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The two articles in this bulletin treat both the specific facts uncovered by the National Study of High School English Programs (co-sponsored by the University of Illinois and NCTE) and the more general characteristics of successful English programs. Roger K. Applebee relates that, in the 168 schools selected to be studied on the basis of their reputations for excellence in English instruction, literature is emphasized more than all other areas of English, no single teaching method is dominant, 71.8% of the teachers reported undergraduate majors in English, the average teacher load is 130 students, and students depend primarily on sources other than the school library for their outside reading materials. James R. Squire outlines the three primary aspects of the successful English programs: (1) strong, effective leadership of a department chairman and a building principal, (2) an English faculty which includes some outstanding teachers capable of inspiring the efforts of other well-prepared but less remarkable teachers, and (3) an English curriculum designed to meet the needs of all the students and balanced in its emphasis on each of the components of English. (JS)

NATIONAL STUDY OF HIGH SCHOOL ENGLISH PROGRAMS:

A Record of English Teaching Today

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A School for All Seasons

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National Study of High School English Programs: A Record of English Teaching Today

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MINE IS a dual role in this first public report of the National Study of High School English Programs.[1] One part of this role is to serve as prologue to what will follow; the other part will attempt a sort of exposition of some of the facts and findings that we have garnered over the past two-and-a-half years.

If we were not in the midst of an age of technology, I should now invoke some fiery muse to ascend the brightest heaven of invention, to help me turn the accomplishment of these years into this little time. Instead, I must simply appeal to your imagination, so that when you read numbers or proportions or other mathematical abstractions you will see thousands of classrooms, thirty-thousands of students, and parades of teachers in cities, towns, and villages all across the country. For. in spite of the limited number of schools cooperating in the Project, a mere 168 out of 30,000 possibilities, and in spite of the fact that the great majority of these schools were selected on the basis of their state or national reputations, we know that the group represents not only excellence hut extreme variation. We think that the conditions and practices ohserved in these programs reflect the diversity, the strengths, and the weaknesses of English programs everywhere—perhaps not always to the same degree. hut certainly in the same direction. The schools themselves were intentionally selected to provide a broad spectrum of variables including their size,

[1]This study. conducted from February 1963 to December 1965, was co-sponsored by the Department of English, University of Illinois, and the National Council of Teachers of English. As Cooperative Research Project No. 1994, the study was supported by the United States Office of Education. The Project Staff members were James R. Squire, Director (see the next article in this issue); Roger Applebee, Associate Director; Robert A. Lucas; and Joseph W. Thomson. The Advisory Committee for the Project included John J. DeBoer. University of Illinois; Lloyd Dull. Assistant Superintendent, Canton Public Schools, Ohio (representing ASCD); Robert L. Foose, Principal, Westfield High School, New Jersey (representing NASSP); Lou LaBrant, Dillard University; Henry C. Meckel, San Jose State College; Floyd Rinker, Executive Director. Commission on English, College Entrance Examination Board; and Edwin H. Sauer, Chicago Teachers College, South.

their geographic location, the degree of local financial support, and the proportion of students continuing their education in college. During the last year of the survey we have concentrated on studying several kinds of schools that were conspicuously absent from the original list: specifically, independent and parochial schools, comprehensive high schools in large cities, and others that were known to be involved with experimental programs. It is an interesting and various cross section, representing 45 states.

Although we had hoped that the study would achieve a certain breadth and comprehensiveness because of the built-in variety of the sample, it was not in our plan to substitute numbers for depth and focus. We must therefore ask you to make this imaginative leap as we report, projecting your thoughts, not only to those centers and corners where we were but even to those where we did not go. Furthermore, what must seem to be fragmentary and incomplete in this brief statement will be fleshed out in our final and official report to the U. S. Office of Education. We trust that this final report will be both timely and interesting, perhaps not as newsworthy as those of Dr. Conant nor as interesting as those of Dr. Kinsey, but professionally profitable nevertheless.

If our main concern has not been with quantities of statistics and numbers of schools, what in the name of research has it been? First of all, we *have* been doing a good deal of counting as the figures below will attest. Teachers, administrators, and students in the Project schools were subject to a number of questionnaires and checklists developed to sound out their practices and their opinions in great detail, such detail that the mere process of tabulation continues yet, in spite of the fact that much of the information was fed to an electronic computer. Parenthetically, I must reveal that I had one bad moment when the printout of one set of data was returned to us under the code name: CHAOS. Our more statistically sophisticated colleagues assured me, however, that the term was a technical one referring to the machine and not a mysterious reaction to something we had fed it. Second, and quite apart from all of the machinery and the counting, we came to depend greatly on the reactions of knowledgeable people as they observed these programs in operation.[2] Each observer represents a singular background and, of course, each brought a unique point of view to bear on the classroom as well as on the entire program. In practice a school visit generally involved one of the Project staff members and one of the observers. In the course of two days they interviewed the school principal, the department chairman, the English teachers, the librarian, and a class or two of students. Most of their time, however, was spent in the back of as many classrooms as possible, in an effort to catch the tenor and substance of the English program in very direct fashion. Often as many as 20 classes were observed in a single school. Although one member of the team was a staff member, giving continuity and context to each visit, the second member brought a special insight from outside the Project proper. It is from this double perspective then, that we sought to view each of the 168 programs and all of them compositely so that we might delineate the character and the status of English programs today. Our final purpose was not to evaluate individual schools with respect to their teaching of English, but to present an accurate description of the whole using both objective and subjective data.

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[2]Observers from the University of Illinois or the NCTE staff included: William M. Curtin, John Erickson, William H. Evans, Robert F. Hogan, J. N. Hook, James M. McCrimmon, Stanton Millet, Frank Moake, Priscilla Tyler, Jerry L. Walker, Robert S. Whitman, and Harris W. Wilson.

