

Critical Teacher Education for Economic, Environmental and Social Justice: an Ecosocialist Manifesto

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Abstract

In this chapter we set out a series of progressive egalitarian policy principles and proposals that constitute a democratic Marxist and ecosocialist manifesto for schooling and teacher education for economic and social justice. This is based on a democratic Marxist theoretical framework (1) and on a structuralist neo-Marxist analysis (2). We also draw out a set of strategic connectivities between these programmatic ends and forms of resistance to neoliberal hegemony to be found in the interstices of contemporary educational systems, with a focus on the United Kingdom.

We recognise the structural limitations on progressive and socialist action, fortified by both the ideological and repressive apparatuses of the state acting on behalf of Capital. Indeed, the psychological violence committed by the agency of parastatal actors such as the businesses contracted by the Office for Standards in Education lend such bodies a functional role in both apparatuses. However, this chapter calls for transformative change throughout teacher education, throughout schooling and education, and by other cultural workers within the Ideological State Apparatuses of Education and the Media, and throughout multiple layers of civil society.

In this chapter, we suggest a series of specified sets of principles and a programme for critical and socialist educators, through which to engage with the Radical Right. In the chapter, we define the Radical Right broadly, in both its Conservative and its revised social democratic ('Third Way' or "post-neoliberal"(sic.) (Ball, 2007) manifestations (in the UK, 'Blairite'/'Brownite', in the USA, 'Clintonite'). We locate the ideational spark of counterhegemonic praxis in opposition to the Radical Right in more or less interstitial resistance at a number of levels. Counter-hegemonic socialist egalitarian ideology in the educational arena operates, as in civil society more broadly, in an often fragmented way and via campaigning foci rather than around an agreed manifesto for Marxist or socialist or ecosocialist education. In this regard the left in Britain, in the education trade unions and in educational campaign groups such as the Anti-Academies Alliance, and the Campaign for State Education, can be regarded as a microcosm of leftist politics in developed countries in general. If 'Big Politics', that is, the clear Left-Right class-based politics, no longer excite the interest they once did, with an ever-dwindling proportion of the population in the USA and UK bothering to engage with the 'tweedle-dum' and 'tweedle-dee' electoral game, the work of 'single-issue groups' has been seen to be of ever greater significance in initiating resistance to the juggernaut of marketization, privatization and New Public Managerialism.

In education too, where resistance occurs, it is often piecemeal and specific, and usually also short-lived. In this chapter we argue that in educational struggles as in broader political battles, the bigger picture must not be lost, and the very foci which serve to activate campaigns - such as that against climate change, or against school-testing regimes, or against budget cuts or the pre-privatisation or privatisation of state schools - should not be seen as merely 'operational', neutral questions in relation to broad strategic ends, or to mask the larger issues at stake. The programmatic matters we outline here represent the potential for a galvanizing union of current environmental and social concerns and labour rights and conditions battles in the educational sphere, and

suggest a project of united action against the capitalist vision of education in the twenty first century.

Part One: The Restructuring of Teacher Education

Critical Teacher Education

On the relation of radical egalitarian teacher education to securing economic and social justice in society, Paula Allmann (2000) suggests that

education has the potential to fuel the flames of resistance to global capitalism as well as the passion for socialist transformation - indeed, the potential to provide a spark that can ignite the desire for revolutionary democratic social transformation throughout the world. To carry the metaphor even further, it does so at a time when critical/radical education, almost everywhere, is in danger of terminal 'burn-out'. (p. 10).

How far this transformative potential can be realized is the subject of considerable debate, for contemporary theory as well as practice. The autonomy and agency available to individual teachers, teacher educators, schools and departments of education has been brutally curtailed- though not obliterated- in the face of the structures of capital and its current neo-liberal project for education (Hill, 2001a, 2004a, b, 2005b, 2007a). It is necessary to highlight the phrase 'potential to fuel the flames of resistance' in Allman's quote above. One of the greatest structural blocks on the development of cadres of 'teacher-intellectuals' willing and able to develop and ultimately lead counter-hegemonic action is the political neutralization of potentially resistant professionals at the earliest stages of their induction into the mechanisms of schooling and teaching as governmentally proscribed ritual. Hence the main focus of what follows represents an attack on the ideological functioning of bourgeois initial teacher education/ 'teacher training'.

As noted elsewhere **(11)** the neo-liberal project for education is part of the bigger picture of the neo-liberal project of global capitalism **(12)**. Markets in education world-wide, combined with so-called 'parental choice' of a diverse range of schools, are only one small part of the education strategy of the capitalist class, with its Business Agenda *for* Education (what it requires education to do) and its Business Agenda *in* Education (how it plans to make money out of education) **(13)**.

The bigger picture, seen both globally and across national policy spectra, enables an overall understanding of how the move towards markets in education relates to the overall intentions and project of transnational multinational capital, and to the policies that governments try to put into practice on their behalf. This big picture shows that schools are continuing their role, *inter alia*, as a disciplinary force of the capitalist class through the corporate managerialisation of teacher education. For McLaren (2000), 'the major purpose of education is to make the world safe for global capitalism' (p. 196), and:

What teachers are witnessing at the end of the century is the consolidation of control over the process of schooling and particularly over the certification of teachers in order to realign education to the need of the globalized economy (McLaren and Baltodano, 2000, p. 35).

The scarcely contested success of this project has rendered the social democratic (and the sometimes contradictory liberal-progressive) content and objectives of initial teacher education in England and Wales, for example, almost unrecognizable, compared with those of the 1960s and 1970s. Then there was, in many schools and teacher education institutions, and, indeed, in some local education authorities/ school districts in the 1970s and early- mid 1980s (such as the Inner London Education Authority) a real commitment and curriculum content and objectives relating to issues of equality and to the social and political (if not economic) contexts of education policy.

Detheorized Teacher Education in England and Wales under the Conservatives and New Labour

One key characteristic of this restructuring is the detheorization of initial teacher education (ITE). In England and Wales, under Conservative and New Labour Governments, this has entailed the virtual removal of issues of equity and social justice, let alone economic justice, from the ITE curriculum. Study of the social, political and economic contexts of schooling and education has similarly been hidden and expunged. In England and Wales, and elsewhere, ITE is now rigorously policed. Since the Conservative Government introduced new regulations for teacher training and education in 1992/1993 (DfE, 1992, 1993) 'how to' has replaced 'why to' in a

technicist curriculum based on 'delivery' of a quietist and overwhelmingly conservative set of 'standards' for student teachers (14). This has, of course, had a major impact on the teaching force, and thereby on schooling. Teachers are now, by and large, trained in skills rather than educated to examine the 'whys and the why nots' and the contexts of curriculum, pedagogy, educational purposes and structures and the effects these have on reproducing capitalist economy, society and politics.

New Labour has (for example through its regulations of 1998 (DfEE, 1998)) *to an overwhelming extent*, accepted the Radical Right revolution in ITE, as it has in schooling, the Conservative legacy has scarcely been amended in terms of routes into teaching, the changing nature of teachers' work, and curriculum and assessment (Hill, 1999a, 2000a). For millions of working class children, in particular, education has become uncritical basic skills training.

