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**Radical Left Principles for Social and Economic  
Justice in Education Policy**

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**Summary**

In this paper I suggest a series of principles which should form the basis of education for social and economic justice. These are based on a democratic Marxist theoretical framework and its educational application **(1)**. Having compared these education principles with those of other ideologies/policies, I conclude by deriving a set of particular principles for initial teacher education, which should form the basis of policy review of current theory, DfEE/TTA circulars and practice in initial teacher education.

**Introduction**

- In Part One, I identify 14 Radical Left principles to underlay and inform education policy **(2)**. This is to thereby set a theoretical framework for practical purposes- to inform national, local, and school and classroom based policy and activity. The theoretical framework underlying the 14 Radical Left principles is democratic Marxist.
- In Part Two, I set out what I take to be social democratic principles in education **(3)**. The purpose of doing this is to show the similarities and differences behind that particular theoretical and policy framework. Such comparative analysis can be helpful in identifying theoretical/ideological positioning. What principles the Radical Left opposes can be instructive in illuminating its own theoretical principles.

- In Part Three, I set out my analysis of what are sixteen key Radical Right principles for education. These are based on the current and historic Thatcherite combination of neo-liberal and neo-conservative theoretical positions (4). In doing so, I also suggest the positions of
- In Part Four, I suggest what is a Radical Left position on one particular area of education policy- initial teacher education (7). I do this in two ways. Firstly by comparing the Radical Left with 16 Radical Right positions on initial teacher education. Finally by proposing a practical set of policies based on the Radical Left/Marxist theoretical position and education principles outlined above.

## **PART ONE: Radical Left Principles for Education**

### **The Radical Left and education**

The principles and policies below are expressed in the following policies put forward by socialist and Marxist groups and writers. They are based on four overarching principles of:

- Vastly increased equality (of outcome)
- comprehensive provision
- democratic community control (over education)
- use of the local and national state to achieve a socially just, (defined as egalitarian) anti-discriminatory society.

In more detail, this Radical Left theoretical framework can be operationalised more effectively for subsequent policy development by being expressed in the following fourteen principles.

### ***Table 1: Radical Left Principles for Education***

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. more resources and funding for education (e.g. through higher rate of tax on profits and the rich, and by spending less on defence, thus, for example) resulting, for example, in smaller class sizes;</li> <li>2. an end to selection in schooling and the development of fully comprehensive schooling and further and higher education system i.e. a change in the structure of schooling;</li> <li>3. an end to the competitive market in schooling;</li> <li>4. commitment to egalitarian policies aimed at achieving vastly more equal outcomes regardless, for example, of factors such as social class, gender, 'race', sexuality and disability. Egalitarian redistribution of resources within and between schools, via both positive discrimination for under achieving individuals and groups;</li> <li>5. a curriculum which seeks to transform present capitalist society into a democratic socialist one;</li> </ol> |
|---|

6. opposition to some key aspects of liberal-progressive education, such as its aspects of non-structured learning and little assessment of pupils/school students and its reliance on the Piagetian concept of 'readiness' **(8)**
7. an egalitarian and anti-elitist common curriculum
8. an egalitarian and anti-elitist informal (hidden) curriculum.
9. the teacher as
  - authoritative
  - democratic
  - anti-authoritarian
  - engaging in critical pedagogy, with a commitment to developing critical reflection **(9)**
  - political activist committed to struggling for social justice and equality inside and outside the classroom.
10. increasing local community democratic accountability in schooling and further and higher education (e.g. LEA powers) and *decreasing* those of 'business' and private enterprise;
11. local community involvement in the schools and colleges;
12. increasing the powers of democratically elected and accountable Local government (Education Authorities) with powers of
  - redistribution of resources
  - quality control
  - engaging, *inter alia*, in the development and dissemination of policies for equality (e.g. anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-homophobic policies and policies seeking to promote equality for the working class and the disabled);
13. a schooling system, the aim of which is the flourishing of the collective society, the community, as well as the flourishing of the individual;
14. fostering cultures within the classroom and within school and further education and higher education workplaces which are
  - democratic
  - egalitarian
  - collaborative and collegiate -i.e. to replace what is sometimes a brutalist managerialist culture with a more open and democratic one;

