

TRANSFORMING EDUCATION THROUGH
CRITICAL LEADERSHIP, POLICY AND PRACTICE



Teacher Professionalism from the Margins



The Policies and Politics of
Education Governance in
England and Sweden



ALISON L. MILNER

Teacher Professionalism from the Margins

Government education policies have a significant influence not only on the quality of education, but also on the attractiveness of the teaching profession. *Teacher Professionalism From the Margins* explores this influence by comparing education policies in England and Sweden. In doing so, it underlines the importance of teacher union involvement in policy development and the potential benefits of effective social dialogue to quality teacher supply. This book is an essential read for teachers and trade unionists with an interest in the policies and politics behind their daily work.

—**Christer Holmlund, Secretary General, Nordic Teachers' Council**

This book provides a fresh and rigorous perspective on teacher professionalism, combining theoretical originality with rich comparative insights. By examining the dialectical relationship between education governance and teacher professionalism – and the role of teacher unions in shaping both – Milner offers a timely contribution to understanding how education policy is developed and contested.

—**Antoni Verger, Professor of Sociology, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona**

TRANSFORMING EDUCATION THROUGH CRITICAL LEADERSHIP, POLICY AND PRACTICE

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BY

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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

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Abbreviations

ATL	Association of Teachers and Lecturers
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
DfE	Department for Education
DPM	Deputy Prime Minister
ECTS	European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System
EHEA	European Higher Education Area
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
EU	European Union
GTCE	General Teaching Council for England
GTP	Graduate Teacher Programme
HEI	Higher Education Institution
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
ITE	Initial Teacher Education
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
KIPP	Knowledge is Power Program
KPU	Kompletterande Pedagogisk Utbildning [Supplementary Pedagogical Training] ¹
M/M	Morphogenetic/morphostatic
MAT	Multi-Academy Trust
MP	Member of Parliament
NASUWT	National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers
NPM	New Public Management
NUT	National Union of Teachers

¹Author's own translation.

NUTS	National Union of Teachers in Sweden
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
OMC	Open Method of Coordination
PGCE	Postgraduate Certificate in Education
PGTA	Postgraduate Teaching Apprenticeship
PIRLS	Progress in International Reading Literacy Study
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
PM	Prime Minister
QTS	Qualified Teacher Status
SALAR	Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions ²
SASPDE	Swedish Association of School Principals and Directors of Education
SATs	Standard Assessment Tests
SCITT	School-Centred Initial Teacher Training
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SoS	Secretary of State
SOU	Statens Offentliga Utredningar [Swedish Government Official Reports] ³
SpAd	Special Adviser
SRA	Strategic-Relational Approach
STU	Swedish Teachers' Union
TALIS	Teaching and Learning International Survey
TDA	Training and Development Agency for Schools
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
TMSA	Transformational Model of Social Activity
TTA	Teacher Training Agency
UCET	Universities' Council for the Education of Teachers

²Organisational translation.

³Organisational translation.

UK	United Kingdom
ULV	Utlandsutbildade lärares vidareutbildning [Overseas Teachers' Further Education] ⁴
US	United States
VAL	Vidareutbildning av lärare [Teachers' Further Education] ⁵

⁴Author's own translation.

⁵Author's own translation.

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About the Author

Alison L. Milner is a researcher at Aalborg University, Denmark. Her research interests include teachers' work and professional development, education policy and comparative education. She has conducted research on social dialogue between education unions and employer organisations across Europe. Prior to working in higher education, she was a teacher in England and Sweden.

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Chapter 1

Teachers in Policy and Politics

1.1 Introduction

No-one forgets a good teacher. That was at least the hope behind the advertising slogan of a recruitment campaign by the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) in England as it bid to attract both aspiring candidates in, and former teachers back, to the profession. Launched at the British Library on 14 October 1997, an early promotional film from the campaign featured 16 celebrities from the United Kingdom (UK). From comedian John Cleese, theoretical physicist Professor Stephen Hawking and former England goalkeeper David Seaman to actor Joanna Lumley, pop singer Skin and incumbent Prime Minister Tony Blair, one by one each turned to the camera and recalled the name of ‘a good teacher’ who had made an impression on their younger student selves. Simple in production, the tone was warm and reflective, appealing to the audience’s sense of nostalgia. Its goal was to improve the status of the teaching profession in public hearts and minds at a time of increased teacher demand. The implication was that a good teacher can set you on a journey to untold professional success. Without teachers, as Anthea Millett, then Chief Executive of the TTA, commented at the launch, ‘there would be no other professions’ (TES, 1997).