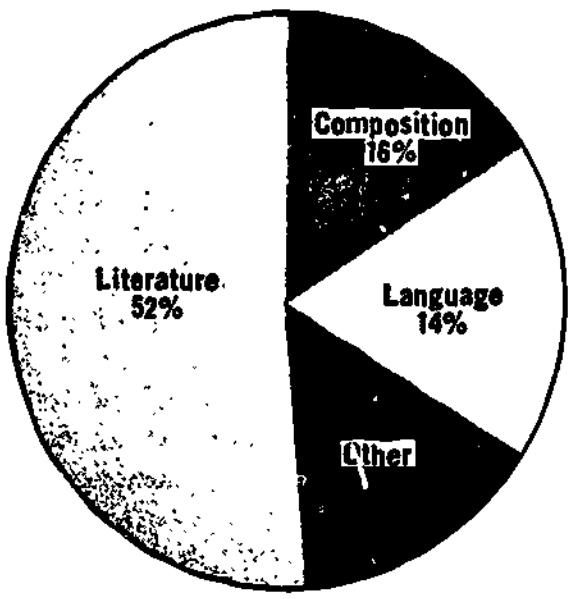
AS THE politicians say (but without the whitewash or the venom), let's look at the record. The figures given here are only a part of that record, but they nevertheless contain some salient facts from which we can infer or speculate.

The data given in Figures 1 and 2 were drawn from the records of classroom observation made by each visitor. Besides writing a short description of the class, he was asked to indicate the proportion of time directed to the various components of English and also the method, or methods, of instruction that he judged were being used. Even if we agree that there is not always a discrete line to be drawn between instruction in literature and instruction in language, or between reading and literature, we can also be assured that errors of judgment in one direction will be offset by errors in the other. And we are left with the knowledge that in more than 30,000 minutes of classroom time, English teachers emphasized literature more than all other components combined. Although there are clearly grounds here for professional debate concerning the distribution of instructional time, it is well to remember that these data were gathered from schools throughout the country that are regarded highly for the success of their graduates.

At this point I should like to call your attention to several details that might be overlooked in our preoccupation with the fact that the study of literature dominates high school English programs.

One of these has to do with the mysterious 9 percent of instructional time that appears to be missing from the data. Some of this time, though I must admit that it is miniscule, was directed to the mass media, but much of it also has to be assigned to the category of "no content," at least to content that appeared to have so little relationship to English that observers could account for it in no better way.

Figure 1
Use of Class Time



Teachers spent more time emphasizing literature than all other areas of English combined. Of 32,580 minutes of classroom teaching, qualified observers reported:

literature emphasized	52.2%
language emphasized	13.5%
composition emphasized	15.7%
speech emphasized	4.9%
reading emphasized	4.5%

In Grade 10 classes, teachers emphasized literature 46% of the time; composition 14.8%; language 21.4%.

In Grade 12 classes, teachers emphasized literature 61.5% of the time; composition 13.9%; language 8.4%.

In classes for non-college or terminal students, teachers emphasized literature 40.8% of the time; composition 15%; language 19.9%.

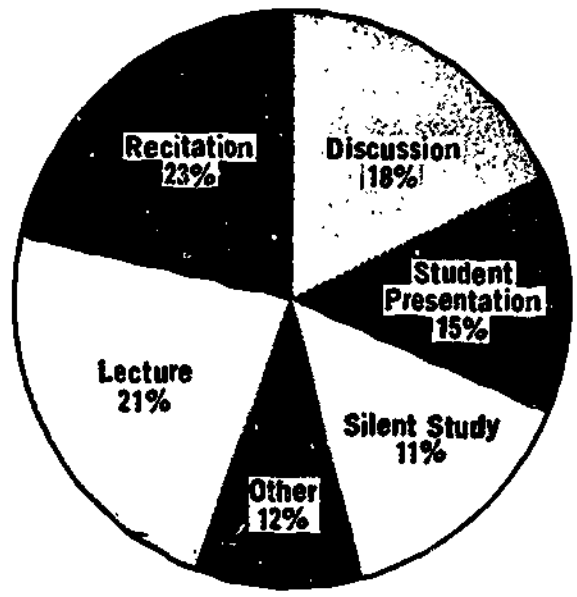
Secondly, I should call attention to the shift in the emphasis of instruction from Grade 10 to Grade 12, particularly as it affects the components of literature and language. In the light of current trends in freshman English courses at the university level, with more emphasis upon rhetoric and readings in the study of language, the heavy emphasis on literature found in the twelfth grade seems strangely inconsistent. I should point out, too, that in all but the last item under Figure 1, the totals are composite; they

include all sorts of classes—from Advanced Placement to terminal groups.

Thirdly, the last item reveals a slight but significant shift in content in the terminal classes. I would like to say that the increased attention to language in these sections was directed to a concern for helping students to discover the potential of the language available to them —for building fluency and facility. More often than not, however, at whatever level you might choose, the classes are dealing with the same kinds of usage matters for which they have shown a healthy, if not spirited, disregard for years: the distinctions between *lie* and *lay*, or the proper form for the plural possessive of *mother-in-law*.

BUT I HAVE overstepped my role. Figure 2 presents a breakdown of teaching method as catalogued by the observers. It must be said that the prospect of being visited by "outsiders" inevitably has some effect on how a teacher chooses to teach as well as his choice of subject matter. This condition exists in spite of our asking that the day's routines and activities be as typical as possible. And the anxiety of being visited probably affected the various proportions of method as outlined here. It seems to us, for example, that "student presentation" occurred rather more frequently than we might have anticipated. Indeed, in a very few schools the quantity of oral book reports heard by observers reached almost epidemic proportions. However, in spite of some obvious but minor skewing because of the unusual circumstances, the chart reveals a not inaccurate summary of the kinds of activity in classrooms at large. We have made a qualification—or extension—of the second item: "lecturing or *talking* to students." This is to say that, for purposes of classification, we have included here not only structured and formal lectures (which actually comprise a very small proportion) but also those more common class periods when the teacher is engaged in a kind of loose, running monologue, perhaps with an occasional interruption, but nonetheless a "one way" system of discourse. The surprising thing is that there is fairly constant use made of this technique at all levels and among all ability groups. Recitation here implies not only that students respond to direct questions from the teacher, but also it suggests a discon-

Figure 2
Teaching Method



Of 32,580 minutes of classroom teaching, qualified observers reported:

teachers emphasized recitation	23.2%
teachers emphasized lecturing or talking to students	20.6%
teachers emphasized class discussion	18.3%
teachers emphasized student presentation	14.8%
teachers emphasized silent work	10.7%
teachers emphasized Socratic-type questioning	2.5%
teachers emphasized group work	1.9%
teachers emphasized the use of audio-visual aids	1.6%

In Grade 10 classes, teachers emphasized recitation 28.9% of the time; discussion 14.8%; lecture 18.9%.