Marxist and socialist arguments and policies such as the above are published, *inter alia*, by the Socialist Teachers Association, and by the Hillcole Group of Radical Left Educators **(10)** and by numerous regular articles in *Forum for comprehensive education*, *Socialist Teacher*, *Education and Social Justice*, and *Race and Class*. These are in addition to articles in the more general left Press such as *Tribune*, *Red Pepper*, *The Socialist*, *Socialist Organiser*, *Socialist Worker*, *Socialist Outlook* and *Workers' Liberty*. Furthermore, *some* articles in *Multicultural Teaching*, *Education for Today and Tomorrow*, and, very occasionally, *The Guardian*, *The*

*Observer*, and *New Statesman and Society* also set out Radical Left critique of and policy for education.

## **PART TWO: Social Democratic Principles for Education**

In this section I wish to establish the relationship between, such as the similarities and dissimilarities between a Radical Left and social democratic principles for education.

Labour in government 1945-51, 1964-70 and 1974-76 (if not from 1976-79) can be considered to have broadly been pursuing social democratic policies in the terms described below **(11)**. (Some policies may be described as socialist/Radical Left, such as the wholesale nationalisations of 1945-49, and the local municipal and national enterprise boards of the 1970s. Other policies, spurred by international capital, acted as right-wing constraints on social democratic policy).

For Kavanagh, the 'six central pillars' of what he terms 'the edifice of (post-war) consensus' were

- full employment,
- the mixed economy,
- active government,
- social welfare provision,
- the conciliation of the trade unions,
- the cult of 'expertise' (Kavanagh, cited in Hay, 1996).

The main principles of social democracy are, according to Heffernan,

- full employment,
- the welfare state,
- redistributive taxation as a positive social good,
- 'a mixed pseudo-Keynesian economy'.

Heffernan disagrees with those who see 'New Labour' as the natural successor to the social democracy of Anthony Crosland and Hugh Gaitskell, with their belief in

- egalitarianism, (in the sense of striving for rather more equality of outcome) **(12)**
- progressive taxation,
- the redistribution of wealth and state intervention (Heffernan, 1997).

Gray adds, as a feature of social democracy,

- 'support for and co-operation with a strong Labour movement as the principal protectors of workers' interests' (Gray, 1996b).

Key principles of social democratic policies on education, deriving from the above theoretical position, such as the 1944 Education Act, comprehensivisation, and targeting of funds (for example via the Educational Priority Areas) derive are as follows:

<b><i>Table 2: Social Democracy and education</i></b>
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1. a primarily comprehensive structure of primary and secondary schooling;
2. expansion of educational opportunities and provision (e.g. expansion of higher education, the Open University);
3. local community involvement in schooling, further and higher education;
4. local community control over schooling further and higher education (through democratically elected and accountable LEAs);
5. a commitment to policies of equal opportunities;
6. a degree of positive discrimination and redistribution of resources within and between schools;
7. a curriculum and education system which recognises issues of social justice and which aims at producing a technically efficient, but fairer, capitalist society;
8. the teacher as authoritative but relatively democratic and anti-authoritarian;
9. a desire to develop a contextual (or situational) type of teacher reflection rather than either a 'technical' 'how to' reflection, or a moral/ethical social justice 'why to' type of 'critical reflection'
10. the aims of education to include the flourishing of the collective economy and society as well as the flourishing of the individual.

Ian Aitken depicts the difference between social democracy and socialism. He sees social democracy as 'limited kind of egalitarianism- which was to be delivered via the tax and benefit system'. He depicts socialists (the Radical Left) as believing that because inequality springs from the private ownership of capital, it required extensive public ownership to correct it (Aitken, 1997).

In more detail, the Radical Left accepts most of the above as 'reformist' advances and improvements, but would 'go further' in analysis and subsequent policy, the Radical left would accept all of them where they are advances on preceding policy. But it would also criticise all of them in both theoretical terms and in terms of the purposes and effects of (Old) Labour government policies.

For some principles, they do not 'go far enough'. For example, in comparison to principle 1 above, the Radical Left believes in totally comprehensive primary and secondary schooling including the incorporation of the private sector; and it believes in a far more concerted redistributive policy than principles 6 and 7 above

For others, for example principles 5 and 9 above, the Radical Left has different and more radical principles, relating to equality of outcome and to critical reflection.