The 1997 advertisement campaign was part of a five-year plan by the TTA,¹ a government-funded quango established in 1994 under a John Major-led Conservative government with the functions:

- to contribute to raising the standards of teaching;
- to promote teaching as a career;

¹By 2005, the TTA was relaunched as the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) under the [Education Act \(2005 c.18\)](#). In 2012, it was relaunched as the Teaching Agency, replacing also parts of the General Teaching Council for England. In April 2013, it merged with the National College for Leadership to become the National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL) ([National Archives, 2024](#)). <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C342>. The NCTL no longer exists. Regulation of the teaching profession is now handled by the Teaching Regulation Agency (DfE, 2025). <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/national-college-for-teaching-and-leadership>

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- to improve the quality and efficiency of all routes into the teaching profession;
- to secure the involvement of schools in all courses and programmes for the initial training of school teachers. ([Education Act, 1994](#) c.30, p. 1)

Only two weeks after its launch, the UK Parliament House of Commons Select Committee on Education and Employment published a report titled *Teacher Recruitment: What can be done?* ([House of Commons, 1997](#)) which warned of a growing shortage of quality entrants.² Eleven per cent fewer undergraduates had enrolled in a teacher training programme that academic year and, according to figures from the Universities and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS), a further 15% drop in applicants was expected in 1998/1999. At a House of Commons debate in February 1998, Margaret Hodge, Labour Member of Parliament and Chair of the Select Committee,³ laid the blame firmly at the door of the Opposition:

The legacy left behind by the Conservative Party is a teaching profession that cannot attract either enough people or the best graduates. ... The complacency shown by the previous Government about the problem of teacher supply is outrageous. They created a crisis in teacher recruitment. ([House of Commons, 1998](#))

During this parliamentary sitting, Hodge called on the Government to take more radical steps to improve the status of the profession and attract higher-skilled, higher-achieving people into teaching ([House of Commons, 1998](#)). Her appeal was not without cause. In 1998/1999, recruitment to initial teacher training (ITT) for secondary education was down by a quarter of the 20,355 teacher trainees required according to the government target. In 1999/2000, this target was reduced to 18,470 but applications were still 20% lower than desired ([House of Commons, 2004](#)).

At face value, these continued teacher shortages should have made policy-makers rethink their approach. Hodge herself had argued that ‘an advertising campaign will be ineffective unless it’s part of a wider strategy’ ([House of Commons, 1998](#)). For Nigel de Gruchy and Doug McAvoy, then general secretaries of the National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT) and the National Union of Teachers (NUT) respectively, a major omission from the 1997 TTA campaign had been any reference to teacher pay. The gap between teachers’ salaries and those of other graduate professions was widening and, in their view, seeking to improve teacher status (through, for example, raising the entry requirements to undergraduate and postgraduate

²The House of Commons and the House of Lords are the two Houses of the UK Parliament. In general, decisions made in the former have to be approved in the latter. The House of Commons is the democratically elected House of 650 Members of Parliament (<https://www.parliament.uk/business/commons/>).

³The Rt Hon Dame Margaret Hodge later became Parliamentary Under-Secretary in the Department for Education and Employment, then Minister of State in the renamed Department for Education and Skills. She left the House of Commons on 30 May 2024.

teacher training) without consideration for teacher remuneration would make it difficult to bring in and, crucially, *keep in* the required number of qualified education personnel (TES, 1997). Nevertheless, the Select Committee on Education and Employment believed that higher pay was ‘the easy answer’ and ‘too simplistic’ (House of Commons, 1998).

