Teacher recruitment and retention in England

By David Foster

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Summary

Teacher supply and retention
In recent years, the overall number of teachers has not kept pace with increasing pupil numbers and the ratio of qualified teachers to pupils has increased from 17.8 in 2011 to 18.9 in 2018. While the recruitment of initial teacher trainees was above target in each year from 2006-07 to 2011-12, it has been below target in each year since, with wide variations across subjects. In addition, the number of full-time teacher vacancies and temporarily filled posts have both risen since 2011.

Around 42,000 full-time equivalent qualified teachers left the state-funded sector in the 12 months to November 2018, a ‘wastage rate’ of 9.8%. This is the lowest rate since 2013. The wastage rate has ranged from 9.1% (2012) to 10.3% (2015) since the current series started in 2011. 32.3% of newly qualified entrants in 2016 were not recorded as working in the state sector five years later. This is the highest five-year wastage rate on the current series, which dates back to 1997. The rate has been between 25.4% and 32.3% in each year over this period.

Overall pupil numbers are expected to continue rising, driven by a projected 15% increase in the number of secondary school pupils between 2018 and 2024. This, along with other factors, such as the ambition for more pupils to take the English Baccalaureate combination of GCSE subjects, means that pressure on teacher recruitment could increase further in the coming years.

Initiatives to encourage recruitment and retention of teachers
There are a number of financial incentives aimed at encouraging recruitment to initial teacher training, including bursaries and scholarships. Since 2018-19 the Government has also been piloting the use of early-career payments for teachers in certain subjects as a means of boosting retention rates.

Other recent initiatives aimed at encouraging teacher recruitment and retention include introducing a teacher vacancy website, which was rolled out nationally in April 2019, and piloting a student loan reimbursement scheme for science and language teachers working in certain local authorities.

Teacher workload
Recent governments have highlighted efforts to reduce teacher workload as a means of encouraging teacher retention. In October 2014, the Coalition Government launched the Workload Challenge – a survey asking teachers for ways to reduce workload. A number of initiatives and commitments followed on from this, including the publication of a Workload Reduction Toolkit in July 2018 – a series of online resources to help schools review and reduced workload.

Following the Workload Challenge, the Department for Education (DfE) committed to undertake a survey of teacher workload in English schools in the spring term every two years. The most recent survey was conducted in March 2019, with the results published in October 2019. The survey found that teachers and middle leaders reported working an average of 49.5 hours a week. This was 4.9 hours less than in the previous survey conducted in 2016, but most respondents still felt that they did not have an acceptable workload and could not achieve a good work-life balance.

Teacher recruitment and retention strategy
In January 2019, the DfE published a Teacher Recruitment and Retention Strategy. The strategy's central reform is the introduction of Early Career Framework, which will underpin an
entitlement to “a fully-funded, 2 year package of structured support for all early career teachers” including 5% funded off timetable time in the second year of teaching. The Framework will be rolled out nationally from September 2021, with early rollout from September 2020 in the North East and other selected areas.

Other plans outlined in the strategy include (but are not limited to):

- Reforming bursaries to a “phased, retention payment approach.”
- Reforming the accountability system, including consulting on making “requires improvement” the sole trigger for an offer of support – replacing floor and coasting standards – from September 2019.
- Helping encourage more flexible working in schools, including the launch of a “find your jobshare” website for teachers.
- The introduction of a “one-stop application service for [initial teacher training]”.

1. Introduction

As of November 2018, the total full-time equivalent (FTE) number of teachers in publicly funded schools in England was 453,000. Trends are shown opposite. This is an increase of 12,000 since the series began in 2010, but a fall of 4,000 from a peak in 2016. Under the previous series, which is not directly comparable with the later data, FTE teacher numbers fell from 412,000 in January 1995 to 406,000 in 2000 before increasing to 448,000 in 2010. Of the 453,000 FTE teachers in 2018, 21,500 (5%) were unqualified.

While the number of FTE primary school teachers increased by 26,000 between 2010 and 2018, the number of secondary school teachers fell by 15,000 over the same period and has fallen in each year since 2012.1

The increase in overall teacher numbers since 2010 has not kept pace with increasing pupil numbers and the ratio of pupils to teachers has increased. Data on the earlier series (below) shows that the pupil:qualified teacher ratio fell in the decade from 2000, but has increased in each year since 2012. The ratio of all teachers (qualified and unqualified) to pupils has increased from 17.2 in 2011 to 18.0 in 2018.

The number of reported full-time teacher vacancies in state-funded schools has also risen, from 389 (0.1% of the workforce) in 2010 to 987 (0.3%) in 2018. The number of temporarily filled positions increased from 1,791 (0.5% of the workforce) to 2,777 (0.8%) over the same period. In 2018, vacancy rates for secondary classroom teachers were one percent or above in the following secondary subjects: maths (1.2%); information technology (1.6%); all sciences (1.6%); English (1.1%); design and technology (1.2%); and commercial/business studies (1.6%). The vacancy rate for secondary classroom teachers across all subjects has risen from

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0.4% in 2010 to 1.0% in 2018.² It should be noted that vacancy statistics are unlikely to fully reflect recruitment difficulties, in part because they are collected in November when vacancy rates are comparatively low.³

Earlier data on vacancies is not directly comparable to the current series. Vacancies on the earlier definition/collection show peaks of more than 6,000 in January 2000, and 4,700 in 2001 with levels generally around or below 2,000 in most intervening years.⁴

There are a number of factors that could, it is suggested, increase pressure on teacher recruitment in the years ahead. These include:

- Pupil numbers are projected to rise by 4% between 2018 and 2024. This is driven by secondary school pupil numbers, which are expected to increase by 15% over the period. The number of pupils in state-funded primary schools, on the other hand, is expected to decrease by 0.8% between 2018 and 2023, after peaking in 2019.⁷

- The introduction of the English Baccalaureate (EBacc) performance measure increases demand for teachers in certain subjects, such as languages. In the Department for Education’s (DfE) summer 2018 school snapshot survey, 92% of secondary school leaders stated that they have difficulty recruiting teachers in at least one of the five EBacc subject areas.⁸

Box 1: Migration Advisory Committee report on teacher shortages

The Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) advises the Government on migration issues. In May 2016, it was asked by the then Home Secretary, Theresa May, to undertake a review of the labour market for teachers to determine if there was a shortage that should be filled in part through non-EEA migration.