### **PART THREE: The Radical Right Principles for Education (13)**

In this section, the following table shows a Radical Left position in education (based on the principles suggested in Part One) in comparison Radical Right principles in education.

Showing what the Radical Left is not, can identify what it is. In order to further enable this identification comparative, I also include comparisons with New Labour, social democratic, and liberal-progressive stances on these Radical Right principles.

**Table 3: Sixteen Radical Right Ideological Themes in Education Discourse and Policy. Comparisons with Radical Left, Social Democratic, Liberal-Progressive and New Labour Positions**

	<b>RADICAL RIGHT</b>	<b>'NEW LABOUR'</b>	<b>SOCIAL DEMOCR ATIC</b>	<b>LIBERAL- PROGRES SIVE</b>	<b>RADICAL LEFT</b>
1. Pro- Individualism	√√	√√	X	√√	XX
2. Pro-Privatisation and Private Enterprise, anti-Public Sector	√√	√	X	O	XX
3. Pro-Market Competition and Consumer Choice	√√	√√	X	√	XX
4. Pro-monitoring, measurement and surveillance of public welfare, social and educational services	√√	√√	?	XX	?
5. Pro-Cost Reduction/ profit/ cheapness/reducing costs of products and public services	√√	√√	X	X	XX
6. Anti-professional 'producer power'	√√	√	XX	XX	X
7. Pro-Tradition and Traditional Family	√√	√	O	XX	XX

8. Pro-Back to Basics	√√	√√?	√	XX	XX
9. Pro-Nationalism and 'Britishness'	√√	√?√	O	O	XX
10. Anti-anti-racism	√√	O	X	√?O?	XX
11. Pro-Authority, Order and Social Control;	√√	√√?	O	XX	XX
12. Pro-Elite (Social, Cultural, Economic)	√√	√?	X	√	XX
13. Pro-Hierarchy and Social Differentiation	√√	√?	X	O?	XX
14. Anti-liberal progressivism	√√	√√	XX	XX	X
15. Anti-socialist/Marxism	√√	√√	√	√√	XX
16. 'Practical' Anti-theoretical bias and emphasis	√√	O	XX	XX	XX

While this paper is not primarily concerned with identifying and critiquing New Labour's policy on education (and teacher education), its position as identified above (and in subsequent tables) does suggest a brief contrasting of New Labour and Radical Left principles. The concern with social inclusion and social exclusion in New Labour policy and rhetoric disguises, rhetorically replaces, the existence of social class and its attendant inequalities **(14)**. New Labour is determinedly not egalitarian, having turned its back on its rhetoric, for example in its 1976 Programme, that,

Our programme is founded on the principles of democracy and socialism. At its head is a basic socialist priority: to bring about a fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of power and wealth in favour of working people and their families (Labour Party, 1976: 10).

## **PART FOUR: Radical Left Principles for Initial Teacher Education**

### **New Labour and initial teacher education**

In order to ascertain 'New Labour's' ideological position on ITE it is instructive to fifteen policy principles of the Radical Right *specifically on ITE*, together with the sixteen Radical Right (society wide) ideological themes. It is thereby possible, as with Table 3 above, to identify the degree of congruence between Radical Left and alternative ideological/theoretical positions and principles.

***Table 4: Fifteen Radical Right Policy Positions in Initial Teacher Education. The Radical Left's ideological positioning in comparison to other ideological perspectives***

	<b>RADICAL RIGHT</b>	<b>'NEW LABOUR'</b>	<b>SOCIAL DEMOCR ATIC</b>	<b>LIBERAL PROGRES SIVE</b>	<b>RADICAL LEFT</b>
(i). Pro-Emphasis on Practical Classroom and Discipline Skills	√√	√√	√	XX	O
(ii). Anti-Progressivism/ Child-centredness	√√	√√	X	XX	√?X?
(iii). Pro-Teacher as Authority Figure in terms of both expertise and in terms of discipline	√√	√√	X	XX	XX
(iv). Pro-Traditional Curriculum Content and Methods	√√	√√	O	XX	XX
(v). Pro-Traditional Morality	√√	√	X	X?X	XX
(vi). Anti-Changing Society to secure more social justice	√√	√	X	X	XX

