:

> 'I didn't want to leave having the income to then go and study for a year, so it was the best of both worlds, really',

whilst Keziah did not want to 'go back and get in more debt'.

During their interviews, the teachers highlighted the opportunities opened up to them through doing the TF programme. Nell enthused:

> 'it's two years and I've got all of this experience and these qualifications and access to different companies and different people'

reflecting Ellie's comment:

> 'It just feels like there's so many opportunities for me'.

A clear identity as a 'TF teacher' with a strong allegiance to the organisation was apparent in the interviews. When asked about the qualities of a TF teacher, the following descriptors cropped up: 'resilient'; 'not wanting to give up'; 'seeing yourself failing and keeping going'; 'overcoming barriers'; 'opinionated'; 'ambitious'; 'competitive'; 'up for a challenge' 'wanting to achieve'; 'stubborn'; 'strong drive'; 'committed'; 'motivated'; 'dedicated'; 'strong'; 'good leader'; 'good performer within the classroom'; 'good manager'; 'on point people skills'; 'having humility'; 'empathetic'; 'good interpersonal skills'; 'good

at communicating'; 'a good person'; 'passionate' and 'caring'. Kathy, however, pointed out that she thinks:

> 'there's a danger there that they're trying to tell people that they're going to be doing better than the teachers that are already there just because they're doing TF'

and Dawn commented:

> 'I get that we're going into schools, but we are still doing a job, that, in the schools, that someone else would do that was just working'.

A sense of TF as a life-long, exclusive club membership which influences their professional identity is evident. Nell, speaking of a 'TF life' and a 'TF future' indicated this in her statement:

> 'I definitely feel that you know I will be connected to TF in some sort of way throughout the rest of my career, and they, you know, they do emphasise that point, that you're a TF ambassador for life'.

She continued:

> 'it is something that you take with you, wherever you go'.

This appeared to be very important to Ellie, too;

> 'I'm like really, really yeah, feel really, really privileged to be an ambassador now and that I'll always be connected to that network… I'm so glad to be part of it'.

She went on to say:

> 'It just kind of feels like if you say TF, they, they want to meet you and they will trust you … trust that you're like a good person (laughs)'.

Helen saw her connection to TF as on-going, but less in terms of professional opportunities and more abstractly in terms of an ethos underpinned by a belief in the 'vision':

> 'I certainly wouldn't ever not believe in the vision and the impact that it's making, so I would always want to be connected to that'.

Unlike the other six TF teachers, Kathy appeared almost to want to distance herself from TF and from a TF identity, as was evident in her comment:

> 'I don't want to always be associated to TF as a TF teacher cos I think there's, there's you know, plenty of schools, or people within schools, that have a bit of an issue with the cliqueness of it, maybe the arrogance of it in a way, so I don't want to always be thought of as, you know, the TF teacher'.

Emotions about teaching

Nell used the word 'love', Helen and Dawn spoke of a 'passion' for teaching and Keziah referred to 'giving back'. Only Kathy and Dawn made explicit reference to the children that they worked with. Kathy stated:

> 'I think you have to be quite empathetic to you know, things that children are going through'

and Dawn told of

> 'working with children that wouldn't necessarily have teachers that cared about them that much'.

The other five teachers did not mention the children. Nell, Keziah and Jo spoke of teaching in terms of the hardships and challenges, such as the low salary, as mentioned by Nell:

> 'time to money ratios are obviously very different than they would be in a different job'.

Keziah spoke of the apparent monotony of the job:

> 'you get bogged down with the mundane business of every day'

and Jo mentioned wanting to 'quit' and 'those winter months when everyone was just so down'.

Future plans and ambitions

The short-term commitment to teaching offered through the TF programme was clearly an incentive, with Nell speaking of 'doing your time' and 'escaping' as if discussing a prison sentence. Dawn, Kathy, Keziah and Jo, whilst starting the programme with the understanding that it involved only a two year commitment, had decided that they actually wanted to stay longer in the profession:

'I … am pretty sure I'm staying in teaching and in TF schools as well';

'I definitely want to stay in teaching';

'I'm seeing it as a long haul';

'I wanted to stay in teaching from the beginning, once I decided I was going to do that instead of law'

and

'I can't, now I can't think of not being a teacher. I love teaching, I love being in the classroom, I can't imagine having a desk job, ever'.

Both Jo and Dawn had plans to open their own schools in the future. Helen, however, saw herself

> ‘dip(ping) in and out of teaching … I may come out for a couple of years … possibly to do things with either theatre or some project management stuff with charity’.

By early 2016, Nell had moved into a job in industry and Ellie into another job outside of TF but still within education.

Context and government policy

An indication of the political and economic context within which the teachers are situated came through in the interviews. Indicating that she was ‘fortunate’ to have a job and ‘be kind of ok financially’, Nell hinted at a shortage of employment for graduates. Ellie alluded to a teacher shortage as she said:

> ‘there’s loads of statistics, isn’t there, about like people leaving teaching and stuff’.

A sense of a normalised inequality of provision in education comes through as the teachers discussed their own experiences at state and private schools. Nell spoke of regional differences:

> ‘where in England is the TF vision most required? Because in London, it’s not that it’s … the job is done but it’s you know, some of the TF schools that maybe didn’t used to be fantastic schools are now just brilliant and it’s places like the Midlands that you wouldn’t suspect as doing so badly that’s just awful like that’.

Referring vaguely to 'issues that teachers are facing and children are facing', Helen claimed that you 'don't realise what these are … until you get into the classroom'.

She also spoke of '80% of the prison population' with 'a reading age of about eight'.

Kathy spoke of her undergraduate university as 'quite a left wing university', implying that this was an exception rather than the norm.

An understanding of ITE provision as a market, with TF as one of the key players was also brought up by Kathy as she mused:

> 'it is recruiting teachers where other things aren't and I guess I know the government puts a lot of money into it…, I think it will be interesting to see what happens politically, if they manage to always keep themselves separate from government or if they kind of become just one of the recruiters'.

This was echoed by Jo who would love

> 'for TF to be the sole recruiter of teachers…but they need to figure out a way of doing that to not step on toes, erm'.

Messages about Teach First

When referencing TF, the teachers used jargon connected to marketing and industry, as illustrated by Nell's references to 'company', 'package', 'graduate programme', 'presentation that sold me on this

idea of teaching'. Keziah referred to a 'a stand on the graduate fairs' and 'get(ting) through the TF process' and 'a really good, well-respected programme'. A 'presentation' done by a 'TF recruiter for the uni' was mentioned by Kathy, similar to Ellie's hearing 'about TF in the February of my final year at uni at a careers fair'. Helen referred to TF as 'one of the biggest graduate employers now', referring to 'competencies which we had to sign up for or prove that we had'. She mentioned a question and answer session with the CEO of TF in which he spoke of wanting 'high calibre graduates of a certain personality, I suppose of a certain value system'. Dawn referred to TF as

> 'oh it's a company I work for, it allows me to go and teach in a school, to do a job sort of thing',

and Jo stated: 'I just knew that TF was a fantastic graduate programme'.

A concept of TF 'vision' and 'mission' was clearly evident in Nell's:

> 'TF vision was something that you know I felt really aligned with … the, you know, the mission itself, the vision of TF',

Keziah's:

> 'I am totally with TF on that (charitable) mission',

Kathy's:

> 'I was just really kind of captivated by the vision of TF … I'll always be aligned with the vision',

Helen's:

> 'branching out into all the other sectors so that we have the best kind of field to meet the vision… so I think the more people that have exposure to that, and have, you know, an opportunity to experience that, hopefully that will inspire more people to be part of the vision, and to be part of you know, the so…I suppose the movement, the social justice movement ',

Dawn's:

> 'they were basically all working towards the same vision, the same mission of helping disadvantaged children get the education that they deserve',

and Jo's:

> 'obviously, I believe completely in like the TF vision and everything'.

Nell admitted:

> 'you've got to have the vision in mind all the time, cos otherwise it doesn't work'.

Only Ellie mentioned neither 'vision' nor 'mission' in her interview.

TF was also mentioned in terms of its reputation and the career opportunities it can enable, which are clearly alluring. Nell mentioned:

> 'the fact that it's recognised nationally and internationally was a, you know, swayed me quite a lot … the fact that TF was so challenging and it was recognised and you know, it was a springboard to anything that I wanted to do…. I've got all of this experience and these qualifications and access to different companies and different people, which I do – I don't think two years anywhere else would get you that'.

She went on to say:

> 'once you've done TF, whatever career or you know pathway you go in to, it will forever be shaped by those two years'.

Ellie would like, now that she is no longer working directly with TF:

> 'to think that I could contact TF somehow, or like, like use that network to help my young people get placements or get work experience … I don't want to be disconnected from it all'.

'The idea that you're all together working towards something' is what excited Jo who went on to refer to TF as:

> 'a good programme that opens doors, that, that was sort of why I originally entered it'.

There appeared to be concern about the growth of TF and that this growth might 'dilute' the quality of care and calibre of participants. Dawn stated:

> 'I just think it's going to get bigger and bigger and be one of those things that's trying to take over the world … I don't think you should go down that route because I think the more participants you're getting, the more diluted the training and care of the tutors is going to be'.

This sentiment was echoed by Jo:

> 'I do worry that by making it such a big network, you do almost…I don't know how to say this but you do almost dilute the…this quality of the candidates that that have been put forward to go into schools',

and Helen:

> 'I suppose there's a concern that even more people you get does it, does that dilute, or does that kind of yeah, dilute, I suppose'.

Kathy was concerned that

> 'it's getting a bit worryingly big, because I don't, I don't know if they're going to be able to keep the quality of the training if they've got too many participants'.

A worry that is also expressed by Keziah:

> 'If it gets bigger and bigger, then there's a chance that the quality of the service, hopefully it doesn't, but the quality of the service degrades a little bit'.

Networks

That TF was considered, by the teachers, to be a powerful organisation with political influence was apparent but the exact nature and extent of the influence did not appear to be understood. Nell explained:

> 'I guess they, they do have to remain politically neutral, which is fine, but they still need to think about educational policy and I don't, maybe they are doing a lot of work on that'.

She believes:

> 'It's time for TF to have some sort of influence on policy and you know join with you know the different teacher unions to fight for teachers'.

Ellie stated that it would:

> 'be cool if like it could be represented in government, I suppose, for someone to be a voice there, yeah'

and she went on to say:

> 'I think the yeah, there's the opportunity for like really powerful relationships to form, so it might, I dunno, it might have like a,

> little, like offcut of TF doing something else in a different sector in the economic sector or like in the political sector, I dunno'.

Keziah spoke of

> 'making sure you have those people you trust in the right place, in the right places'.

That TF creates and sustains its own network of participants, alumni and professionals appeared to be important. Nell indicated:

> 'it's not just kind of you know, talking to other companies, it's all the different participants that you meet, all the, you know, people at Nottingham, all the people that actually work with TF, all the professionals in your school, the amount of conversations you've had with different types of people, and all the conversations you've had with different kinds of pupils as well…that's you know, really invaluable, I think'.

Helen was pleased that working within TF sets her up:

> '…with a really good network. All the people that I've met on TF, I definitely want to keep in touch with',

echoed by Ellie who said:

> 'I'll always be connected to that network, I think that's really something that I won't take for granted, cos it just feels really

like there's so many opportunities for me. I'm really glad that I'm part of it'.

She went on to say:

'if everyone is keen to like still be involved with the organisation, then that only creates more opportunities and more links and more relationships between people … I hope to continue being able to tap into those contacts'.

A similar sentiment was expressed by Jo as she stated:

'it (TF) comes with a ready built support network and everyone, everyone is in it together… I've always loved the idea of the TF ambassador network, it was a, it was a really huge factor in why I wanted to apply, just the fact that you had that community, even post two years'.

She continued:

'but with the TF ambassador network, there's so many more opportunities and things to be involved in and things to help further your practice in the classroom, or as leader… I would have so many people there to, to help me along, along whatever path I chose'.

Helen, speaking of TF's reach beyond the classroom said:

'I think we need a balance between people that stay in the classroom to make that impact, but also people that are spreading out into other sectors'.

Teaching as a global profession

There was a lack of clarity as to what the organisation TfA is and does. When questioned as to their understanding of TfA, the teachers were hesitant, asking questions and showing uncertainty:

'Is it, is it the American, cos that's where it all started off, and that's what, what Brett had the idea, so it's kind of like the umbrella term for all of it? Is that, is that what it's all about?'

'Is it a TF initiative? Isn't it to provide education for everyone to ensure that everyone's getting the provisions? No matter what race, gender, economic background. Is that it?...is it a government initiative?'

'I hadn't really heard of it (before the project)… I don't think it's publicised in any way so I don't think your average TF participant would know anything about it'

'I guess when I joined it, I didn't really know about it and I think I only heard the phrase TfA in my, in my inter-cohort week at the end of my first year'

'so I don't know much about the umbrella organisation, I know of it'

and ‘Before this week, I thought of them as kind of the overarching company that like allowed all of the TF kind of companies in each country to work’.

The most confident description of TfA was expressed by Jo:

> ‘What I understand to be as basically like the umbrella under which all these other like organisations in each country fall, so I guess it’s like a .. I think my understanding of it is that it’s like the model by which TF, TSA, Teach Sweden, or whatever can then base their principles and values so that everyone’s teaching under the same sort of umbrella all working towards the same shared goal’.

Only Nell and Jo expressed a more general understanding of teaching as a global profession, with Nell seeing herself as:

> ‘part of…part of a body of teaching professionals that includes everyone that’s teaching all over the world… there’s a certain understanding that you have being a teacher and going through what you go through, that automatically makes communication easier and you’ve got lots to talk about’.

Jo referred to her SA partner who mentioned ‘the army of teachers taking over the world’.

A concern was expressed by three of the teachers about a ‘Western model’ being rolled out. Keziah said:

> 'I find it interesting that you'll have the Western world being under this umbrella as well as, kind of other countries with different cultures as well',

a view which was also articulated by Kathy:

> 'but now it's kind of become a bit more clear when you look at who's in leadership, erm, that it's…it is rolling out a certain type of Western teacher, I think, maybe trying to spread that that is the right way and it must fit every country'

and Jo:

> 'now I feel that maybe the case, that it's actually an imposing of a model rather than an adapting according to needs and demographics in different countries'.

Philanthropy

When questioned about their understanding of philanthropy and how it relates to their work, two of the teachers needed the term explaining to them. Only Keziah referred positively to the philanthropic nature of TF the organisation:

> 'so it's funded by businesses, isn't it? As well as the government sector. It's…has gold, platinum and bronze and silver kind of investors that put money into it. It's also funded by private people, private benefactors as well, isn't it? And then from as far as I can tell, a lot of money kind of goes into the training.

> Upkeep of staff, affiliations with universities. So it's a massive business. Massive business, I think what they're doing, the charitable aspect of it, the intention behind it is sound and really valued'.

Dawn and Ellie acknowledged that TF is a charity but were not convinced:

> 'I have to tell myself, oh it's a charity all the time, cos usually I just see TF, oh it's a company I work for, it allows me to go and teach in a school to do a job sort of thing so I don't sort of think about the charitable side'.

> 'I guess I don't really see TF as a charity. I kind of…you kind of forget that it is because it's so huge and it's kind of incredible that it's doing so much work and it's a charity, erm, and because you're in a school, that feels you're like, you're more under that, or under the government'.

Others considered their work as teachers as 'giving back' 'where the need is'. Nell said:

> 'when I think of philanthropy, I think of people like Bill Gates and people with a huge amount of money that want to give something back. I think having done TF, I have a slightly more developed understanding of it in terms of it's that it's you as a

person, what you're giving rather than the resources that you have'.

Keziah saw her job as:

> 'giving back, isn't it? I had a priv, I had a priv, I had a privileged upbringing, so I guess I want to provide students with the opportunity to get the same kind of experience as I did'.

Whilst Jo was teaching to 'give back' to 'I guess my classmates of that time, yeah, who didn't have the same opportunities'.

Working with 'the disadvantaged' was important for Ellie:

> 'It was the pull towards helping disadvantaged young people and feeling like that I was going to be placed where the most need was … I guess, yeah, so it, it is, it is important that I'm working with people who are like really needy … working with the, with the disadvantaged'.

Helen had been told 'oh you're such a good person' and believed there is an element of 'sacrifice' to teaching:

> 'actually people have to be willing to sacrifice quite a lot and be a certain type of person in terms of like what they can give from themselves'.

Kathy believed 'you're gonna change all these students' lives'.

Teach South Africa teachers

Backgrounds and reasons for going into teaching

Lindidwe, Shandu and Janco hinted at their own educational backgrounds, with Lindidwe stating that she:

> 'grew up in a township and had to attend public schools of which really had few to no resources to work with'.

Shandu, referring to her own education as 'a fun learning experience', stated:

> 'I have a love of learning and I want to share that with others'.

Janco explained that he 'had a chequered time at university' but mentioned a sense of privilege:

> 'I dropped out in second year, took a gap year for like eighteen months, then went back to university, was a lot more motivated to study … and I was really conscious, became more conscious of the sense that I had to, had to make something of my privilege'.

He explained that he went into teaching initially as:

> 'something to do, for some money, while I figured out other things',

which is different from Shandu who wanted to have:

'the opportunity to make a small difference in this big world'.

Mattheu indicated that he was an empowered university student with choices, networks and connections as he stated:

> 'I was employed by the university as a mathematics tutor. At the time I got involved in many volunteered work and community work. I volunteered as a Saturday tutor for High School learners (sponsored by Pactor buses)'.

Values of and in education

Mattheu referred to an 'education crisis', a point which is reiterated by Lindidwe who wrote about 'our poor performing schools'. This was further articulated by Shandu as:

> 'kids today don't want to learn, thus making it difficult for teachers to teach'.

She went on to unpick this further by saying:

> 'the sad thing is that not all learners come to school for an education, many come for a meal or to interact with friends. The learners at my school lack passion to learn, or one can argue, they just lazy'.

Janco spoke of:

> 'really like depressing circumstances and a lack of support … complete lack of resources both human and physical'.

Yet the power of education to create equality of opportunity for all, despite differing circumstances, and to be transformative, was articulated by two teachers. Shandu spoke of 'education affect(ing) everyone' and:

> 'the fact that they have an opportunity to be educated and to receive an education puts them one step above someone who doesn't have these opportunities'.

Lindidwe stated:

> 'it doesn't matter where you come from or which school you went to, everyone has a potential to do well and succeed.

Teacher identity

There is no indication with the SA teachers that TSA is a preferred route out of a number of different ITE choices available to them. Only Mattheu mentioned PGCE and this is in terms of gaining the qualification in order to remain in the profession:

> 'Now am busy with my PGCE because I know I want to stay in the profession of teaching'.

Amahle viewed teaching as 'beyond a job' and instead 'a service'. 'Caring', 'helping', 'loving' aspects of teaching were referred to by the teachers, with Shandu seeing a teacher as:

> ‘a person that is caring and just loves doing things for others and helping out where possible through volunteering their services’.

Janco echoed this as he says:

> ‘I think it’s really important as well for a good teacher to, to really care and be interested in, in children and young people, ja, to love them, I think that’s really important, so yes’,

and Mattheu stated:

> ‘as a person I always help if I can. This makes my work much easier because learners want to learn from somebody who cares and you get to know them in a personal level, then you can easily motivate them’.

Reflecting this approach Lindidwe said:

> ‘helping people comes naturally to me and it gives me the great joy. As a result, I saw this as an opportunity to give back while receiving my greatest joy’.

In terms of the TSA programme shaping their identities as teachers, Shandu was clear that she

> ‘get(s) to be a part of a group of people that strive for putting passionate graduates in a classroom to teach’.

Even though he had completed his two formal years with TSA, Janco saw himself as still closely connected to the programme:

> 'So ja, I'm not officially part of it any more, I'm now an alumnus of the organisation cos I finished my two years, but I have been active, I would say I am still pretty actively involved, mainly because I am interested in, in supporting the current and future ambassadors'.

In terms of the quality of a TSA teacher, the teachers used the words and phrases: 'adaptable'; 'strong'; 'confident in their own skin'; 'a person up for a challenge'; 'assertive'; 'loves children'; 'cool'; 'intelligent'; 'down-to-earth'; 'motivated'; 'idealistic-in-a-good-way'; 'resilient'; 'innovative'; 'a certain maturity'; 'respectful'; 'accountable'; 'technology-friendly'; 'disciplined'; 'being able to show Ubuntu'; 'being able to learn and be a good leader'; 'being able to create positive and loving energy around your learners'. Also mentioned were being a 'friend', 'older sister/brother' and 'role model'.

For Janco, success as a TSA teacher was:

> 'lasting out your two years, if possible staying in education or a related field and not having the attitude that you're gonna run for the hills and never, ever again step foot in a public school'.

He believed that a TSA teacher needs to;

> 'take failures really well, you know, failure and complete failure, never-ending failure for the first year … and still somehow make a plan with it',

and expressed a concern that TSA could be:

> 'putting pretty useless and sometimes like negative young people in'

although he went on to explain that he did not believe that they are generally doing this.