To some degree, research would appear to agree with the perspective of the Select Committee. Pay is often considered a ‘hygiene’ factor in employee motivation (Herzberg, 1966); it does not contribute intrinsically to job satisfaction but, when ‘absent’ (e.g. when the cost-of-living is high or when workload threatens quality of working life), it can result in increased job dissatisfaction (e.g. see Barmby, 2006). Nonetheless, teacher supply and demand is complex and affected by a wide range of factors that extend beyond labour union ‘bread and butter’ issues of pay and workload (see Stevenson & Milner, 2023). For instance, in England, subsequent teacher shortages could also be linked to a much broader education reform agenda by the incoming New Labour government.

In his Leader’s speech at the Labour Party Conference in Blackpool in 1996, Tony Blair set out his ‘three’ priorities for government: education, education, education (Blair, 1996). Among his manifesto policies were a modernised comprehensive school system, reduced class sizes in primary schools for 5- to 7-year-olds and increased public investment in education. On election to office, these pledges were put into action. Most notably, between 1997 and 2007, per pupil funding rose by 48% in real terms and, by the end of 2010, by 78% (Lupton & Obolenskaya, 2013).⁴ With revitalised school budgets, headteachers now had the flexibility to recruit more staff and, in 2000/2001, when spending grew most rapidly, advertised teacher vacancies rose by 107% (See & Gorard, 2020).⁵ Within a space of 10 years, 35,000 more teachers had been recruited, and teacher pay had risen by 18% in real terms (Coughlan, 2007).

On the surface, these developments under New Labour would appear to suggest a reinvigorated profession; however, the aforementioned data do not account for early teacher attrition and, specifically, the sharp rise in resignations which occurred between 1998 and 2001. Again, the gap between teacher pay growth relative to the wider labour market was identified as an issue. Reflecting on the challenges to teacher retention at that time, a spokesperson for the Department for Education and Skills explained that ‘in times of economic stability, public-sector employers find it hard to compete with the material rewards on offer in the private sector’ (House of Commons, 2004).

Over a quarter of a century later, and following successive New Labour (1997–2010), Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition (2010–2015) and Conservative (2015–2024) governments, the picture is somewhat bleaker. The National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) *Teacher Labour Market in*

⁴Total public expenditure on education was 49.7 billion in 1997/98 and 88.6 billion in 2009/10. This represented 4.5% and 6.2% of GDP respectively (Lupton & Obolenskaya, 2013).

⁵This can be compared to figures between 1996 and 1997 when the Conservative government introduced budget cuts and 36.7% of schools reduced staffing (See & Gorard, 2020).

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England Annual Report 2024 (McClean et al., 2024) indicated that a teacher recruitment and retention crisis in England ‘shows no signs of abating’ (NFER, 2024). At its launch, Jack Worth, report author, stated that ‘teacher supply is in a critical state that risks the quality of education that children and young people receive’ (NFER, 2024). Echoing the comments of union leaders from 1997, the report suggested that good teachers are in short supply due to uncompetitive salaries, when compared to those of the wider graduate labour market. A decade of public sector pay caps followed by a 2021/2022 pay freeze and a cost-of-living crisis meant that teacher pay had failed to keep up with inflation. Despite a 6.5% pay rise in 2023/2024, the salaries of experienced and senior teachers in England had fallen by 10% in real terms since 2010/11. While early career teachers’ salaries had increased by 8.9% in 2022/2023 and 7.1% in 2023/2024, starting salaries were still 3% lower than in 2010/11, and their position in income distribution had fallen from the 37th percentile to the 29th percentile. Furthermore, despite the government target to reduce teachers’ working hours by five hours per week within three years, and the 2023 establishment of a Workload Reduction Taskforce, which included representatives of the two main teacher unions (DfE, 2024a), teachers were working longer hours than similar graduates, and workload was reported as the main reason behind teacher attrition (McClean et al., 2024).

