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ABSTRACT

Research issues concerning all levels of education in the Republic of Ireland and in Northern Ireland are examined in 22 papers. The papers deal with the following topics: information technology and education; the concept of authority as it applies to the professional teacher; an analysis of the theories of R.F. Dearden; a critical assessment of Michael Oakeshott's concept of education; building student self-concept through specific teaching strategies; storytelling; curriculum research; equality as a curriculum goal; pastoral care as a component of Irish education; mathematics education and the open university, readability levels of history texts used in Irish primary schools; reading standards at the college level; English language and literature education; learning with broadcasting; professionalism in teaching; competing ideologies in teacher training; teacher attitudes following the first year of teaching; and a history of the Northern Ireland Induction Program for teacher training. (LP)

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General Editor's Comment

The first task of any Editor is to thank those who have gone before him. I wish to take this opportunity to publicly acknowledge the sterling performance of Dr. John Coolahan as Editor (1980-1983); his commitment to educational studies is total and never wavering.

Since the Journal first appeared in its new format in 1981, educational research and scholarly studies have continued to grow at an ever-increasing rate. It gives me great pleasure to announce that in 1984 we are able to bring out two numbers of Volume 3 - some forty-three papers concerned with all levels of education.

Irish Educational Studies is at a point of departure. The growth of interest in educational studies is enormous in this country, both North and South.

The twenty-two papers in this issue indicate the ground, especially in educational research, that has been, and is being covered in recent years. Subtle shifts in research methodologies and trends are particularly evident. As with all areas of human interest and labour, there will be a building out from the central ground and from past activities. This state of the art is evolutionary. Advances in terms of human understanding have been made, and will be made. Our aim is understanding educational issues; to know more and to understand better how to ask the right questions - the questions of enduring concern. Educational research begins with a question about some particular phenomenon. At this stage in the development of educational research in Ireland the important issue for any researcher is to be asking productive questions. For, to employ Bruner's phrase we are all 'seekers' rather than 'knowers', and the directions in which we search will be fruitful only if we ask the right questions.

Educational studies is coming of age in Ireland. I am able to make this statement in view of the shared sense of community that the members of the Educational Studies Association demonstrate. The Association is truly a community of scholars exemplified by a strong network of conceptual and methodological commitments that govern their work. There are shared paradigms for enquiry in education - these ways of proceeding in research give the field of educational research a sense of identity and unity.

While the foundation areas of education still thrive through the historical, sociological, psychological and philosophical paradigms, there is new interest and focus given to curriculum studies, resulting in renewed interest in life in classrooms whether from the teacher's perspective or from organizational arrangements. A succession of shifting demands imposed upon schools has resulted in curriculum debate and curriculum development. Research into curriculum should inform educational policy making. Innovations and developments are often adopted without sufficient consideration of the facts or the advice of practitioners. Curriculum development is now a reality and a priority area in education. Curriculum decisionmaking has too often in the past, been based upon armchair theorizing and not upon careful, systematic empirical enquiry. The result is that many innovations fail to 'take-off' and are short-lived.

Curriculum research has not been based upon practitioner's work, or, life in classrooms. Curriculum theory will be advanced only if it is 'grounded theory', based upon concepts and ideas that are located in classroom practice. Teachers must learn to be researchers of their own classrooms and carefully monitor and report their experiments and innovatory practices. Teachers have a fundamental role to play in curriculum development and

research. If teaching is to be counted as a profession then teachers must be concerned about advancing knowledge of curriculum problems and be involved in the search for solutions. Let the word go out from here that teachers will have a forum to discuss their work through the Association's Conferences and symposia as well as in its journal.

In January of 1984 we witnessed the establishment of the Curriculum and Examinations Board by the Minister for Education, Gemma Hussey. As Editor, I am certain I speak on behalf of all members in wishing the Board success in its challenging work.

Jim McKernan,
University College Dublin,
February, 1984.

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY AND EDUCATION
- THE FUTURES CHALLENGE

Rhys Gwyn

I wish to deal with a phenomenon which is exercising many minds in a great many countries, and which presents us, I believe, with one of the greatest sets of challenges yet faced by European education.

I take my text (as a renegade Wesleyan Methodist I find that early training dies hard) from the writings of, a most lucid and perceptive historian of Irish education, John Coolman, who remarks:

It remains to be seen to what extent technological advances can be used by teachers to improve their efficiency and also whether they can be used to develop schemes such as long distance learning and various forms of learning networks which may reduce the need of the physical presence of teachers... 1

These remarks were published in 1981 - just two years ago. Yet such is the present rate of advance in the areas upon which I should like to touch, namely the new technologies of information - IT - and their impact upon education that I suspect that in 1981 not even your President realised just how prophetic his remarks in fact were. For the truth is that we are now living with a technology of truly breath-taking power which will probably revolutionise our thinking about education in our own lifetimes.

It is in this direction that I should like to peer this evening. What exactly are the implications of the new technologies for education?

"Peer", not from false modesty, but rather from an acknowledgement that, in respect of IT, we face a changing scenario of so complex a pattern that we can none of us discern the answers to the questions posed for us by the new technologies. Indeed, it is difficult enough to identify the questions which we should be asking, let alone think of answers. I make no claim whatsoever, then, to be able to offer you a definitive guide through this new terrain since, like everyone else, I am unable to predict what lies ahead; it is a field in which there are, quite simply, no experts. The only claim that I make is that I have spent sufficient time worrying about the questions to know that they are very large, and that I do have sufficient knowledge of the "responses" being constructed in Europe to be severely concerned by their inadequacy.

There are many who are familiar already with some of the software being produced for the micro-computers now available to us. Such colleagues will be acutely aware of the gap between the technological achievement and our educational use of it. And I think it important to emphasise that the "now" of the question is not my focus. What we have "now" is a microelectronic technology which is light-years ahead of our ability to use it in education, and we must not judge its potential by the - often very low - standard of much of the educational software currently being produced.

My focus is rather on the near future - more accurately, the variety of futures which we face and the nature of their challenge. My focus is on the teaching life of the young postgraduates whom I teach in Manchester, who will retire - if they continue in service to the age of, let us say 60 - in or around the year 2020. In the years between 1983 and 2020 I think we should anticipate a certain degree of technological advance.

In looking for this focus, I have come to believe it quite essential that we look up from our focus upon "the micro", the solitary machine in the corner of the classroom with which we become all too easily obsessed. Instead, we must view the educational future in terms of information Technology in the widest sense, that is to say the totality of the micro-electronic means available to us for the capture, treatment, storage and retrieval of data. And data, when properly organised and controlled by man, becomes that most powerful of resources: information. It is this totality of new technologies that will impact dramatically upon our educational thinking.

This "totality of micro-electronic means" covers a very wide range of devices, which include, in addition to the ubiquitous micro itself, familiar devices such as radio, television and telephone, but also newer inventions such as satellite communication, fibre-optic cable networks, video, the new 'compact' disc and a burgeoning new technology of laser encoding of microelectronic data; the range is immense.

And at the heart of it all lies the famous silicon chip, the micro-processor, the "little begetter of these things". Perhaps one illustration of its growing power, deliberately couched in layman's terms, will suffice.

What happens "inside" the microprocessor, very simply, is that packets of microelectronic signals are switched around, thereby activating all the logic processes which have been planned into the chip. Each signal can have one of two states: off or on, negative or positive, 0 or 1. In most current microcomputers, there are eight such signals in any one packet of any one microsecond.

It follows, since we are dealing with a set of eight codes, each allowing one of two states, that we have a vocabulary at our disposal of 256 possible codes - i.e. 2^8 , or the range from

0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
to
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

This is this year's technology, which already puts unthought-of computing power into the home, let alone the school. But already there are available microcomputers capable of processing, not 8 but 16 signals per packet. And if we realise that 2^{16} is in fact 65536, then we have a measure of the enormous increase in the micro-computer's power - what a huge extension of its vocabulary - results from a simple doubling of the size of its data packages. And, as we move from "8-bit" to "16-bit" micros, we know full well that the 32-bit micro is already on-stream. Working out 2^{32} is an interesting exercise in quite simple arithmetic ...

What I am saying is that we are facing quite staggering increases in the power of the microcomputers to manipulate languages, logic processes and data storage/recall which already, in the case of mainframe computers, outstrip the capacity of any one human mind. Moreover, this power is not limited to the kind of operation we might describe as purely logical; there is evidence that computers - given the capacities now available to mainframes - can perform what we might call lateral thinking or intuitive leaps...

This vast capacity, then, is linked to the totality of means described earlier for communicating the data thus handled and the information which we can extract from it. One low-capacity floppy disk can hold the equivalent of twenty five A4 pages; a high-capacity

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floppy holds about 200 such pages; on today's technology, 500 pages can be encoded electronically by laser beam on a credit-card sized piece of plastic, but by next year it will be 2500 pages; one laser-encoded compact disk can hold about one million pages (and compact disks are robust, so that there is no reason why they could not be stacked, juke-box fashion). Search time is approximately 400,000 pages per second, and the cost of such a disk in 1990 is anticipated to be about \$15. This increase in the amount of electronically-encoded memory available to us in the school, the home, the pocket even, is nothing short of phenomenal.

What we are looking at, therefore, is a revolution in our concept of what constitutes knowledge. Renaissance man becomes an outdated ideal, though there is the happy paradox that this does not mean a dehumanising of education; on the contrary, the extraordinary power of the new technology will require us, as educators, to place a high emphasis on the very human skills of organising and using the knowledge which the technology will store for us. Memorising, rote, we can leave to the machines.

To say this is to say that we must begin to rethink our pedagogy, and the implications are already immense. But we must still beware that our focus does not become too narrow, limited to the classroom as traditionally conceived.

All the signs are that the new technologies are set to become the economic and social basis of the society in which we live. They have behind them a power of inevitability. What we have to note is that they are, as a collective phenomenon, remarkably akin in their functions to the functions of education itself. The acquisition, treatment, storage and recall of data and its transmutation into information, into knowledge, into

A resource for obtaining mastery over our environments and our destinies: these are the functions of education and of the new technologies equally. That is to say, we are moving into an era when education could be in the happy position - provided we can respond adequately to the challenge - of drawing upon a technology which is supported by very great economic pressure and which is uniquely supportive of education itself. This will be a totally new situation and we must recognise it: the vast new technologies of information are equally vast new technologies of learning.

What they offer also is a new flexibility, hitherto undreamed-of, in our way of organising education. There are massive questions to be faced. If knowledge can be carried in a wallet, if what we need to learn is how to learn, if communication technology allows any one pupil at any time or place to access his or her learning requirements - then what exactly is the function of school? Why do we need "classes" of children artificially grouped by age? Do we need school as an institution? If so, why?

I believe that there are answers to these questions, but I am very much more certain that these questions exist. I realise their implications, and I know that they are not to be asked lightly. But what perturbs me is that they are not being asked. I believe I know fairly well what national policies for IT in education exist in Europe. I am gravely concerned that, in each and every case, and for a variety of more or less deplorable reasons, the focusses being brought to bear on this issue are narrow and constrained.

One final illustration may serve. The countries of Europe are concerned about their unemployment problems, and automation, robotisation and the like come in for a share of blame. Certainly the advent of the microchip

has an impact (of what kind I am not yet certain) on the employment market. What I find cowardly, at national levels, is that there is no attempt to examine the full implications of the possibility that we are in fact experiencing a sea-change: that we are moving out of a centuries-old tradition wherein full "employment" (whether in post-Industrial Revolution or agrarian or feudal or tribal terms is immaterial) has been the norm, and into a situation characterised, not by unemployment as an aberration from that norm but by nonemployment as a new, permanent and different norm.

I do not claim to know whether such a change is, in fact, taking place. I do know that, if it is, then we are in for a very radical re-think of the purpose, function and nature of education in our society. At present, no country in Europe is even admitting that the question exists, and I am convinced that to ignore it is the height of irresponsibility.

I acknowledge that what I am doing here is starting a whole series of conceptual hares. For my part, I stand by my assertion that we might just be in for the roughest + most challenging, most stimulating, most dangerous - rise that education has had since Plato. I may be wrong, but I suspect that at the very least a cautious examination of the ideas which I have put forward would be a prudent investment.

I conclude with a reference to a great Irish writer, the delight of my years spent (as a Cymro) teaching "English" literature. I am not sure what shape it is that "is moving its slow thighs, while all about it / Reel shadows of the indignant desert birds". But clearly - surely, he cannot have known? - it is awakened "somewhere in sands of the desert", however much those sands are rarified in the laboratories of Silicon Valley. Certainly, its hour is "come round at last" as it

"slouched towards Bethlehem to be born". The question is, where in Bethlehem? I doubt that it will be the stable. My hope is that, if we face early and resolutely enough to the directions in which it might go, if we continue the debate, identify our questions, begin to construct answers, then we may be able to ensure that the birth does not take place in the temple of Mammon either.

I am acutely conscious that a brief address such as this can do not more than offer a superficial sketch, and I appreciate that I run the risk of appearing to present a highly coloured scenario. My own belief is that I have used watercolour, not impasto. If my diagnosis is correct, then I believe that a country such as yours, which has welcomed the new technologies to its shores but which boasts of a deeply human approach to questions of education, and specifically an Association such as yours, which has a unique capacity to reflect widely on educational problems within a context which is not so large as to be unmanageable but which contains within it a great depth of professional expertise, both have important contributions to make to the most important educational debate which we face in Europe at present.

REFERENCE

1. Coolahan, John, Irish Education: History and Structure. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1981, p.232.

**THE CONCEPT OF AUTHORITY: AN ESSENTIAL PERSONAL
DIMENSION FOR THE PROFESSIONAL TEACHER**

Professor Séamas V. O Súilleabháin, C.F.C.

1. The Notion of Authority: Some General Reflections

Authority is sometimes referred to as 'legitimath power' as, for instance, the way in which some people interpret the authority of the State. Both 'power' and 'authority' are rather vague terms with varying shades of meaning. Ultimately, however, 'power' signals coercion whereas authority signals a voluntary acceptance, a type of compact or covenant. In the phrases 'the authority of power' and 'the authority of service' it is the latter which is closer to the true meaning of authority.

According to the type of their legitimacy Max Weber has identified three kinds of authority. One of these is referred to as traditional for example the traditional authority of chiefs, kings, rulers of one kind or another or the authority involved in institutions, customs and rules. This type of authority is accepted on the basis of the common good, the right ordering of society. A second type of authority is the legal-rational for instance in the question of ownership, or in the authority of the judge or expert in the matter of interpretation. Finally there is the charismatic authority of the innovating leader who impresses his will by the appeal of his personality, or by generating a faith in his mission, or by the belief that he can save his followers from their doubts and perplexities for example de Gaulle or Martin Luther King.

If one were to examine more closely these general reflections on the notion of authority one would have to

make a very important distinction between de jure authority and de facto authority.

De jure authority has the notion of authority conferred either by law, rule or authorisation. In this context we have the concept of acting on behalf of someone where at times one may exceed one's authority. Implied in this notion of authority there is a clear expression of the origin of the authority in question, in short the 'author'. This may well be God, or the ruler, or the parliament. In this case authority has an origin, an author. The authority is accepted and obeyed by the others, the actors. This applies either in the case of a sovereign or in the case of a democracy. This type of de jure authority applies to teachers, as well as to many other groups. The teacher is authorised to act by virtue of the authority invested in the state by common consent of the people expressed in parliamentary institutions. Furthermore the teacher is also acting on behalf of the parents. In both cases the teacher acts on the basis of de jure authority.

While this type of authority legitimises the general function of the teacher the purpose of this paper is to bring into greater prominence what the present writer considers to be the key to the professional development of teachers, that is de facto authority.

De Facto authority implies the recognition of another as entitled to command or to make pronouncements. Faced with this kind of authority a person may obey or not, accept or not but somehow the person feels that he ought to obey, that he ought to accept, that he ought to believe. There is the implication of some level of superiority in the particular context. Here we are in the province of the expert, the professional, the person with the specialised knowledge and/or experience. This type of authority is nearly always acknowledged even if not necessarily

accepted. By way of example one might take the case of a headmaster who, by virtue of his office has de jure authority but if, through incompetence, indifference he is generally ignored and has nothing to offer then one could say that he lacks any de facto authority.

De facto authority often stands in some relation to de jure authority, where some principle of legitimacy, law, custom, religion gives one the right to command, to make pronouncements. This applies to the priest, to the judge, to the teacher. If one accepts the legitimating principle (where did he get the right...?) the official will also enjoy de facto authority (the right is conferred by law, custom.. in virtue of specialised training and qualifications).

In this context then we have the notion of authority linked to recognition and competence. It presumes standards, nearly always public, by which competence and expertise is assessed and recognised.

At this point one may ask how does one justify authority? Who justifies authority? What are the limits of authority? Under what conditions is authority exercised? The justification of authority is a complex issue and would need a thesis to itself. In brief one can say that in more ancient times the idea of authority came from God and was extended to cover civil leaders as well. With the advent of liberalism following on the Protestant Reformation, and subsequently, the notion of all being equal, of all having access to the 'inner light', it became necessary for many to justify human authority in secular terms. Hence it became essential to work out the relationships involved in such terms as authority, reason, and freedom. The relationship is often expressed in the context of consent theory which in essence is a moral theory of authority. This means 'I have a duty to accept but not of necessity to agree in judgement'. This idea

allows for human reason and freedom by accepting authority on the basis of consent as opposed to a theory of absolute authority which would deny the right to judge.

II. De Jure Authority within the Teaching Context

John Wilson in his work *Philosophy and Practical Education* writes:

Authorities (referees, arbitrators, umpires) are necessary not just to punish vice but to provide clarity in those rule-governed activities: the editor's decision is final.¹

In other words authority is inevitable. Furthermore the structural contexts which incorporate and clothe these activities, that is institutions, are also inevitable. De jure the school is a task situation, business must be done, negotiations are carried out, decisions are made, rules are written down and hence interpretation must be sought on occasion. Authority, therefore is inevitable. We are all aware, however, that there may be various styles of authority in operation within institutions, for instance, democratic, authoritarian, laissez-faire. Prevailing viewpoints and circumstances will often dictate the style. Laissez-faire would not serve the needs of a nation at war. Full scale democratic style of leadership would not serve the captain of a ship in difficult conditions. In the school context the pupils are too immature for the full range of democratic principles. Some form of firm but benign authority is needed in a school. The immaturity of pupils demands the service of a solicitious authority in order to mature. This is to say that the function of this kind of authority is to abolish itself as maturity is reached.

Under the de jure context the authority of teachers is bestowed by parents and society. The question arises then: how do teachers interpret this authority? Are they

always bound by the rules? Certainly within the de jure context teachers can be questioned on the boundaries of the authority given. One needs a context for questioning. De jure authority implies obedience within the levels of legitimacy conferred. Otherwise authority becomes equated with advice which would overturn the total structure. In the school context then the pupil, through the authorisation of parents, is contractually within the authority of the teacher.

The legitimacy of the authority of the teaching community is clear enough. What is not so clear is the justification for what teachers do. Teachers teach on the assumption that pupils want to learn what they teach; they teach a programme generally assumed by society as beneficial and necessary for both pupil and society. This is an extremely broad canvas. The outstanding questions for another time and place would hinge around the meaning of such concepts as 'beneficial', 'necessary', 'the motivation of pupils', 'the perceptions of parents and of society'.

At this point one has run up against the boundaries, the limits, of de jure authority. De jure authority within the teaching context does not stretch far enough to cover the quality of teaching activities, nor the teacher's interpretation of the programme, perhaps his very reasoned criticism of the programme. De jure authority does not cover all the skills needed to structure a learning environment for individual pupils, nor to shape those experiences which will help the pupil to realise the possibilities of his human nature. Something more is therefore needed before we will be in a position to consider the professional element. This is where the topic of de facto authority holds the key to the essential personal dimension of the professional teacher. De jure authority legitimises his presence:

it is de facto authority which brings professional respect for his activity.

III. De Facto Authority within the Teaching Context

Quoting from Hans-Georg Gadamer in his book on Truth and Method

... authority cannot actually be bestowed but is acquired and must be acquired if someone is to lay claim to it. 2

Authority, therefore, rests on recognition. It is a voluntary acknowledgement. Gadamer puts it this way:

It is primarily persons that have authority - but the authority of persons is based ultimately, not on the subjection and abdication of reason but on recognition and knowledge - knowledge that the other is superior to oneself in judgement and insight hence his judgement takes precedence. 3

Authority so recognised is not irrational nor arbitrary but can in principle be seen to be true.

This is the essence of authority claimed by the teacher, the superior, the expert.4

While there are legal supporting structures for the teacher, and indeed for many teachers other forms of support through associations and unions, the teaching community should strengthen their professional status by the quality of the expertise the teachers bring to their day to day activity. When it is a question of a person's work the medical, the legal, the engineering professional will ultimately fall back upon the quality of his preparation, his experience, and finally the judgement of his peers. His freedom of action is ultimately based upon the recognition of his authority. The de jure support, while important, becomes marginal. The point at issue here, then, is the quality and length of the

pre-service education of teachers. This professional element has improved over the recent past but would need further strengthening to provide the teacher with the necessary rationale for his practical work, to allow him to be more confident in his judgements, to be able to add, through research, to the expanding corpus of professional knowledge. In brief then a teaching fellowship with well developed pre- and in-service courses. It is in this way that the authority of the teaching community will be able, in real educational matters, to transcend central authority, will be able, to modify structures and will have the confidence of parents and of the public.

What we are talking about here is inherent authority rather than delegated authority. As seen at present would this inherent authority be fully accepted by a critical public if put to the test? Would the teachers actions be justified and find public acceptance on the basis of superior recognition? What self-concept or self-understanding do teachers have of themselves as professionals in the sense being developed here? Or are many of the teacher's actions based upon ad hoc decisions, on rules of thumb, on staffroom tradition, or on a trial-and-error basis. If this were the case there would not then be the de facto authority which should go largely unchallenged. This latter authority presumes that the person in authority has met standards which are public, recognised, and accepted; standards which allow practice where competence hinges upon qualification and judgement by peers and the clients.

IV. Authority, Freedom and Constraints

However superior the professional authority of the teacher his freedom is constrained by a number of factors.

In one sense according to Bantock in Freedom and Authority in Education the teacher is a representative of something beyond himself and so he must make demands accordingly. Perhaps the best authority for teacher and pupil alike is the authority inherent in the subject, in what is to be learned. If one is to make any headway one is obliged to obey the authority of the subject, the discipline on hands. If teacher and pupil (senior) accept this authority they are working together and not against one another. One can readily agree that there is an impersonal element in education something beyond the fortuitous relationship of master and pupil. This latter is important as an essential component of good education is the contact of persons, of minds. Bantock maintains that "... the fact of authority, however subtly disguised enters into the pursuit of all knowledge".⁵ If the child is to learn he is not free except in a relative sense. As was mentioned above subjects and disciplines have their own authority and so you can only come to terms with them by following an appropriate method. Freedom, therefore, is not the prerogative of method. Young people are in a state of tutelage and hence 'the nature of the thing' for immature minds only comes to be revealed in the course of the experience of it.⁶ How true all this is.

There are of course other constraints of time, place, numbers, and so forth but these are generally part of the structures. Within the concept of authority one must be able to see the relationship between authority and freedom and authority and constraints. Freedom is never licence and personal authority is always aware of limits, of boundaries, of constraints. These in no way lessen authority but allow authority to act and to express itself in ways that are voluntarily accepted by the community. Authority used in this sense enables the teacher and pupil to develop a 'conversation' with the subject to get underway.

V. Wherein Lies the Competence that Receives Recognition?

Initially recognition will come from qualification(s) and an appointment within the system. Once established competence will be judged on two levels. One of these levels is, of course, within the classroom and the varied activity of any school day. On the other level competence will also be judged by the quality of out of school debate either in public or in peer groups of associates.

Within the school this competence is shown in so many ways that it would be quite difficult if not impossible to enumerate them all. Certainly to appreciate one's role within the structure of society, to be responsible to, and for, the system and to act on one's own responsibility would be some general indicators of competence. After those one could talk about how the teacher organizes, presents, and evaluates his work, how he structures experiences, how he diagnoses and solves problems either in method or in more personal concerns. Does he enthuse, inspire and motivate his pupils? Does he open windows, stretch minds and develop people? Is he a colleague, one of a team and contributing to school policy and well able to defend that policy. There is no great necessity in the present context for providing detailed descriptions of high competence in any of the skills a teacher brings to his work. But the authority, the real authority, of the teacher comes from a wide acceptance and recognition of this high level of competence across both the academic and professional areas. What is involved here is not just professional skills but my concept of myself as a professional, my understanding of what this means to me and as a result of my education a deep commitment to my work. In short I am justified from within rather than from without.

If education is to continue to contribute to the nation, and if education is to share in the shaping of our society, much greater competence on the part of the teaching community will be demanded by the circumstances of our present and future times. Those, therefore, with the obligation and the expertise should work to bring a greater competence about by modifying or altering structures so that greater recognition will be forthcoming for teachers and hence their authority will increase and so lessen administrative, political, and other forms of interference with the strictly professional side of education.