When set in the context of what could have been done to promote critical reflection and a more egalitarian curriculum for ITE, the New Labour changes from Conservative policy here are very modest indeed. Consequently, the Conservative government policy and proposals for ITE are being sustained *almost in toto*, based as they are on a neo-Conservative cultural nationalism and authoritarianism and a neo-liberal competitive, individualist anti-egalitarianism.

Education policy effecting this detheorization of teacher education is a symptom of the project of capital, which requires the suppression of oppositional, critical and autonomous thought. Needless to say, Government in the UK, as elsewhere never presents its technicist agenda for ITE as repressive, but makes it quite clear that the ongoing focus on the Standards Agenda requires a workforce who are not prone to the ideological waywardness of the 1970s and 80s! Government's policing of 'standards' has consistently been represented as 'neutral'. "To them it is the *teachers* who have suffered from ideology ... The government's firm standpoint on the other hand, represents a drive for 'common sense'" (Emphasis added)(Jeffrey & Woods, 1998, p.57). As McMurtry (1991) has noted, the suppression of critical voices is particularly iniquitous in education, since

Freedom in the market is the enjoyment of whatever one is able to buy from others with no questions asked, and profit from whatever one is able to sell to

others with no requirement to answer to anyone else. Freedom in the place of education, on the other hand, is precisely the freedom to question, and to seek answers, whether it offends people's self-gratification or not (p. 213). (15)

This occurs with the 'systematic reduction of the historically hard won social institution of education to a commodity for private purchase and sale' (1991, p. 216), where the 'commodification of education rules out the very critical freedom and academic rigour which education requires to be more than indoctrination' (1991, p. 215).

Strategic Considerations: Resistance in the here and now and the environmental question

For the great majority student teachers in the England and Wales, Radical Left groups and ideas and educators have negligible impact upon their lives either within or out of schools and universities. The voices of socialists and Marxists are rarely if ever heard presenting the case for a wholesale revolutionary transformation of values and praxis in ITE and schooling (see Cole, in this volume for a fuller discussion of the role of ideology in effectively marginalising socialist consciousness among teachers and students in the England and Wales). Furthermore, almost all 'big-P' Political positions are effectively withheld from ITE students during their 'professional studies', lending educational discourses a dull patina of neutrality - the currency of the *traditional intellectual* (Gramsci, 1971). As coordinated political action among students and more widely has tended to fracture into a series of specific issue-orientated campaigns, a kind of pedagogical economism, those few political engagements with which ITE students will be faced are largely of the 'how should we teach about the War in Iraq' kind. Of course, the importance of such issues should not be diminished: on the contrary, many of the questions raised by single-issues and campaign groups go to the heart of the neoliberal project for education which the manifesto sketched in this chapter take on in a frontal assault. We argue that the mix of specifically politically orientated campaigning over, for instance privatisation issues alongside more traditional bread-and-butter teacher trade union type campaign work can and should become *stimuli* and *subject matter* for ITE and school staff workplace discussions. Clearly, the role of the teacher unions is crucial in this respect, and the efforts of individuals and groups in relation to both local and global issues are very often most

effectively articulated within and through trade union channels and structures. It is no surprise then that Radical Left groups in the UK have made the teaching unions, and, in particular the largest of these, the National Union of Teachers the major conduit through which to argue for change.

The great stalwart of the NUT left, Bernard Regan, recalls the battles conducted by the Union, and Socialist Teachers Alliance elsewhere in this volume (Regan, 2008). Though, as has often been remarked, it 'punches above its weight', the organised left within the NUT remains relatively small and its presence and influence is not felt evenly, especially outside the capital. As in British politics more widely, the STA reflects a range of positions and includes within it or works alongside members of most of the small (some *very* small) parties and groups on the Marxist Radical Left. In order to offer examples of some of the organisations from which this chapter draws its research and to map the wider political territory within which the authors are to be located, it is relevant to very briefly mention some of the UK parties (associated, in educational terms, with the Socialist Teachers Alliance) with which some common ground is shared on the question of radical educational resistance to neoliberal hegemony. Similar groups, sometimes larger, sometimes smaller, exist in most developed countries and some developing countries. Such parties or groups, or grouplets/ groupuscules, collaborate together in various Internationals.

In the UK, alongside non-affiliated and ex-Labour activists, and a few remaining Marxists and socialists within the Labour Party, the STA includes or has recently included teachers who are organised and have published educational pamphlets or periodicals as members of the following organisations:

- 1) The Socialist Workers Party: the SWP's status as the largest avowedly Marxist group in Britain is reflected in their numerical presence in the NUT. Whereas the SWP previously organised separately and published *The Class Issue* newspaper aimed at education workers, it has over recent years worked within the STA, and where it has organised teachers' meetings independently, such as at NUT conference, has done so largely under the auspices of its electoral alliance, Respect.
- 2) The International Socialist Group, British section of the Fourth International are also active within the STA, and (currently) are members, albeit with increasing

unease, in the SWP's Respect project, and publish conference bulletins. Their presence is stronger in Birmingham than London

3) The Alliance for Workers' Liberty operate within the STA and have an organisational presence in Leeds and Nottingham. They publish the annual *Workers' Liberty Teachers* magazine.

Other than the SWP, all of these groups are small. Two other groups are visibly present within the NUT. The Socialist Party (formerly Militant, then Militant Labour) has had a consistent commitment to union work over many years and has successfully won places on the Union's Executive. Its relationship with the STA is generally cooperative, but was strained by its launch of a bid for the General Secretaryship in 2004 in opposition to the STA's backing for the left Campaign for a Democratic Fighting Union candidate. The Socialist Party have the most organised faction of any single left party within the NUT, with a web presence (<http://socialistteachers.org.uk/>) and bulletin publication, *Socialist Party Teachers*, and relative influence within their electoral strongholds of Coventry and Lewisham. The SP has also organised education workers under the banner of its Campaign for a New Workers Party. The tiny Workers Power (British section of the League for the Fifth International) backed the SP's leadership effort as well as joining the CNWP. They published a teachers' newsheet entitled *Class Matters*.

In total, STA members and those education workers organised within or on the periphery of these Radical Left groups, along with the smattering of teacher members of other socialist groups in the UK such as Alliance for Green Socialism, Socialist Alliance, A World to Win and Permanent Revolution, can be counted in the (low) hundreds, rather than the thousands across the whole of England and Wales. (The total membership of all Radical Left/ Marxist groups in England and Wales is probably between 5,000 and 8,000). It is thus unsurprising that, even given the relative strength of the NUT with its membership of 265,000, very few student teachers are ever exposed to proposals of the kind offered by these organisations and in this and similar articles.

The National Union of Teachers, in cooperation with the National Union of Students has recently begun to establish campus NUT student societies, with the first launched

in the University of Winchester, University of Central England, Manchester Metropolitan and Canterbury Christchurch in late 2007. Though limited in scope such a development can only be welcomed as a means by which ITE students might be introduced to principled positions which run counter to 'Third Way' and neoliberal hegemony in educational discourses. Student teacher trade union meetings might at least open up some democratic space within which the possibility exists for critical discourses and consciousness to arise. It is hard to overestimate the overwhelming passivity inculcated by anti-critical technically-orientated ITE curricula, and even such small interstitial opportunities for the articulation of counter-hegemonic ideas should be welcomed as a means to offer students the chance to consider the kinds of arguments presented by the labour and trades union movement and the Radical left.

