CHARGE OF THE RIGHT BRIGADE

The Radical Right’s Attack on Teacher Education

DAVE HILL
First published in 1989

The Hillcole Group £3.95

ISBN 1 872155 00 6

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First published in June 1989 by the Hillcole Group in association with the Institute of Education Policy Studies
1 Cumberland Rd.
Brighton
BN1 6SL
Studies
Reprinted 1991 by Brighton Print Centre, Preston Rd., Brighton
NOTE: THIS ON-LINE VERSION OF August 2002 DOES NOT YET CONTAIN THE APPENDICES INCLUDING THE 'SCHOOLS AND SOCIETY' 60 HOUR COMPULSORY THIRD YEAR COURSE FOR ALL B.ED. STUDENT TEACHERS AT WEST SUSSEX INSTITUTE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN 1988-1989

NOTE ALSO: THIS BOOKLET WAS WRITTEN IN 1989.

Other Books on Schooling and Teacher Education written by Dave Hill since Charge of the Right Brigade was published in 1989:

Books


1997 Promoting Equality in Primary Schools, (co-editor and co-author with M. Cole and S. Shan), London: Cassell, (433pp.)


RECENT BOOKLETS AND ARTICLES ON TEACHER EDUCATION
BY DAVE HILL INCLUDE


1997 In White Chalk...on a White Board: The Writing’s on the wall for radicals in British education, *Education Australia*, 35, (pp.51-53).


CHARGE OF THE RIGHT BRIGADE:
The Radical Right’s Attack on Teacher Education
Pbk. ISBN 1 872155 00 6

With its introduction of the licensed and apprenticed teacher route into school teaching and its bypassing of and proposed changing of the curriculum for teacher training, the Thatcher government, urged on by the Radical Right, is seeking to `conform' teacher education to its own ideology.

This booklet critiques such developments and argues that teacher educators must persist in developing reflexive teachers as `transformative intellectuals', and adapt new initiatives in teacher training for this purpose within the context of better preparing teacher trainees for classroom life and broadening access to teacher training.

The Hillcole Group consists of a number of Radical Left lecturers in teacher education.

The aims of the Hillcole Group are:

(i) To influence policy and decision making on educational matters
(ii) To respond quickly to assaults on the quality of education from the Radical Right
(iii) To improve the quality of schooling and of teacher education

Dave Hill is a member of the Hillcole Group. He is Senior Lecturer in Education at West Sussex Institute of Higher Education, fought the 1979 and 1987 General Elections as Labour Parliamentary Candidate and was Leader of the East Sussex County Council Labour Group 1983-1987.

Dave hill is active in ARTEN (the Anti-Racist Teacher Education Network) and in NATFHE as Branch Chair, South-East regional Chair (PCFC Sector) and as a member of NATFHE’s Teacher Education Standing Committee.

His latest book, co-written with Ruth Hessari, is `Practical Ideas for Multicultural Learning and Teaching in the Primary Classroom, Routledge, 1989

This booklet is available from the Institute of Education Policy Studies, 1 Cumberland Rd. Brighton, East Sussex, BN16SL, (£3.95 plus 50p P&P)
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Dave Hill

ISBN 1 872155 00 6

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Many thanks to Mike Cole for reading and commenting on a draft of this booklet, and to Gill Brady and Deborah Gibson for their patience in retyping and retyping and retyping and to Janet and John Clemence for setting the print.
FOREWORD

This booklet is a critique of the current attacks on the quality of teacher education being made by Kenneth Baker and by the Radical Right. It is published by the Hillcole Group, a group of Radical Left teacher educators from various polytechnics, Institutes/Colleges of Higher Education, Universities, teacher education centres, and teaching, in association with the Institute for Education Policy Studies.

The three aims of the Hillcole Group are:

1. To influence policy and decision making on educational
2. To respond quickly to assaults on the quality of education from the Radical Right;
3. To improve the quality of schooling and of teacher education.

Subsequent booklets will critique current developments in Teacher education and schooling such as the effects of the 1988 Education Reform Act and will make proposals for quality schooling for all children.

The Hillcole Group was founded in 1989 and is a group of socialist practitioners and academics in education. Their aim is to improve the quality of schooling and teacher education; to confront the assaults by the radical right on the quality of education; and to influence policy and decision making on educational matters.

Members of the group include,

Pat Ainley, City University
Stephen Ball, Kings College, London.
Dipak Basu, Tower Hamlets Teachers’ Centre
Caroline Benn, Adult education.
Clyde Chitty, University of Birmingham.
Mike Cole, Brighton Polytechnic.
Debbie Epstein, University of Birmingham.
Ann Marie Davis, Kensington & Chelsea LEA.
Andy Green, South Bank Polytechnic, London.
Dave Hill, West Sussex Institute of Higher Education
Janet Holland, Institute of Education
Tamara Jakubowska, Middlesex Polytechnic.
Rehana Minhas, Haringey LEA, London.
Chris Shilling, University of Southampton.
Gaby Weiner, South Bank Polytechnic, London.
TEACHER EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

In addition to its use of the repressive state apparatus (1) - laws, courts, controls, abolitions, prescriptions, the police - the Thatcher Government is seeking to ‘conform’ those who refuse, or fail, to fall in with what they wish to see as the dominant ideology. Two primary parts of the ideological state apparatus are firstly the media - much of which already reflects Thatcherite views of ‘common sense’, ‘lunacy’ and ‘patriotism’, and some of which (television) is increasingly pressured to do so. Secondly, schooling, whose task is seen to imbed Thatcherite beliefs and omit contrary worldviews. Schooling, viewed by Althusser as the single most important institution of the ideological state apparatus in modern times, is being recast through the national curriculum, compulsory assessment, opting out, grading and appraisal control of children, teachers and schools, and by removal of control over schools from oppositional (i.e. left wing) local authorities.

Teachers are becoming proletarianised through deskilling, through intensification of the teacher task, and through low levels of pay which result in ‘substitutability’ - ‘anyone can get a licence to teach with a bit of training on the side’.

Next in line for ‘conforming’ (2) is teacher education, through which generations of schoolteachers have assumed, in various degrees, liberal democratic or social egalitarian perspectives. Students have developed not just classroom management and teaching skills, but also the prevailing professional ethos of concern with the hidden curriculum, with notions of justice, equal opportunities regardless of class, ‘race’, sex or disability. They have also developed notions of and skills of observation. Many develop reflectiveness at a micro level on what happens inside classrooms, and at a macro level reflectiveness on the role of schooling in society, and of how it might or should change (3).