VI. The Exercise of Authority

Unlike the doctor and the lawyer who work on a one-to-one basis or the architect and engineer who work with inanimate material the teacher works with groups of minors who are in his care contractually by authorization of parents. The exercise of authority becomes a complex affair demanding a sensitivity to the rights and obligations of many persons. This is over and above the professional handling of the teaching situation. The teacher has links with the home, the church, the local community, his fellow teachers, local and central administration. His exercise of authority must win the approval of all these groups. So prudence, sensitivity, awareness, discretion come within the exercise of his authority and come together in his self-understanding. To fulfill his professional role the exercise of his authority should be able to overcome tension or conflict between home and school, be able to assess the impact of socio-economic factors on the learning tasks set for his pupils, be able to win their willing acceptance of the task on hands which sometimes calls for an obstinacy which is both inspired and courageous. This

type of authority is developed and sharpened by experience, comes easier to some personalities than to others and can be greatly helped by the support of colleagues.

The purpose of the exercise of authority is to form men for freedom as the Document of Vatican II on Religious Freedom says:

... men who will be lovers of true freedom - men, in other words who will come to decisions on their own judgment and, in the light of truth, govern their activities with a sense of responsibility and strive after what is true and right, willing always to join with others in cooperative effort. 7

Authority is closely related to freedom and fosters freedom. Authority is based upon the recognition of its competence as true. In all authority there is truth and freedom. The authority of the teacher must stretch to the highest and best forms of competence. This competence itself will only serve its purpose if it is based upon freedom and truth. This is the inherent authority of the teachers separate and distinct from his delegated authority. Both self-understanding and self-discipline are needed if one is to appreciate authority and not abuse it. The concept of authority is the essential personal dimension for the professional teacher. This then is the challenge facing all of us involved in the sphere of education. Not to face it would place in jeopardy the future development of our profession.

REFERENCES

1. John Wilson, Philosophy and Practical Education. (London: Routledge and Regan Paul, 1977), p.53.
2. Hans-Georg Gadamer, Truth and Method. Translated by G. Barden and J. Cumming. (New York: Seabury Press, 1975), p.248.
3. Ibid., p. 248.
4. Ibid., p. 248.
5. G.H. Bantock, Freedom and Authority in Education. (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), p. 189.
6. Ibid., p. 194.
7. "Declaration on Religious Liberty" (Dignitatis Humanae) in Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents, ed. by Austin Flannery, O.P. (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1981 edition), paragraph 8, p. 805.

TO DEVELOP AUTONOMY: A CRITIQUE OF R.F. DEARDEN,
AND TWO PROPOSALS

Victor Quinn

Autonomy as an educational idea has had a strong champion in the work of Professor R.F. Dearden. I agree with much that he assumes and argues, but there is substantial disagreement on the vital question, 'are any freedoms necessary conditions of developing autonomy?' (referred to for convenience as THE Question). I shall deal firstly with the quality of five arguments by which he achieves a negative answer. Then after a few structural points I shall move to substantive argument for a positive answer, that there are two such freedoms. My line of argument will take me positively into the area of achievement he projects very tentatively as he suggests¹ that when

... a more comprehensive and altogether ampler educational ideal has been formed, there may well be some implications to be drawn for the manner of educating which will be compatible with developing autonomy

Dearden argues, I believe rightly, that certain freedoms are necessary conditions of exercising autonomy. He proceeds in two central papers² to question whether they are necessary for its development also. He moves to a negative answer based on five brief arguments. The quality of these arguments is important because in response, and on the basis of the negative answer, nothing needs to be or is said for any such freedom. Since Dearden is alone, in the recent tradition, in seriously raising THE Question, the status of his mistaken, as I believe, answer to a very important educational question,

is elevated unacceptably.

It is vital to an accurate assessment of the strength of Dearden's case that the logical status of his question be manifest. To ask if A is a necessary condition of B is clearly not to ask if it is a sufficient condition of B; neither is it to ask if A alone is a condition of B; it is not to ask if the opposite of A is thereby not another possible condition. It is a fortiori also not to ask if A alone is the best condition of B.

If a grasp of these rather formal points is unsteady, it is as well to construct a psychologically more manageable example. Thus to argue that a female component is a necessary condition of mammal conception is not to argue that it is a sufficient condition thereof; it is not to argue that it alone is a necessary condition; it is not to argue that a male element is thereby not possibly a necessary condition also; least of all is it to argue that the female component is best.

I come now to Dearden's first argument in response to THE Question. He says³

Yet the granting of various freedoms by a parent or teacher might simply have the result that his direction is replaced by that of some other agency still external to the child such as the peer group, or 'pop culture' heroes. (his emphasis)

I don't doubt that what is claimed is true. I would further assert in the indicative mood that autonomy sometimes does not ensue upon the granting of such freedoms. And this failure tells strongly against seeing the granting of these freedoms as a sufficient condition of developing autonomy. It does not at all touch the issue of their necessity. That is, it does not touch THE Question.

After accurately illustrating the insufficiency of these freedoms to the development of autonomy, e.g. the boy gaining his freedom from Borstal yet not development autonomy, he moves to his second argument:⁴

On the other hand, and with at least some children, it might be precisely a strict upbringing, with relatively little freedom, which does develop autonomy. (his emphasis)

Again I do not disagree with the claim, whether expressed conditionally, as here, or indicatively. In two respects I urge the total irrelevance of the true claim. Firstly, 'relatively little freedom' is not 'no freedom', and so it is arguable that, against the overt force of the statement, the tacit force is to agree that some (though little) freedom is indeed a necessary condition of developing autonomy. Whatever about that, THE Question is not addressed while some freedom is present. Secondly, the quoted claim is irrelevant since a degree of compulsion is perfectly compatible with a degree of its opposite or antithesis, freedom. And both are compatible as necessary conditions of developing autonomy. The superficial implausibility of having two opposite or antithetical factors, both as necessary ingredients, is surely something that disintegrates in the face of a multitude of examples - rest and exertion, reward and punishment, empirical and non-empirical support. The assumption of exclusivity is to be highlighted and rejected..

On the basis of the possibility quoted, Dearden moves on to the unobjectionable but quite irrelevant reflection⁵

... the general question of the best conditions for the development of autonomy is doubtless very largely an empirical one.

There is no advertance to the fact that THE Question, with which the section began, has been abandoned in favour of the much broader and arguably more important one as to the best conditions. The claim that this new question is largely an empirical one has no bearing whatever on the abandoned question, with regard either to its status as empirical or to its answer.

What is structurally objectional about these three detailed faults is that it is on the basis of these arguments that he moves to a conclusion of the section (on THE Question) with the cumulative impression of a negative outcome of questioning. This unreasonable outcome is aggravated not just by the transition of question but by three additional features irrelevant to THE Question, the 'perhaps', 'easy' and 'quite obviously' in this his true, concluding sentence:⁶

Nevertheless, it is perhaps worth while in the present climate of opinion to question the easy assumption that the conditions necessary for the exercise of autonomy will quite obviously be the same as the conditions under which it is best developed.

His fourth argument for a negative outcome occurs in the second paper Autonomy as an Educational Ideal. Having reaffirmed the distinction between exercising and developing autonomy, he repeats precisely THE Question. His answer⁷ is a guarded and strong one, if one allows for the already treated, extraneous 'best' and 'rather':

Logically, it could be the case that a rather strict and tightly controlled upbringing best developed an autonomous character, partly through the ingredient disciplines which it taught and partly through the inward rebellion which it engendered.

It should be remembered that to develop the inward rebellion or the aspiration to autonomy is not to develop

autonomy. But it is arguably, logically the case that the complex achievement of autonomy, involving as it does an integrated disposition of the will, of reason, of self-knowledge, of feelings, of choice etc., could emerge fully fledged on the first occasion that one is free to exercise choice, judgement etc. The pre-determined ingredient disciplines and the aspiration might be sufficient. Similarly, it is clearly the case that a central defender might logically develop his full potential for match-winning without ever having had the combinative freedom of playing a match, but merely by attention to the ingredient disciplines and the will to win.

I would have considerable difficulties, due perhaps to a dearth of imagination, in conceiving of either of such individuals as being of my species. Such difficulties however, would move towards empirical impossibility rather than logical. And the claim that the achievement is highly implausible or impossible is irrelevant. Implausability is the premium demanded by rigour. But the options are not as stark as this suggests, for two reasons. Firstly, the remarkable person in whom autonomy emerged fully-fledged on the first occasion of freedom would be illustrating the phenomenon of only one exercise being a necessary condition of its development. If there is no diminution of autonomy resulting from perplexity in the face of new-found freedoms of thought and action, then this instates this single instance as a necessary condition of autonomy's final development. Secondly, implausibility and rigour can be cross-traded in another move: i.e. by highlighting a feature of the concept that is scantily present in Dearden's account (and not at all in response to THE Question). This involves my positive proposals, in particular the concept 'practice', intervening as it does between 'autonomy' and 'skill'.

The fifth critical point is not so much an argument as a feature of argument, i.e. the assumption of excess. As such it approaches the fallacy in the 'assumption of exclusivity'. Again in the second paper, the paragraph⁸ that asks if freedom is necessary goes on to deal with the extreme cases of A.S. Neill allowing a pupil a twelve year absence from lessons, and Illich wanting 'freedom from school altogether'. Various points are then made against 'advocates of extreme freedom'. Centrally these points relate to the assumption that autonomy is 'a natural development'. Deschoolers and 'more moderate child-centred theorists, assume without either evidence or even reasonable expectation that children are already autonomous before their education begins'. However socially relevant the criticism of such argument is, it is conspicuously disingenuous to associate it with the very important question as to whether freedoms as such are necessary to developing autonomy.

I have dealt with Dearden's arguments at some length for two reasons. Firstly, the attitude to the place of freedom in developing autonomy which comes across in his work is widespread and influential in recent philosophy of education. This is coupled with the point made earlier that he has been prominent in giving explicit attention to the connection between the two concepts. The quality of his arguments⁹ has largely gone uncriticised and the corresponding place allocated to freedom has been to an extent undisturbed because he has argued in the context of directing his arguments against what I would call the 'rabid freedomists', the de-schoolers and others. I want to work towards re-instating freedom by attempting to strike a balance between the poverty of the targets of his arguments, and the poverty of his arguments. We should then be less subject to facile argument or avoidance of argument such as this by Prof. R.S. Peters in Perspectives on Plowden, a resort to obscured

tautology in the service of recommendation:

... too little is known about how such autonomy independence, and 'creativity' is developed. It may well be that a very bad way of developing this is to give children too many opportunities for uninformed 'choices' too young.

There is a final structural point before I present the positive account. There are aspects of Dearden's account of autonomy which should, I believe, oblige him to answer his own question positively. That is, there are features of his analysis which I believe should render necessary conditions of developing autonomy. That he does not draw these, and even that they might be supportive of mine, in no way weakens my case, either negative or positive. I would have no reason to be embarrassed by such support. Rather would I be encouraged by the suggestion of confluence, since the concept of personal autonomy can present few questions as important as the one of necessary conditions. A crucial aim of the educational philosopher is that of clarifying the flow of education, and thereby the task of the school and the teacher, in identifying those conditions without which there will be no autonomy. Agreement in this would be heartening.

In the short piece, Was ist Aufklärung? Kant identifies the chief obstacles to autonomy:¹¹

Laziness and cowardice are the causes, why so great a part of mankind, after nature has long freed them from the guidance of others (naturaliter majorenes), willingly remain minors as long as they live; and why it is so easy for others, to set themselves up as their guardians.

I think Kant is wrong in that he does not include the absence of skill among these causes. The first freedom that I posit as a necessary condition is the freedom to

exercise and develop the complex skills that are constitutive of autonomous behaviour. The sense of 'skill' involved (lest there be any other) has got at least empirically necessary connections with practice. To be skilled, in this sense, is to have practised and to have achieved a relatively steady competence as a result of this practice. Still at a formal level, and without anticipating my second freedom, the skill can be further specified as a comprehensive, high-level, integrated competence, in which the integration involves reasoning, feeling, choosing and acting. If a person is denied the freedom to practice the integration of these facets, not of his mind but of his person, or if he simply never has the opportunity, then he is not autonomous.

The word 'skill' may cause worries here, because it clearly can and often is used to refer to a much more circumscribed achievement, instrumental to some business of living or doing. Clearly I want to avoid any such circumscription. To become skilled in the exercise of autonomy, whilst not synonymous with education, has some of the same features of inherent worth that education has. It is not to be skilled in the sense that skill might be the outcome of mere training or mere practice of a routine. Rather, the freedom that is necessary is that of skillfully and assuredly exercising the integration of the ingredient disciplines on the one hand, and on the other the appropriately individual, human choices that are constitutive of autonomy.

The point is similar to Aristotle's celebrated point that the good and just man becomes so by good and just acts. I think the case is even stronger with autonomy than with good. We would be inclined to call a man good if he aspired to being good and acted on this aspiration, even though he was clumsy or incompetent or unselfknowing

at putting his aspiration into practice. And the flogging aspirant to autonomy we would not call autonomous. In the sense, however, that Aristotle has a strong and proper insistence on the 'good man' being fully-fledged in his goodness, steadfast and taking pleasure in good acts, he is drawing attention to the need of practice. The laziness and cowardice that Kant refers to as the causes of adult 'nonage', are in my opinion symptoms or consequences of the more fundamental and more remediable cause which is the failure to practise to maturity the steady facility, and to enjoy its exercise.

The case must not be left here, as it is important to move from a formal to a more material characterization of what must be practised. This involves some detailing of what one means by autonomy. There is considerable agreement between Dearden and me on this, though I would give greater prominence to choice and to the affective aspects, to inclination, at some expense to reason, particularly formal logic,¹² rule, and the etymologically vestigial 'law'.

I present no argument for the previous contrast, which is incidental to my claim about this first freedom. But the second freedom is a material example. The autonomous person is the person who has, among other skills one of making choices which are appropriate to his individual character in a range of personal spheres. I use the term 'choice' with emphasis on (lest there be some attenuated use that diminishes it) freedom. 'Choice' means freely deciding, and at some stage also deciding on the criteria of choice, as to what is right for me.

But for reasons adduced previously, even this emphatically free choice is not necessarily autonomous choice. Autonomous choice may develop from, but must have, relevant freedoms. The reason is that many of the skills constitutive of autonomy require the systematic and

pervasive elimination of the unforeseeability of the outcomes of our choices. They are learned slowly by trial and success and error, they are learned as we come to see the folly of our projected assumptions, the weakness (or strength) of our determination, the incipient complexity of what is to be understood, the transience of our intentions, the self-deception in our self criticism, the pervasive danger of being dazzled by self. To be not allowed to encounter and discover and grow through these qualities (as far as such denial were possible) would be to delay at least, and possibly to deny, the development of the complex and elusive skills that make free choice into autonomous choice.

Choice as to how one uses one's leisure is a sphere, among others, which is sufficiently significant to mark a person as autonomous or not. It therefore serves as an example of my point about the growth of foresight, and it suggests an educational directive and hopefully also a schooling directive. The freedom condition is made prominent here, because by contrast with, say, formal logic, the external norms are greatly diminished. Coming to know what suits one in leisure is largely not a matter of discovering what is right, but of discovering what is right for one. It involves discovering what things are sources of compatible entertainment, enrichment, relaxation, achievement etc. It involves discovering what activities are rewarding within the actual rather than projected or fantasized limits of one's resolution. It involves coming to distinguish between activities, some of which are genuine and some illusory sources of reward. It involves sampling and sufficiently savouring activities so that the actual experience of the activity, rather than the perhaps prejudiced or snobbish but certainly external expectation, in future informs one's choice. It is, of course, possible that the experience will in all cases confirm the personal rightness of the choices,

that the expectation will become established rather than be questioned. That event would not diminish the importance of what I propose; it would simply illustrate a particular way in which the person developed appropriate, tested convictions, based on choice.

Earlier I criticized Dearden for the assumption that freedom as a necessary condition precludes compulsion or intervention. My account now might appear to be proposing freedom exclusively. I much correct that appearance by addressing myself to a teaching consequence of my educational point.

It should be remembered that compulsion can achieve some but strictly not all of what I have proposed. That is because sampling can be achieved under compulsion whereas the education of choice cannot. But more importantly, it would be astonishing if guidance had no part to play in the process of self-discovery proposed. Self-deception moves in two chronological directions. It is possible for a person to move through a period of growth towards more realistic choices and yet conveniently forget the folly of the former state. I would suggest some means of recording the early choices, the reasons for them, and the expectations for them. These could be compared with how things turned out, to show perhaps the mismatch of ambition with the actual resources of time, effort and ability. Such a log or journal would primarily be a document to self about self enduring and changing in time, but there is no reason why a sufficiently sensitive teacher should not become a valuable part of this dialogue. The teacher's role would fundamentally be one of questioning and reminding (but also of compelling outwards towards further experience, in pursuit, minimally, of balance) so as to ensure the expansive and reflective encounter with unsettled self, to the end of maximizing the increasingly steady skill based on practice of choosing as in one's real interest, what interests one.

FOOTNOTES

1. Dearden, R.F. (1975) Autonomy as an Educational Ideal I. in S.C. Brown (Ed.), Philosophers Discuss Education. London: The Macmillian Press, p.18.
2. As detailed under footnotes 1 and 3.
3. Dearden, R.F. (1972) Autonomy and Education. In R.F. Dearden, P.N. Hirst and R.S. Peters (Eds.) Education and the Development of Reason. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp. 451-2.
4. Ibid., p. 452.
5. Ibid., p. 452.
6. Ibid., p. 452.
7. Dearden, Autonomy as an Educational Ideal, p. 11.
8. Ibid., pp. 11-12.
9. I take the instance of autonomy here to be but one of many topics on which Dearden represents a wider tradition of unfair use of argument directed against what I would loosely call 'learner-centred' education. I cannot and don't attempt to support that claim here, but simply alert the reader to it.
10. Peters, R.S. (1969) Perspectives on Plowden. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, p. 11.
11. Kant, I, (1784) Was ist Aufklarung? Berlinische Monatsschrift. The prominence of 'development' in Kant's account is usefully presented by the contrast between 'enlightened' and 'enlightening'. His concern is with the latter.
12. Dearden does appear to present not a freedom but a component necessary for autonomy when, in his search for areas of judgement and of criteria for judgement, he startlingly concludes "And it does not seem possible that criteria of much educational interest, other perhaps than those of formal logic, could be shown to be necessarily amongst any selection that might be made." (Autonomy as an Educational Ideal, p.18). Whilst I would not agree with this, neither would I go so far as to agree with Young who similarly criticizes Dearden but proceeds to doubt the necessary condition status of rationality for autonomy (Young, R. (1980) Autonomy and Socialization in Mind, Vol. LXXXIX, p.567-8.

**A CONSERVATIVE PERSPECTIVE: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF
MICHAEL OAKESHOTT'S CONCEPT OF EDUCATION**

Kevin Williams

Education is not Michael Oakeshott's principal philosophical concern; his major works deal with epistemology, political theory, and historiography respectively, and these are also the main themes of the various essays which make up Rationalism in Politics which is probably his most well known work.¹ Education is, however, of more than indirect interest to readers of his work. In his celebrated analysis of political activity, significantly entitled "Political Education", he provides an elucidation of the nature of political activity by examining how we come to learn our traditions of political behaviour.² Further use of this procedure in his more general epistemology goes to explain Hanna Pitkin's observation that Oakeshott "is almost as much concerned with education ... as with government".³

Oakeshott has also written variously and at length on education itself, usually in the form of essays. Since the appearance of R.S. Peters's critical assessment, in which he testifies to the influence of Oakeshott on his own work, three long essays have been published.⁴ The concept of education elaborated by Oakeshott is clearly congenial to Peters and to others who share what we might call the London Institute approach to the Philosophy of Education.⁵ My own interest in his work, which was originally aroused by the sceptical common-sense of his writings, merged with an ambition, long with me, to articulate my reservations about this whole understanding of education. I might add that there is much I find true and acceptable in the conservative viewpoint,

and this paper is primarily concerned to establish what this is. The final assessment will merely point in the direction that a critique might take.

Somewhat ironically, the essay "On being Conservative",⁶ which is the thematic focus of this paper, does not deal, even indirectly, with education. This essay serves to convey the nature and temper of the conservative attitude, itself which Oakeshott describes as a "disposition" as opposed to a creed, doctrine, ideology, or any specific set of beliefs.⁷ The conservative disposition is distinguished by a propensity to use, enjoy, and delight in the present, in what is currently available, in what is familiar. The conservative makes use of the opportunities for satisfaction offered by the present and neither lives for future pleasures nor dwells on those which the past may have offered. Although Oakeshott is not unaware that for someone to prefer "present laughter to Utopian bliss"⁸ his present situation must offer significant opportunity for enjoyment, he fails, nevertheless, to elaborate on the fact that conservatism is hardly an appropriate attitude for the poor and deprived. The logical consequence of a conservative disposition is an hostility towards, and suspicion of, change and innovation. On what might be the educational implications of such an attitude as regards the content of the curriculum I will make just one observation. A conservative, contemplating changing the school curriculum; at Post-Primary level might wonder at the general acquiescence of teachers in teaching the present curriculum and at the lack of sustained and widespread demand on their part to change it. Such reflections could lead him to the conclusion that the case for significant curriculum change is less than compelling. Each reader will have his own opinion on the reasonableness of the conservatives' conclusion and I add no further comment:

The next stage of Oakeshott's analysis where he proceeds to identify the particular kind of activity for which a conservative disposition is most appropriate, leads to the thematic core of this paper and should prove somewhat more interesting from an educational point of view. Conservatism, the disposition to enjoy and delight in what is present, is not only the appropriate, but is the necessary disposition to engage in that kind of activity which we pursue for its own sake, or because it is valuable in itself. Such activity stands in opposition to instrumental or functional activities which we engage in for the sake of "a profit, a reward, a prize or a result in addition to the experience itself".⁹ This includes all tasks which we undertake solely as means to further ends (cleaning out the fire-grate) and these relationships with others of a commercial or service nature where we are concerned solely or primarily with the ability of the other to supply a particular demand. In contrast with these relationships we have the relationships of friends who are not concerned with supplying specific services to one another. relationships which are, in Oakeshott's memorable phrase, "dramatic not utilitarian".¹⁰

Oakeshott suggests fishing as an example of an activity which, as a pastime, may be engaged in for its own sake, for the enjoyment of the experience, and not just to achieve a particular result - although to succeed in catching fish may add a further dimension to our satisfaction. In this regard fishing is like playing any game where the enjoyment of the game takes precedence over our winning or losing, where realising a particular outcome is less important than the ritual of engaging in the activity. I suggest that such activities as sailing horse-riding, or hill walking which have no extrinsic purpose other than enjoying the experience which they provide, illustrate even better the kind of activity

which Oakeshott has in mind.

On a final point (which Oakeshott does not mention), it would be wrong to conceive our engaging in the activities as a means which brings about the end of enjoyment. The exhilaration, the sense of mastery, well being, and closeness to nature which a person gets from sailing are not ends to which certain physical arrangements are the means. From the enthusiastic and practised participant's point of view such feelings are what sailing is for him - they are not ends which are instrumentally related to his participation in the activity itself.

In his essays on education Oakeshott argues that our civilization can be considered to be composed of two kinds of activity or achievement which together form what he calls, in Hegel's term, man's "second nature", or, in Dilthey's, his "geistige welt".¹¹ In the first place we have activities made up of those instrumental skills which contribute to practical survival and earning a living. Secondly, there are those theoretical enterprises, those explanatory modes of thinking or forms of thought whose sole purpose is to contribute to our understanding of some aspect of the human or natural world - and as such are valuable in themselves and not for what they may enable us to do. This distinction remains tenable for all that the exercise of instrumental skills is informed by understanding and that our achievements in understanding are realised through the exercise of intellectual skills. The class of theoretical activities such as science or history is not co-extensive with that of activities engaged in for their own sake as it does not include engaging in human relations nor participating in such non-instrumental activities as sailing or pony-trekking. I suggest that one distinction between the two classes of activity is that the achievements of theoretical activities, a scientific hypothesis or a

historical explanation, are public in that they can be shared with others, whereas the experience of friendship or of swimming are private and exclusive to the individuals enjoying them.

Although he does not explicitly transpose the analysis in "On being Conservative" into his essays on education, the notion of activity as an end in itself, as intrinsically worthwhile or valuable, essentially characterises Oakeshott's concept of education. In brief education consists in the deliberate initiation of a learner by a teacher into that part of our civilization composed of those theoretical activities of a public nature which pre-eminently possess this quality of intrinsic value.¹² Being free from all considerations of instrumentality or of extrinsic purpose, this initiation is undertaken in an institutional arena which is "a place apart"¹³ from the rest of life and "the distracting business of satisfying contingent wants".¹⁴ It prescribes a relationship categorically distinct from any other, one which may involve the imposition of conditions of "direction and restraint" by the teacher on his pupil.¹⁵ Time will not allow for consideration of the familiarly conservative notion of compulsion suggested by this final characteristic nor for full and separate examination of the problem of justifying this whole analysis of education. The rest of this paper will be concerned to consider the status of claims which ascribe intrinsic value to the activities with which education is concerned and to suggest the direction which a critique of this understanding of education might take.