Emotions about teaching

Shandu used the word 'love' six times in relation to teaching and children and continued to refer to 'passionate graduates' and 'passionate teachers'. Janco and Lindidwe also used the word 'love' with Janco saying:

> 'I think it's really important as well for a good teacher to, to really care and be interested in, in children and young people, ja, to love them. I think that's really important, so yes'.

'Joy' is a word which cropped up twice in relation to teaching and learning in Lindidwe's responses, and as mentioned above, 'caring' and 'helping' appeared as the teachers described their work. It was evident

that it was important to Janco not to 'blame the children' or 'complain about something that, that the children do'.

Only Janco referred to the job in terms of hardship and 'failure' and none of the teachers referred to it as a job which involves personal, professional or financial sacrifice. Mattheu used no terms of emotion in his responses.

Future plans and ambitions

Both Janco and Mattheu were intending to stay in teaching beyond the two year TSA commitment, but the other teachers indicated that they will leave teaching but stay closely connected to the organisation. This was evident with Shandu's:

'I know that wherever and whatever I do, TEACH will be a big part of who I am',

and Lindidwe's:

> 'I see a long lasting relationship with TSA. Even though may not be a teacher after this two years, I will forever be a LEADER and a voice of education wherever I work. I will always vouch for education in such a way that I can help find sponsors for TSA or TSA schools'.

Amahle was even clearer about her career path:

> 'I envision a future with TSA where I am part of the Media and Communications department tasked with having the vision of TSA as a movement and not just an NGO that places graduates as teachers'.

Mattheu wished to get involved in the training and development of future ambassadors:

> 'In the future I would like to develop upcoming ambassadors and to give them support',

as did Janco: 'I want to mentor teachers more'. At the time of interview, Janco was planning to be involved in the forthcoming 'Tribute Training':

> 'So I've already met with the person who's in charge of training the English ambassadors and we've tentatively agreed that I'm going to be helping her like 50:50, helping her with the training of this next year's cohort, so in December, I'll be at their Tribute Training for the entire time'.

He had ambitions for the programme:

> 'this will lead into what I want … next year is I want is to lead an alternative mentorship method',

planning to meet with English ambassadors in regional groups on a regular basis to:

> ‘have some little bit of support and general like, you know, sharing experiences, but also professional like development and sharing methodology, sharing solutions to problems’.

From an email conversation with Lindelane, a TSA manager, in December 2015, it appears that the planned Tribute Training did not take place due to university lecturer strikes. Email communications with Janco in December 2015 also revealed that he was no longer involved in the Tribute Training but that he had already held one of his regional meetings with English ambassadors and was hoping to involve TF teachers via Skype in future meetings.

Context and government policy

Shandu and Amahle made no reference to the economic and political context in which they are working. Janco referred to the difficulties organisations, including TSA, have in sourcing funding:

> ‘I mean everybody’s looking for funding in South Africa. There’s thousands of organisations and projects and this and that, so you know, you really have to convince people that what you’re doing has like really deep impact to get, to get money and maybe that’s what TEACH has been struggling with’.

Lindidwe referred to ‘poor performing schools’ whilst Mattheu made direct reference to a ‘shortage of mathematics teachers … shortage of teachers in the country’. Stating that:

'TSA will be the answer to shortage of teachers in the country and better quality of results',

he implied that the quality of the results is currently poor. Lindidwe's story of growing up 'in a township school' and having

'to attend public schools of which really had few to no resources to work with' indicated an inequality of educational provision where 'township' and 'public' schools are considered to be inferior to private schools.

'And hopefully some teachers' at the end of Shandu's statement about educating youth to make them 'future leaders, engineers and doctors' gave the impression that the teaching profession sits below medical and engineering professions in terms of prestige and remuneration in South Africa.

Messages about Teach South Africa

There was little indication of marketing and industry jargon within the SA teachers' responses. Only Janco spoke of TSA now employing

'two PR people and all, at least there's two PR people working for them now'.

There was also no mention of 'mission' and only Amahle mentioned 'vision' and 'movement'. It was evident, however, that the graduate

recruitment aspect of the organisation was a powerful message given by TSA:

> 'With a large number (of) dedicated young graduates who are willing to (be) the agents of change';
>
> 'I was inspired by the opportunity they give to graduates who might not have studied a degree in education or method teaching but have the passion to do so';
>
> 'TEACHSA takes a lot of Graduate in each year'

and 'They train graduates and put them in a classroom to share their love of education with the learners of South Africa. However, their main focus is to put these educated graduates that have a love for teaching in a township/rural school where they can ultimately make a difference and contribute to the children in those environments'.

The reputation of the organisation is evidently a good one. Shandu wrote:

> 'I was inspired to join TSA because of what they stand for',

Mattheu explained:

> 'In many schools working with Teach, the ambassadors have left good impressions on the school and some sort of legacy'.

Amahle believed:

> ‘they are already nationally recognised and making an impact’,

Janco had options as a graduate, preferring TSA to his other offers:

> ‘I also applied to TSA and then I got accepted to that and I decided to take that and not the other leads that I had found’.

He went on to say:

> ‘I guess it has international prize’.

He was, however, the only SA teacher to express negativity towards the organisation:

> ‘I just say that my actual, actually my lack of knowledge of really how, what’s going on in the organisation is indicative of the gap, this unfortunate gap between the teachers and the organisation…the people running it are stretched extremely thin that, which means they are not able to keep up ties with the actual teachers very much so you don’t really know what’s going on most of the time’.

The future of TSA was considered to be very hopeful:

> ‘I see teach growing from strength to strength’;

> ‘It is clear that TeachSA has grown and it is still growing … TeachSA has a bright future ahead’;

> 'Very soon TeachSA will be the most influential organisation in South Africa, if is not already'

and 'Teach SA certainly has a bright future'

Janco expressed reservations in his optimism for the organisation:

> 'I would ideally I would like the organisation to grow a lot, like you know, a thousand teachers a year, all over the country with a proper network of people supporting them and stuff like that. But unless they not only get the funding but like get the expertise to run it properly and to support the teachers properly, then they might actually end up doing more harm than good, sadly'.

Networks

Nothing was mentioned about TSA being in a position to influence policy. Nor was there anything arising from the data about wider networks touched upon by TSA (other than a sense of a global reach which will be addressed in the following section). What was communicated, however, was the notion of TSA creating its own web of ambassadors and alumni, a club to which the SA teachers would have a sense of belonging and ownership.

Mattheu wrote about the intensity of being 'part of Teach family' and Shandu expressed her enthusiasm at getting 'to be a part of a group of people'. As indicated in the sections above, Janco's and

Mattheu's wishes to become involved in supporting and developing future ambassadors, and Amahle's ambition to join the Media and Communications department of TSA indicated their sense of a place within and an entitlement to put back in to the organisation that has developed and sustained them.

Teaching as a global profession

As explained in chapter four, the SA teachers were not asked directly about their understanding of TfA. A sense of TSA as part of a global movement, did, however, come through in Lindidwe's and Amahle's responses:

> 'I think Teach SA is an international organisation as it has an ability to communicate and share our experiences with other international organisations. I believe that Teach SA will continue to grow locally and internationally. This to me means that Teach SA ambassadors will be able to share information, strategies and opportunities with international ambassadors. This will create a solid bond of which will then help improve our learners' performances. Who knows, maybe one day our learners will have the opportunity to meet, share and communicate with international students'.

and 'I see Teach South Africa as part of a "TEACH WORLD" global movement because I feel that their vision is one that resonates with education goals everywhere … I see Teach South Africa as

> global movement because I feel that they are already nationally recognised and making an impact'.

Janco was not as convinced as Lindidwe and Amahle. Whilst acknowledging that TSA is

> 'modelled on another organisation which is in another country, so in so far as it's like inspired by the American or the British versions…and I know that, I think they went to India for like a TEACH something with many other of the TEACH organisations were there',

he went on to say:

> 'I don't see it as very, in practice, I don't think it's very international, doesn't have very strong international ties'.

This view was echoed in Shandu's response:

> 'Teach SA the organisation, I would not consider as being a global initiative as of yet as many people in South Africa are still getting to know what Teach SA is all about and trying to understand the concept of it. It still has to reach a global audience and with time and networking, I'm positive that will happen'.

Shandu, however, expressed a sense of teaching as a global endeavour in more abstract terms:

> 'I do feel I'm part of a global movement as education affects everyone and therefore me being a part of Teach SA and what they strive to achieve is a global initiative'.

Philanthropy

When asked about philanthropy, Janco had a negative view:

> 'I don't like the connotations of the word, the modern sort of connotations of the word, like you think of these like really rich billionaires giving their money of which they have already too much, which they've probably gotten from screwing people over, and then giving it to like poor people, and getting a warm, glowy, fuzzy feeling from it and being held up as like really great people. I don't like that whole connotation'.

He continued:

> 'I think so sadly, maybe we (TSA) need a few stinking rich people'.

He did, however, speak of his own 'privilege', squandering 'the last part of my advantages' and therefore 'coming back with a sense of responsibility'.

Shandu, Lindidwe and Amahle also directly used the term 'philanthropy' but in relation to the softer, more caring, helping, nurturing skills already mentioned, that they valued on the job:

> 'I would then say that yes, philanthropy occurs in my classroom but in the sense of enhancing and developing learners';

> 'Philanthropy to me means the love of humanity in the sense of caring, nourishing, developing and enhancing one another as a society. I think being a teacher gives an opportunity to practically apply the role of philanthropy in my everyday work by sharing my love with learners, developing as well as enhancing their academic performance, leadership skills and confidence'

and

> 'I understand philanthropy as one's ability to altruistically give their time and energy in an effort to better another person's life. It is the whole inspiration behind me teaching and the value of that kind of social service'.

Mattheu was affected by

> 'many other factors that cannot go unnoticed. Welfare of the learners, poverty and many others. As a person, I always help if I can'.

Shandu cautioned against a charitable approach in her work:

> 'I do what I do not out of charity. People don't want hand-outs. So I'm not there to encourage my students that they are a cause, that they are disadvantaged'.

Findings from interviews with a middle -manager from Teach First and Teach South Africa

Approaches to categorising, clustering and thematising the interviews and questionnaires have been outlined in the previous chapter along with a list of ensuing themes. Findings in relation to prominent themes will now be presented, with the Northern middle-manager's interview first, followed by the Southern middle-manager's interview.

UK Middle Manager (Nigel)

Type of teacher and classroom context

Nigel presented an image of the Teach First participant as someone who leaves her/his undergraduate degree a winner, capable of entering top graduate jobs:

> 'most of them could almost do anything they want, they could be applying to all the grad groups PWC and Aldi and all the £45,000 starting salaries like Aldi and the fancy cars that you get and all of that'.

He followed on by saying that participants are a particular type of person willing to eschew 'glamourous' places such as 'Westminster and central London' for an:

> '£18,000 starting salary and to work in a … you know, a challenging school in Burnley or Blackpool'.

He attributed this to the 'eight skills and competencies' tested at application to the programme, which show a 'commitment to social justice' and:

> 'the humility and empathy that they will need to work in a very different social context'.

Keen for the TF participants to see themselves as teachers in schools, Nigel stated:

> 'I want the participants to see their primary identity as an employee of the school' claiming that TF would support a teacher who wished to stay as classroom teacher long-term in the profession:

> 'if somebody turns up on summer institute and says in 40 years' time I would still want to be a classroom teacher doing the absolute best job for every kid I teach, well I see that as, as important as the person who wants to become a head teacher'.

Yet it was evident that a short-term commitment to teaching with a longer term commitment to the 'vision' of TF, or influential roles within society is also anticipated:

> 'there are lots of stories that, that I could tell you about people, you know, ambassadors that leave the classroom or leave the education sector but continue to do something towards the TF vision'.

He added:

> 'TF ambassadors are able to really kind of extend the work that they do towards the vision from wherever they happen to be in society';

> 'We have really simple objectives for the work that we want our ambassador community to achieve which are really basically, you know, more ambassadors having a better impact in the classroom, more ambassadors in school leadership positions and more ambassadors in influential positions in kind of policy and decision making'.

Whilst in their teaching roles, Nigel considered there are three crucial tiers:

> 'I think you've really got to be part of the … you've got to be in your classroom, present in your school and present in your community'.

Teach First and Teacher Development

Referring to the origins of TF as an organisation, Nigel said:

> 'TF was then born from the kind of the London Challenge but also inspired by the Teach for America model. And the Teach for America first, was kind of thirteen years ago when TF was established'.

He spoke of the chaos of the early days:

> 'When you hear some of the stories about the first five years of TF, it's true to say that the model was chaotic and everyone talks romantically about working out of a back office in a building somewhere and you know, running round doing everything',

whilst indicating how far the organisation has since developed:

> 'Teach for America and TF are the two most mature organisations in the global network'.

He went on to say:

> 'At TF we talk about being part of a wider movement … we do talk about kind of wider things, you know, you're part of a national organisation as a wider movement',

emphasising the influence and reach that the organisation now appeared to have:

> 'and TF felt like they had you know a sort of a growing reputation in the sector … and I wanted to be part of an increasingly influential organisation';

> 'TF as part of the Fair Education Alliance to put ourselves in ministers' offices and to be really trying to influence you know, kind of government policy'.

Nigel emphasised the fact that TF is a charity:

> 'but also at TF as a charity there's kind of other things that we need to be doing for the charity to be successful',

continuing on to consider the funds that need to be raised in order to sustain the organisation:

> 'So last year, no this current year 14/15, we're a £61 million organisation. That's our total spend. And of that £61 million, twelve percent of that, so what's that? Kind of around £7 million is raised through voluntary income'.

He considered the future of TF:

> 'well the ultimate future for any charity and absolutely for TF has to be to make itself redundant and so we need an exit strategy… we're probably not going to make ourselves redundant in the next ten years';

> 'I see the future of TF initially, as kind of becoming more deeply embedded in, in partnerships and collaborative approaches'.

With regard to teacher development, Nigel accepted that 'TF is currently pretty much the only way to get a free PGCE', but he tempered this statement with:

> 'I genuinely think we've got people who're committed to, you know, a socially just form of education and not just getting a PGCE'.

He spoke about:

> 'the bulk of our activity and the work that we do is training and developing teachers as part of the Leadership Development Programme, so ensuring that during those two years, they have the very, very best teaching and support that they could possibly have from the University of X, the school they work in and TF'.

Appearing to contradict himself, he stated:

> 'TF is not a replacement for the fast-track system and I don't see it and I will never see it as an accelerated route to middle and senior leadership'.

Partnerships/Networks/Influence

Nigel discussed the links that his TF region had with local organisations and MPs 'to increase our reach'. He also acknowledged the fact that TF was part of the 'Fair Education Alliance which brings together over 30 organisations' and which he considered as having the potential to 'become a really significant force in influencing policy makers'.

> ' I see the future of TF, initially, as kind of becoming more deeply embedded in, in partnerships and collaborative

> approaches so that we can get a real kind of a, this is where I start to understand the term 'movement".

Not only did he convey the sense of TF as an organisation at the heart of a web of interconnectivity 'so we've now kind of positioned ourselves at the centre', but also the participants and ambassadors as active agents within such a web. He mentioned a colleague's analogy of 'constellation' in relation to the influence and reach of TF over and above educational networks:

> 'The world isn't going to change if we just keep putting more and more teachers into the system, however great and wonderful they might be. We need the, the innovative social enterprises, we need school leadership, we need policy decision makers, we need philanthropists, wealthy individuals, we need kind of corporate social responsibility. We need this constellation effect to actually make the change'.

A sense of belonging to TF almost as a club affording certain professionally beneficial entitlements came through as Nigel stated:

> 'I've always been able to put, you know, my participants and ambassadors in touch with the right people and different interested people all around the world'.

Philanthropy

Nigel spoke of working with a colleague to raise money towards a £50,000 target for his region which was:

> 'money that we are given by, you know, some of the kind of really big banks and companies in the country … some of that is kind of given to us as unrestricted funds'.

He went on to mention:

> 'some of the big players, erm, who all actually believe that all children have the right to, you know, equal life chances … so as well as the kind of the money that we get, which is crucial, there's also the relationships that come from those the you know, the philanthropic organisations giving their time and expertise to solve this problem'.

The organisations that Nigel specifically mentioned TF being affiliated with through philanthropic donations of time or money were: Deloitte, Save the Children, Kids Company (discredited in 2015), UBS and Barnardo's.

Teach for All/Global reach

Nigel spoke of how Teach for All came about in the wake of Teach for America and TF:

> ‘my understanding is that quite quickly the similar sort of problem was identified in lots of parts of the world, you know, kind of Europe and South America but more kind of over in Asia as well as Australasia… The group of people that have set up all of the organisations in TfA have that kind of that shared ambition that all children can be as successful as anyone else’.

He acknowledged that TF and Teach for America had been influential in the establishing of other ‘TEACH’ organisations around the world:

> ‘My impression is certainly that TF and Teach for America are in the position where we’re offering more help and support to other organisations to help them to get established and to grow’.

He spoke of one of his UK colleagues spending

> ‘nine months over in Thailand to help the Teach for Thailand graduate recruitment model to be developed’

Another UK colleague ‘has moved down permanently to Teach for Malaysia’.

Nigel admitted that:

> ‘it feels as though, you know, we’re kind of perhaps giving a little more out to the global network than we are getting back at the moment’.

In terms of a close connection to TfA, Nigel said:

> 'it's not, it's not something that I have a real … I don't think about the TfA network on a daily basis, it's not kind of part of my, not a big part of my role in any way at all',

and he went on to illustrate how he might 'use the TfA network in very small ways', by signposting UK participants to opportunities within the 'TfA family' overseas.

Drawing on an example of Teach for America alumni and TF ambassadors connecting with each other, he outlined the potential that he saw for the global network to influence policy at a high level:

> 'they're really having that conversation about well what do we need to do to get into these positions of influence so that you know, the things that we're talking about and shouting about are, are changing policy … policy makers' decisions',

stating an aspiration that he would

> 'want to sort of see the TfA erm voice as influencing global politics, so they need a seat at the UN'.

Teach South Africa Middle Manager (Lindelani)

Type of teacher and classroom context

Lindelani articulated a sense that TSA ambassadors were exceptionally strong in subject knowledge in comparison with teachers who had trained through the PGCE route:

> ‘you talk in terms of a teacher who, content wise is really picked because we recruit people who have done their maths, science, up to about three years which is very different from the teacher training. The mathematics level cannot be compared for people who go for PGCEs and so on’.

Yet she indicated a tension, as ambassadors have not had specific training in classroom pedagogy:

> ‘feedback from many principals has been, you know, our ambassadors .. all have said that they are straight into the classroom without the methodology’.

She went on to say that despite this, they had a good reputation:

> ‘When it comes to their news and their commitment and work ethics and all that, they, you know they are really doing so well. The principals want them’.

Depicting dedicated, committed teachers prepared to go above and beyond the usual demands of the job, Lindelani gave an example of one ambassador:

> ‘When you see B so unsettled, it’s because he knows you can’t miss even just a day but having missed a week you know that you have just fallen miles and miles away from your goal’.

She also explained about extra tutoring ambassadors do outside of their contractual obligations:

> ‘and sometimes the ambassadors in schools, they work as tutors as well and they help the grade twelve learners even though they are not teaching them’.

She gave an indication of the skill and talent the ambassadors possess with the potential to go on to leadership roles as she stated: ‘the future is in the ambassadors really, they are TSA’.

Some of the contextual issues mentioned by Lindelani were: a lack of maths and science skills in the population; disconnection between government and school leaders; a lack of technology, with what is available being misguidedly focused on learners in the higher grades and underfunding to the extent that ambassadors buy paper with their own money. As a strategy to strengthen pupil learning at an early stage to build a strong foundation, Lindelani stated:

> ‘we came to the conclusion that we’d like to place our ambassadors in lower classes. Grade 8, grade 9 and grade 10’.

Teach South Africa and Teacher Development

Lindelani explained that TSA:

> ‘started running in 2008. That’s how we started, so the first cohort was trained in 2008 and was placed in 2009 in the schools’.

and came about as a response to the countrywide shortage of maths and science skills:

> 'TSA was mainly to bring in the critical skills for maths and science, not leaving English, cos it, it's an enabler for maths and science',

as well as a chronic teacher shortage:

> 'we are not producing any new teachers. The need for new teachers every year is about erm … it could be 15,000? 15,000… but we, we are not managing to bring in, I think we are bringing about 7,000 every year'.

She accepted that TSA recruits currently only a small number of graduates:

> 'I mean we, we not having big numbers at all, we, we have managed to place 340 in all this space of time',

but was proud that 'at least 40/50% of that is still in the classroom'.

Developing a PGCE in tandem with their programme was an issue that they were currently grappling with at TSA:

> 'our PGCEs in the country are not still being seen as very good'

and she spoke of developing links with the University of South Africa and a private teacher training company, whilst expressing an ambition to look

> 'into also, as TSA, er, how we can also come into that space of doing the training ourselves'.