We have already referred to the importance of 'single issue campaigning' and its apparent supersession in the new politics of 'the Big ideas' of the past. Of course, socialists have not historically failed to recognise the relevance of such work for galvanising and mobilising student support for broader anti-neoliberal capitalist agendas. It is therefore probably inevitable that those such as the left in the National Union of Teachers seeking to build opposition to broad swathes of government policy will need to continue to engage with the iconic issues of the day - the occupation of Iraq, the Palestinian question, and global climate change *as educational questions*.

Let us take the last of these as an example. Debate within Radical Left political formations will continue to build around responses to the social, economic and environmental impact of ecological crisis for years to come, and with the Respect project, which was an attempt to mobilise on the back of the momentum created by the anti-war groundswell, appearing to run out of steam, this focus for campaigning may be increasingly prioritised. Currently, across both the Radical Left, and the labour and trades union movements, socialists are enthusiastic to demonstrate their green credentials. There are parallels and historical precedent for this in Australia, too, for example, .Burgman and Burgman 'Green Bans, Red Union' (1998) and Mallory (2005), 'Unchartered Waters'.

The Turn to Ecosocialism

The ISG, along with, to a greater or lesser extent the SWP, SP, and the rest have organised and published materials (Kelly and Malone (2006), and Cole and Wade (2007) for example). The ISG supported Socialist Resistance has recently (September 2007) published *Savage Capitalism - the Ecosocialist Alternative* (Socialist Resistance, 2007. From the ISG, see also Wilkes, 2007a, 2007b) on capitalism and climate change, representing a major 'turn' to ecosocialism by the ISG (16). The Radical Left rightly recognises that discussions concerning extreme weather and peak oil resonate widely within the UK, even when fundamental questions over the commodification of nature and the crises of capitalism do not. This may be particularly true within educational settings where youthful green sentiment sometimes runs strong. It is thus imperative to make the connection between opposition to 'climate chaos' and neoliberal policies- indeed, to the capitalist system itself-, unfettered growth and an education system which feeds, supports and reproduces both the production and consumption sides of an unsustainable economic system. This chapter is not the place to draw out these connections (17), let it suffice to say that, in his last days Paulo Freire recognised that "[e]cology has gained tremendous importance at the end of this century. It must be present in any educational practice of a radical, critical, and liberating nature." (Freire, 2004, p.47)

The strategic efforts of the Left in aiming to transform ITE also need to reflect the increasing significance of the environmental-ecological justice struggle. Recent developments in critical ecopedagogy emphasize an education within a 'dialectics of justice' (McLaren & Houston, 2005a, p.169), the two sides of this dialectic being *environmental justice* - the question of the unequal distribution of harmful environments between people - and *ecological justice* - the justice of the relationship between humans and the rest of the world. McLaren and Houston aim to "map out what a dialectics of environmental and ecological justice might look like for critical and revolutionary educators by examining how justice toward those exploited under the capitalist class system is increasingly shaped by environmental concerns" (ibid., pp. 169-70). Fundamentally, what this means for those working with ITE and other students is a drawing out of the complex web of relations between (1) local, place-based environmental injustices, (2) historical injustices arising out of the circuits of

capitalist social, political and ultimately economic relations (including racism and colonialism) (3) the impacts of industrial and neoliberal processes on the planet's ecosystems and (4) the ideological production of nature under capitalism. The exploration of this web of relations operates to allow student teachers to develop critique of educational and social practice at Allman's different levels of truth. Understanding the material and ideological production of nature (and indeed environmental crisis) as a social and historical process highlights how our ideas of what matters in nature is never fixed, uniform, or stable. What an ecosocialist project for ITE and education as McLaren and Houston suggest, "broadly illuminates is precisely how the present state of nature is neither inevitable nor desirable - and that ecologically and socially just alternatives exist". (ibid. p.173)

Part Two: Radical Left Principles for Education and for ITE

The Radical Left and Education

In the face of the Conservative and New Labour restructuring of initial teacher education, Marxist, socialist and Radical Green-Left teacher educators share principles and policies for counter-hegemonic theory and practice in teacher education. We now proceed to define a set of Radical Left principles for re-theorized egalitarian *education as a whole* in **Tables 1 & 2**, then in **Table 3** and **Table 4** a set of principles and proposals *for the ITE curriculum*.

There is some debate within the Radical Left over the specific policies suggested, notably over questions of the degree of student-based pedagogy and course development. The following four principles *for education as a whole* are, however, widely accepted by the Radical Left.

Table 1: List of Four overarching Radical Left principles for Education

- vastly increased equality (of outcome)
- comprehensive provision (i.e. no private or selective provision of schooling)
- democratic community control over education
- use of the local and national state to achieve a socially just (defined as egalitarian), anti-discriminatory society, rather than simply an inegalitarian meritocratic focus on equal opportunities to get to very unequal outcomes.

In the recent period, several of groups on the Radical Left in the UK and Europe have also begun to recognise the shortcomings of some features of well-established Marxist educational theory in relation to the environmental crisis, identifying promethean elements in established Marxist educational principles (18). Thus the four overarching Radical Left principles *for education as a whole* are expressed through the following twenty principles (19) which include some recognition of the emerging debate both in Europe and the USA over what McLaren and Houston (2005a) term 'critical ecopedagogy' (20):

Table 2: Radical Left (and Green-Left) Principles for Education

1. Vastly increased funding for education, resulting in, for example, smaller class sizes, better resources and hugely improved low environmental impact school buildings set in grounds conducive to children's development of a love of nature as well as of their communities;
2. A complete end to selection and the development of fully comprehensive schooling, further and higher education;
3. A complete ban on private education;
4. Schools and colleges on a 'human scale' within or as local to communities as possible;
5. Greatly increased provision of free school transportation, including, where possible 'walking buses';
6. Free nutritious school food, prepared onsite with the use of locally sourced organic produce where possible;
7. Cooperation between schools and local authorities, rather than competitive markets;
8. Greatly increased local community democratic accountability in schooling and further education, rather than illusory 'parental choice';
9. Increased powers for democratically elected and accountable local government to redistribute resources, control quality and engage in the development of anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-homophobic policies and practices;
10. The enactment of egalitarian policies aimed at achieving greatly more equal educational outcomes, irrespective of factors such as social class, gender, 'race', sexuality or disability, whilst recognizing that what education can achieve is limited unless part of a thoroughgoing social transformation to eliminate poverty and discrimination;
11. An anti-elitist, anti-racist, flexible common curriculum that seeks to support the transition from current social relations to those based on socialist cooperation and ecological justice, to be negotiated by local and national governments in cooperation with workers' representatives and communities;

12. The curriculum to be rich and varied, allowing themes, natural and human processes to be explored in a range of ways - artistically, musically, scientifically, politically, ecologically;
13. Place-based learning, concerned with the meaning of everyday life: critical studies of environmental impacts of capital on local scales alongside historical injustices arising out of the circuits of capitalist social, political and ultimately economic relations;
14. Teaching and learning to foster critical awareness, sensitivity towards and confidence and ability to challenge ecological and social injustice, a planetary consciousness rooted in an internationalist global citizenship, and empowerment to act in defence of the oppressed, of other species and ecosystems;
15. The abolition of punitive testing regimes and the exploration and establishment of alternative creative assessment practices;
16. Teachers educated to exercise authority in democratic and anti-authoritarian ways, engaging in critical ecopedagogy, with a commitment to developing their school and community as sites of ecological and political awareness and activism;
17. A breaking down of boundaries fixed within educational systems e.g., between childhood dependency & adult responsibility and between subject specialisms;
18. Teachers and administrators who act as role models of integrity, care and thoughtfulness in institutions capable of embodying ideals in all of their operations, avoiding hypocrisy in a separation of academic and theoretical ideals from reality;
19. A recognition on the part of teachers and officials that all knowledge acquired in schools and FE and HE institutions carries with it the responsibility to see that it is well used in the world;
20. A fostering of cultures within classrooms and schools and FE & HE institutions which is democratic, egalitarian, collaborative and collegiate promoting an educational system the aim of which is the flourishing of society, collectives, communities and ecosystems.