Firstly the intrinsically valuable activities with which education is concerned are non-instrumental, which means that their possible use value is not relevant in characterizing them and that they do not serve as means to further ends. This excludes any extrinsic purpose

relating to the realization of social goals, what Oakeshott calls 'socialization', from what counts as education.¹⁶ The intrusion of 'socialization' into education can take two forms. In the first form education is conceived primarily as an instrument of social policy aiming to produce performers of vocational roles, while the second form of 'socialization' would make of education a mechanism to counter division and to promote integration between different social classes.

This condition of non-instrumentality yields only a negative characterization of education as an intrinsically valuable activity and it is much more difficult to be precise about positive properties. The activities with which education is concerned are intrinsically valuable primarily, because they are connected with the development of understanding and those desirable human qualities which are generally related to rationality. Initiation into the aspects of our cultural inheritance with which education is concerned involves the acquisition not only of understanding, but also of the qualities associated with the possession of intellectual skills or 'connoisseurship' and of the intellectual 'virtues'.¹⁷ Intellectual 'connoisseurship' is expressed in the ability "to distinguish between the different sorts of questions and the different sorts of answers they call for"¹⁸ and in a sensitivity to considerations of relevance, accuracy, economy, elegance, and degrees of conclusiveness in argument. Intellectual virtues include such qualities as open-mindedness, care, perseverance, concentration, precision, intellectual honesty and modesty. The qualities which make up intellectual 'connoisseurship' and 'virtue' are importantly constitutive of what we call mind, although human rationality is not composed exclusively of qualities relating to intellectual life. Such other characteristically human qualities as considerateness or loyalty may, indeed, also be developed within the

educational community but it is not pre-eminently in school nor in the prosecution of intellectual endeavours that we acquire them. Those qualities or states of mind which are promoted in a formal, systematic way through school education constitute, nonetheless what is peculiarly valuable in what we call mind or rationality. With standards of achievement characteristically and exclusively their own, art, science, history, mathematics, and philosophy are not reducible nor assimilable to any other activity and make a unique contribution to the development of rationality. The understanding which such pursuits promote can form, alter, and make more discriminating, our perspective on man and nature - hence it contributes to forming the kind of conceptual framework which we have. It is for this reason, and also because of the range of qualities which educational pursuits call upon and develop, that the study of history or science is of greater educational value than engaging in even such a game as chess, which is intellectually demanding but which operates within prescribed and limited conceptual boundaries.

The development of understanding and the acquisition of intellectual qualities and 'virtues' must not be conceived as related instrumentally to education and consequently at odds with the notion of education as intrinsically valuable.¹⁹ Developing these qualities is part of what education means - the acquisition of such qualities is not, therefore, an extrinsic end of education, in the way a person might learn Irish just to get a job in the Civil Service. We can no more apply a means-ends model to the benefits which attend genuine educational pursuits than we can speak of the activity of sailing as a means to the realization of certain pleasurable ends. Feelings of increased sympathy towards others, an understanding of, and a sense of outrage at

social injustice, for example, are not effects or results which may or may not follow a sensitive reading of *Hard Times*. Reading and responding to the novel means having these and similar experiences - which is not to suggest that all readers will respond in the same way and have the same kind of experiences. Initiation into educational activities which are valuable in themselves, therefore, entails the development of understanding and of particular characteristically rational qualities as a feature rather than an effect or result of the pursuit of these activities.

This relationship between initiation into activities which have intrinsic value and the cultivation of desirable qualities points to the epistemological connection between education and personal development or what is less helpfully called 'self-realization'. The conjunction is clear in Oakeshott's characterization of education as "learning to make something of ourselves".²⁰ On a linguistic point I suggest that to describe an activity as valuable in itself or as worth pursuing for its own sake, as well as pointing to its non-instrumental nature, means that it is valuable on account of what it can contribute to the personal enrichment of those who become participants in that activity - indeed it is hard to imagine what else it could mean. Consequently no disjunction exists between the aim of personal development and the business of learning to engage in those intrinsically valuable activities which compose a cultural inheritance. A person who is learning to make his own a cultural inheritance becomes in this way personally enriched; it is through this learning that he develops more finely, and more comprehensively his human capacities to think, to feel, and to act, which is what, if anything, so-called 'self-realization' is.²¹ Finally we should note that there is no terminal point at which a human being can be said to have made "the most of himself". The notion of human development had no teleology, the self has no pre-determined

point at which it can be said to be perfect and to have exhausted all the possibilities of rational development open to it.

Similarly the activities with which education is concerned, in particular science and history, have no terminal points prescribed or prescriptible in advance. There is no point at which we can say that we have finished learning about science or history and this property of indeterminateness provides the second positive characteristic of such activities. Of their nature science and history are activities of learning, and while there is a sense in which we may always have something to learn about fishing and sailing, engaging in these pursuits does not involve indeterminate learning. In doing science or history "learning itself is the engagement".²² In Oakeshott's metaphors this kind of learning entails using the capital which makes up a civilization not to consume it in the exercise of a practical skill but to re-invest it in the effort to learn more.²³ Furthermore the learning involved is not only inexhaustible but presents itself as a permanent challenge to the learner. To increase one's capacity to participate in a tradition of learning demands sustained and concentrated effort and to succeed in making a personal contribution to such a tradition is the exemplary intellectual achievement.

Conclusion

In an assessment of curricular principles or proposals empirical considerations may be relevant, just as they may have a bearing on our appraisal of moral arguments. In determining the merit of a prescription about the nature of the school curriculum the question of whether it is open to everyone to pursue the designated activities is an important matter of fact which we must

consider. Answers to this question reveal serious inadequacies in Oakeshott's conservative perspective. For any individual his opportunity to avail of educational facilities at first, second, and third levels is, notoriously, related to his position within the socio-economic hierarchy.²⁴ The contingent arrangements which provide for the ownership and control of wealth and resources in a society significantly influence or even determine the possibilities of an individual's participation in the intrinsically valuable activities with which education is concerned. Oakeshott's ignoring of the influence on access to education of historical and social circumstances demonstrates a naivete, or perhaps disingenuousness, about his political pre-suppositions.

Secondly, to engage in the pursuit of learning is to become a participant in social institutions or practices which simply cannot exist detached from particular social contexts. Seriously to pursue learning as an end in itself, even on a part-time basis outside an educational institution, necessarily involves participation in the social arrangements, such as libraries and other research facilities, which promote learning. School is not "a place apart", it is a social institution which makes its own particular demands on community resources and it is also an arena in which competing and conflicting interests and influences may come to bear. Take the role of the teacher. He is, indeed, the "agent of civilization"²⁵ but he is also an employee/trade-union member whose interests as a worker may conflict with his task as mediator between his pupils and their cultural inheritance. Witness in this regard the unfortunate position in many schools in relation to parent-teacher meetings, a situation brought about through such a conflict of interests. In the second place it must be obvious that the school not only promotes learning but also serves as a selection-mechanism

for employers and universities and that this instrumental role as vocational filter can distort the efforts of teachers to provide genuine education. Oakeshott's characterization of education is, of course, normative or evaluative and not descriptive of what is the case. Indeed, he well recognizes and deplores the intrusion into education of the demands of practical life and, in particular, the imposition on education of vocational function. This vision of educational arrangements set apart from wider social and economic considerations, consequently, represents an ideal on his part. It is an ideal which seems to me, in principle and not just in practice, unrealizable. On a philosopher renowned for his sceptical anti-Utopianism such a judgement must appear a curious irony.

In conclusion I suggest that Oakeshott's conception of education as initiation into intrinsically valuable activities of a public nature is more compelling than education conceived primarily as general preparation for life or specifically for work. It also offers a more coherent epistemological basis for the school curriculum than the contrivances of so-called integrated or topic-based curricula which are not rooted in publicly accepted traditions of learning.²⁶ In its failure to take account of the social context in which it is situated Oakeshott's analysis, however, offers only a limited and partial perspective on education.

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2. Michael Oakeshott, "Political Education in Rationalism in Politics and other essays. (London: Methuen, 1962), pp. 7-13. (Hereafter referred to as Rationalism in Politics).
3. Hanna Pitkin, "The Roots of Conservatism", in The New Conservatives: a Critique from the Left, ed. by L.A. Coser and I. Howe. (New York: Quadrangle, 1974), pp.143-288. See also Oakeshott; Nationalism in Politics, pp.7-13, where his general approach to epistemology is presented.
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5. cf. Michael R. Matthews, The Marxist Theory of Schooling. (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1980), p. 160, where there is a scathing criticism of the relationship between Oakeshott's thought and that of Hirst and Peters.
6. Oakeshott, Rationalism in Politics, pp.168-197.
7. Ibid., p. 168.
8. Ibid., p. 169.
9. Ibid., p. 175.
10. Ibid., p. 177.

11. Oakeshott, Rationalism in Politics, p. 303. The term "second nature" is used in the essay entitled "The Study of 'Politics' in a University", pp. 303-333. "Learning and Teaching" in The Concept of Education, ed. by R.S. Peters (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 156-177. The expression 'geistige welt' occurs three times, pp. 158-159.
12. cf. Oakeshott, Rationalism in Politics, p. 303, "Learning and Teaching", p. 159, "Education: The engagement and its frustration", p. 21.
13. cf. Oakeshott, "Education: The engagement and its Frustration", pp. 22, 23, 25, 29. "A Place of Learning", p. 12. What Oakeshott is offering is a specification of what education should be, his definition is normative and not descriptive.
14. Oakeshott, "A Place of Learning", p. 16.
15. Oakeshott, Rationalism in Politics, p. 303. The phrase appears twice here and recurs on two occasions in "Education: the engagement and its frustrations"., pp. 21, 25.
16. cf. Oakeshott, "Education: The engagement and its frustration", the whole essay is basically about this issue.
17. cf. Oakeshott, "Learning and Teaching", p. 174.
18. Ibid.
19. I.M.M. Gregory and R.G. Woods, "Valuable in Itself". Educational Philosophy and Theory, vol.3, No.2, (October 1971). The authors hold the opposite view to the one defended here.
20. Oakeshott, Rationalism in Politics, p. 303.
21. cf. Oakeshott, "Learning and Teaching", p. 160. "The Definition of a University", p. 131.
22. Oakeshott, "A Place of Learning", p. 12.
23. cf. Oakeshott, Rationalism in Politics, pp.307,308. 310, 311.

24. cf. Christina Murphy, "Perpetuating the Class Barrier", The Irish Times, (February 24, 1983). In this interview with David Rottman there is a helpful overview of research findings on this situation as it applies to Ireland.
25. Oakeshott, "Learning and Teaching", pp. 159, 161.
26. cf. T.G.Gaden, "The Case for Specialisation", Irish Educational Studies, Vol.3, No. 1, (1983). This penetrating polemic provides some apposite observations on the inadequacies of such curricular amalgams.

THE CASE FOR SPECIALISATION

Gerry Gaden

It should be stated at the outset that my concern is with all post-primary pupils, and not just with those who stay on beyond the minimum leaving-age. Indeed, the development of the following ideas has been prompted primarily by the belief that most of those leaving at sixteen do so without a sense of having learnt anything of significant value to themselves.

I want to begin by talking about the education of character, and in particular, about the possibility of someone's self-confidence and sense of responsibility being promoted through organised learning - the acquisition of specific kinds of knowledge and skill. Perhaps it will be agreed that if learning is to be educative it must have this effect, that this indeed is part of what is meant by its being educative. But in any case, the legitimacy of schools' and teachers' concern with personality and character is questionable except insofar as this is related to the learning of those matters on which their authority and expertise is clearly recognised.

First consider confidence, and here we are concerned with the relation between self-confidence and confidence in one's ability to do particular things. At first it might seem that the relation is tenuous, because confidence in one's ability can only apply to particular situations or kinds of outcome. To have confidence in my ability to do something is not to expect always to succeed in it, but it is to expect some degree of success in terms of standards which are not purely private ones. It is to believe that I can produce outcomes which at least some

others will recognise as successful. Self-confidence on the other hand, is independent of these, being something closer to confidence in one's own worth or significance, so that I could have confidence in myself even in situations where I expected an unfavourable outcome and knew that I could do nothing about it. Nevertheless, I could hardly expect to fail at everything and still be self-confident, and in this regard, some things are more crucial than others. Failure in something will damage my self-confidence if I have considered the thing to be very worthwhile, have had some confidence in my ability to do it, and have really tried. For most people, at least some relationships with others have this status, but other things can have it too (a career, a long-term task, the pursuit of a serious interest or concern etc.). It is in such things that failure can damage self-confidence; so also it is in just these things that learning to succeed can enhance it. It follows that learning something can promote self-confidence only if these conditions are fulfilled:

- (1) its value and significance is appreciated by the learner;
- (2) a measure of acknowledged success in pursuing it is envisaged;
- (3) a sustained effort is made to this end.

These will be taken up again later, but meanwhile let us examine the idea of responsibility. Children are not born responsible, nor do they just "become" responsible by some process of natural growth. What happens is that they accept responsibility by progressively engaging (taking roles, etc.) in more and more activities and aspects of our way of life until we are prepared to treat them in general as responsible persons.¹ There is a paradox here, or at least the appearance of one, in that their acts in many cases are not seen as acceptances of

responsibility until they are already regarded as responsible persons. (A child, e.g. cannot sign a binding contract, even if he writes his name at the bottom of the page.) The problem of course, arises from the child's relative lack of understanding of what he is doing. The more clearly and certainly the child can be said to know what he is doing, the more clearly and unconditionally can his consistent engagements be construed as cases of accepting responsibility. This gives us an immediate connexion between responsibility and learning. First, it is through engagement in learnable activities that responsibility is accepted and exercised. Second, putative acceptances and exercises of responsibility are regarded as genuine ones insofar as the agent has learnt to understand the activities. What we should now consider is the kind of learning and understanding involved.

It is obvious that this is not just a matter of procedural competence and correctness; rather it is a grasp of purposes and values, the point or what I prefer to call the "spirit" of the activity. To illustrate: you invite someone to a party and he agrees to come along; at the party he behaves quite properly, has a couple of drinks and makes some polite conversation, smiling now and again etc.; but it is obvious after a while that he is not genuinely involved, that his heart is not in it, that he did not really accept the invitation in the right spirit.² Now imagine trying to play music or a game, or do an experiment or work out a design or a mathematical problem with someone who treated the activity in this way. He goes through the motions, but without entering into the spirit of the thing, without caring about its essential point or purposes. It may be that he does not understand it, or it may be that he cannot be bothered: in neither case is he accepting responsibility. But if he has no grasp of the spirit of the thing, then he cannot begin to bother. Learning the spirit of an activity is

a necessary (though not a sufficient) condition for accepting and exercising responsibility within it. It follows that the only learning which can enhance the development of responsibility is learning in which the spirit of what is learnt is accessible to the learner.

The spirit of an activity is not something simple, but it is something real. It represents the central purposes, the principal conceptions of the activity's point, as seen by the participants, and the values embodied in its proper pursuit. You are not playing football in the spirit of the game if you are trying to maim the opposition, nor will you grasp the spirit of mathematics without developing any respect for clarity and precision. The spirit of any complex activity is an object of feeling and not just of thought, and it develops as a tradition through the actions and reactions of participants.

From this we can draw some significant inferences about the kinds of learning which can contribute to the learner's sense of responsibility. First what is learnt must be an identifiable activity, that is a recognised body of skill and knowledge with some internal coherence and a tradition which has its basis in the life of the community. Otherwise, there is no "spirit" - nothing with which the learner can identify or be identified, in relation to which responsibility can be accepted. Second, the learner has to be treated as a participant, not as a spectator or outsider - acceptance of responsibility requires actual engagement. Third, while the learner's concern for the activity should not override everything else, it cannot be marginal - its development requires considerable time and effort.

We can now put these points together with the conclusions reached earlier in relation to confidence. Take first, the idea that the activity or subject learned be

an identifiable publicly recognised one. This connects with the requirement that its value and significance be appreciated by the learner. The point is that the value of what is learned cannot be restricted to the instructional context. If a young person's learning is to promote his self-confidence and responsibility in his dealings with the world, then what he learns has to have acknowledged status, in its own right, within that world. The range of activities describable in this way is very wide but it does not include, e.g., artificially contrived arrangements of subject-matter or projects arising from the fantasies of curriculum developers which have no tradition in the life of the community. Next, recall the necessity for sustained effort on the pupil's part, along with the demand that the learned activity be treated as an important personal concern. It is obvious that these conditions require a large allocation of time. Finally, the learner is to be treated as a participant who can expect to achieve a recognisable degree of competence. This is realistic only in circumstances where there is a serious commitment on the part of teachers and school authorities to the development of the learner in his pursuit - a commitment which will not be lightly abandoned and can be fairly freely exercised. Hustling through a standardised syllabus, among many others to which the pupil is subjected in a series of brief encounters, administering a short test and then ditching the job, does not by any reckoning reflect such a commitment.

The conclusion is inescapable. It is that if self-confidence and responsibility are to be developed through learning X, then X has to be a specialism, both in the sense that it is distinguishable from other pursuits, and in the sense that a good deal of time is spent on it.

So far I have been arguing from an analysis of what it means to promote through organised learning, the

development of confidence and responsibility. The case can now be reinforced by means of another perspective - a consideration of the social conditions within which to-day's post-primary schools operate. It is a world characterised by the mass production and consumption of goods and services and orders (of necessity perhaps) by impersonal bureaucratic procedures. Work is not easy to find, and economic conditions are not very predictable at any level. It is certainly no longer the case for most young people that a route from the family and school to relatively stable employment and adult status within a functionally ordered community can be assumed or readily mapped out. Social conditions, therefore, do not themselves provide a basis for establishing any sense of identity or personal worth. In these circumstances, if it is reasonable to demand anything, it is reasonable to demand this - that ten or more years of schooling should yield competence in and personal identification with at least something which can contribute to the sustenance and enjoyment of own's own life and that of others. If our educational institutions cannot meet this demand, then they are indefensible. I can see no way of meeting it other than fulfilment of the conditions already outlined - a considerable proportion of the pupil's time spent on a very small number of recognised pursuits with the help of teachers unequivocally committed to the development of competence.

Now I am not of course saying that this is all that the pupil should do in the post-primary school. It is, however, an essential task which such institutions can undertake honestly, that is with a relatively clear sense of purpose and of their own competence. If other things are done, then their justifications should likewise be unambiguous, if they are to be publicly supported and if children are to be compelled to attend. No doubt the further development of literacy and numeracy is

necessary, together with some historical, geographical and other knowledge of fairly direct reference to participation in political and social life. The content of this work is debatable, but the terms of the debate are clear - it is about utility. Probably also a sufficient case can be made for curricular provision to promote physical health. All of this is beyond my present remit, but the general point must be made, that a clear specification is required of what the schools are to be expected to achieve. A consequence of this specification would be, I think, a rather drastic curtailing of their current pretensions.

Returning to the specialist component, then, I am proposing that (apart from the first year) at least one-third of the pupil's time throughout post-primary schooling should be given to specialised pursuits - activities in which the school undertakes to bring him to a level of competence characterised by a basic fluency in and feeling for what he does.³ This will entail his acquiring the essential skills and bodies of factual knowledge relevant to each activity, together with a grasp of its traditions, its spirit, and its social and economic significance. It is plain that such a study is not "narrow" in the sense of being self-contained; it is simply a distinctive and recognised undertaking with which it is possible to identify. Probably no more than two such pursuits should be undertaken at a given time and no less than two years be spent on any one. There is no reason why all schools should offer the same range although one would expect considerable overlap. There are very many practical questions to be faced in devising such a system. If they seem formidable, it is worth remembering that we have for many years contrived the means to support highly complex curricula which have no clear rationale, and through which it is likely that the majority of pupils learn very little. It would be surprising if more sensible

arrangements proved impossible to implement.

Let us go back now to the issue of principle: it is time to consider some popular objections to specialisation in post-primary education. It is not very easy to specify such objections by reference to precedent, because no proper case for specialisation has, so far as I am aware, been previously made.⁴ This has resulted in its being set up as the caricatured opposite of whatever happened to be the prevailing ideal of liberal or general education at the time. Since the concept of liberal education has itself changed quite markedly over the years,⁵ there have been various such straw men tagged with the "specialisation" label. Their swift demolition has created the illusion that specialisation (except for the proven academic high-flyers) is indefensible and general education unassailable. In seeking to dispel that illusion, therefore, I will take up four objections which seem likely to be made to the policy I have been advocating, without any direct reference to possible parallels in controversies of the past.

The first is that a curriculum incorporating a major component of specialisation would not constitute a programme of all-round education. Certain abilities and aspects of mind would be developed by that component; elementary skills and knowledge required for participation in the life of the community would be promoted in the time remaining. But other forms of knowledge and dimensions of life would be left unexamined, and hence other abilities and personal qualities remain undeveloped.

To deal with this we have to question the assumed connexion between the transmission of knowledge and skill in a wide range of particular spheres, and the development of qualities of character and rational capacities (powers of reasoning and judgment). It has often been taken for granted that the latter depends on the former. In other

words, unless the pupil undertakes learning in a wide range of particular subjects, his personality will be distorted and he will be less than fully rational in his subsequent undertakings.⁶ The trouble with this doctrine is that it is false: it entirely misconceives the relation between curricular learning and rational development. It is quite true, e.g. that if someone has no sense of history or maturity in moral judgment, then his dealings with the world are likely to be highly unsatisfactory. But it does not at all follow that his education must therefore include the formal study of history and morality. A concern for the development of rational and responsible judgment is shown, not by prescribing this, that or any number of subjects, but in the promotion of an appropriate quality of engagement with whatever is studied.⁷ This is rendered impossible by a curriculum which attempts to incorporate every kind of knowledge and human concern in a complex programme of formal instruction. What it demands, on the contrary, is the opportunity to specialise.

The second objection is a weaker relative of the first. It is that the pupil will not enter fully into his cultural inheritance, that we have an obligation to pass on "the best that has been thought and said" over as wide a range as possible.

A sociologist might ask whose cultural inheritance was being talked about here, and whether we are so very sure that the present school curriculum reflects the cultural inheritance of the majority of those to whom it is dispensed. My own reaction is to argue that such an inheritance (whatever exactly it consists of) can only have any life in and through those who see some value in it, and that such a perception cannot be achieved by means of a general survey. A broad and shallow programme of studies in effect denies to the majority of pupils the

opportunity to gain a secure foothold in anything of value, by refusing them the requisite time and personal support to enter into its spirit. A participant in an activity can come to make something of it as a focus for, and a way of meeting with various aspects of his culture; the perpetual spectator, identified with nothing in particular, cannot directly experience (has no basis for feeling) the significance of what is said and done. Access to a cultural inheritance can only be gained through a sustained personal engagement with some part of it. As with members of the opposite sex, if you try to get engaged to too many of them you will end up on the shelf.

The third objection is perhaps today the most popular. It is that specialisation leads to inflexibility of competence and restricts vocational choice.

Now this might have some force if we adopted a caricatured version of specialisation restricting the post-primary pupil to, say, a single pursuit which demanded only a very limited range of abilities. But this is not the proposal. Furthermore, flexibility and adaptability are, I believe, more closely associated with self-confidence than with the possession of an assortment of items of knowledge and rules of technique. We have seen that learning cannot promote self-confidence unless it is specialised. Vocational training is a matter of learning new things; the capacity and confidence to do this is best promoted through the experience of having successfully learnt something else. Without this experience, one is likely to be less ambitious and adventurous later on. Here it is also worth making the point that the vocational choices of very many, if not most, young school-leavers are highly restricted already because the present curriculum has brought them to the point of being considered incapable of undertaking anything of any complexity.

The final problem is this, it will be contended that the young adolescent is not in a position to choose activities in which to specialise, and that he cannot be in such a position until he has experienced all the options.

There are several comments to be made on this. First, it is questionable whether an "introduction" to a diverse range of activities can give any adequate sense of what it is like to be a participant in any of them; and the more time is spent on this, the less time is available for serious engagement. Indeed, the results of many of the decisions taken by college students after five or six years of general education do not exactly inspire confidence in that system as a basis for choice. Next, it has been essential to my argument that the activities made available should exist as readily identifiable pursuits in the community. If the pupil entering the post-primary school has literally no idea of what is meant by music, chemistry, drama, carpentry, electronics, technical drawing, visual art, a foreign language, and so forth, then there has been something seriously wrong with his primary education. Of course these things can be variously interpreted, and some attempt can be made in the first year to indicate more of what is entailed, but I see little point in going beyond this. Finally, such choices would be made in consultation with teachers and parents. Perhaps there is an element of risk here, but it is often overstated. If someone does badly in something he has chosen, it does not follow that the choice was mistaken. It will make sense to speak of a "mistake" only if the child is already rather rigidly formed, in terms of dispositions and aptitudes, in ways not obvious to anyone at the time of making the choice. At the stage we are considering, such cases are extremely unusual. In the end, if staff are committed to helping the pupil

develop in his chosen pursuits, then it is my belief that in most cases they will succeed, because the children will respond to that commitment. The motivational problems which beset post-primary education at present commonly arise, I am convinced, from the pupil's perception that no one is making any serious commitment to his success in learning anything. Under present curricular arrangements, they could not possibly do so.

