The Second Big Book of Independent Thinking



#### Ian Gilbert

with Mark Anderson, Lisa Jane Ashes, Phil Beadle, Jackie Beere,
David Cameron (The Real David Cameron), Paul Clarke, Tait Coles, Mark Creasy,
Mark Finnis, Dave Harris, Crista Hazell, Martin Illingworth, Nina Jackson,
Rachel Jones, Gill Kelly, Debra Kidd, Jonathan Lear, Trisha Lee, Roy Leighton,
Matthew McFall, Sarah Pavey, Simon Pridham, Jim Roberson, Hywel Roberts,
Martin Robinson, Bethan Stracy-Burbridge, Dave Whitaker and Phil Wood



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For starting something – thank you

All proceeds from this book go to our work supporting

educational endeavours across the Global Educational Village.



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- 1. Insist that your children look 'beneath the surface' and are given the space, encouragement and skills to think for themselves.
- 2. Take a fresh look at how you organise your curriculum and trust children to respond well when you really stretch them with genuinely authentic learning.
- 3. See your library as so much more than a room full of books and engage your librarian as an 'information professional' right at the heart of what schools are about.
- 4. Understand and help your children understand that learning is never a straight line and that getting it wrong is an integral step along the way to getting it right.
- 5. Remember to value children more than data, that children value people more than worksheets, that the best teachers are learners too and that your job is a part of your life, not the other way round.
- 6. Remember that your school and its community are unique. Simply repeating a formula used elsewhere denies all involved the chance to create something special.
- 7. Engage in educational research to best understand the power of educational research. But know its limitations too.

- 8. Look for links between subject areas that will bring the curriculum to life and make it a purposeful experience for all learners and not just 'because it's in the exam'.
- 9. Look beyond their behaviour to the circumstances behind their behaviour and ensure you don't simply rely on simplistic sanction and reward approaches.
- 10. Challenge everything superiors, job titles, systems, everything that you feel is getting in the way of all children achieving what they are truly capable of.
- 11. Value every child in your class relentlessly and regardlessly in both word and deed and remember the extent to which little things can make a lasting difference.
- 12. Understand the power of wonder to help engage young people and motivate them to learn, then build in opportunities to discover wondrous things across the school.
- 13. Keep a watchful eye out for the unintended consequences of school improvement measures and always remember that schools are endlessly complex systems.
- 14. Look beyond what that young person is now to what they could become, with your help, and remember that your influence will reach further than you will ever know.
- 15. Use technology in learning to enhance great pedagogy not replace it. The skill, for you and them, is to start where you are comfortable, then reach just beyond that.
- 16. Think carefully about the nature of 'progress' in your school and be aware of what you are losing as well as what you are gaining. Especially when it comes to values.
- 17. Encourage young people to stand for something, to connect with their community and then to act on what needs changing. And support them all the way.

- 18. Never confuse research with politics and always entertain new ideas without losing sight of your values, your experience and your common sense then act accordingly.
- 19. Use story to tap into children's imagination, to engage them, to help them remember what you've taught and as a starting point for many aspects of the curriculum.
- 20. Grasp the fact that the world we are educating our children in and for is unsustainable. Take your class outside and reconnect education with something bigger.
- 21. Mental illness is abundantly evident in and often provoked by life in school. Learn about it, know what to do about it and then do what is needed, every time.
- 22. Plan lessons for your children, in your classroom, in your school, in your community and that are 'worth behaving for'. Use their engagement to reflect on your efficacy.
- 23. Be aware whose interests are served by the curriculum you teach and the systems of control you employ. Knowledge may well be power but genuine education is about freedom.
- 24. Focus on relationships more than you focus on behaviour. Focus on values more than you focus on control. Look at your behaviour as much as you look at theirs.
- 25. Develop your practice in various ways and on an ongoing basis using the many tools available to you these days, with coaching right at the heart of the process.
- 26. Use technology to make your school credible and their learning relevant but integrate it with your development plan and the needs of the wider community.
- 27. Make things harder for children, not easier, by using curiosity and novelty as powerful tools to engage young people in their own learning.

- 28. Seek to combine the curriculum with the reality of their own lives and then plan lessons where moments occur which you cannot plan for.
- 29. Understand how a young person's actions can be the outer representation of their feelings and the power you have, as a caring adult, to influence both for the better.