Radical Left Principles for Initial Teacher Education

The similarity between the Radical Right and New Labour in the UK is remarkable (21). The lack of congruence between the Radical Left and the Radical Right/ New Labour axis is less remarkable: both the Radical Right and New Labour have identified themselves substantially in terms of their anti-socialism (22).

We now want to detail principles for economic, environmental and social justice within teacher education. These, we suggest, should form the basis of the review and

development of current policy, theory and, not least, practice in initial teacher education. In the table below, we set out those principles, together with New Labour, social democratic (e.g. much of 'Old Labour'- the Labour Party prior to Tony Blair's assumption of leadership in 1994), and Radical Right positions on these principles.

Table 3: Fifteen Radical Left Principles for the Initial Teacher Education Curriculum.

	RADICAL LEFT	NEW LABOUR	SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC	RADICAL RIGHT
(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/environmental 'critical reflection' and its egalitarianism	**	XX	*	XX
(v) inclusion of data on equality issues organized both as core units and as permeation	**	XX	*	XX
(vi) a holistic approach to social, economic and environmental 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 open <i>fora</i> on social and ecological justice and equality where students and staff in institutions can meet in a supportive environment	**	XX?	*?	XX
(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, environmental, 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 school-based routes.	**	*X	**	XX
(xv) acceptance of different routes into teaching concordant with graduate teacher status and the above principles	**	XX	?	XX

Key

- ** strong agreement
- * agreement
- ?? not at all clear/very arguably so
- ? not clear/arguably so
- O equanimity
- X disagreement
- XX strong disagreement

Radical Left Proposals for a Core Curriculum for ITE

These proposals do more than return to the *status quo ante* the Thatcherite election victory of 1979, or the (Labour prime Minister) James Callaghan Ruskin speech of 1976 that presaged the end of both liberal-progressive and social democratic ends in teacher education and schooling (with its call in 'the Ruskin Speech' for prioritising economic and vocational ends of schooling) . Instead, they should be regarded as arising in a landscape dominated by neoliberalisms and subject not only to the social and economic insecurities inherent to the capitalist mode of production, but also

environmental insecurities of the most pressing kind arising from the same material bases. They pursue the four overarching principles for education as a whole by requiring a core curriculum for ITE that will:

Table 4: List of Radical Left Proposals for the ITE Core Curriculum

- Include macro- and micro-theory regarding teaching and learning, in which the socio-political, economic and environmental contexts of schooling and education are made explicit. This refers to not only classroom skills and competencies, but also theoretical understanding of children, schooling, society and nature, their inter-relationships, and alternative views and methods of, for example, classroom organization, schooling, and the economic and political relationship to society and nature.
- Embrace and develop equal opportunities so that children do not suffer from labelling, under-expectation, stereotyping or prejudice from their teachers, or indeed, from their peers.
- Enable student teachers to develop as critical, reflective teachers, able, for example, to decode media, ministerial (and indeed, Radical Left) distortion, bias, and propaganda on, for example, falling standards in schools and institutions of teacher education. This encourages the development of effective classroom-skilled teachers, able to interrelate and critique theory and practice (their own and that of others).
- Include not only technical and situational reflection, but also critical reflection, so as to question a particular policy, a particular theory, or a particular level of reflection, and to ask such critical questions as '*whose interests are served*'; '*who wins?*' (if only by legitimating the status quo); '*who loses?*' (who has to deny identity in order to join the winners, if this is at all possible?); '*who is likely to have to continue accepting a subordinate and exploited position in society* (by virtue of their membership of oppressed groups)?
- Enable student teachers to examine and understand the social, economic and environmental inequalities and injustices present in their specific places of work and residence, and to critically engage with ways in which these inequalities might be challenged.

Of the following proposals, the first three are common across different ideological positions, and because of their near universality in Britain, We do not develop them here. The next two are also widely shared, although they assume different degrees of

salience within different rhetorics. The final ten propositions are more specifically Radical Left-Green.

The ITE 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.
- 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 capable of acting and thinking at graduate level.

- 4. *Support for a major role for higher education institutions in ITE and opposition to totally/primarily school-based routes.*** Higher Education institutions are better able to develop the theoretical perspectives outlined above, to enable student teachers to interrelate theory and practice so that they inform each other.
- 5. *Welcoming of different routes into teaching concordant with graduate teacher status and the above principles.*** As long as the above principles are upheld - including the requirement of graduate status for teachers - then there is scope for a variety of routes into teaching. The routes into teaching are tactical matters, subject to these principled considerations. The provision of more 'flexible' routes into teaching should not result in a compromising of other principles, for instance in relation to the roles and responsibilities of class teachers, of adult-child ratios and teacher supervision, and should not translate into a 'flexibilisation' or fractionalising of the mass teaching force, such as the inclusion within the ranks of 'teachers' of a second-class of 'paraprofessional' cadres.
- 6. *A commitment to the development of the ethical/moral dimension of critical reflection and the Radical Left and ecosocialist egalitarian concern with working for economic, social and environmental justice, and recognition of the interconnection***

between the three. 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, for 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 including environmental exploitation and injustice which intersects with class and racial stratification in complex and structured ways (Bullard, 2000) . Hence, a Radical Left perspective calls for teacher education (and schooling) to be socially egalitarian, ecologically sustainable, anti-racist, and anti-sexist, and also to challenge other forms of structural inequality and discrimination, such as those based on sexuality and disability (23. It also highlights the partial and therefore illusory nature of economic and social justice within the anti-egalitarian capitalist economic system. Economic justice, of course, is scarcely referred to within capitalist systems, it being one of the *desiderata* and a *sine qua non* of capitalism.

7. Research evidence on equality issues: on racism, sexism, social class inequality, homophobia, and discrimination/ prejudice/ regarding disability and special needs, and the intersection if these factors with economic and environmental inequalities.

Many teachers and ITE students are simply not aware of the existence of such research in education and society or the impact of individual labelling, and of structural discriminations on the lives and educational and life-opportunities of the children in their classes, schools and society. This is particularly true of teachers trained/ educated under the Conservative Party regulations of 1992 and 1993 and (to an extent only slightly diminished) also by the current New Labour regulations.