I have argued:

(1) that specialisation is a necessary condition for the development, through organised learning, of self-confidence and responsibility.

(2) that contemporary social conditions threaten self-identity, and make it imperative that educational institutions foster specialisation, to open up to everyone the possibility of personal identification with what is learned.

(3) that it is only in a curriculum allowing specialisation that any realistic commitment can be made by teachers and schools to the progress of individual pupils.

(4) that arguments commonly advanced against specialisation, on behalf of general education through a diverse curriculum, do not bear scrutiny - they depend upon caricatures of specialisation, and fallacies about the relation between knowledge and rational development.

There are other arguments for specialisation, but probably these are enough to be going on with. The case rests - but only for the time being.

NOTES

1. cf. H. Fingarette, On Responsibility. (New York: Basic Books, 1967), Chs.1, 2.
2. cf. Fingarette's treatment of a very similar example: op. cit. pp. 34-36.
3. For an explanation of these terms, see my 'Depth of Knowledge as an Educational Aim'; Proceedings of the Educational Studies Association of Ireland Conference 1979. (Galway: University Press).
4. At least in the sense of the term used here. There have, of course, been attempts to promote education in a limited group of subjects to be taken by everyone. There is a good deal in Dewey's work which shows an affinity with the view developed here, but it is not presented as a concerted case for specialisation. Among contemporary philosophers, Mary Warnock is the only well-known writer to have defended specialisation. Her arguments are probably insufficient on their own, and it is not very clear exactly where and how far the principle is intended to apply in practice, cf. e.g., her Schools of Thought, (London: Faber, 1977), pp. 155-158 etc.
5. cf., e.g.:
G.H. Bantock, "The Idea of a Liberal Education" in The Parochialism of the Present. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), and
S. Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education. (London: Faber, 1976).
6. Hirst is the best-known exponent of this position:
"Whatever other principles may govern the curriculum ... we can have no adequate grounds for forsaking a child's progressive initiation into all the distinctive forms of rationality, until we have done everything in our power to achieve just this".
The Curriculum: Context, Design and Development (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1971), p. 24.
These are his seven or eight distinct "forms of knowledge" and it is argued that to neglect any of these is to deny the pupils "certain basic ways of rational development". Specialisation is scathingly referred to as "ruthless butchery". (Ibid, p. 24).

7. "What makes his curriculum educationally worthwhile is not the presence on it of any particular school subject, but the presence in it of serious thought about whatever he is doing".

P.S. Wilson, Interest and Discipline in Education. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971).

I think this is essentially correct.

THEY ASKED FOR A STORY.....

Thomas G. Mullins

The minimum of reflection on our behaviour will indicate the omnipresence of narrative patterns in our experience. We take these patterns for granted, they are something we have always lived with and familiarity, if not breeding contempt in this case, certainly fosters indifference and unawareness. Story-making seems to be an indigenous activity of the human person as reflexive and essential an activity as breathing. People's conversation generally consists of narrative accounts of the latest happenings in their own lives or juicily appreciative stories of the misdemeanours of others: the universality of gossip while suggesting much about 'original sin' also demonstrates our fascination in story-making. The major part of not alone our waking lives but also our sleeping lives is pervaded by stories.

We dream in narrative, remember, anticipate, despair, believe, doubt, plan, revise, criticise, construct, gossip, learn, hate and make love by narrative. In order really to live we make up stories about ourselves and others, about the personal as well as the social past and future. 1

Since story is so universal and pervasive in human life should we not ask the question why is this so? Why does the story-form rather than any other form dominate our consciousness?

It would seem the first reason for its presence is that we are creatures of time. We live in a continuum of moments, in a series of successive 'nows'; as soon as we are aware of any given 'now' it has become a part of the past. We are helpless victims of temporality; our birth

is random and almost certainly our death will be random as well. Trapped in this linear dimension we feel the need to place order, to impose a pattern on this endless flow. We need a rhythm, a shape, which is both in time, i.e., it acknowledges time, and also is outside of it. Without this sense of shape, our individual security, our awareness of personal significance is undermined, we become so much flotsam on the stream of time. Through narrative, through story, which is both of time and not of time, we rescue and preserve, we literally construct a meaning. Samuel Beckett shows repeatedly in his plays the fate of those who fail to make a story - they are perpetually 'waiting for Godot': the tragedy of Vladimir and Estragon is that they have no story. In telling stories we stand out against the unknown and the darkness of death, we strive for an immortality no matter how facile or fleeting it might really be.

In William Morris' The Earthly Paradise a group of old men from the Classical and Northern traditions gather and tell the ancient tales they have known since their youth. It seems a pointless exercise, the product of senility and disillusionment, but they are not just wasting time till death inevitably comes, they are fighting a battle against death, continuing their life-long quest for meaning in the heroic mode of the tales they tell.

One thinks of the great figure of romance, Scheherazade, telling her thousand and one tales so that the suspense of each tale may keep her alive for one more night... 'Once upon a time', the formula invokes out of a world where nothing remains, something older than history, younger than the present moment, always willing and able to descend once more. 2

Our awareness of self largely consists of our memory of past events, of circumstances which occasioned personal responses. Products of a personal history, we come to

know ourselves by telling our story over and over again. (This is fine if we keep telling it to ourselves, it may not be so pleasant if we insist on telling our story over and over again to others!) We cope with all the experiences which fundamentally signify for us by replaying them in story form.

We turn our pain into narrative so we can bear it, we turn our ecstasy into narrative we can prolong it. 3

We are carried along by our biographies. Whether this is ultimately the best way to live is a matter of conjecture but as a fact of human existence it is undeniable. There is a Polish play in which each actor carries a limp puppet. An actress starts dancing to a grotesque little waltz and the puppets begin to move. Soon it is they who seem to be carrying the actors. So for good or ill, or just from sheer necessity, our biography keeps us operational although it may in the process simplify our human reality.

In striving to live with ourselves, we need to project our inner world, the world of the personal psyche; we must externalise the inner cast of characters whose neverending interplay constitutes our most intimate and significant experience. This externalization helps us to share with others the nature of internal experience with obvious cultural implications: furthermore 'this externalization achieves the containment of terror and impulse by the decorum of art and symbolism'.⁴ In this case the art of the story, the decorum of the narrative form, can achieve the desired therapeutic end. If we fail to externalize the demons where they can be enmeshed in aesthetic experience then the last resort is to freeze and block. Such an attitude will have an increasingly detrimental effect on our mental and emotional coherence.

Narrative patterns exemplified for Kant the 'rhapsodic beginning of thought' in man.⁵ Narrative then appears to

be the most fundamental stance which human consciousness adopts to experience; it is the primordial mode of ordering experience which the human mind possesses. Because it is so it should not be glibly identified with the naive or simplistic. No doubt it can be both of these, but because it emerges from the deepest recesses of our consciousness narrative has the potential to encompass experiences more fully than other mental stances which tend to categorise or analyse and consequently amasculate the reality of the experience.

The experience of story then observed from various perspectives is seen as revelatory; it points to meaning, it humanises inner words, it preserves us as individuals. Stories as Martin Buber relates help to heal us; they are in themselves events which move us powerfully. Buber tells us about an old man who was taught by the great Hasidic Rabbi, Baal Shem Tov. The old man was paralyzed but as he began to tell the story about Baal Shem Tov's practice of praying and dancing at the same time, the old man stood up and began to jump and dance himself to show how the master had done it. From that moment he was healed of his paralysis.⁶

Traditionally, education recognized the value of stories. In all cultures of the past stories preserved the values that were respected by the people. Individuals were initiated into an inheritance of human behaviour, they received a sense of identity and security from these stories, they felt they belonged.

Today there are grievous problems in this area of cultural inheritance. Basically there is little respect for the wisdom of the past and furthermore story is distrusted as a serious mode of communication. Story is for children or just for entertainment; it is identified with escapism and illusion. Many parents console their child who has been emotionally moved by a story with such words as 'It's only a story'. It is there the rot sets in!

The tradition of parents reading and telling stories is fast on the wane, if it is not completely gone in most families. If both parents are working there is little time for story-telling. The culture substitute for the wisdom and warmth of the traditional story-telling experience is the television programme. The only cultural community of any real extent existing today is that defined by the television. (For many it has its 'sabbath hours'; these times are encountered with the silent fervour one normally associates with church-experiences.) The Medusa of the drawing-room establishes a communal experience of narratives on a very superficial level. People's thirst for stories is slaked a while by the delights of Dallas and Dynasty. But these are by no means sustaining stories: they are in truth alienating stories, stories which threaten our social and individual coherence for they impose no pattern on life, no satisfying rhythm.

Rider Haggard said that a series of adventures was easy enough to write but a real story had to have a 'heart', that is a focus, a centre implying a total shape with a beginning and an end. The staple imaginative diet of many people today is these stories without 'heart'. Such stories Northrop Frye comments,

do not end: they stop and very frequently they can be easily started again. They are designed to provide a kind of idealized shadow of the continuum of our lives, an endless dream world in which we keep losing ourselves. 7

These kinds of stories are not just a modern phenomenon. They have a long tradition, the Medieval chivalric tales and Pope's reference in The Rape of the Lock to 'vast French Romances' testify to this. In the past however these extravaganzas were not the only stories prevailing in the cultural experience of the audience whereas today they tend to displace all others.

Education must supplant this diet of souffle-reality with some steaks, good and rare! To counteract the 'alienating stories' students should be introduced to stories which integrate, stories which have a resonant beating 'heart'. There is a school of thought to which I would subscribe that literature should play this role in education but literature of any real value tends to be for the minority; we need stories that will reach out to all, stories which are stark and bare in outline and relatively free from social and cultural trappings. We need in a phrase 'first shapes', which is Susanne Langer's definition for the art of mythical narrative.

'A teacher in a school in the east of London reports that when she read myths and fairytales to the leather-jacketed boys of fifteen they listened with absolutely rapt attention.'⁹ They listened because they found in these ancient tales information about the persons, actions and events which constitute our interior world and it is through these symbolic embodiments we learn to know ourselves. As Kathleen Raine comments in her essay 'Defending Ancient Springs':

The hunger of children for that world is natural; for it is before we set out it is necessary to learn in advance the map of the interior country through which we are about to travel; of the situation we shall encounter in our re-enactment of the human experience of birth, love and death. 10

To mention the word 'myth' today is a risk: one is immediately drawn into a miasma of interpretation which leaves one in acute intellectual confusion. Levi-Strauss and his minions see myth as a kind of skeleton-key which opens the door to a universal in-built logic of a non-rational kind present in all humanity: myth reveals the structure, the basic blueprint of thought present in all cultures. This view of myth tends to enforce interpretations, the specific manifestation is not particularly

relevant, once the mythic formula is recognised the interpretation is inevitable.

At the opposite end of the spectrum comes the universally popular view which identifies myth with falsehood, with fabricated stories of an unusually extravagant or fanciful nature. 'That's a pure myth' is the characteristic dismissive phrase of the man-in-the-street for an opinion he little respects. This severely reductionist view of myth identifies it with some distilled form of lying, it resolutely opposes myth to that which is demonstrably true and real.

Between these polar opposites comes an infinity in shades of opinion and definition. Myth is very much the fashionable word with many social disciplines. Anthropologists, social scientists and psychologists all see man surrounded by mythic structures which shape behaviour and govern responses in a fundamental way.

Robert Frost was fond of saying that in the thick woods it was important to make a clearing for oneself! Therefore to make a clearing: myth is the expression of a particular mode of consciousness, a particular way of seeing the world, of placing a meaningful construct on reality. This mode of consciousness expresses itself in the form of symbols, poetic symbols generally, interacting in a narrative form. This symbolic narrative is not concerned with defining or analysing but rather with delineating experiences and revealing mysteries.

The kind of myths under consideration here are not to be thought of as providing social definition or outlining political stances; they are to be thought of in metaphysical and psychological contexts.

Eric Voegelin shows how Plato distinguishes between pragmatic myths and true myths. In the Politeia having introduced the three types of the wise, the courageous and the desirous that form the three classes of his society

Plato inserts the mythical story that the three human types are due to the gods inserting either gold, silver or iron into their varied souls. This is a pragmatic myth used by Plato to keep the lower classes quiet. (It is the kind of myth that is still used extensively in political life and the kind of myth that parents use to quell recalcitrant children late at night.) On the other hand in the Nomoi the pragmatic myth is superseded by the true myth where Plato describes how the gods hold and guide men like puppets, ruling all men in the same fashion. This true myth, Voegelin asserts, finitizes the transcendent. The different quality of the two myths is felt in that the first myth of the 'metals in the soul' is well-nigh emotionally indifferent while the myth of the puppets evokes the awe of the ruminous, the wonder of the mysteries with which we live.¹¹

Myth helps us to cope with the inexplicable and the mysterious. Heidegger gives an illuminating perspective on this awareness of the mystery. In his terminology a reality is constructed of Being-beings: beings are all those persons and objects subject to practical and theoretical approaches. Being is the 'to-be' of what is, the power which makes beings possible. Being can 'never be expressed except in terms of beings and beings only exist because of Being'.¹² Mystery arises in those encounters with beings in which being is also contemplated. Such experiences are similar to those described by Wordsworth as 'Spots of Time' in The Prelude: for example 'The Stolen Boat' episode.

One summer evening (led by her) I found
A little boat tied to a willow tree
Within a rocky cove, its usual home.
Straight I unloosed her chain, and stepping in
Pushed from the shore. It was an act of stealth
And troubled pleasure, nor without the voice
Of mountain echoes did my boat move on;
Leaving behind her still, on either side,
Small circles glittering idly in the moon,

Until they melted all into one track
 Of sparkling light. But now, line one who rows,
 Proud of skill, to reach a chosen point
 With an unswerving line, I fixed my view
 Upon the summit of a craggy ridge,
 The horizon's utmost boundary; far above
 Was nothing but the stars and the gray sky.
 She was an elfin pinnacle; lustily
 I dipped my oars into the silent lake,
 And, as I rose upon the stroke, my boat
 Went heaving through the water like a swan;
 When, from behind that craggy steep till then
 The horizon's bound, a huge peak, black and huge,
 As if with voluntary power instinct
 Upreared its head. I struck and struck again,
 And growing still in stature the grim shape
 Towered between me and the stars, and still,
 For so it seemed, with purpose of its own
 And measured motion like a living thing,
 Strode after me. With trembling oars I turned,
 And through the silent water stole my way
 Back to the covert of the willow tree;
 There in her mooring-place I left my bark, -
 And through the meadows homeward went, in grave
 And serious mood; but after I had seen
 That spectacle, for many days, my brain
 Worked with a dim and undetermined sense
 Of unknown modes of being; o'er my thoughts
 There hung a darkness, call it solitude
 Or blank desertion. No familiar shapes
 Remained, no pleasant images of trees,
 Of sea or sky, no colors of green fields;
 But huge and mighty forms, that do not live
 Like living men, moved slowly through the mind
 By day, and were a trouble to my dreams. 13

But to be more concrete about the mysterious side of
 life: the contingency of human existence forces inevitable
 and inescapable questions. Human life, says Kasantarakis
 is 'The luminous interval between two darknesses'. Any
 thought about this leads to the fundamental ontological
 problems. Why? Why me? Why is there anything at all?

Another dimension of mystery, one we can rarely
 escape, is the mystery of self. The infinite variety of
 the psychic and emotional world of the person, the quest
 for the elusive 'self', for the ultimate 'I' hidden in
 the moral ambiguity of most of human actions is a

continuing challenge which is simplified or ignored at a great cost to the individual. Our inner world as Ted Hughes remarks 'is a region of events about which we know very little'.¹⁴

Mythical narratives focus repeatedly on these areas of mystery. They present patterns to the human mind which transform the stark structures of existence into an inhabitable world. Myth creates a world which structures consciousness, encourages attitude and suggests behaviour but never in a specific way. Myths provide blueprints and ground plans; they do not offer personal creeds or moral codes. Thus Oisín and Gilgamesh in their respective stories deal with the immortal longings conflicting with the imperative of mortality present in all lives: Theseus and the Minotaur, Odysseus and Circe help us to confront the powerful reality of the instinctive life: Job and Medusa in their very different ways issue warnings about encountering the horrors of life.

These ancient tales resonate in our minds in a manner in which Dallas and Dynasty never will. Myths give us thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls; asking in potent symbolic form the existential riddles. Myths teach us to ask the important questions. Who was Ariadne and which song did Sirens sing?

If myths deal with such matters central to human life how then have they become identified with extravagant fabrications having little relevance to a sane way of life? There are manifold historical reasons for the denigration of mythical thought. For much of human history mythical thinking was used to give explanations of everything; the areas of science and history were embedded in a complex series of mythical narratives. With the development of these disciplines of thought inevitable it was felt that myth was primitive and simplistic. For example the scientific and historical assertions of the

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Biblical myth of creation have obviously been superseded. This should not be seen as a debunking procedure but as a liberation which shows the significance of the mythical story is not to be equated with its scientific and historical accuracy. As Paul Ricoeur asserts it is only when myths are freed from their burden of being history and science will their power to illuminate the bond between person and Being be recovered.¹⁶ Science and history have not outdated myth but have helped to define its particular role in human consciousness. As John Shea comments, 'Science, while claiming its own territory, has also demarcated the terrain of myth'.¹⁷

An objection to the traditional myths that merits consideration is that they are imaginatively alien to our world; that their symbols, although once potent with meaning for a particular culture have now lost their imaginative vitality and can no longer inform the modern sensibility with their revelations of wonder. This viewpoint fails to understand that the power of myth resides largely in poetic symbolisms and narrative structures which are not conditioned or limited by time and space but transcend them in the concrete immediacy of the archetypal experience offered.

As Ted Hughes asserts,

It does not matter how old these stories are. Stories are old the same way as human biology is old. No matter how much they have produced in the past in the way of fruitful inspiration they are never exhausted. The stories of Christ and Cuchulainn are irreducible lumps of the world. 17

Up to now the attitude to myth as content in education has been less than encouraging. The role of mythical narratives and their fellow-travellers, romances, is largely confined to the primary school. Unfortunately, even there they tend to become functionalised for short-

term linguistic attainments and rarely are they used in a coherent imaginative manner which would confirm the child in the value and power of his inner imaginative world which now has a validity which it will rarely have again in his life-time. When the child leaves the primary school the mythical is left behind with the toys of childhood.

This dearth of mythical narratives in our educational programmes prompted Seamus Heaney some time ago to advocate that every student in third level education should be given an extra year to reencounter the mythological-cycles of Western Culture. A romantic notion no doubt in these times but also a cri de coeur from a poet whose sense of the mythical is most sophisticated.

Becoming mature in our culture is in some inane way identified with an excess of rationality and common sense. We orientate ourselves completely to the outer world and consequently neglect or ignore the demands of our inner world. Scientific objectivity is recognised as the ideal stance today (in itself a falsehood as suggested by quantum physics). Nevertheless this is an incredibly potent ideal and in many ways most wonderful; it has created the modern world and without it the modern world could not be sustained. But the scientific ideal as Ted Hughes remarks,

is a disaster, that is heading straight towards infinite misery, because it has persuaded human beings to identify with what is no more than a narrow mode of perception. And the more rigorously the ideal is applied, the more likely it is to be disastrous. A bright intelligent eye full of exact images, set in a head of the most frightful stupidity. 18

Within all of us there is a mythic space, an area of consciousness endemic to the human person which imperatively calls for patterns to satisfy its need for order and

significance in an inexplicable universe. P.L. Travers (author of *Mary Poppins*) gives an instructive analogy: she says we live in myth as an egg-yolk in its albumen. Our modern world seems intent on stripping away this life-nourishing, life-protecting albumen and leaving us bereft and vulnerable.

There are manifold signs in the late twentieth century that the inadequacy of our cultural condition is being sharply felt. The widespread interest in forms of meditation, the excesses of the drug-culture, the ceaseless thirst for escapism and sensationalism, are all diverse attempts to fill the inner space or to drown out its insistent call. In the area of popular entertainment the success of a film like E.T. with its potentially Christian myths might suggest the same search for a revitalised symbolism. The popularity of fantasy literature in its manifold forms indicates at least a trend for experiences not limited by proved fact but which reach out into areas of wonder and mystery. The phenomenon of Tolkien's Lord of the Rings is apropos; it became a cult book for many years, there were hobbits inscribed in the most bizarre places!

Is it not ironic that the giants, heroes, goblins and monsters which most of us left behind with our childhood are now returning to help a benighted world to comprehend a little better what it involves to be fully human?

To conclude a story about the power of a story:

When the great Rabbi Israel Baal Shem-Tov saw misfortune threatening the Jews it was his custom to go into a certain part of the forest to meditate. There he would light a fire, say a special prayer, and the miracle would be accomplished and the misfortune averted.

Later, when his disciple, the celebrated Magid of Mezeritch, had occasion, for the

same reason, to intercede with heaven, he would go to the same place in the forest and say: 'Master of the Universe, listen! I do not know how to light the fire, but I am still able to say the prayer.' And again the miracle would be accomplished.

Later still, Rabbi Moshe-Leib of Sassov, in order to save his people once more, would go into the forest and say: 'I do not know how to light the fire, I do not know the prayer, but I know the place and this must be sufficient.' It was sufficient and the miracle was accomplished.

Then it fell to Rabbi Israel of Rizhin to overcome misfortune. Sitting in his armchair, his head in his hands, he spoke to God: 'I cannot even find the place in the forest. All I can do is to tell the story, and this must be sufficient.' And it was sufficient. 19

NOTES

1. B Hardy, "Towards a poetics of fiction: an approach through narrative". The Cool Web, ed. M. Meek et al, (London: Bodley Head, 1977), p. 12.
2. N. Frye, The Secular Scripture. (London: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 126.
3. J. Shea, Stories of God. (Chicago: The Thomas More Press, 1978), p. 8.
4. J.S. Bruner, "Myth and Identity". Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, LXXXVIII, (2) Spring, 1952, p. 350.
5. J. Kant, The Critique of Pure Reason quoted in J.B. Metz, Faith in History and Society. (London: Barns & Oates, 1980), p. 207.
6. J.B. Metz, Faith in History and Society, pp. 207-208.
7. N. Frye, The Secular Scripture, p. 169.
8. S. Langer, Feeling and Form, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), p. 274.
9. D. Thompson, The Uses of Poetry. (Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 15.
10. K. Raine, "On the Mythological". Defending Ancient Springs. (Oxford University Press, 1967), p.128.
11. E. Voegelin, Anamnesis. (London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1982), pp.22-23.
12. J. Shea, Stories of God, pp. 19-20.
13. W. Wordsworth, "The Prelude". The Portable Romantic Poets. (London: Penquin, 1978), pp.206-207.
14. T. Hughes, "Myth and Education". Writers, Critics and Children, ed. G. Fox, et al. (London: Heinemann, 1976), p. 85.
15. J. Shea, Stories of God, p. 48.
16. Ibid., p. 49.
17. T. Hughes, "Myth and Education", p. 83.
18. Ibid., p. 87.
19. E. Wiesel, The Gates of the Forest. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966).

THE BUOYANCY OF CURRICULUM RESEARCH: OR GOING TO
SEA IN A SIEVE

Professor David Jenkins

Introduction

In the nonsense poems of Edward Lear the jumbles-land may be noted for its would-be mariners, who were bold enough to venture to sea in a sieve. One can only speculate concerning the duration of such voyages. Yet the image is perhaps a nicely cautionary one for the curriculum researcher. Are the traditional sieves of educational research, with their capacity for classification and fine-grain sorting, sufficiently seaworthy for the choppy reaches of curriculum activity? Or is the bath likely to go down with the water-baby? There are a number of issues concerning the application of research techniques to curriculum problems that stand in desperate need of clarification if we are to keep intellectually afloat. Yet opinions remain divided. Not only is one man's handwaggon another man's hearse, but what is flotsam to one might easily be perceived as jetsam by the other.

Curriculum research might easily be imagined as an iron rim that might be fitted out in a number of ways. Whether one adds a mesh or a copper bottom is perhaps a matter of judgement. Either way curriculum research is the application of any research technique to problems of understanding posed by curriculum proposals, activities or consequences. It is necessary to centralise the contribution of research to understanding because curriculum is a practical rather than a theoretic art, typically concerned with defensible judgements rather than warrantable conclusions. Most established traditions of

educational research lend themselves to curriculum problems, and both quantitative and qualitative methods offer strong contributions. Some of the traditional quantitative methods involve an attitude towards data analogous to riddling with the sieve, while qualitative research more frequently reminds one of the dredging bucket. Indeed one of the earliest metaphorical references to the sieve, in 1477, was to the colourfully impossible ('as he that fetcheth water in a sieve'). Sieves allow us to classify, not to collect.

