Arleta Suwalska

# English Educational Policy

Contemporary Challenges in a Historical-Comparative Context

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WYDAWNICTWO UNIWERSYTETU ŁÓDZKIEGO Arleta Suwalska

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#### Introduction

Analysis of the evolution of the ideology of education and pedagogical thought in each country creates new opportunities for understanding the conditions and course of the educational process and policy management in macro-, mezzo- and microinstitutional dimensions. The philosophy of education itself contributes not only to a new look at education in European countries, including the educational policy of Great Britain (which is of interest to me in the present studies), but also raises questions about its future, which is subject to discussion in academic and educational circles.

The dissertation, which concerns contemporary ideological discourses, is preceded by a synthetic analysis of the roots of the political changes in education in the UK from the tenth century to the first decade of the twenty-first century, with particular emphasis on the last century. I present British political and education thought during the first seven centuries, then in the Age of Enlightenment; I show the roles of positivist current in British education, the Chartists movement, and the educational changes related to them. The remainder of the dissertation focuses on the trends and stages of educational development to World War II, the postwar reform of the education system in England and Wales, the neoliberal trend in the educational policy of Britain, and the genesis of the 1998 educational reforms in England and Wales and their consequences up to 2013. The dissertation was written under supervision of Prof. B. Śliwerski (dr. h.c. multi) from University of Lodz, the Department of Education Theory.

#### 1.1. State of knowledge of the ideologies of education and subject of study

The subject of the research presented here is the evolution of the educational policy of the UK due to changing educational ideologies within school management. Ideology is focused on "the ideas and beliefs (true or false) symbolizing conditions and specific life experiences of a socially significant group or class" (Rudnicki, Starnawski, Nowak-Dziemianowicz (eds), 2013, p. 297). Educational ideologies are the carriers of values, views, or ideas about the world accepted *a priori* by their followers, along with beliefs about the potential for their implementation. Ideologies express the political and pedagogical interests of particular groups and classes or nations, communities, and religious or political movements seeking to impose their particular aims and interests and to dominate others. Ideologies have made a long-term and multidimensional contribution to educational thought in the creation of educational systems. On the other hand, the reality of the past decade draws attention to the fact that the programs of the major political parties of Great Britain, i.e., the Conservative and Labour Parties, with regard to education are not discussed very often. It should be noted that current changes in policy will also depend on the ideology of education in the European Union. Another aspect of the educational policy is social expectations regarding education.

It is significant to look at the individual trends and thoughts regarding planned and implemented educational reforms in this selected European country, whose experience became a point of reference for the transformation of education in the Third Republic of Poland after 1989. In the social sciences, there are three major ideologies: conservatism, liberalism, and the radical (leftwing) current. Each political party in authority wants to stress its expectations for the place, role, education, and upbringing of the younger generation. Thus it is not surprising that the ideological premises of the party will affect the educational policy of the state. According to Krzysztof Konarzewski, "educational expedience breaks it into ideological camps and subjects it to political pressure" (Konarzewski, 1995, p. 127).

As part of the critical analysis of the educational policy of Great Britain, I will examine the current state policy and its educational ideologies and, moreover, will discuss their roles in universal and compulsory education. Like Michael Fulan, a Canadian world expert in this field, I will begin my analysis with a review of the theory and practice of educational change. This will enable me to explain why such change occurs and what should be done to increase chances of educational success. Educational changes have been occurring for many years.

The difficulty is that educational change is not a single entity even if we keep the analysis at the simplest level of an innovation in a classroom. Innovation is multidimensional. There are at least three components or dimensions at stake in implementing any new program or policy: (1) the possible use of new or revised materials; (2) the possible use of new teaching approaches (i.e., new teaching strategies or activities); and (3) the possible alteration of beliefs (e.g., pedagogical assumptions and theories underlying particular new policies or programs) (Fullan, 2001, p. 39).

According to Fullan, one of the primary problems of modern education is to reform it without a clear and coherent vision of changes, without asking questions: "What is the introduced change in education for, what is it, and how does one run it?" (Potulicka, 2001, p. 11). Research on changes in education started in the 1960s. Fullan compares the paradigm of thinking about change to a world in which change is like a journey to an unknown destination.