She indicated that ambassadors are not fully ready to work as teachers as they embark upon their posts:

> 'we don't think they are that er ready in terms of the real, you know, issues of teaching and learning',

and that development and training once in school was not ideal:

> 'So ja, they, our ambassadors, they will, they are in class from day one I mean after that, so they do get mentoring which we can't say is enough because of manpower and funding and all that';

> 'they will be doing the practice on their own so the, the, the support from the university is that way that is also lacking in supporting the new teachers, er, with the mentoring'.

Lindelani did, however, speak positively about the ambassadors:

> 'catching the vision and run with it on their own. They need to have it and run with it',

expressing a wish that they would stay connected to TSA and feed back into the organisation, even if they leave teaching:

> 'and we are hoping that more and more, er, come back. Some even from where they are outside the movement. You know, whatever they are doing, they bring it back in to the movement'.

Partnerships/Networks/Influence

A sense of TSA as a well-connected organisation came through in Lindelani's interview. She spoke of the TSA CEO's connections with government as he established TSA from his position as head teacher in a Soweto school:

> 'And R had er called some ministers and whatever, because of some projects that he was doing in the school and he then asked R to come and help him with this idea of you know what can we do with maths and science in the school'.

One of the Founders of TSA 'at the time was working for the Nelson Mandela Foundation' and connected with R before he became CEO of TSA with a particular strategy for establishing the organisation:

> 'So they said we need somebody who is in, in education, we need somebody who has worked in NGOs, we need somebody who comes from the business side and then they collaborated and worked on this'.

Another of the Founders of TSA was:

> 'a chartered accountant working for Deloitte…and so she, she's involved, she's been used a lot by government in terms of when it comes to any economic issues, advice about certain structures'.

In her discussion about partnerships, Lindelani spoke of

> ‘building a strong partnership with organisations, partners who bring all these things is our main focus now’.

She mentioned that in discussions about offering the PGCE to ambassadors

> ‘we have been approached by erm a number of institutions’.

She also explained about holding

> ‘an event called ‘Leadership in Government’ erm, which we arranged with another partner. They raised funds for, for kids’.

Alumni who contribute to the capacity of TSA were referred to by Lindelani:

> ‘there’s this ambassador working with the department of education, with a company called …my memory .. but it’s working with computers and they’ve all software for mathematics for all, not all the subjects but I think maths and science and he’s helping schools’.

Philanthropy

Whilst Lindelani mentioned Deloitte’s aim of increasing the number of black chartered accountants in South Africa, the only other indication of philanthropy was a sense of TSA ambassadors ‘making a difference’, ‘rekindling that hope’ and ‘changing the landscape of

education especially for the less privileged'. Also she referred to key people within TSA giving their time for free:

> 'because we have been having people like the Founders, except R, who were working on voluntary basis'.

Teach for All/Global reach

Without going in to detail about the breakdown of TSA's relationship with TfA, Lindelani spoke of 'a very short-lived relationship'. She mentioned how she 'got to go to India' and of having a 'strategy session with Wendy Kopp'. She also spoke of 'Samantha Williams who was supposed to look at partners in Africa'. She went on to say:

> 'so so I think the misunderstanding or whatever disagreement came in the fact that we couldn't have the pay structures, you know and so I think that's where the disconnect started'.

She mentioned 'another organisation with a relationship with TfA' wanting to come up with money to finance a new CEO for TSA, but indicated that it was difficult to find the right person and 'already by then the partnership was already over'.

Lindelani mentioned influential practice from different countries:

> 'I was reading from the UK ... Philip who?... I was reading his book on teaching with moral';

> 'we also had an opportunity to visit China';

'Wendy Kopp had a session on growth mindset';

'I also went to this training in Kagan cooperative learning'.

Findings from Teach First and Teach South Africa web-sites

Details of the six web pages explored and the themes, codes and categories arising from the pages have already been outlined in chapter four. This section now presents data from firstly the 'Teach First' web-site and subsequently the 'Teach South Africa' web-site, in relation to each of the categories.

'Teach First' https://www.teachfirst.org.uk/ (Teach First, 2016).

Teacher Identity – 'one great teacher can change a child's life'.

The teacher as a heroic individual, able to change someone's life was a repeated message:

'it's never too late to do something life-changing';

'change career, change lives';

'apply now to transform the lives of young people who need it most';

'everyone can remember one incredible teacher that made a real difference to their life'

and 'these classroom leaders change lives'

Mr. Fairbairn, inspiring Sharif, a disaffected student, was described as a specific example of one of the TF teachers who

> 'help(s) young people believe in themselves and empower(s) them to build a future they may not have believed possible'.

As well as 'life-changing', the phrase 'Leaders for Life' was also used repeatedly and the teachers were billed as having a 'passion for educational equality' and 'raising aspirations'. Qualities fore-fronted in a three minute video clip about TF employees were: 'ambition', 'self-motivation', 'dedication', 'someone who really wants a challenge', 'hard-working', 'collaborative' 'having integrity', 'passion', 'drive' and 'leadership'.

Learner Identity – 'young people who need it most'.

An image of the learner as low in aspiration and in need of transformation was presented, with a financial or material deficit portrayed:

> 'one million pupils living in low income communities across England and Wales have been supported by a TF teacher'

and

> 'with no space to work in his crowded home, Sharif struggled with A level maths'.

These learners needed a TF teacher to help them to:

'believe in themselves and empower them to build a future they may not have believed possible',

and support them to: 'achieve, not just in the classroom, but in life'.

Teacher Professional Development – 'everyone's looking for the next big idea'.

Professional development starts early with undergraduates prompted to:

'apply now for our taster programme – Leaders for Life'

for a 'unique one day opportunity for first year undergraduates to 'develop their employability skills'.

Those interested in becoming 'brilliant' teachers were recommended to:

'apply to our Leadership Development Programme – Leader for Life',

as TF claimed to 'train and support committed individuals to become inspirational classroom leaders in low-income communities',

Quoting a 2015 Ofsted inspection report :

'the quality of training across the partnership is outstanding'.

Training provided was briefly described as:

'each year a new group of participants joins us and our university partners for six weeks of intensive training before

teaching in one of our partner schools while completing our Leadership Development Programme'.

There was also an indication of professional expectations beyond the two year TF commitment:

'more than half of those who successfully complete the two year programme continue to teach. Some set up social enterprises, some become school governors and others champion the importance of education within policy or business'.

Educational Context – 3.7 million children live in poverty in the UK today

A correlation between educational achievement and income was a repeated message:

'how much you achieve in life should not be determined by how much your parents earn, yet in the UK it usually is';

'they (the 3.7 million children living in poverty) are unlikely to achieve the same success as their wealthier peers … statistics suggest they will get lower GCSE grades, earn less and die younger'

and 'We are committed to working even harder to close the gap in achievement, access and aspiration between the UK's poorest and wealthiest children'.

Partnerships and networks – 'Get involved'

The three pages explored for this study indicate only a partnership with 'Citi-e for education', 'university partners' and 'partner school'. There is, however, a link from the 'about' page:

> 'working in partnership, who we work with and how you can partner with us',

where it is possible for the reader to follow further links to explore information about the 'Fair Education Alliance', 'School Partnerships' and 'Corporate Partnerships'.

No brands or sponsorships flash up on the three pages.

Philanthropy, charity, funding – 'donate'

Underneath a large blue-highlighted box stating 'charity' which was fixed in the top centre/right of every page, was a purple-highlighted box to click to 'donate'. At the bottom of every page was written:

> '©2016 Teach First is a registered charity (1098294) and company (4478840) in England and Wales'.

Amongst this was:

> 'our mission … to end inequality in education by building a community of exceptional leaders who create change within classrooms, schools and across society'

and 'we want you to join us'.

Endorsements for TF can be found at the bottom of the 'careers' page:



'Teach South Africa' http://www.teachsouthafrica.org/ (Teach South Africa, 2016).

Teacher Identity – 'our future needs you'

Personal 'ambassador' and 'alumni' stories were fore-fronted on the home page as the reader was urged to click the links:

> 'read about our Ambassadors' experiences, challenges and success stories'
>
> 'read about our Alumni experiences, challenges and success stories'

The links gave access to ten ambassadors' and ten alumni interviews where the story of their experience with TSA was presented in their own words.

Described as 'outstanding', 'dynamic' and 'committed' graduates 'from leading South African universities', with degrees in Maths, Science, Technology and English, the ambassadors were presented as adding 'great value to the lives of learners from disadvantaged backgrounds'.

It was made clear that the teachers were an elite group of young people:

> 'Ambassadors are selected by means of a vigorous application and interview process to ensure selection of the highest-quality candidates'.

On the home page, a podcast of a radio interview with the founder of TSA and an ambassador stated that teachers were 'the heroes of 2015' and that teaching was a 'service' rather than a 'job'. The interviewed teacher stated: 'we have vowed to be change agents'.

Learner Identity – 'Determined to turn learners into leaders'

Learners were described as 'from disadvantaged backgrounds' but the nature of the disadvantage was only expanded upon briefly in the podcast in which the interviewed teacher stated:

> 'you see the glimmer in the learners' eyes, even though the conditions they come from are very tough. I drive past their shacks. I see the distances they walk'.

Flagged in the top left hand corner of every page on the site, underneath the TSA logo was an aspirational, learner-centred statement 'determined to turn learners into leaders'.

The 'news' section at the bottom of the home page contained a link to a story: 'Zonkizizwe secondary school learners are GEMS' in which learners' creativity was showcased.

Teacher professional development

An indication of the training ambassadors' experience after the 'vigorous' selection process was evident:

> 'successful applicants then go through four weeks of intensive training and orientation before being placed in a local school as a TEACH Ambassador for a period of two years';
>
> 'sessions were facilitated by qualified professionals from the South African education system who shared their own teaching experiences and helped the new recruits better understand and feel prepared for the challenges and opportunities of the system'.

There were links to the 'training' and 'ongoing support' and what ambassadors could expect from the 'training academy'.

'Leadership' was also alluded to. In the radio interview podcast, the founder stated:

> 'The right thing you need to do is have a powerful recruitment strategy in place. The training follows. You're not just looking for teachers, you're looking for leaders in these young people'.

It was also stated on the web-site that

> 'these teachers go on to become lifelong leaders in the effort to expand educational opportunity'.

Educational context – 'we know the issues of Maths and Science are a huge challenge in this country'.

A brief indication of the educational context was given:

> 'TEACH South Africa was first established in 2005 to support the Department of Education in addressing the national skills shortage in the areas of Maths, Science, English and Technology'.

Other than this and a reference to 'disadvantaged schools in urban and rural areas, the reader needs to reach beyond the first three web-pages, clicking on to the 'TEACH vision' link on the 'about' page to arrive at the section: 'South Africa's educational crisis' where statistical data about learning and achievement can be explored. In the radio interview podcast, the TSA founder spoke of:

> 'findings of 2004 research then: the economy is lacking skills, the economy is doing well but is not creating jobs. Skills mismatch. And our schools became the suspect because we're not producing good students coming out of Matric and taking up university degrees that are more maths and science related… 70% of teachers in SA are 40 years of age and older. Issues with violence within school. We know the issues of maths and science are a huge challenge in this country'.

Partnerships and networks

A number of sponsors' logos appeared at the bottom of each page. This will be explored further in the following section. There was otherwise scant mention of partnerships with collaboration indicated only once:

> 'the former MEC for Education, Mary Metcalfe introduced TEACH ambassadors to new and innovative ways of teaching in the classroom'

In the radio interview podcast, however, the TSA founder mentioned working:

> 'with the Minister of Education when she was still the regional minister. In the five years, TEACH has grown very strong and we owe that to the Gauteng Department of Education'.

He spoke of 'supporting what government is doing, not work against it'.

Philanthropy, charity, funding

At the bottom of the homepage, flashing on and off were logos from the following organisations:

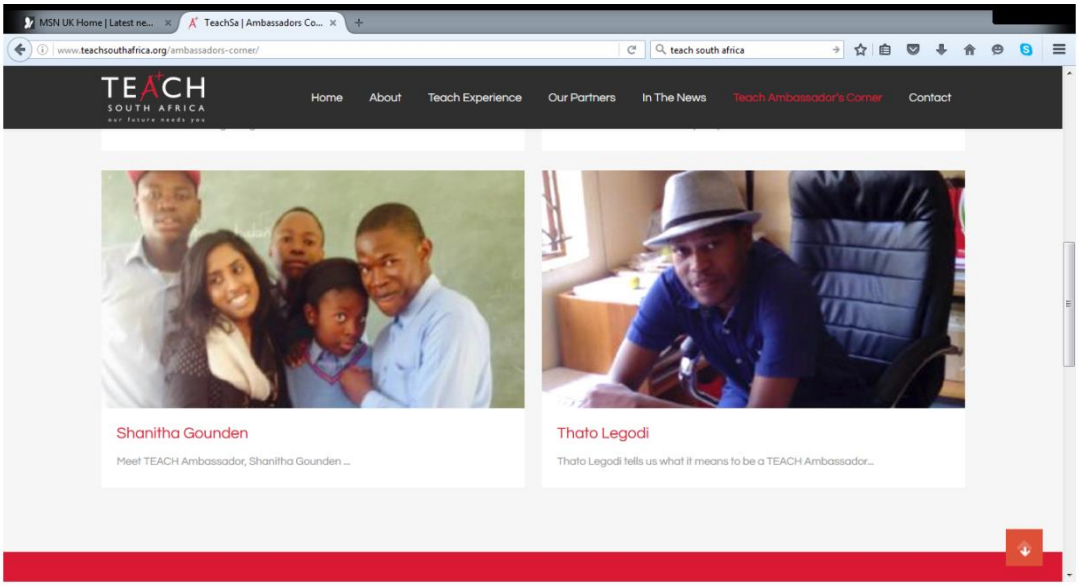
- Samsung
- Ed.org.za
- Zenex foundation
- Youthzone
- BCG
- Gauteng Education Department
- Deloitte
- ABSA

- Argo
- Kaya fm
- Emzingo group
- The Saje foundation
- Protec
- Barloworld
- Born to be
- The Kommunity Desk company
- African Rainbow Minerals
- GK
- Stanlib
- Developed and maintained by Flow Communications

On the top left hand side of each page was a fixed eye-catching, turquoise box with 'DONATE' written on it which is a link to a page which allows you to donate money in a quick and straightforward manner. The fifth page is headed 'support us' and offers links for 'businesses', 'schools', 'government', 'universities', 'friends of TEACH' and 'donate to TEACH'.

The radio interview podcast spoke of

'teachers volunteering their lives. Not just their time but their lives'.


MSN UK Home | Latest ne...
TeachSa | Ambassadors Co...
www.teachsouthafrica.org/ambassadors-corner/
teach south africa
TEACH
SOUTH AFRICA
our future needs you
Home
About
Teach Experience
Our Partners
In The News
Teach Ambassador's Corner
Contact
Shanitha Gounden
Meet TEACH Ambassador, Shanitha Gounden ...
Thato Legodi
Thato Legodi tells us what it means to be a TEACH Ambassador...

Chapter Six: Thinking about Theory

Having explored TEACH literature and sources concerning the histories of ITE in South Africa and in England, I now turn to literature concerning the 'neoliberal turn' (Harvey, 2005: 87), 'network governance', (Ball, 2012) and charity and new philanthropy. I also consider literature concerned with the development of a global educational policy field. This literature will act as yet another lens through which I then analyse the data presented in chapters two and five. I also explain why I have chosen Critical Discourse Analysis as an analytical tool.

The neo-liberal turn

Described as a 'neoliberal revolution' (2005: 39), Harvey illustrates how, in the UK during the Thatcher and Reagan years from 1979, neoliberal ideological influences such as entrepreneurialism, private enterprise, financial accountability, surveillance and productivity ran through universities, the media, schools, churches, professional associations and corporations, with less government oversight, financial management and intervention than during Keynesian liberalism (post world war two - 1979). These ideological influences serve to illustrate the five states of being which neoliberalism rests upon (Ball, 2013a): insecurity; individualisation; inequality; financialisation and de-politicisation. With its allure of promised rights, freedom and liberty, Harvey argues that neoliberalism is a 'benevolent mask' (2005: 119)

disguising a hostility to social solidarity and commitment to environmental and humanitarian well-being, in favour of the accumulation of capital. He also claims that it has created a climate of support which lulls people into viewing neoliberalism as the 'exclusive guarantor of freedom' (2005: 40). The extent to which neoliberalism has become embedded and engrained into the minds, hearts and psyches of those living where it is a dominant doctrine is echoed in Rizvi and Lingard's notion of the 'social imaginary' (2010), as well as by Martin (2011) and Bourdieu, when he writes of 'the neoliberal vulgate – an economic and political orthodoxy so universally imposed and unanimously accepted that it seems beyond the reach of discussion and contestation' (2003: 11). Indeed, almost all institutions in UK society, including governments, charities, hospitals, schools and universities have 'come under an obligation to behave as if they were business corporations' (Crouch, 2011:167). 'Think-tanks' are construed as having had a major role in the production and imposition of this ideology (Bourdieu, 2003; Harvey, 2005). Within it, education is cast as a 'merit good' (Harvey, 2005: 37) or commodity (Bourdieu, 2003), a positioning I illustrate and exemplify in the following section on Ball's construct of 'network governance' (2007; 2008; 2012), which demonstrates the 'disarticulation' of education from local government control into the jurisdiction of a web of private enterprises. Bourdieu argues that the 'institutionalised precariousness' arising out of the marketization of organisations such as schools 'puts workers in a state of risk, stress and

tension' (2003: 29), which paves the way for the pressures of teacher 'performativity' as identified by Ball in his work of the same period (2003).

Harvey (2005) illustrates the way that neoliberal ideology spread around the world with reference to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) along with transnational corporations (TNCs) such as McDonalds, Starbucks and Shell. In the South African context, Harvey (2005) argues that economic apartheid, caused by the IMF and World Bank coercing the South African government to 'embrace the neoliberal line' (116) has now replaced racial apartheid. What 'globalisation' actually is and means is a highly contested issue, which I grapple with in more detail below. It is worth noting, though, Bourdieu's view that the 'globalisation' of neoliberal ideology is in fact a deliberate and conscious policy to impose a United States (US) –centric model onto the rest of the world, in which the US is constructed as the most advanced society in evolutionary terms, to which other nation states are aspiring and against which the success of other nation states is measured (2003).

Crouch suggests that political influence is gained by neoliberalism's wealthy financial winners (2011). He argues that representatives from transnational corporations (TNCs) are 'right inside the room of political decision making', setting standards, acting as consultants and establishing private regulatory systems (2011: 131).

Network governance

Asserting that in the UK we are currently facing the beginning of the end of state education (2012), Ball and Junemann explain how in the post-Thatcher years New Labour's 'Third Way' (1997 – 2010) sought to reconcile capitalism and socialism by 'harnessing an entrepreneurial drive within a context of social/public purpose' (2012: 68). They point out that the language of 'Public Private Partnerships' started to appear in the late 1990s (Ball and Junemann, 2012: 58). The focus was on public sector reforms and these reforms enabled the continued practical implementation of neoliberal ideology within the UK public sectors (2012). This, Ball argues (2012), has involved a 'disarticulation' of the state education system which has crept in gradually through the introduction of grant maintained schools during the Conservative years (1979 - 1997), to become further embedded through the introduction of academies during the New Labour government (1997 - 2010). School governing bodies are deciding to fracture off from the financial, political and strategic support of Local Education Authorities, take control of their own budgets, change teachers' terms and conditions, introduce unqualified staff as classroom learning assistants and involve charities, trusts and businesses in their strategic and financial management. This, Ball suggests, continued more recently under the Coalition government's (2010 – 2015) 'New Society'. The 2010 White Paper (DfE) proposed a shift in the eligibility of schools to become academies and the development of the Free

School movement. Whilst creating fertile ground for new networks of different parties and actors to be involved in the governance of schools, this disabled and disenfranchised established agencies and actors (Ball, 2008).

Ball and Junemann focus on the role of social enterprise in education 'the space where philanthropy and business meet' (2012: 68) to highlight a gossamer web of network relations replete with 'ambiguity and hybridity' (ibid: 121). Here, they argue, are new actors who have migrated from business, looking to address social problems through market solutions and social entrepreneurial activities. With them come new practices, languages and values which are changing the discourse around education and creating a new 'epistemic community' (ibid: 124). The David Ross Education Trust (DRET, 2015b) established in 2007 exemplifies Ball's analysis: a multi-millionaire mobile phone tycoon turned his hand to philanthropic activity by supporting schools across the East Midlands, Yorkshire and Humberside and the East of England to become the 'country's leading group of academies committed to high quality academic education for all' (David Ross Foundation, 2007). DRET has a governing body that holds its schools accountable and helps them to identify how to improve performance as well as providing specialist support services to the schools, including training, marketing, finance, IT and human resources (ibid.). Here, the language of 'accountability', 'performance' and 'marketing' indicates a business and entrepreneurial gloss within the

new educational discourse, in which market solutions are offered to social problems (Ball, 2008, 2012). Whilst the concept of 'new philanthropy' will be considered in more detail below, pertinent to an understanding of the new players within this 'heterarchical' (Ball, 2012: 137) network governance of education, is the manner in which, through their particular financial, social and moral capitals (Bourdieu, 1986), individuals are then offered privileged access to influence and control, which, Ball argues, 'reduce[s] the need for open democratic debate' (ibid: 142).