In July 2024, the Labour Party under the leadership of Sir Keir Starmer was elected to government. As part of its ‘first steps for change’, this administration vowed to recruit 6,500 new expert teachers in shortage subjects and to ‘areas that face recruitment challenges’, principally through adjustments to the allocation of bursaries for teacher training programmes. However, acknowledging that ‘teachers are burnt out and leaving in their droves’, the Labour Party seemed to recognise that the supply issue would not be solved simply by bringing more people into an already overburdened profession and, accordingly, suggested a review of ‘the structure of retention payments’. Both strategies for recruitment and retention would be paid for by the purported £1.5 million raised by ending tax breaks for private schools (Labour Party, 2024a).

The aforementioned proposals had already been announced in a pre-election party-political broadcast uploaded to social media on National Thank a Teacher Day. With the tag line ‘Everyone remembers the teachers who made a difference’, there were clear parallels with the 1997 TTA recruitment campaign. However, in this 3-minute video, Bridget Phillipson, then Shadow Secretary of State for Education, reflected on the teacher who had inspired her. More a call to undecided voters than indecisive graduates, the emotional appeal of the earlier advertisement remained as Phillipson was ‘surprised’ by the appearance of the teacher in question. In contrast to the hidden privileges of the participants of the TTA campaign,⁶ the video featured a montage of Phillipson and Starmer chatting with teachers, school leaders and pupils on a visit to a state comprehensive school,

⁶Only two celebrities in the 1997 TTA campaign were educated in the state-funded comprehensive school system, the institutional focus of the recruitment drive. The remaining 14 celebrities attended fee-charging private, selective grammar or convent schools, mostly in the South of England.

and of Phillipson and her former teacher reflecting on their working-class roots in the North of England. The overall message was that the Labour Party intended to redress previous right-wing governments' years of underinvestment in state education, with the tax on private schools justified by the need to increase teacher recruitment in schools where 'the vast majority of children go' (Labour Party, 2024b). In a subsequent article in *The Guardian* newspaper, Phillipson referred to the challenges that teachers faced in the classroom due to the lack of government expenditure on schools and their communities. Like the 1997 TTA campaign, the need for good teachers was tied to a much larger standards agenda; unlike the TTA campaign, the teacher crisis was positioned within a system which had been left to flounder. With a nod – and some might argue a bow – to past Labour leadership, Phillipson wrote of the need to revive 'education, education, education' (Phillipson, 2024a). Thus, while Starmer emphasised change, New Labour and 'renewed' Labour seemed to offer up a similar diet of education policy slogans. What that means for the future of teacher supply is not yet known. With a 2023 National Education Union survey indicating that two-fifths of teachers planned to quit the profession within five years (NEU, 2023), radical solutions – not soundbites – are needed urgently.

Although the aforementioned recruitment and retention issues are highly contextualised, it would be amiss to describe the current teacher crisis as a purely English phenomenon. In the 2024 *Global Report on Teachers* by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Task Force on Teachers for Education 2030, it is argued that 44 million additional teachers are needed to achieve universal primary and secondary education by 2030. While the greatest demand is in Sub-Saharan Africa, the region with the fastest growing school-age population, the wealthiest economies of Europe are also under strain (UNESCO and International Task Force on Teachers for Education 2030, 2024). According to the 2023 Education and Training Monitor of the European Commission, significant teacher shortages are reported in almost all European Union (EU) Member States, and, with ageing teacher populations, the supply gap is expected to widen in the coming years (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2023).

One EU country with specific problems of teacher supply is Sweden. In 2021, the Swedish National Agency for Education predicted a shortage of 12,000 newly qualified teachers and pre-school teachers by 2035 (Skolverket, 2023). Two key issues were highlighted: (i) demographic changes to the student population as a result of high birth rates and inward migration and (ii) a 2013 reform which required all teachers to have professional certification. While the student population has now stabilised, the 2013 reform is not fully implemented and many schools continue to employ unqualified teachers (Stevenson & Milner, 2023).