The report, which was published in January 2017, concluded that the evidence did not show an occupation-wide shortage of teachers. Shortages of teachers were found, however, in computer science, Mandarin, general science and modern foreign languages and the MAC recommended that the first three of these subjects should be added to the shortage occupation list. It did not consider it sensible to seek to fill shortages in teachers of European languages from outside of Europe.

Secondary school teachers in maths, physics and chemistry were already on the shortage occupation list. The MAC recommended that physics and maths should remain on the list, but that chemistry should be removed as there was not sufficient evidence of a shortage of chemistry teachers.⁵

In May 2019, the MAC recommended against expanding the list of subjects on the shortage occupation list and stated that the profession’s vacancy rate was “around average.” It recommended that secondary maths, physics, general science, computer science and Mandarin teachers should remain on the list.⁶

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- The introduction of the English Baccalaureate (EBacc) performance measure increases demand for teachers in certain subjects, such as languages. In the Department for Education’s (DfE) summer 2018 school snapshot survey, 92% of secondary school leaders stated that they have difficulty recruiting teachers in at least one of the five EBacc subject areas.⁸

• Depending on the precise terms of exit, and the detail of the post-Brexit immigration system, the UK’s exit from the EU could potentially make it harder to recruit teachers from the EEA to fill any shortages.9

2. Supply and retention of teachers

2.1 The Teacher Supply Model
The DfE uses a statistical model – the Teacher Supply Model – to estimate the number of postgraduate teacher trainees required in England in each subject and phase for one year in advance, taking into account factors such as pupil projections and estimates of teacher flows.

Estimates from the Teacher Supply Model are used to allocate teacher training places to Initial Teacher Training (ITT) providers and Schools Direct Lead Schools.10 Initial teacher training is largely focused on postgraduate courses, which make up the vast majority of training places.

2.2 Changes ITT allocations process
Since the 2016-17 academic year, changes have been made to the process of allocating training places to ITT providers involving the progressive removal of controls on recruitment for certain providers and subjects.

In the 2019-20 and 2020-21 academic years, ITT providers have had fixed allocations for recruitment to undergraduate, Early Years and some physical education ITT courses. Recruitment controls have been lifted for all other postgraduate courses, meaning that providers can recruit as many trainees as they wish, with no-cap.11

2.3 Initial teacher training census 2018-19
The ITT census measures the number of trainee teachers recruited against that required under the Teacher Supply Model.

Overall teacher recruitment as measured by the ITT census was above target in each year from 2006-07 to 2011-12. It has been below target in each year since.12

The chart on the next page shows the outcome of the ITT census for 2019-20. Overall recruitment to postgraduate ITT was 11%, or around 3,500 below target. While the number of entrants to primary ITT was only 4%

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9 Teacher shortages fuelled by Brexit threat to EU nationals, Guardian, 31 December 2016; Post-Brexit immigration policy could hit teacher recruitment, government admits, Schools Week, 19 December 2018.
below target (around 500), the number of trainees recruited at secondary level was 15% (around 3,000) below target.

There were wide variations across secondary subjects, with the largest absolute shortfalls, excluding the “other” category, in maths (shortfall of 1,198), modern foreign languages (shortfall of 843), design and technology (shortfall of 872), physics (shortfall of 718) and design and technology (shortfall of 604).

Recruitment was, however, well above target in some subjects, with the largest absolute surpluses in biology (surplus of 781), history (surplus of 339), English (surplus of 276) and geography (surplus of 214).13

The National Foundation for Economic Research noted that the most recent census showed increasing divergence in the fortunes of different subjects:

The recruitment situation has deteriorated further for perennial shortage subjects such as physics, maths, modern foreign languages and chemistry. In contrast, subjects that have had less difficulty recruiting in recent years, including biology and history, are generally overshooting their targets by more than last year.14

Around 44% of the 29,600 postgraduate ITT entrants in 2019-20 were recruited by higher education institutions; 35% were recruited into the two School Direct routes (salaried and fee-based); 13% entered school-centred ITT (SCITT); and 6% enrolled on Teach First. 155 trainees, or 0.5% of the cohort were on postgraduate teaching apprenticeships.15

20% of entrants to postgraduate ITT in 2019-20 had a first class degree; 53% had a 2:1.16 The proportions of trainees with a 2:1 degree or better has remained largely unchanged since 2014-15 but there has been an increase over the longer period. In 2006-07, 8% of entrants to postgraduate ITT courses had a first class degree; 51% had a 2:1.

Box 2: Qualified teachers from overseas

Teachers who are fully qualified in the European Economic Area and, since 2012, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States, can be awarded QTS in England with no requirement for further training. In the 2018-19 financial year (the latest available data), 3,103 QTS awards were made to qualified teachers from the EEA – a decrease of 35% since a peak in 2015-16, but an increase of 15% compared to 2011-12.

16 As above, table 2b.
1,530 QTS awards were made to teachers from Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States in 2018-19 – a 25% decrease from a peak in 2015-16. The DfE’s STEM international recruitment programme helps schools in England with the recruitment of maths and physics teachers from Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA.

2.4 Retention of existing teachers

Alongside the recruitment of new teachers, the retention of existing teachers is a key component in maintaining teacher numbers. It is also a major focus of the DfE’s Teacher Recruitment and Retention Strategy (see section 5).

42,073 FTE qualified teachers left the state-funded sector in the 12 months to November 2018, a ‘wastage rate’ of 9.8% - the lowest since 2013. The wastage rate has ranged from 9.1% (2012) to 10.3% (2015) since the current series started in 2011. 2,500 more FTE teachers entered than left the profession in the 12 months to November 2018.

The number of FTE qualified teachers recorded as leaving the state funded sector for reasons other than retirement or death was 35,645 in 2018. This is around 400 less than in 2017, but about 11,000 more than in 2011 (when the current series starts).

22.5% of newly qualified entrants to the sector in 2016 were not recorded as working in the state sector two years later. The five year out-of-service-rate for 2013 entrants was 32.3%, the highest on the current series, which dates back to 1997. The rate has been between 25.4% and 32.3% in each year over this period. The ten year out-of-service rate for 2009 entrants was 38%. It has been between 40.3% and 34.4% in each year since 1997.

Box 3: DfE commissioned research on factors affecting teacher retention

Following a survey targeted at former teachers in January to March 2017, the DfE commissioned in-depth qualitative research into why teachers leave the profession and what would encourage them to remain in teaching. The report of this research was published in March 2018: Factors affecting teacher retention: qualitative investigation.