Tell us what you think - learn@independentthinking.co.uk

www.independentthinking.com



### List of Contributors

Mark Anderson is the man people turn to as the 'ICT Evangelist' to answer all their ICT queries. However, the secret to making digital learning work lies with what is going on in students' heads, not the hardware in their hands. Mark's work shows how we need to create learning environments where we get that right first.

Lisa Jane Ashes is a teacher, trainer, award-winning blogger and the creator of the Manglish concept that links maths and English and develops them together across the curriculum. She sees many flaws in the way schools are organised and has shown that when you break that model you can help them work better.

**Phil Beadle** is an award-winning teacher, author and columnist with multiple television appearances to his name. He is living proof that sometimes you get the best results for young people by ripping up the rule book and going your own way. The trouble that acting like this gets you into is just something you have to deal with.

**Jackie Beere OBE** is a vastly experienced school leader, teacher, trainer, coach, writer and editor who has worked at every level from classroom assistant to head teacher and beyond. Drawing on her experience with mindsets, neuro-linguistic programming, skills-based learning and more, she knows how to get the best out of all members of a school community.

**David Cameron** (known as The Real David Cameron) is an adviser and speaker as well as what can be described as a very active educational activist. He is passionate about education being at the heart of the community and equally passionate that such an education should, in turn, have creativity – and all that this entails – at its heart.

**Professor Paul Clarke** is a highly regarded and published educator whose experience has seen him advise governments on both educational and ecological matters worldwide. Through his work across the globe, he sees the challenges we are facing and the crucial role education should and must play in helping us to survive.

Tait Coles is the man behind *Punk Learning: Never Mind the Inspectors*. A teacher and SLT member in the north of England, he sees at first hand the way in which the current system disenfranchises large numbers of young people, and how this will come back and haunt us all. He is on a mission to do something about it.

Mark Creasy has worked in all sectors and across all phases of the education system and refuses to accept that lessons have to look like they normally do. His first book, *Unhomework*, examined the broken model of traditional homework and turned it on its head.

Mark Finnis is in demand in organisations nationwide for his powerful work on restorative approaches. For schools, this means that discipline is not something imposed on children, enforced by adults. Instead, the whole area of behaviour is a collaborative, constructed and formative process where everyone can win.

**Ian Gilbert** is an award-winning author, editor, speaker and innovator and the man who set up Independent Thinking over 20 years ago. In recent years he has become increasingly vexed by the way the education system not only fails to make the world better but actually serves to keep it screwed up.

**Dave Harris** is a school leader and trainer and the author of *Brave Heads*. His many years leading schools in challenging circumstances have proven to him how important it is for a school leader to think for himself or herself, to work with the whole community and to see a picture well beyond next year's exam results.

**Crista Hazell** is a teacher of young people first and foremost, and of modern foreign languages second to that. At a time when education has become a numbers game and student engagement' a soft option after behavioural sanctions and systems, Crista shows that relentless optimism in young people pays huge dividends.

Martin Illingworth is a university-based teacher trainer, writer, speaker and experienced educator who sees at close up the hypocrisy and folly of so much of what teachers are currently being asked to do. For him, education is not so much a system but a series of moments that last long after the test results have been forgotten.

Nina Jackson has seen first hand the dangers of focusing on academic achievement at the expense of well-being and emotional health. Mental health problems are on the increase in schools – among staff as well as children – and this is an issue we must confront not only as institutions but also as caring individuals.

**Rachel Jones** is a highly creative teacher with experience across various sectors and phases of the education system. Wisdom comes from experience and experience comes from being brave, trying new things, keeping your eyes open and not doing everything they tell you to.

**Gill Kelly** is a school leader, speaker and writer who has experienced the complexities of inner-city educational leadership. She knows that genuine education happens when we lift our sights above the paperwork and target chasing and give students a real voice about things that actually matter.

**Dr Debra Kidd** is a teacher, lecturer, speaker and writer working across all phases of the education system. She draws on her experience in the UK and abroad to be a vocal and persistent thorn in the side of the advocates of a more 'traditional' approach to teaching, one that fails to see the child in the room.