Core units on equality and equal opportunities are required (24. Weaknesses of the permeation model limit effectiveness and, as Gaine (1995) notes, such issues must be put firmly on the agenda, not just slipped into myriad spaces within other sessions. Equality and Equal Opportunities need to be dealt with holistically in two senses. Firstly, they must be approached *conceptually*, as part of a holistic and egalitarian programme interlinking different forms of oppression. Secondly, *organizationally*, as part of teacher education/training courses with units of study focusing on data, theory and policy in general. As Kincheloe *et al* (2000) note, radical teachers move beyond

white, Anglo-Saxon, middle class and heterosexual educational norms, and explore the subjugated knowledges of women, minority groups and indigenous groups.

8. A holistic and social class-based approach to social, economic and environmental justice in the curriculum. 'Race', gender, social class, sexuality and disability and special needs should be considered as part of an overall understanding of economic, social and environmental-ecological 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 (although 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, links should be drawn between, for example, anti-racism and anti-working class discrimination, so that anti-racism and multiculturalism can lead to, and be informed by, 'anti-classism' and anti-sexism.

Similarly, just as it is possible to look at the different amount of time and types of response given by teachers to boys and girls in the same class, the same observation techniques can be applied to 'race', social class, disability and youth sexuality. This is not to declare, *ab initio*, that all children should receive totally equal amounts of teacher time. Equality of treatment ignores the greater resources required by children with greater needs. It is antithetical to policies of equal opportunities and to a policy for equality. **Table 6** below indicates a possible content/objectives outline that could develop a number of these proposals.

Within this developing awareness of inequalities, the essentially and pre-eminently class-based nature of exploitation within the capitalist economic system and its educational and legal and other apparatuses needs to be understood. Class is the salient form of structural oppression within capitalist society, it is the inevitable and defining feature of capitalist exploitation, whereas the various other forms of oppression are not essential to its nature and continuation, however much they are commonly functional to this. However, student teachers should be made aware that the lexicon of 'class' in current common usage rarely maps neatly onto the economic categories of classical Marxist critique, tending instead to be a reflection of stratified commodified relations defined by levels and patterns of consumption, and largely of use to bourgeois social theorists, marketeers and economists. Within the ITE

curriculum (and, indeed, where teachers can find spaces within the school, further education, adult education and prison education and other curricula) the existence of various and multiple forms of oppression and the similarity of their effects on individuals and communities should not disguise nor weaken an analysis (and consequent political and social action) that recognises the structural centrality of social class exploitation and conflict (25).

McLaren and Farahmandpur note that 'recognizing the 'class character' of education in capitalist schooling, and advocating a 'socialist re-organization of capitalist society (Krupskaya, 1985) are two fundamental principles of a revolutionary critical pedagogy' (McLaren and Farahmandpur, 2001a, p. 299).

Table 6: Curriculum Detail for Student and In-Service Teacher Education Courses

	Social Class	'Race' and Religion	Sex	Sexuality	Special Needs
What's the problem? Evidence/data on inequality Quantitative statistical Qualitative student's life histories children's life histories in <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • classrooms • school institutions • the education system • ITE • societal structures and environments (e.g. housing, employment, politics, media)					
Why is it happening and why it should or should not Theoretical analyses explaining, justifying, critiquing/ attacking such inequality, including, for example: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • biological models • conservative structural functionalism • liberal democratic pluralism • structuralist neo-Marxism • culturalist neo-Marxism 					

<p>Anti-egalitarianism policy developments which seek, or have the effect of, increasing inequality in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • classrooms • school institutions • the education system/ITE • society and societal structures • local and global environments 					
<p>Egalitarian policy developments that seek, or have the effect of increasing, egalitarianism in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • classrooms • school institutions • the education system/ITE • society and societal structures • local and global environments 					

We are aware here of different *levels* of truth (without lapsing into a disabling and uncritical modernist or postmodernist liberal ultra-pluralist relativism). As Allman (1999) notes, there are meta-transhistorical truths which hold across 'the entirety of human history' (p. 136), and it is difficult to hold that they could be otherwise. Then there are transhistorical truths, which have held good to date but could possibly be invalidated in the future. Thirdly, there are truths historically specific to a particular historical formation - such as capitalism. These were the sorts of truths Marx was primarily interested in when analysing capitalist society. Finally, there are conjuncturally specific truths - propositions that attain validity within specific developmental phases of a social formation, such as current data and specific issues, which are transient to a greater or lesser degree, even though the mode of their analysis may not be so.

From a Marxist or ecosocialist perspective, it is essential to accept as fundamental to the effective operation of a dialectical methodology the epistemological liberty to abstract conceptual particularities in a flexible manner with regard to their generality. It would be of no *use* to abstract a singular phenomenon such as a sudden shift in government education policy without the capacity to identify the event not only locally and in policy-specific context, but also within the context of economic growth imperatives derived from structural features of capitalist accumulation. A failure to recognise the importance of expanding the parameters of a process can result in a tendency to abstract end results as self-referencing and requiring only internal

reorientation. A re-emphasis of the pupil testing regime, for instance might be understood largely in terms of 'correcting' or 'rebalancing' results, requiring technical or working-practice solutions, rather than raising questions about real, radical change in terms of patterns of teaching and learning, knowledge production consumption and exchange.

Allman formalises this capacity to abstract by means of imposing a framework of *levels of generality* within which abstractive acts may occur. For instance, the abstractive lens at Ollman's 'level two' de-focuses those attributes which are particular to individuals and brings into sharp relief "what is general to people, their activities, and products *because they exist and function within modern capitalism*" (emphases added) (Allman, 2003, p.88). Clearly, a dialogical and dialectical relationship between critical educator and teachers would result in a degree of negotiated curriculum detail to bring into focus different levels of analysis and critique.

9. *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, such as labelling and bullying based on body-shape, 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, sexism, social class and sexuality).

10. *The development within institutions of open fora on social and ecological 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 sharing experience and ideas. Teachers contribute their knowledge not only by transmission (though this frequently might be part of a teacher's repertoire of teaching methods), but also 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, and levels of critique are legitimated. Such 'voices' however should be subject to critical interrogation, not accepted uncritically **(26)**.

11. *Critiques of competing approaches and ideologies of schooling, teacher education and social and economic organization.* This should include skills to examine critically the nature of the curricula, hidden curricula and pedagogy, schooling, education and society. This enables student teachers to 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 the prioritized model of the teacher and critical mode of reflection. Ultimately, as McLaren and Baltodano (2000) observe, ITE courses should 'locate the schooling process in both local and global socio-economic and political contexts, while exploring the relations between them' (p. 43).

This should include a consideration of the different current major ideologies of education (socialism/Marxism, social democracy, liberal-progressivism, neo-Conservatism, neo-liberalism and New Labourism and their policy expressions). In relation to these it should also include understanding and evaluation of anti-racism as well as multi-culturalism and assimilationism; Marxist analysis of social class and 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 lesbian-gay-bisexual-transgender issues should be addressed (27).

12. *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, as Harris (1994) suggests, so that, while teachers retain some critical agency in the area of the 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 counter hegemonic practice. They can, through their discourse and interventionary practice in the ideological and political determinants of schooling, promote empowerment, autonomy and democracy. (p. 115)

13. *The concurrent rather than the consecutive development of critical reflection, throughout and from the beginning of the ITE course.* Teacher educators differ in their views of which levels, or 'arena' of reflection, offer an appropriate *starting point* for

reflection in the learning-to-teach process. Commentators as diverse as Calderhead and Gates (1993), and the DFE Circular 9/92 (DfE, 1992) all assume or argue that the three levels of reflection need to be developed in sequential order, i.e. that contextual-situational, and indeed, critical reflection are more appropriate for teachers who have attained technical and practical skills and skills of reflection.