Amongst the findings of the research were:

- Workload was the most important factor influencing teachers’ decisions to leave the profession and most suggested solutions to addressing retention were linked to workload in some way.
- Decisions to leave the profession were “generally driven by the accumulation of a number of factors, over a sustained period of time”, but for some there had been a specific ‘trigger’ point.

Suggested solutions for retention offered by teachers included: improving in-school support for teachers, increasing focus on progression opportunities, reducing workload, improving working conditions (flexible working was viewed positively; pay was not a driver for most but it was stated that pay levels were not reflective of the role), professional recognition and greater autonomy.

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18 PQHL15651, 21 May 2019.
20 As above, table 8.
In March 2017, there were around 261,000 qualified teachers aged under 60 who had previously worked in state schools in England but were not currently doing so. About 106,000 qualified teachers aged under 60 have never taught in the state sector.

It is important to note that teachers classed as ‘out of the profession’ at any one date may return – these figures summarise flows into and out of the profession, not permanent states. For example, only 53% of the teachers who entered state-funded schools in 2014 were newly qualified. Similarly, the National Foundation for Education Research found that, of a sample of 6,900 teachers between 2001 and 2015, 51% of those who left state schools for reasons other than retirement left to jobs in the wider school sector.

### 2.5 Teachers’ pay

The School Teachers’ Review Body (STRB) makes recommendations on the pay of teachers in England and Wales in line with a remit set by the Secretary of State.

**2018-19 award**

The STRB recommended that for 2018-19 all pay and allowance ranges for teachers and school leaders should be uplifted by 3.5%. It stated that this would “address deteriorating trends in teacher retention by improving the position of teachers’ pay framework in the labour market for graduate professions.”

The Government accepted the STRB’s recommendation for a 3.5% uplift to the main teacher pay range, but recommended a 2% increase to the upper pay range, and a 1.5% increase for the leadership pay range. The Government additionally announced that it would pay schools a new teachers’ pay grant to “cover, in full, the difference between this award and the cost of the 1% award that schools would have anticipated under the previous public sector pay cap.”

**2019-20 award**

In July 2019, the STRB reported on what adjustments should be made to teacher pay in 2019-20 to promote recruitment and retention. The report stated that “the teacher supply situation has continued to deteriorate, particularly for secondary schools” and that this “has affected teachers at all stages of their careers.” This, the report added, is “all the more concerning as increasing pupil numbers mean that there will be a need for more teachers in coming years, particularly in the secondary phase and for English Baccalaureate subjects.”

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23 NAO, Training new teachers, 10 February 2016, p8.
24 NFER, Should I Stay or Should I Go? NFER Analysis of Teachers Joining and Leaving the Profession, November 2015, p8.
26 HCWS912, 24 July 2018.
The report welcomed the DfE’s Teacher Recruitment and Retention Strategy (see section 5) and stated that it “should help address these problems in teacher supply.” However, it concluded that a “steady decline in the competitiveness of the teachers’ pay framework is a significant contributor to teacher supply difficulties” and that “complementary action on pay is vital.”

The STRB recommended that all pay and allowance ranges for teachers and school leaders should be uplifted by 2.75%. 27

The Government accepted the STRB’s recommendation and announced that it would provide additional funding on top of the teacher pay grant “in recognition of the difference between [the 2.75% award for 2019-20] and the 2% the Department had assessed schools could afford nationally”. 28

Higher starting salaries for teachers

In September 2019, the Government announced plans to raise the starting salary for a newly-qualified teachers outside London to £30,000 by 2022-23. 29 This was re-iterated in the Conservative Party’s manifesto for the 2019 general election. 30 As of September 2019, the current starting point on the classroom teacher main pay scale is £24,373. 31

It is not yet clear what will happen to the salaries of those teachers not on the minimum of the main teacher pay scale. In his remit letter to the STRB for 2020-21, the Education Secretary said he would make a strong case “for schools to move towards a relatively flatter pay progression structure than is currently typical, alongside significantly higher starting and early career salaries.” 32

2.6 Department for Education analyses of teacher supply and retention

Under the 2015 Government a programme of work was begun to develop the use of existing data to improve understanding of the teacher supply market at a more local level. Brief summaries of these analyses are provided below.

Local analysis of teacher workforce (September 2016)

The first output of this work, a local analysis of the teacher workforce between 2010 and 2015, was published in September 2016. Among other things, the analysis found that “school-to-school mobility is now the biggest source of new entrants to schools – and is therefore a key driver of increased recruitment in schools.” It additionally found that schools in areas

28 PQ 282297, 3 September 2019.
29 £30,000 starting salaries proposed for teachers, Department for Education, 2 September 2019.
32 Letter from Gavin Williamson to Dr Patricia Rice, Department for Education, 18 September 2019.
with higher levels of deprivation have slightly higher rates of school-to-
school mobility and teacher wastage. The Government committed to
conducting further work to understand the drivers behind the findings.  

Teacher analysis compendium: trends in teacher supply, retention and
mobility (May 2017)

The first of an intended series of analyses exploring the drivers behind the
findings of the Department’s local analysis of the teacher workforce was
published in May 2017.  

The first two sections of the report provided information on those entering
and leaving the teaching profession. Among other things, it stated that:

- The entrant rate (teachers identified as an entrant as a proportion of
  the total number of teachers) increased between 2011 and 2015,
  driven by an increased need for teachers of English Baccalaureate
  (EBacc) subjects.

- The wastage rate increased in every subject between 2011 and 2015,
  but this was offset by rising entrant numbers. The rise in the wastage
  rate was despite a fall in the retirement rate and was driven by an
  increase in those leaving to ‘go out of service’.

- PE had the lowest wastage rate of any subject in each year between
  2011 and 2015; History had the second lowest in each year, while
  Physics had either the highest or second highest wastage rate in each
  year.

- The returner rate (the number of teachers in a subject identified as
  returning to the profession as a proportion of the total number of
  teachers in a subject) rose in each subject between 2011 and 2015.
  The report stated that this was “likely to be closely related” to an
  increase in the pool of teachers who can be recruited as returners
  because of the increase in those leaving to go ‘out of service’.