In Grade 12 classes, teachers emphasized recitation 20% of the time; discussion 21.2%; lecture 21.9%.

In classes for terminal or "general" students, teachers emphasized recitation 28.3% of the time; discussion 9.2%; lecture 20.9%.

nected quality in the entire discourse. In general, the process is deductive rather than inductive, the answers being relatively short, usually moving from the general to the particular, frequently applying a previously agreed to pattern or principle. *Where is the predicate nominative?* or *From what point of view is this story told?* are kinds of questions that elicit brief answers calling for an application of concepts already advanced. The focus of question and answer is clearly limited, but so is the line of communication from teacher to student and back to the teacher.

Although this device is thoroughly appropriate to much of our subject matter, it is clear that most teachers prefer to do much of their teaching by way of discussion. More than half of the teachers in the survey indicated that discussion was the method most frequently employed in their classes. However, in the judgment of observers from the National Study, discussion was the method emphasized in only 18 percent of all classes observed. One way of explaining this gross difference is to say that what appears to be discussion from the front of the classroom does not always seem so from the last row. In the opinion of the observers, discussion had to involve a degree of interaction, not only between student and teacher, but among the students themselves. And the discourse was not simply connected; it generated spontaneity and discovery, transforming the whole process into a dynamic learning situation. Happily, we have glowing reports of many such classes. Not to belabor the obvious, it does seem that even as we applaud the efforts of individual teachers to make learning more dramatic and thereby more meaningful, we must seek ways to increase the degree of involvement of all students.

Most of the innovations practiced by schools involved in the study are directed to the proposition that the method of presentation has a direct bearing on the subject taught, some aspects of English lending themselves to individual activity, others to seminar-sized groups or to traditional classes of 25 or 30 students, and still others to large-group presentations. Various combinations of these arrangements have been designed into some of the programs that we have seen. Obviously there is not sufficient time here for anything approaching a meaningful analysis of these individual programs. Instead, I must settle for a brief catalogue of those that we observed.

Along with such practices as large-group instruction and the use of lay readers, we have seen schools using a number of more recent innovations and some of these appear to hold promise for departments of English provided that they are used with imagination and enterprise, and provided that they are attempted with a mixture of boldness and healthy skepticism. Several schools are attempting ways of individualizing instruction to provide each student with content in portions that are appropriate to his ability and his needs. One means toward this end is the development of a variety of courses of different lengths as well as different degrees of difficulty. Within such a flexible plan, a student can elect a series of courses in any given semester. One student might, for example, have two or three short-term courses in literary types, while another would take a single course more thoroughly oriented to the skills of reading or speech or expository writing. Carried to its extreme, such a program incorporates "non-gradedness" with its flexibility. In a somewhat different pattern, other school authorities depend on computers to direct students into classes of varying periods of time on a daily or weekly basis, again according to the needs of the individual. Others depend a good deal on programmed materials to be used according to the learning pace of the student. In lieu of traditional class situations, one small school used a combi-

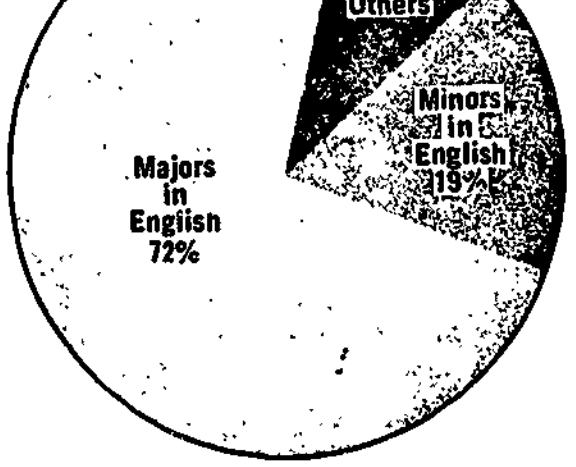
nation of these materials, plus two teachers who worked as tutors, plus a lay person who administered and corrected achievement tests. The result was a continuous laboratory or study situation with teachers available on call as needed.

In the judgment of the Project observers, no single innovation can be seen as a panacea to be prescribed for all schools. From their observation, no single system or no combination of innovations can by themselves substitute for the work of the able, imaginative English teacher under optimum conditions. Indeed, with the more mechanical arrangements, it seems distinctly possible for teachers to get so far removed from their students that they know little more of them than whatever can be punched into an IBM card, a clear danger of automated English instruction. But in contrast to many of the traditionally-minded programs that reflected no change of method or content in the last 30 years, the boldness and inventiveness of these new departures comes as a breath of April air.

FIGURES 3 AND 4 tell us something about the academic preparation of teachers in the Project schools, their professional commitment and some indication of their teaching conditions. Compared to the national average of only 50 percent of all teachers currently teaching English with a major in the field, those in the schools studied approached 72 percent, supporting the assumption that these English programs are clearly better than average, at least in the paper qualifications of their teachers. But there was more convincing evidence to be found elsewhere. As a group, these teachers consider their work week on a professional standard of nearer to 50 hours rather than the frequently-cited 40 hours of the workaday world. We have good reason to believe that even though the pupil-teacher ratio of 130 to 1 were reduced to a more satisfactory level, these teachers would spend no less time on their professional duties than they do today. That some such reduction is altogether warranted can be supported by reviewing the data in Figure 4.

Teachers report that they spend over half as much time reading and correcting papers as they do teaching classes, a condition that simply does not obtain for any other subject in the curriculum.