Four kinds of changes in educational governance are highlighted by Ball (2012). These changes also serve to pave the way for education policy to move into the global arena, as will be explored generally and with a focus on TfA later. The four changes are: the systems, structures and forms of governance; the type of participants involved in the processes of governance; the language and discourses through which governance is articulated, and the nature of the subjects of governance, i.e. educational workers. With the latter, Ball and Junemann suggest that the greater autonomy of academies and free schools to determine teachers' terms and conditions has resulted in the disempowerment of teachers' unions. They argue that the modern teacher is less likely to be unionised, may not be qualified, has insecure employment conditions, all of which renders her/him a 'docile and productive' (2012: 29) enterprising, self-maximising, conforming and

'performing' subject, constantly judged, reviewed, measured and compared (Ball, 2003; 2008; Ball and Junemann, 2012: 140).

It is possible to see how, operating from within a neoliberal framework, many schools in the UK have disarticulated from the jurisdiction of Local Education Authorities to be governed by a network of actors involved in business, charitable, philanthropic and socially entrepreneurial endeavours. This trend was set to grow with the Department for Education's 2016 White Paper 'Educational Excellence Everywhere' proposal for a widespread increase in Multi-Academy-Trust with all primary and secondary schools in England to commit to becoming academies by 2022 (DfE, 2016a). However, the 2016 Secretary of State for Education, Nicky Morgen, back-tracked on this proposal after dissent from teaching unions, teachers, parents and prominent head teachers (Adams, 2016b).

Such a model of governance, Ball argues (2012), is embedded within organisations including TF, a charity with a 'mission … to end inequality in education by building a community of exceptional leaders who create change in classrooms, schools and across society' (TF, 2015). The organisation works with corporate sponsors (ranked as 'platinum', 'gold', 'silver' and 'bronze' according to the amount donated (appendix 3a), social entrepreneurs, edu-businesses such as Promethean, Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), and the government, with cross-party support.

New Philanthropy

Morvaridi writes of the origins of philanthropy as being in Victorian times in the UK, where wealthy individuals donated money to social causes. Traditional philanthropy was mainly undertaken anonymously and without an expectation that the donor would benefit personally from, or be involved in the management of the donation (2012). A Gramscian perspective would suggest that regardless of its intention, philanthropy, as an instrument of hegemony, serves to divert attention away from the inequality of wealth as concentrated in the hands of the few (1995). Echoing Gramsci, both Bourdieu (1986) and Morvaridi (2012) argue that philanthropic activity is embedded in inequitable social, symbolic, cultural or economic capital. However, as can be seen from the example of David Ross above, new philanthropy differs from traditional philanthropy in that the donor is often clearly named and has a direct involvement in the social cause that s/he is supporting. In a 'Guardian' article (Henley, 2012), 'new philanthropy' is described as 'a term that emerged a decade or so ago following the sudden explosion of earnings of the city of London'. Alongside a tripling of self-made millionaires on the 2012 Sunday Times rich list (Henley, 2012), has come a governmental move to redefine 'philanthropy' within a political and strategic landscape in the UK in order to support and encourage a donor culture. 'The Giving White Paper – one year on' states that 'Britain is a generous country' and writes about the desire for 'better connected communities … working

for the common good' (HMG, 2012: 5). Without being explicit about the nature of the 'intervention', the document reports that previous government intervention has failed to make a sustainable difference and that the government is now looking to work closely with a 'coalition of the willing' in the voluntary and business sectors. Three priorities are outlined: to develop closer connections between business and charity so that giving becomes a 'social norm'; to stimulate social action in order to help solve social challenges and to continue to support 'providers of opportunities, helping them to embrace innovation and demonstrate their impact'. Tax incentives and tax simplifications are offered as an enticement for businesses and individuals to 'make giving more compelling' (ibid.). In this way, then, 'giving' is becoming politicised, organised, strategized and managed. 'The Giving Summit' took place in May 2012 with two hundred representatives from charities, academic institutions and businesses; the 'Big Donor Summit' took place in London in April, 2015, with the aim of 'explor[ing]how charities can build strong, lucrative relationships with businesses, high-net worth individuals, major donors, trust and foundations' (Third Sector, 2015). The charity 'New Philanthropy Capital' was founded in 2002 by Gavyn Davis, a then Goldman Sachs partner, to help and support philanthropists to get 'the highest returns' on their donated capital (NPC, 2015), and to treat their giving as they would their businesses and investments. Ball writes of the 'new' in new philanthropy as the direct relation between 'giving' and 'outcomes'

(2012: 49). He suggests that discourses around new philanthropy include phrases such as 'agreed targets', 'accountability to stakeholders', 'rigorous due diligence', 'return on capital' and 'scalability' (ibid.), supporting Henley's view that the language of business has seeped into that of charity and philanthropy (2012). Bishop and Green take this merging of business and charitable giving to the next step in their book 'Philanthrocapitalism – how the rich can save the world' (2008). They shine a spotlight on the endeavours to change the world of wealthy, high profile entrepreneurs such as Bill Gates, Bill Clinton, George Soros, Angelina Jolie and Bono and outline how, unlike philanthropists of the past who simply gave money away, these 'social investors' are using business style strategies and 'expecting results and accountability to match' (ibid: cover). Alongside results and accountability, these 'philanthrocapitalists' are granted an iconic, quasi-god-like global recognition for offering salvation to the world's maladies: 'for Gates, the key problem is disease; for Richard Branson it's climate change, for Shakira, it's child refugees' (ibid.). Ball writes of major global problems such as disease, child refugees and the environment being passed from governments to the super rich. Philanthropy has become a new status symbol for the wealthy (2012).

Critiquing an emerging culture of a business-like, strategic approach to giving, Ball comments that moral duties previously assigned to government agencies and civil society organisations are now being adopted by corporations who are expected to practice

'citizenship' and serve socio-moral duties (2012). Concurring with this, Sasse-Trahan (2012) and Smith (1994) suggest that Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) allows corporations to engage in philanthropic or community programmes whilst at the same time, raising their status and giving them a powerful competitive and strategic edge. Commentators note that as corporations become synonymous with ethical causes, this can be foregrounded in marketing campaigns to boost the company's name and recognition amongst consumers, as well as, perhaps, increasing the productivity of their workers (Ball and Junemann, 2012; Sasse-Trahan, 2007). They argue that this can lead to individuals increasingly expecting solutions to social problems to come from corporations, and multi-nationals. Due to the globalized nature of their business they are situated in a supra-national space beyond the jurisdiction of national governments and are being asked to shoulder responsibilities once left to governments (Ball, 2012, Ball and Junemann, 2012; Sasse-Trahan, 2007).

Ball notes that the new form of philanthropic involvement of corporations in charitable causes brings with it an expectation of entitlement. Corporate directors expect to then be in a position to influence the governing bodies and boards of the charities supported (2012). He suggests that there then exists a blurring and merging of business, public service and philanthropy with some people occupying multiple positions as mobile, hybrid actors, or 'boundary spanners' (Ball, 2012: 77, Wenger, 1998), who then function as 'nodes' (Ball,

2008: 752), between the different parties and agendas involved in the ensuing organisational networks.

In their book 'Networks, New governance and Education' (2012), Ball and Junemann provide a number of diagrams to illustrate the web of interconnectedness between different actors from within TF, which was founded in 2002 by Brett Wigdortz a former Goldman Sachs employee, and jointly funded by corporate philanthropy and the UK government (2012). Ball and Junemann describe TF as 'an influential social enterprise', mobilised around philanthropic solutions to educational problems, deeply embedded within and between the communities of business and government (2012: 114). The league table of platinum, gold, silver and bronze list of corporate and individual philanthropic sponsors of TF already mentioned (appendix 3a) is a useful indication of the extent to which business, charitable, socially entrepreneurial and educational motives have aligned within one organisation in a truly networked way. This successful combination of economic, moral, network and social capitals can, Ball argues (2012), ensure a 'hearing' within government for policy ideas which are thrashed out, not in a vacuum, but within 'policy micro-spaces' (ibid: 68) of conversations and story- telling in corridors and over coffee as well as in formal and informal meetings.

Development of global education policy

Commentators note that what 'globalisation' is and means is highly contested (Appadurai, 2001; Cohen and Kennedy, 2013; Giddens, 1990; Held and McGrew, 2007; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010; Tikly, 2010). Burbules and Torres (2000), Cohen and Kennedy (2013), Giddens (1990) and Tikly, (2010) offer a variety of theoretical paradigms as a way of outlining differing constructions of 'globalisation'. Cohen and Kennedy (2013), Giddens (1990), Held and McGrew (2007) and Rizvi (2007) suggest that 'globalisation' has developed from earlier processes such as modernisation, industrialisation and imperialism. Others believe that key concepts of globalisation include: new conceptualisations of space and time (Giddens, 1990); increased cultural 'scapes' and flows due to the rise of mass media, speed and accessibility of transport and increased access to the internet (Appadurai, 2001); so-called 'glocalisation', where global products are matched and blended to a country's cultural requirements; intensified world-wide networking, through business and social media and the growing influence of global mobility (Cohen and Kennedy, 2013). Critics assert that globalisation is a western, neoliberal construct (Bourdieu, 2003; Ferguson, 2007; Giddens, 1990; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010; Tikly, 2001), with a picture of globalisation painted from 'inside' the dominant economy, with less interest taken in those countries 'outside' (Tickly, 2001). Indeed, Giddens, echoing a world systems' theoretical perspective, writes of the 'core' countries of 'globalisation',

with other countries situated in the semi-periphery and periphery (1990: 68). Agents of, and actors within 'globalisation' are considered to be: transnational corporations; international governmental agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations; international non - governmental organisations such as Amnesty International, Oxfam, Greenpeace; global social movements such as the Annual World Social Forums; diasporas and stateless people and other transnational actors such as international business women/men, tourists and migrants (Cohen and Kennedy, 2013). 'Globalisation' is, however, considered by Bourdieu (2003), Burbules and Torres (2000) and Rizvi and Lingard (2010) as an economic phenomenon often associated with neoliberal practices.

Tikly argues that globalisation works on and through education policy (2001). For example, curriculum material is developed to inculcate a sense of the self as a citizen of the world, such as the implementation by the Coalition government of the 'Global Learning Programme' for schools 'committed to equipping their students to make a positive contribution to a globalised world' (DfE, 2015). At the same time, UK education is judged and ranked on a global scale through the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), TIMMS and PIRLS (ISC, 2014). These rankings are used to inform policy documents. For example, it is stated in the 2010 White Paper that 'England came near the bottom of a list of nearly 57 countries for

educational equality in an OECD report, and the gap is still vast' (DfE, 2010: 1). In this way, the concept of global competitiveness is entering educational policy discourse. Nicky Morgan, for example, the UK Secretary of State for Education from July 2014 until July 2016, stated that GCSE and A level reforms are to ensure that high expectations are set 'which match those of the highest performing countries' (Policy Knowledge, 2014: 1). This illustrates Rizvi and Lingard's point that in educational policy discourses there has been a change in values from those of equality and democracy to those of accountability and efficiency, with an emphasis on the human capital needed to 'compete successfully in the global economy' (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010: 72; Ball et al., 2007).

Suggesting that there has been a global convergence in education policy towards a particular 'concatenation of neoliberal ideas', Rizvi and Lingard argue that nation states have transferred ideas, borrowed policy and appropriated and copied pedagogy and practice (2010). All of this, they contend, leads to universalising tendencies within educational policy and a global trend towards a 'convergence in thinking about educational values' (72). This leads to countries around the world, despite their very different economic, historic and political positions, offering similar solutions to what they conceive to be similar problems facing education (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010), a 'generic set of concepts, language and practices that is recognisable in various forms' (Ball and Junemann, 2012: 115).

TfA sits comfortably within this homogenised global educational landscape. With 'educational inequality' cast as 'a global problem', Teach for All describes its mission as 'expand(ing) educational opportunity around the world by increasing and accelerating the impact of social enterprises that are cultivating the leadership necessary for change' (TfA, 2015). Overseeing sister charitable organisations such as TF within thirty nine countries around the world, and mirroring and magnifying the networked nature of the TF organisation as outlined earlier, TfA promotes and nurtures partnership between nation states, individuals, businesses, corporations, HEIs, schools and philanthropists (Ball et al., 2013).

Critical Discourse Analysis

In keeping with the critical paradigm of this research, I decided to use a critical discourse analytical approach to my data. Discourse analysis developed from the work of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, narrative research and the ethnography of communication (Rogers, 2011) and focuses on the form, and situated meaning of language (Gee, 2005), the grammar, vocabulary and idioms of what is said and written in texts (Rogers, 2011) or the 'internal relations' of texts – phonological, vocabulary, lexical, grammatical relations and semantics (Fairclough, 2003: 36). *Critical* discourse analysis (CDA), influenced by the Frankfurt School and British Cultural Studies (ibid.) as well as Systemic Functional Linguistics which concerns

itself with the relationship between language and aspects of social life (Fairclough, 2003), considers the social practices within which texts are situated, as well as what is - and is not (Fairlough, 2003) - written and said. It considers the 'external relations' of texts (Fariclough, 2003: 36). Beginning in the 1970s, it sought to extend the critical tradition in social science by introducing critical perspectives to linguistics and other areas of language study (Jones, Chik and Hafner, 2015). Developed over forty years as a separate field of teaching and research it incorporates a variety of different techniques and versions (Jones et al., 2015) and emerged more coherently with a network of CDA scholars in the 1990s, following a small symposium in Amsterdam (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Gee, Fairclough and Kress formed part of the New London Group which was established to create a shared vision and agreed language for CDA (Rogers, 2011).

It is an analytical tool which is of particular interest for scholars who concern themselves with questioning, problematizing and challenging the status quo through exposing power relations and inequalities that produce 'social wrongs' (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012: 22). Its appeal is to researchers who 'commit themselves to an engagement in favour of dominated groups in society' (Van Dijk, 2008: 6) and can be characterised by a number of principles including a shared interest in exposing and 'demystifying ideologies and power' and approaches that are 'problem-oriented' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 2). Those engaging in CDA suggest that society is not acceptable as it is

and hope for 'alternative realities that are based in equity, love, peace and solidarity' (Rogers, 2011: 5).

'Texts' have been defined within CDA as 'anything created by humans to communicate meaning' (Leitch and Palmer, 2010: 1196), 'situated interactional accomplishments of social agents whose agency is enabled and constrained by social structures and social practices' (Rogers, 2011: 122) as 'gestures/speech/image/writing/music "semiotic entities" of any kind, resulting in ensembles composed of different modes' (Kress in Rogers, 2011: 207) and 'written and printed texts for example shopping lists, newspaper articles, but also transcripts of spoken conversations and interviews as well as TV programmes and web-pages' (Fairclough, 2003: 3). In this research, the 'texts' under scrutiny are the interviews with TSA/TF teachers and middle managers, questionnaires and TSA/TF/TfA web-sites.

There are numerous definitions of 'discourse'. Jones et al. refer to it as 'the ways people use language and other semiotic systems to accomplish particular social action, or … broader systems of knowledge which act to regulate what people can say, think or write' (2015: 3), whilst Fairclough and Fairclough suggest that it also encompasses 'the language associated with a particular social field or practice such as political discourse' (2012: 82). In earlier work, Fairclough posits that 'discourse is not an entity we can define independently. Instead it is sets of relations' (2010: 3). It has also been defined as 'an

institutionalized way of talking that regulates and reinforces action and thereby exerts power' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009).

It is evident from these definitions, that discourse within CDA is not seen as simply an autonomous verbal object (Van Dijk, 2008), but instead as a dynamic, interactive, situated and potentially powerful entity. CDA practitioners pay attention, then, to not just the language within a text, but also the context within which the text is situated; actions and interactions between the text and its context; and power and ideology that may be informing both the text and therefore also its context and interactions (Jones et al., 2015). Focusing on a dialectical relationship between discourse and action, CDA scholars assert that not only does activity create discourse but also that the reverse is possible: discourse can actually drive, influence, shape and create activity and practice (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2010; Fairclough, 2003; Fairclough, 2012; Jones et al., 2015). Fairclough in particular is concerned with the 'emergency, hegemony, recontextualisation and operationalization of discourses' (Fairclough, 2005 cited in Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2010: 1215) and has noted, as an example, how the language and discourses of the business world have entered mainstream texts and been taken over into the fields of education (2003) and health. Words such as 'performance', 'outcomes', 'quality assurance', 'performance management', 'monitor', now common parlance within the field of education, are examples of the ways in which language has been transferred from one arena to another and

then informed change within its practice (ibid.). It is not just that the language has changed but that the systems within education have also adapted in response to the evolving terminology to create an educational environment now led by business-like, market-driven 'performativity' (Ball, 2003). Rogers writes of language as having causal effects on and contributing to 'changes in persons (beliefs, attitudes etc.), actions, social relations and the material world' (2011: 122). This notion is supported by Gee who claims that CDA argues that 'language-in-use is always part and parcel of and partially constitutive of, specific social practices'. He suggests that social practices have implications for issues such as status, the distribution of social goods and solidarity and as such influence the ways in which power is distributed (2005: 28).

CDA scholars are aware that discourses may be 'enacted, inculcated and materialised' (Rogers, 2011: 124). They aim to shine the spotlight on those who are in a particularly strong position to introduce, change and develop discourses. This is to challenge the notion that discourses are neutral and to expose the forces of power that may be privileged by particular discourses (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2010; Fairclough, 2003; Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012; Rogers, 2011; Van Dijk, 2008). Journalists, lawyers, politicians and educators are considered to be amongst those who belong to powerful institutions and social groups who have 'more or less exclusive access to and control over, one or more types of public discourse' (Van Dijk, 2008: 356). Linking to Bourdieu's notion of 'symbolic capital' (1977, 1986),

Van Dijk refers to academics, directors, artists, writers and journalists as 'symbolic elites', claiming that they exert a particular level of influence over discourse, due to their specialist knowledge, authority and position within society (2008: 32). He is concerned with 'mind control' suggesting that 'dominance and hegemony' may be the outcomes of powerful discourses (2008: 357) and other CDA scholars see these as moving from the local to the global as they get recontextualised in different spaces (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2010; Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012; Jones et al., 2015). Jones et al. refer to this as a 'sort of colonization of one field or institution by another' (2015: 82). Quoting Thompson (1984) who refers to ideology as 'meaning in the service of power' (2010: 8), Fairclough, along with Van Dijk (2008), suggests that ideology can disguise itself as neutral, natural and commonplace by becoming embedded in everyday parlance and that it is the role of the critical discourse analysist to expose this. These are arguments that are of particular pertinence to my research.

CDA is underpinned by a Foucauldian theoretical conceptualisation of the relationship between knowledge and power (Fairclough, 2003: Wodak and Meyer, 2009), with Foucault considered as 'one of the theoretical godfathers of CDA' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 10). It is also considered to be a ''moderate' or 'contingent' form of social constructivism' (Fairclough, 2010: 5), supported by a Vygotskian sociocultural understanding of language as the primary tool for enabling collaborative problem solving (Rowe in Rogers, 2011). Yet it

adds an element of critique to sociocultural approaches by suggesting that cultural tools such as language 'are often unequally distributed throughout a group and a society' (Rowe in Rogers, 2011: 228). In other words, and echoing Van Dijk's 'symbolic elite' (2008: 32), those who shout the loudest, who are the most persistent or who have inveigled themselves into influential positions will get their message across far more easily than others who are less prominent, conspicuous or vociferous.

CDA considers the context of a text rather than just the meanings within the text itself but this idea has been critiqued. Leitch and Palmer argue that 'context', though often given a 'taken-for-granted status' is a vague term which is explored and conceptualised differently by different researchers (2010: 1195). This is however considered to be 'reductive' by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (2010: 1214) who posit that CDA is epistemologically complex. It has also been suggested that CDA has arisen out of, and is situated within, the Western academy and therefore brings with it certain Western individualistic assumptions about the ways in which human beings relate and communicate with each other (Rogers, 2011). Tuhiwai-Smith's decolonising methodology (1999), however, does not offer a specific or particular decolonising paradigm for analysis of data and therefore CDA, flawed as it may be, it is the chosen method of analysis for this research. Articulating researcher reflexivity and positionality, pivotal in qualitative research anyway, plays an important role within

CDA (Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak and Meyer, 2009) and supports its integrity in 'help(ing) people look differently at routine problems and practices' (Rogers, 2011: 15).