The third section of the report provided an analysis of the characteristics
associated with teacher retention, both within a school and within the
system as a whole. It built on the analysis published by the DfE in
September 2016, which showed an increase in school-to-school teacher
mobility and in teacher ‘out of service’ wastage.

The report found that “there is no single observable factor that can explain
why teachers and leaders move to a different school, or why they leave the
profession altogether, but that there are some factors that are better at
predicting such moves than others”. The report noted that:

- Teachers with permanent contracts have higher retention rates, both
  in school and in the system.

33 Department for Education, Local analysis of teacher workforce: 2010 to 2015, September
35 Department for Education, Analysis of teacher supply, retention and mobility, May 2017,
pp2-20.
Retention rates increase with age and experience, and are higher outside London and in schools rated ‘Good’ or ‘Outstanding’ by Ofsted. The deprivation of a school’s area does not seem to be a major driver of in-system retention once other characteristics are controlled for, but it is likely to feed in through the relationship between deprivation and other predictive factors. Full-time teachers are less likely to leave the system than part-time teachers, but more likely to move schools. Holding a more senior post in a school is associated with higher in-system retention.36

With regards to teacher mobility between schools and geographic areas, the report found that most teachers stay within commuting distance when moving schools and that secondary teachers were more likely to move a greater distance than primary teachers.37

**Teacher analysis compendium 2: school and teacher level factors relating to teacher supply (September 2017)**

Following on from the two earlier analyses, in September 2017, the DfE published an analysis of school and teacher level factors relating to teacher supply. The report used data from the School Workforce Census to develop a Supply Index – an experimental methodology which attributed a score to each school based on the severity of its teacher supply issues. The report found that when the Supply Index scores were mapped there was no strong geographic trends in teacher supply issues, suggesting that this is a school level issue.

The report additionally reviewed the evidence of the factors that cause teachers to leave the profession. It found that:

- There are a wide range of factors that influence teachers’ and schools’ decisions relating to teacher supply.
- The decision to leave teaching is a complex one influenced by numerous factors, but research suggests that workload and accountability pressure, wanting a change, the school situation, and salary considerations are the most prominent factors in leaving.
- Workload, government policy and lack of support from leadership were cited as the three main reasons for leaving in a survey of ex-teachers.38

**Teacher analysis compendium 3: teacher supply, retention and mobility (February 2018)**

A further teacher supply analysis, intended to build on some of the areas covered previously, was published in February 2018.

The first two sections of the report looked at post-ITT employment rates and the mobility of NQTs. The analysis found that post-ITT employment

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36 As above, p3 & pp21-40.
37 As above, p3.
38 Department for Education, Analysis of school and teacher level factors relating to teacher supply, September 2017, pp2-4.
rates rose in the six years up to 2014-15, at which point 85% of trainees achieving QTS secured a teaching role within a state-funded school. Employment rates amongst graduates of school-led training routes were typically 5 percentage points higher than those on HEI-based routes. There were also significant variations by secondary subject. Regarding the mobility of NQTs, the analysis found that NQTs do not tend to move far to take up their first post, with around half taking up a post within 25km of their ITT provider.

The findings from the remaining sections of the analysis included:

- Updating the analysis published in May 2017 (see above) on teacher movement between state-funded schools using more recent data produced no change in the headline figures; 70% of teachers were found to stay within commuting distance when changing schools.

- An experimental analysis of teacher supply in relation to the extent of regional ITT provision suggested that in some regions the scale of ITT provision seems lower than demand. Conversely, in some areas the analysis indicated that demand appears was higher than required to meet local needs.

**Teacher analysis compendium 4: supply, retention and mobility (September 2018)**

A further analysis covering a number of areas, including those who return to teaching, qualified teachers who are not currently teaching in the state-funded sector, and the retention of NQTs, was published in September 2018.

The findings included:

- Approximately 20,000 teachers return to teaching each year, with around 60% having permanent contracts compared to around 95% of the remaining workforce. Returners are also less likely to work full-time.

- The pool of qualified teachers who are not current teaching in the state-funded sector has remained steady at around 350,000 teachers for each year. Most secondary teachers classed as inactive who return do so within the first few years of leaving (24% of males and 31% of females return within 5 years). The likelihood of returning reduces with each passing year.

- The five year retention rate of female NQTs was 5 percentage points higher than for male NQTs. It was also higher among those under 30.

The sixth section of the analysis provided an update to the first teacher analysis compendium, which was published in May 2017 and covered 2011 to 2015, and looked at data from 2015 to 2017. It found that the overall number of entrants had remained stable in most subjects over the last three years. The overall number of leavers had also remained stable, but most EBacc subjects had seen an increase in leavers, with the largest
increases in maths and geography. More teachers left than joined in every subject in 2017, except for maths and physics.\textsuperscript{39}

3. Initiatives to encourage teacher recruitment and retention

This section provides a very brief overview of the bursaries and scholarships available to trainee teachers before providing information on other recent Government initiatives to encourage teacher recruitment and retention.

3.1 Bursaries and scholarships

There are a number of financial incentives aimed at encouraging recruitment to initial teacher training (ITT), including bursaries and scholarships for individuals training in certain subjects. The level of bursary varies with the subject and with the degree class of the trainee. Physics trainees with a 2:2 degree or above, for example, are eligible for a bursary of £26,000 in 2020-21; the bursary for a history trainee with a 2:2 or above is £9,000. Some teacher training routes also offer a salary during training (for example, Teach First and School Direct (salaried)). Further information is available on the Get Into Teaching website at: Bursaries and funding.