Certainly, to get away from our introductory metaphor, there are daunting problems in attempting to chart or map what is covered by the term 'curriculum research'. It is clear from the most superficial reading in the field that there is no firm agreement on the precise usage of either term, and in consequence definitions tend either to be stipulative (attempts by various writers to legislate for the field) or else programmatic (carrying implicit recommendations for action.) Historically some of the stipulative definitions canvassed for the term curriculum have been overly and overtly narrow. For example, a researcher conceptualising curriculum as a statement about changes in behaviour that a course of study intends to bring about is arguably already predisposed towards a particular research focus (student achievement under described conditions) and a particular methodology (comparative studies on a behaviourist base). Similarly an ideological commitment to praxis might easily dispose a researcher influenced by the Frankfurt school (Habermas, 1972) to view curriculum, not only as a legitimate object of cultural inquiry but also as a potential arena for reconstructionist intervention. Thus the choice of a theory or a research perspective might be considered directly analogous to the adoption of a political stance. Going to sea in a sieve ought to be treated not as personal eccentricity,

but as an overtly political act. Equally there are methodological consequences of particular orientations; the cultural analysis of a curriculum, by viewing it as socially embedded, reverberates with the concerns of naturalistic research (i.e. close-up studies in natural settings) and might easily see case study as its appropriate product. Similarly if an intervention is 'reconstructionist' (viewing teachers as cultural change agents and perceiving curriculum at the growing edge of cultural adaptivity to changing social conditions) a curriculum initiative might also be a systematic quest for a certain kind of understanding, and therefore, prima facie, research. This line of argument is used to lend legitimacy to the concept of curriculum action-research.

Historical background

Some comment is required on the relatively recent emergence of curriculum research. The conventional historical truism is no doubt correct, that the revival of curriculum theorising, and of systematic enquiry into curriculum matters, resulted from the impetus given to these activities by the 'curriculum reform movement' particularly in North America, Australasia and Western Europe. The movement itself has been characterised by a number of dominant themes, each of which has posed problems of conceptual understanding and of what is to count as justified practice, as well as suggesting possible research agendas. These themes have included attempts to update the knowledge component in teaching, to reappraise the 'knowledge maps' against which organising categories of the curriculum might be selected, and to understand the processes of planned change by which innovations might be encouraged to take root in schools. Not unexpectedly, there has been some interpenetration between the emerging research agendas and what has been

going on more broadly in the field. The general tension in curriculum theory between positivistic and naturalistic paradigms is echoed in curriculum research by the tensions between a truth-orientated empiricism and a judgement-orientated ethnography. Again not unexpectedly, the selection of research methodologies has tended to vary situationally via a pleasing attentiveness to the needs of particular topics.

Topics and Methods

Although no particular formulation can be pressed into service as defining the agreed 'topics of curriculum research' it might be useful to offer in the interests of convenient analysis the following clusters: quasi-fundamental research; policy-related descriptive data; the analysis of curriculum proposals; studies in curriculum design, implementation or action research; and finally curriculum evaluation, whether descriptive or judgemental. The scope and methodologies of curriculum research will be viewed within these topic areas, although some of the commonalities will be discussed later as possible trends.

Quasi-fundamental research?

Although central to curriculum research must be investigation taking curriculum as its object of study, interesting marginal cases can be cited. All curricula are premised on explicit or implicit models, notably of learning, knowledge domains, and appropriate pedagogies. The question is this: at what point might any number of studies carrying 'implications' for designing, analysing, or evaluating curricula be treated as quasi-fundamental research in the curriculum domain? It is probably wise to be undogmatic, and treat the boundaries as permeable,

but some distinctions carry at least the force of common sense. Straight developmental psychology, Piagetian or otherwise, scarcely qualifies, although studies undertaken for the purpose of generating curriculum models or examining their assumptions, might (e.g. Goldman's (1964) developmental model for the teaching of religious studies).

Similarly, although general epistemology is only tangentially related to curriculum research, there are clear cases where attempts to chart knowledge domains have been undertaken from a curriculum perspective. One might cite as marginal the willingness of Hirst (1970) to take his 'forms of knowledge' argument to a consideration of curriculum integration. Recently, too, the curriculum problems posed by the inadequacy of existing canonical forms for representing knowledge have been sharpened by computer-assisted and computer-managed learning. CAL/CML in some versions requires some representation of the knowledge component to be held 'in the machine'. The journal Instructional Science has consistently addressed some of the issues. Yet the boundaries remain. Are the ubiquitous taxonomies with their hierarchical classification of possible objectives themselves non-empirical curriculum research? Or the work of people like Gagne (1970) on learning hierarchies? Or the attempt of Pask (1972) to articulate an iconography of knowledge structures in terms of relational nets? One point at which investigation of these matters clearly qualifies as curriculum research is when they are studied empirically with regard to their incarnation in particular educational programmes. Thus Walker (1976) in a plea for more empirical research into curriculum, was able to pinpoint as underexplored three areas which might be considered somewhere near the boundary between instructional research and curriculum research: the relationship between general goals and the specific objectives that guide teaching; the educational potential of different fields of study at each level of

instruction; and questions of subject matter sequencing.

Another tradition of educational enquiry shading across into curriculum research is the observational study of classrooms. Classroom research is ranging and eclectic, neither having a single overarching theory, nor an agreed package of research techniques. Broadly there have been two strands, category-based schemes looking to quantified description with high inter-observer reliability, almost literally 'sieving' the flux of classroom life for recurrent categories; and ethnographic techniques dredging down into the muddy depths of social action in order to interpret events and disclose meanings. For some writers educational ethnography is associated with a willingness to treat curricula as legitimate objects of aesthetic analysis, most sharply within a 'literary-critical' style. Although there is a school of thought that sees teaching studies as "curriculum problems in miniature" and "objective" objective classroom descriptions a de facto account of curriculum implementation, the balance of the judgement must be elsewhere. Attempts to categorise and mirror classroom behaviour (see Simon and Boyer) are necessarily filtered through perceptions of what is problematic, and historically most category-based interaction studies have sought to establish a descriptive rubric for charting styles of teaching, particularly within instructional modes, with half-an-eye to an eventual contribution towards teacher effectiveness studies. Contrarywise ethnographic or microethnographic studies of classrooms will under the press of certain kinds of question become indistinguishable from curriculum evaluation or naturalistic curriculum research.

Policy-related curriculum research

The kind of curriculum research seen as legitimate policy-related study varies from country to country in a way reflecting the locus of authority in education systems at large. Countries having centrally determined curricula are more likely to collect data concerning performance characteristics: what is eligible for teaching, give or take the ability of teachers to add their personal signatures to educational programmes, is treated as known. Under the press of economic hardship most advanced industrial countries have espoused fashionable notions of accountability and the related tendency to see schooling as a delivery system. Thus education has attracted the kind of hard-edged social scientific research that goes in for the measurement of indicators. The indicators themselves are constructs representing those facets of a policy by which its implementation might be managed; they form a mesh that allows some of the finer particles of loose material through, but inevitably some of the coarse-grained truths elude the net.

Other educational systems demonstrate a more dispersed distribution of responsibility. In such systems policy processes move back and forth between levels of organisational hierarchies, between concreteness and abstractness, and between central and peripheral locations. In such settings policy-related curriculum research is characterised by the needs of its particular audiences, and the metatheoretical assumptions of its sponsors and practitioners. It might aspire to value-neutrality, a mere information service to a 'rational actor'; it might find itself so embedded bureaucratically that it politicises itself as a contribution to the resolution of conflicting interests; or it might take an interactive stance seeing itself as part of the ongoing dialogue of policy deliberation. But there is some evidence that the

research community may be over-aggrandising its role. An investigation by Andriana (1979) placed policy-related studies, bottom of the list of factors influencing federal education legislators in America, well behind 'the strong views of respected and trusted friends'.

Where there is some on-site flexibility policy-related curriculum research might be employed to increase the capacity for local adaptiveness. In his book Beyond the Stable State, Donald Schon argued for 'institutions that learn'. But the kind of learning he had in mind is one relying on the experiences, judgements, and tacit knowledge of the local policy maker. Stake has argued that Schon's notions best match with phenomenological research ('when studies are largely done in terms of emic constructs, those held by people affecting and affected by the policy then those people can rely on their own valuations to adjudicate the contributions of the researchers'). Thus over recent years case studies of individual schools, approached naturalistically, and often light on formal generalisation, have been offered to policy makers as authentic curriculum research. Such research does not perceive the policy maker as a 'rational actor'; neither does it simply respond to an agenda of questions capable of quantified presentation. Rather it attempts to widen the experimental base on which the 'reasonable guesses' that underline deliberative action might be 'checked against experience'.

A few countries, particularly the United Kingdom, are so lacking in central curriculum direction that some confusion surrounds what the curriculum in aggregate, or in particular schools, actually entails. Basic research is required merely to establish base-line data concerning what actually is being taught and learned in schools. In Britain the curriculum has become an arena for conflicting versions of where responsibility should lie, a conflict

between broad views that might be characterised respectively as professional (stressing the judgement of teachers) and bureaucratic (stressing top-down accountability). The Department of Education and Science, and the Local Education Authorities, are both conducting in-house research into curriculum provision. The ends of this activity are to acquire greater control. The Green Paper of July 1977 talked of a 'need to investigate' what part might be played by a 'core or protected element' in any projected common curriculum. Two years later, DES Circular 14/77 required local authorities to detail their arrangements for the school curriculum. Alongside this the Schools Council has published a number of research studies analysing more focussed needs appearing to require a curriculum solution; for example Chris Reiss' The Education of Travelling Children in effect is an attempt to draw educational implications for gypsies from a sub-group life style analysis.

Countries attempting to institutionalise the processes of curriculum reform have with various degrees of conviction employed an R and D rhetoric for the activity. The OECD (1974) assessed the current position of R and D and its relation to educational policy, with regard to its European member states (following a comprehensive analysis of the United States, OECD 1971). Although the general picture remains confusing, the trend has been for the curriculum reform movement to encourage decision-orientated, commissioned, policy-related research. The sequence of pilot investigation, trials in 'experimental schools' and executive dissemination was broadly followed in Sweden, Finland and Norway, followed by the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Yugoslavia. The 'research' element related principally to the establishment of observed experimental classrooms, which at best fostered an issues-centred ethnography. Nevertheless most curriculum change was inspired by social economic or

political factors, and has been research-monitored rather than research-based.

Curriculum Analysis

One important focus of curriculum research concerns the analysis of existing curricula or of curriculum proposals. The methods employed vary considerably, not least due to the intrusion of an overtly political agenda in the kind of macro-analysis associated with a strong neo-Marxist tradition. Although Reid (1982) sees little possibility of dialogue between the 'deliberative theorists' and the 'system-opposing a-priorists', there is no doubt an authentic 'research' orientation in the best of the Marxist's writings, by which I mean that there is a serious interest in explicating the mechanisms they describe and even chastening some middle-level theory, even if the larger insights are held dogmatically. Although the canonical text is Bowles and Gintis (1976) most of the interesting research concerns explicating the processes at work in schools, particularly the 'symbolic violence' perpetrated by the so-called 'hidden curriculum' (see Hargreaves 1977). Micro-ethnography grounding a macro-perspective is notoriously hard to achieve in curriculum or classroom research, which is why the few good examples are extravagantly lauded, especially by their political friends, most notably Willis' (1977) Learning to Labour. But overall the saga demonstrates the dependence of research on general orientation, in this case the view that curriculum in capitalist societies is a bourgeois artifact reproducing from generation to generation the myths of supremacy of the dominant classes. The trick is to turn 'inequalities of power' into 'inequalities of culture'.

Alongside the neo-Marxist analysis of the hidden curriculum has lain another research tradition, its roots

in the work of symbolic interactionists like Goffman (1961). This strand in curriculum research treats the hidden curriculum as the amalgam of adaptive learnings by individual pupils learning to survive culturally in a hostile milieu. It contrasts the hidden curriculum with the espoused curriculum, seeing the world of schools, as of kids, having 'real' as well as 'pretend' elements. Researchers in this tradition include hard-edged ethnographers like Henry (1955) and romantic radicals like Holt (1964).

Another facet of analytical curriculum research deals with logical or empirical studies of curriculum proposals. Fraser (1977) has reviewed a number of styles of enquiry addressing fundamental problems of the intrinsic worth of curriculum goals. He sees a place for empirical analysis in determining whether a programme might responsibly claim validation by expert opinion. Thus the Australian Science Education Project had its stated goals checked against a literature survey. As with consistency studies of curriculum plans, there is some suspicion of a cop-out, as the researcher avoids having his own values flushed into the open. Anderson (1980), although not going all the way towards the methodologies of textual analysis seeks to arm the reader with a basis for appraising written proposals in the curriculum domain. Although his highly-literate armchair scepticism dismayed some sons of the curriculum soil, his critique of the claims of several examined curriculum proposals to be 'research-based' is undeniably sharp. Curriculum research, in the sense of a claimed research justification for action, is more suspect than we realised.

Curriculum design, implementation and action research

Matters of curriculum design or development most clearly press research agendas towards a practitioners' perspective. Occasionally this appears to embrace no more than the view that accumulated well-described 'tips' might build unsteadily towards a compendium of good practice, perhaps on the analogy of medicine. More frequently the research task is conceived explicitly within some overarching model as when models of, say, 'rational planning' or 'deliberation' are used heuristically to generate models for curriculum design, so that the fit between the prescriptive model and actual planning becomes a research issue. Examples of this kind of research into planning processes include Taylor's (1970) How Teachers Plan their Courses and Walker's (1975) account of the particular incarnation of 'deliberative theory' employed by Eisner and his colleagues in the Kettering Project.

Although there is no compelling reason to disagree with Walker (1975) that curriculum development and ordinary teaching are not in typical circumstances forms of research, it is not unusual for large scale curriculum projects to represent the 'developments' they recommend as having a 'research' base, although there is no logical requirement that the R of the R, D and D (Research Development and Diffusion) model should itself be curriculum research.

For example Robinson (1982) describes the use in the Rowntree Schools Cultural Studies Project of pedagogies derived from Raths and Kohlberg in a curriculum experiment blunting the edge of sectarianism in Northern Ireland's secondary schools. In general the curriculum reform movement has perhaps been too prone to claim a quasi-scientific research legitimacy for its activity, either generatively or per se (e.g. both Goldsmiths' College in

London and Educational Services Incorporated in the United States set up in the 60's what they chose to call curriculum or educational 'laboratories'.)

Although theories of planned change are pretty untidy and ill-ordered, research into planned curriculum change has tended to fall under tribute to one of the two dominant paradigms (and supportive ideologies) available. System-building or managerial approaches, often premised on mechanistic models, have tended to imply that stable underlying regularities are waiting to be expounded. This lies behind the techniques of regression analysis used by Tisher and Power (1978) to chart the effect of learned environment on an Australian curriculum innovation. At its quaintest such positivist preconceptions led Tebbutt and Atherton (1979), possibly beguiled by the metaphorical reverberation of the term 'catalyst', to propose a 'reaction kinetics' model for the growth of curriculum projects, based on the behaviour of catalytic molecules in chemistry. The fineness of the metaphorical mesh is no handicap to those willing to discover the universe in a grain of sand. More humane and cultural approaches were epistemised early by Benne and Mintyan's Human Relations in Curriculum Change (1951). Perhaps occupying a middle position, we have the attempts by people like Halpin (1967) to operationalise 'organisational health'. Nevertheless there is a great need for the kind of empirical study of curriculum change that sensitively charts determinants within a cultural context. Work pointing the way forward in mainland western Europe has come from Kallos and Lundgren (1976), the work of INTEC, and in America the four year study by the Rand Corporation for the United States office of Education.

Studies of curriculum implementation have tended to cluster according to the perspectives brought to bear, say from management theory, the sociology of innovation, or

even a Tavistock-based social psychology, as employed by Richardson (1975) at Nailsea. Increasingly, implementation studies have been case studies of individual schools, with a quite recent trend towards ethnographic research in multi-site settings, with some interest in cross-site generalisations (see Stake and Easley 1978). At times research in these conditions appears less like traditional ethnography and more what Miles (1978) called 'the bureaucratisation of fieldwork'. Alongside this trend can be found survey-based 'impact and take up' studies, and more broadly-based policy studies, like the account by Owen (1969) of curriculum innovation in the U.S.S.R.

Finally a more-than-fashionable lively interest has developed recently in action research. Commonsensically this involves the style of participant observation in which a natural participant engages in self-monitoring observation in order to learn from the experience. Clearly it requires a curious, exploratory and even speculative cast of mind towards one's own performance. It may or may not involve 'outside' as well as 'inside' perspectives (as when a university researcher works with a teacher). But it is the teacher who is the 'curriculum researcher', usually going beyond intelligent description to some considerable analysis of curriculum propositions being tested in context. In one version these propositions are seen as 'pedagogical hypotheses'. The work of the Ford Teaching Project (Adelman and Elliott, 1975) has done much to establish the research style, although there would be some disagreement with Elliott's view that the outsider should be valued less for this truth-telling than his ability to foster self reflection in participants.

Curriculum Evaluation

The activity of curriculum evaluation has both reflected and contributed towards the contemporary debates

surrounding research methodology in education. Some writers have been tempted to distinguish evaluation from research, for example by citing its incapacity to generate its own research problems due to a functional 'responsiveness' to the problems posed by others, be they sponsors, curriculum developers or users groups. But given that curriculum necessitates 'practitioners knowledge' and 'deliberative theory' this just isn't good enough. A more interactive view of the relationship between curriculum evaluation and educational research would stress the emergence of common trends, research paradigms, and methodological practices. I propose to take the issues historically.

Curriculum evaluation, arguably, is a logical requirement of responsible curriculum development. Stenhouse (1981) has suggested that the curriculum reform movement represented a redistribution of financial resources in education and that early attempts to generate 'research' paradigms for evaluation can be read as attempts by the research establishment to corner some of the money. This evaluation methodology was first postulated as essentially isomorphic with nomothetic research methodology in education. Curriculum development became a 'treatment' sufficiently 'frozen' for its effects to be monitored in the manner of crop-yield studies in agricultural botany. These effects, to meet the requirements of the methodology, needed to be measurable, and a psychometric approach to desired knowledge, skills and attitudes resulted. But soon the poverty of iterative or comparative studies became clear and the techniques swung behind before-and-after designs. At best such evaluation studies established what had been learned in particular educational programmes, and in areas of the curriculum characterised by describable skills or well-analysed tasks the approach has much to recommend it.

The difficulties, however, lay elsewhere. Curriculum development proved too volatile to be treated in these ways, the technology of 'varying the treatment' required multiple iteration of a kind mismatching with the available time scales; the difference between alleged 'treatment' and 'control' groups too frequently appeared trivial; the basic assumption that the experimental approach would generate law-like generalisations for the slippery domain of curriculum practice proved unrealistic; and, finally, a settled realisation emerged that the truths at stake are peculiarly embedded. This led Cronbach (1975) to argue, for educational research in general, as well as for curriculum evaluation, that we should reverse our priorities, not making generalisation a ruling consideration but appraising a proposition in a setting and observing effects in context.

Nonetheless as Lewy (1973) pointed out, it would be reasonable to characterise the current state of curriculum evaluation as burdened with an over-proliferation of theoretical models and an over-dichotomised stance on research methodology. The dichotomies are variously posed between psychometric and 'illuminative'; between positivism and naturalism; between nomothetic and idiographic. Only recently are the somewhat obvious advantages of triangulation via mixed methodology being canvassed. A glance at Fraser's Annotated Bibliography of Curriculum Evaluation Literature (1982, reveals how widely cast is the methodological net. On the one hand writers like Bernstein et. al. (1975) concern themselves primarily with 'hard' research issues like threats to external validity, and hope to disentangle 'confounded treatment effects' and 'situational effects'. On the other hand the interest of writers like Stake (1972), Guba (1978) and Smith (1978) in naturalistic styles of enquiry has taken the curriculum ethnographer towards interpretative studies of curriculum-in-action based on participant

observation, the collection of testimony and judgements, and quasi-historical documentation. Even so evaluation studies will be closer to their 'research' roots when they emphasise systematically acquired understandings rather than simply relay a 'surrogate experience', although even on this wing there are affinities with phenomenological research and with Pinar's (1975) somewhat over-selfconscious 'reconceptualisation' of the curriculum domain.

One final point is perhaps worth making, given the recent emergence of 'reflective' counters to the dominant model of bureaucratic accountability. Self-study and self-evaluation inside curricula milieux have become quite fashionable. This ties in quite neatly both with curriculum action research and with Stenhouse's (1975) view that curriculum practitioners can be trained to take a view of their own endeavours sufficiently detached to qualify them as 'curriculum researchers'.

Trends

In spite of the wide range of methodological styles employed in curriculum research the general tendency recently has been towards qualitative, ethnographic or interpretive studies. Law-establishing nomothetic studies (based on the model of naturwissenschaften) have to some extent given way to hermeneutic or idiographic studies (based on the model of geisteswissenschaften). As Walker (1976) has pointed out, this is in part because the complexities of curriculum do not readily generate 'a rich store of plausible and interesting hypotheses to test.' The verification-and-proof research model as applied to curriculum problems has also come under indirect attack from Glass (1972) who deemed 'the laws of the social and behavioural sciences as of extremely limited generality'

and Cronbach (1975) who depicted generalisation as unstable and subject to 'decay'.

Attempts to understand the curriculum through case studies, as Shaw (1979) points out, have varied between descriptive studies ('story telling') analytical studies ('the innovation obstacle race') and process studies ('problems, proposals, arguments, clarifications'). The worst of the studies have been sloppy, the best rigorous, combining rich earthy data with freedom from retrospective distortion and allowing serendipitous findings to emerge. But as Miles (1978) points out there are some tensions, between grounded theory and a supportive framework, between techniques of data collection and writing-up. Naturalistic research is also very demanding, its validity depending on the amount of on-site observation.

As curriculum problems are perceived as moral rather than technical they combine the two 'knowledge-constitutive interests' that Habermas called 'practical' and 'emancipatory', and their 'science' is consequently 'interpretative-hermeneutic', or critical, arising from reflection. Because of the nature of the curriculum domain itself the trend has been, much more than in educational research in general, a flight from the technologisation of reason.

Curriculum research, in short, is increasingly in keeping with a wider observation made by Cronbach (1965).

Systematic inquiry can reasonably hope to make two contributions. One reasonable aspiration is to assess local events accurately, to improve short-run control. The other reasonable aspiration is to develop explanatory concepts, concepts that will help people to use their heads.

We not only need to use our heads, but also to keep them above the water.

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EQUALITY AS A CURRICULUM AIM?

Ciaran Sugrue

Many will agree that it is something of an oddity to see the word 'equality' in print unaccompanied by 'opportunity'. This occurs because conventional wisdom has accepted that, as Lawton states "the principle (sic) of equality of opportunity was established by the passing of the 1944 Education Act in the British house of Parliament even if the realization was still extremely difficult".¹ This was not a phenomenon confined to the British Isles, for according to Mulcahy "ever since World War II educational systems have been attempting to give effect to this principle".² Other commentators such as Warnock have suggested that "the concept of equality has dominated, perhaps bedevilled, educational as well as more general political thought for the last thirty years."³ Mindful of the historical development of the twin doctrines of meritocracy and egalitarianism, Bantock suggests that they have "lived in uneasy partnership for the last two hundred years, the former spawning the notion of equality of outcome."⁴ Our own particular version of this 'principle' is popularly referred to as the 'free' education scheme introduced in September 1967.⁵

This brief excursion into the vast literature that exist on this issue is intended to illustrate that further analysis of what conventional wisdom accepts as a 'principle' is necessary before the feasibility of equality as a curriculum aim can be properly assessed. Warnock expresses agreement with the summation given here when she states:

Equality of educational opportunity,
equality in the distribution of education,

in the abolition of selection, integration, the removal of elitism, all these are ~~potent~~ political issues. The difficulty is that none is clear and all are easily misunderstood. 6

The principle referred to above, transformed into the popular political slogan of 'equality of opportunity' in the sixties and early seventies, had a profound effect on the curriculum of the comprehensive school and what began as a convenient and often satisfactory way of educating very different children under the same roof became identified with a demand to give all children the very same education "so that neither their social nor their intellectual differences should distinguish them one from the other."⁷ Before clarification of the concept of 'equality' will be undertaken it will be helpful, as a background to that task to focus attention on the nature of inequality.