The Conservative Government, driven by a conjunction of demographic, ideological and financial factors (not enough teachers by the nineteen nineties; not enough obeisance and commitment to Thatcherite philosophy; cheaper to train in schools than in colleges) has a three-fold plan to replace and to re-form teacher training. First to license untrained over 26’s and train them on the job; second to apprentice for two years graduates over 21 who will be paid around £8,000 a year to also learn on the job; third to change the formal and informal curriculum of teacher education - with more classroom skills, less reflectiveness, less psychological, sociological, political and philosophical awareness, and crucially, less critique of contemporary schooling. In short - less time question the dominant ideology, less critical knowledge, critical consciousness, less criticism.

REPRESSIVE AND IDEOLOGICAL STATE APPARATUSES IN THATCHERITE BRITAIN

Through most of the 80s the popular left slogan on many campaigns was ‘who's next for a Tory cut’? This was followed by ‘who's next in line for privatisation’? The public sector was underfunded and rolled back. Side by side with financial controls and changes of ownership are legal changes. Directives and laws have emasculated, impeded or abolished centres of political resistance, independence, or potential resistance. Local government, Trade Unions, the Civil Service, Television. The list goes on (4).

But, still Thatcherism, the ‘private first, public last’, individualistic ‘there is no such thing as society’, morality is broadly unpopular and unloved, even if the Thatcher Government itself is often ahead or level pegging in the opinion polls.

So generations of children's minds must be changed, made anti-collectivist, anti-socialist, and, indeed anti-the Liberal democratic perspective of ‘now let's look at both sides of this compassionately and in a balanced fashion.’

The repressive state apparatus - laws, police, regulations, controls, bans, proscriptions, abolitions - haven't worked well enough. Thatcherism is still not regarded as ‘common sense’. So who in the view of the Radical Right, is to blame? Feeble parents, trendy sixties chattering classes, no doubt. Thatcherites control the bulk of the print Press (can anyone imagine Murdoch’s Times' saying ‘vote
Labour' as the pre-Murdoch 'Times' did in 1964?). And they are on the way with visual Press, - with Sky Channel News, (for whom Austin Mitchell is the 'left-wing' counterbalance to 'Norman Tebbit and with spookfriendly Lord Chalfont adding to state pressure on TV). But it's also the teachers they blame.

SCHOOLING

20 to 30 hours a week of a child's life are taken care of by television. But what of the 15,000 hours spent in a school lifetime? Children spend roughly as many hours in school as they do in front of a television set. Schools are being sorted out. Within ten years it is likely that the country's two tier - private for 7%, public for 93% system will have been converted into a three tier system. As Brian Simon has predicted, in Marxism Today (5) there may well, in a few years time, be firstly private schools for the well-off; secondly opted-out - independent but state funded schools for the yuppies, for the 'best suburb in town'; and, thirdly council schools for the 'proles', the rest. It may even be, as the Radical Right 'Hillgate Group' have argued (in 'Whose Schools' (6)), that all 27,000 schools will become independent of council influence, with a national voucher system which can be 'topped up' by those parents 'committed enough to their children's education' (i.e. well-off enough) to buy a place at the best funded, most selective schools. Unlike the 11 plus this will apply to Infant and Junior schools too!

But in these schools, in addition to chief executive head teachers, and in addition to newly constituted Boards of Governors, there are still those 'troublesome teachers' - teachers brought up in Teacher Education Courses on a diet of 'teacher autonomy', locally constructed curricula, and 'education for equality'.

The first two - teacher autonomy within the classroom and locally constructed curricula - may be taken care of by the new national curriculum whose subject working parties are now reporting. Inevitably Kenneth Baker has not applied 'balance' in appointing the membership of these highly important bodies (7). Even if some of their reports are not to Thatcher's liking the only balance is between the Radical Right and the Right. Assessment too will to an as yet unknown extent constrain, restrict and determine what is taught, what is marginalised, and what has to be focused on. And it is inevitable that teachers will be judged and appraised and - in the future - paid according to how dutifully they focus their children on these assessment targets.

TEACHERS AND TEACHER TRAINING

But teachers are devious, stubborn, committed, and to an as yet incalculable extent, capable of 'interpreting' 'modifying' or subverting the national curriculum. Some are 'hero teachers' developing critical consciousness, challenging the existing hegemony of ideas, of 'common sense'. At least this applies to many who are in-post, those who have known and led or worked in harmony' with child centred, anti-sexist, anti-racist, and socially egalitarian education. Those in-post have a past work history and consciousness. So, in Secondary schools for example political and social consciousness may move from the 'out of official favour' (and certainly out of the National Curriculum) sociology and politics courses, into PSE (Personal and Social education) or into Integrated Humanities, or into English. (This is not to assume that all sociology, for example, is radical. I teach teacher trainees whose sociology A level, they claim, happened to omit Marx on stratification, power, and education.)

If school teachers aren't reliable, then who is to blame for the teachers?

THE THREE-FOLD ATTACK ON TEACHER EDUCATION: LICENCING, APPRENTICING, TEACHER TRAINING

It is the new troops in the school ideological battlefield who have to be turned into warriors for the (Thatcherite) faith, or at least, made ignorant of, an/or dismissive of the socialist and liberal democratic alternative visions of schooling and society. So teacher training is being attacked.
Firstly college based teacher training is set to be avoided by untrained licences teachers whereby untrained over 26 year olds are enabled to teach in state schools without having previously undergone any training or teacher education whatsoever. The only formal qualifications are the age qualifications, a Grade C or above GCSE in Maths and English, and completion of the equivalent of two years full time post A level higher education. A degree is not necessary! Licensing is based on New Jerseys PTP (Provisional Teacher Programme) by which New Jersey Graduates who have not followed education courses at college, are certified as teachers after satisfactorily completing a years supervised teaching and the required 200 hours instruction at a regional centre. The Education theory in this 200 hours instruction was general theory, not linked directly to the age range of children being taught - unlike in British teacher education in which students are divided into Secondary and Primary age range courses (and frequently sub-divided into First/Infant and Middle/Junior range courses). Her Majesty’s Inspectorate also noted the lack of links between teacher education departments and the schools in assessing the trainees - the lecturers taught the theory, the teachers supervised the practice. What Kenneth Baker and British press coverage have omitted to mention is that the 1000 PTP teachers were attracted by a massive pay rise for teachers! In the words of the inspectors, “the raising of the salaries was a subsequent though important development”. New Jersey raised the minimum starting salary in 1985 by 23% from 15,000 dollars to 18,500 with a prospect of a further increase in the near future of 20%, plus a package of loans of 7,500 dollars for various students, convertible into an outright grant for those teaching in (state) schools for 4-6 year olds.