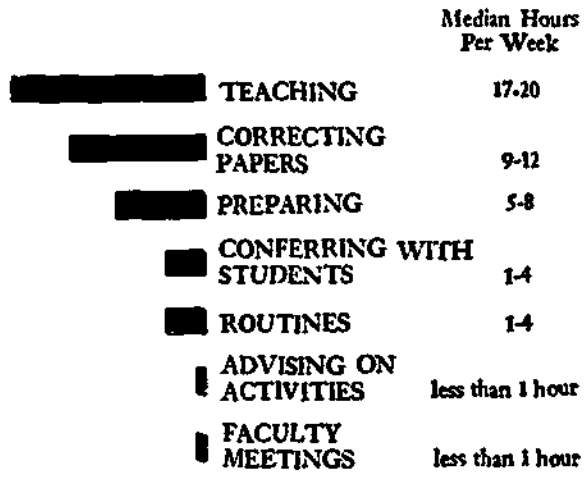
Figure 3
Teacher Preparation



Data from 1331 teachers of English were examined.

- Some 71.8% of the teachers report undergraduate majors in English. 19% report undergraduate minors in English.
- In these schools, 50% of all teachers of English possessed Master's degrees. 13.6% obtained such degrees *before* beginning to teach: 36.5% obtained such degrees *since* beginning to teach.
- 54.7% attended local English meetings during the preceding year.
- 83.5% of the teachers report reading the *English Journal* regularly.

Figure 4
Teaching Conditions



84.2% of the 1331 teachers surveyed meet fewer than 150 pupils per day. The average pupil load is 130 students.

32.8% teach four classes; 42.8% teach five classes; 1% teach six classes; 23.4% are part-time English teachers assigned three or fewer classes. About 80% of those assigned four classes teach exclusively in English.

Fifty per cent of the teachers report teaching 17-20 hours per week.

Half of the teachers spend 9-12 hours or less correcting papers and 8 hours or less preparing for class.

Some 78.8% of the English teachers spend 41-60 hours weekly on professional activity.

Given this knowledge, we can begin to appreciate why it is that teachers appear to spend such a small amount of class time (some 14 percent) teaching composition. It would suggest that teachers are not reneging on the task of teaching composition, but that they have come to depend enormously on the process of teaching writing by correction—on instruction after the fact and after the act. No doubt this time-honored system still serves to remedy the more flagrant abuses of their students' pens; it is nevertheless a negative process: negative in that it occurs after the moment of writing and negative in that it is nearly always concerned with correcting errors of mechanics or expression and infrequently with errors of judgment.

It is interesting to speculate concerning the now rather widespread practice of using lay readers in the high schools. Some 20 percent of the Project schools indicate that they are are using readers to some extent. The nagging question, of course, is do we consider this aspect of teaching so demeaning or so unimportant that we can slough it off on nonprofessionals? What is equally ironic is that school districts here and there are quite willing to employ readers to carry this heavy responsibility, but they are unwilling to engage departmental clerks to relieve teachers from clerical routines, or to employ other nonprofessionals to lift the more onerous burdens of cafeteria or corridor supervision. It may come as a surprise to learn that, above all else, it is this very kind of obligation to the trivia of routine that teachers find frustrating and enervating.

DATA in Figure 5 relating to the sources of student reading were gathered by questionnaires from students in all grades (9-12) and from all ability groups. Although the results are not hair-raising, they might well raise a few eyebrows. What must appear astonishing at the outset is the large number of books—something like nine books per student during a single month. To be sure, this question did not insist that they had read the books, simply that they had obtained them. Nevertheless, it must still come as a shock to some teachers to know that their typical student even *handles* an average of two books per week when it seems such a business to coax two book reports from him during a semester.

The next surprise comes in realizing where all those books come from. From the questionnaire responses it is clear that students depend greatly on sources other than the school library. The public library, the students' own libraries, the bookstore and the drugstore supply

Figure 5
Student Reading

16,089 representative students in these schools reported obtaining books during the preceding month from the following sources:

PUBLIC LIBRARY	43,142 books
SCHOOL LIBRARY	26,420 books
LOCAL SOURCES OF PAPERBOUND BOOKS	24,634 books
HOME LIBRARY	18,843 books
FRIENDS	11,590 books
OTHER SOURCES	5,666 books

- Some 48% of the students report the school library adequate for their school needs. Only 27% found the school library adequate for personal reading choices.
- Students report reading 5-6 hours per week out of school for homework; an additional 2-3 hours for personal pleasure.
- Four periodicals account for 51% of magazine choices—*Life, Time, Look, Saturday Evening Post.*

School libraries vary considerably in making available books reported to be the "most significant high school reading experiences" by gifted college students. Items:

The Scarlet Letter	(100% of all libraries examined)
Return of the Native	(99%)
The Good Earth	(98%)
Vanity Fair	(98%)
Crime and Punishment	(90%)
Heart of Darkness	(80%)
The Grapes of Wrath	(75%)
An American Tragedy	(74%)
Lord of the Flies	(53%)
The Magic Mountain	(51%)
Catcher in the Rye	(50%)
A Portrait of the Artist	(46%)
The Stranger	(29%)

several times the number of books as the school library, and this far along in the "paperback revolution" it would be strange if this were not so. The important point here, is not that this situation should be drastically changed, but that teachers and librarians know what the reading habits of students are. They should also know that students are influenced as much by what is fashionable among their friends as they are by what teachers or booklists would have them read.

The list of titles following Figure 5 is incomplete, but it is intended to illustrate in one dimension the availability of these titles in the libraries of the Project schools. All of the books ranked high in significance to students who had been NCTE Achievement winners and who responded to a questionnaire devised by Robert Whitman, former director of the Awards. As you can see, there is a great falling off from *The Scarlet Letter* to *Lord of the Flies* to *The Stranger*, the latter title being found in only 29 percent of the libraries in spite of the fact that a sizeable number of very able students considered it a most significant work. What may appear even stranger was what happened to one of our observers who found in one library five books about William Faulkner but not one book by him. This, I think, implies a subtle shift in function of the school library. Perhaps because of increasing pressures from all departments, many libraries have changed their names to Resource Centers or Instructional Materials Centers, suggesting on the one hand that not only books, but records, tapes, films and filmstrips are stored there, but on the other, allowing the inference that the library is no longer the center of ideas, but of things—a repository of information.