**Jonathan Lear** is primary school deputy head, writer, speaker and incredible teacher who brings the learning alive for children from challenging inner-city backgrounds. Teaching children facts doesn't make them learners which is why his classroom is a place of discovery, excitement, curiosity and fantasy. And learning.

**Trisha Lee** is a teacher and writer with her roots very much in theatre. Learning for her is an active, engaging, child-centred process that is stimulated by fantasy and works best, even for traditional subjects such as maths and science, when the teacher is guided by the wonderful fantasies children construct – when we let them.

**Roy Leighton** is a trainer, speaker, writer and coach with experience both across schools and in the business world. His work shows that learning is not something measured in boxes and straight lines but is a richly complex process done by children, not to them. It is all the more magical because of it.

**Dr Matthew McFall** is the world's first school-based'Agent of Wonder' whose (most recent) doctoral thesis explored the powerful role of curiosity and wonder in the learning process. He is the author of *A Cabinet of Curiosities* and is in demand as schools begin to understand that, where threats fail, curiosity can prevail.

**Sarah Pavey** is a school librarian who is gaining a national reputation for showing schools that a library is a whole lot more than a room full of books. In fact, it might not even be a room at all. The Information Age desperately needs expert guides and modern librarians can do this better than anyone.

**Simon Pridham** is an award-winning school leader, trainer and writer who shows that learning technologies can transform the lives of some of our most needy young people – but only when done in an inclusive, community-minded way that balances the right technology with the right curriculum and the right pedagogy.

#### List of Contributors

Jim Roberson is the self-styled 'Discipline Coach' and author of the book of the same name. A former professional American football player, Jim draws on his experience in sport, of growing up in the US and of teaching and working with challenging young people in the UK to show how we are more than just teachers, if we let ourselves be.

**Hywel Roberts** is the man behind the best-selling book *Oops!* He knows full well that you get the most out of young people – and their teachers – not by coercion but by hooking them in with engaging, stimulating and absorbing learning opportunities during which they behave, join in, cooperate and learn, despite themselves.

Martin Robinson is a teacher, speaker and writer whose first book, *Trivium 21c*, has won plaudits from across the educational landscape. Martin argues with eloquence and intelligence that school reform – and educational reform as a whole – needs to consider lessons from the past before any more damage is done.

**Bethan Stracy-Burbridge** is a leading art therapist and trainer. Her work shows that you cannot successfully educate children unless you are successfully addressing the issues they carry with them, issues whose origins may well be outside of school but that impact on their schooling in serious and significant ways.

**Dave Whitaker** is a head teacher of an emotional and behavioural difficulties special school, who also oversees a number of pupil referral units and other interventions to help young people. Rather than employing a deficit model, Dave shows that you get the best out of troubled young people by treating them with care, respect and unconditional positive regard.

**Dr Phil Wood** is an experienced university-based academic, trainer, researcher and writer. He has the intelligence, understanding and wisdom to see through the rhetoric and help teachers stay focused on the real challenges and complexities involved in educating young people – and themselves.

As the indomitable Margaret Thatcher once remarked about neoliberal globalisation, 'There is no alternative' ... Was she right?

Not at all.

James H. Mittelman, Whither Globalization? The Vortex of Knowledge and Ideology (2004)

An equitable approach to pedagogy demands an education system concerned with the devel-

opment of human capabilities and knowledges of the broadest kind, not one driven by the goal of global economic competitiveness. It requires a system architecture designed to promote learning for all, not one designed to regulate achievement of narrow educational goals and to produce a functioning market for educational providers.

Ruth Lupton and Amelia Hempel-Jorgensen, 'The Importance of Teaching: Pedagogical Constraints and Possibilities in Working-Class Schools' (2012)

Lee: I always thought it was a mistake at school that you had a lesson called 'History' but not 'Future'.

Lucy: Maybe because at your school the teachers felt you didn't have a future.

Not Going Out, Series 6, Episode 6



## Introduction

In 1993 Ian Gilbert set up Independent Thinking to change young people's lives by changing the way they think – and so to change the world'.

Since then, joined by some of the UK's leading educational thinkers and innovative practitioners, Independent Thinking has worked in thousands of schools with hundreds of thousands of young people, teachers, leaders, parents and others across the UK and around the world.

Our message has always been one of hope, liberation and respect, putting children at the centre of the educational process with learning something they do, not that is done to them. And, more important than the outcome, it is the process that children go through – and grow through – that is the mark of a great education.