(vii). Anti-Multiculturalism	√√	X	X	X	X
(viii). Anti-anti-racism	√√	O?	X	√	XX
(ix). Priority for Subject Knowledge and Practical Skills	√√	√√	O	XX	O
(x). Anti-Educational Theory in ITE	√√	√	X	XX	XX
(xi). Anti-HEI Involvement in ITE	√√	O	XX	XX	XX
(xii) Pro-setting up a competitive market in routes into teaching	√√	√√	XX	X	XX
(xiii). Pro-Totally School Based ITE Routes	√√	√	XX	XX	XX
(xiv). Pro- Cutting Cost of ITE	√√	√√	O	X	XX
(xv). Pro-Regulation of ITE via tightly defined and monitored Competencies or Standards	√√	√√	X	XX	X?

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**Key**    √√    strong agreement  
           √     agreement  
           O     equanimity  
           X     disagreement  
           XX    strong disagreement

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In this final table, having attempted to ascertain a Radical Left position on Radical Right principles for initial teacher education, I conclude this paper by proposing a practical set of policies based on the Radical Left/Marxist theoretical position on social and economic justice and education principles outlined above. These, I suggest, should form the basis of policy review of current theory, DfEE/TTA circulars and practice in initial teacher education.

**Table 5: Fifteen Radical Left Principles for the Initial Teacher Education Curriculum.**

	<b>RADICAL LEFT</b>	<b>'NEW LABOUR'</b>	<b>SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC</b>	<b>RADICAL RIGHT</b>
(i) the development of classroom skills and competencies	√√	√√	√√	√√
(ii) the development of subject knowledge	√√	√√	√√	√√
(iii) the development of intellectual critical skills	√√	√√	√	XX
(iv) commitment to ethical/moral 'critical reflection' and its egalitarianism	√√	XX	√	XX
(v) inclusion of data on equality issues organised both as core units and as permeation	√√	XX	√	XX
(vi) a holistic approach to social and economic justice in the curriculum	√√	XX	X	XX
(vii) skills in dealing with discrimination, harassment and labelling within classrooms and institutions	√√	√?	√	XX
(viii) the development within institutions of	√√	XX?	√?	XX

open fora on social justice and equality where students and staff in institutions can meet in a supportive environment				
(ix) development of critiques of competing social and economic theories and ideologies in schooling and society	√√	XX	?	XX
(x) development of knowledge and skills to critically examine the ideological nature of teaching and the nature of teachers' work	√√	XX	?	XX
(xi) knowledge and skills to critically examine the ideological nature and effects of education policy and its relationship to broader economic, social and political developments	√√	XX	?	XX
(xii) the concurrent development of critical reflection, throughout and from the beginning of the ITE course	√√	XX	?	XX
(xiii) primarily, but not totally predetermined rather than primarily negotiated curriculum objectives	√√	XX	?	√
(xiv) support for a major role for higher education institutions in ITE. Opposition to totally/primarily	√√	√X	√√	XX

school-based routes.				
(xv) acceptance of different routes into teaching concordant with graduate teacher status and the above principles	√√	XX	?	XX

The first three principles below are common to different ideological positions. Because of their universality, I do not develop them here. They differ, of course, in the salience they assume within different rhetorics.

The curriculum should include:

**1. Classroom skills and competencies.** In addition to a deep knowledge of core subjects, student teachers need to develop reflective skills on pupil/ student learning and on teaching and classroom management, and on stimulating all the children in their classes to learn. They also need to develop skills in monitoring standards and demanding/ facilitating the best from all their pupils/ students.

These highly important technical skills are set out in current TTA Circulars. For that reason they are not developed here. But this is not to underestimate their importance in effective schooling, teaching, and pupil/ student learning and achievement.

**2. Subject Knowledge.** Clearly teachers need to know what they are talking about and what they wish students/pupils to learn.

**3. The development of higher education level analytical and intellectual skills.** This demands that teachers are worthy of and capable of acting and thinking at graduate level.