Not only that, the average size of the 22 classes seen by the HMI was 10! It must also be noted that the American school curriculum is far more ‘teacher proof’ than the British, United States teachers delivering pre-designed courses.

Secondly college-based teacher education will also be avoided by ‘total immersion two year training on the job’ at around £8,000 a year for 2 years for graduates aged 21 and over, on, an apprenticeship scheme (9) recently upgraded in nomenclature to the ‘articled teachers’ scheme. A virtually identical model has just been abandoned at the University of East Anglia after three years following complaints by tutors, teachers and students. Tutors were concerned that the development of certain attitudes among students are more easily established in the security of the temporarily ‘distanced’ university based elements of the course and not in the immediacy of school-based work. Teachers felt under strain, and complained of lack of funding. Students felt confused about whether they were temporary teachers or students.

Thirdly teacher training courses are to be altered. Three or four year B.Ed. courses and the one year PGCE (post-graduate certificate in education) will be drastically changed by a new national curriculum for teacher training. The agenda for teacher education - for HMI Inspectors, for school approval body accreditation by CATE, the Committee for the Accreditation for Teacher Education, is now clearly far more on Assessment and Teaching Skills than throughout the 1980s. Classroom skills will be focused on, critical reflection downgraded, squeezed out, or omitted.

It is likely that both licensing and apprenticing articling will focus overwhelmingly, if not exclusively, on classroom management/control, teaching skills, and curriculum content. All of course, highly necessary - but all to a large extent potentially devoid of critical consciousness raising time and encouragement to reflect and analyse. With such a curriculum for the on-the-job teacher training, time and encouragement for trainees to reflect and analyse, can easily be reduced, downgraded, or left out.

**PROLETARIANISATION OF TEACHERS**

Teaching is becoming de-skilled, intensified, underpaid, demotivated and militant.

Current changes in schooling and the role and tasks of teachers can be analysed as deskillings teachers, boxing them in by a predetermined curriculum, with teachers being appraised and possibly paid ultimately for attaining productivity assessment targets. Teachers will fall under a new form of check-list management and bureaucratic control, closer supervision. A priority of teaching which is increasingly prized and praised by Kenneth Baker is classroom management, of a restrictive type. Teachers will become “supervisors of a predetermined classroom production process. Their job will be
to keep students ‘on task’, disciplining those who disrupt the production process, and keeping track of production records -primarily through administering and recording standardised test data’ (12)

Part of the deprofessionalising of teachers is the separation of policy in schools from its execution, and the increased pay and power differentiation between managers and the managed, between Headteachers and teachers. Increasingly policy will be handed down by the management team, to be carried out by the teacher-technicians. The introduction of teacher contracts with greater definition of tasks and hours is directly related to the shift from professional to technical labour. Teachers, with new contracts, the National Curriculum and compulsory competitive assessment, are less and less in a position to make their own priorities and autonomous judgements. Not only is teaching becoming deskilled it is becoming, as a job, more intensified. GCSE marking, more frequent assessments and hours of recording results makes teaching ‘life on the run’, scarcely pausing for coffee, reflection, or study. (13)

The third aspect of Proletarianisation is reflected in teachers’ pay teaching becomes an unprized profession not only in the rhetoric of knocking copy, but in the monthly salary cheque.

In these three aspects teachers are being constructed as a type of technical labourer. Interestingly, a fourth aspect is teacher militancy and resistance, as expressed in the unprecedented ‘teacher action’ of the late 1980s, continuing in the Easter 1989 NUT Conference with its substantial calls for strike action against the introduction of licensed teachers in any school. (14)

THE RADICAL RIGHT AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Teacher education is scarcely in tune with these developments. So the Right has decided to demean, neuter and bypass college-based teacher education.

The Hillgate Group’s ‘Learning to Teach’ (15) by Caroline Cox, Jessica Douglas-Home, John Marks, Lawrence Norcross and Roger Scruton, is the latest in a consistent line of Radical Right publications to attack and scrap the present system of teacher-training and replace it with on-the-job school-based skill development. In contrast to current DES plans to allow a small number of licensed teachers and in contrast to the New Jersey Scheme, they argue that a licensed apprenticeship scheme should become the major route into teaching, that schools should be able to appoint anybody they like as a teacher and to do the training themselves. They argue that “knowledgeable and enthusiastic teachers, of the kind likely to benefit from the new scheme, will show up the inadequacies of many existing teachers … Competition can only benefit the consumer, however painful it is to the incompetent supplier.”

Although the Radical Right has been attacking aspects of higher education since the 1970s (16), it is in the last three years in particular that the Radical Right has set its sights on teacher education. Beverley Shaw’s ‘Teacher Training: the misdirection of British Teaching’ in the 1986 book ‘The Wayward Curriculum’ produced by the Social Affairs Unit (17) is a typical and representative critique. The tone here was "the neglect of the essentials of good classroom discipline" with "too many teacher trainers more interested in radically changing society than in preparing their students for the demanding career ahead of them"; being "too slack and casual in their recruitment of student teachers … in the interests of keeping up their course numbers" and who have and of recruiting "too many duds". Beverley Shaw inveighs not so much against the "collectivist -egalitarian views" of the "irredeemably Marxian teacher trainer" but more against the general beliefs of the occupational group of teacher trainers, in particular “the subversion of authority”. In particular he criticises the study of multi-cultural education.

The 1987 Baker Green Paper on licensed teachers brought forth further attacks on current teacher education. (18)

Anthony O’Hear’s ‘Who Teaches the Teachers’, (18) again produced by the radical right Social Affairs Unit, in 1988, argues that "the essence of good teaching is knowledge and love of the subject to be taught, and mastery of the practical skills of teaching... the first comes through study of the subject taught, the second from the supervised practice". Goodbye teacher training and the theory of teaching, children, and education! because O’Hear cites "examples of obsessions with inequality,
with racism and sexism and other passing political fashions... much of this is anti-educational", No room for this in on the job training presumably. Similar comments, including the observation that 'Professor O’ Hear is no partisan polemicist' were made by Michael Trend in 'The Spectator' of 15.10.1988 (20)

Notable components of the Radical Right's attacks on teacher-training and on the state education system are an obsession with anti-anti-racism(21) and, with anti-inegalitarianism, evident throughout the "Hillgate Group's 'The Reform of British Education' and 'Whose Schools' (22) and in Digby Anderson's 'Detecting B.Ed. Schools' - 'A guide for normal parents'). (23) In the last page of his booklet Anderson advises that if you can't find a good school ("beware of schools which call themselves 'caring") - then go private... "there are types of private schools that are not so expensive, and types of schemes for making the expense more bearable".