Chapter Seven: Answering the Research Questions

Critical Discourse Analysis is, as discussed in chapter six, a useful tool for a researcher, when considering the dialectical relationship between language, ideology and action (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2010; Fairclough, 2003; Fairclough, 2013; Jones et al., 2015) and to reflect on the ways in which power is (inequitably) distributed within society (Rogers, 2011; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak and Meyer, 2009). An exploration of the findings from the Teach for All web-site, along with data from the interview with the co-founder of Teach for All, indicate the extent to which the umbrella organisation TfA has key messages which are conveyed in a shared vocabulary. This shared vocabulary and jargon act as a unifying language which is clearly intended to bond the sister organisations together through the articulation of a common purpose. Ahmann refers to this as a 'shared problems, shared solutions discourse' (2015: 3). This discourse, evident in the vocabulary used on the web-sites, is echoed in the language of the teachers and middle-managers. The language used is oriented towards business ('business', 'partners', 'programmatic principles', 'core values' 'social entrepreneurialism', 'networks', 'shared solutions' 'excellence', 'impact', 'leadership'), overcoming difficulties ('the problem' 'educational disadvantage/inequity', 'philanthropy') and getting on in the world ('acceleration', 'global', 'future leaders' 'mission', 'vision'). This language resonates with Fairclough's concern with the 'emergence (and) hegemony … of discourses' (cited in Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2010:

1215); it can be considered to be 'an institutionalised way of talking' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009), created by 'symbolic elites' (Van Dijk, 2008: 32) – the founders of TfA - and perpetuated through the documentation that they produce (Ahmann, 2015) and professional conversations with those both within, and outside of, the organisations.

Analysis of my data has led me to suggest five main constructs that hold together the discourse features that are particular to Teach First and Teach for All. I now consider each of these in turn.

i. The Superteacher

The use of the terms 'participant', 'ambassador' and 'alumnus' serves to position the TfA teacher as something other than 'teacher'. A 'participant' takes part in, is actively involved in or shares in (Collins, 1984), but this is a generic term that can be used of anyone participating in any activity and is not specific to the field of education. It does not convey a sense of long-term commitment, but rather a dipping in until the participation is complete. The term expresses the idea of agency and choice; in this sense it would stand in opposition to a concept such as 'vocation'. 'Ambassador' is imbued with a hint of grandeur, 'a diplomat of the highest rank sent on a special mission' (Collins, 1984: 32) and 'alumnus' is a term generally used for graduates of a college or a university (Collins, 1984), bringing with it a notion of a life-long connection to that institution. The use of these terms rather than the more traditional 'student teacher', 'qualified teacher' or

'experienced teacher' serves to set the TfA teacher apart from the educational profession. They are different, active, high ranking, on a mission and connected to their organisation for life, though not necessarily working for it.

The TEACH discourse has reimagined the identity of 'teacher' as something other and definitely superior to the traditional teacher. On the TF web-site, the word 'teacher' is used predominantly only with preceding adjectives: 'one **great** teacher can change a child's life', 'one million pupils living in low income communities across England and Wales have been supported by a **Teach First** teacher', 'apply if you are interested in becoming a **brilliant** teacher'. More often, the word 'leader' is used in place of 'teacher': 'we train and support committed individuals to become inspirational classroom **leaders**'. The power of the individual is emphasised over the power of shared endeavour: for example, '**one** great teacher'; 'one million pupils …. supported by **a** Teach First teacher' (not lots of teachers or even lots of TF teachers) and 'committed **individuals**'.

Whilst TSA teachers are also pitched as superlative, the idea of 'one' or 'individual' is not evident in the same way on the TSA web-site. Plurals are more often used: 'outstanding, dynamic, committed graduate**s** from leading South African universities', with opportunities to read their 'experiences, challenges and success stories'.

The construction of the superteacher as a superior participant is reinforced through the organisations' use of language in relation to recruitment, with an implicit message that more traditional routes into teaching do not recruit to such high standards. Both TSA and TF pride themselves on processes which are intended to sift out those that are not 'outstanding', 'brilliant', 'committed' and 'dynamic'. It is stated on the TSA web-site that there is a 'vigorous application and interview process to ensure selection of the highest quality of candidates' although detail of the 'vigour' of this process is not given. Nigel speaks of 'eight skills and competencies' that are tested at interview to include a 'commitment to social justice, humility and empathy'. Yet he does not provide details as to how these 'competencies' are tested, how they may be different from more traditional recruitment approaches for teachers, or indeed whether such 'competencies' actually translate into an effective classroom practitioner.

This message of elite, altruistic, special and other has served to create a particular identity for the participants/ambassadors. The elevated status that 'participants' and 'ambassadors' enjoy is reinforced in the language used by Lindelane, Brian and the TSA and TF teachers. Lindelane emphasised the **graduate** status of the TSA ambassadors as superior to, and 'very different from teacher training' and it is with pride that she stated: 'when it comes to their commitment and work ethics, the principals want them'. Nigel noted that 'most of them could do anything that they want' with the implication that there is a sacrifice

in becoming a teacher as they eschew 'glamourous places' such as 'Westminster', opting instead for 'an £18,000 starting salary'.

Indicating that the discourse of the 'superteacher' has filtered down to the ways in which the teachers view themselves, the TF teachers refer to themselves as: 'high calibre graduates of a certain personality … of a certain value system; 'lucky', 'privileged', 'resilient', 'ambitious' and a 'good leader'. Their concern that the 'quality' might be 'diluted' if TF were to expand demonstrates an identity as superior to the majority. There are suggestions of a hero narrative; for example, one proudly stated that the 'ambassadors have left good impressions on the school and some sort of legacy'.

The 'superteacher' figure is constructed through this discourse, which renders the TEACH teacher as 'other', superior to and elevated above 'teacher'. Not only does the discourse construct the identity of teacher as other, but also the work of 'superteacher' is different: they do not simply help someone to learn or give instructions or lessons in a subject (Collins, 1984). Instead the CEO of TfA pitches them as 'great people' who 'make real change happen' who will 'close the gap in their countries'. The job of 'superteacher' involves sacrifice and helping a cause: the TfA web-site speaks of a '**force** for … fundamental change **against this problem**' and TF teachers speak of 'the pull towards helping disadvantaged young people', 'being placed where the most need was'.

The key messages therefore conveyed through this discourse are that unlike TEACH teachers, existing teachers are not doing their jobs properly, do not 'make change happen' and do nothing to challenge 'educational inequity'. The role of 'superteacher' in contrast, involves humble, altruistic personal sacrifice: 'it is you as a person that you are giving, rather than the resources that you have'. The TSA web-site has a podcast in which teachers are depicted as 'the heroes of 2015', who 'volunteer not just their time but their lives' in a self-sacrificing, almost suicidal act. Here, teaching is a 'service' through which 'we have vowed to be change agents'. Lindelane spoke of teachers working as unpaid tutors, giving their time for free for the benefit of the learners. This sacrificial rhetoric is echoed in the TSA teacher's comment: this is 'beyond a job', it is a 'service' and there is the unwritten/unspoken idea that without the TEACH teacher, an indescribably hopeless situation would ensue. There is an urgency about the work: Lindelane mentioned a TSA teacher who 'knows he can't miss even just a day' and a TF teacher says that she is 'working with children that wouldn't necessarily have teachers that cared about them that much' if she was not there.

For participants who had successfully completed their first year with the programme, the CEO of Teach First introduced a film with imagery drawn from well-known Western superhero characters (Leeds, 2016). In this film, each individual overcomes seemingly insurmountable challenges. In a speech at a dinner at the same event, the CEO spoke of **Teach First** teachers helping Mohammed, a Syrian

refugee, to settle in to his school in London. When he had to move to a different school, the **Teach First** teachers in Mohammed's first school communicated with the **Teach First** teachers in the one he was moving to, to ensure that his transition from one to the other went smoothly. The message here is that 'teachers' would not have done this, despite it being a routine part of supporting transition and record keeping.

ii. The Teacher Leader

The words 'leader', 'future leaders' and 'leadership' , which recur may times in the data sets, help create the figure of the Teacher Leader, an alter ego of the 'superteacher'. With the unspoken/unwritten assumption that 'teachers' do not lead their students, their subjects, their departments, or in their schools in any way, 'superteacher' fills this need by also being a 'leader'. A deliberate ideological intent to mould teachers into particular types of leaders is conveyed through the language. Evoking a notion of recruitment to the armed forces and of grooming and shaping by an outside force through the use of words such as 'enlist' and 'cultivate', the TfA web-site writes of 'accelerating the impact of national organisations that are cultivating the leadership necessary for change', 'enlisting' their country's most promising future leaders' and 'cultivating those teachers for a life-time of educational leadership'. The co-founder of TfA reinforced the 'teacher leader' rhetoric as he spoke of 'each programme around the world… creating

local leaders' and 'looking for leaders to make real change happen'. Whilst the home page of the TSA web-site has the slogan: 'turning learners into leaders' with the focus on **learner** rather than ambassador, the 'teacher leader' narrative is also evident: 'you're not just looking for teachers, you're looking for leaders in these young people' and 'they go on to become lifelong leaders in the effort to expand educational opportunity'. Probably as a result of its more mature status, TF has crafted the 'teacher leader' narrative into a 'Leadership Development Programme' (LDP) as evidenced on the TF web-site: 'join us and our university partners for six weeks of intensive training whilst completing our Leadership Development Programme'. Here, the positioning of the LDP in the same sentence as 'university partners' lends it an air of academic status and an officially endorsed qualification. It also serves to raise the status of the 'teacher leader' set apart from the teacher who does not have the benefits of following the LDP as s/he trains. 'Teacher leader' has filtered down to participant/ambassador level: a TSA teacher spoke of being 'a leader and a voice of education wherever I work' and 'leadership' is one of the key qualities for TF mentioned by the TF teachers.

iii. **Charity**

The discourse of 'disadvantage' 'poverty' and 'educational inequity' is fundamental to the linguistic construction of Teach First as a charity and Teach South Africa as a Non- Governmental Organisation

(NGO). TF's 'mission' as stated on its web-site is more grandiose and more focused on the empowerment of the participants than TSA's: TF aims to 'to end inequality in education by building a community of exceptional leaders', whilst TSA wants only to: 'add value to learners from disadvantaged backgrounds'. Both TSA and TF have their sponsors' logos emblazoned on their web-sites and 'donate' links embedded in every web-page to encourage browsers to join the ranks of those who give money to the cause. Creating an inclusive donor culture where everyone has a role to play, the TfA web-site informs the reader of 'five streams of funders: Major Gifts, Individuals and Foundations, Regional Support, Corporate Partnerships, Government and Multilateral Partnerships'. An almost urgent sense of individuals and organisations all coming together and giving to what the co-founder of TfA called 'a stong charitable mission to make change happen' permeates the data. He spoke of 'Mckinsey giving probono support', and Nigel, in a Bob Gedolf, Band-Aid- style plea for help (1984), adopted similar rhetorical flourishes, using repetition to underline the 'need': 'we need innovative social enterprises, we need school leadership, we need policy decision makers, we need philanthropists, wealthy individuals, we need kind of Corporate Social Responsibility, we need this constellation effect to actually make the change'. Lindelane spoke of 'people like the founders … working on a voluntary basis'. As when there is a call for response after international emergencies such as earthquakes, floods and famines, there is a sense

of everyone pulling together to do what they can and give of themselves to support. Also, as is often the case with international emergencies, there is no evidence of the charity seeking to address the systemic, societal causes of 'the problem' so that it may be tackled at its roots. Indeed Nigel states: 'we're probably not going to make ourselves redundant in the next ten years'.

It can be argued that organisationally and in terms of the development of personnel, both TF and TSA actually benefit from 'the problem' that they seek to address. An already elite group of young people are in some respects the main beneficiaries of the charity, as evidenced by Nigel who stated 'Teach First is pretty much the only way to get a free PGCE'. Alumni are encouraged to take up jobs in the TEACH organisations when they drop out of teaching. This creates a self-perpetuating, self-serving, nepotistic advantage both financially and in terms of professional experience. Lindelane spoke of 'hoping that more and more come back … whatever they are doing, they bring it back into the movement', whilst Nigel mentioned 'signposting UK participants to opportunities within the TfA family'. The concepts of TF as a movement or family elevate it above a simple teacher training route.

Both TSA and TF teachers somewhat smugly recognised the self-serving benefits they anticipate continuing to gain from membership of their organisations. As one TSA teacher stated 'I envision a future with

TSA where I am part of the Media and Communications department' and TF teachers referred to 'a really good network' and 'a good programme that opens doors', another one claimed it was 'a springboard to anything that I wanted to do. I've got all this experience and these qualifications and access to different companies and different people'. Nigel revealed that TF is a '£61 million organisation' with '£7 million raised through voluntary income'. There is no indication from the data that there might be a wider discussion as to how that money could be used differently to challenge 'the problem'. This is seemingly not up for debate.

iv. Embeddedness in the national system

The extent to which TSA and TF are embedded within their respective national systems differs. That their organisations are viewed by the TSA and TF teachers as 'other' than, and separate from, more traditional teacher education routes is evident. One TF teacher claimed that she was 'warded off teaching by my mum who is a teacher but I was really just captivated by the vision of Teach First'. Another TF teacher stated: 'I guess TF, that's the part of it that drew me towards it, rather than being in love with a subject or whatever or wanting to be a teacher'. The TF route into teaching is perceived as 'doing' rather than 'theorising'; one teacher claimed that she did not want to be 'faffing around with too much training … I felt ready to go straight into the classroom, I didn't want to have a year of theory'. Teaching, then,

becomes seen as an essentially un-academic endeavour. Another TF teacher explained that she 'would never have gone into teaching if it was to go down an academic route. I wasn't prepared to … have to do all the essays and everything and all the paperwork'. In fact, TF students do the same amount of, if not slightly more, assignments and paperwork than those on the PGCE route in ITE in England, but the emphasis is on the otherness rather than the similarities.

With the TSA teachers, there is less of a sense of clarity as to why they chose to join TSA rather than the PGCE route – this is not mentioned. What is mentioned, however, is a hint that TSA is different from and superior to, what is already on offer. As a TSA teacher claimed: 'Teach South Africa will be the answer to the shortage of teachers in the country and better quality of results'.

Nigel and Lindelane spoke of different levels of embeddedness within their respective national systems. Nigel's concerns are at the macro level, wanting to 'develop relationships with local MPs' and even suggesting that TF merits a seat at the United Nations. Lindelane's worries are at the meso level. She voiced concerns about the PGCE qualification and the lack of university and mentor support whereas the TF web-site takes as read the significance of the organisation's position within wider ITE provision nationally. The TSA web-site, however, articulates the organisation's claims within the system, making direct reference to 'Seventy percent of teachers in South Africa (who) are

forty years of age or older. (There are) issues with violence in schools. We know issues of maths and science are a huge challenge in this country'. It refers to 'South Africa's educational crisis' and explains that it was 'established in 2005 to support the Department of Education in addressing the national skills shortage'. There are three direct references to the government on the TSA web-site: 'we are supporting the **Department of Education**'; 'in the five years TEACH has grown very strong and we owe that to the **Gauteng Department of Education**' and we are 'supporting what **the government** is doing not working against it'. These references bolster the organisation's claim to importance. By contrast, there are no references to the Department of Education on the TF web-site, which appears to speak from a more confident and firmly embedded national position.

This is, in part, a feature of the number of years that the organisations have been established, but the mood and tone of the self- publicity is apparent in the teachers. The TSA teachers convey a sense of anticipation and excitement at the prospect of their organisation's growth: 'I see TEACH growing from strength to strength' and 'TSA has a bright future ahead', whereas the TF teachers' concerns are that the organisation may be growing too big to maintain its quality and the 'elite' advantage they have been offered.

v. Global network

The TfA web-site and the interview with the co-founder of TfA convey a sense of comfortable, natural ease about the spread of TEACH. The co-founder spoke of 'social entrepreneurs in Germany, Austria, Estonia who were interested in and heard about Teach First and wanted to do similar programmes in their countries' as if referring to a group of friends sitting in a café choosing what they want from the menu. He also mentioned a conversation with Wendy Kopp in which they said '**let's just come up with** a new organisation that would serve as some sort of link or network that they could all be members of'. The casual simplicity and ease of 'let's just come up with' a supranational organisation suggests a strong sense of agency and access to financial and political power. The web-site states that TfA is 'a universal idea', as if the TEACH approach to challenging 'educational inequity', sitting on the shoulders of influence, entitlement, wealth and status, is normal and unproblematic, an idea simply waiting to be put into action.

TfA defines itself on the web-site as 'The Global Network for Expanding Educational **Opportunity**' with a commitment to 'model the world **we** envision – a globally interconnected community in which **individuals** of all backgrounds are fully engaged and contributing to their full potential'. It is not made clear who the 'we' in this sentence might be; they remain an un-named symbolic elite (Van Dijk, 2008:

32). The reader may be forgiven for thinking that 'we' refers to the 'Leadership Team' comprised of nine board members, eight of whom are white and all of whom were educated in the global North. The word 'opportunity' is used here without clarification as to whose 'opportunity' this may be. It is not explicit whether this is the board members', the CEOs' of the different TEACH networks, the participants'/ambassadors', or possibly the learners'. As on the TF web-site, the notion of 'individual' rather than a collective, shared endeavour is fore-fronted. These are 'individuals' with agency, working hard at fulfilling an undefined 'potential'.

Ideological cultivation and grooming is evident as TEACH expands around the world. The web-site states that for social entrepreneurs interested in establishing a TEACH organisation in their country, 'our staff provide **extensive** support to **immerse** them in understanding the TfA **mission**'. The word 'immerse' conjures up the idea of being surrounded by and soaked in water. 'Support' is fortified with the word 'extensive' to create a sense of total ideological commitment which, upon deeper examination, could convey a sense of coercion. Nonetheless, the web-site claims that 'diversity is central to our work. Increasingly diverse representation and inclusiveness is important' and 'we rely on local leaders to make that determination'. The apparently contradictory tension between 'extensive support' to 'immerse' local leaders 'to understand the mission' of the 'universal idea' and allowing them to 'make that determination' is not expanded

upon on the web-site. TSA, however, is no longer part of TfA and no African faces are on the board of 'Leadership' on the TfA web-site. There is little evidence of 'diversity' or any explanation as to what that might really mean.

Nigel's and Lindelane's relationships to the global network differed considerably. Lindelane spoke vaguely of going to India, meeting with Wendy Kopp, learning about different (Western) approaches to teaching and learning. It was as though she was looking through a window from the outside into a forbidden, exclusive clubhouse as she talked of her encounters with practitioners in other parts of the world, all of whom were from the Global North. She explained that 'the misunderstanding or whatever disagreement came in the fact that we couldn't have the pay structures … I think that's where the disconnect started'. 'Misunderstanding', 'disagreement' and 'disconnect' as negative words, convey a sense of disequilibrium, disarticulation, separateness and lack of understanding. This contrasts with Nigel, who spoke confidently, referring to TF and Teach for America as 'two of the most mature organisations in the global network'. He stated that 'we've now kind of **positioned ourselves** at the centre' and '**we're giving more out** to the global network than we are getting back'. There is a notion of active agency with 'we've positioned ourselves' indicating a deliberate, specific manoeuvre and 'we're giving more out' is indicative of a power imbalance. Here TF is discursively constructed in a powerful, leading, central, advisory

capacity as a 'mature' organisation on the global arena. The organisation is fourteen years old.

Nigel referred to the TEACH network almost as a play-ground for TF teachers. Successful ambassadors could be placed, in teaching, advisory or other capacities, in any organisation around the world, reflecting Ahmann's suggestion that TEACH teachers have a 'transnational citizenship identity' (2015: 3). Yet other than mention of a Teach First/Teach for America link, there was nothing said (Fairclough, 2003) about this being a reciprocal arrangement.

A sense of the globalised nature of TEACH has not filtered down to the level of the TEACH teachers who only have a vague grasp of what it is. TF teachers spoke hesitantly and asked lots of questions. Two TSA teachers saw their organisation as international. One stated 'I see TSA as part of a 'TEACH WORLD' global movement because I feel that their vision is one that resonates with educational goals everywhere', echoing the 'it's a universal idea' from the TfA web-site. Another TSA teacher claimed that she saw 'TSA as a global movement'. Two others, however, were dismissive of the global reach: 'I don't think it's very international, doesn't have very strong international ties' and 'many people in South Africa are still getting to know what TSA is about. It still has to reach a global audience'.

Fairclough suggested that it is important when using CDA to analyse texts, to notice what is *not* written and said as well as what *is*

written and said (2003). No reference was made on the TSA and TF web-sites of a connection with the umbrella organisation, Teach for All. Nor was any reference made to any global reach. Information on the sites related entirely to South Africa and the UK respectively. There appears to be a disconnect between claims made on the TfA web-site and the practical realities of the organisations within TfA's sphere.

Theoretical Illuminations

I now consider the ways in which the theory addressed in chapters two, three and five illuminate these five analytical constructs and help me to answer my two sub questions: 'what are the similarities and differences between the different TEACH models across North and South national contexts?' and 'what does it mean to be a teacher working within such a transnational model of ITE?' My conclusions then serve to give me some insights into my overarching research question: 'how far is the TEACH model of ITE transferable across different North and South contexts?'