Although there has been a slightly upward trend in teacher quality in recent years (Skolverket, 2024a, 2024b), the above forecast masks high levels of disparity between school types, municipalities and regions. Northern Sweden, for example, has much greater recruitment difficulties than Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö, where competition for posts is high. Teacher supply and demand is also affected by internal migration, the decrease in working-age population and the

dominant industrial model of employment in a region (Stevenson & Milner, 2023). Despite these geographical factors, which have significant ramifications for educational equity, *global* teacher supply is not a major concern in Sweden. Teacher education represents the largest professional higher education programme (UKÄ, 2025).⁷ Moreover, 80% of the 2014/15 teacher education graduates were still employed in the profession five years' later (Statistics Sweden, 2022). Recruitment could yet be a concern though; in 2023, the Swedish Council for Higher Education reported that the number of applicants to teacher education programmes had fallen in the previous two consecutive years (UHR, 2023).⁸

Current teacher gaps in England and Sweden – although distinct in their character – not only threaten the status of the teaching profession but undermine global and regional policy ambitions to achieve the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 4: Quality Education and create a European Education Area by 2030. With this in mind, it is perhaps no wonder that Andreas Schleicher, Director for Education and Skills at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), has argued that ‘attracting, developing and retaining the best teachers is the greatest challenge education systems have to face’ (OECD, 2019, p. 4). Reminiscing about good teachers of the past will not be sufficient to sustain the profession of the future.

1.2 States, Markets and Networks: The Changing Context of Teachers' Work

The focus of the chapter thus far has been an analysis of the almost cyclical nature of the teacher recruitment and retention crisis and policy responses from the political left within just over a 25 year period in England. I have touched only briefly on the current teacher gap in Sweden and have discussed neither the intermittent years of Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition and Conservative governments nor the political background to the Swedish teacher labour market. Nonetheless, the introduction has illustrated one significant point: that issues of teacher supply and demand – and thus the teacher policies designed to tackle them – are often associated with wider education policy reforms. These reforms have not only influenced the nature and meaning of teachers' work and development but have also had a significant impact on relations between governments and the profession.

Prior to her ministerial appointment as Secretary of State for Education on 5 July 2024, Bridget Phillipson spoke of the need to ‘reset the relationship’ between government and schools, and therein the school workforce (Phillipson, 2024b). Since then, and echoing the industrial relations model established by New Labour in the 2000s (Stevenson, 2012), the overriding message from the Department of

⁷There are four teacher education programmes in Sweden: pre-school teacher, elementary teacher, subject teacher and vocational teacher education.

⁸In 2023, there was a 11% drop. Applications to pre-school education fell by 22%, elementary and subject teacher education by 13% and vocational education by 4%. However, there was an increase in applications to special education programmes.

Education has been one of partnership with unions and employers (Phillipson, 2024c; Whittaker, 2024). The ‘new’ Labour approach, which would involve earlier consultation with school partners on policy development, could nonetheless prove problematic. For the concept and role of the ‘school’ – as an organisation, employer and social partner – has transformed over the past 40 years. This transformation has occurred principally as a result of the decentralisation, deregulation and privatisation of education, processes which have also been a feature of education policy in Sweden (Arreman & Holm, 2011; Hatcher, 2006; Lundahl, 2002; Lundahl et al., 2013; Rönnerberg, 2017; West, 2014; Wiborg, 2015). Under these changed governance structures, there are evident similarities in the school organisational forms that have developed in both contexts.

As noted previously, the modernisation of the comprehensive school was key to the educational standards agenda of New Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair. However, the sea change in English state education had already begun during Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative government (1979–1990) when the 1988 Education Reform Act legislated the Local Management of Schools (LMS) (Gillard, 2008). Described as an attempt by the New Right to challenge ‘producer capture’ (Demaine, 1988), the LMS allowed schools to ‘opt out’ of local education authority (LEA) control and apply for grant-maintained (GM) status (Fitz et al., 1994; Power et al., 1994). With responsibility for their own budgets (Gillard, 2008), and therefore ‘free’ to respond to parental needs, GM schools policy was considered the epitome of autonomy and choice (Power et al., 1994). City Technology Colleges (CTC), initially proposed in 1986, were the first state schools to operate outside local government control with industry backers (Bailey, 2016).