In the 2017-18 financial year, around £183 million was spent on teacher training bursaries, an underspend of around £41 million on the £224 million budget.\textsuperscript{40}

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Box 4: Effectiveness of bursaries & \\
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There has been some debate about the effectiveness of bursaries in ensuring sufficient numbers of teachers. For example, in its October 2018 report, Teacher Workforce Dynamics in England, the National Foundation for Educational Research stated that bursaries do not appear to be incentivising recruitment or retention to the levels required, which may be because they are not tied to teachers staying in the profession. The Government should, the report recommended, structure financial incentives so that they incentivise retention in the first few years after training.\textsuperscript{41} As explained in section 5 below, the DfE’s Teacher Recruitment and Retention Strategy proposed reforming bursaries to a “phased, retention payment approach”.\textsuperscript{42}

In October 2018, the DfE published an experimental analysis of the destinations of trainee teachers who are likely to have been awarded a bursary. Among other things, the analysis found:
\begin{itemize}
\item Between 2009-10 and 2015-16, 92% of trainees awarded a bursary successfully gained QTS. The rate for non-bursary holders was 91%.
\item Between 2009-10 and 2015-16, 89% of postgraduate bursary holders awarded QTS were found in a teaching post in a state funded school in England at some point before November 2017. The
\end{itemize}
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{39} Department for Education, Analysis of teacher supply, retention and mobility, September 2018, pp2-4.
\textsuperscript{40} PQ153261, 25 June 2018.
\textsuperscript{42} As above, p22.
proportion of bursary holders found in a teaching post in a state-funded school following the award of QTS was lower than the proportion of non-bursary holders in each year.\textsuperscript{43}

In response to a parliamentary question in July 2018 on the effectiveness of bursaries, the then Minister highlighted DfE analysis that showed a statistical correlation between bursaries and the number of teacher training applications; increasing bursaries by £1,000 was found to lead to a 2.9% increase in applications.\textsuperscript{44}

Early-career payments

Since 2018-19, the Government has been piloting the use of early career-payments as a means of encouraging teacher retention. Payments are available to the following teachers starting their ITT in the 2018-19, 2019-20 or 2020-21 academic years:

- Maths teachers who started postgraduate ITT in 2018-19 or 2019-20 will receive early career payments of £5,000 each in their third and fifth years of teaching. The payments are increased to £7,500 for teachers in specified local authorities.
- Maths, physics, chemistry and languages teachers starting postgraduate ITT in 2020-21 will receive early-career payments of £2,000 in each of their second, third and fourth years of teaching. The payments are increased to £3,000 for teachers in specified local authorities.\textsuperscript{45} This is partly supported by £10 million of funding announced at Budget 2016 to “test how to improve retention of early career maths and physics teachers.”\textsuperscript{46}

The early career payments are in addition to any bursaries or scholarships received during ITT.

More information on the various routes into teaching, including the financial incentives they offer, is provided in Commons Library Briefing Paper 6710, Initial teacher training in England.

3.2 Advertising teacher vacancies

In addition to the bursaries outlined above, the Government advertises for new recruits to teacher training. The budget for such advertising has increased in recent years and in 2017-18 the DfE spent around £12 million.\textsuperscript{47} Two reports on the effectiveness of its marketing campaigns were published by the DfE in January 2019.\textsuperscript{48}

Following on from earlier commitments, in March 2018 the then Education Secretary, Damian Hinds, stated that the DfE would launch a new vacancy

\textsuperscript{43} Department for Education, Destinations of trainee teachers awarded a bursary, October 2018, pp5-11.
\textsuperscript{44} PQ 161071, 10 July 2018.
\textsuperscript{45} Department for Education, Early-career payments: guidance for teachers and schools, last updated October 2019.
\textsuperscript{46} HM Treasury, Budget 2018, HC 1629, October 2018, p76
\textsuperscript{47} PQ 198173, 6 December 2018.
A phased roll-out began in September 2019 and the website was launched nationally in April 2019.  

3.3 Student loan reimbursement pilot scheme

On 1 October 2017, the Government announced that it would pilot a student loan reimbursement programme for science and languages teachers in the early years of their careers. The announcement said that a typical teacher in their fifth year of work would benefit by around £540 through reimbursement.  

Eligible teachers completing their ITT between 2013-14 and 2020-21 may apply for reimbursements for the 10 academic years after their award of QTS. To be eligible, teachers must, among other things:

- Be employed in a maintained secondary school, a secondary academy or free school, or a maintained or non-maintained special school.
- Be employed at a school in one of 25 participating local authorities.
- Be teaching an eligible subject: languages, physics, chemistry, biology, and computer science.

The application round opened in September 2019.  

3.4 Tailored support programme

In her speech to the Conservative Party conference in October 2017, the then Education Secretary, Justine Greening, announced an investment of £30 million in tailored support for schools that struggle the most with recruitment and retention, including investment in professional development.  

The Tailored Support Programme has been running since January 2018. Further information is available in guidance published by the DfE.

Box 5: Subject specialism training courses

Following a commitment by the Coalition Government in 2015 to “upskill 15,000 existing teacher who do not specialise in maths and physics” over the next five years, in 2015-16 subject specialism training was launched. This training aimed to build the capacity of non-specialists who are either currently teaching maths or physics, or who may be able to do so. It also aims to upskill those looking to return to the profession. Teacher subject specialism training is now additionally available for modern foreign languages (since 2016-17) and core maths (since 2017-18).  

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50  PQ280317, 29 July 2019.

51  New education and skills measures announced, Department for Education, 1 October 2017.


53  New education and skills measures announced, Department for Education, 1 October 2017.

54  Department for Education, Teacher subject specialism training (TSST) courses, last updated 29 October 2019.
3.5 Encouraging career changes

The charity Now Teach was set up in 2016 with the aim of encouraging people who have already had a successful career to retrain as maths, science and modern foreign languages teachers. In January 2018, the Government announced that it would invest £350,000 in Now Teach to help it expand into Hastings, one of the 12 Opportunity Areas.\(^{55}\)

In September 2018, the DfE invited organisations to tender for a contract to “aid the recruitment, transition, training and retention” of career changes. A spokesperson was reported as saying that the new programme “builds on the experience of Now Teach.”\(^{56}\) In December 2018, the DfE announced that three organisations, Now Teach, Cognition Education, and the Brilliant Club, would receive £10.7 million to “recruit and support up to 600 teachers over the next two years.”\(^{57}\)

3.6 Conservative party manifesto 2019

As noted above (section 2.5) the Conservative Party’s manifesto for the 2019 general election included a commitment to raise teachers’ starting salaries to £30,000 in order to “attract the best talent into teaching and recognise they great work they do.”\(^{58}\) The manifesto did not, however, include any further commitments explicitly related to teacher recruitment. The Teacher Recruitment and Retention Strategy (see section 5 below) was also not explicitly mentioned.

In an analysis of manifesto plans for teacher recruitment and retention, the Education Policy Institute noted that no manifesto explicitly mentioned “targeted pay incentives where retention and recruitment issues are most challenging”. It did, however, acknowledge that such policies were included in the Teacher Recruitment and Retention Strategy (e.g. weighting retention payments in favour of teachers in certain areas) and it assumed, with no statement to the contrary, that this will be carried over as government policy. The report added, however, that “it is striking that, given the urgency of teacher recruitment and retention, no party has explicitly pledged to take these policies forward.”\(^{59}\)

\(^{55}\) Boost to get more top professionals into teaching, Department for Education, January 2018.