In 'Whose Schools: A Radical Manifesto', the Hillgate Group diagnose what is wrong with British education as its ideology of 'curriculum reform, relevance, and child-centred learning' constant reform of the curriculum has determined the attempt to preserve, enhance, and pass on the precious heritage of our culture". They also attack "decades of egalitarian propaganda..."a false philosophy of education expanded and defended at every level from the primary classroom to the graduate school 'Education'.”

They attack "increasing displacement of the traditional curriculum in favour of new and artificial subjects, with neither methods, nor results, nor real utility to the child subjects, such as 'peace studies', 'world studies', 'life skills', 'social awareness' and the like, whose purpose is sometimes transparently political. The new 'soft subjects' have been nurtured by an inadequate and politically biased sociology, whose colonisation of the school curriculum and of teacher training is itself cause for concern. Dennis O'Keefe's 'The Wayward Curriculum' attacks these 'soft' options, together with mixed ability and virtually every aspect of progressive and radical education, one by one.

Their follow up booklet, 'The Reform of British Education - from Principles to Practice' highlights 'two slogans' that have dominated the thinking of educationalists in slogans of 'relevance', and 'multiculturalism' - the latter being 'more serious'.

Stuart Sexton's 'Our Schools - A Radical Policy' (24) published by the Institute for Economic Affairs in 1987 - one of a linked series of radical right-wing pressure groups addressed education specifically and made eight suggestions which included: closing some education departments in colleges and universities "such a measure would be a salutary lesson to the rest of the colleges, expanding 'particularly effective ones', shifting away from educational theory to the skill of teaching children, more teaching practice, more emphasis on good classroom behaviour and discipline, "a restoration of the spiritual side of life, and a move to an "apprenticeship" or "articled system of training" a move now to be translated into legislative action. The rest of the booklet proposes a voucher or educational credit scheme for schools, to privatise the state educational system.

Sexton has been a key figure in affecting Government policy - as political adviser to a series of Conservative Ministers from Norman St. John Stevas through Mark Carlisle to Sir Keith Joseph. He is a fervent devotee of the market economist Hayek and heads the Education Unit of the Radical right think-tank the Institute of Economic Affairs (inside the front door of which hangs a picture of Hayek). Another Hayek devotee is Brian Griffiths, Mrs Thatcher's Chief political adviser.

Baroness Caroline Cox, omnipresent on the radical right education scene joined in, in the Times Educational Supplement of 6.1.89 (25). For her, "far too much time is spent on relatively irrelevant subjects like the "philosophy of education" and "the sociology of education... reflecting trendy political concerns". She does admit "there are serious and significant research studies" (like what makes an effective school, what enables children to learn better and want to learn?)... "but the subject is still immature... and often highly politicised".

Both Cox and O’Hear praise independent schools for long knowing the value of appointing teachers who have not been through teacher training courses (i.e. untrained teachers). Cox goes on to call teacher training qualifications "an expensive restrictive practice".
This sort of critique is the ideological background to the current re-forming of the ideological state apparatus - teacher training section. It coincides with demographic changes and is accompanied by news management.

MANAGING THE NEWS
THE HMI REPORT - ‘THE NEW TEACHER IN SCHOOL’

Having decided on their victim - teacher training - the Radical Right and its Government and Press allies decided to manage the news. The 1988 HMI (Inspectors) Report - 'The New Teacher in School', (26) of 297 probationer teachers just out of college in 1987, was presented as a failure in teacher education. Headlines in the Daily Mail and Telegraph highlighted the percentage of unsatisfactory lessons seen, the number of probationers considering they weren't well enough prepared for classroom skills.

This was much to the informal disquiet of a number of Her Majesty's Inspectors or Education. The 1987 results of probationer teachers was better than that of 1981(27), and are too early to take account of the (overdue) reform of training which has taken place since 1984. One of the most important of those reforms is the CATE (Committee for the Accreditation of Teacher Education) criteria for approving of any PGCE or B.Ed. course submissions or resubmissions. In particular the demand that teacher educators should know far more what school classrooms are like, instead of some surviving on twenty year old anecdotes. Consequently it is likely that the majority of college staff now have 'recent relevant and substantial' classroom teaching experience. Classrooms are regularly invaded by lecturers for a week at a time, or on a term's refresher', on a 'tutors into schools' scheme. Some teachers education institutions already stipulate that their teacher educators spend one term in five years in school classroom teaching.

Courses too have, in general, also become more classroom and curriculum based as well as informed by the more recent classroom based knowledge of tutors. PGCE courses have increased in length, with more time spent in schools, a minimum of 15 weeks out of a 37 week course, together with additional days in school.

Of course Teacher Education still needs to improve; development is one thing, replacement is another.

THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM FOR TEACHER TRAINING: WHAT'S GOOD AND WHAT'S BAD IN THE DES CONSULTATIVE DOCUMENT ‘FUTURE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ACCREDITATION OF COURSES OF INITIAL TEACHER EDUCATION’ (MAY 1989)

The May 1989 Consultation Document, 'Future Arrangements For The Accreditation Of Initial Teacher Training' comments on current practice and suggests revised CATE criteria for the accreditation of teacher education/training courses. It is a mixed bag. It is also a set of contradictions between the ideas of the Right and those of the Radical Right.

On the positive side:

Firstly it proposes a sensible and widely supported batch of proposals regarding classroom skills training for initial trainees and also more classroom experience for teacher educators.

Secondly it recognises the great leaps forward made by institutions of teacher education. In contrast to the Radical Right's criticisms are proposals for Initial Teacher Training, and contrary to political and press reaction to HMI's document 'The New Teacher in School', the CATE consultation document states in Paragraph 2.5 that 'the disability, in the light of the fact that the criteria for assessment includes Paragraph 6.1.

Details of applications for Licensed Teacher Status and Licensed Teacher's training are contained in Appendix 4. Application for licensed teacher status can be made by LEAs form maintained schools without delegated budgets, by governing bodies of maintained schools which have delegated budgets (with the approval of the LEA), and by governing bodies of grant maintained schools and non-maintained special schools. Licenses will be issued only for people already selected for appointment to a school. If an LEA (Local Education Authority) declines to forward an application for a maintained school, it must inform the governing body and the Secretary of State. (The document is silent about whether or not the secretary of state can override an LEA rejection - or blanket rejection - of licences.

There are a number of differences from the prototype New Jersey scheme. Firstly how long will it take to get Qualified Teacher Status? Unlike in New Jersey a licence in the UK will normally be issued for two years (compared to one) - although for some categories of licensee QTS may be granted after one year - for those who have at least 2 years of teaching in Further and Higher institutions, as an armed education officer or instructor, or as an overseas trained teacher with at least 2 years’ teaching experience either in the UK or elsewhere.