Yet it is clear that students are reading and that they have found sources aplenty. There is no doubt that this is a healthy manifestation. However, we should be aware from these facts that we

are often dealing with a mere fraction of our students' literary background in our continual emphasis on controlled reading lists.

Without pandering to the lowest denominator of common taste, many enterprising and imaginative departments of English, together with their library staffs, have made available a wide choice of reading to their students. On the premise that students want to read and that reading begets more reading, these schools have libraries that go well beyond the recommendations of the American Library Association, classroom book collections that suggest a relationship between reading and English, and paperback bookstores that promote the practice of owning books.

These then are only a few of the more salient facts in our record of English teaching today. In many ways it is an optimistic story. One final set of data seems appropriate to report. This list of items reveals the strength of English programs according to the frequency cited by the observers:

Quality of Teaching Staff (preparation, professional attitude)
Excellence of Programs in Composition
Leadership in Department (strong chairman, good conditions for supervision)
Richness of Teaching Resources (books, audio-visual aids, supplementary materials)
Professional Climate (interaction between teachers, freedom of discussion, interest in intellectual and professional matters)
Program in Literature (stress on individual texts, balanced selections, quality of instruction)
Reasonable Teaching Loads (number and size of classes, available assistance, limited outside responsibilities)
Experimental Attitudes Toward English (interest in new scholarship, willingness to consider new ideas)
Provision for Individual Reading (classroom book collections, widespread reading, provision for discussing and reporting)
Excellence of Library (adequacy of book and magazine collection, availability to students)

These strengths stand out repeatedly in the best programs observed. Beyond this list, we cannot offer a mathematical formula for the best or the most successful English programs. But we can say that a program that can boast of these qualities is very good indeed.

National Study of High School English Programs: A School for All Seasons

James R. Squire

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IF, as the report[1] by Roger Applebee makes abundantly clear, we cannot commend to the attention of the profession any single cluster of perfect English programs, we can at least point to those characteristics which seem so widespread or so desirable in the schools we have visited that they deserve emulation elsewhere. Clearly the benchmarks of a great English program are found in the administration and supervision of a program; in the English faculty itself; in the nature of the program of studies in English. Here I shall discuss all three.

I

The greatest single strength—the most all-pervading characteristic—which any school can develop is its administration. By administration, I mean not jealous, autocratic centralization of all power and authority in the hands of a single principal or single department head with the inevitable result of class demarcation of supervisors and subordinates. Nor do I mean an administration devoted solely to the service function, to the elimination of barriers, hurdles, and red tape so that teachers can be completely individualistic. Rather I mean to indicate the effectiveness which strong leadership of a department chairman and a building principal can bring to English teaching.

A strong, responsible department chairman, given adequate time and resources, can do much to free teachers to teach and students to learn. The special qualifications of a chairman and the ways in which he may operate have been carefully delineated in the Project's report on *High School Departments of English: Their Organization, Administration, and Supervision*, just published by NCTE. Here I say only that the chairman's essential responsibility is one of providing vigorous, intellectual leadership—stimulating ideas, organizing for curriculum

[1]Dr. Squire, Executive Secretary of the National Council of Teachers of English, served as Director of the Project reported in this and the preceding article; Roger Applebee was Associate Director. These articles, based on presentations made at the Boston Convention of NCTE, are meant to be read together.

development, conferring with teachers, visiting classes, opening classrooms to intervisitation among teachers, assisting in placement and evaluation, of *not*, as is often found, *merely* servicing the department in a most passive sense—distributing books, passing ont papers, filling out forms. Such might better be done by the department's clerk or secretary, a necessary staff member, and one required at least full-time in every department with as many as 14 or 15 teachers.

To do all of these things, the chairman must have time. In even the smallest school he will require at least one class period for departmental duties, in addition to his regular preparation period. In larger schools, he should have an additional period for every five or six teachers, but always, we think, the chairman should teach one class. Thus, in a school of, say, 2,500 students, the chairman teaches only one class and then is free for departmental responsibilities during the rest of the day.

We are convinced, too, that his class assignment should rotate—at one time the teaching of slow students in Grade 9, at another, bright students in Grade 12. So, too, should the assignments of all teachers of English. The assumption of specialization—"I am a tenth grade teacher," "I teach senior honors"—leads only to interrupted sequence and fragmented curricula. Not infrequently we found eleventh-grade teachers possessing little conception of where students had been in English or where they might be going. To avoid specialization so complete that it undercuts departmental unity, we recommend that part of the assignment of every teacher, including the chairman, be regularly rotated according to level and class so he may better understand the problems and purposes at all levels of instruction. In the school we envision, the chairman—in consultation with the principal and his fellow teachers—will be responsible for all assignments in English.

But the chairman can operate as an instructional leader only if he has the complete support and confidence of the bnilding principal. Our visits demonstrate again and again the significance of the principal in determining the intellectual tone of the school. If the principal supports a strong English program—one that emphasizes the disciplined understanding and expression of human thought—if he views the cultural contributions of mankind with at least the same interest and involvement that he devotes to athletic prowess or school architectual problems—then his faculty will respond accordingly.

Have you ever eavesdropped on a faculty lunchroom conversation? To what extent does the staff move beyond small talk in its exchange? How often do you hear discussed an important new book? Significant affairs? A new scientific theory? A new idea of any kind? (One of the reasons we strongly recommend a separate lounge in an English Center is to bring together those interested in language and literature. We have seen in many schools how an informal grouping of teachers will spark a continuous intellectual dialogue.)

Too often we found that the "static" atmosphere on a school faculty resulted directly from a principal uninterested in ideas and/or learning. Conversely, a special concern—the "spiral curriculum" in one school, computerized scheduling in another, perhaps even "Great Books" or the humanities, to mention several we found widespread—these can provoke faculty interest. No college dean nor department head exerts nearly the influence on his faculty according to our college observers, alternately appalled and then enthusiastic over the role of the principal in America's secondary schools.

But to provide the rich atmosphere of intellectual ferment needed in the secondary school, a principal and a chairman must have reasonable freedom of operation. This freedom is not always present. The evidence in our study points

to the enveloping, strangling pressures of administrative practices in large city and multiple-school districts. In one high school, for example, a chairman was asked to prepare 28 copies of an evaluation report on a simple one-hour visit to a single teacher. In another, a 25-year effort to get *The Grapes of Wrath* on the approved district list for school library purchase, a substantial portion of this time resulting from administrative red tape rather than censorship.