**4. A commitment to the development of the ethic/moral dimension of reflection – critical reflection- a radical Left egalitarian perspective concerned with working for social and economic justice and recognition of the interconnection between the two.** If equal opportunities policies stop at celebrating subcultural diversity and establishing positive and non stereotypical role models, and do not see themselves as a development of a metanarrative of social egalitarianism and justice, then they can be viewed as, in essence, conservative, failing to challenge the economic, political and social status quo, based as it is on social class, 'racial' and sexual and disability stratifications and exploitation. Hence a Radical Left perspective calls for teacher education (and schooling) to be socially egalitarian, anti- racist, and anti-sexist, and also to challenge other forms of structural

inequality and discrimination, such as those based on sexuality and disability. It also highlights the illusory nature of social justice within an economically anti-egalitarian economic system.

**5. Data on equality issues: on racism, sexism, social class inequality, homophobia, and discrimination/ prejudice/ regarding disability and special needs.** Many teachers and ITE students are not aware of the existence of such data in education and society or the impact of individual labelling, and of structural discriminations on the lives and education and life opportunities of the children in their classes, schools and society. This is particularly true of teachers trained/ educated under the 1992 and 1993 CATE criteria, and, (to an extent only slightly diminished) also by New Labour's current DfEE criteria.

There should be Core units on equality and equal opportunities in addition to such concerns permeating the rest of the curriculum. Despite acknowledging the weaknesses of the permeation model. Permeation can be highly effective, or highly ineffective, but it is not enough. As Gaine (1995) notes such issues must be put firmly on the agenda, not just slipped into myriad spaces within other sessions. Such issues need to be dealt with holistically in two senses. Firstly, they must be approached *conceptually*, as part of a holistic anti-egalitarian programme interlinking different forms of oppression. Secondly, it is necessary *organisationally*, as part of B.Ed./ BA (QTS) and PGCE courses with units of study focusing on data, theory and policy in general.

**6. A holistic approach to social and economic justice in the curriculum.** 'Race', gender, social class, sexuality and disability and special needs should be considered as part of an overall understanding of social justice within teacher education courses. Inequalities in practice can be multi-dimensional and their effects impact one upon the other. The desirability of maintaining their separateness needs to be questioned. (This is not to ignore the fact that inequalities and forms of oppression can clearly be unidimensional - as for example with 'gay-bashing' or 'Paki-bashing') However, for example, links between anti- racism and anti- classism should be drawn, so that anti- racism, and multiculturalism can lead to, and be informed by, anti- classism and anti- sexism.

**7. Skills in dealing with the incidence of classist, homophobic, racist, and sexist remarks and harassment at various levels: such as within the classroom and throughout the institution.** It is important here to address other types of harassment, too, labelling and bullying, such as that based on size, and their corrosive effects on children's learning, lives and happiness; (There is, however, a danger that generic anti- bullying policies can individualize the problem and deny any structural aspects such as racism or sexism.)

**8. The development within institutions of open fora on social justice where students and staff in institutions can meet in a supportive environment.** This is an additional form of learning, where individual self- development comes through the sharing of experience and ideas. Teachers contribute their knowledge not only

by transmission teaching, (necessary though this frequently might be part of a teacher's repertoire of teaching methods) but through interlocution where individual contributions are valued and respected. The culture of such a forum can foster a climate where individual 'voices', levels of consciousness and experiences are legitimated (Clay et al., 1991). Such 'voices' however should be subject to critical interrogation, not accepted uncritically (15)

**9. *Critiques of competing approaches and ideologies of schooling, teacher education and social and economic organisation.*** This should include skills to examine critically the nature of the curricula, hidden curricula, schooling, education and society. This is so that student teachers can in turn consider and challenge the ideologies that underpin the selection of knowledge that they are being asked to acquire and teach through the whole curriculum, as well as challenging what I believe should be the prioritised, favoured, model of the teacher and critical mode of reflection.

This should include a consideration the different current major ideologies of education (socialism/Marxism, social democracy, liberal-progressivism, neo-conservatism, neo-liberalism and 'New Labourism' and their policy expression). In relation to these it should also include understanding and evaluation of anti-racism as well as multiculturalism and assimilationism; egalitarian anti- classism or the concept of a classless society as well as meritocratic social mobility or elitist stratification and reproduction; anti- sexism as well as non- sexism, and, indeed, sexism. In addition, different models of disability and gay/ lesbian/ bisexual issues should be addressed.