Secondly is a degree necessary? A major difference from the New Jersey and from the UK of the last two decades, is that licensees do not even have to be graduates - unlike in the USA - a massive change from the repeatedly upgraded teacher certification process in the UK, the all-graduate profession developments, since the 1970s. This change is felt to be insulting to many of those who trained long and hard for their four year B.Eds and on small grants for their one year PGCE.

Thirdly will licensees be qualified or unqualified? The section on licensed teacher pay indicates that licensees may be paid either as qualified teachers or as unqualified teachers, as the LEA or governors consider appropriate - opening up the spectre of children of the mid nineteen-nineties being taught by under paid, under qualified, and undervalued staff.

Fourthly, who does the training? This is to be left to the local education authority or governing body to make arrangements for the assessment of each licensee during the period of their licence, and to arrange for whatever training is required. The circular notes that in making such training arrangements LEAs should take advantage of the expertise available in teacher training institutions. Although some training schemes will no doubt see co-operation between LEA, training institution, and school ‘mentor’, the LEA is clearly in the driving seat in legal and funding terms. Furthermore it is quite clear that college tutors may or may not be involved in the actual lessons, in connection with the planning, content and outcome of these lessons.

One improvement on the New Jersey scheme is that licensees will actually spend a month observing classes in at least two schools in the age phase in which they hope to teach.

Fifthly, what do they learn? Nowhere in the guidance is there a specific as opposed to an implicit recognition of issues of race or gender other than in a reference to the cross-curricular issues of the National Curriculum. While the range of knowledge and skills required are valid and indeed eneceptionable in the list or exit competencies required before the granting of Qualified Teacher Status the document is shot through with survival skill classroom technical proficiency and such training is potentially and quite possible devoid of criticised knowledge, thinking, or even awareness of alternative presents and futures. What is exceptionable - what parents and teachers should take exception to - is the limited nature of licensees’ stated training needs - in stark contrast to the lengthy prescriptions and guidelines set out in the CATE document previously referred to.

Since LEAs and training institutions are only just starting to put together training packages conclusive evaluation is impossible - but the writing is on the blackboard.

Sixthly and finally, what do they earn? As implied earlier a major difference between the New Jersey and the Des models is in financial incentives. The DES is not, as yet, offering major pay rises to teachers of substantial loans convertible into grants for licensees! Two year primarily school based and school focused education and training, with a salary, and carried out by teacher educators in partnership with schools and LEAs on the lines of a two year PGCE model or a two year B.Ed model is clearly a desirable means of attracting valuable recruits into teaching. The licensing scheme on offer is clearly defective in many respects.
LICENSING, APPRENTICING, TEACHER TRAINING COURSES AND THE REFLECTIVE TEACHER

Teacher shortage is already here in some subjects, primary schools (28) and areas. By 1995 there could be a massive shortage. By the mid 1990s schools, because of increasing numbers of school children will need around 20,000 new teachers a year compared with to the current 11,000. While schools will be bulging, the number of a 18 to 21 year olds will be down by a quarter between 1987and 1994 (29).

Already some schools are operating a four-day week and children are being denied a place in primary schools because of teacher shortages - and this is before the demographic bomb drops! (30)

For Thatcherites, ideological opportunity and demographic demands run hand in hand. At three fell swoops licensed over-26's and apprenticed graduates can be pitchforked into the classrooms without being contaminated by college lecturers. They will have to learn 'on the job'. There is no model of a 'reflective teacher', no gradual sensitisation and development of understanding about child development, different abilities stereotyping and under-expectation, no view of licensed or student apprentice teachers as 'learners' instead, but a wide view of them as substitute, lesser paid, assistants. Indeed unqualified teachers are in classrooms now - twenty in East Sussex local authority classrooms in February 1989 (31). Throwing untrained teachers in the deep end may not just drown those licensees and apprentices, the chain reaction will pull down many of the children in their charge. For Anthony O'Hear 'interest and enthusiasm' are the two key requirements for becoming a teacher. Almost total learning on the job is deemed suitable for teachers, although presumably not for higher status brain surgeons or Professors of Philosophy like Anthony O’Hear.

The cry of 'more classroom experience' certainly needs to be heard. Here lies some of the success of the Radical Right. As with schooling they hit some of the buttons the left should have pushed - national curriculum (though of a different type), regular assessment (though for different purposes), local control in London possibly, and in schools (though for different reasons).

Twenty weeks practice on a four year B.Ed. undergraduate degree course is typical and too little, even if it is supplemented by day visits to schools and classes coming to college. The criticism though, is harder to make of PGCE courses where as already noted 15 out of every 37 course weeks full-time in school supplemented by day a week for a term is not unusual. And those one year PGCE students certainly need, and feel they should need, the time for analysing and reflecting on and collaboratively discussing what for many of them are exhausting and perplexing battlefield experiences.

However some more time learning on the job is clearly appropriate for the development of teaching and classroom management and lesson evaluation skills, in particular on three or four year full-time B.Ed. courses. And indeed more time on the job is needed for there to be practice which can be analysed using theory as opposed to, or in addition to, gut reaction.

If licensing and teacher apprenticing/articling include substantial theoretical and practical sociological, political philosophical and psychological concepts and analyses, as well as lesson-planning, classroom management, motivation and control, then fine, but then, that would not be the atheoretical licensing and apprenticing the Government had in mind.

The theory is important. Without theory it is difficult to see the wood for the trees, the individual children from the classfull, to see what’s going on. In the classroom what's often going on is student teacher survival. The progress comes from analysis, not from rushing, short-breathed and heart quickeningly to the next lesson.