Over two decades, we have seen the educational pendulum swing back and forth but we, like so many great teachers, have striven to remain true to our principles. We exist to make a difference not to make a profit. We work like a family. We do what we can to help anyone who asks. We play nicely. We have a laugh while we're doing it because, as we have said repeatedly, education is too important to be taken seriously.

In 2006, through our friends at Crown House Publishing, we published the first *Big Book* of *Independent Thinking*, our first foray into putting our voices in print. Since then we have written countless books and the Independent Thinking Press has won awards for pushing the boundaries of what educational publishing should look and feel like.

In 2015 we published our second *Big Book*, at a time when the education we believe in and the education system we feel strongly about are under attack more than ever. There are strong voices across social media, in schools and in power telling teachers and school leaders that 'this is the way to do it', reminiscent of Margaret Thatcher's famous TINA – There Is No Alternative – approach. Yet the way being advocated is a way that runs contrary to what many in the profession believe in.

This book is our message to them – and to teachers everywhere – that no matter what we are told, there is always another way.



#### Chapter 1

# If You Want To Teach Children To Think

Politics, Hegemony and Holidays In the Dordogne

#### Ian Gilbert

When you want to teach children to think, you begin by treating them seriously when they are little, giving them responsibilities, talking to them candidly, providing privacy and solitude for them, and making them readers and thinkers of significant thoughts from the beginning. That's if you want to teach them to think.

Bertrand Russell

In 1951, the British philosopher, mathematician and, to be frank, bit of a ladies' man, Bertrand Russell, published an article in the *New York Times* entitled 'The Best Answer to Fanaticism – Liberalism'. For Russell, liberalism isn't about opposing authority but having the freedom to oppose it if you so desire. He doesn't claim that the freedoms to discuss and question will always lead to the best outcomes but that 'absence of discussion will usually lead to the prevalence of the worse opinion.' 1

Russell's education was as privileged as it was lonely, as is so often the case for our landed gentry. A series of tutors followed by the best that Cambridge University could offer helped develop the man who was undoubtedly one of the greatest thinkers of the 20th century, one

who saw critical dissension as much as an exercise required for a good mind as for a functioning democracy.

If this is so, if we do want to teach children to think, and not just to combat fanaticism, to what extent is this actually happening in our classrooms? Are we genuinely fulfilling Russell's dream of treating young people in such a way that their thinking counts? The fact that they should be thinking counting more so? Or can a child perform admirably in a 'successful' school, winning a whole raft of GCSE grades and plaudits without ever having a thought of their own? Could it be argued that the current penchant for the teaching of knowledge in a direct transmission model, regimented by a highly structured system of sanction and control within an equally highly structured school system with its own command, control, measurement and punishment processes in place, is a direct attempt either to get children not to think at all or at least not to think for themselves?

And what about their teachers? Could it be argued that the current predilection for 'education research', the silver bullet to end all silver bullets, is an equally well-designed ploy to prevent educators from thinking for themselves too? Is the push to identify and promulgate 'What works?' a means by which 'What else might work?' can be conveniently overlooked, and the questions 'At what cost?' and 'Works to achieve what?' fail to get a look in?

Which, of course, brings us to the question of hegemony. I don't know about you but this is not a word that cropped up in my teacher training or my classroom teaching career. However, I was uneasy with a French GCSE curriculum that seemed to revolve around a white middle class camping trip to the Dordogne. I was also very concerned that although we didn't set by postcode, if we had it would have made no difference to which children ended up in which set. Looking back, these were all tell-tale signs of hegemony in action, and I was promoting it as blindly as the next person.

Put simply, a cultural hegemony is what you get when the powers that be arrange the world in such a way that it would appear that there is no other way for that world to be so arranged.<sup>2</sup> And then work hard to keep it that way. In education, this is achieved both through

what is taught and how it is taught. In the first instance, a national curriculum is a clearly labelled intellectual land grab that says, "This is what is important and you must know it. The inference is, of course, if you know it but it is not in our curriculum, then it is not important.