"Social inequality," writes Flew, "is a broad and general problem which is present in all contemporary societies."⁸ In discussing the concept of inequality one is dealing with the relative differences that exist between people, and contrary to popular ideology, economic growth does not automatically reduce inequality and increase social justice.⁹ Entwistle attributes the popularity of the equality of opportunity slogan to the assumption, which was part of "the conventional wisdom of the past two decades which assumed that greater affluence would lead to redistribution of wealth towards the lower income groups."¹⁰ One of the primary reasons for the acceptance of this idea would appear to be self-interest, rather than egalitarian considerations, where many expected to acquire a greater slice of the expanding economic cake. From an economic point of view there is ample evidence that conventional wisdom got it all wrong and a forthcoming publication confirms what many have suspected that our educational system reinforces existing social inequalities.¹¹

Many commentators argue that inequality is endemic in the structures of advanced capitalist societies, and as a consequence, poverty is continuously recreated. On this economic analysis of social structures competition is accepted as necessary, that it promotes and rewards talent so that the argument is frequently advanced that "it is inequality, not equality which is functional for a healthy society."¹²

A scientific interpretation of the nature of inequality endeavours to establish why particular inequalities have arisen without believing that all or even any of these differences are bad. An interpretation of this kind does not include a normative judgement. By contrast, sociologists who espouse an environmental explanation for existing inequalities imply implicitly that the world would somehow be a better place without these. Interpreting Rousseau's claim that all men are born equal, in this way begs a sociological explanation. One is forced to agree with Flew that there are "fundamental differences between claims about an equality of rights and claims about an equality of talents or of inclinations."¹³ While not wishing to underestimate the importance of environmental factors in human development one must nevertheless recognise that natural inequalities do exist. This is one of the basic tenets of a Child-Centred Curriculum. This must be accepted as a basic premise in constructing a curriculum and content and methodology should be fashioned accordingly.

Equality is frequently considered to be a 'blind' concept. It is ambiguous, meaning different things to different people. Essentially it is a mathematical concept evoking thoughts of similarity or 'sameness'.¹⁴ Because of the suggestion of sameness in the concept some sociologists are seduced into believing both that people naturally are and that ideally they ought to be more

equal than actually is the case. Social equality can therefore be stated to be an ideal which embodies the wish that everything and everybody should be as similar as possible to everything and everybody else. This may be helpful in explaining the initial attraction of the idea of equality of opportunity in that people confused equality of access with equality of outcome. President Johnson expressed this rather graphically in the introduction to the Coleman report:

You do not take a person who for years has been hobbled by chains, and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and say, 'you are free to compete with the others,' and justly believe that you have been completely fair. 15

To be completely fair therefore would appear to require that the concept of equality cannot be applied blindly. Lawton sees the concept as being closely associated with social justice and he argues that "social justice in education is an empty slogan unless we are more precise about curriculum content."¹⁶ Equality for him becomes a matter of the right to acquire certain kinds of knowledge which involves outlining the benefits to be gained from schooling in terms of curriculum content. It is not only a matter of access to a curriculum but that the content of the curriculum being offered to all pupils must be worthwhile. In this sense equality must apply to the distribution and the content of the curriculum. However, one must agree with Warnock that it is important to distinguish between the statements "that everyone has an equal right to education" and that "everyone has a right to equal education."¹⁷ To temper the concept of equality in the interest of fairness it is necessary to look more closely at the concept of justice.

It is important to establish at the outset that justice is distinct from equality. While the latter

insists that we treat all people the same Lucas correctly states that justice does not require "that we treat all children the same"¹⁸ because this could lead to greater injustice. The concept of equality would appear to establish a right but to what kind of educational provision is ambiguous. If it is accepted that people have an equal right to share something this may in practice result in a gross difference between the share of different parties, and this maybe manifestly inequitable. So far it has been established that equality is a right to which everybody is entitled but some rule or rules must be found to govern it's distribution lest it lead to greater injustice. If these rules cannot be found then remedial teaching for the dull is as much a breach of the principle of equality as any form of special attention is for the clever.

If equality and justice are interpreted as competing values then the task is that of establishing the ethical basis of education. Peters states that it is for reasons concerning justice "rather than flat equality --- that men should be treated differently if there are relevant grounds for so treating them." On the basis of this argument he formulates the principle of distributive justice "which lays down that equals should be treated equally and unequals unequally."¹⁹ Both Warnock and Rawls use the words justice and fairness interchangeably. They consider society to be a co-operative venture for mutual advantage which is identical with the Aristotelian concept of enlightened self-interest. Using this criteria justice is defined "by the role of its principles in assigning rights and duties and in defining the appropriate division of social advantages."²⁰ Injustice can therefore be described conversely as "inequalities that are not to the benefit of all."²¹ A principle of justice is described in a general way as "any belief on which the value of actions depends on whether or not they can be called just, or on

how just or unjust they are, in any particular, actual or possible sense of just."²²

Two fundamental principles are usually attributed to the concept of justice. One is that each individual must have the maximum amount of liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others. The other is that inequalities should be so arranged as to be to the advantage of everyone and that they should be attached to positions and offices open to all. While these principles are acceptable in a general way they cannot provide a sufficient basis for educational policy. From an educational, or more specifically from a curriculum point of view, little or nothing has been achieved.

It is recognised that natural inequalities do exist and must be considered in the context of distribution. However, because the concept of justice is very general and imprecise it imposes no restrictions on what sort of inequalities are permissible it only requires that everyone's position be improved. On this basis it could be argued that the present educational system as it operates in this country at primary and post-primary level does actually meet this general criteria. However, most fair-minded people will readily agree that in practice neither equality nor social justice are enhanced to any significant extent, if at all, by current educational practice. It must be admitted however, that due to the vagueness of both concepts under discussion the basic principles as outlined above could be used to justify a rigid curriculum to which everyone must adhere or a wide degree of curriculum variation.

In attempting to avoid ambiguities arising out of the general principles outlined above Rawls introduces a further principle of fair equality of opportunity.²³ As a result, two concepts which have already been shown to be vague are now joined by a third. The concept of

opportunity, says Lucas "like equality is a treacherous concept and equality of opportunity doubly so."²⁴ To have the opportunity of actually doing something is not to be able to do so but to be able to try though without any certainty of success. However, because pupils, regardless of age, begin from a position of inequality it has already been shown that the mere right to compete while an improvement on not being able to compete at all, can hardly be regarded as fair. Opportunity implies competition which in turn accepts the idea that there will be winners and losers. To allow the concept of equality of opportunity to dominate educational planning is to advocate greater opportunity to become unequal.

Was conventional wisdom mistaken, therefore when it accepted equality of opportunity as one of the basic principles of educational planning? In the days when access to post-primary education of any description was confined to those who could afford it the principle or belief in providing a more equal opportunity to the entire community was necessary to bring about reform. It is at best helpful as a general principle of educational policy and at worst confusing and contradictory. In this sense equality and opportunity were at all times rather strange bed-fellows and even when the slogan 'equality of educational opportunity' was much more a rallying-cry than it is today, the alliance was never more than a marriage of convenience. It can be said to have achieved its goal which was to ensure that all have access to post-primary education. Now that pupils enjoy that right it is much less helpful in ensuring that all have access to worthwhile knowledge and experience.

In an effort to equalize educational opportunity the Plowden Report introduced the concept of 'Educational Priority Areas' and attempted to establish criteria with a view to identifying educationally disadvantaged areas.²⁵

Apart from the fact that there is a lack of consensus as to the precise nature of educational disadvantage and educationally disadvantaged areas there is the danger of reinforcing existing inequalities primarily through the self-fulfilling prophecy of teachers' expectations. It is also true to say that to devote a lot of time and energy to identifying geographical areas is to some extent to miss the point that it is people not areas that suffer deprivation.

This entire argument is of little benefit in that it is concerned with educational provision without considering the central aspect of the problem which is the actual stuff of the curriculum itself. It is essentially the socio-political framework within which the educational system operates. In a chapter, significantly entitled, "Disregard for Aims" Mukahy stresses the twin objectives of equality of opportunity for all and "the fashioning of education so that it is responsive to the aptitudes and interests of the individual pupils."²⁶ He correctly indicates that "such objectives do not constitute educational aims or purpose." It is the teachers and the methods they employ that will determine whether or not adequate provision is made for the natural aptitude of the child. It is these factors combined with the content of the curriculum that will determine the quality of the educational provision.

Can the concept of equality be regarded as a legitimate curriculum aim? In reply to this question Entwistle states:

that attempts to define educational outcomes in terms of equality is essentially an economic notion inappropriately applied to considerations of the distribution of knowledge and skill and the acquisition of a personal culture. 27 (Italics mine)

If, as has already been stated, equality of opportunity only leads to further inequality and social equality is

a utopian ideal which is neither attainable nor desirable then it is safe to conclude that the concept of equality has generated far more heat than light in educational discussion. It has been a major source of distraction from what remains the central issue which is how to provide access to a worthwhile curriculum for all pupils but particularly for the below-average pupil.

Even if equality was a desirable curriculum aim it would only be a source of frustration to pupils and teachers alike in the absence of a constructive policy of redistribution, particularly of income. It must also be recognised, therefore, that the idea of employing teachers as social engineers without a firm political commitment to social and economic reforms is only a source of disillusionment and frustration among both pupils and teachers. There are many other important factors, epistemological, cultural, pedagogical, as well as matters of assessment which must be considered in decisions concerning the content of the curriculum which are beyond the scope of this paper to discuss. If anyone can be said to have been vindicated by the heated rhetoric which has polarized opinion in this debate amid charges of falling standards and social engineering it is the diligent teacher.²⁸ It is significant, I feel, that the present conference through its symposia recognises that the aims of education will be decided and furthered by the fostering and development of the professionalism of the teacher. It is the teachers, in the final analysis, who will determine the quality of professional service given to the pupils which in turn will determine to a large extent whether or not the educational experiences afforded the pupil are genuinely educative and worthwhile.

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**PASTORAL CARE AS ACTION RESEARCH:
THE NORTH TIPPERARY CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECT
'EDUCATION FOR LIVING'**

Marian Shiels, Pat Hennessey and Seamus Fogarty*

Introduction

This paper is an attempt, by three project members, to focus upon the North Tipperary Pastoral Care Project as a form of school-based curriculum development that might be best understood within the framework of 'action research'.

In recent years, both in Britain and Ireland, the concepts of 'pastoral care' (Hamblin, 1978, 1979; Collins, 1980) and 'action research' (Elliot and Adelman, 1976) have been receiving increased attention and the interest of teachers and school administrators. Perhaps it is best to begin by defining these two concepts. By 'pastoral care' we mean both a curriculum component consisting of content, teaching strategies and pupil learning experiences related to aspects of education for living, viz. Health education, Sex education, Political studies, etc. as well as a backup system of teacher support, guidance, counselling and above all, caring. It is a humanistic curriculum devoted to helping the pupil prepare for adult life and for self-actualization.

We refer to the project as a form of 'action research' because it is a programme of curriculum reform which seeks to identify and solve practical problems faced by teachers within the arena of the school. It is a project which

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encourages teachers to identify problems related to social education, to gather data related to these problems, to experiment with possible solutions to these problems and to translate this research process into action, with a view to solving the curriculum problem, and to evaluate the effectiveness of the solution. In this sense, project teachers are operating as classroom researchers. Action research differs from other forms of research insofar as its goal is the solution of day-to-day problems, rather than the writing of research reports. The current view of the teacher as researcher reflects a belief that the teacher has a fundamental role to play in curriculum change and that the teacher ought to be a participant in curriculum change, rather than a client in the system. One of the major assumptions of the project, which is currently developing packs of materials related to 'Education for Living' is that teachers can be active agents of their own learning and development. In the following pages we shall try to describe the project: its evolution, working remit, problems and possibilities.

I

Evolution of the Project

The Pastoral Care programme in North Tipperary was initiated in 1978 in response to specific needs and inadequacies that were felt to be in the general curriculum. The need for curriculum development to meet the demands of a more complex and rapidly changing society has been well documented. In a society that is making increased personal and social demands on young people the general curriculum with its excessively exam-oriented syllabi does little to help students cope with these demands.

The need for educational input into this area has become even greater in the past number of years. Free post-primary education saw an influx of students into second-level schools, many of whom were poorly motivated and lacking in basic personal and social skills.

Also as a consequence of this increased school population the informal one-to-one caring that characterised smaller schools was tending to break down and needed to be incorporated into more formal structures if it were to be maintained.

It was against such a background that in 1978 the C.E.O., Luke Murtagh set up a subcommittee to develop an educational policy for the scheme. They produced a document entitled Post Primary Education 1985-2000 and its Relevance to the Economy. (Policy Document, 1978). A major part of the document was the outlining of an Education for Living/Pastoral Care programme. The basic aims of the programme as outlined were as follows:

1. To ensure that aspects of education for living which may not be covered in the general curriculum are adequately treated and to co-ordinate the approach of different teachers in this area.
2. To provide a pastoral care framework for the school which will ensure that students will have and will be aware they have access to help on a one-to-one basis if they need it.
3. To help school authorities detect potential problems and deal with these in an efficient and human way.
4. To help pupils participate as fully as they can in the learning experience in school.
5. To contribute towards personal development.
6. To help pupils relate to one another.

With a view to attaining these aims in 1979 the C.E.O. called a meeting which laid the basis for the present "Central Curriculum Core Workshop Group" (McKernan, 1980). This meeting decided that:

1. A working party consisting of the vice principals and the guidance counsellors should be set up to develop and implement a pastoral care programme.
2. That the vice principals because of their status and organisational role in the school should act as co-ordinators of the programme in schools, they, together with the guidance counsellors would provide the necessary back up in terms of materials, advice and equipment, for the teachers involved in the programme.

In the school year 1979/'80 pastoral care was introduced to all junior cycle classes. Members of the working party briefed the staff on the philosophy of the programme and the structure it would take in the schools.

Two briefing sessions by the Health Education Bureau were also organised. One specifically for the members of the working party and one for the staffs of the six schools.

The programme as introduced has three main elements - (1) a tutorial system, (2) an Education for Living course and (3) the integration of topics covered in other subject areas.

In the tutorial system each class has a class tutor who attempts to establish a good relationship with the class and is available for one-to-one discussion with students. The tutor is normally a teacher who teaches the class a subject and therefore is in a position to know them well.

In addition the tutor is timetabled for one period a week with the class. During this class the Education for

Living programme is taught. This class is also available for discussion of problems that may arise.

Tutors of each year group meet on a fairly regular basis with the Vice Principal and Guidance Counsellor for discussion on the progress and teaching of the programme.

Initially tutors who were taking the Education for Living classes had only very broad guidelines from which to work and to a large extent they had to rely on their own resources when presenting the suggested programme topics to their classes. However, from the in-school meetings it became evident that while tutors had a lot of goodwill towards the programme and were very much aware of the need for the programme they felt that the effective teaching of the programme necessitated the development of much more detailed class materials. And although they were interested in having an input into the programme they felt that they themselves did not have the necessary time, resources or skills to develop the materials. It was at this stage that the Working Party got into the area of materials development. The Education for Living Programme which was developed by the Working Party and which is still being revised and evaluated on an on-going basis was initially a three year programme which in 1981 was expanded into the senior cycle with in addition special programmes for Pre-Employment, Secretarial and Remedial Students. The programme provides enough class materials for thirty class periods a year. Some areas covered in the programme include; School induction; Study Skills; Health Education; Leisure; Media Studies; Relationships; Sex Education; Marriage; Human Development; Decision Making Skills; Career Guidance; Current Affairs; Politics; Money and Consumer Education.

The first year of the programme looks like this -

1st term	Number of class periods	2nd term	Number of class periods	3rd term	Number of class periods
School familiarisation	1-2	Consumer education	3	Study	1
Study	2	Sex education	3-4	Leisure	2
Courtesy	3	Health education	2	Health education	2
Personal relationships	2	Leisure	2	Litter	1
Examination techniques	1	Study	1	Bullying	1
Money	2	Authority	1		

The course is structured through the development of particular key ideas, concepts and skills that have been selected to provide pupils with a framework for understanding the knowledge and subject being studied.

In developing the programme we were aware of the relevance to this area of the "spiral curriculum" whereby students would be continuously enriching their understanding of concepts and skills by meeting them in more complex contexts. Many concepts and topics re-occur at various levels throughout the five year course where they are dealt with at increasing levels of complexity and detail.

A central aspect of the course is the attention it gives to the affective domain of beliefs, attitudes, and

feelings and the emphasis it places on the acquisition by students of value classification skills and critical thinking skills. The programme also attempts to integrate the work of teachers in areas like Religion, Home Economics, Physical Education and Science.

I would also like to mention that the in-school meetings of tutors and working party members were invaluable to the development and implementation of the course. These meetings provided:

1. A forum whereby tutors had an input into the content and teaching strategies used in the materials.
2. Valuable feedback on the work ability of materials produced, it was this feedback that led to the development of the Remedial programme for First and Second Years.
3. An important supportive and developmental structure for tutors who had difficulties adapting to the new teaching strategies required by the programme.

The Rationale for the Project is an attempt to give every child knowledge, experience and skills and to develop positive attitudes and values in the child.

The knowledge component is to provide a reservoir of facts, ideas, concepts and generalisations which together with skills of valuing, decision making, problem solving and social participation can be used by the pupil to function rationally and effectively in school and in society.

How far we have succeeded in achieving the long term aims of the project is something we have only been addressing ourselves to in the past year.

However, even as of now I think we have produced a worthwhile model with in-built structures for change on the basis of evaluation.

The Curriculum Development Workshops

The initial Working Party Meetings were conducted on "open discussion" lines, with the Chief Executive Officer Mr. Luke Murtagh in the chair.

Operational difficulties figured largely in the talks and gradually the basic guidelines for a programme emerged. Individual members did prepare notes of lessons on selected topics, the notes to be used by tutors. However, it was the repeated demands from tutors for more detailed materials that launched, or should I say, plunged the Working Party into an area of operations that would be subsequently known as curriculum development.

At this point, I must make relevant digression to point out that widespread circulation of the Tipperary (N.R.) Vocational Educational Committee's Educational Policy Document aroused widespread interest and brought many responses of encouragement and help. An offer of help from Professor Swan of University College Dublin was quickly taken up by Mr. Murtagh and this is how the services of Dr. James McKernan were obtained as Project Advisor. If the truth is to be told, Dr. McKernan's arrival was viewed with scepticism by most members of the group.

However, the greatest tribute that can be paid to this man is to say that he became one of the party within a short time, was always present at the coffee and lunch breaks, exhibiting great social skills both in group and one-to-one situations. His oral inputs at meetings were well received and to his Working Papers, he always tactfully gave the status "for discussion" - and these never bore the slightest suggestion of imposition. He always welcomed, even relished constructive criticism. I must couple Mr. Murtagh closely with Dr. McKernan when dealing with the mechanics of the Working Party. It is a well known Irish characteristic that members of our race never

relish working at close quarters with the boss. However, Mr. Murtagh, by his commitment, dedication and general enthusiasm is an inspiring though not an overawing figure in the party. He does not expect any member to work harder than he does and he commands unswerving loyalty. I use the word "commands" advisedly, because, far too often the word "demands" is the appropriate one for many situations. We have Mr. Murtagh and Dr. McKernan with us for work and play and that is how we like it.

The materials being produced were now called Units and were continually being revised on the basis of recommendations from tutors. Around this time, a typical Agenda for a meeting would read:

1. Minutes
2. Arising from Minutes.
3. Reports from schools - oral.
4. Review of materials presented.
5. Any Other Business.

On the advice of Dr. McKernan, units took on a more formal structure. Figure 1 outlines this structure.

Figure 1
UNIT STRUCTURE

1. TITLE - AND NUMBER OF LESSONS
2. INTRODUCTION
3. AIMS
4. OBJECTIVES
5. KEY CONCEPTS
- ~~IN~~ BODY OF UNIT
6. RECOMMENDED TEACHING STRATEGY
7. TEACHERS' NOTES
8. PRESENTATION OF MATERIAL
9. ASSESSMENT TO INVOLVE TESTING FOR:
 - (A) FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE
 - (B) INTEREST LEVEL
10. BIBLIOGRAPHY

This structure was to prove valuable later on when units were being edited for printing.

In the two year period beginning September 1980, the working party met many times and worked very, very hard. The process was - to produce a unit, submit it for working party assessment, revise it if required, have it tried out by tutors in schools, note the comments in the report back from the co-ordinators and carry out further revision, when necessary. Typical feed-back included comments like:- too many facts; lack of variety in suggested teaching strategy; demands for more student questionnaires; more student involvement; together with observations on time allocation.

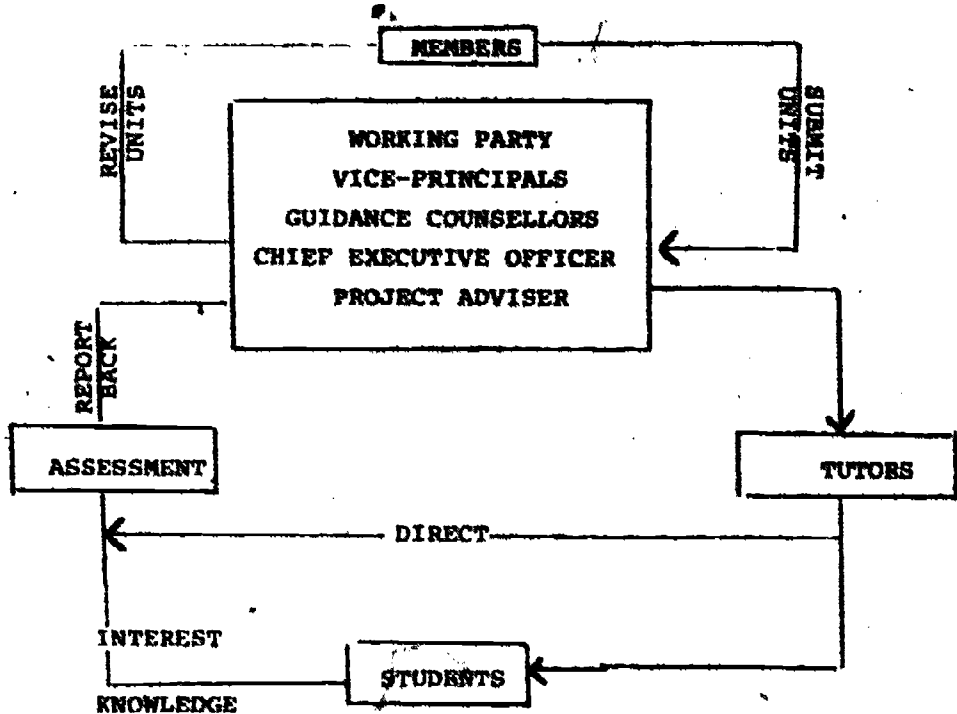
Information from schools was obtained from meetings with tutors, student and tutor questionnaires.

In recent times, the productivity of the working party has increased dramatically. Smaller sub-groups are formed and are assigned specific tasks, with all groups working simultaneously. Guest speakers are slotted in judiciously, so nowadays an Agenda might read like this:-

1. Minutes of previous meeting.
2. Matters arising from Minutes.
3. Reports from schools - written.
4. Guest Speaker - Name - Title.
5. Discussion on the presentation.
6. Groups - Leaving Certificate Programme.
 - Remedial Programme.
 - Pre-Employment and Secretarial.
 - Tutor Training.
7. Report back from groups - written.
8. Any Other Business (Next meeting fixed).

Great emphasis is now placed on written records.

Figure 2
FUNCTIONING OF THE WORKING PARTY



We see the role of the Working Party under three headings.

1. To develop all the programmes required to serve all our students.
2. Having developed the programmes, to identify and provide suitable materials for each unit.
3. To develop within ourselves as a group the capability or capacity to engage in training and supporting tutors.

We have been addressing ourselves to these demands and we aspire to doing much more especially in tutor training. Our outlook and attitude is captured in this thought - the rung of the ladder is not for standing on - you just lean on it temporarily while you get on the rung above it and keep on repeating the process.

We had difficulty in getting on to the first rung of the Pastoral Care Ladder - then we found that it was steep but we are pleased to have climbed a few steps. The ladder is very long and may be shaky, but we are determined to hand on. Finally, we turn to the projects' problems, constraints and possibilities.

III

Project Problems and Possibilities

Firstly, I would like to say that in my opinion the project which has been outlined is one of the most important curriculum development projects being undertaken in this country at present.

Part I has dealt with the aims and rationale of the programme and has also explained why the need for the programme arose. While there was much goodwill amongst teachers for the project they demanded suitable materials and that good in-service training be provided. Part I also described how the project is structured and operates within the six schools etc.

Part II discussed the setting up of what Dr. James McKernan described as the "Central Curriculum Core Workshop Group" whose personnel provide trial materials, basic training, support and evaluation which is helpful to the teachers (Class Tutors) in the schools. This section of the paper stressed the part played by ordinary teachers in producing and evaluating the trial materials etc.

Progress has not been easy, problems were both numerous and intimidating. However, as you have already heard from the previous speakers much has been achieved. I would like to now:

1. Identify the constraints and problems that the project has encountered ~~some~~ of which have been solved and others which we are still grappling with.
2. Discuss some important gains made by the project since it began.
3. Chart the course which lies ahead of us and look at some possibilities for future growth.

One of the problems which the project encountered initially was not only an almost complete lack of suitable materials but also the complete absence of teacher training in areas dealing with group and discussion techniques etc. This was exacerbated by the great difficulty encountered in providing in-service training for teachers. There has been many obstacles therefore in providing appropriate ~~skills~~ training for tutors.