\(^{56}\) £13m cash pot to entice ‘career changers’ into the classroom, Schools Week, 16 September 2018.

\(^{57}\) Drive to recruit professionals and PhD graduates into teaching, Department for Education, 22 November 2018.


4. Teacher workload

Recent governments have noted workload as “the most frequently cited reason for teachers wanting to leave the profession” and have stated that it “is too high and must be reduced.”

This section provides a brief overview of recent actions taken with the aim of reducing teacher workload. Further information is available in a collection of papers published by the DfE. These include documents setting out Government policy, along with research reports, and guidance and information for schools on reducing teacher workload.

4.1 The Workload Challenge and response

In October 2014, the then Education Secretary, Nicky Morgan, launched the ‘Workload Challenge’ – a survey of teachers aimed at identifying the causes of excessive workload and what could be done to reduce it. A number of Government actions followed from this, including:

- In March 2015 the DfE published a new departmental protocol, in which it committed to introduce minimum lead-in times for significant changes to accountability, the curriculum or qualifications, and to do more to consider the impact on staff workload when introducing changes.

- In October 2015, the DfE announced the creation of three new workload review groups to “look at the top issues that teachers said caused the most bureaucracy.” The reports from the Workload Review Groups were published in March 2016.

4.2 Workload advisory group

On 4 May 2018, the DfE announced the membership and terms of reference of a new Workload Advisory Group. The Group was created to build on the work carried out by the earlier workload review groups and to produce a set of recommendations for the Secretary of State on how to remove unnecessary workload associated with data and collection for assessment in schools.

The Group’s report, Making Data Work, was published in November 2018. It made a number of recommendations for the DfE, Ofsted and other sector bodies. The Government stated that it accepted all the recommendations

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62 Department for Education, DfE protocol for changes to accountability, curriculum and qualifications, 2 October 2015.
63 Action to address the top 3 teacher workload issues, Department for Education, 2 October 2015.
64 Department for Education, Workload advisory group: terms of reference, 4 May 2018.
and in a letter to sector organisations committed to “collectively...taking action in response to the report.””65 I

In July 2019 the then Secretary of State, Damian Hinds, wrote to local authorities and academy trusts to highlight their role in tackling workload issues, as highlighted in the Workload Advisory Group’s report, by reviewing and reducing data burdens on the schools they support.66

4.3 Workload Reduction Toolkit

In July 2018, the Government published a Workload Reduction Toolkit – a series of online resources, including advice, tools and case studies, for school leaders to help review and reduce workload in their schools. The toolkit was last updated in October 2019. Further information is available in guidance on the toolkit published by the DfE.

4.4 Workload surveys

The Teaching & Learning International Survey (TALIS) 2018

TALIS is a five-yearly international, large-scale survey of teachers, school leaders and the learning environment in schools, administered by the OECD. The most recent survey was conducted in 2018, with the results published in June 2019.67 A report focusing on the results for England was published by the DfE at the same time.68

TALIS 2018 focused on lower-secondary school teachers (key stage 3) and primary school teachers. It’s key findings relating to teacher workload included:

- Full-time lower secondary teachers in England reported working, on average, 49.3 hours a week. This was above the OECD average of 41 hours a week. The equivalent figure in England in TALIS 2013 was 48.2 hours a week.
- Full-time primary teachers in England reported working 52.1 hours a week. This was more than in any other participating country except Japan.
- 53% of primary teachers and 57% of lower-secondary school teachers felt that their workload was unmanageable.69

Teacher Workload Survey 2019

Following the 2014 Workload Challenge, the DfE committed to undertake a survey of teacher workload in English schools in the spring term every two years. The first, baseline survey, was held in February 2016, with the results

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65 Department for Education, Teacher workload advisory group report and government response, 5 November 2018; Department for Education, Reducing workload in schools: joint letter to all school leaders, 5 November 2018.
66 Department for education, Data burdens on schools, 17 July 2019.
67 OECD, TALIS 2018 Results (Volume I), 19 June 2019.
69 As above, pp6-7.
The key findings from the most recent survey included:

- Teachers and middle leaders reported working an average of 49.5 hours a week. This was 4.9 hours less than reported in the 2016 survey.
- Senior leaders reported working an average of 55.1 hours a week in 2019, compared to 60.5 in 2016.
- Teachers reported spending broadly similar amounts of time teaching in 2019 as in 2016 (21.3 and 21.6 hours a week respectively).
- Most teachers reported spending less time on lesson planning, marking and pupil supervision in 2019 than in 2016, but most still felt they spent too much time on these tasks.
- Most respondents reported that they could not complete their workload within their contracted hours, that they did not have an acceptable workload, and that they did not achieve a good work-life balance.

The report on the survey’s findings stated that there were reasons to believe that there had been a “genuine fall” in the average working hours reported by teachers between 2016 and 2019. It added, however, that the results made clear “that there is more work to do to reduce unnecessary workload for teachers, middle leaders, and school leaders.”

Analyses published by the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) and the Education Policy Institute (EPI) examined how the findings from the 2019 survey compared with the wider literature on teachers’ working hours, including TALIS 2018:

- What is happening with teachers’ workloads?, EPI, 22 October 2019.

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71 Department for Education, Teacher workload survey 2019, October 2019.
5. Teacher recruitment and retention strategy

5.1 Announcement and publication

In a speech to the Association of School and College Leader’s annual conference in March 2018, the then Education Secretary, Damian Hinds, announced that the DfE would work with the profession to develop a strategy to drive recruitment and boost the retention of teachers. The strategy would, he said, identify the steps to be taken and would cover areas such as workload, professional development, career progression, flexible working and entry routes into teaching.73

The Teacher Recruitment and Retention Strategy was published on 28 January 2019 and the Secretary of State made a written ministerial statement outlining the key elements of the strategy on the same day.74

The strategy’s introduction stated that it marked “the start of a conversation with the profession” and was “an articulation of [the Government’s] priorities ahead of the comprehensive spending review” (which was at that point expected later in 2019). It also, the introduction stated, represented an “adjustment of focus” by recognising that greater attention must be given to ensuring that teachers stay in the profession (i.e. teacher retention).75

5.2 Proposals

The strategy identified four barriers to improving teacher recruitment and retention and outlined the steps it would take to begin to overcome each of them. These are summarised below.