Under New Labour (1997–2010), both GM schools policy and the CTC initiative were reimagined through the Academies programme (Walford, 2014; West & Bailey, 2013). Funded by the government but with private sponsors (individuals, organisations, businesses and later charities), Academies (initially City Academies) were first conceived as a means to improve educational standards; while many *sponsored* academies replaced one or several underperforming or failing schools, some were newly established in the most socio-economically disadvantaged areas, and all had to have a subject specialism (Gunter & McGinity, 2014; Rayner et al., 2018). When the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government took office in 2010, the Academies Act extended the programme even further by allowing all schools to convert to academy status and enabling new schools to be founded through the Free School Programme. Subject specialism was no longer a prerequisite and, with funding agreements established directly between the Secretary of State and the *convertor* academy trust, more schools gained even greater control over their own finances (Hatcher, 2011; Higham, 2013).

By the 2023/2024 academic year, 82% of state-funded secondary schools and 43% of state-funded primary schools were academies, many operating within collaborative networks as part of multi-academy trusts (MATs) or chains (DfE, 2024b). These school organisational forms have functioned to different degrees within and alongside distinct school ‘markets’. In a 2015 mapping analysis, Courtney (2015) identified between 70 and 90 different state school types in England, which included various types of academies (sponsored, standalone, free

school, Alternative Provision, UTC, studio school) and multi-schools (multi-academy trusts, umbrella academy trusts, federations, foundation trusts, teaching school alliances). Despite these variations, the Academies Programme advanced by the Coalition and subsequent Conservative governments fundamentally promoted decentralisation to the school level and was central to the idea of a ‘self-improving school-led system’ based around ‘families’ of schools, a local solutions approach and system leadership (Hargreaves, 2010, 2012). At the time of writing, however, Bridget Phillipson, the Secretary of State for Education announced plans to reform the academies policy, giving local authorities again greater control over the establishment of new schools and proposing curbs on academy freedoms (Children’s Wellbeing and Schools Bill, 2025).

The Academies and Free School Programmes took some inspiration from the charter school movement in the United States and the independent school system in Sweden (Hatcher, 2011; Wiborg, 2015). Indeed, ‘free schools’ are a direct translation – if not purely in organisational form, then certainly in name – from the Swedish *fristående skolor* (independent schools), also known as *friskolor* (literally, free schools). In 1989, under a minority Social Democrat government led by Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, the Swedish Parliament passed a bill on municipalisation (*kommunalisering*), namely, the transferral of education financial management to the municipalities (Prop. 1989/90:41). Just over one year later, in January 1991, the process was completed. Later that same year, under a minority coalition led by Moderate Prime Minister Carl Bildt, the Free School Reform Act (*Friskolereformen*) (Prop. 1991/1992:95) legislated the introduction of school choice, educational vouchers (*skolpeng*) and the right to establish new independent schools. The bill proposed that independent schools should operate under the same terms as municipal schools and be allocated funding corresponding to the average cost of municipal school pupils. Although Sweden already had a number of independent schools, it was hoped that this reform would lead to the development of different profiles, for example, ‘parental cooperatives, specialist subject profiles, or rural schools at risk of closure could have a new chance under new leadership’ (Prop. 1991/1992:95, author’s own translation).

The first independent school opened in 1992 and, by the 2023/2024 academic year, there were 816 (17.5%) independent elementary schools and 466 (36%) independent upper secondary schools, attended by 16.3% and 31.7% of Swedish students respectively (Skolverket, 2024c, 2024d).⁹ Across Sweden, independent elementary schools today operate in almost two thirds (186) of municipalities and independent upper secondary schools in just over one third (99) of municipalities (Skolverket, 2024e, 2024f).¹⁰ Most independent schools are small; the average number of pupils in independent elementary schools is 222 and in independent upper secondary schools is 250 (Skolverket, 2024g, 2024h).¹¹ In general,

⁹In 1991/1992, these figures were 1.1% and 1.7%.

¹⁰There are 290 municipalities. All municipalities have pupils who attend an independent pre-school.

¹¹The average number of pupils in municipal elementary schools is 267 and in municipal upper secondary schools is 302 (Skolverket, 2023).