This philosophical and political approach contributes not only to a new look at education of the UK, but poses new questions that are open for discussion. The first half of the 1970s was marked by an educational crisis of credibility. It was a time when writers began to write and speak about the main factors associated with the introduction of educational innovation. The 1980s constituted a period in which large-scale educational changes were introduced in England and the United States. A compulsory curriculum was also introduced. Moreover, students' competences were clarified, and the standards of work and responsibility of professional teachers were changed, creating the conditions for a wave of intensified reform.

The current situation in education is marked by tensions and divisions between political supporters of centralization and decentralization reforms. The former favors strong top-down regulation of educational policy along with permanent control of the educational system. Their system monitors the growth or decline of the student's knowledge and skills. This group uses the strategies of local management of schools and transfer of power over the schools to institutions outside the school. On the other hand, political supporters of decentralization reforms favor management within the schools, with a greater role for headmasters and teachers. They prefer the development of the mission and goals of schools to be created within the community of students and teachers.

According to Fullan (1995, p. 31), supporters of both of these trends are carrying on a fruitless struggle. The contemporary world needs a different understanding of educational change. Without a change in the thinking of educational policymakers, teachers, parents, and students have no alternative to conservative thinking in the analysis of changes in ideology. "No innovation can be assimilated unless its meaning is shared" (Fullan, 1995, p. 31).

Every teacher should understand the changes which result from reform and the legitimacy of their implementation in the educational institution in which he or she works. The process of change should take place according to a model: initiation, implementation, follow-up, and results. In the beginning, the direction of change should be properly defined and explained by its initiator in order for it to be presented to interested parties. The next step is the implementation phase, which may be more or less effective.

Changes in education policies are initiated by influential party leaders and educators. Where such changes are politically motivated, we see greater involvement on the part of political leaders, new educational ideas, and financial expenditure. This results in unrealistic demands on education and schedules as well as simplified solutions. In terms of educational motivation, the introduced changes are desirable in school practice and enable the efficient functioning of education.

The most important factors influencing a change in education are the properties of that change. Here, we consider needs, clarity, complexity, and its practical aspect. "If the specific needs of schools have been identified, implementation is more efficient" (Potulicka, 2001, p. 22). Moreover, diffuse aims, poorly chosen measures, and a lack of clarity present difficulties in implementing local reforms at schools. Changes in educational policy are positive insofar as they are seen as practical, even when they are characterized by many stages. Their purpose must be understood and implemented by teachers, headmasters, and government agencies. A more detailed study of the literature in this area of academics shows that some issues still require additional theoretical findings. The analysis of these issues is the subject of the proposed dissertation.

#### 1.2. Methodological justification of the research

The aim of the inquiry in the theoretical part of the dissertation is the distinction of ideologies of education. I wish to systematize the existing knowledge about their relationship to political ideologies. Another issue is an attempt to search for the role of ideology in the educational policy of the state. Preparation of a multifaceted response to the question of how to ensure the success of school reform will permit the achievement of the established cognitive goals. This will enable us to see the impact of political and social change on educational strategies and the direction of education management in the UK in the last quarter-century.

Based on a historical analysis of literature, I will investigate the conditions and scope of educational change and its impact on British education. Today's social realities and educational practice are not free from hidden ideological premises that promote specific ways of describing and explaining educational realities. They constitute a special atmosphere of acquiescence to the practical consequences of ideological changes in school.

Realization of this overriding goal has been subordinated to the following specific objectives:

1. An analysis of the determinants of political-historical-economic thought and ideology of teaching in the educational policy of the UK.

2. Indications of continuity and change in the dominant ideology of the educational system of Great Britain since 1988.

Taking the above into account, I pose the following research questions:

3. To what extent did the education policy of the Conservative Party during the period of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (October 13, 1979–November 28, 1990) influence changes in educational policy and what changes resulted in the school system?

4. What was the role played by the New Left in changing educational ideology under the leadership of the Labour Party from May 2, 1997 under the government of Tony Blair, and from May 2, 2007 under the government of Prime Minister Gordon Brown?

5. What measures (priorities in education, unchanged in the face of education reform in connection with changing ideologies) have been applied to reduce the negative impact of the "negative" ideology of predecessors on the work of contemporary British schools, including on students' achievements?