Again and again our observers reported principals and teachers meeting at the opening of a term new faculty members whom they had never seen before—and about whom they knew next to nothing. We found English teachers selected and assigned by a central district personnel officer who rarely even visited schools. We found district English supervisors losing their way in driving to particular schools, assistant superintendents who showed up at a school for the first time in two or three years (for the purpose of seeing us, not visiting the students or the teachers), audio-visual depots and textbook supply centers so cumbersome in operation that they seemed designed less to get good new learning aids into the hands of students and teachers than to prevent much use of such materials.

Not all practices in multiple-school districts are as bad as those I have mentioned, and not all district-level personnel are unaware of the problems, but the majority certainly are. And seldom indeed did we find the quality of instruction or the intellectual tone of a school in the multiple-schools districts approaching the quality of the program of the single high school, no matter how large it may have become. As a second and third high school are created, district administration moves away from the school, the administrative decisions become detached from the classroom, and the elaborate special paraphernalia and personnel of the Education Establishment come into being—separate offices, separate architectural and building specialists, separate community relations specialists, even separate district librarians and separate audio-visual coordinators—all removed from the schools, yet vested with vast decision-making powers which directly and seriously affect classroom teaching. With the Commission on English of the College Entrance Examination Board, we have firmly concluded that the real decisions *must* be made in each school, by each English faculty, involving every English teacher.

What does this seem to mean for the administration of a program? Surely, insofar as possible, school administrators should cling to the single school site, resisting the temptation to build a second plant as long as they are able. The decision at Evanston Township High School seems to me an important one, expanding the present plant rather than creating a new one.

But multiple-school districts will remain in medium and larger cities. What can be done there? Attempts, I think, must be made to return authority and decision-making to the teachers, to department chairmen, to administrators in the individual schools—in ways perhaps not yet even understood. English supervisors can perform a vital *service and consultant* function, and in some districts they serve this function magnificently. But the central staffs of large districts most clearly need to recognize that it is the function of the administrators and supervisors to make schools easier for teaching—not to make them cumbersome and difficult—that the quality of an instructional program is more directly related to the smoothness and ease with which each classroom teacher operates, than to the efficiency of district supervision and administration. In many ways I suspect there is a close correlation between the difficulties incurred in administering a program and the excellence and quality of the program itself.

II

THE ENGLISH FACULTY of a department need not be uniformly excellent. This would be too much to expect. Rather it must be composed of well-prepared English teachers of good quality and reasonable vision, encouraged to "stand on tip toes" through the interaction of sound departmental leadership and the catalytic effect of a small cadre of outstanding, creative teachers within the department. That is to say, if it is too much to expect all 90,000 high school teachers of English to be pacesetters in the profession, it is not too much to try to recruit and retain five or six such leaders within every department and then to promote their interaction with the other teachers. The excitement which such a group creates, the ideas which they spark, the standards of teaching they set, the projects they incite, the programs they develop—these will create an atmosphere for learning that is vigorous and bracing. Far more frequently than departments of uniform excellence, we found groups of "middlin' average" teachers sparked by inner-leadership. Far more often than completely inadequate teachers, we found the "static" atmosphere, the disappointing lethargy, the diffidence created in departments which lacked such "inner fire."

But recruiting teachers is one thing; retaining them is another. More important than many goals of education which enlist far more attention from our professional leaders is the crisis in leadership apparent everywhere in education. If we can agree that fundamental to our aims and purposes is the retention of outstanding teachers in teaching positions in our schools, then we must provide adequate status and salary to offset the blandishments of school administration, supervision, and college teaching, to say nothing of the attractions of publishing and industry. Again and again promising young people, potentially gifted teachers, told us in confidence that they wished desperately to remain in classroom teaching but could not impose the permanent financial burden on their families. Talented, educated, obvious leaders, they are seduced from their natural calling by the lure of money and prestige.

To provide inducement for truly gifted teachers to remain in the classroom, no alternative seems open but to pay them what they are worth, no matter how sensitive the profession to the issue of differentiated compensation or merit pay itself. Whether by creating special "chairs" for outstanding teachers or by increasing the compensation offered selected individuals above and beyond published salary scales, appropriate ways must be found, ways fair to all teachers, which separate the wheat from the chaff. I conceive of schools in which a few outstanding teachers with considerable experience may be paid even more than their supervisors and administrators. It is not unusual in a college or university, for example, for two or three truly distinguished scholars to earn several thousand dollars more than their deans or department chairmen. It should not be unusual for the distinguished high school teacher to earn more than his department head, more even than his principal, if we wish to retain him in teaching. It is the qualities of the person—rather than the status of the position he holds—which should characterize the individual to be retained in teaching from his colleagues slated for administrative and supervisory positions.

Some schools are making progress. In New England, we found one principal stepping down after three-years to assume the chairmanship of a department—and, I believe, at no loss in salary, and certainly not in status. In one California school, three "Teacher Executive" positions have been created. Each individual so desiguated receives a special stipend of $1,500, travel expenses of up to $3,000

to attend professional and scholarly meetings and to visit experimental schools, and a full-time paid intern with whom he spends much of his time working and who is present to take over classes whenever the teacher needs to visit out of the school. The appointments are for three years—a time limitation that may be necessary for any special position to permit periodic reassessment and reconsideration.

Who will select these superior teachers? Aye, there's the rub! Under our present system of supervision and evaluation, competent selection may seem influenced more by political considerations than by merit. But in the school envisioned here, adequate protection for all teachers will be built in. With a strong chairman and school administrative support, the pacesetters would be clearly visible. Joint committees of teachers, supervisors, administrators, perhaps a parent or two, could make reasonable, popular selections. With classrooms open, with much interaction among the faculty, and given the conditions we outline as necessary prerequisites for excellence, such processes would not be difficult to achieve. They seem difficult ouly because the present system imposes so many barriers to obtaining a real knowledge about one's fellow teachers.