This has led to a further difficulty in that initially teachers were asked to volunteer for the role of Class Tutor, however, some people had to be drafted in to cater for all classes and the enthusiasm of these draftees to really get involved in the work was and still is open to question.

Secondly, a similar problem was that while the Vice-Principals agreed to be appointed as Co-ordinators to give the programme stature and power within the schools many of them would admit to being uncomfortable in the Role of Co-ordinator having had no formal training or experience for the role. However, this problem has been alleviated to a great extent by the innate enthusiasm of the people involved, by providing training for them and also by the tremendous work of the five Guidance Counsellors in the scheme in promoting the project. The work of the Guidance Counsellors has I feel been crucial to it's success.

There were other problems - many of which I will not be able to deal with. For example, it was difficult to

find time in already overcrowded timetables for classes and finding time for meetings of Class Tutors at school level was also a problem. These meetings are very necessary if the co-ordinators are to organise the project properly within the school. At present time tends to have to be snatched - teachers are busy with examination classes etc., and as a result the short monthly meetings which are generally arranged are not really sufficient to deal with all the important work which must be undertaken. Project topics (units) need to be prepared not just distributed, case studies for students with psychological family or social problems need to be examined, discussed and help provided for the people involved. An "action research" approach to Pastoral Care is time consuming and there is simply not enough time given for action research in Irish Schools. We as teachers are not given the opportunities frequently enough to sit down and examine our problems, what is causing them and come up with solutions. Teachers, due to the numerous pressures and constraints under which they are presently working, simply find it very difficult to do research into their actions, methods and techniques within the classroom. Thus, this excellent way of helping to solve Pastoral Care and curriculum problems is greatly hindered by time, management, motivational and organisational constraints. This is as far as I am concerned one of the great tragedies of our project at present. In fact I would say that the value of introducing a Pastoral Care Programme into any school without providing for a concurrent Staff Development or Education Programme for Staff is, I would say, extremely dubious. The programme introduced may be (Action Research) oriented or not. A further fact which must be faced up to is that many schools now have discipline problems which are inexorably growing in volume due to social and economic factors as well as unsuitable curricula. I would say that a Pastoral Care

Programme allied with a Staff Education Programme based on an "Action Research" approach might be of enormous value to any school or teacher dealing with disruptive, aggressive, poorly motivated or ill-disciplined students.

None of our problems are lessened any by lack of recognition of teachers for any additional work which they do involve themselves in. Teachers receive neither financial recognition nor recognition for their time. Such lack of recognition has made more difficult, the development of positive attitudes among staff for our project.

But all is not "gloom and doom". There is a very progressive, dynamic and fruitful side to the project. While the project is now at a critical stage in its development, I believe that the people involved in the North Tipperary project have the will and determination to succeed. In a sense our project is an extraordinary one in that it has succeeded in drawing together a wide range of individuals, all of us with an educational responsibility, and it has produced an extensive number of trial materials (units) of experimental curriculum nature and combined this with a programme of in-service teacher education without any source of external funding at all.

I must mention briefly that we consider that the materials that we have produced to date would have an intrinsic educational value in themselves even if they were not accompanied by pastoral care structures and programmes which of course must exist also if true progress is to be made. Professor D.J. Mulcahy in his definitive book Curriculum and Policy in Irish Post-Primary Education (Mulcahy, 1981) refers to the North Tipperary Educational Policy Document entitled "Post-Primary Education 1985-2000 and its Relevance to the Economy". Referring to the policy document, Mulcahy says

"we find a concrete example of an attempt to come to grips with the problem of preparing pupils for the varied practical demands of living".

Yes, we now have suitable "education for living oriented materials, indeed our problem is now one of editing. Similarly we are also now making progress on the question of funding because the project has now grown so large that money is required if further progress is to be made. The extensive nature of the project's current working programme, now demands external financial support in order to finalise the development of materials, to further the in-service training or Staff Education Programme and to disseminate the course to a wider audience. The project would also be further enhanced in achieving it's aims through the provision of funds for a full time Project Co-ordinator, a research assistant and the necessary secretarial back up support service demanded of a materials-producing project. I am very happy to be able to relate to you that funding has been promised by both the Health Education Bureau, the Mid-Western Health Board and, of course, North Tipperary V.E.C.

The fact that our materials have been produced by our own teachers had important implications for staff education programmes. Through the project not only have teachers been afforded the opportunity of producing their own materials but also they have been given the opportunity to experiment with various classroom teaching techniques. Teachers have been introduced to curriculum development and theory and have actually been able to engage in the dynamics of change. The project has offered teachers and schools the opportunity to experiment with and use a variety of teaching methods, such as brainstorming, discussion, visual aids, role play etc., which can be used in addition to the more common "talk and chalk" lecture style of teaching which lack of on-going teacher education and examination pressures appear to have foisted on us. Progress with materials and

techniques though often slow and gradual has resulted in staff development and has therefore been of enormous significance for our schools.

The Working Party at recent workshops have focussed upon the idea of teaching in a manner that promotes student self esteem. The possibility of implementing a common teaching strategy is at present being discussed plus the idea of Pastoral Care as Action Research. Now when teachers come together to discuss mutual problems in a reasonably formal situation - this is where action research begins. It is looking at problems which occur within or indeed outside the classroom and seeking solutions and support from colleagues through discussion, or in-service training, other teachers' advice, video playback, reading etc. The question of how we can promote student self esteem is very much in the realm of action research as indeed are other major educational factors such as the school's caring atmosphere and ethos, school organisation, the constructive use of time, discipline etc.

To conclude I would just like to look into the future, I am optimistic about it. Our main problem now is money and this has been promised to us. It will enable us:

1. To employ a part-time Project Co-ordinator for at least one year.
2. Provide extensive teacher training both at Working Party and school based level.
3. Provide complete sets of materials in the schools for the project teachers.
4. Test trial materials through teacher experience and evaluation by external relevant authorities.

Finally, the project is a model that can be used by other schools and teachers elsewhere in Ireland. Maybe somebody out there can benefit and learn from our experiences but again financial and other conditions are

I would like to conclude by listing the constraints that have faced the project and some of the gains ("pay-off") which have benefited project teachers through curriculum development in pastoral care. These are set out in Tables 1 and 2.

TABLE 1
PROBLEMS AND CONSTRAINTS

1. Lack of suitable materials.
2. Almost complete absence of in-service teacher education.
3. Some teachers were drafted to the work - their enthusiasm questionable.
4. Lack of continuity. Due to timetabling problems Class Tutors not allowed to remain with their group over a three or five year period.
5. Again for the same reason some teachers had to act as Class Tutor to more than one group of students.
6. Vice-Principals appointed as Co-ordinators but initially had received no training.
7. Difficult to find time for teaching of units on an already over-crowded timetable.
8. It was not possible to have sufficient meetings of Class Tutors with their Co-ordinator in the school.
9. Almost complete lack of official recognition for teachers who gave time to the project.
10. The project is costly and there is a lack of money.

TABLE 2

IMPORTANT GAINS MADE BY THE PROJECT
(the "pay-off")

1. The materials produced to date have an intrinsic educational value in themselves.
2. They prepare students for the varied practical demands of living.
3. The fact that the materials were produced by our own teachers has important implications for staff education programmes.
4. Teachers have also had the opportunity to experiment with and use a variety of classroom teaching techniques.
5. The project has offered teachers the opportunity to introduce themselves to Curriculum Development and Theory and to actually engage in the dynamics of change.
6. Teachers have been facilitated in coming together to discuss mutual problems and to practice the concept of "action research".
7. In a sense teachers have benefited more than students. There has been a "spin-off" development in that teachers have felt that their teaching of examination subjects has improved.
8. The project has led to an improvement in the school's caring atmosphere and ethos etc.

Postscript: Since this paper has been delivered, the project has received generous support from the Health Education Bureau and the Mid-Western Health Board. This has enabled the project to publish its trial materials and to appoint a part-time field officer to liaise between project schools.

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**FORMAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR PASTORAL CARE IN
NORTHERN IRELAND SCHOOLS**

Jean Whyte

The Background

One of the initial objectives of the current NICER projects investigating full-time educational opportunities for 15 to 19 year olds in Northern Ireland was:

to investigate the information given to pupils and students about courses available to them at ages 15 and 16 and the basis of their choice of courses.

Translated literally, this meant that careers guidance facilities and practices in schools and colleges were of interest to the investigations. Quite early in the preliminary stages of the investigation, however, the necessity of setting careers guidance in a wider context was borne in on the investigators by observations such as:

Good careers education implies a pastoral care system of which careers education forms an integral part. (DES, 1973).

What is meant by 'pastoral care'? The pastoral curriculum has been defined by Marland (1983) as "the personal, educational and vocational guidance and welfare support of each pupil" instilling a knowledge of choices, careers and rights, plus study or learning skills. More parsimoniously, a recent booklet intended to help parents understand the procedure in Northern Ireland whereby children are selectively transferred to secondary or grammar school at age 11 defines pastoral care as "arrangements for the personal and social welfare of individual pupils". (SEELB, 1982). The legitimacy of the interest of schools in this area of children's lives was underlined by a number of statements

in the Black Report (1979) concerning the role of the school in the care and development of its pupils. The Report suggests that the school along with the family is one of the main bases for child development and should be a major focus for intervention. The school should help children with particular needs and difficulties and should minimise the growth of children's problems.

It is clear that as well as informing the 'hidden curriculum' of the school, the attitude of those in charge of policy in the school towards pastoral care may lead to positive intervention in the area of personal and social education. A recent Schools Council publication (David, 1983) asks whether this is something new or whether schools have always been 'doing it' consciously or unconsciously. A working party of the Schools Council saw personal and social education as an umbrella term covering elements in a number of areas of the curriculum which have much in common in their concern with values and with personal development processes.

A further dimension, that of mental health and the role of pastoral care in promoting and protecting the mental health of children, is added by a booklet issued by the North Eastern Education and Library Board to guidance personnel in schools and colleges. The author lists five kinds of needs which may be met by a good pastoral care system: untreated mental breakdown which often goes unrecognised or untreated but for which help could be offered; sub-breakdown emotional disorder with impaired social and personal functioning (which probably out-numbers breakdown by 10 to 1, which constitutes crisis cases needing emergency help and which may include anxiety, depression or hopelessness); minor and transient disturbance which is always reactive in character (where counselling may help alleviate distress and ensure that the experience is educative); vulnerable people who face

particular kinds of stress either in the environment or because of their own constitution and who are unable to cope with levels of stress which are well within the capacities of most people, and, finally, everyone who meets certain transition points and challenges and who may need help to extract the maximal growth and maturity from them.

Pastoral care has its roots in the traditional values of the clergy and church schools, many of which are still functioning today in Northern Ireland. Robinson (1978) suggests that the individualised care given to parishioners was passed into the school system and remained effective while schools were small and local. Other arrangements have been devised in the last twenty years or so, going beyond the initiative of individual teachers. These have been seen (Butler, 1971) as reflecting:

a growing awareness of the non-academic needs of pupils and the proliferation of choices and potential problems brought about by increased school size.

The recognition of pupils' non-academic needs springs both from increased knowledge about child development and broader political concerns about individual rights (Milner, 1983). These have led to teachers viewing pastoral systems as meeting what have been referred to as three types of needs (Johnson et al., 1980):

- (a) institution-specific - for the peaceful and smooth running of the school as a work environment;
- (b) maturation-specific - for moral development and guidance;
- (c) future-specific - for education for leisure and citizenship.

In England, the first moves into formalising pastoral care in the early 1960's saw the proliferation of formal separate organisations and responsibility posts in schools -

tutors, heads of house and year etc., - there followed the development of counselling and group work with pupils and then people started talking about a "pastoral curriculum for all pupils". It has been commented somewhat ruefully by Blackburn (1983) that:

once the pastoral head in a school was seen as the chief beater, then the chief counsellor; now its all about planning and development.

Not everyone agrees with the approach which separates counselling from teaching. Some feel that all teachers should be pastoral teachers and that it is naive and impractical to separate out pastoral concerns from the academic work of the school. The controversy over whether the practical organisation of counselling should be generalised, with a large number of teachers (possibly those who have responsibility for a form or year) responsible for counselling, or specialised, with a number of specially trained teachers in charge of counselling, has been discussed by Leitch (1983), who points out that there are advantages and disadvantages to each system, as does Rogers (1983). The need for guidance and training in this field for all teachers at whatever level together with the provision of adequate time to perform their work is a recurrent plea in all recent writings on the subject. A further aspect of the problem is pointed out by Best (1983), who undertook an SSRC funded survey of one school and its pastoral organisation. He writes:

It is clear that for some teachers at least, pastoral care was synonymous with the maintenance of discipline and the correction of pupil infractions of the school's rules and rejection of the teacher's authority. For others their preoccupation with questions of control may not mean that this was all that 'pastoral care' meant to them, but that these problems were so pressing that questions of pastoral care in the conventional sense simply had to take

second place ... other teachers effectively treated the discussion of pastoral care from their point of view as administrators, subject specialists and teachers. Whatever their level of commitment to the personal welfare of individual children, such teachers behaved as though this was of less significance than the problems of themselves and/or the school as an organisation.

Echoes of some of these issues will be evident in my description of the systems of pastoral care in schools in Northern Ireland. The development of careers education and counselling in Northern Ireland has been charted by Clarke and Livingstone (1979) and by Fulton (1979, 1981). They note that the emphasis was at first on guidance towards employment. The first mention of 'counselling' was in a document of 1968 where a chapter was devoted to the subject in the Leonard Report, where it was treated as distinct from but closely linked to guidance. However, the Province's first award-bearing course in this field at NUU in 1969-70 was a Diploma in Guidance and Counselling. It was fundamental to the course, say Clarke and Livingstone, that guidance and counselling are unitary, and that it is not possible to separate rigidly a pupils' concerns as educational, vocational or personal. Although the next important circular from the Department of Education in 1974, expressed awareness of the need for a counselling service of a much wider nature and of which careers guidance is a part, its main emphasis was on careers education and the provision of time and training. A 1974 consultative document issued by the DENI & DMS recognised that efficient manpower policies depended on the understanding that there is a well-documented relationship between personal adjustment and mental health on the one hand, and job satisfaction on productivity on the other. It praised the concept and objective of a professional client-centred service with emphasis on developing individual potential. In 1977, for the first time, a letter to schools from the Department used the phrase "counselling and careers

education" and in that year an appointment at staff inspector level was made with particular responsibility for counselling and careers education. More recently the publication setting out the Youth Training Programme (1982) commented that:

3.11. There must be the opportunity for the young person to acquire the basic skills, knowledge, attitudes and understanding required for success in the broader aspects of adult and working life.

Counselling guidance and appraisal are essential to help each young person assess his or her own strengths and weaknesses and to relate attitudes and abilities to job opportunities.

There seems therefore to be a recognition in official circles that counselling, pastoral care activities and social and personal education are necessary and valuable parts of the provision for young people in schools and colleges.

In an on-going NICER study in the course of interviewing principals, careers teachers and counsellors, we asked the question "What is your system of pastoral care?" or "Do you have a system of pastoral care in your school?" None of the respondents mentioned careers guidance as forming part of their pastoral care systems, though in some cases there were links through individuals who were functioning both as careers teachers and counsellors. Also the content in pastoral care instruction, where there was such, and the content of careers instruction, where there was such, overlapped considerably. The first finding was therefore that pastoral care, at least as seen by principals, does not embrace careers education, in spite of what official pronouncements, or gurus from across the water may think is right and proper. In this paper, therefore, consideration is given only to those aspects of pastoral care which do not include careers education and guidance, since this is the way pastoral

care seems to be interpreted in the majority of schools.

The remainder of the paper will present the findings from a survey of 51 schools (35 secondary schools and 16 grammar schools) in Northern Ireland. The project was concerned to document the formal arrangements made for pastoral care in the schools, and did not assess the aims or methods behind the arrangements, nor did it intend to evaluate. Data were gathered by structured interviews with principals, careers teachers and counsellors. The following questions were asked of the data:

- (i) What are people's reactions to the notion of 'pastoral care'?
- (ii) Are there distinguishable components in the pastoral care systems which are functioning in the schools?
- (iii) What elements co-exist in each of these components and what is their purpose?
- (iv) Is the presence of individual elements linked with other factors which may be pinpointed in some schools but not in others?
- (v) What conclusions can be reached about the service which is being provided and are there any recommendations which should be considered?

Reactions to 'Pastoral Care'

The attitudes expressed towards pastoral care in the schools visited in the course of this study seemed to reflect six different levels of awareness:

- (a) Those which barely recognised the 'personal and social' aspect of pastoral care and which emphasised instead the maintenance of standards of discipline and achievement. Two quotations illustrate this point:

There is no real counselling here ... there are records of academic progress and comment each month, and detention to make up work. If you have a good educational welfare backup, you have no problems. Mainly truancy is a problem here.

(b) Those who appeared to be debating the validity of giving special attention to personal development, or pastoral care in the sense of personal and social welfare.

We don't encourage over-confiding... we like the minimum of rules ... we try to leave room for initiative ... to develop feelings of responsibility. Some teachers feel that the pastoral care programme is making the children too cheeky, questioning too much. It's better for counselling not be too structured.

(c) Those in which respondents recognised that there might be problems, but were unable to articulate them except in a general way, or to suggest ways of overcoming them:

There are no formal guidelines for personal development given by the school. Each teacher should be a counsellor. Pastoral care is the responsibility of every member of staff.

(d) Those in which speakers were unable to articulate needs which they perceived and which were not being met by the current system in operation in their school:

We do only crisis counselling; the need is enormous. It's all a crisis. ...The importance of building up children's confidence - not all teachers realise this. The self-esteem of the children is not high; they are not good at self-assessment. Pupils could do with more self-confidence and help in articulating opinions. Children are encouraged to make contact with the counsellor at any time; some are still afraid. Form masters work individually (for counselling); they have little contact with

each other or with the careers masters. There are no formal channels ensuring the exchange of information. Pupils are not quick to come forward, they are defensive.

(e) Those which expressed an awareness of the positive effects of the system in operation in the school, but acknowledged the possibility of further development:

We hope to be preventative, but crisis arise. The system is not really preventative; it tries to be nurturing. There are no serious disciplinary problems but some behaviour problems could be solved by a better system and by more sharing of information with home-school links.

(f) Those who felt that their system was having positive results:

Nothing really comes unexpectedly now; the year teachers/counsellors cope very well with upcoming possible crises. Before a problem develops, the weekly planning meeting anticipates it. Mostly things are caught before they develop.

It is obvious that there is a wide variety of experiences behind these comments, and that pastoral care has almost as many interpretations as there are participants in it. But are there any components which may be seen as existing in all pastoral care systems; a common core?

Four such components of pastoral care were evident:

(i) A 'holding' component usually involving a system of form teachers, each responsible for a group of about 30 pupils or a year teacher in charge of all the pupils in a particular year.

(ii) A system of hierarchical referral in which children who had problems or who were perceived as having problems were referred to other staff members by subject teachers or form teachers.

(iii) An instructional component involving the active provision of information and guidance on personal development.

(iv) A co-ordination - communication component involving all the teachers participating in the development of the system of pastoral care within a school expressed in appropriate provision. It was clear that all four components were present in but a few schools.

The Holding Component

The majority of secondary schools used this system (95 per cent) as did a majority of grammar schools (75 per cent). Most schools had form teachers but a few just had year teachers in charge of up to 100 or more students. The amount of contact a form teacher had with the class varied from school to school, as did policy and practice on whether form teachers should teach the class a specific subject, and whether they should move up the school with their classes. The question of continuity of contact was either not considered in some cases or was felt to be adequately met by other means within the school. Form teachers often had a daily short period with their forms when administrative tasks were carried out and disciplinary matters attended to. In the majority of secondary schools form teachers were those with whom individual children had most contact on a personal level, and to whom they were answerable for their actions and progress. Their role was mainly disciplinary and administrative but they were expected to attend also to pastoral care in largely unspecified ways.

In a minority of schools operating the form-teacher system the arrangement was a variation on the principle of allocating a group of pupils to a teacher for a year or

for a number of years. In these schools (two secondary and four grammar schools) group tutors took charge of the equivalent of half the normal class group and moved up the school with the pupils. Group tutors were not generally responsible for disciplinary matters; their role was seen as supportive and they were expected to initiate discussions on pre-arranged topics which were felt to be relevant to the needs of their groups at particular stages in their lives. Contact with the groups was daily, twice a week or once a week for short periods. Some form teachers who were attempting to implement this kind of provision with larger groups as well as carrying out their other duties seemed to be encountering problems.

In a minority of secondary schools form teachers had almost total responsibility for the pastoral care and general progress of their pupils and there was no system of referral for further action when necessary. In the remaining schools there were further rungs in the hierarchy, and teachers could turn to these people if they needed advice, as could the children.

Referral Systems

In schools having systems of referral or support, the initiative in making the referral came in most cases from a teacher or a pupil. Referrals were made to teachers other than the subject teacher and were made with the objective of disciplining or counselling a pupil. Teachers who received referrals included year teachers, home-school liaison teachers, senior members of staff with particular responsibilities such as the 'welfare' of boys or girls, counsellors and, in some cases, the principal. With some exceptions, of which more later, the information flow was one-way - about children to

senior teachers. There was little input from these senior teachers either to children, (apart from those referred to them) or to teachers at other levels in the hierarchy on issues arising from the referrals.

In 89 per cent of secondary schools and 68 per cent of grammar schools specific teachers had been designated 'counsellors'. Since counselling is often felt to be the core of a pastoral care system, information on the distribution, training and modes of functioning of counsellors was sought in the course of this study. Four approaches seemed to lie behind the implementation of counselling services in schools in the sample which had this 'referral' component.

(i) 'Crisis counselling' - no real system - problems coped with as they arose.

(ii) 'Teacher available' - where pupils were informed that there was a teacher or counsellor available for consultation, but no further effort was made.

(iii) 'Teacher referral' - where teachers referred children whom they thought were in need of help, by advising children to contact the counsellor, or the counsellor to contact the child.

(iv) 'Child referral' - where children were encouraged to recognise for themselves where help would be appropriate and encouraged to seek advice from the people available.

(v) In some schools both (iii) and (iv) were in operation.

Counsellors had undergone at least one term's training in 35 per cent of the total sample of schools. The denomination of schools appeared to be related to whether or not there was a trained counsellor. A higher proportion of maintained (Catholic) secondary schools, and of Catholic grammar schools than of controlled (Protestant)

secondary schools and of Protestant grammar schools had trained counsellors. Some of the grammar schools had made no attempt to provide a counselling service of any kind.

The designation of counsellors in a school did not always mean that a counselling service was provided, or that where a service was provided it functioned in the same way in every school. Teachers who took on counselling roles had a variety of backgrounds. They included careers teachers in 40 per cent of the secondary schools and 25 per cent of the grammar schools in the sample. This may have been seen as being of advantage in some cases, but in others it meant that the counsellor-cum-careers teacher had no time for counselling as such, since all available time was taken up by careers. A number of schools where there were designated and trained counsellors did not appear to have any counselling service or provision for the implementation of such a service in terms of time or space. Sometimes this was because, the teachers appointed had other duties by reason of their being senior and experienced - they were also vice-principals, or, in four cases, the principal himself. In three Catholic schools, the chaplain was mentioned as being occasionally available for counselling, but in only one of these cases did the chaplain have any special training in this area.

The availability of trained counsellors did not seem to be related to the kind of service provided. More than half of the secondary schools with trained counsellors appeared to adopt a 'crisis' or 'teacher available' approach, while more than half of those without trained counsellors appeared to encourage child and teacher referrals and to have developed working systems. This still left approximately half of the schools in the sample with a passive or 'crisis only' counselling service.

Instruction in Personal Development

Instruction in topics seen as contributing to personal development was provided in various ways. In a few schools one class period per week was allocated to the counsellor, or form teacher, for this purpose. In other schools the 'form period' or tutor group period included this kind of instruction. Just under 40 per cent of all the schools in the sample made this kind of provision for all their pupils at some stage during the first three years of secondary schooling. A further 8 per cent provided for less able pupils only (11 per cent of secondary schools) and 34 per cent of secondary schools provided courses in health education, some in conjunction with personal development courses and some for less able pupils only, while some offered only health education to all. No provision at all in this area was made in 34 per cent of secondary schools and 50 per cent of grammar schools.

Differences between Board Areas are less striking than are those between types of school and denomination and sex of pupils. Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the provision of trained counsellors and personal development programmes throughout the sample. From Table 1 it may be noted that schools where girls are present are more likely to include provision for instruction in personal development; it may also be noted that more than half of the trained counsellors are not involved in providing such instruction in their schools, while a number of schools without trained counsellors are providing programmes in personal development. From Table 2 it may be seen that the thinking of secondary schools in their approach to personal development instruction is fairly similar regardless of denomination. In grammar schools, however, there is a clear difference in approach which coincides with denominational lines. Both tables draw attention to those schools having

neither a trained counsellor nor instruction in personal development for all pupils. It appears that the majority of girls' schools and the majority of coeducational schools evidence more concern in the formal arrangements made for this aspect of their pupils' development than do the majority of boys' schools. Nevertheless a substantial percentage of all schools have not moved very far in this direction.