#### 1.3. Research methodology

There are many factors that significantly inhibit the conduct of comparative research and limit the potential for development of a sub-discipline of education science such as comparative pedagogy. These factors include comparability, which "is always set in a context, and can take place only on a historical, cultural, socioeconomic, and political basis" (Nowakowska-Siuta, 2014, p. 15). It is more important in comparative pedagogy "to understand information than just to collect it" (Nowakowska-Siuta, 2014, p. 15). To understand the problems that arise in the course of comparative studies, some knowledge of foreign languages is essential in connection with various forms of terminology serving to designate the facts and phenomena of education in a historical context.

As well, understanding the multidimensional problems of education is an unusually difficult and complex task. Comparative education is helpful, because it shows the development of reform and educational policy and establishes the necessary principles helpful in explaining the functioning of education systems. In this dissertation, the research instrument is the problem method, which makes it possible to "[...] make predictions and formulate possible variants of educational policy." The problem method derives from "[...] the phenomena of education and upbringing located in time and made relevant to the society through contrasting different views" in order to discern patterns and principles (Nowakowska-Siuta, 2014, p. 16).

Overcoming interdisciplinary barriers in various academic fields, such as sociology, political science, history, and philosophy, is helpful in achieving this goal. Its purpose is to demonstrate the comparative reconstruction of the evolution of the ideology of education in the educational policy of Great Britain at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries.

It was necessary to review literature previously published (to 2014) on the Polish publishing market related to the subject of the dissertation. Textbooks on pedagogy and comparative education were taken into consideration: Śliwerski (ed.) (2006); Pa-chociński (1995, 1998); Gmerek (2011); Nowakowska-Siuta (2014); Průcha (2006).

In the Polish literature, there is a dearth of detailed studies concerning education policies and the dominant ideology in Great Britain after 1997. During the preparation of this dissertation, the author used English-language literature (magazines, academic textbooks, educational laws and debates, and UK websites devoted to education) as well as the website of the British Ministry of Education (Department for Education, http://www.education.gov.uk/, accessed: September 24, 2016), and also purchased thematically related English-language (Canadian and American) textbooks from the last ten years.

#### 1.3.1. The politolinguistic approach in the analysis of political rhetoric

The political aspect of educational ideology in this dissertation was analyzed through a transdisciplinary approach in political rhetoric through the politolinguistic approach, "[...] which brings together and combines critical discourse analysis and concepts derived from political science" (Wodak, Krzyżanowski, 2008, p. 152). Political rhetoric has many connections with political education (*docere*), political considerations (*logos*), political justification or legitimization (*probare*), and political entertainment (*delectare*). Politolinguistics implies acceptance of a transdisciplinary perspective connecting rhetoric, political science and linguistics. It distinguishes three different "[...] dimensions of politics: polity, policy and politics" (Wodak, Krzyżanowski, 2008, p. 152). The polity dimension is created using formal frames of reference that give rise to political activities and manifest themselves in the political norms, principles, rules, and values of a given political culture. Thus political rhetoric associated with this dimension is characterized by the purposefulness and mindfulness of the created message. The adjective "rhetorical" is the easiest to explain, using the element of politicization, which can be attributed to everything that politicians do.

Political activities refer to the dimensions of policy and politics. Various political arenas are shaped by the dimension of policy and implemented by leaders of political parties. Policy is manifested in the dimension of the educational policy of the national government. Its main goals are achieved through offering political justifications and finding political allies. "Politics [...] applies to processes related to the articulation of political interests" (Wodak, Krzyżanowski, 2008, p. 152). The most important goal for politicians is to convince their listeners to accept their proclaimed political opinions and to gain followers. In a broader sense, political rhetoric in the dimension of politics is aimed at achieving the greatest interest in a specific political position and maintaining power.

In this dissertation, *political fields* are social forms of the action of political rhetoric, in terms of the legislative procedures regarding educational laws in the UK. They influence the attitudes, opinions, and wills of the dominant political party in terms of the party's internal educational policy as well as its relationship to the educational policy of the opposition party. Another study area was the political administration and implementation of specific laws.

The author's conviction concerning the suitability of the planned historical research and the politolinguistic approach in the analysis of political rhetoric, along with their interpretation, was a basic premise of the recording of changes in the ideologies of education in the educational policy of the United Kingdom in view of the goal set by the author.