The dominance and hegemony of discourse that Van Dijk was concerned with (2008) can be seen in the language of 'heroic', 'life-changing' 'saviour' teacher (Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016; Price and McConney, 2013; Scott et al., 2016). This hyper-accountable (Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016; Jameson-Brewer, 2015; Price and McConney, 2013; Torre Veltry, 2010) teacher discourse pervades both South and North contexts and is evidence of Chouliaraki and

Fairclough's (2010), Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) and Jones et al.'s (2015) construct of discourse as reconceptualised in different spaces. 'Superteacher' is 'enacted, inculcated and materialised' (Rogers, 2011: 124) in both TF and TSA, despite their very different historical, cultural and political contexts.

In TSA as well as TF, the discourse serves to support a neo-liberal individualisation (Ball, 2013b) of the teacher. This is, however, less pronounced in the TSA discourse where there is more of a sense of plurality. For TfA, all that is needed to overcome educational inequality is a 'good teacher' (Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016), rather than a focus on systemic causes of inequality (Barnes et al., 2016; Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016; Scott et al., 2016). In the South African context, this is an ideological teacher positioning which is at odds with the post-apartheid educational culture. A large part of the responsibility and hope for the reshaping of post-apartheid society lay with Curriculum 2005, indicating a social reconstructionist approach to societal issues (Schafer and Wilmot, 2012) in contrast to the TEACH model of individual, heroic endeavour. There is therefore an ideological tension between this and the construct of 'superteacher' in South Africa. Yet still TSA has gained a foothold.

This is a clear example of the 'colonization of one field or institution by another' that Jones et al. highlighted (2015: 82), with a Northern neo-liberal construction of the teacher (Ball, 2012)

inappropriately infiltrating a Southern context. Blumenreich and Gupta exemplified this as they noted that Teach for India brought with it a very different construct of the teacher from the traditional Indian wise sage who, living amongst the people he taught, dedicated his life to the calling of teaching. It also illustrates Gee's (2005) and Rogers' (2011) concern with language shaping beliefs, attitudes, social relations, actions and the material world. The 'superteacher' starts firstly as an idea which is part of the narrative of the TfA web-site. It is then verbalised in TF and TSA publicity materials and becomes part of their systems and processes (the 'Leadership Development Programme' and 'rigorous' recruitment, for example). Gradually it becomes the way in which teachers choose to self-identify, as well as be identified by others. Subtly and over time, responsibility for issues such as 'educational inequity' shift from being the state's to the TEACH teachers' responsibility (Lalonde et al., 2015). A critical race theoretical perspective would consider this imposition of individualistic Western ideology as an example of neo-colonial, imperialist, white-supremacist, capitalist patriarchy (hooks, 2003), rendering a particular construct of teacher as 'universal', within a Southern context, whilst marginalising Southern views and perspectives (Graves, 2007; Spivak, 1988; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999).

Gee noted that language influences social practice (2005) and in the TEACH discourse, the construct of teacher *leader* supersedes that of *qualified* teacher. 'Leader' has become the new form of teacher or

'new kind of professional and teaching subject' (Olmedo et al., 2013: 497), rendering the PGCE qualification potentially defunct and definitely second-best (Labaree, 2010; Olmedo et al., 2013) in its respective context. This new construct of teacher creates the potential for the power of teacher accreditation to be passed from universities to TEACH. After all, the TEACH teacher is a 'leader' and therefore a different kind of teacher specimen. The seeds for this are already sown in England, with the pendulum (Robinson, 2006) swung far into the school based camp of teacher training. The Teach First/University contract was re-written in spring 2016 with a much diminished role for universities (professional conversations, 2016).The construct of teacher 'leader' also serves to render resilient the smaller, less mature TEACH organisations such as TSA who are able to offer a title and role to their trainees, without a more systematic, traditional qualification route available. It is possible to see how the discourse of 'leader' and 'leadership' has changed 'social relations and the material world' (Rogers, 2011: 122) whilst subtly shifting power (Gee, 2005) away from more traditional teacher training providers. 'Teachers' need to have a PGCE qualification but teacher 'leaders' are different and can gain their validation through membership of TEACH. This opens the door for a further embedding of a neoliberal approach (Crouch, 2011; Harvey, 2005) to ITE in which different agencies can gain a foothold.

Indeed Ball's 'network governance' (2007; 2008; 2012) is evident within TSA and TF but at different levels and working in

different ways within the respective organisations. Ball used this term to refer to organisations as they position themselves within a web of actors, including private and social enterprises and government; he considered this to be representative of neo-liberal business approaches. Neither TSA nor TF is fully funded by their respective governments and so both seek financial support from a variety of sources and have established themselves as an NGO and charity, respectively. This approach to sourcing funding includes public/private partnerships and is indicative of the space where 'philanthropy and business meet' (Ball, 2012: 68). The sense of urgency and need created in the discourse serves to support this space well and make it available and attractive to people and organisations at every level. With references to their respective connections with government, businesses, politicians, local leaders, schools and teachers, Lindelane and Nigel exemplified well the disarticulation of education from (local) government control into the hands of private businesses (Ball, 2007; 2008; 2012). This new 'epistemic community' (Ball, 2012: 124) is comprised of different actors including those from outside of the field of education who are looking to address social problems through social entrepreneurial activity and market solutions. Such actors, Ball suggested, have then potentially inveigled themselves into positions of influence (2012) which are also likely to be self-serving. Individuals who sit on the boards of partner organisations are potentially empowered as 'boundary spanners' (Wenger, 1998), to influence decision-making in organisations other

than their own within the network (Ball, 2012). Financial responsibility and with it, power, has shifted from government, which has traditionally funded teacher education in both South Africa and the UK, to TF and, to a lesser extent, TSA. The funders and donors themselves gain prestige through philanthropically associating themselves with an organisation which has created an alluring space for fighting the 'global problem' of education. Through association with TEACH, organisations can claim corporate social responsibility and thereby enhance their own status and marketability to fair-minded, conscience-driven consumers (Ball, 2012; Sasse-Trahan, 2007).

Nigel's comments on the relationship between TF and other TEACH organisations conveyed a sense of patriarchy, dominance and superiority. Here, he exemplified the notion of globalisation of TEACH as a neoliberal, Western idea which is resonant with Bourdieu, 2003; Ferguson, 2007; Giddens, 1990; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010 and Tikly, 2001. They picture globalisation painted from 'inside' the dominant economy, with less interest taken in those countries 'outside'. The rolling out of educational practice from one context (Northern) to another (Southern) is clearly evident in Lindelane and Nigel's responses, yet they answer from very different positions of power. This exemplifies the transference of educational ideas from one country to another, as suggested by Ball (2012) and Rizvi and Lingard (2010), who write about a global 'convergence in thinking about educational values' (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010: 72). Critics see such transference of

ideas within the global educational arena as creating a universalising, neo-liberal response to issues in what are widely diverse educational contexts (Ahmann, 2015; Ball, 2013b; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010). It is evident that, with TEACH, this is a work in progress: TSA does not comply quite enough with the 'convergence in thinking' (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010: 72) to allow it to stay comfortably within the TfA network. Yet there is a sense of it still knocking at the door wanting to become a member of the exclusive club.

TF and TfA's complete lack of interest in, and lack of support (financially or otherwise) of the TSA/TF teacher linking project, concurs with an unwritten, unspoken understanding that 'peripheral' organisations have nothing to offer to those in the 'centre' (Giddens, 1990) and Ahmann's notion of 'transnational citizenship identity' (2015: 3) is a privilege offered only to those in TEACH organisations in the Global North.

The casting of 'educational inequity' as a 'global problem' by TfA creates an 'institutionalized way of talking that regulates and reinforces action and thereby exerts power' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3). There is no definition of 'educational inequity' anywhere in the materials explored for this research. Its lack of definability renders it suitably vague, allowing it to transcend local, regional and national differences, with its opposite 'educational equity' rendered a worthy cause, with which no one, in principle, could disagree. This discourse has served to

'regulate and reinforce action' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 3) by creating fertile soil for TEACH organisations to establish themselves as guardians against 'educational inequity' with their troops of 'superteachers' fighting the cause or 'mission'. It also allows for the exertion of power (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Reflecting concerns that globalisation serves to spread a Western, neo-liberal hegemony (Bourdieu, 2003; Ferguson, 2007; Giddens, 1990; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010; Tikly, 2001), just as there is a 'convergence in thinking' about education (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010: 72) there also appears to be a convergence in thinking about tackling educational inequality. This also happens to be a Northern way (Lelonde et al., 2015). In asserting that Southern countries simply need to learn from a superior model, the North gains power over educational and social practices in the South, again marginalising Southern voices and rendering Southern approaches inferior (Graves, 2009; Spivak, 1988; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999).

This is a clear indication of the hegemony, power and influence of neoliberal Northern educational practices and reflects a Foucauldian concern with what counts as knowledge (1989) and the ways in which that knowledge gains its status at the expense of more localised, indigenous 'funds of knowledge' (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005). Postcolonial theory would observe this phenomenon as the rendering 'other' and inferior, of non-Northern cultures (Martin, 2011; Said, 1978) with Southern voices discounted (Spivak, 1988). A critical race theoretical perspective would consider this marginalisation of the value

of Southern educational practices as a deliberately disempowering act to maintain 'white supremacy' (hooks, 2003) and keep black people in subservient and powerless positions, reliant on the paternalistic offerings of their (predominantly white) superiors (Delgado, 2012).

What are the similarities and differences between the TEACH models in different North and South national contexts?

Appendix 1a illustrates which of the TEACH organisations fall into the categories 'Global North', 'Global South' and 'Emerging Economies'. Teach South Africa is an example of a TEACH organisation in the Global South, and Teach First an example of one in the Global North. The similarities and differences explored here, whilst particular to these two organisations, also provide an illuminating insight in to the transferability of the TEACH model across two very different contexts.

On the surface, both TSA and TF operate within the same paradigm. They recruit 'top' graduates from 'elite' universities into the profession and provide a short period of initial training before placing them to work full-time and in a paid capacity into schools in areas of disadvantage. The 'ambassadors' or 'participants' need only commit to the classroom for a two year period after which they are encouraged to progress into positions of leadership in educational or corporate and political arenas. In any subsequent leadership positions, they are expected to challenge 'educational inequity' for the rest of their lives.

Summarising the key points arising from an analysis of the data, it is clear that whilst there are certain similarities between TSA and TF, there are also some differences. In common is a discourse of superlatives in relation to teachers on the respective programmes (Price and McConney, 2013; Scott et al., 2016) reinforced by a 'rigorous' recruitment programme (Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016). 'Leadership' is fore-fronted in both TF and TSA although more boldly and systematically in the former. Both organisations are social enterprises, networked with different agencies and actors and both have been members of the umbrella organisation, TfA, although TSA was no longer a member by 2015. TSA, whilst operating within the same model of ITE as TF, does not recruit as many teachers in South Africa as TF does in the UK, nor has as strong a foothold in the wider ITE context. TSA does not yet have secure structures in place for its students to fully benefit from mentor support in schools and to gain a PGCE qualification. Whilst philanthropic activity is focused around material and business benefits in TF, it appears to be a more altruistic, teacher-centred individualistic endeavour within TSA. TF has a confident, secure and superior foothold within the wider TEACH network, whereas TSA is very much a small player now on the outside.

Chapter three reviewed literature concerning the histories of ITE in South Africa and England and discovered that the historical and current contexts, concerns with teacher recruitment and supply, the nature of teacher education and who provides it, are quite different.

Nonetheless, the TEACH model has still managed to embed itself, to a greater or lesser extent, within ITE provision in the diverse SA and English ITE environments. Whilst TEACH creates, through its discourse, commonalities such as 'superteacher', teacher leader and charitable, philanthropic purpose, it also allows enough space for these to be differently interpreted. These constructs are flexible enough to be able to work in bespoke ways within their respective national ITE ideologies.

The post-apartheid ITE landscape in SA is wrestling with a number of changes and challenges. These include the re-positioning to universities of ITE provision, the re-professionalisation of teaching, increasing black teacher recruitment, particularly in the shortage subjects of Maths, English, Science and ICT, and the implementation of a new socially reconstructionist curriculum, Curriculum 2005 (Pendlebury, 1998; SACE, 2015; Schafer and Wilmot, 2012; Wolhuter, 2006). TSA echoes and addresses these concerns. The rhetoric of 'learners as leaders' (TSA, 2016), rather than teachers as leaders, reflects Curriculum 2005's post-apartheid focus on re-shaping society to be more inclusive and socially just through empowerment of the individual learner. In recruiting predominantly black graduates to its programme to train for one of Maths, English, Science and Primary, TSA aligns itself with the Integrated Strategic Planning Framework for Teacher Education and Development in South Africa 2011 – 2025 (DBE, 2011). The championing of graduates to its programme serves to elevate the status of the (predominantly black) teachers. This

challenges a legacy of oversupply which devalued and undermined black teachers within the profession (Wolhuter, 2006) and supports the South African Council for Educators' mandate of promoting professionalism within the teaching profession (SACE, 2015). TSA's links with universities for the optional PGCE qualification allow it to both have a foothold in with the main providers of ITE post-apartheid, yet still be slightly set apart from them, if needs be. This allows it to be resilient in the face of potential shifts of power within ITE from universities to other providers, as has been seen in the UK (Jeong, 2009; Robinson, 2006).

Despite reflecting the key messages within the current ITE climate in South Africa, TSA features neither on the Department for Basic Education web-site as a route into teaching (DBE, 2016), nor in the Integrated Strategic Planning Framework for Teacher Education and Development in South Africa 2011 – 2025 (DBE, 2011). Its reach is small and yet not insignificant. It has 'recruited, trained and placed 478 TEACH Ambassadors in 186 schools across 7 provinces' since 2009 (TSA, 2016), the year that the number of teacher graduates fell to 5942 (DBE, 2011). It is optimistic: 'we are confident in the continuation of these levels of growth in the future' (TSA, 2016). As an organisation, which has deliberately aligned itself with key national ITE foci, it is like an understudy actor waiting confidently in the wings. It has learnt its lines, is wearing the costume, understands the character it is playing and is anticipating the director to signal it on to the stage very soon.

Continuing with the actor analogy, Teach First is, in 2016, in the limelight. It is the main protagonist centre stage, in a play written about itself and co-written by itself. It features amongst the 'largest individual recruiters of new graduates in 2016' with 1870 vacancies (HFR, 2016: 5). The contribution of TF to the UK field of ITE is not small. In the academic year 2015 – 2016, 28,148 new entrants were recruited to ITE courses of which 1,584 were Teach First students (DfE, 2015).

The extent to which the TEACH discourse is pervasive is evident in governmental education policy which echoes the 'teacher leader', 'disadvantage' 'elite' rhetoric. The 2016 White Paper 'Educational Excellence Everywhere' aspired to establish a 'National Teaching Service' to 'support **elite** teachers and strong middle **leaders** to move to work in some of the nation's **most challenging areas**' (DfE, 2016: 33). Here, TF, aligned with, and undoubtedly influencing, the same discursive messages as this policy document, is perfectly poised to step in to potentially lead on the 'National Teaching Service'. Since writing this in September 2016, the Department for Education has decided to shut the 'National Teaching Service' down after failing to attract sufficient applicants to make it viable (Adams, 2016).

Signalling that TF is now in a position to move beyond simply training 'exceptional' teachers to also become a more powerful, influential player within the field of education policy, one of the

prominent members of the TF management team spoke at the TF Autumn Away Day (Nottingham, 2016) of challenging the UK Prime Minister Theresa May's Green Paper grammar school proposals (DfE, 2016b). Quoting a head teacher who had said 'revolutions don't wait for legislation' he claimed that TF's major role now was revolutionary: 'awareness raising: getting the system to align around the right solutions' (Nottingham, 2016). The message here was that the 'right solutions' are those which support Teach First's key aims and objectives and uphold the organisation's now very strong position within the field of ITE in England. Another message was that TF, with its educational-inequality-fighting ambassadors networked in influential positions around the country, is clearly a force to be reckoned with and one the government will have to fight, if it is to proceed with its grammar school agenda. He claimed that 'Teach First has genuinely changed how this debate will happen' (Nottingham, 2016).

The similarities with the two different TEACH models explored in this study are enough for both TSA and TF to be organisations which are both recognisable as upholding the same values and principles, underpinned and perpetuated by the same discourse. There is enough flexibility and scope within the model to allow for each organisation to mould itself to the bespoke national ITE context and purpose.

What does it mean to be a teacher working within such a transnational model of ITE?

When discussing their work as teachers, the TSA teachers expressed more positive emotions such as 'joy, 'love' and 'caring' than their TF counterparts. Only two TF teachers made reference to the children they worked with, whereas all TSA teachers did. *Teaching* appeared to be more of an issue for TSA teachers than for TF. With TF teachers, an interest in career progression, future plans and connections was more obvious in their responses. This is perhaps indicative of the size of the organisations and the fact that the organisational networks and 'epistemic communities' (Ball, 2012: 124) are smaller in TSA than in TF respectively. As discussed earlier, the business connections, social entrepreneurialism and influence as well as the discourses relating to these are less developed in TSA than in TF. The dialectical relationship between discourse and action is in evidence here, with fewer TSA teachers displaying behaviours or using language influenced by business, than their TF counterparts.

Nonetheless, for the TSA teachers, teaching was still a short-term commitment with no one saying that they were planning on staying in the classroom beyond the two year mandatory period. They all, however, had plans to stay connected to the organisation, with three wanting to move into an educational or advisory capacity. This links with the critics' views of TEACH programmes as stepping stones

for graduates who then move on to different, often more lucrative and prestigious careers (Olmedo et al., 2013; Price and McConney, 2013; Rice et al., 2015; Scott et al., 2016). The profile was similar with the TF teachers. The organisational discourse (Wodak and Meyer, 2009) normalises a short-term commitment to the classroom. Again, it is possible to note the influence of discourse on action with it being positively encouraged to move on from a teaching post after two years.

Being a teacher who works within a transnational model of ITE, then, means that there are a number of common factors. The teachers are 'good' graduates who consider teaching to be a two year commitment although some (predominantly the TF teachers) may stay in teaching for longer than this. They have a loyalty to their organisations and many consider staying with TEACH in a different capacity after their two years in the classroom. They are proud of their organisations, identifying more with their respective TEACH organisations than with their schools or the teaching profession as a whole. They are well-networked, both before joining TEACH and as a result of belonging to TEACH and they can see the professional benefits for themselves of being part of such a network. They believe that their respective organisations have a positive future, although TF teachers are concerned that TF will grow too big and stop recruiting the same calibre of teacher as a result, thereby threatening their elite status. They are aware of their own prestige through teaching within their TEACH organisation, although this is more obvious with the TF

teachers. The teachers have little awareness of what TfA does or stands for. TF teachers do not say much about the children that they work with and speak of teaching in more business-like, managerial and less positive term than their TSA counterparts, who speak proudly of the work that they do within the classroom and use more emotive language. A discourse of 'vision' and 'mission' is obvious with the TF teachers although this is hardly evident with their South African counterparts. From an analysis of the data, then, there emerges a fairly homogenous construct of a TEACH teacher, with just a few minor, regional idiosyncrasies.

How far is the TEACH model of ITE transferable across North and South contexts?

In chapter three, I explored the literature concerning the ITE landscapes in South Africa and in England and it became clear that the contexts are historically, politically, culturally, economically and socially very different. Nonetheless, a version of TEACH has managed to gain a foothold in each country. Whilst it is not possible to generalise from my study of Teach South Africa and Teach First, to the other thirty seven TEACH organisations across the world, there is much that can be learnt about the nature of the model that may help to explain why the organisation is able to establish itself, as a seemingly homogenous enterprise, in so many diverse settings. What is it, then, about the organisation that means it can transcend national differences? Is it, in

fact, 'country-proof' – a robustly supranational, corporate entity such as McDonalds or Shell that could set itself up and flourish anywhere in the world?

In chapter six, I explored literature concerning the rise of neoliberalism and the globalisation of education policy. Harvey in particular wrote about how neoliberal ideology spread around the world through organisations such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and transnational corporations such as Starbucks and Shell (2005). Rizvi and Lingard argued that the broadening reach of neoliberal ideology created fertile ground for the globalisation of educational policy and it has been suggested that Teach for All embodies a neoliberal ideology (Ahmann, 2015; Barnes et al., 2016; Blumenreich and Gupta, 2015; Friedrich and Walter, 2015; Lalonde et al., 2015; McConney et al., 2012; Price and McConney, 2013; Rice et al., 2015; Scott et al., 2016; Straubhaar and Freidrich, 2015). I concur with this entirely, as my research has confirmed TEACH's 'network governance' model, clear disarticulation from government control (Ball, 2007, 2008, 2012) and the re-defining of the individualistic teacher, which all serve to support neoliberal ways of thinking.