I would set no firm ceiling on the salary or the conditions of employment for these truly gifted teachers. If it is necessary in retaining teachers, as it was in a State of Washington school, to schedule a teacher for two honors classes within the school and for one sixth-grade humanities class in a nearby elementary school, then I should certainly make the attempt. But I would set a floor. Salary schedules, basic conditions—these are standards from which schools must be ready to depart, but they exist to help us all. I would want most English teachers to have at least five years of education, largely in the liberal arts, and I would expect continual renewal through additional study, formal and informal. Like the schools that we have studied, we would find more than half of the teachers possessing Master's degrees. Whether M.A.'s, M.A.T.E.'s, or M.Ed.'s seems less important than what the degree symbolizes in terms of academic achievement. More important than a degree is continued enthusiasm for learning.

I would want few individuals without the equivalent of sound undergraduate majors teaching English in any department, but from experiences during these years, I should try to be less doctrinaire in determining the "equivalency" than are many schools today. Naturally, adequacy of background in literature, language, and composition is important, but it should be balanced against other things. Some of the most exciting English teaching that I have seen has been conducted by majors in history, philosophy, majors even in education, individuals concerned with ideas and insights wherever they are found, people who have gone on reading and studying well beyond their academic training. Indeed, for some courses I would demand preparation in other fields. No English major would teach English literature in my ideal school without adequate understanding of the history of the English-speaking people, not because it would limit him to an historical approach but because personal knowledge could free him from too rigorous a dependence on such history. No team in the humanities would be without a specialist schooled in the history of Western thought. No American literature class would be planned and conducted by a teacher uninformed about American cultural, social, and intellectual history. Similarly, special background would be required for the programs emphasizing lexicography, the history of the language, or regional and social dialects.

This is not to say that specialization can go so far that every teacher of English will not need to possess basic under-

standings about language, literature, and composition and about developing frontiers of our discipline. But schools need a balanced faculty, some members with interests and specialties in aspects of literature and general cultural history, some with the dimensions of language, some in rhetoric or reading or whatever else may be offered in the program. Only with such balance can an English faculty achieve the perspective needed in our time.

Inevitably then, the selection of faculty members for any school must ultimately rest with individuals informed about the nature of English. Regardless of their administrative convenience, everything I have seen in American high schools during the past three years convinces me that general personnel departments, especially those in large districts, have done a permanent disservice to the teaching of English in this country. Necessary as general personnel officers may be for the initial screening of applicants, someone informed about the internal needs of the department, about the problems of staffing, about the essentials of the subject, must play an important role in recruiting, interviewing, and selecting. In most school districts—regardless of the problems involved—this individual should be the department chairman. Working with the principal, the district supervisor. and—if necessary—the central personnel officer, he can look beyond the immediate credits and units on the transcript to the intellectual and academic qualifications of the applicant.

Unrealistic? I think not. Expensive? I suggest it as an economy to schools truly interested in recruiting outstanding teachers. In large districts where expansion or turnover may be so great that a number of teachers are hired each year, the chairman may well make recruitment trips with a member of the administrative staff. To which district is the potentially strong English teacher most likely to go? To the one represented by a general personnel officer? Or to the one in which the representative is a qualified specialist in English? For the possibility of acquiring truly able teachers, the cost of time and trip seem very slight indeed.

III

OUR IDEAL English curriculum would offer a balanced program—balanced in its attention to all students and to all aspects of our program. For want of better or more basic classification of components, we see language, literature, and composition as the three dimensions—but qnickly state that teachers do injustice to themselves and their subjects if within language they include not *oral* language; if within literature, not *oral* interpretation; if within composition, not *oral* composition. Speech in the general English program seems basic, albeit at present it receives little thoughtful attention. Reading, too, must be an essential part of English. The reading of literature involves crucial skills, attitudes, and insights; the perceptual, cognitive, and linguistic aspects of reading are important dimensions of the language component of English and must be considered in program planning.

But balance among language, literature, and composition need not demand separate but equal time. However the percentage of time which we have discovered may strike you, I, for one, am willing to suggest that the overwhelming emphasis in literature may be exactly what we need, provided the moments of genuine learning are moments of sufficient intensity and depth.

Our literature programs tend to place far too little attention to the *close* reading of literary texts, far too much on superficial coverage and talking *about* texts. This is not, as we initially hypothesized, because English teachers are uninformed about modern textual criticism. Rather a detailed analysis of the academic background of teachers suggests that

most have studied modern criticism. Rather they seem not always to understand how to translate their knowledge of critical approaches to their classroom work. They distinguish not the teaching of *Silas Marner* as a work in itself from the teaching of *Silas Marner* as an example of the novel form; and they tend, too often, to see lessons in literature as ends in themselves, rather than as means by which we can fire students to read widely and well. Thus we find too much lecturing *about* literature—in large groups and small groups both—too little studied analysis. The data we have assembled leads us to recommend more carefully planned attention to teaching the methods and the approaches of close reading of individual texts, far less coverage (of history, works, authors); far more guided individual reading programs built upon the intelligent use of classroom book collections. Indeed, our recommendation is that we strive for 500 appropriate titles for student reading in every classroom—a standard which our observation suggests may well lead to an average expectation that young people read 20 or 25 books a semester rather than the more usual, paltry four or five. Our experience suggests such an approach will lead to greater library use. And we would also provide much school classroom time for reading—at least one hour, if not two, each week—time when the teacher works with individuals and with groups.

For composition we recommend a varied program in writing, not one limited to particular kinds. One of the possible explanations for the success of many of the schools has been variety in assignment. Stampeded neither by the sometime exaggerated emphasis on exposition and analysis, nor by the demand to relate all composition to literature and not to life (as if the two could be separated!), many teachers steer a middle course.

We do think that more should be done to *teach* writing, or better to teach composing, rather than to provide writing activities alone and assume that students will necessarily learn from practice. Students need some understanding of basic rhetorical principles underlying composition; they need, too, the help that can come from rigorous, incisive attention to the processes of thinking and expression which result from careful consideration of their themes. Despite important professional efforts to help teachers annotate student composition more adequately, we find thoughtful analysis of student papers a sometime thing even in the better departments, so we commend this practice again to the attention of the profession.