The fact that in England, at the time of writing, there is a national curriculum, but it is only forced upon those schools which have not followed the yellow brick neo-liberal road to academy status, does not mean that the hegemonic grip is being loosened. Rather, 'they' are holding the dog they are wagging elsewhere – this time through interference in what exam boards put in their schemes of work. Wherever you hold the metaphorical dog – if you are the one deciding, for example, what and whose books are important, what and whose history is important and what constitutes 'British values' – then you control the hegemony and you are very much in the driving seat.<sup>3</sup> No wonder the Secretary of State for Education, Nicky Morgan, rejected a call in 2015 for educators to have at least some say in setting the curriculum, claiming: It's my belief that what our children learn in schools must be something that is decided by democratically elected representatives.<sup>4</sup> We are the hegemon, we get to choose.

In the second instance, with regard to the way children are taught, turning children into uncritical consumers of knowledge ('Because it's in the exam') can well be seen as a process by which we are turning them into uncritical consumers full stop. By definition, citizens do things for the common good and not just for financial or selfish reasons. They make choices, balance views, take responsibility, participate, activate, organise. They think for themselves. It is questionable that a 'sit there and learn what I tell you or else' approach to pedagogy will encourage this, regardless of how well it may prepare young people for passing exams – the only currency of educational success currently in use. Where education and business have become bedfellows, preparing a generation of uncritical consumers seems like a party donation well spent.

Of course, this is not the case in all schools. For the past five years I have spent much of my time as an educator and as a parent in the independent international school sector observing what is effectively the schooling of the children of the developing world's elite. Encouraged by the highly skills-based International Baccalaureate programme, the majority of these schools

have independent learning, creativity, leadership and service high on the list of what they promote. Many British nationals I have met working in these schools look with incredulity at the direction English education has taken in the last few years, and I include educators in the very countries that have been held up as great examples to justify this direction, such as Hong Kong, China and Singapore, in that.

So, why is it that some schools are functioning at a very high level by pursuing a progressive, skills-based, child-centred, discovery-driven approach to education whereas state schools in the UK, US and elsewhere are going in the opposite direction? Here is where academic and trenchant observer of the wicked witches of the Western world, Noam Chomsky, has something to say. His view is that education for hoi polloi has always been about 'passivity and obedience', ensuring they know their place, something that is designed to actively deskill them in order to prepare them for life in the factories and offices, to make them, and here he quotes Margaret Thatcher's favourite historical economist Adam Smith, 'as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human being to be'. Education for the elite has a very different purpose though: 'It has to allow creativity and independence. Otherwise they won't be able to do their job of making money.'5

This is cultural hegemony in action. The system set up by a certain group for a certain order to ensure that the system perpetuates that order. I witnessed this writ large during my time in Chile where a three-tier school system (in order of quality: state schools; subventioned, fee-paying, semi-private schools; fully private schools) both reflected and perpetuated this country's colossal class divides.<sup>6</sup>

In the UK it could be argued that things are a little more subtle, but they are no less powerful for that and just as pervasive and self-perpetuating. And we, the grown-ups in the schools, can be just as much the victims of it as the perpetrators. If you work in a school where the teachers are all middle class and the dinner ladies and site staff aren't, that's the hegemony at work. If you teach in a school where the school leaders are, by majority, white, middle aged, middle class males and the rest of the staff aren't, that's the hegemony. And, as a student, if your school day consists of hearing stories that aren't yours in voices that aren't yours, then

that's the hegemony in action too. Which means we must address an important question – what are they learning while you're teaching them?

Fortunately, although we can't escape the hegemony, let alone beat it, we can at least confront it, and it is with the help of one word: *conscientização*.<sup>7</sup> It's a word promoted by the great Brazilian educator Paulo Freire and effectively describes the way in which education, genuine education and not the simple transmission of facts, leads the learner to become conscious of what is really going on. Conscious of cause and effect, of control, of coercion, of oppression, of elitism, of bias, of discrimination, of omission, of selection. Conscious, in a Brazilian nutshell, of hegemony.

The greatest tool in the arsenal of the teacher who wants to pursue Freire's ideas, and to practice what has become known as 'critical pedagogy', is to simply encourage your students to ask one question – why? With this one question, you can encourage them to dig beneath the surface of the way the world works and begin to learn for themselves why it works that way and start to think about how else it could be run. There is even research that has found that encouraging 'why' questions leads to the subject expressing more moderate political and religious views which, in our current climate of extreme fear of extremism, would not be a bad thing.