The wider context in which schools operate can create pressure that leads to excessive workload.

The strategy stated that the DfE will “help to create the right climate for school leaders to establish supportive school cultures”. It added that reforming the accountability system will “be at the heart of this.” Specific steps included:

- Reforming the accountability system, including consulting on making “requires improvement” the sole trigger for an offer of support – replacing floor and coasting standards – from September 2019.
- Having a period of greater stability with no additional statutory tests or assessments for primary schools, and no further changes to the

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73 Damian Hinds: There are no great schools without great teachers, Department for Education, 10 March 2018; Damian Hinds sets out plans to help tackle teacher workload, Department for Education, 10 March 2018.
74 HCWS1278, 28 January 2019.
national curriculum GCSEs and A-Levels, beyond those already announced.\textsuperscript{76}

- Aim to make the additional benefits received by some teachers (e.g. help with transport and childcare) more widespread by developing, in partnership with multi-academy trusts, schools and local authorities, “local offer” packages to increase teacher recruitment and retention locally. The DfE will also explore whether there is a demand from teachers for new homes on surplus land.\textsuperscript{77}

- Ofsted’s new inspection framework will, the strategy stated, have “an active focus on the need to tackle teacher workload” and, among other things, will not look at any internal assessment data. The strategy added that Ofsted will introduce a new hotline for headteachers to report breaches of such commitments.\textsuperscript{78} The new framework was published in May 2019 and has been used since September 2019.\textsuperscript{79}

### Box 6: Ofsted’s clarification for schools

On 17 October 2014, Ofsted published Ofsted inspections: clarifications for schools, in order to “confirm facts about the requirements of Ofsted and to dispel myths that can result in unnecessary workloads in schools”. An amended version, Ofsted inspections: myths, was last updated in July 2018.

Not enough early career teachers receive the support they need to build a successful career.

The strategy’s central reform, which it described as “the most significant reform to teaching in a generation”, is the introduction of an Early Career Framework.\textsuperscript{80} The framework will underpin an entitlement to “a fully-funded, 2 year package of structured support for all early career teachers” including 5% funded off timetable time in the second year of teaching.

The strategy committed to fully funding the national roll out of the Early Career Framework and anticipated this will equate to at least £130 million of additional funding a year by the time the system is fully in place.\textsuperscript{81} Under the proposals, the Framework will be rolled out nationally from September 2021, with early rollout from September 2020 in the North East and other selected areas.\textsuperscript{82} The early roll-out will be supported by a £42 million Teacher Development Premium announced at Autumn Budget 2017.\textsuperscript{83}

A document published by the DfE alongside the strategy provides further information on the Early Career Framework.\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{76} Department for Education, Teacher Recruitment and Retention Strategy, January 2019, p15.
\textsuperscript{77} As above, pp16-17.
\textsuperscript{78} As above, p14-15.
\textsuperscript{79} Ofsted, The education inspection framework, May 2019.
\textsuperscript{80} Department for Education, Teacher Recruitment and Retention Strategy, January 2019, p6.
\textsuperscript{81} In response to an urgent question on the strategy, the Minister, Nick Gibb, confirmed that the £130 million represented “new funding”, HC Deb 28 January 2019, c495.
\textsuperscript{82} As above, p21.
\textsuperscript{83} HM Treasury, Autumn Budget 2017, HC 587, November 2017, p29
\textsuperscript{84} Department for Education, Early Career Framework, January 2019.
Following on from the pilot of early career payments for maths teachers in 2018-19, the strategy also stated that the DfE would reform bursaries more widely to a “phased, retention payment approach.” The DfE expects around 40% of bursary spend in phased subjects to be on retention following the reforms (see section 3.1 for further information).85

A teaching career does not always adapt to the expertise and lives of teachers.

The strategy stated that the DfE will “build on the foundation of the Early Career Framework to support teachers...to pursue the right opportunities for them.” Specific steps outlined in the strategy included:

- The development of new national professional qualifications (NPQs) in specific areas, such as curriculum development, for teachers who may not wish to follow a traditional leadership pathway. The first NPQ will be in teacher development and will be explicitly tied to the content of the Early Career Framework.86

- A “comprehensive review” of the pay framework for teachers “to support more flexible and rewarding career pathways.” The DfE will ask the School Teachers’ Review Body for recommendations, with a view to implementing any reforms in 2020.87 (For more information on teacher pay see section 2.5 above).

- Supporting headteachers “to adapt to changing demands by helping to transform approaches to flexible working in schools.” This will include the creation of a “find your jobshare” website for teachers who are looking for jobshare partners.88 A literature review of flexible working practice in schools was published on the same day as the strategy.89

The process to become a teacher is too complicated and burdensome.

The strategy stated that the DfE will “radically simplify the process for becoming a teacher, introducing new digital systems designed to make application much easier and user friendly.” Specific steps included:

- To avoid individuals being put off from applying for ITT by “cumbersome systems” the DfE will introduce a “one-stop application service for ITT”. The DfE will also review the ITT market “to support it to work more efficiently and effectively.”90

- The DfE will work with universities and school to explore how more teaching assistants can become teachers. The strategy states that the DfE wants to provide a pathway for teaching assistants to study part-time for a degree with QTS whilst continuing to work.91


86 As above, p26.

87 As above.

88 As above, pp25 &29.


91 As above, p33.
The launching of a new Discover Teaching initiative with the aim of giving more people the opportunity to experience teaching. This will include a new virtual reality classroom and an expansion of the Teaching Internship Programme and school taster days.\(^92\)

Regarding next steps, the strategy stated that the Government would hold roadshows over the coming months to seek further views on the plans.\(^93\)

### 5.3 Reaction

The reaction to the recruitment and retention strategy was broadly positive, especially with regards to the Early Career Framework. Indeed, the Education Policy Institute described the development and launch of the strategy as “a triumph of consultative policy development” and stated with regards to the Early Career Framework that “it is hard to recall a government policy that has attracted such an array of support and praise from across the education sector.”\(^94\)

A number of sector bodies, including the Association of School and College Leaders (ASCL), the National Education Union (NEU), the National Association of Head Teachers (NAHT), and the National Governance Association (NGA), also signed a forward endorsing the teacher recruitment strategy. It has, the forward stated, become increasingly difficult for schools to recruit staff of the required calibre, and the strategy “presents an important step on tackling this issue.” The forward welcomed the Early Career Framework in particular, arguing that it “has the potential to transform the support provided to recently qualified teachers in the first years of teaching.” The forward added that the organisations “share the ambition of the strategy and are fully committed to playing [their] part in delivering on it.”\(^95\)

Responses to the strategy also highlighted the importance of effective implementation. Jack Worth, lead author of the National Foundation for Educational Research’s report on teacher workforce dynamics, for example, argued that in the view of the NFER the strategy “covers the right areas” and is right to shift the focus from teacher recruitment to retention. The strategy must though, he said, “develop effective policy detail and be implemented fast enough to deliver what is needed.”\(^96\) The Education Policy Institute similarly stated that phased bursaries have the potential to overcome current retention problems but that a lot depends on their design and implementation.\(^97\)

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\(^{93}\) As above, p35.