Critical Discourse Analysis has enabled me to review the data gathered for this study and to capture a sense of an organisational discourse (Wodak and Meyer, 2009) which pervades TEACH. This discourse, established through the TfA web-site and echoed in those of

TSA and TF, has entered the parlance of people who work for and within the organisations and created a particular ideology which 'normalises private participation in education', serves as 'connective tissue between individuals, organisations, models, ideas and money' (Olmedo et al., 2013: 499), embeds a critique of the traditional teacher and creates the notion of 'enterprise and teacher leaders' (ibid.). The organisations construct themselves, through the language that they use as the 'cure for educational disadvantage' (ibid: 498). This, Olmedo et al. suggest is enabled by a neoliberal organisational ethos of acceptance that individuals, rather than governments, are responsible for the solutions to educational inequality (2013).

In 2012, Ball wrote about four particular aspects of educational policy which facilitate its move onto the global arena: the systems, structures and forms of governance; the types of participants involved in the governance; the language and discourses through which the governance is articulated and the nature of the workers (here, teachers). I have discovered that there is a distinctively TEACH version of each of Ball's four areas which serves TEACH well with its hegemonising global spread. The systems, structures and forms of governance follow the same formula of heterarchical governance (Ball, 2012: 137) in both TSA and TF. Due to regional differences, a variety of organisations are involved, but the principle is the same. The types of participants involved in the governance in both organisations are former teachers, social entrepreneurs, managers from corporations and

philanthropists (McConney et al., Scott et al., 2016). Much has already been said above about the language and discourse through which the governance is articulated and I have indicated that there is an institutionalised discourse (Wodak and Meyer, 2009) which is evident in TfA, TSA and TF data. I have also argued that TEACH has helped to re-define what it means to be a teacher (Ahmann, 2015; Blumenreich and Rogers, 2016; Lalonde et al., 2015; Olmedo et al., 2013).

There is indeed, within TEACH, a 'generic set of concepts, language and practices that is recognisable in various forms' (Ball, 2012: 115) and is firmly embedded within TfA, TSA and TF. These render each individual organisation almost 'country-proof' and I argue now that the TEACH model is entirely transferable across different North and South contexts. The model means that the organisation is not reliant on government funding. The new form of teacher-subject (Ahmann, 2015) - the TEACH creation of 'superteacher' and teacher 'leader' rather than 'qualified teacher' – means that potentially, TEACH organisations could work independently of universities to accredit their participants/ambassadors. The institutionalised discourse (Wodak and Meyer, 2009) creates a universal TEACH sense of identity through purposefully indeterminate use of terms such as 'mission', 'vision', 'educational inequity', 'social disadvantage' and 'leadership'. Such institutionalised jargon is open to different interpretations by different people in different contexts, yet at the same time, creates the veneer of unity. TEACH has set itself up as immune to regional differences.

Through its pervasive organisational discourse (Wodak and Meyer, 2009), it is robust in its own bespoke identity and as such could be transferred to any context where there is a neoliberal ideology at play and teachers to be trained. Just as McDonalds is identifiable all over the world by its Ronald McDonald clown, its red and yellow colour scheme and its giant yellow letter 'm', so too is TEACH identifiable through its 'superteacher' teacher leaders, its social entrepreneurialism, its 'mission', 'vision', 'educational inequity' discourse and through its network governance. It has its own brand.

I would also argue that this neoliberal approach is neither benign, nor neutral but instead represents Foucauldian forces of power and control (1980) which Critical Discourse Analysists are so keen to bring to people's attention (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012; Van Dijk, 2008). Concurring with Lalonde et al.'s suggestion that TfA is a massive 'Global Intermediary Organisation Network' which operates as a mechanism by which neoliberalism takes root (2015: 11), I would suggest that, considered through the lenses of postcolonial (Bhabha, 1990; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988) and critical race theories (Delgado, 2012; hooks, 2003), there is actually something quite sinister at play.

Just as the TEACH institutionalised discourse is suitably vague, Teach for All, as an organisation, is also quite difficult to pin down. Whilst there exists a Teach for All office in London with a few staff members and an annual Teach for All conference, where leaders from

within the TEACH network gather to share best practice (TfA, 2016), there is otherwise nothing tangible. TEACH teachers do not really have a grasp of what it is and the TEACH organisations themselves take no real interest in TfA. What does exist, however, is the web-site, which, through its world map with TEACH organisations marked out on it, creates the illusion of a global network. Through the web-site, the key organisational messages, the institutionalised discourses (Wodak and Meyer, 2009), are writ large. Also prominent are the eight out of nine white faces of the TfA board members, or 'symbolic elites' (Van Dijk, 2008) on the TfA 'Leadership' page and their biographies which indicate corporate backgrounds and Global Northern educational experiences. Missing (Fairclough, 2003) from the TfA board are representatives from the Global South, whilst all faces under the heading 'A Global Problem' are black (TfA, 2016).

In the light of findings from my data and a review of relevant literature, I concur with Bourdieu's (2003) argument that neoliberal ideology is a deliberate and conscious policy to impose a United States-centric model on to the rest of the world. With the imposition of ideology comes also status, the distribution of social goods and power (Gee, 2005). I agree with Blumenreich and Gupta (2015), Ahmann (2015) and Lelonde (2015) who suggest that TfA spreads a Western hegemony which privileges, in terms of money and social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), agents and ideas from the Global North, whilst disempowering those in the Global South (Delgado, 2012;

Graves, 2007; Spivak, 1988: Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). My research concludes that the unifying organisational structures and discourses (Wodak and Meyer, 2009) discussed earlier serve to act as the warp and weft of a common fabric onto which any nation's TEACH motif could be printed. The globally transferable notion of a worthy universal endeavour is constructed, creating a 'benevolent mask' (Harvey, 2005: 119) behind which a deliberately transferable and transnational model of ITE is hiding. Here, it waits to manoeuvre itself into a powerful and influential position within its national ITE field and to benefit those who are already in positions of privilege.

Post-Script

I wanted to capture 'Southern voices' (Graves, 2007; Spivak, 1988; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999) for this research, to ensure that there was a balance between perspectives from the Global South and Global North. However, I overlooked, or was perhaps unaware as I started out, that my 'Southern voices' were speaking from within what I now understand to be a global transnational educational organisation. If I were to ask a South African and a UK McDonalds employee how fries were cooked, other than perhaps a few minor differences such as the type of oil used, I would probably get a similar answer. If, however, I were to ask them to describe their local cuisine, the responses would be quite different. If I had time to do this research again, I would want to interview teachers about TSA and TF who were not involved in the

organisation. This way, I could capture perspectives (Southern and Northern) not from *within* TEACH, but instead *about* TEACH.

I failed to capture the TSA voices on their loss of membership from TfA. Gathering Southern perspectives on the following issues would have been really interesting: why the CEO, middle managers and teachers from TSA felt that they were pushed out of the umbrella organisation; what their feelings about the TEACH model really are (is it indeed a Western model being imposed on them?); whether they believe that they can be equal players within the TfA network - what would be sacrificed (if anything) for this to happen, what would be gained and what gets in the way of speaking openly and honestly about this? Whilst accepting that the capturing of marginalised Southern voices in relation to these issues would be complex and problematic, it would nonetheless be hugely valuable. Information that I did manage to glean about TSA's relationship with TfA was suitably, and no doubt deliberately, vague.

This research is limited by the fact that I only explored two different national TEACH organisations. Whilst the advantage here was that the contexts were very different, my claims would be more robust had I explored further organisations in different contexts. One from each continent would have broadened the data base and allowed for more robust generalisability claims. This was, however, beyond the time-frame and budget for my work. The sample size was small. The

teacher sample size was particularly problematic in that it was limited to only those who expressed an interest in the linking project. There was also a lack of parity with the TSA teachers sending in questionnaires and the TF teachers being interviewed.

In pursuing this research further, I would also be interested in analysing the recruitment approaches across a sample of different TEACH organisations in order to assess whether these methods really are 'rigorous' and 'vigorous' or whether they simply act as a filtering, cherry-picking strategy for the 'right' kind of people who can be easily persuaded to believe in and comply with the 'vision' and 'mission', the TEACH ideology.

In terms of contributing to knowledge, my research, in its well-intentioned attempt at capturing 'Southern Voices' (Graves, 2009; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999; Spivak, 1988) has indeed gathered data from teachers and middle-managers from a TEACH organisation in the Global South which can be added to the wider global pool of TEACH voices. It has also constructed a comparative study between TEACH organisations in the Global South and Global North. It has used Critical Discourse Analysis to explore how a discursive TEACH blueprint allows for the rolling out of the model around the world. At the time of writing in January, 2017, none of these has been done previously.

A by-product of this research was the TSA/TF linking project which I was hoping to establish as a model of good practice for

South/North teacher linking. Whilst I still have sporadic email contact with Lindelane, unfortunately, the South African teachers never repaid the visit. When I last contacted the UK teachers to let me know what they were doing as a result of their contact with a TSA teacher, I had no response. At the point of contact, two of the UK teachers had already left teaching, one was taking on leadership and two were looking to move to a different school for a promotion. Their actions mirror the career trajectories encouraged within the TEACH model. Yet the transient nature of their work means that it is almost impossible for them to implement and embed any long-term projects for their students and their schools.

I started this thesis by reflecting back on my experience on the German exchange and my passion, as a teacher of modern languages and then later on as a tutor within a School of Education, for establishing linking projects. For the first time ever, the TfA network now offers a unified educational project around the world which involves teachers and students. This has the infrastructure and potential for far-reaching, multi-lateral educational collaborations which are no longer prey to the whims and enthusiasms of individual teachers. Instead, they could be established and embedded at institutional level and become a part of the day-to-day reality of the work that is done. Teach First and Teach for All, however, showed no interest in my project. This project, in my eyes, embodied all the principles that, as I started out on my research, Teach for All appeared

to stand for: people sharing their love of teaching, learning from each other, realising that they have so much in common, transcending national differences, challenging inequalities, stereotypes and prejudices, setting up class links and connections. I now realise that looking to Teach for All or Teach First for support for my project was as futile as going to the CEO of McDonalds to offer him my granny's recipe for onion soup.

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Appendices

Appendix 1a:

Categorised according to Jim O'Neill's (2014) understanding of the economic relationship between nation states.

Global South	Global North	Emerging Economies
Argentina **Enseñá por Argentina**	Australia **Teach For Australia**	China **Teach For China**
Bangladesh **Teach For Bangladesh**	Austria **Teach For Austria**	India **Teach For India**
Chile **Enseña Chile**	Belgium **Teach For Belgium**	Mexico **Enseña por México**
Colombia **Enseña por Colombia**	Bulgaria **Teach For Bulgaria**	
Ecuador **Enseña Ecuador**	Estonia **Noored Kooli**	
Lebanon **Teach For Lebanon**	Germany **Teach First Deutschland**	
Malaysia **Teach For Malaysia**	Israel **Teach First Israel**	
Nepal **Teach for Nepal**	Japan **Teach For Japan**	
Pakistan **Teach For Pakistan**	Latvia **Iespējamā Misija**	
Peru **EnseñaPerú**	Lithuania **Renkuosi Mokyti!**	

Philippines **Teach for the Philippines**	New Zealand **Teach First NZ**	
Thailand **Teach For Thailand**	Qatar **Teach For Qatar**	
Uruguay **Enseña Uruguay**	Romania **Teach For Romania**	
South Africa **TEACH South Africa**	Slovakia (Slovak Republic) **Teach For Slovakia**	
	Spain **Empieza por Educar**	
	Sweden **Teach For Sweden**	
	United Kingdom **Teach First**	
	United States **Teach For America**	

This table was first gathered as I started out with my research in 2014. The current list (April, 2016) no longer has Teach South Africa and has added: Teach for Armenia; Teach for Bulgaria; Teach First Danmark; Teach For France; Anseye Pou Ayiti; Ensena por Panama;

Appendix 2a

MY OVERALL QUESTIONS

TfA = Teach for All

TSA = Teach South Africa

TF = Teach First

I intend to try and gain an idea as to what it means to be a TfA teacher from the perspectives of: the CEOs of TSA, TF and TfA; staff in leadership positions within the three organisations and teachers from the three organisations. I want to explore whether there really is a global, homogenous 'TfA' teacher and teaching ethos and if so, how this is perceived by those working within these three organisations. I also want to find out what defines a 'TfA' teacher and whether these characteristics are indeed transferable to contexts around the world which can indeed be very different. I will be particularly focusing on the transferability of the notion of a 'TfA' teacher and teaching ethos to both South and North contexts, and whether the 'TfA' teacher identity and teacher ethos transcends South/North cultural and economic differences. Has 'TfA' really created a global teacher and teaching ethos - a 'McTeacher'? Does the TfA movement create a 'Third Space' that transcends educational differences across the globe?

The CEOs

I intend to ask them questions about their own role within the organization, their understanding of what it means to be a 'Teach First'/ 'Teach South Africa' teacher and how their respective organisations are situated within the 'Teach for All' movement. I intent to find out what they see as the point of 'Teach for All' and how they are expecting their organisations plus the 'Teach for All' organization, to develop over the coming years – their hopes and aspirations. I will be asking how they would define firstly a 'Teach First/Teach SA' teacher and how they

would define a 'Teach for All' teacher and what the differences are here, if any. I intend to ask them about how the different TfA organisations around the world collaborate and what the challenges are with collaborations. I hope to explore their views on how easy it is to share ideas and understanding of what it means to be a teacher within the TfA movement across the different organisations and particularly across South/North contexts.

The Leaders within the organisations

I intend to interview leaders within the three organisations and will be asking them questions similar to the ones pitched at the CEOs to see whether the views about what it means to be a TF/TSA/TfA teacher are as strongly held and in what ways they filter down. I will aim to explore what they believe it means to be part of the TfA movement for themselves, within their roles and for their participants. Is being a TfA teacher different from being a South African or UK teacher, and if so, in what ways? I will explore whether they feel as though they are part of a global teacher movement and if so, what defines this movement. Do they believe that their role in the UK has the same challenges as that in SA? What are their perspectives of the different contexts

: SA/UK and whether they are really all part of the same movement with the same ethos. I will aim to find out where they see their own organisations and TfA going in the future.

The Teachers

The teachers will be given the opportunity to visit each other's teaching contexts and experience first hand the commonalities and differences of TF and TSA. They have already been given the forum of Face-book to communicate with each other on a regular basis and are in email contact. Some of them are setting up class links between their different schools. It will be useful to interview them individually before any reciprocal visits, to ascertain what they believe their commonalities as TfA teachers are and then to interview them after reciprocal visits to see whether their views as to commonalities have stayed the same or

whether they are more focused on difference than commonality. I will also conduct a focus group interview with teachers after they have visited the partner context.

The Face-book group

I intend to explore the data coming from postings to this forum, to see what common themes are emerging about teaching and learning in their different contexts and to see whether this is a useful tool for creating a 'Third Space' for communication and interaction.

Interview schedule for CEO of TF (30 mins)

1 Tell me a bit about yourself and what inspired you set up TF?

2 How would you define a TF teacher?

3 What do you see as the role of TfA?

- What is its purpose?
- What are its key messages?
- How does it link with TF?
- How does it link/connect with the other TfA organisations around the world

4 How would you define a TfA teacher?

- any differences from a TF teacher?
- same definition for any TfA teacher around the globe?

5 Do you believe that the TfA mission is transferable to all contexts around the globe?

- What might any tensions be
- Do you think that TSA and TF teachers would see their roles as the same?

- How does TfA try and overcome these?
- What happens at a TfA conference?

6 In what ways do you believe organisations such as TF feel themselves to be part of the TfA movement?

7 Do you believe that TF teachers feel that they are part of a global teaching movement?

- How does this manifest itself? Or what needs to be done to help them to see the global nature of their work?

8 Where do you see TF going in the future?

9 What do you believe is the future for TfA?

10 Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about TF or TfA?

Interview schedule for CEO of TSA

1 Tell me a bit about yourself and what inspired you work for TSA?

2 How would you define a TSA teacher?

3 What do you see as the role of TfA?

- What is its purpose?
- What are its key messages?
- How does it link with TSA?
- How does it link/connect with the other TfA organisations around the world

4 How would you define a TfA teacher?

- any differences from a TSA teacher?
- same definition for any TfA teacher around the globe?

5 Do you believe that the TfA mission is transferable to all contexts around the globe?
   - What might any tensions be
   - Do you think that TSA and TF teachers would see their roles as the same? What might any differences be?
   - How does TfA try and overcome these?
   - What happens at a TfA conference?

6 In what ways do you believe organisations such as TSA feel themselves to be part of the TfA movement?

7 Do you believe that TSA teachers feel that they are part of a global teaching movement?

   - How does this manifest itself? Or what needs to be done to help them to see the global nature of their work?

8 Where do you see TSA going in the future?

9 What do you believe is the future for TfA?

10 Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about TSA or TfA?

Interview schedule for CEO of TfA (probably skype)

I'm really interested in TfA. Tell me a bit about where it came from? How did it arise?
What are the origins of TfA: when, where, why?
How did you arrive at the vision/mission/core values when decided

How does the international network work?

1 What do you see as the role of TfA?

- What is its purpose?
- What are its key messages?
- How does it link/connect with the other TfA organisations around the world

2 How would you define a TfA teacher?

- same definition for any TfA teacher around the globe?
- any culturally specific differences to what this might mean?

3 Do you believe that the TfA mission is transferable to all contexts around the globe?
- What might any tensions be
- How does TfA try and overcome these?
- What happens at a TfA conference?

4 In what ways do you support organisations such as TSA/TF to feel themselves to be part of the TfA movement?

5 Do you believe that TSA/TF teachers feel that they are part of a global teaching movement?

- How does this manifest itself? Or what needs to be done to help them to see the global nature of their work?

6 What do you believe is the future for TfA?

7 Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about TfA?

For Brett:

How did TfA come about? What' the story, who, how, when
How does TfA fit with TF national/international?
How exactly does the TfA network work? Events/people/ communications/policies/practices/ who are the key people?
How do you get people together? Strategic plan?
I can see from the website philanthropy is very important and you have some very generous donors. What is the role of philanthropy in supporting the work of TfA

What's the role of philanthropy in supporting the work of TfA? What does it bring apart from money? In what ways does it open doors?
What qualitites are you looking for in a TfA teacher? Is this different from a TF teacher? Same in all contexts? Do TF teachers feel part of a global teaching movement? What has convinced you of that?
What is the future for TfA?
I really want to understand TfA, what its importance is, what have I missed?

- Origins
- Structure
- Practices
- Philanthropy
- Teachers/practitioners
- Strategy

Richard

How did TSA come about? How did you get involved? What inspired you?
How does TSA fit with TfA in other parts of the world?
How does the TfA network work for you in SA
What is the role of philanthropy in supporting your work?
What qualities are you looking for in a TSA teacher? Are they different from the qualities that you would look for in a TfA teacher?
What is the future for TSA and how does this link to TfA

Nigel and Lindelane:
Could you explain your role in TF/TSA, how long you've been doing it, etc
How do you understand the work of TfA
How does this fit with TF/TSA. Have you had any links? Have you been to the conferences/ what kinds of policy are coming up? How does this fit with your work?
How do you understand the role of philanthropy? How does it affect you?
What qualities are you looking for in a TSA/TF teacher?
What is the future for TSA/TF/TfA?

Appendix 2b

Interview with BW, Monday 26th January, 2015

JE: So interview with [redacted] on the 26th January, so thank you so much for taking the time, [redacted]. I was wondering if you could talk to me a little bit about how TfA came about?

BW. Erm so, about 7 or 8 years ago, erm, we were approached by some erm social entrepreneurs in Germany, Australia, Estonia, who were interested in and had heard about TF and wanted to do a similar programme in their countries erm and so we started working with them and thought, you know, this is kind of beyond what we would do on our own and it would be great to see a different way to help them and then I called the head of Tf America, Wendy Kopp, who erm had started erm speaking to India and I think one or two other countries that had expressed interest in their model and erm we said, why don't we, erm get McKinsey, who agreed to give us some pro bono support to look at how we can help these countries together and this just commit with a new organisation that would serve as some sort of erm erm sort of link or erm erm network, you know, that they could all be members of.

JE: yeah, lovely and how long ago was that?

BW: I think it was about 7 years ago, now.

JE: Right and how do you see TfA network fitting with TF in the UK? What do you see the links as being?

BW: So I can see now TF are members of lots of different networks and organisations and erm, you know, I wouldn't say it's the most core thing, to us but it's more like, more like it's being part of a membership organisation where we erm, use it to share practices with other people, other programmes, you know, it's kind of nice to have that global link and erm to be part of a global sort of community.

JE: And erm so how exactly does the network work, in terms of kind of events that it organises, how it communicates with the sister organisations, etc, policies and practice.

BW: So every programme is erm, erm independent, so everyone makes their own decisions. There are some sort of norms that everyone tries to hold to and erm TfA, I mean they ho.. they've now structured into regions, so Europe is one region, and Asia and erm Latin America and

there's one global conference each year and then I think one regional conference each year and then they try to find different ways to help people meet from different countries from around the world.