Our view is that a three- or four-year undergraduate teacher education course provides a sufficient 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 student teacher courses may well provide a more appropriate immersion into the practices of teaching, learning and schooling and facilitate, organize and encourage the application of theory to practice and practice to theory.

If 'learning theory', 'critical theory' or issues of the social context of schooling are left until 'post-initial training', many Newly Qualified Teachers will not actually get any post-initial training other than 'inset days' - the school-based in-service education for teachers, and these in-service training days appear to be overwhelmingly instrumental, and technical - in particular, to be concerned with how to 'deliver' results from recent policy initiatives such as the revamped Primary Strategies, or requirements arising from *Every Child Matters*. If contextual, theoretical and social/economic justice and equality issues are not studied during Initial Teacher Education, they may never be.

14. *Substantially predetermined rather than primarily negotiated curriculum objectives.* Calderhead and Gates (1993) raise the key questions of whether 'a truly reflective teaching program' should have 'predefined content or ... be negotiated', and how to 'reconcile the aim of developing particular areas of knowledge, skill and attitudes with the aim of encouraging autonomy and professional responsibility' (p. 3). These are crucial issues in various postmodernist, postmodern feminist, and liberal pluralist critiques of the concept of teachers as critical transformative intellectuals. They are also key elements of postmodernist critiques of Marxist class-based transformativist solidaristic analysis and policy proposals 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. Liston and Zeichner observe the significant historical shift of emphasis within the Radical Left (1991)

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. (p. 33)

The debate centres on whether 'democratic participative pedagogy' should typify a course. Arguably, 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, militates against the development of the broad span of critical theoretical insights argued for in this Chapter. In accordance with the Radical Left principles outlined here, course objectives, if not the content-based means to their attainment, should - following national debate and taking into account particular student needs at any particular historical juncture - be substantially pre-determined in such a way as to allow critique to be brought to bear at the different levels of analysis referred to above.

This proposal is for a curriculum which is organic in the sense Gramsci (1971) intends when referring to the formation of intellectuals. As Rikowski (2001e) notes, for 'organic intellectuals, the goal is not "to tell the people what to think" but to enable them to think clearly - to provide them with the tools (critical literacy in the first instance) to engage in cultural action incorporating the exercise of critical (dialectical) consciousness aimed at social transformation' (p. 63). Moreover, transformative intellectuals must engage in self-criticism. This is so especially in relation to forming a dialectical unity with the student groups/teachers that is *non-antagonistic*, in order to assist in moving people from their 'concrete conceptions of the world (their limited praxis) ... [towards] ... a critical, scientific or, in other words, dialectical conceptualization.' (Allman, 1999, p. 115).

15. *The application of critical evaluation to school-based practice and experience.*

Theory can provide the analytic and conceptual apparatus for thinking about practice in schools and classrooms, within the formal and within the hidden curriculum, while practice can provide the opportunity for the testing and assimilation of theory.

Since the Conservative government's 1992/93 regulations for teacher training and education (DfE, 1992, 1993) demanded more school-basing in ITE-courses and the continued development of school-based ITE programmes, the detheorization of teacher education through an emphasis on untheorized practice is a major problem in the development of effective teaching, in the development of critical transformatory skills, awareness and teaching, and in the development of a revolutionary transformative critical pedagogy.

16. *Environmental justice pedagogy.* Environmental justice pedagogy also entails active engagement between students, communities and the environment - activities and projects might include urban food production/gardening (particularly in economically disadvantaged areas); water catchment monitoring, public open space issues, green energy, sustainable transport, local impacts of climate change, such as flooding etc. in addition to the more traditional 'eco-sustainability' activities such as recycling and visiting national parks. Environmental justice pedagogy enlarges the field of environmental education to address complex social, economic and environmental issues at multiple geographical scales so that students can empirically locate themselves within them and develop critical, historical and transformative knowledge. It also breaks down unproductive dualisms between nature and society, urban and wilderness etc. This is important for students and teachers living and working in economically disadvantaged urban communities - because it can reorient the curriculum to deal with specific environmental justice issues that these communities face. (Houston, 2007).

Conclusion: The Politics of Educational Transformation

Arguments that we live in a post-capitalist, post-industrial, or postmodern era can be contested, as can the Radical Right argument set out in only slightly different ways by Conservative and New Labour governments, that the only future for humankind is the application of free market economics to the societies of the world. Yet a Radical Left re-organization of global and national societies, and of their educational apparatuses, committed to egalitarianism and economic and social justice, remains viable (see e.g. McLaren, 2000, 2001).

Radical Right models, even with the social democrat gloss applied by New Labour, are of little relevance in this endeavour. Practices in schooling and in teacher education and training need to be changed, rather than accepted and reproduced, therefore the emphasis should be on challenging the dominant neo-liberal and neo-conservative cultures, rather than reproducing and reinforcing them. Radical Right and Centrist ideology on schooling, training and ITE serves a society aiming only for the hegemony of the few and the entrenchment of privilege, not the promotion of equality and economic and social justice.

Teacher educators and cultural workers from various other ideological and political perspectives may well agree with a number of the recommendations we make. They may not agree with the explicit emancipatory, critical and transformatory role of teacher educators, education, and schooling in the interests of social and environmental justice and egalitarianism. Yet this role, and the role of teacher educators and teachers as intellectuals instead of mechanics or technicians, are necessary for the development of a critical, active, interrogating, citizenry - thoughtful, questioning, perceptive as well as skilled - pursuing a democratic, anti-authoritarian, socially responsible and socially and economically just society.

Much of the Left has vacated the ideological battlefield during neo-liberal media offensives and government attempts at strengthening control and hegemony over the schooling and teacher education ideological state apparatuses. As McLaren (2001) notes, 'part of the problem faced by the educational left today is that even among progressive educators there exists an ominous resignation produced by the seeming inevitability of capital' (p. 28). This is true of the caution of erstwhile Left writers, educationalists and ideologues in Britain in their retreat from the cultural and educational advances of the 1970s and 1980s (see for example, Farahmandpur, 2004; Kelsh and Hill, 2006; Rikowski, 2006; Hill, 2007a, b). It is a feature of education policy and analysis and other policy areas (typified by the rightward Labour party shift) that has culminated in the New Labour Party of Gordon Brown.

We recognize and do not underestimate the limitations on the agency and autonomy of teachers, teacher educators, cultural workers and indeed, the very limited autonomy of the educational sphere of the state from the economic. McLaren and Baltodano (2000) note (with respect to California in particular, but with a wider global

resonance) the 'greater restrictions on the ability of teachers to use their pedagogical spaces for emancipatory purposes' (p. 34). Hence, we give rather less credence than Ball (1994a, b) and Smyth and Shatlock (1998) to the notion that teachers, and teacher educators, are able to 'co-write' texts such as curriculum and assessment circulars (see Hill, 2001a; Evans, Davies and Penney, 1994).