**10. *The development of knowledge and skills to critically examine the ideological nature of teaching and the nature of teachers' work.*** Here, student teachers should develop an understanding of the potential role of teachers in transforming society. This is so that, while teachers retain some critical agency in the area of transmission of knowledge,

it remains possible for teachers to adopt the function of intellectuals and.....to resist becoming mere managers of day-to-day activities imposed from beyond the school, and to redefine their role within counterhegemonic practice. They can, through their discourse and interventionary practice in the ideological and political determinants of schooling. Promote empowerment, autonomy and democracy. (Harris, 1994:115)

Teachers need skills and knowledge to examine critically the nature of the curricula, hidden curricula, schooling, education and society. This is so that student teachers can in turn consider and challenge the ideologies that underpin the selection of knowledge that they are being asked to acquire and teach through the whole curriculum, as well as challenging what I believe should be the prioritised, favoured, model of the teacher and critical mode of reflection.

*12. The concurrent rather than the consecutive development of critical reflection, throughout and from the beginning of the ITE course*

Teacher educators differ in their view of which levels, or 'arena' of reflection, is an appropriate *starting point* for reflection in the learning- to- teach process, with commentators as diverse as Calderhead and Gates (1993), McIntyre (1993), and the DFE Circular 9/92 all assuming or arguing that the three levels of reflection need to be developed in sequential order, i.e. that contextual- situational, and indeed, critical reflection is more appropriate for teachers who have attained technical and practical skills and skills of reflection. **(16)**

My own view is that a three or four year undergraduate ITE course provides just such a lengthy period of time. Furthermore, with appropriate support as set out in the next proposal, some increase in the school- centred and school- based component of undergraduate ITE courses may well provide a more appropriate immersion into the practices of teaching, learning and schooling and facilitate organisation and encouragement, the application of theory to practice and practice to theory.

The problem I have with leaving 'learning theory', 'critical theory' or issues of the social context of schooling until 'post- initial training' is that many NQTs will not actually get any post- initial training other than 'Baker days' - the school based INSET days. And the concern of the 'Baker days' appears overwhelmingly, to be instrumental, and technical - in particular to be concerned with how to 'deliver' and to assess the National Curriculum. If student teachers don't 'get' contextual, theoretical and social/economic justice and equality issues during initial teacher education, they may never get it.

*13. Primarily predetermined rather than primarily negotiated curriculum objectives*

Calderhead and Gates question 'should a truly reflective teaching program have predefined content or should it be negotiated, and, 'how does one reconcile the aim of developing particular areas of knowledge, skill and attitudes with the aim of encouraging autonomy and professional responsibility'? (Calderhead and Gates, 1993:3. See also, Russell, 1993). These are key questions. They are the nub, for example, Zeichner's criticism of Giroux and the concept of teachers as critical transformative intellectuals, and of postmodernist critiques of Marxist theory in education. They refer to the tension between developing student teacher autonomy on the one hand, and seeking to develop a particular ideology on the other. In Liston and Zeichner's words, a key difference within the Radical Left is that,

Beyond the common desire to prepare teachers who have critical perspectives on the relationships between schooling and social inequities and a moral commitment to correcting those inequities through their daily classroom and school activities, there is a great deal of variation among these contemporary proposals of social reconstructionist teacher

educators.... At various times the focus has been on the content of programmes, the skill of critical analysis and curriculum development, the nature of the pedagogic relationships between teachers and pupils, and between teacher educators and their students, or on the connections between teacher educators and other political projects which seek to address the many instances of suffering and injustice in our society' (Liston and Zeichner, 1991:33).

Should reflective courses concentrate on teaching and learning processes or on course content? In order to develop, or facilitate the development of 'teachers as radical Left critical transformative intellectuals', should 'democratic participative pedagogy' typify the course, as championed, for example, by Giroux (1983; 1988), Shor (1986), and Giroux and McLaren (1989a; 1989b; 1991). To what extent does a heavy use of discussion based and 'own- experience based' small group collaborative work, typical of much Primary schooling and Primary Teacher education in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s, militate against the development of the broad span of critical theoretical insights argued for in this paper. In accordance with the critical theoretical perspective of this paper and the Radical Left principles outlined, it would seem that course content should be primarily pre-determined (17).