\(^{94}\) *Could phased bursaries solve the teacher retention crisis?*, Education Policy Institute, 4 February 2019.


\(^{96}\) *Hinds is right to shift focus from recruitment to retention*, Schools Week, 28 January 2019.

\(^{97}\) *Could phased bursaries solve the teacher retention crisis?*, Education Policy Institute, 4 February 2019.
Some responses to the strategy were less positive about its likely effectiveness. In comments posted on the union’s website, Dr Mary Bousted, Joint General Secretary of the NEU, for example, stated that the strategy was “a serious structured attempt to address a teacher recruitment and retention crisis” but argued that it is “itself not sufficient.” “Despite lots of interesting initiatives”, she said, “the strategy will not be a game-changer for the major problems of excessive and unnecessary workload, diminishing pay levels, and a punitive and unreliable accountability system.”

Commons debate on the strategy
A short debate on the strategy was held in the Commons in January 2019 following an urgent question from the Shadow Education Secretary, Angela Rayner. Ms Rayner welcomed “any serious attempt to tackle the workforce crisis, however overdue”, but stated that “today’s words must be matched by actions.” She also raised a number of questions about the proposals in the strategy, including whether the Minister would guarantee that all teachers, including those in academies, be able to benefit from the Early Career Framework, and whether the £130 million committed in the strategy represented new money from the Treasury. The Minister, Nick Gibb, responded that it is a “very effective recruitment and retention strategy, which has the support of the sector.” Among other things, he also confirmed that the £130 million pledged by the strategy represented “new funding.”

A further PQ response set out the position concerning academies and the Early Career Framework:

All schools, including academies, that provide statutory induction must comply with relevant regulations and statutory guidance. From 2021, subject to regulatory changes, this will include an enhanced support offer for early career teachers, underpinned by the Early Career Framework.

Although not legally required, the majority of non-maintained schools, including academies, do provide statutory induction. Most recent available data shows that 29,765 Newly Qualified Teachers from across all sectors passed induction in 2017/18.

[...]

It is important to note that the funding for the Early Career Framework will be available to all schools, including academies, supporting an early career teacher who is undergoing statutory induction. It is anticipated that academies will continue to offer induction and there has been strong support from the school sector, including academies, for these reforms.

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98 Dr Mary Bousted, Joint General Secretary of the NEU has commented on the release of the Department for Education’s recruitment and retention strategy, National Education Union, 28 January 2019.
99 HC Deb 28 January 2019, c494-5.
100 As above, c495.
101 PQ 216345, 7 February 2019.
5.4 Implementation

Early Career Framework
In October 2019, the DfE published further information on the Early Career Framework support package, which includes:

- funded 5% off-timetable-time in the second year of teaching, in addition to the existing 10% in the first year
- a range of high-quality, freely available curricula and training materials underpinned by the Early Career Framework
- funded training for mentors of early career teachers
- funded time for mentors to support early career teachers

The support package will be rolled out to early rollout areas in September 2020 and nationally from September 2021. Schools in early rollout areas do not have to participate from September 2020 if they do not wish to.

Guidance on the rollout of the support package, published in October 2019, states that over the coming months the DfE will finalise the details of early rollout and will share more information about how schools can opt in, the range of curricula and training available and the direct funding available to participating schools.

The guidance further explains that during the first year of early rollout there will be no changes to statutory induction, which will continue to take one year (although the support package will last for two years). Following national rollout, early career teachers will do a 2-year statutory induction, following which they will be assessed against the Teachers’ standards. QTS will continue to be awarded, as now, at the end of ITT and before the start of statutory induction.¹⁰²

Accountability system
In January 2019, the DfE launched a consultation on proposals to remove floor and coasting standards and to make all schools judged Requires Improvement by Ofsted eligible for support.¹⁰³ In its response to the consultation, published in May 2019, the Government confirmed that it would implement its proposals in full from the 2019-20 academic year.¹⁰⁴

Professional qualifications for teachers
In July 2019, the DfE announced the membership of an advisory group which will support the development of “new, specialist qualifications for experienced teachers that build on the core areas of the Early Career Framework.”

The announcement added that the first specialist programme to be rolled-out for teachers will be a Teacher Developer qualification. The new

qualifications are expected to be in place during the 2020-21 academic year.105

Teacher workload and wellbeing

In March 2019, the DfE announced that a new advisory group had been set up to “look at how teachers and school leaders can be better supported to deal with the pressures of the job.” Noting the teacher recruitment and retention strategy’s ambition to “create a positive, supportive culture in schools”, the announcement stated that the group will “look at how to promote better wellbeing for teachers.”106

The group met for the first time in July 2019.107

105 New qualifications to help teachers progress their careers, Department for Education, 17 July 2019.


107 Experts to drive “real change” in support of teachers’ wellbeing, Department for Education, 5 July 2019.
6. Reports on teacher supply and retention

Below are links to selected reports concerning teacher recruitment and retention that have been published since the start of 2017.

- Education Policy Institute, Teacher recruitment, progression and retention in multi-academy trusts, June 2019.
- Education Policy Institute, The teacher labour market in England: Shortages, subject expertise and incentives, August 2018.
- National Audit Office, Retaining and developing the teaching workforce, September 2017.
- Education Committee, Recruitment and Retention of Teachers, February 2017.

The following webpages also provide links to further analysis of the teacher labour market:

- Education datalab: Teacher careers
- Education Policy Institute: Teaching and Leadership: Supply and Quality.
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