A word here about creative or imaginative writing. During recent years we have weaned ourselves away from sentimental and undisciplined aspects of creativity; indeed, it has become fashionable to scorn creative expression of many kinds. Several of us on the project team have expressly warned against the danger. But it becomes clear, I think, as we interview the better English students throughout the country, that imaginative writing, especially the writing of poetry and fiction, can serve an important role. Again and again students recall such classroom experiences years before, times when the products of writing may have been far less memorable than the process they underwent. Not until they wrote a poem did they really understand what poetry was. So, at least, they say. The oft-heard argument that much student writing be related to literature is clearly intended to strengthen the students' understanding of and response to literature. By the same logic, cannot well designed experiences in imaginative writing produce students with a unique understanding of literary forms and styles? Perhaps less for its contribution to composition than for the way it can strengthen our offerings in literature, creative writing must be provided for many of our young people.

About programs in language, we have little good to say. In no other area do we find such confusion and concern. Too much of what presently passes for language is little more than a haphazard offering of sporadic usage drills determined solely by errors in students' speech or writing, an important aspect of English to be sure, but an approach to language instruction which in itself is so limited in its conception of what needs to be done that it is clearly out of touch with the prevailing attitudes of our scholars.

Many of the better high school English programs seem to have abandoned any formal and systematic study of English grammar. Unwilling to perpetuate the schoolroom grammar of the past, unable to introduce transformational grammar because of the limited background of the staff, most talk furtively about "structural linguistics" and do little or nothing. In no other basic aspect of English are we so lacking in direction, so subject to the vagaries of a single textbook or a single specialist, so wanting in continuing education. And in only a handful of schools can we report the language program to be more than a euphemism for prescriptive grammar and usage. Here and there we did find units introduced on lexicography, and a few on semantics and symbolic logic, American dialects. or the history of our language. These may be harbingers of change.

One discovery troubles us severely in this area—the tendency of many schools to impose strictures on the language program through large-scale, system-wide adoption of single textbooks and the tendency, where this is done, of teachers seldom or never to use these language books with their classes. The overwhelming number of schools in the study purchase these texts by the hundreds; the overwhelming majority of teachers in the study don't want them, don't use them, and don't protest the waste in public funds. In view of the overwhelming shortage of usable books in classroom libraries, in school libraries, in needed audio-visual equipment for the department and classroom, should we not rethink our present practice?

Indeed the entire use and distribution of funds for books and teaching materials requires the most careful study. Last summer it was announced that the average Job Corps Training Center, educating our "dropouts" or "push-outs," would spend some $70.00 per trainee just to obtain needed instructional materials. Compare this with the paltry five dollars or ten spent annually in many high school programs! Even allowing for the cumulative backlog of materials in schools which reuse books for several years, the discrepancy is great. We are concerned, too, with the lack of use of such materials by students and teachers even when they are available. Why do students much prefer the public library to the collections in their schools? Why will teachers not use machines, electronic equipment, and films when these are made available through a central instructional materials center? Because we see evidence that the use of instructional materials varies inversely with the distance of these materials from the teacher and the classroom, we thus recommend book collections, overhead projectors, and audio-visual materials in every room and the needed projectors, tape recorders and other essentials in nearby departmental English Centers.

One final curriculum problem may be the most pressing of all—the curriculum in English for the non-college bound, the average learner, the lower middle student. Although everything that I have said thus far applies to this sequence no less than to the others, special problems of motivation remain. Teacher motivation, that is. For no one can travel to 168 high schools in this country without sensing an appalling fact: despite the overwhelming acceptance of the tracking program in America's high schools

today, teachers and administrators are giving little attention to the lower tracks. David Holbrook calls the tune in writing of British schools in *English for the Rejected*. Students in our lower tracks are the rejected indeed. Rejected by teachers, by principals, and by supervisors, walled off from any contact with the greatness of our culture. Too often our findings paralleled those of Holbrook in Britain—little attempt to introduce any intellectually stimulating learning, an absence of imaginative literature and excessive reliance on the technological, the scientific, the mechanical; a much greater use of routine drill books, workbooks, and "canned" dittoed lessons. Indeed, again and again, we found the same teacher performing brilliantly with her honors students, performing dully and dismally (and I might add without adequately preparing lessons) with the dullards an hour later.

If I speak bitterly, it is because I know we can do better. If I felt we were really trying and failing, I should take a different position. But for teachers of literature not to present literature, teachers of composition to ignore composing, teachers of language to neglect all we know about the social dialects of their pupils—seems to me shocking and shameful. There are exceptions of course—a humanities program for the lower tracks in one school (needed, I think, more than any humanities program, because these students will never get such in college); in another, an extensive paperback collection of good books for slow readers (*The Pearl*, *Hiroshima*, and *The Bridges of To-Ko-Ri*); a specially equipped English laboratory study hall, well-stocked with books, recordings, listening centers, and inviting reading rooms in the third. But these are clearly exceptions. The overwhelming majority of programs either devote no time to curricular planning for the slow and average or are content merely to "modify" or "adapt" their programs for the college-bound, euphemisms I have come to suspect which merely indicate the failure to devote careful attention to special planning for such students. American teachers seem to believe in the importance of a tracking or grouping system. If so, should not we expect important learnings on each of the tracks? I cannot believe that American society will long support such indifference and lack of concern about the English programs for almost half of our students so evident in this country today.

IV

HERE, then, is the story of the National Study of High School English Programs, a study of 168 high schools in 45 states. It is a study of spectacular successes in teaching and of dismal disappointments. It is no less the story about how some 15 staff members and consultants at the University of Illinois learned about what can be done in English instruction as well as what is not being done, from the only individuals in a real position to know: the classroom teacher in the schools. The dazzling moments of brilliant teaching that we have seen will remain with us always; so will the memory of the students themselves. In the vitality and the dedication of teachers that we have met is the true strength of American education; in their imagination and insight resides our hope for the future. If the study in some way points certain directions through which vitality, insight, and imagination can better be released for the benefit of all students, then we shall not fear the future of our discipline and its teaching in tomorrow's schools.