**14.** *Support for a major role for higher education institutions in ITE and opposition to totally/primarily school-based routes.* This is because of the belief that higher education institutions are better able to develop the theoretical perspectives outlines above to enable student teachers better to interrelate theory and practice so that they inform each other.

**15.** *Acceptance of different routes into teaching concordant with graduate teacher status and the above principles.* The routes into teaching are tactical matters. As long as the above principles are upheld- including the requirement of graduate status for teachers, then there would appear to be scope for a variety of routes into teaching.

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## NOTES

1. The democratic Marxist position in this paper is, *broadly*, that set out in the education writings of Pat Ainley, Mike Apple, Caroline Benn, Clyde Chitty, Mike Cole, Henry Giroux in the 1980s, Kevin Harris, Richard Hatcher, Peter McLaren recently, and Glenn Rikowski. I have previously advanced Radical Left principles and policy for initial teacher education in (1997) 'Critical Transformative Teacher Education: a Model for the New South Africa', co-written with M. Cole, C. Soudien and J. Pease), in J. Lynch, S. Modgil and C. Modgil (eds.), *Education and Development: Tradition and Innovation, Vol. 3: Innovations in Developing Primary Education*, London: Cassell, (1997) *Rethinking Education and Democracy: a Socialist Alternative for the Twenty- First Century*, Hillcole Group/ C. Benn and C. Chitty (eds.) London: Tufnell Press); (1996) 'Labour- Teacher Education and Training: a Tale of Three Policies', *Education Today and Tomorrow*, 48, (3), (pp.20-22); (1994) 'A Radical Left Policy for Teacher Education', *Socialist Teacher*, 56, (pp.23-24); What's Happening to Teacher Education and Training?' *Socialist Education Review*, 2, pp.18-19); (1992) *What's Left in Teacher Education?* London: Tufnell Press; (1991) Seven Ideological Perspectives on Teacher Education Today and the Development of a Radical Left Discourse, Sydney, Australia, *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, 16, (2), (pp.5-29); (1991); and in (1997) *Changing the Future: Redprint for Education*, (co-written with P. Ainley, C. Benn, C. Chitty, M. Cole, K. Jones et al.), London: Tufnell Press.

2. This paper is a development of Hill, 1999.

3. Social Democratic principles in education are more fully developed in Hill, 1999.

4. Radical Right policy and principles are set out more fully in (2000, forthcoming) 'The Conservative Government and the Restructuring of Initial Teacher Education, 1979-1997' in D. Hill and M. Cole (eds.), *Schooling and Equality: Fact, Concept and Policy*. London: Kogan Page; (1997) 'Teacher Education and Equality in the Primary School' (with M. Cole and M. Williams), in M. Cole, D. Hill and S. Shan (eds.), *Promoting Equality in Primary Schools*, London: Cassell; (1996) 'Teacher education as ideological and repressive state apparatus: what the radical right has done to initial teacher education and training 1984-1993 in England and Wales and why: a critical analysis', in J.V. Fernandes, (ed.), *Proceedings, of the Second International Conference of Sociology of Education in Portugal*, Faro, Portugal: Escola Superior de Educacao da Universidade do Algarve; (1992) 'What the Radical Right is doing to Teacher Education: a Radical Left critique' *Multi-cultural Teaching*, 10 (3), (pp.31-34); (1992) 'The Conservative Government and Initial Teacher Education: a critique'; (*NUT Education Review*, 6, (2), (pp.8-11); (1990) *Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed, Something Blue: Teacher Education, Schooling and the Radical Right in Britain and the USA*, London: Tufnell Press; and in (1989) *Charge of the Right Brigade: The Radical Right's attack on Teacher Education*, Brighton: Institute for Education Policy Studies).

5. Liberal-Progressive principles in education are more fully developed in Hill, 1999.

6. I have previously set out ideological and policy analyses of New Labour in (1999) *New Labour and Education: Policy, Ideology and the Third Way*. London: Tufnell Press; (2000) New Labour's neo-liberal education policy. *Forum* (Spring 2000); (1997) 'New Labour', Old Policies: Tony Blair's Educational Vision (written with M. Cole) *Education Australia*, 37, (pp.17-19). More detailed analysis is contained in (2001, forthcoming) *Education, Education, Education: Capitalism, Socialism and the Third Way*. London: Tufnell Press in association with the Institute of Education Policy Studies Teacher Education'. In D. Hill (ed.) *Education, Education, Education: Capitalism, Socialism and the Third Way*. (London: Tufnell Press in association with the Institute of Education Policy Studies).