A few months ago I asked the question via Twitter whether teachers felt teaching was a political act. The consensus seemed to be that it was if you wanted it to be. Such a response shows a lack of understanding of what teaching really is, I fear. While the teaching of 'party politics' has little or no place in schools, this is not to be confused with the idea of 'politics' itself, with all that it stands for when it comes to government, law, order, control, persuasion, deception, spin, participation, citizenship, ideals, ethics and values. If you look at politics through this lens then everything a school does – and everything done by every adult in that school – is a political act. All I suggest is that we start to practise such politics with our eyes open.

#### Ian Gilbert

Russell ends his piece for the *New York Times* with what he calls a 'new decalogue' for the liberal teacher. Over 50 years old, it is a set of commandments teachers today would do well to live by. After all, there is a great deal at stake.

- 1. Do not feel absolutely certain of anything.
- 2. Do not think it worth while to proceed by concealing evidence, for the evidence is sure to come to light.
- 3. Never try to discourage thinking for you are sure to succeed.
- 4. When you meet with opposition, even if it should be from your husband or your children, endeavour to overcome it by argument and not by authority, for a victory dependent upon authority is unreal and illusory.
- 5. Have no respect for the authority of others, for there are always contrary authorities to be found.
- Do not use power to suppress opinions you think pernicious, for if you do the opinions will suppress you.
- 7. Do not fear to be eccentric in opinion, for every opinion now accepted was once eccentric.
- 8. Find more pleasure in intelligent dissent than in passive agreement, for, if you value intelligence as you should, the former implies a deeper agreement than the latter.
- 9. Be scrupulously truthful, even if the truth is inconvenient, for it is more inconvenient when you try to conceal it.

10. Do not feel envious of the happiness of those who live in a fool's paradise, for only a fool will think that it is happiness.

If that's the way we approached our professional endeavours, imagine the effect it would have on children when it comes to developing their own thinking. That is, of course, if we want to teach children to think.

#### Recommended book:

Eduardo Galeano, Children of the Days: A Calendar of Human History (London: Allen Lane, 2013)

#### Notes

- 1 B. Russell, The Best Answer to Fanaticism Liberalism, New York Times (16 December 1951).
- 2 Cultural hegemony is an idea most associated with the Italian communist writer Antonio Gramsci. In his *Prison Notebooks* he describes it as, "The "spontaneous" consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group.' However, perhaps the best description of how it works comes from the American author Jacob M. Appel when he writes, "The most dangerous ideas are not those that challenge the status quo. The most dangerous ideas are those so embedded in the status quo, so wrapped in a cloud of inevitability, that we forget they are ideas at all.' J. M. Appel, *Phoning Home: Essays* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2014).
- 3 White history happens all year round; black history gets a month; Arabic history gets nothing.
- 4 N. Morgan, Everyone Has An Opinion On Education, speech to the ASCL national conference, London, 21 March 2015. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/everyone-has-an-opinion-on-education. The word 'belief' is interesting here. She is not stating a fact, just a useful opinion. What is also interesting from a cultural hegemony perspective is that, of the eight ministers in the Department for Education at the time of her statement, seven were privately educated.
- 5 N. Chomsky, Class Warfare: Interviews with David Barsamian (London: Pluto Press, 1995), pp. 27–31. Quoted at: http://schoolingtheworld.org/resources/essays/education-is-ignorance/.

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- 6 'With a Gini coefficient of 0.51, Chile has the highest level of income inequality after government taxes and transfers among OECD countries.' OECD, Government at a Glance 2013. Country Fact Sheet: Chile. Available at: http://www.oecd.org/gov/GAAG2013\_CFS\_CHL.pdf.
- 7 It's a Portuguese one, and one without a direct translation into English, but it does the trick.
- 8 Comprehensively described by Ira Shor, an American professor and collaborator with Freire, as: 'Habits of thought, reading, writing, and speaking which go beneath surface meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the deep meaning, root causes, social context, ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organization, experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media, or discourse.' I. Shor, Empowering Education: Critical Teaching for Social Change (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 129.
- 9 Science Daily, Answer Three 'Why' Questions: Abstract Thinking Can Make You More Politically Moderate (2 November 2012). Available at: http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/ 2012/11/121102151948.htm.

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