Teacher trainees need to reflect on macro-societal issues such as, what are the aims of education in this particular society? To what extent are they being achieved? What are the ideological underpinnings of the existing education system? Should the system be made more egalitarian or elitist? If so, how and why? What are the messages or ideology transmitted by a particular curriculum or pedagogy (learning/teaching pattern?) and, how will this affect children's learning, attitudes, and motivation? examples of two courses seeking to enable students to address such issues, at West Sussex Institute of Higher Education and at Brighton Polytechnic, are included as Appendices 1 and 2. The course in
Appendix 2 is itself criticised and set out by the Hillgate Group in 'Learning to Teach'. Reflectiveness is also on micro - or classroom based issues such as: Does this particular teacher privilege some children and not others? What are the effects of streaming or mixed ability grouping in a class of six or sixteen year olds? What are the advantages or disadvantages of ‘real reading’ or ‘emergent writing’ as opposed to reading schemes or comprehension writing with a particular class or with a particular child? What are the effects of particular systems of punishments, rewards, and motivations? To observe and analyse and evaluate in a group which has been collaborating in teaching and observing with a teacher and a tutor for a regular half day a week on an IT-INSET course for example is time consuming - and invaluable. (32)

THE GOOD NEWS - WIDENING ACCESS INTO TEACHING

The clouds contain some silver lining. There may be some gains. Licensing will allow overseas-trained teachers, to gain Qualified Teacher Status at present denied to many of them by Byzantine regulations. Qualified Teacher Status will be granted to any recognised teacher from an EEC country who has undergone three years higher education and training as from September 1989. This QTS will be automatic. However, teachers from Africa and Asia for example will in general have to enter teaching in England and Wales through the Licensing Scheme.

Expanding non-standard entry provision, recognising the value of non-academic experience such as child rearing, running a pre-school play group, a business, or being a housing officer, will also satisfy long standing socialist objectives of broadening opportunity beyond the restricted range of 2 A level holders, to, in particular those disadvantaged by the schooling system - ethnic minorities, women, and the working class. This recognition of 'prior learning and experience', of the value of evening time or 1 year full-time 'Access to Higher Education' courses, is aimed to enable such non-traditional entrants to teaching to join 3 or 4 year B.Ed. courses (or two year B.Ed. courses in shortage subjects such as Maths.) APEL schemes (Assessment of Prior Learning and Experience) by which potential students are encouraged to produce, for example, a portfolio analysing their own learning and experiences are a valuable means of widening entry into teaching, and indeed into higher education in general.

The Labour Party and the National Union of Teachers both suggested in April 1989(34) employing extra classroom assistants/ancillary staff as a means of reducing some of the effects of teacher shortages. Such assistants would be encouraged to use their experience as a way of preparing to enter the teaching profession.

Fred Jarvis the NUT General Secretary elaborated this plan in a letter to the Times Educational Supplement of 28.04.89

'We have called for the Audit Commission to examine teachers' daily work to identify the elements of the job which might be done by people other than teachers or might be done in a less onerous way given positive support from non-teachers.

These additional non-teachers, dubbed teaching assistants, would not replace laboratory technicians or librarians. They would not be volunteers with time on their hands. Far from it, we want a network of teaching assistants (who do not have to be parents) to supplement the work of qualified teachers and existing trained support staff. The teaching assistants would have to be trained and should be unionized. Further, it is invidious to compare our call for teaching assistants with our opposition to licensed teachers: under our proposals the value of professional teaching qualifications would remain undiluted, and the value of laboratory technicians and others undiminished.

Opening up schools to local communities in the sense of students or apprentices or parents or workers in a variety of 'peer tutoring' or cross-age tutoring' schemes - the use of unqualified people of all ages in the classroom (35) - is another development which needs to be welcomed cautiously but evaluated before being greeted with open arms. Such tutors or helpers are in many cases extremely valuable and valued by teachers and by school students, but they, like ancillary workers and assistants, are amateur child educators, not professionally trained teachers (nor do they claim to be). They are often highly welcome additions to, not replacements for, teachers.
Teacher shortage will also increase opportunities for women with young children to teach. Colleges will be desperate for students in the nineteen nineties. Some have to raise their percentage of mature (over 21) entrants from 15% to over 60% to stay in business at their current level. College creches, playgroups, nursery classes will become far more widespread. So may college 'outposts', with colleges opening or expanding course provision and teaching practice in outlying towns, to facilitate study by (mainly) women who wish to or have to maintain their domestic role. The shortage could also lead to Government encouragement to women teachers who have left teaching, to return - a point made by June Fisher, resident of the National Union of Teachers, at its Easter 1989 annual conference. On the one hand there are more than 300,000 qualified women teachers not at present working in schools. On the other hand the government is proposing to considerably relax training standards for recruits. It would be better to employ or offer retraining/updating courses for returnee women teachers with job sharing and child-care nursery education provision. (36)

THE DANGER ANFD THE CHALLENGE - PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN SCHOOLS AND INSTITUTIONS OF TEACHER EDUCATION

Although pilot schemes are being developed in the Draft Regulations on Licensed Teachers, it is not yet finally decided who will train licensees and apprentices. The fear is that there will not be enough teacher education and what there is will be primarily if not totally carried out in schools on a purely or primarily skills based, apprentice model.

Many teacher tutors, schoolteachers supervising school practice for B.Ed. or PGCE students, are highly skilled, but many do not have the time, or resources, or experience, to sensitively bring on trainees. With training and time and financing for supply cover, they might have. But that’s not yet scheduled. If school 'mentoring' or tutoring of trainees, is to take place, teachers need to be both educated for that role - and paid.

The people at present best equipped to carry out that role are experienced teacher educators, working in conjunction with schools. Again, the IT-INSET model could be useful. This involves five or six students working with a college tutor and a teacher in a given classroom over a period of months for a few hours a week focusing on various perceptions about children’s learning. It can easily be extended into observation on teachers’ skills. Part of this scheme is that all teachers, tutors and students involved, perhaps 20 teachers and tutors and 100 students then meet to pool and analyse and compare their experience of 20 classrooms. The comparative aspect is essential. There are worlds out there other than our own. Such training in addition to school practice blocks of teaching, or perhaps two or three days a week for a year, has benefits.

But - school practice, and a typical 1 tutor to 6 or so students IT-INSET, are the two most expensive items of teacher education to finance.

The benefits of licensing and apprenticing to the Thatcher government are two fold, ideological and financial. Licensing and apprenticing supervised by schools will not only circumvent ideologically unreliable teacher trainers. In addition, when compared to teacher training in Colleges, Polytechnics, and University Departments of Education, it is also cheaper to 'train on the job'. Paying an honorarium to teachers for supervising students is around half the cost of lecturer supervision and travelling costs.

All in all, it would of course be cheaper for the Government than increasing recruitment to teaching by operating the most fundamental of market forces of supply and demand - by raising teachers' pay.

THE ROLE OF TEACHER EDUCATION

Ultimately it is little use ignoring the crisis in teacher supply, or fiddling the tune 'We told you so' while Rome is burning. Teacher training institutions have to stake their claim to teaching new types of entrant on new types of scheme. Not only that but also to double or treble the school/work based components of their B.Ed. three and four year courses, to take note of student and probationer teacher disquiet about their unpreparedness for classroom management and related skills, and to continue the notable progress made in the nineteen-eighties in getting teacher educators much more frequently back into school on the job - teaching children themselves, a call recently made by the Elton Report (37) on
Discipline in Schools, in its recommendation that teacher trainers should spend one term in every five years in the classroom.