The repressive cards within the ideological state apparatuses are stacked against the possibilities of transformative change through Initial Teacher Education and through schooling. But historically and internationally, this often has been the case. Spaces do exist for counter-hegemonic struggle - sometimes (as now) narrower, sometimes (as in the 1960s and 1970s) broader. Having recognized the limitations, though, and having recognized that there is *some* potential for transformative change, we maintain that whatever space does exist should be exploited.

By itself, divorced from other arenas of progressive struggle, its success will be limited. This necessitates the development of pro-active debate both by, and within Radical Left organisations and parties, and education worker trade unions. But it necessitates more than that. It calls for direct engagement with liberal pluralist (modernist or postmodernist) and with Radical Right ideologies and programmes, in all the areas of the state and of civil society, in and through all the Ideological and Repressive State Apparatuses.

As intellectual workers educating teachers, the ideological intervention of teacher educators is likely to have more impact than that of sections of the workforce less saliently engaged in ideological production and reproduction. But, by itself, the activity of transformative intellectual teacher educators, however skilful and committed, can have only an extremely limited impact on an egalitarian transformation of society. Unless linked to a grammar of resistance, such resistant and counter-hegemonic activity is likely to fall on relatively stony ground. As McLaren and Baltodano (2000) suggest,

Reclaiming schools and teacher education as arenas of cultural struggle and education in general as a vehicle for social transformation in conservative/capitalist times is premised upon a clear commitment to organize parents, students and communities. It stipulates that society needs to develop critical educators, community activists, organic intellectuals, and teachers whose

advocacy of social justice will illuminate their pedagogical practices. (p. 41. See also Rikowski, 2001e; McLaren and Farahmandpur, 2002a; Rikowski and McLaren, 2001).

In keeping aloft ideals of plurality of thought, of economic, social and environmental justice and of dissent, teachers, teacher educators and the community must resist the ideological hijacking of our past, present and future. Teachers and teacher educators are too strategically valuable in children's and students' education to have slick media panaceas and slanted ministerial programmes attempting to dragoon them into being uncritical functionaries of a conservative state and of the fundamentally and essentially inegalitarian and immoral society and education system reproduced by the capitalist state and its apparatuses.

The particular perspectives defined in this chapter, from a Radical Left position, are based on a belief that teachers must not only be skilled, competent, classroom technicians. They must also be critical and reflective and transformative and intellectual, that is to say, they should operate at the critical level of reflection. They should enable and encourage their students, not only to gain basic and advanced knowledge and skills: they should enable and encourage their students to question, critique, judge and evaluate 'what is', 'what effects it has', and 'why?' and to be concerned and informed about equality and economic, environmental and social justice - in life beyond the classroom door *and* within the classroom walls. Rikowski (2002c) describes such radical educators as those 'advocating education as an aspect of anti-capitalist social transformation'.

As McLaren (2001) puts it,

Do we, as radical educators, help capital find its way out of crisis, or do we help students find their way out of capital? The success of the former challenge will only buy further time for the capitalists to adapt both its victims and its critics, the success of the latter will determine the future of civilization, or whether or not we have one (p. 31).

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. Together with others, Dave Hill has advanced Radical Left principles and policy for schooling and/or for Initial Teacher Education in Hill (1989, 1990, 1991a, 1994 a, b, 1997b; 2000d, 2001d, 2005a, 2007a); Hill, Cole and Williams (1997); Cole, Hill, Soudien and Pease (1997); Hillcole Group (1991); Hillcole Group (1997).

2. I set this out in Hill, 2001a.

3. Dave Hill joined the Labour Party in 1961 at the age of 16, organised and led his first demonstration, against the US action over the Cuban missile crisis, in that year, and proceeded to organise varying smaller and larger demonstrations against the public expenditure 'Cuts' of the 1970s and 1980s, against Fascists, Racism and against Apartheid in the 1970s and 1980s, and for better and more comprehensive education services. He believe/d in street activity as well as parliamentarist fora. In the latter connection, he stood twice for Parliament as a Labour Party candidate, was a city councillor and the leader of the Labour Party on a County Council for a number of years in the 1980s- sometimes (if infrequently) with policy power.

He stood down from representative Labour Party politics in 1989, but remained active in his union (NATFHE, the lecturers' labor union) as a local official and regional Chair (for South- Eastern England) for a period after that.

Simon Boxley's tenure in the Labour Party was considerably shorter, also joining at 16 in 1986, becoming a member of the constituency party's Executive Committee before quitting in 2000 and joining the Alliance for Green Socialism of which he is a National Executive Committee member. He has held various officer positions in the National Union of Teachers including Branch President and Association Student Membership Officer.

4. The Labour Party in the UK, since its foundation in 1901, has always been an amalgam of social democrats, socialists/Marxists, and trades union (i.e. labor union) organisations and members, organically part of the party. The fortunes of the socialist Left have waxed and waned. They reached their apex in 1981 when the leader of the 'Hard Left', Tony Benn (who is still a member of the Labour Party), narrowly missed

being elected deputy leader of the Labour Party. In the 1980s, what the Conservative Press loathsomely called 'the Loony Left', what the Left called 'good socialists', controlled numerous sections of the Labour Party, and numerous inner-city councils and education authorities such as the Inner London Education Authority. With the victory of Tony Blair as 'New Labour' leader of the Labour Party in 1994, the Left was, for the ensuing years, arguably at its weakest since the formation of the Party. While there seemed to be some signs of change in 2002, with the re-emergence of socialist voices within the Party, and with the election of a number of new left-wing trade union leaders, such hopes have been dashed and moves to 'Reclaim the Labour Party' (for a left agenda) appear very weak. The failure of the left in the Parliamentary Labour Party to mount a leadership challenge to Gordon Brown becoming the sole candidate to succeed Tony Blair as Labour Party leader in 2007. (See Callinicos, 2007; Thornett, 2007).

5. See www.tufnellpress.com

6. See www.ieps.org.uk

7. See, e.g., Cole and Hill, 1995, 1999a, 2002; Cole, Hill and Rikowski, 1997; Hill and Cole, 1993, 1995, 1996.

8. See McLaren, 1998a, b, 1999a, b, 2000; McLaren and Baltodano, 2000; McLaren and Farahmandpur, 2001a, 2002c. In this phase, Peter and Glenn Rikowski, are engaging in e-conversations and e-publications, developing aspects of Marxist educational theory, e.g. McLaren and Rikowski, 2001, 2002; Rikowski and McLaren, 2001.