JE: Have you been to the global conferences?

BW: Yeah, yeah,

JE: What would you say the kind of highlights of those conferences are?

BW: Erm I guess the highlight is really just meeting people who are doing similar work from other countries in the world and you know, you can meet some really inspirational people from all over the place.

JE: and is there sharing of good practice from the different areas as well? Does that take place

BW: Yeah, I mean all the other programmes except for Teach for America are really quite small still, so erm, erm there are different skills but there's all sorts of learnings that we have done from other programmes and I think, you know, just good to see what other people are doing around the world, I'd say.

JE: so do you see it as like an international movement now, completely kind of a global movement?

BW: Yeah, I mean, you know, things are so different in each country erm and the model's so different erm, but I think yeah, I mean what's common is that, you know, these are people who make a real impact in schools in their own country all over the world and erm I think that's really exciting, yeah. They have a lot in common.

JE: Yeah and I've kind of spent quite a lot of time looking at the website and I can see philanthropy is really important to you and that you have some very generous donors and I was wondering what the role is with philanthropy in the TfA organisation?

BW: Well I mean, it's funded by donors, so erm, so erm, the connecting organisations sort of the erm the secretariat is funded by philanthropy, yeah.

JE: Lovely and does that play out would you say with the participants as well, this kind of philanthropic approach?

BW: Well I mean I guess for our teachers and for teachers around the world, they are joining a mission, you know a programme has a really strong, charitable mission, to make change happen erm, erm so everyone joining, I think does it because they want to make that impact, help children from low income communities. I guess that's the philanthropic background.

JE: And what qualities would you say you look for in a TfA teacher, would you say there are defining qualities.

BW: Yeah, I mean it's slightly different in different countries but I think the commonalities are looking for leaders, looking for people who make real change happen, who are committed to closing the gaps and insuring children from low income communities succeed at the highest levels. Erm you know who have the commitment to really lead in the classroom and the resilience to succeed. I think those are the things we're looking for.

JE: And would you say that those are transferable across the globe?

BW: Yeah, I, I mean, yeah. I think so. I think when I, I mean I just came from a trip where I visited New Zealand, Australia, Malaysia and the Philippines and erm, you know teachers you meet all over the world are, have a lot of similarities have a lot in common and erm so I think that's really powerful, you know you see these great people around the world who are all committed to helping children from low income communities.

JE: and what do you see as the future for TfA?

BW: I think the future for TfA is really helping the programmes get more successful, and building, you know stronger programmes around the world. And helping erm you know, the teachers make a bigger impact in the classroom and just helping everyone learn from each other, everywhere, yeah.

JE: And I suppose, I'm really erm really trying to get kind of a handle on what TfA is about and I was wondering, you know, if you were to give me some headlines, as to what it is, what would you tell me?

BW: I'd say TfA is a network of charities that are committed to addressing educational disadvantage in their own countries erm and you know each programme around the world is creating local leaders who are going to hopefully close the gap in their countries and be teachers and leaders in that country who will help children from poor

families get a great education and TfA is a network of these, these different charities around the world.

JE: Lovely, Thank you, well those were my questions. Is there anything else that I've missed that you would like to tell me about TfA

BW: No, I think that's all. I mean you know, it's just great seeing some really great teachers around the world who are now working together in different ways

JE: Cos you're on the board as well.

BW: Yeah, yeah, yeah. It's really good.

Appendix 2c

Teach for All web-site map

- A Global Problem
- Our Approach
  - Leadership for Change
  - Sharing Solutions
- Our Network and Impact
  - Network Partners
  - Global Organization
  - Our Impact

- 1000 Student Leaders

- Get Involved
  - Launch a Program
  - Teach in Your Country
  - Donate
  - Join Our Staff
- Forum

- About
  - Vision & Mission
  - Core Values
  - Leadership Team
  - Board
  - Supporters
  - Global Advisory Council
  - Diversity
  - FAQ
- News
- Press
- Careers
  - Join Our Staff
  - Work For a Partner
  - Teach in Your Country
- Social

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SUPPORTERS

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to our Global Champions for their generous support

Appendix 3a

Teach South Africa, Teach First UK (East Midlands) collaborative project

Teach First South Africa and Teach First UK (East Midlands) are delighted to be launching a reciprocal and mutually respectful teacher linking project to support ambassadors from Teach South Africa and Teach First UK (East Midlands) in gaining a deeper experience of the local and global nature of teaching as a profession. The aims of the project are to support you:

- in gaining an understanding of the global nature of teaching as a profession and the Teach For All movement
- in gaining leadership skills for developing teacher/learner international linking projects and the global citizenship dimension in your schools
- in building long lasting partnerships between your schools for sharing your visions for your learners and good practice in your curriculum areas

We are looking for 5 Teach South Africa and 5 Teach First UK (East Midlands) ambassadors who are open-minded, willing to develop and learn, passionate about education for social justice and interested in forging links with colleagues in South Africa and the UK.

Successful applicants will be linked with a partner in South Africa / the UK and will explore the following, through fortnightly contact via skype, email and social media:

- The reasons why you went into teaching and in particular why you chose the Teach South Africa/ First programme
- The rewards and challenges of: working with young people; teaching your subject in school; your particular educational context
- your hopes and aspirations for leadership
- your hopes and aspirations for your learners
- The sharing of resources/lesson plans/ materials/good practice in teaching your respective subjects

There will also be reciprocal visits to South Africa and the UK so that you may spend time face-to face exploring the above issues in more detail and experience team-teaching in each other's contexts.

To apply to the project, you need to be:

- An ambassador in your second or third year of the Teach South Africa/ Teach First UK (East Midlands)programme
- Committed to exploring issues of social justice in education
- Willing to attend four project meetings (see 'draft plan for project' sheet for dates, time and venue)

- Committed to communicating with your partner electronically at least once a fortnight
- Willing to develop your understanding of South Africa/ the UK
- Willing to visit South Africa/the UK for two weeks in your school holiday (see 'draft plan for project' sheet for exact dates)

This project will also form an action research project to explore best practice in South/North educational collaboration. Please see 'research information sheet' for more details.

Appendix 3b

Aims of the Teach South Africa and Teach First UK (EM) link are to support ambassadors

- in gaining an understanding of the global nature of teaching as a profession and the Teach For All movement

- in gaining leadership skills for developing teacher/learner international linking projects and the global citizenship dimension in their schools

- in building long lasting partnerships between their schools for sharing their visions for their learners and good practice in their curriculum areas

Appendix 3c

Questionnaire to find out why applicants decided not to do the project

I am a primary teacher and I wanted to link with another primary teacher
The project is too expensive
The article that we had to read for the application form put me off applying
I didn't want to be part of a research project
I can't see how it is relevant to my teaching
I don't want to have to work in my holiday
I can't put up a visitor in my house/flat for ten days
I already had a holiday booked for when the trip to South Africa is
It feels like too much hard work on top of what I already have to do
My school already has a link project and didn't want me to set up another
I am under too much pressure already to take on anything more
I didn't think I was eligible
Anything else: The main reason that I decided not to apply was because of the time scale o the project, I was looking for something to do this summer which was at lea 3 weeks long and this one was too short unfortunately. Although it seemed like a really interesting project, my aim was to make the most of my summe by being away for most of the holiday, and this project doesn't meet this air unfortunately.

I am a primary teacher and I wanted to link with another primary teacher. I project would have been more relevant to me if I was able to link with anoth primary teacher.
The main reason I was unable to apply was the dates. Teachers in Leicester s work again after the summer on the 26th August. This meant I was unable to on the dates suggested.
Anything else: The main reason for me not applying was simply the cost of it all. I would have been unable to raise/get the funds to pay for the trip and this unfortunately stopped me from applying.

Appendix 3d

Exploring what it means to be a 'Teach for All' teacher from a South African and UK perspective

Research Information Sheet

Aims of the project

My research project aims to explore what it means to be a 'Teach for All' teacher from the perspectives of members of the Teach South Africa, Teach First and Teach for All movements. This study is for my Professional Doctorate in Education (EdD) and the findings will be written up in the form of a thesis and potentially disseminated both nationally and internationally and within Teach South Africa/ Teach First/Teach for All networks.

What will be required of you?

If you are an employee of Teach for All, Teach South Africa or Teach First, I will invite you to participate in an informal interview, which, with your consent, I will record and transcribe. I will send you a copy of the transcription for your comments and additions before I analyse it for my research. This is likely to take between half an hour to an hour and will take place at a time and location convenient for you.

If you are a participant in the Teach South Africa and Teach First programmes, you will be invited to be a member of a closed 'face-book' group where it will be up to you whether you wish to contribute or not. I will be 'posting' discussion points and acting in the role of 'animator'. The face-book group will be animated by me and used for data gathering purposes between March and September 2015. You may also be invited to participate in a 'focus group' where you will be involved in an informal group interview which will be recorded and transcribed. This is likely to take place at some point in August 2015 for between half an hour to an hour at a time and location convenient for you. You may also be invited to participate in an informal interview which is likely to take between half an hour to an hour at a time and location convenient for you.

If you agree to participate in the planned visit to Teach South Africa in August 2015, I will be in contact with you on a regular (probably fortnightly/three-weekly) basis to give you information about the logistics of the visit and preparation/ organisation required. I will also set up between 3 and 5 meetings between March and August 2015 to discuss the visit. Meetings will take place after 5pm and in a Teach First partnership school and during returners' week at

Leeds University in July 2015. They are likely to last one and a half to two hours and are not part of my research data gathering.

I will be making 'field notes' occasionally from March 2015 until September 2015 and in particular when the South African participants visit the UK and UK participants visit South Africa.

Confidentiality and security of information

Interview transcriptions, electronic data from the 'face-book' closed group, transcriptions from the focus group interviews and field notes may be used to inform my written Doctoral thesis which will be disseminated as outlined above. All names will be changed to ensure anonymity and you will have access to my thesis before it is submitted to ensure that you are happy that you are not identifiable and that you have been represented truly. If you are a key figure in the Teach South Africa, Teach for All or Teach First movements, it may be that you are identifiable, despite being anonymised. In this case, I will ensure that you are happy with how I have used your interview data in my thesis, before I submit it. Only my supervisor, you and I will have access to your interview/face-book data which will be kept in a safe and secure location.

Data storage

Electronic sound files:

Interviews will be recorded using an electronic device and will be transcribed by me by September 2015. The electronic file with the original recording will be stored securely on my lap-top, which is password protected, and deleted by September 2015. Only I will have access to the electronic file unless you request access to your file.

Transcriptions of electronic sound files:

Transcriptions will be anonymised with pseudonyms used for you and your institution. The transcriptions will be in the form of a word document and stored on my password- protected lap-top with a back-up-copy on an external hard drive. Both lap top and external hard drive will be kept in a secure place at all times. Only you, my supervisor and I will have access to the transcriptions. Once my thesis is complete, I may include the transcriptions in the appendix but I will check with you that you are happy with the presentation of the transcription and for me to include it in my appendices before so doing. If you are happy for the transcription to be included in the appendix, then an external examiner will also have access to it. I will gain your consent if any subsequent publication of my thesis or work arising from my thesis involves inclusion of the transcriptions or any part thereof.

Face-book data:

The face-book group will exist in a private, closed group forum and data arising from the group will not be available to the general public. Membership of this group is entirely voluntary. You are invited to control any contributions that you make to the forum and you may delete or edit your contributions at any point. I will be gathering data from the face-book forum between March 2015 and September 2015. I will copy and paste contributions from the forum on to a word document and they will be anonymised and kept securely on my password- protected lap-top. You, my supervisor and I will have access to the word document. I may include it as an appendix in my thesis but will gain your consent before so doing. After September 2015, I will cease to use the face-book group for data gathering purposes, but will leave it as a functional face-book group if you wish to continue using it for your own purposes. If you are happy for the anonymised data to be included in the appendix, then an external examiner will also have access to it. I will gain your consent if any subsequent publication of my thesis or work arising from my thesis involves inclusion of the anonymised face-book data or any part thereof.

Research participation

Participation in the research is completely voluntary and you are at liberty to withdraw at any time without prejudice or negative consequence. Non-participation will not affect your right to continue to contribute to the face-book group, if you are already involved with this. Your views will be respected throughout this research.

Potential risks, harms and benefits

Participants in the Teach South Africa and Teach First programmes are invited to visit their colleagues in South Africa and the UK. If this applies to you, you will be undertaking the visit at your own risk. You will be encouraged to follow Foreign Commonwealth Office advice at all times. You will also need to take out your own travel and health insurance and ensure that you have followed your doctor's advice with regards to any medical requirements and inoculations necessary for the visit. You do not need to visit South Africa or the UK to participate in the research project. Your school, learners and professional development stand to benefit from participation in the project as you will be exposed to a good practice model for South/North linking projects which you can then use as a basis for your own school/teacher/learner linking projects. You will also be exposed to a research project which could inform you in undertaking your own future research projects.

Risks from participation in the research project include the potential to be identified, to feel coerced and misrepresented. In order to allay these potential risks, I will draw your attention to the 'participant consent form' which you will be asked to sign. This states the fact that participation in the research project is entirely voluntary, that any data arising from your participation will be anonymised and made available to you, and that you have the right to withdraw at any time from the research interviews or the face-book group.

You may delete any contributions that you make to the face-book group at any time. Interviews will take place only with your full consent, at a time convenient to you, in a private and secure location such as my office, your office or a room of your choice and I will endeavour to ensure that they are uninterrupted and stay within the agreed time frame. If any interruptions occur, I will pause the digital recording. Questions will be open questions to allow you to fully explore the issues in your own way and at your own pace. Anything that you say during the interview will be kept in confidence and will not have any impact or bearing on your professional position within Teach First, Teach South Africa or Teach for All organisations. You and your institution will be anonymised in any transcript to protect your identity, which will be available only to you, my supervisor and me. To ensure that you are happy that you are not being misrepresented, I will offer you a copy of the anonymised interview transcript, with the option for you to add comments or amend it, and only use it in my research if you are confident that it is a true representation of your interview. I will ask you to confirm in writing that you are happy for me to use the transcript and/or anonymised face-book data for my thesis before doing so.

Contact details

Researcher: Jenny Elliott: jenny.elliott@nottingham.ac.uk [redacted]

Supervisor: [redacted] christine.hall@nottingham.ac.uk [redacted]

School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator:
educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

This research information sheet has been informed by the British Educational Research Association Guidelines (BERA, 2011).

Appendix 3e

Exploring what it means to be a 'Teach for All' teacher from a South African and UK perspective

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Project title Exploring what it means to be a 'Teach for All' teacher from a South African and UK perspective

Researcher's name Jenny Elliott

Supervisor's name [redacted]

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.

- I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.

- I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my status now or in the future.

- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain confidential.

- I understand that my electronic communications within the closed group on the 'facebook' social media site will be observed and recorded by Jenny Elliott who will copy the text onto a word document.

- I understand that data will be within the closed 'facebook' group and a copy of it will be stored on Jenny Elliott's lap-top and hard drive. Jenny Elliott and [redacted] are the only people who will have access to the copies.

- I understand that I may contact the researcher or supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, University of Nottingham, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.

Signed …… (research participant)

Print name …… **Date……**

Contact details

Researcher: *Jenny Elliott*

Supervisor:

School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator:
educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

Appendix 3f

Jenny Elliott Professional Doctorate in Education

Research Question: 'What does it mean to be a Teach for All teacher?'

Participant Research Questions

For CEO, Teach First

How did TfA come about?

- What' the story, who, how, when

How does TfA fit with TF

- national/international?

How exactly does the TfA network work?

- Events/people/ communications/policies/practices/ who are the key people? How do you get people together? Strategic plan?

What's the role of philanthropy in supporting the work of TfA?

- What does it bring apart from money? In what ways does it open doors?

What qualitites are you looking for in a TfA teacher?

- Is this different from a TF teacher? Same in all contexts? Do TF teachers feel part of a global teaching movement? What has convinced you of that?

What is the future for TfA?

- I really want to understand TfA, what its importance is, what have I missed?

For CEO, Teach South Africa

How did TSA come about?

- How did you get involved? What inspired you?

How does TSA fit with TfA in other parts of the world?

How does the TfA network work for you in SA

What is the role of philanthropy in supporting your work?

What qualities are you looking for in a TSA teacher?

- Are they different from the qualities that you would look for in a TfA teacher?

What is the future for TSA and how does this link to TfA

For employees of Teach First/ Teach South Africa

Could you explain your role in TF/TSA, how long you've been doing it, etc?

What is your understanding of the work of TfA

How does this fit with TF/TSA

- Have you had any links? Have you been to the conferences/ what kinds of policy are coming up? How does this fit with your work?

How do you understand the role of philanthropy? How does it affect you and the work that you do?

What qualities are you looking for in a TSA/TF teacher?

What is the future for TSA/TF/TfA?

For Teach South Africa and Teach First teachers

What inspired you to join TF/TSA?

- Why this rather than other teaching routes? What were you hoping to achieve?
-

What is your understanding of the work of TfA?

- Do you feel part of it? How do you hear about TfA?
-

How do you see TfA fitting with TF/TSA?

- Are you aware of TfA events, web-site, twitter feeds? In what ways do these influence you?

How do you understand the role of philanthropy? How does it affect you and the work that you do?

What do you think are the qualities of a TF/TSA teacher?

How do you see your future with TF/TSA? What do you see as the future for TF/TSA?

Appendix 3g

Questionnaire for Teach South Africa Ambassadors

I would be so very grateful if you could please help me with my research for my Professional Doctorate in Education. Your responses will be anonymized in my thesis. Please could you return your questionnaire to: jenny.elliott@nottingham.ac.uk by September 30th, 2015? Thank you so much for your contribution.

1. What inspired you to join Teach South Africa?

2. How far do you see Teach South Africa as an international organization and what does this mean to you?

3. How do you understand the role of philanthropy? How does it affect you and the work that you do?

4. What do you think are the qualities of a Teach South Africa teacher?

5. How do you see your future with Teach South Africa?

6. What do you see as the future for Teach South Africa?

Appendix 3h

Emerging categories and themes from SA and UK teachers' data

a) Teacher identity

b) Philanthropy

c) Emotions (about teaching)

d) Money

e) Context: Government policy

f) Development/future plans: personal and professional

g) Views on teaching as a profession

h) Messages about TF/TSA coming from them

i) Values of and in education

j) Networks

k) Teaching as a global profession

Appendix 3i

Sitemaps

Teach First	**Sitemap** • Why we exist • What we do • Join the programme • Be a partner school • Support us • About • Careers • News • Press • Contact us

Teach South Africa	• Home
	• About
	  ○ TEACH Vision
	  ○ Governance
	  ○ Careers
	  ○ Newsletters
	  ○ TEACH News
	  ○ TEACH In the Media
	  ○ TEACH South Africa Honorary Dinner
	  ○ Career fair dates
	• The TEACH Experience
	  ▪ Training and Support
	  ▪ Ongoing Support
	  ▪ Placement Regions
	  ▪ Being an Alumni
	  ▪ Learner of the Year
	• Support Us
	  ○ Businesses
	  ○ Schools
	  ○ Government
	  ○ Universities
	  ○ Friends of TEACH
	  ○ Donate to TEACH
	• Admissions
	  ○ Who We Are Looking For & Requirements
	  ○ Apply now
	  ○ FAQs
	  ○ Introductory Video
	  ○ How to Apply
	• Contact

Appendix 3a

(Teach First web-site, 2015).

Our valued supporters

We are proud to be supported by a diverse range of organisations who share our commitment to ending educational inequality.

Our supporters provide vital funding, pro-bono support and hours of volunteering to enable us to have a meaningful impact on young people, their families and communities.

We are extremely grateful to these organisations for their dedication to our mission and invaluable contributions, without which we could not work to improve the life chances of thousands of children from low-income communities each year.

Platinum supporters

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- **Barclays**
- **BlackRock**
- **Bloomberg LP**
- **BP Foundation**
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- **Civil Service Fast Stream**
- **Clifford Chance**
- **Credit Suisse EMEA Foundation**
- **Deloitte**
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- **KPMG**
- **Lloyds Banking Group**
- **Lone Pine Foundation**
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- **PA Consulting**
- **PwC**

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- **Royal Bank of Scotland**
- **Rolls-Royce**
- **UBS**

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- Man Charitable Trust
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- Pace
- Pearson
- Primary Science Teaching Trust
- Western Union Business Solutions

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- Centrica
- Cognizant Technology Solutions UK Limited
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- EY
- Evans Property Group

- Freshfields Bruckhaus Deringer LLP
- The Gatsby Charitable Foundation
- GTI Media
- IP Group
- The Liz and Terry Bramall Foundation
- Meridian West
- Neuberger Berman
- Network Rail
- Procter & Gamble
- Rothschild
- Sainsbury's
- Tata Consultancy Services
- Thales
- ThisCity
- William Shelton Educational Charity
- The Worshipful Company of Butchers
- The Worshipful Company of Innholders
- Yorkshire Young Achievers Foundation