Any government would, now, have to attract many more into teaching. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with experimenting with different patterns and, indeed, durations, of teacher education (38). Opportunities - and necessities - are there to recruit from and educate and train - a far wider spectrum of society. And, given adequate pay and time release, schools and colleges can work out and develop school-college partnership schemes to the mutual benefit of teacher education, teachers, student teachers, and children (39). But, the various problems of the New Jersey and East Anglia schemes must be avoided.

Teacher education has to beware of becoming the executioner of critical knowledge. Eyes need to be raised to see heavens other than those portrayed by Sky Television.

The role of teachers as 'transformative intellectuals' (40), enabling them to transform consciousness, to enable children to develop critical thinking, is one that Thatcherism is ready willing and liable to 'conform' and suppress.

There is little enough critical knowledge in many teacher-training courses. Teacher education should be extending, not limiting, the concern for equality and for quality education for all our children regardless of class, sex, ‘race’ or disability.

Colleges - and schools - are sites of 'cultural contestation' (41) - of contest between ideologies and views of common sense. Teacher educators will be doing themselves illusory favours if - in this context - they give Thatcherism a walkover.
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1. ALTHUSSER, LOUIS. (1971) 'Ideology and State apparatuses in his 'Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays' (London:New Left Books), in which he elaborates the concepts of Repressive State Apparatus - RSA -, and Ideological State Apparatus - ISA.

2. Antonio Gramsci's concept, broadly, of 'bringing into line' with the dominant ideology, that ideology which serves the interest of the ruling class in Britain today. Such concepts are set out, for example, in SIMON, ROGER (1982) 'Gramsci's Political Thought' (London: Lawrence and Wishart), and in SARUP, MADAN, (1986) 'The Politics of Multi Racial Education' (London: Routledge).


3. This is not to deny that most teachers subscribe to 'the practicality ethic' which can often conflict with such notions, 'survival demands' and 'the practicality ethic' dominate teacher culture and for most teachers, overwhems theoretical knowledge. This is discussed in SACHS, J. and SMITH, R. (1988) 'Constructing Teacher Culture', British Journal of Sociology, Vol.9, No.4.

4. The phases and development of Thatcherism are analysed by COLE, MIKE, 'Class, Gender and 'Race': From Theory to Practice', in COLE, MIKE. (ed.) 'Education for Equality -Some Guidelines for Good Practice' (London: Routledge 1989) and in a plethora of newspaper and political articles in May 1989 marking the ten years of Thatcherism. For two very different perspectives see Alex Callinicos' four page article 'End of hard reign' in Socialist Worker Review, May 1989, and the triumphal 'The First 10 Years: A Perspective on the Conservative Era that began in 1979' published by the Conservative Party in 1989.

Evidence of the unpopularity of Thatcherite values at the end of the Thatcher decade is spelt out in the MORI opinion poll commissioned by the BBC and the Independent, and discussed by Peter Kellner, 'For Better, For Worse', The Independent 2.5.89. This showed 69% or more of respondents considering that in the last ten years people have become more aggressive (84%), more selfish (78%), less tolerant (69%) and less honest (70%). 55% of respondents thought the country was heading in the wrong direction and that major changes are needed (33% did not).

Answers to Question 5 relating to public service workers such as teachers are amazing.

5. (a) For which two or three of the groups on list do you yourself have most respect?
(b) For which two or three groups of people do you think the present government has the most respect?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Officers</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Workers</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurs</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directors of large companies</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MORI poll findings on education, to coincide with the BBC television documentary 'Thatcher's Children' was also summarised in the Times Educational Supplement of 5.5.89.


7. From late 1988 to January 1989 the Times Educational Supplement gave the composition of the various National Curriculum Working Parties. For example the TES of 20.01.89 set out and analysed the complexion of the History curriculum working party and the TES of 19.5.89 set out the composition of the Geography curriculum working party.

8. DES (1989) 'The Provisional Teacher Program in New Jersey. - a paper by Her Majesty's Inspectorate' (London: HMSO). A brief critical article is by Ainley, Pat, 'Full Licence', in The Teacher, 30.01.89. Detailed guidelines on licensed teaching are set out in DES (1989) Draft Regulations on Licensed Teachers extracts from which are printed as Appendix 4.

9. Apprenticing has been described and/or criticised in numerous articles, for example Rudduck, Jean, 'Doing it is not enough', The Guardian Education 7.2.89. by Wilby, Peter, 'Apprentice plan to ease teacher shortage proposed,' The Independent, 28.1.89; the Times Educational Supplement editorial, 'An Inadequate Response' of 3.2.89; and a report by Starkes, Sue, 'Mr. Baker opens door to more untrained staff' in the TES also on 3.2.89.

10. Maclean, Susan and Seadon, Trevor (1988) in Cambridge Journal of Education, Vol.18, No. 3. This was summarised in the Times Educational Supplement's first page of 3.2.89. in 'Trainee Scheme unworkable'.


13. Department of and Science Statistics show that from a staffing survey of 900 English Primary Schools that the amount of free time for Scale 1 and Scale 2 teachers in 1987 was 42 minutes a week, roughly 8 minutes a day, quoted in Thomas, Norman (1989) in the Times Educational Supplement, 7.4.89.

14. The decision to strike in these circumstances was ultimately reversed the next day, though the union overwhelmingly mandated its executive to prepare action strategies to defeat the plans, including pressuring school governing bodies and parents not to support the employment of licensed teachers. The NASUWT (National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers) General Secretary advised his members who might be asked to support or train licensed teachers to ask that Headteachers relieve them of other duties - if the Heads refused, the next step could be the grievance procedure. However this union did agree to accept 'licensed' teachers as members.

The much smaller traditionally more moderate Annual Conference of AMMA (the Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association) resolved to 'strongly advise members to take no part in the licensed teachers' scheme without more staff, more time and fewer trainees (Times Educational Supplement 31.3.89). An update in the Times Educational Supplement of ~2.5.89 suggested in a front page article that 'some NUT members have threatened strike action in schools which recruit licensed staff. The NAS/UWT will try to dissuade school governors from taking on licensed teachers but only AMMA is committed to a policy of total non-co-operation'.

More up to date union reaction to licensed teaching is given in Lodge, Bert, (1989) 'Probation Year rule to be lifted for licensees', Times Educational Supplement, 15.9.89. Reaction includes comments.
by Doug McAvoy, general secretary designate of the National Union of Teachers, that "these proposals are outrageous. In the same week that the Government declined to give licences to unqualified people to drive black taxi cabs, they also decided to issue licences to unqualified people to teach children." Doug McAvoy continued, "We will consider, as a last resort, giving support to those schools whose members wish to refuse to be involved in the training of licensed teachers or who refuse to work with them."