#### 1.3.2. Analysis of documents and study of discourses in political rhetoric

In view of the historical character of the subject of research, work on the dissertation will include triangulation in the collection and creation of discourse data for analysis. The data collection process applies to "[...] macro-themes of discourse, specific political agents, and political activity" (Wodak, Krzyżanowski, 2008, p. 156) in the field of education ideology and educational policy.

Analysis of documents applies to the process of "[...] the emergence, transformation and mutation of ideas, practices, and identity, as well as [...] the mechanisms by which they become a relatively enduring element of the present" (Wodak, Krzyżanowski, 2008, p. 205). It consists of an attempt to understand and describe "[...] the trajectory of all of these modern ideas, practices and identities that are currently taken for granted" (Wodak, Krzyżanowski, 2008, p. 205). This method of text analysis leads researchers to conclusions as to why people behave a particular way and not otherwise, as well as why some people have the power to learn about others and affect their environment. Reconstruction of "the trajectory of studied discourses and description of specific strategies" (Rapley, 2010, p. 206) leads to the production of one particular education ideology and the rejection of others.

Text analysis is meant to focus equally on what the document says, i.e., "[...] the constructive mechanisms contained in the arguments, ideas or concepts, as well as what is not said, that is, silence, shortcomings and omissions" (Rapley, 2010, p. 194). Another important aspect of the analysis of text is its rhetorical power: how the issues constituting the subject of the text are "structured and organized, as well as how it tries to convince us of the legitimacy of the interpretation contained within it" (Rapley, 2010, p. 194).

In this paper I intend to use documents originating from primary sources, rather than secondary sources emerging in a different time or place than the reported events. I have translated fragments of documents and laws into Polish, in order to analyze the collected material to meet the requirements of the doctoral thesis. The first step is to create an archive of newspaper articles, government publications, and materials from parliamentary debates which outline the directions of government policy and the strategy behind changes in educational policy. This enables me to trace "the trajectory of individual discourses" (Rapley, 2010, p. 41), since the intentions of and planned changes in the legislation are also described therein. In Great Britain, for example, all debates held in the House of Commons and House of Lords are documented in a series of publications issued under the Hansard aegis (Rapley, 2010, p. 41).

The pedagogical thought present in the educational policy of Great Britain to the nineteenth century will be analyzed and reconstructed on the basis of the analysis of historical documents, while educational ideologies changing with particular governments and prime ministers of the UK will be discussed based on government archives (government publications and parliamentary debates), UK government web pages which make the content of laws available in the original English (.pdf), academic websites, newspapers (articles on British education), and British academic studies on the subject. This method was chosen because the historical documents and above-mentioned websites are, in my opinion, the best way to learn about the realities of changing educational ideology which constitute the subject of the research.

The method of analysis of historical documents involved the National Archives (the official government archives of the United Kingdom); the Women's Library; and the National Film and Television Archive. Other sources included the websites of the most famous universities in the UK, namely, the Cambridge University Library (ul.cam.ac.uk), the Libraries of Oxford University (library.ox.ac.uk) and the Library of the University of London's political collections (blpes.ise.c.uk, accessed: September 24, 2016), as well as UK government pages in the .pdf format (http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130401151715/https://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/01049-2008DOM-EN.pdf, accessed: September 24, 2016). American and British historical sources on the Internet, containing links to bibliographies, documents, archives, source texts, maps, statistical information and photos (http://www.educationengland.org.uk/history/chapter08.html, accessed: September 24, 2016), were helpful in the analysis of documents.

Sampling of relevant sources within the documents led to the creation in this dissertation of a set of materials for further analysis. The next step was the deliberate choice of materials for final analysis in the area of the planned topics. I also sampled the most picturesque, evocative, supportive, and perhaps also the most controversial, conclusions.

The authorities of the Maria Grzegorzewska Academy of Special Education in Warsaw made it possible, by way of a research grant "Educational policy of the UK government over the last twenty years," for the author to make a week-long trip to London at the end of January and beginning of February 2013 to participate in academic training. My stay in England enabled me not only to use the library collections of the University of London (Department of Education), London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), and the British Library, but also to consult with academics at those schools on the legitimacy of using these sources, rather than others, to resolve the formulated issues.