7. This paper suggests a more specific development of Radical Left principles and policy than in my previous writing.

8. See Epstein, 1993.

9. I have discussed the nature of critical reflection in 1997) 'Reflection in Teacher Education' in K. Watson, S. Modgil and C. Modgil (eds), *Educational Dilemmas: Debate and Diversity, Vol 1: Teacher Education and Training*, London: Cassell; and in (1994) 'Cultural Diversity and Initial Teacher Education' in *Cultural Diversity and the Curriculum, Vol 4. Cross-Curricular Contexts, Themes and Dimensions in Primary Schools*, G. Verma and P. Pumfrey (eds.), London: Falmer Press.

10. Some examples are: Hillcole Group, 1991; 1997; Cole, 1988, 2000; Cole, Hill and Shan, 1997, Hill and Cole, 1999, Hill 1994c; 1997; Hill, McLaren, Rikowski and Cole, 1999; In Australia this tradition is exemplified in the work of Kevin Harris (1978, 1984, 1994), and in the USA, most recently, for example, by Peter McLaren and his associates (e.g. McLaren and Farahmandpur, 1999, 2000) and by Michael Apple (e.g. 1993, 1996).

11. The ideological orientation of the Labour Party in its education policy, as in its wider policy has historically been social democratic (Benn and Chitty 1996, Hillcole Group 1997), although some, such as Lawton, consider that,

attempts by the Labour Party since 1945 to develop a comprehensive and coherent set of policies on education...show that far from being dominated by ideology the Party has suffered from a lack of ideology (1992:30).

12. Hattersley quotes from Tony Crosland's (1956) *The Future of Socialism* to encapsulate what he calls democratic socialism (but which can more commonly be seen as social democracy) as demanding more equality of outcome- 'equality of opportunity, though it leads to the most admirable distribution of intelligence, is not enough'. Crosland did not believe in a meritocracy, but 'the distribution of rewards and privileges so as to diminish the

degree of class stratification, the injustices of large inequalities, and the collective discontents which come from too great a dispersal of rewards' (Hattersley 1996).

13. I identified fifteen Radical Right policy principles on ITE carrying out a content analysis of twenty-six salient Radical Right texts. These have been set out in Hill 1989, 1990, 1994a, 1997b. The twenty-six texts are: Boyson (1990); Daily Mail (1982); Daily Mail (1992); Daily Mail (Halpin) (1997); Hillgate Group (1986; 1987; 1989); Lawlor (1990a; b; 1992); Major (1993); O'Hear (1988; 1990; 1991a; b); O'Keeffe (1987; 1990a; b); Patten (1993); Sexton (1987); Shaw (1986); Shepherd (1997) (in Carvel 1997); Sunday Express (1991); Thatcher (1993); The Sun (1989); Trend (1988). The themes were given operational meaning as these policy principles via various CATE and TTA Circulars under the Conservative governments.

14. For arguments concerning the salience of social class in capitalist society, see German, 1996; Hill 1999; Sanders, Hill and Hankin 1999; and McLaren and Farahmandpur, 1999.

15. See, for example, Cole and Hill, 1999, Sanders, Hill and Hankin, 1999.

16. Unlike some commentators (O' Hear, 1988), and unlike the clear implication in Circular 14/ 93 (DFE, 1993), Calderhead and Gates assert that such processes appear to apply not only to experienced teachers but also to student teachers (Calderhead and Gates, 1993:9), though, like McIntyre (1993), they note that,

when teacher educators expect student teachers to conduct insightful and analytical evaluations of their lessons.... this may well be a very high level demand to which few students are able to respond since 'changes in student teachers', and even experienced teachers' levels of reflection appear to occur only over fairly lengthy periods of time (Calderhead and Gates, 1993:9).

17. See Stone (1981) and some readings of Gramsci concerning the nature of hard study, and the criticisms of 'liberal progressive' pedagogy contained in Sarup, 1983; Brehony, 1992; Epstein 1993; Cole, Hill, Soudien and Pease, 1996; Hill, Cole and Williams, 1997.

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