20. (1988) 'How Teachers Learn' in The Spectator, 15.10.88. Similar comments are made by Digby Anderson in his argument that teaching is not a profession. Sample comments are 'teaching ... is not a profession. The only qualification all its members share is in a bogus subject: 'education... Within one union are Mike Smith who has a First Class Bachelor's and Master's degree in Maths and teaches 17 year olds, and Karen Brown who just managed some weird amalgam of a Bachelor of Education and teaches five year olds, or at least plays with them. ANDERSON, DIGBY (1989) 'Time to Learn that there is no such thing as education', Sunday Telegraph, 2.4.89


25. COX, CAROLINE 'Unqualified Approval' in The Times Educational Supplement of e.1.89


28. According to Norman Thomas, the former Chief Inspector for Primary Education, 'at least 3,000 primary schools are without a qualified specialist in mathematics', quoted in the Times Educational Supplement of 7.4.89.

29. The NUT evidence to the House of Commons Education Select Committee considering the supply of teachers in the 1990's was summarised in 'The Independent' of 10.1.89. The Education Press went into graphic detail on this, for example 'The Guardian' of 2.1.89, 'Decline of the British Teenager', the Times Educational Supplement' of 11.11.88 'Losing a race against time' and of 3.2.89- An Inadequate Response'. Concern about 'wastage' of teachers from teaching has also been the subject of many articles, for example SMITHERS, ALAN (1989) 'Where have all the teachers gone?' Times Educational Supplement' of 12.5.89.

30. The Times Educational Supplement of 10.2.89 reported primary schools in Waltham Forest operating on a four week, and 500 children being denied a school place Tower Hamlets, because of teacher shortages.


33. Among the many short articles criticising licensing schemes is TANNER, HOWARD, 'Opinion' Teachers Weekly, 17.4.89. and COLE, MIKE, 'Threat to Equality', 'Teacher', 24.4.89.

34. A number of colleges such as West Sussex Institute of Higher Education are introducing or have introduced such formalised entry schemes into B.Ed courses. A 'brand leader' in this respect is the Polytechnic of North London.

34.'Labour backs NUT call for class assistants', Times Educational Supplement, 24.3.89. This, together with other Labour Party proposals on teacher training arising from the Education Policy Review are summarised further by BLACKBURN, LINDA, in 'Labour's new model has a conservative look', Times Educational Supplement, 19.5.89. Among other comments and proposals set out are the following:

Labour would develop a system of designated teacher tutors to supervise and guide the newly qualified teacher. It would also establish teacher-training schools which, working with training institutes and advisers, would provide the practical experience for students. This would result in a more school-focused approach to training: providing skills for motivating and managing groups of pupils and for dealing with those who challenge authority.

A higher proportion of qualified teachers need to be retained. One way of doing this would be to liberate them from many of the routine non-teaching tasks which they now perform.

There were, working within the school system, a legion of adults in addition to qualified teachers - nursery nurses, technicians, welfare assistants, classroom helpers, ancillaries, and so on. Labour would develop a proper structure for teachers'
assistants. Both the qualifications and experience of assistants ought to be fairly reflected as credits towards a teacher qualification.

35. A recent discussion and description of such use of unqualified help for teachers is given in GOODLAD, SINCLAIR and HIRST, BEVERLEY (1989) 'Peer Tutoring', (London: Kogan Page).

36. Some Local Education Authorities are mounting 'return to teaching' refresher courses and financial incentives. For example the Times Educational Supplement of 7.4.89 reported that the London Borough of Barnet is attempting to solve its primary staff shortage by providing an eight-week course for teachers who have left the profession involving both College based and school based work. The TES also reported that Barnet is offering teachers one increment on the pay scale for every three years spent looking after children at home and is willing to appoint teachers on job share schemes.


38. The response of the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education to the Government's 'licensing' proposals suggested that 'more imaginative non-standard routes to QTS (Qualified Teacher Status) could be devised if they were linked to proper and structured opportunities for training for a variety of non-standard entrants, coupled with effective financial incentives throughout the training period'. NATFHE suggests part-time and day release models of training, but stresses that it is of fundamental importance that they (entrants) should be adequately trained'. NATFHE (1988) 'Qualified Teacher Status - A Response from the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education' (London: NATFHE).

Immediate responses to the proposals on licensed teachers published by the DES in May 1989 as 'Draft Circular: The Education (Teachers) Regulations 1989' are printed in the Times Education Supplement of 19.5.89 and in LODGE, BERT (1989) 'Probation Year to be lifted for licensees' in the same issue of the T.E.S. Martin Booth et al. make a number of proposals such as B.Ed. courses of two year main subject study with the student being taken on by a school and released part-time to complete the degree and professional training. See BOOTH, M, FURLONG, J. HARGREAVES, D., REISS, M. and RUTHVEN, K. (1989) 'Teacher Supply and Teacher Quality: Solving the continuing crisis', Cambridge Education Paper No.1 (Cambridge: Department of Education, Cambridge University).

39. The Oxford University PGCE course which has an 'internship system' with each of the 150 student teachers in just one school for the entire year, each with a school teacher mentor', was glowingly reviewed by HMI and by the Times Educational Supplement. One of its key features was that 'the active involvement of curriculum tutors is crucial and needs to be regular and sustained', and that 'a close partnership between school teachers and university tutors is evident in the planning, execution, and monitoring of the scheme'. LODGE, BERT, 'Healthy future predicted for the new interns', TES 11.11.88. The scheme was inaugurated in 1987 and has yet to be longitudinally and comparatively systematically evaluated. Participating schools receive extra funding and staffing - £30 for each of the 12-14 interns per school, and 0.5 extra staff for every five mentors.


40. A Transformative Intellectual is one who exercises forms of intellectual and pedagogical practice which attempt to insert teaching and learning directly into the political sphere by arguing that schooling represents both a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations.... Teachers who assume the role of transformative intellectuals treat students as critical agents, question how knowledge is produced and distributed, utilize dialogue, and make knowledge meaningful, critical, and ultimately emancipatory'. From GIROUX, HENRY and MCLAREN, PETER (1988) 'Teacher Education and the Politics of Engagement: The Case for Democratic Schooling', Harvard Educational Review, Vol.56, No.3.

41. These concepts of cultural contestation, of the transformative power of education are developed by Henry Giroux in GIROUX, HENRY (1983), 'Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the

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