#### CHAPTER 1

### The political system of the state, the school system, and democracy

### 1.1. The nature and content of the concept of "educational ideology"

#### 1.1.1. Development of the concept of "ideology": its origin and content

According to the *Dictionary of the Polish Language*, an ideology is a system of the political, sociological, legal, ethical, religious, or philosophical views, ideas, and concepts of individuals or groups of people, conditioned by time, place, and social relations; it is a view of the surrounding world (Szymczak (ed.), 1978, p. 767).

In the eighteenth century, the French Enlightenment *philosophes* used the term *ideology* "to explain how groups generate and use ideas." Moreover, Etienne Bonnot de Condillac (1715–1780) denied "that ideas were innately present in the mind as Plato asserted," and claimed that sensation was the source of all human ideas. In relation to the development of ideology, Condillac and other *philosophes* "asserted that human ideas did not originate in a metaphysical realm [...] but rather resulted from the human being's sensory experience within the environment" (Gutek, 2009, p. 164). The term *ideology* originally meant the "science of ideas that examined how people originated and used ideas to create institutions and to regulate their behavior" (Freeden, 2003, p. 4). The *philosophes* wanted to explain how ideas are born and how to use them. They rejected not only theological but also metaphysical interpretations. Their studies suggested the idea of a scientific approach.

The term *ideology* was used by Antoine Destutt de Tracy, a philosopher and thinker of the French Enlightenment, in his *Éléments d'idéologie*, published in 1817–1818. The term comes from Greek and derives from "*eidos* – idea and *logos* – science, connected to the designation of the social doctrine of ideas"

(*Encyklopedia PWN*, 1991, pp. 466, 867). Destutt de Tracy "used the word *ideology* to designate his efforts to create a science of ideas that examined how people originated and regulate their behavior" (Freeden, 2003, p. 4).

The views presented by the ideologues of the Enlightenment helped to change the structure of social and political institutions. The *philosophes* asserted that

[...] absolute and erroneous political and social residues should be discarded and replaced by scientific ones. [...] In the past, individuals had been indoctrinated by archaic structures of religious or classical education to accept a static view of society. A new education had to be developed to educate a rising generation of republican citizens who could establish representative institutions and govern themselves by the method of science and reasons (Gutek, 2009, p. 164).

According to the philosophers, an enlightened person should use the scientific method to analyze social phenomena.

Karl Mannheim, a pioneering sociologist, wished to find the pattern of ideas that "govern society" (Gutek, 2009, p. 169). With reference to Mannheim, it makes sense to ask whether a general ideology—one which creates the shapes of educational ideas—exists. Mannheim, as other early scholars "disagreed on critical issues ranging from the sources of ideology to the nature of its content." Moreover, he presented "the processes through which shared mental representations of the political world emerged and shaped political behavior" (http://jspp. psychopen.eu/article/view/36/32, p. 2, accessed: September 24, 2016).

Until the mid-nineteenth century in Western Europe, the main aim of ideas was the rational justification of a particular system of concepts and attitudes. As a result, ideologies have been classified "on a continuum that ranges from the political and cultural right with Fascism, then Conservatism, moving to Liberalism at the center, and to Socialism at the left and Communism at the far left" (Gutek, 2009, p. 166). The ideologies of the Enlightenment shaped and expressed educational, social, political, and economic ideas. The French Revolution of 1789 was a victory of secular ideas and values, such as freedom and equality, over the traditional social order. Its consequences have had a huge impact on the political doctrines and ideologies.

Moreover, as Leszczyński and Snarski have stated, ideologies are "the most general and systematic set of ideas, values, world views, and beliefs about the organization and functioning of society and the rights of any group or social class. They create a desirable, simplified, and ordered picture of the world. Thus they are readily accepted by the broad masses of society" (Leszczyński, Snarski, 2006, p. 86). Moreover, creation of a political ideology was associated with the rise of political parties in the nineteenth century.

The industrial revolution that occurred at the end of the eighteenth century in Great Britain spread throughout Europe and the territory of the present-day United States. Industrial steam power and mechanization were accompanied by social changes involving the mass migration of peasants from the countryside to factories. Cities developed rapidly, and with them, new forms of social relationships.