9. Dave Hill's own experiences are not at all unusual for radical educators. He was 'moved on' (i.e. told that if he wanted promotion he would have to move on) from my first teaching job at Stockwell Manor Comprehensive School in the Inner London Education Authority because of his activities as a 'flying picket' during the Inner London teachers' strikes of the late 1960s. At his second post, at Forest Girls Secondary Modern School in Depot Rd. Horsham, he was called in and admonished by the Head Teacher for being pictured in the local press on a construction workers' picket line, being told 'we do not expect out staff to be pictured on picket lines. Make

sure it doesn't happen again!' He was encouraged to move on after securing the replacement of the (very moderate) local teachers' union representative. At his third job, as a lecturer in teacher education at Bognor College, he organised joint industrial action by academic, administrative and manual workers, following which he was 'invited' to meet the Director of Education for the Local Education Authority (school district). After a lecture on democracy and education, where he talked about Marx and Tony Benn instead of Plato and Aristotle, he was moved off teaching on teacher education courses, and was periodically sent into exile, teaching off-campus. He was told by his Head of School, Kate Jacques that the Principal of the College had told her that 'Dave Hill will never get promotion because everyone up and down the country knows he is Loony-Left'. (That was remarkable enough for Dave Hill to diarise!). With changes in personnel he was periodically reinstated- and indeed promoted- where he led a Marxist critical reflective course in teacher education, the Crawley four- year full-time B. Ed. (Bachelor of Education) course. He was ultimately dismissed/ made redundant following the virtual abolition of critical teaching, sociology and politics from teacher education courses in the UK in the mid-1990s. He has written about this set of experiences in 'Brief Autobiography of a Bolshie Dismissed' (Hill, 1997), 'Critical Research and the Dismissal of Dissent' (1997) and 'White Chalk ... on a White Board: The Writing's on the wall for radicals in British education' (Hill, 1997). In the UK, CAFAS (the Council for Academic Freedom and Academic Standards) and NATFHE Rank and File both document political /job victimisation of Left (and other) lecturers (NATFHE is one of the two lecturers' labor unions in England and Wales, the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education).

10. The two books produced/ co-written by the members of the Hillcole Group of Radical left Educators are (1991) *Changing the future: Redprint for education*, and (1997) *Rethinking education and democracy: a socialist alternative for the twenty-first century*, both published by the small left-wing publisher, Tufnell Press (London).

11. See, e.g., Cole, 1998; Hill 2001b, c, Rikowski, 2001a, b, c, 2002a, b; McLaren, 2000; Rees, 2001; McLaren and Farahmandpur 2002c.

12. See also Cole, 1998; Smyth and Shatlock, 1998; Ainley, 1999, 2000; McMurtry, 1999; McLaren 2000; Rikowski, 2000, 2001a, b, 2002a, b; Hatcher and Hirtt, 1999; Hatcher, 2001.

13. Hatcher, 2001; Molnar, 1999, 2001; Hill, 2001b; Rikowski, 2001a, b, c, 2002a.

14. Hill, 1994a, b, 1997 a, b, 2005a, 2007a.

15. See also McMurtry, 1998; Grace, 1994; Winch, 1998.

16. This document lists the following policies/ demands:

- Ecosocialists have to start from a class analysis, an analysis that can unite the largest possible number of people to make the rich, not the poor, pay. We support the building of a mass movement, nationally and internationally to impose the types of demand below.
- For a unilateral reduction of greenhouse gas emissions in Britain of 90% by 2030, with similar reductions in other developed countries;
- For an international treaty to cap global carbon emissions, not because we think this is an easy option, or even likely to be achieved (this depends on the balance of forces), but because it is necessary and can unite the movements internationally against the failures of the capitalist system;
- For international rationing of air travel, any market in rations to be made illegal;
- Opposition to nuclear energy and the building of any new nuclear power stations;
- For a massive expansion of renewable energy;
- For subsidies from national and local government:
 - to replace the use of cars by providing cheap, accessible and frequent public transport;
 - to ensure all new buildings are zero-carbon;
 - to provide insulation, energy conservation, etc. for all homes to make them energy efficient.

On climate change we should campaign around the following transitional and immediate demands which are designed to halt and reverse the global warming process and thus prevent climate chaos and rising sea levels. These should include a 90% reduction in fossil fuel use by 2050, based on a 6% annual target, monitored by independent scrutiny. The industrialised countries, who have caused the problem, must take the lead in this. The most impoverished peoples are paying the highest price for the actions of the advanced countries. There is no point in asking them to take measures not being taken in the industrialised countries. This means:

- Cancellation of the third-world debt. There is no point on calling on impoverished countries to tackle climate change if they are saddled with debt.
- A massive increase in investment in renewable energy including solar, wind wave, tidal and hydro power (with the exception of destructive mega-dam projects). These should be monitored for anti-social consequences. No nuclear power.
- End the productivist throwaway society: production for use and not for profit.
- Tough action against industrial and corporate polluters.
- Free, or cheap, integrated publicly owned transport systems to provide an alternative to the car.
- Nationalisation of rail, road freight and bus companies.
- Halt airport expansion, restrict flights and end binge flying. Nationalise the airlines.
- Redesign cities to eliminate unnecessary journeys and conserve energy
- Scrap weapons of mass destruction and use the resources for sustainable development and renewable energy.
- Massive investment to make homes more energy efficient. Move towards the collectivisation of living spaces.
- Nationalisation of the supermarkets, localised food production and a big reduction in food miles.
- No GM crops for food or fuel.
- End the destruction of the rain forests.
- Defend the rights of climate change refugees and migrants. Protect those hit by drought, desertification, floods, crop failure and extreme weather conditions.

- Renationalise water and protect water reserves. End the pollution of the rivers and the water ways.

17. See McLaren & Houston 2005a

18. Foremost among the UK groups advocating recognition of the importance of *ecosocialist* solutions to educational questions are the Alliance for Green Socialism and the International Socialist Group

19. For Radical Left discussion of these principles, see for the citations in Note 1 (above) together with Cole, 2000; Cole, Hill and Shan, 1997; Cole, Hill, McLaren and Rikowski, 2001; McLaren, Cole, Hill and Rikowski, 2001. In Australia this tradition is exemplified in the work of Kevin Harris (1979, 1982, 1984, 1994), and in the USA, most recently, by Peter McLaren and his associates, e.g. Aguirre, 2001; McLaren, 2000, 2001; McLaren and Farahmandpur, 2001a, b; McLaren and Rikowski, 2001, 2002.

20. This is an emerging field: this article is not the place to map it. See, for instance Gadotti 2003, Kahn 2003a, 2003b, 2005, McLaren & Houston 2005b

21. Hill, 1999a, 2000, 2001c, d.

22 See Cliff and Gluckstein, 1996; Driver and Martell, 1998; Giddens, 1998, 2000; Cole, Hill, McLaren and Rikowski, 2001; McLaren, Cole, Hill and Rikowski, 2001.

23. See Hill 1991b, 1994a, 1997b.

24. See Hill, 1989, which sets out two such courses of the late 1990s from two different institutions. These were West Sussex Institute of Higher Education, where the courses were (co-) developed by Dave Hill, and Brighton Polytechnic, where the course was developed by Mike Cole.

25. See, e.g. Hill, 1999b, 2001a, e, 2002a; Sanders, Hill and Hankin, 1999; Aguirre, 2001; Cole and Hill, 2001; Cole, Hill, McLaren and Rikowski, 2001; Rikowski, 2001a, b, d; Hill, Sanders and Hankin, 2002; McLaren and Farahmandpur, 2002a, b; McLaren and Rikowski, 2001; Rikowski and McLaren, 2001.

26. See Cole, Clay and Hill, 1990; Cole and Hill, 1999, 2002; Sanders, Hill and Hankin, 1999; Kincheloe, Slattery and Steinberg, 2000; McLaren and Farahmandpur, 2001a, 2002; Hill, Sanders and Hankin, 2002.

27. See the Institute for Education Policy Studies website www.ieps.org.uk for details of three such undergraduate modules with a potential for developing critical education. These were (co-)developed by Dave Hill at University College, Northampton, UK . The module aims, content, assessment procedures and bibliographies are set out.

28. This last point was added by/ we owe to Donna Houston (Houston, 2007)..

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