Table 1: Personal Development programmes and trained counsellors by sex and type of school

Number of Schools	Coeducational	Boys	Girls
Grammar	8	4	4
Secondary	23	7	5
a) Percentage of schools with trained counsellors			
Grammar	38%	50%	25%
Secondary	35%	29%	40%
b) Percentage of schools with personal development programmes for all			
Grammar	38%	0%	75%
Secondary	39%	0%	60%
c) Percentage of schools with trained counsellors and personal development programmes			
Grammar	25%	0%	25%
Secondary	22%	0%	20%
d) Percentage of schools in sample lacking counsellors and personal development programmes			
Grammar	38%	50%	25%
Secondary	35%	71%	20%

Table 2: Personal development programmes and trained counsellors by school type and prevailing religious denomination

	Secondary		Grammar	
	Maintained [Catholic]	Controlled [Protestant]	Voluntary [Catholic]	Voluntary/ Controlled [Protestant]
Number in sample	19	16	9	7
Percentage of schools with trained counsellors	42%	31%	55%	15%
Percentage of schools with personal development programmes	32%	32%	78%	14%
Percentage of schools with trained counsellors and personal development programmes	50%	20%	80%	0%
Percentage of schools lacking trained counsellors and programmes	32%	44%	11%	71%

Communication and Co-ordination

Opportunities for contact between teachers involved in pastoral care would seem important, even essential (David, 1983). Such opportunities were not formally arranged in a majority of the schools surveyed. Less than half of the schools offering instruction had arrangements

for regular meetings between those involved and in all of these schools, except one, there was a trained counsellor. By contrast, in those schools offering personal development instruction, but without organising co-ordinating meetings, there were no trained counsellors acting as such (in one school, the careers teacher was also a counsellor, but did not counsel). It is possible therefore that the presence of a trained counsellor on the staff may encourage staff development, and provide guidance and support.

A number of schools without personal development instruction had regular meetings of counsellors, senior teachers, and sometimes form teachers. These were usually held in order to deal with questions of discipline and academic progress, but in one school, teachers went through the rolls together, and picked out children whom they thought were in need of help and support. This was then arranged on an individual basis.

In some schools, the need for such meetings was seen only in the context of discipline and academic progress, or of health and safety. In other schools there were active inservice in-school sessions for teachers to become familiar with developments in the area of pastoral care, some in co-operation with neighbouring schools which are not always of the same denomination.

Conclusions

This survey was not intended to be evaluative but it set out to ascertain whether formal arrangements for pastoral care existed in the schools sampled. Undoubtedly there are informal systems which function beside these formal components in many schools. In the absence of an agreed evaluative framework, however, the merits of the

various systems cannot be assessed, nor can examples of "good practice" be given.

The results of this enquiry would suggest that the formal provision of pastoral care in Northern Ireland schools is uneven and even disorganised. The issues of training and of integration with careers education have yet to be faced up to in the schools although on an official level both of these aspects are accepted as an integral part of the service. This may be seen for example in the Lifeskills Programme which is being implemented on a pilot basis in the South-Eastern Education and Library Board area and in the philosophy behind the booklets issued by the North-Eastern and Belfast Boards on the subject of guidance and counselling. The findings suggest that the climate of opinion within the school, and especially as embodied in the principal, may make the most difference when priorities are being determined. 'Effective careers education is often handicapped by serious lack of time for both teachers and pupils and depends fundamentally on the attitude of the headmaster or headmistress' (NEELS, n.d.) and the same could be said for pastoral care. A further issue which must be faced is that of evaluation, an area of many hazards. Evaluation serves both as a means of improving the service, and as a means of indicating to those involved that this area of school life is being taken seriously by those in control. Observation of learning and teaching together with an adequate system of recording and analysis is required as well as an assessment of pupil outcomes. This issue will probably have to be grasped before proper consideration can be given to the remaining components, instruction and co-ordination, and their contribution to a pastoral care system.

The need for a better service is obvious to many caring teachers, but what of the pupils, the recipients

of such a service? The comment of the principal of a large co-educational secondary school with an active pastoral programme reinforces the feeling of those teachers who are striving to help:

Children seem to respond to offers relevant to personal development and snatch at opportunities for it.

This should surely provide an incentive for an assessment by the schools themselves of their provision in this area.

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MATHEMATICS EDUCATION COURSES IN THE OPEN UNIVERSITY

J.R. McCartney

The Open University has at present three mathematics education courses, Mathematics across the Curriculum, which began in 1980, Developing Mathematical Thinking and Calculators in the Primary School, both of which began in 1982. The first two are available to undergraduates or to 'associate students'. All three are intended as in-service courses for teachers, although others who can gain occasional access to a school class can take them. Calculators in the Primary School is intended for school-based in-service work. However, it can be used for individual study, although there are no marked assignments.

Both Mathematics across the Curriculum and Developing Mathematical Thinking aim to influence teaching method rather than content. The former suits teachers of 8 to 14 year old children best, while the latter is appropriate for any primary teacher or early secondary teacher. However, teachers of children outside these age groups have also benefitted from them. Both courses contain four 'tutor-marked assignments', the main one of which is the student's analysis of a project. The assignments account for 50 per cent of the final grade for each course, an examination covering the other 50 per cent. It is hoped that these two courses will eventually form part of a Diploma in Mathematics Education. However, the creation of the Diploma seems to have disappeared for the moment into the university's labyrinth of committees.

This paper will outline the basic aim of each of the three courses and say something about the content of each, followed by a few student reactions to the longest running course, Mathematics across the Curriculum.

Mathematics across the Curriculum

The basic philosophy of the writers of this course is summed up by a quotation from an Inspectorate report Mathematics, Science and Modern Languages in Maintained Schools in England (1977).¹

The only justification for including mathematics as part of the compulsory curriculum for all children is the power it has to explain..... But very few people obtain this power by learning mathematical skills in isolation; unless most people see the applications of mathematics as they proceed they never see them at all.

Taking this as their starting point the course writers aim to emphasise applications in the classroom in the following three ways:²

- (a) Achieve a proper balance between gaining skills and using them.
- (b) Build confidence in children to use effectively the mathematics they know.

To this end skills must be given in a variety of contexts so that children gain a sense of the appropriate mathematical process to use in a given circumstances. As well as ensuring that the child understands what he is doing confidence requires the development of independence in using mathematics. The child must be provided with the confidence that mathematics helped to solve a problem which was of concern to him, and that he was able to select from his store of mathematical knowledge the place which was the key to the solution.

- (c) Bring a sense of reality into what happens in the classroom.

The course aims to help with this by encouraging the teacher to use group work on problems arising from the pupils' everyday lives. Of course this will involve

skills other than mathematical ones. The teacher himself needs to have the confidence not to force children into a particular mathematical mould, but to allow mathematics to arise naturally in the context of solving the problem. However, a teacher could anticipate that certain skills might be useful for a given problem, and so he might introduce or revise these beforehand, or he might need to rescue a frustrated child who had perceived that a certain calculation could be useful but was unable to carry it out. The goal is to achieve fluency in using mathematics in pupils' daily lives.

This "real problem solving" is exercised in particular in the project which forms about 40 per cent of the student's work for the course. The problem should tackle something of concern to the pupils, whose solution they could reasonably hope to put into effect. This calls for skilful handling of children's ideas. Such suggestions as "free the American hostages in Iran" or "demolish the school toilets", although of possible concern to pupils, might risk slightly inflaming international or domestic relations if put into action. However, even in averting such projects the teacher has the delicate task of retaining a sense among the children that the problem really is theirs and that neither its selection nor solution are being imposed upon them.

Some examples of projects which students have carried out are:

'Share out the milk fairly.' This was done in the pre-Thatcher era of free school milk. It was carried out by a class of six or seven year old children. Because some children did not want milk there were always some bottles left after break. These were usually consumed at lunchtime by the biggest and strongest. So, before their strength had ebbed completely, the small and weak devised a scheme to allocate the surplus fairly. This was accepted by the Principal and adopted in the school.

'Organise activities for lunchtime on wet days.' This work was done by a less academic fourth form of a secondary school. Previously on wet days pupils had been herded into an assembly hall to sit out the lunchtime in boredom. So the whole school benefitted from this project. Perhaps the most encouraging aspect of this work was the training in interviewing given to the class by the English teacher, enabling them to interview successfully staff and fellow pupils, gaining immensely in confidence in the process.

'Compile a homework timetable for form one.' This project was done by bright pupils in a grammar school. It took account of the wishes of staff and included a postal survey of other schools to discover what their practice was.

I hope that I have conveyed the impression that throughout the project the teacher is attempting to create an open atmosphere in the classroom. Of course, to avoid chaos the class needs careful structuring, often into groups who must keep in touch with each other during their work. The teacher has to avoid the class simply leaning upon him to solve the problem. However, as every experienced teacher knows, the more casual a classroom appears the more preparation has gone into creating that atmosphere, at least where it is working effectively. The "real problem project" is no exception. As well as the student's initial planning he is encouraged to take stock of the project after each day's work and consider possible directions in which it might move from there. The reason for this "micro-structuring" combined with "micro-openness"³ is not to incite the teacher to channel the project along his lines - quite the contrary. Its purpose is

(a) to anticipate possible skills, mathematical and others, which the children might need, and teach or revise them if required;

(b) to anticipate possible special arrangements for the class or a need for equipment and arrange this with other staff in advance;

(c) to have ideas ready to stimulate any groups of pupils who might have been discouraged. For example, a judicious use of questions could enable pupils to realize that they needed to gather fresh data in order to answer their query. A teacher must learn to stimulate his pupils' thinking without dominating it;

(d) to provide a backcloth for the student's eventual analysis of his pupils' work. Where this deviated from the teacher's expectations might point to strengths or weaknesses in the pupils' use of skills with important consequences for their future curriculum.

If a teacher is clear where his class could possibly be heading, then he will manage the class with more confidence, especially when allowing them to take an unexpected turning. He will also find it easier to give attention to an individual child who might be struggling. Of course, in the final analysis a teacher will evaluate his own failures as well as his successes.

Apart from the project, a further 40 per cent of the study time is devoted to the classroom treatment of six themes in a manner which develops the fundamental aims of the course. Actual classroom content based upon these themes is chosen by the student, so that they can be useful to pupils of any age group. The themes are:

Planning

Measuring

Seeking out Relationships

Making Sense of Space

Taking Decisions

Representing for Understanding

The structure of these themes is similar, so that I shall consider one as an example, namely Seeking out Relationships.⁴ It begins by looking at occasions when as adults we use the idea of a distribution or at least would be better served if we did. For example:

1. How many matches are in those boxes?
2. These batteries lasted only three weeks.
3. Shouldn't my eight year old be doing long multiplication?
4. An advertisement:
We don't make average width shoes because there's no such thing as an average child.
5. Examination performance of a school requires knowing more than the number of pupils who reached a certain level.

A further problem arises when we try to relate two or more variables. We are used to explicit relationships like

$$\text{Cost} = \text{Price per Kilo} \times \text{Weight}.$$

But in many cases the relationship is less concise, e.g. the relationship between month of the year and the hours of sunshine. Here a distribution describes the relationship (Figure 1).

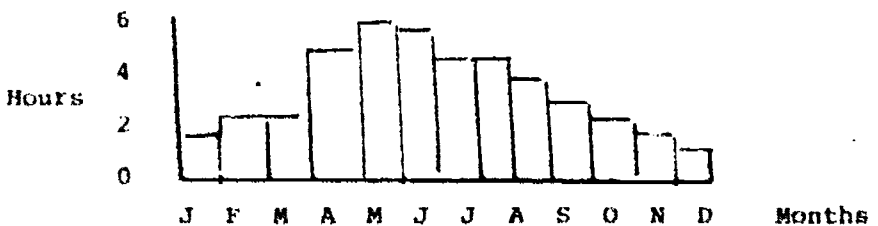


Figure 1: Average daily hours of sunshine at Aldergrove, 1931 - 60

However, often it is unclear even what the variables are in an everyday statement, much less any relationship between them. And when the variables have been clarified

we have to consider the strength of the relationship, i.e. the possible effect of intervening variables.

For example:

The crime rate is affected by the severity of the punishment.

Wearing seat belts reduces road accidents.

Inflation really has soared since we joined the E.E.C.

To enable children to gain experience with statistical ideas like these and to appreciate their usefulness they need to draw out the relationships in many familiar cases. For example:

1. The school hockey team are doing well this year.
(An underlying distribution)
2. Serving school meals is slow because the sandwich eaters are in the queue and the servers have to wait when there is a gap between one class and the next.
(Maybe there is a relationship lurking here, but it is far from clear at the moment.)

A teacher can prompt pupils towards statistical ideas by the use of probing questions. For example, he can guide them towards thinking in terms of a distribution by such questions as:

Would I expect the same answer next time?

What are the largest and smallest values I would expect?

Where are most of the values clustered?

Would it help to draw a bar chart or a histogram?

Asking pupils to convert the wording of example 2 above into an "if ... then" statement might help reveal a relationship.

After practice a teacher can induce children to ask similar questions for themselves and begin to think

statistically. This is not a formula for creating statisticians overnight. It is an example of a teaching method and an approach to content that will enable children to see the power of mathematics to explain and its usefulness in their everyday lives.

Developing Mathematical Thinking

Using the ideas of Mathematics across the Curriculum is likely to involve quite a radical change in a teacher's curriculum. However, the course Developing Mathematical Thinking accepts the existing curriculum and is attempting rather to influence teaching style. It systematically exploits the simple principle that teaching any mathematical concept is better done if children experience it in a variety of ways and talk about what they are doing before any attempt is made to record the idea. Talking about the idea or the activity as they are doing it helps children's understanding of it and it also enables the teacher to gauge when pupils are ready to move to the next stage with that idea—perhaps, for example, to record on paper what they were doing — which would occur at different speeds with different children. The children's first written account of an idea might well be non-standard, perhaps much talking preceding the gradual evolving of formal records.

Example:

Informal record

Four white rods and four green are the same length as four whites and greens, which is the same as four pink rods.

Formal record

$$\begin{aligned}4 \times 1 + 4 \times 3 &= 4 \times (1 + 3) \\ &= 4 \times 4\end{aligned}$$

Later this in turn becomes an example for a

generalization - the distributive law:

$$a \times b + a \times c = a \times (b + c).$$

Thus mathematics is viewed as a spiral, each concept once mastered becoming the starting point for a new generalization (Figure 2).⁵

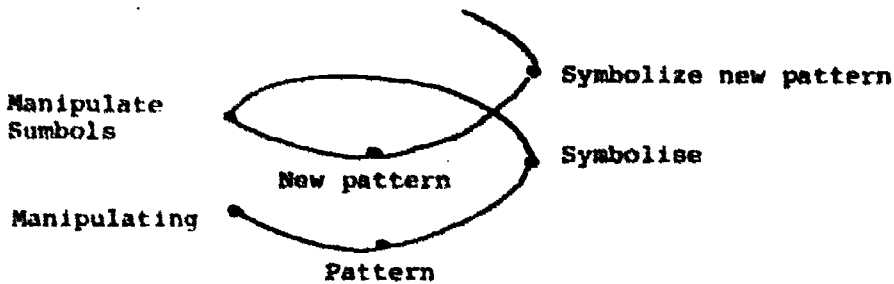


Figure 2

Throughout the course a student is subjected to a number of problems, so that he can gain personal experience of the mathematical thinking which he is trying to inculcate in his pupils.

For example:⁶

1. A shop is prepared to give me 10 per cent discount on the price of a coat, but the marked price does not include V.A.T. at 15 per cent. Do I benefit more if the discount is deducted before V.A.T. is calculated or if the calculation is done in the opposite order?

2.⁷



Divide the first equilateral triangle into 4 identical pieces. Now divide the second one into 9 identical pieces. In the third equilateral triangle, the shaded triangle whose sides are one

half the length of the original sides is to be cut away. Divide the unshaded part into 4 identical pieces.

The course also includes a project occupying about 30 per cent of the total study time. In this the student is asked to take a section of his syllabus on which he intends to spend about two weeks work and teach it using the style advocated in the course. He has to plan how to organize the class and to split the work into 4-6 themes. In each he plans activities and the "doing, talking and recording" for the activity. Extensions are prepared for those pupils who might need them. Finally the student writes an evaluation of the project.

Calculators in the Primary School

This is a short practical course, its argument in favour of using calculators in primary schools is confined to one and a half pages. It wisely assumes that its readership is the converted and devotes most of its pages to problems, games and puzzles in which the calculator is at least useful, if not essential. Some problems are meant to challenge the teacher, although others are for his pupils.

For example:⁸

Space Invaders (A game for children giving practice with place value)

Enter a 3-digit number, e.g. 726. "Shoot down" the digits by subtracting them one at a time to zero.

e.g. 726	Key	Display
	-6	= 720
	-20	= 700
	-700	= 0

Alternatively, add digits to make the last three digits zero.

e.g.	726	Key	Display
		+4	= 730
		+70	= 800
		+200	= 1000

The Influence of Mathematics across the Curriculum

The evidence of this is from two sources. Firstly, one year after completing the course I have asked former students about their use of it in the meantime. Secondly, students' evaluations of their projects also reveal the course's effect on their teaching.

Clearly, in problem-solving with pupils, teachers of varying styles have experienced a sense of conflict between intervening and giving the children the confidence that the problem really is theirs. To stand aside and watch pupils make mistakes in the faith that through this the children's ability to find their own way through a problem will grow is at variance with most teachers' normal practice and a severe use of time. Avoiding mere frustration as a result requires careful judgement by the teacher. One teacher expressed her inner conflict thus:

I asked questions and made suggestions to help their thinking, but doing this makes the children believe they don't have to do the thinking themselves... We stunt children's thinking by taking over and making them do what we say.

Perhaps a course such as this one ought to make teachers more aware that adopting its ideas will radically affect the curriculum and thus they and other staff will be affected, perhaps quite fundamentally. But these are the stormy narrows of curriculum change and anyone approaching them needs more than just a few helpful hints. One teacher revealed her consciousness of the problem:

Some of the staff may have felt threatened and possibly feared what a successful project might expose. In planning future work I would be careful to choose a problem which would encourage more interest, co-operation and hopefully participation by the rest of the staff. I would be more aware of the politics involved in the situation.

If teachers are being led by the course to such realizations then, for me, the course needs no more justification. Of course, one would like to feel that this teacher built upon this experience and carried her department with her. But the curtain is drawn. We can but conjecture.

For the individual teacher, however, one outcome is definite. The course provides another platform on which he can stand and view his own practice. Even if he decides not to change his habitual methods as a result, nevertheless he has seen it from a new perspective. Teachers accommodate various influences into their existing practice, adding to the slow but steady current of personal professional development.

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4. Ibid., Unit 10 - Seeking out Relationships
5. Developing Mathematical Thinking, EM 235, Topic 5 - Vulgar and Improper. (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1982), p. 71.
6. Ibid., Topic 1 - Subtraction, p. 32.
7. Ibid., Topic 3 - Measuring, p. 37.
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**A STUDY OF THE READABILITY OF FOUR HISTORY TEXTBOOKS IN
USE IN SIXTH CLASS IN IRISH PRIMARY SCHOOLS**

Aine Cregan

DESCRIPTION OF STUDY AND PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

In order to determine the readability of the four history textbooks currently in use in Irish primary schools, it was decided to assess them using the Cloze Procedure, three readability formulae, and the subjective assessment of teachers using these books. The main thrust of this study was the examination by use of the Cloze Procedure of the readability of four history textbooks at sixth class level in the primary school. The texts will be referred to as Books 1, 2, 3 and 4.

(1) Construction of Cloze Tests

Using the Fry Readability Graph, the mean sample of twelve randomly selected samples was chosen in each book. This mean sample was to be the one on which the Cloze Test would be constructed. Since each sample was only 100 words in length as required for the Fry Readability Graph, they were extended to at least 250 words ending at a natural break, and every fifth word was deleted and replaced by a blank of uniform length. A complete sentence was placed at the beginning of each mean sample.

(ii) Selection of a Standardized Instrument of Measurement of Reading Ability

The Drumcondra English Test, Level III, Form A, Subtest 1 (vocabulary) and Subtest 4 (comprehension) was chosen to measure the reading ability of the subjects being tested by the Cloze Procedure. This was thought

necessary to provide a yardstick with which the results of the Cloze Procedure might be correlated. The Drumcondra Test was selected because it is the only group reading test available which was constructed and standardised in Ireland. It was felt, therefore, that this test would be particularly relevant in the present context.

(iii) Description of the Population Sampled

The testing was carried out in thirty randomly selected schools in the Limerick region. At the time of selection there were 147 ordinary primary schools in this region.¹ There were approximately four times as many county schools as city schools (118:29) and therefore, the thirty schools chosen for the testing were likewise categorised, resulting in six city schools and twenty-four county schools being selected. A total of 748 children were tested.

(iv) Procedure

The testing was conducted at the beginning of the school year because the children would not yet be familiar with the history texts in use in the classroom, and there was, therefore, no danger of any child having already seen the passage being used as part of the Cloze test. This was an important consideration because it has been shown that if a subject has seen the test passage in its entirety prior to the testing, then the results must of necessity be invalidated.² Each child was given Cloze tests on two books to complete - i.e. Group A, those children on one side of the desks, completed Cloze tests on Books 1 and 2, while Group B, their partners, completed Cloze tests on Books 3 and 4. This method was chosen because it was felt that to complete four Cloze tests would be too exhausting for the children, and this method of assigning the tests reduced the risk of any answers

being copied. No time limit was placed on the children for the completion of these tests. Every child also completed the Drumcondra Reading Test.

(iv) Interpreting the Results

According to the normal curve of the standardised Drumcondra English Test, those children scoring above the mean (50 per cent) were above the national average for the English Reading Test, and therefore, could be considered to be above average in reading ability.³ Similarly, those pupils who scored below 50 per cent were rated as having below average reading ability.

The criterion reference scores for the Cloze Procedure set out by Harrison (1980)⁴ were adhered to, i.e.

- 0 - 40 per cent - frustration level,
- 41 - 45 per cent - probably suitable at instructional level, but a good deal of assistance would be required,
- 46 - 59 per cent - instructional level,
- over 60 per cent - independent level.

The most important information with regard to the interpretation of these scores is that scores below 40 per cent indicate that the pupils are reading at frustration level and that a serious problem exists, whereas Cloze scores of above 40 per cent generally signify some level of comprehension which, with the aid of a teacher, may render the textbook meaningful.

(vi) Results of the Study

An examination of the mean Cloze scores obtained on each of the four books (Table 1) indicates clearly that the Cloze scores were very low for each book.

Table 1

Mean Cloze Scores on each of the
Four History Texts
and Mean Drumcondra Scores (N = 748)

Mean Scores	<u>Group A</u>		<u>Group B</u>	
	Book 1	Book 2	Book 3	Book 4
Mean Cloze Scores	25.0%	34.4%	26.1%	24.3%
Standard Deviation	12.530	15.515	13.193	14.628
Mean Drumcondra Scores	56.43%	56.43%	57.27%	57.27%
Standard Deviation	26.990	26.990	27.120	27.120

Despite the fact that the Drumcondra scores show the pupils to be above the average in terms of reading ability, the Cloze scores indicate that in the case of all four books the children were reading at frustration level. The implications of this are only fully realised on reading the words of Harrison (1980) who, referring to Bormuth (1969) states:

It would appear that the 35 to 40 per cent criterion might be too low; Bormuth himself suggests this and he quotes readers as voicing the "strong objections" and exhibiting "signs of frustration and inattention", when faced by texts on which Cloze scores were as low as 35 per cent. 5

Table 2

Cloze Results on each of the Four Texts
categorised according to the criteria as
recommended by Harrison (1980), (N = 748)

Ranked Score	Group A (N = 380)		Group B (N = 368)	
	Book 1	Book 2	Book 3	Book 4
<u>0 - 40%</u> (Frustration level)	91.8% (349)	64.5% (245)	86.4% (318)	84.8% (312)
<u>41 - 45%</u> (Instructional level)	4.5% (17)	11.3% (43)	4.1% (15)	6.8% (25)
<u>46 - 59%</u> (Instructional level)	3.4% (13)	21.8% (83)	9.2% (34)	8.2% (30)
<u>60+</u> (Independent level)	0.3% (1)	2.4% (9)	0.3% (1)	0.3% (1)

Investigation of the criterion reference scores indicates that the great majority of the children were reading the texts at frustration level and, as seen in the mean scores previously presented (Table 1), considerably below what is commonly accepted as minimum satisfactory comprehension level.

It was thought desirable in terms of validity and reliability of results that more than just one method of assessment be used. For that reason, three readability formulae (the Fry Readability Graph, the Dale-Chall Readability Formula and the Flesch Reading-Ease Formula) were applied to each of the four books, and an average grade/age level was computed for each book using each

formula. Formulae chosen were selected for their reliability and particular suitability for readability assessment at this age level.⁶

Table 3

Readability Scores of each of the four texts according to the Formulae

Formula	Book 1	Book 2	Book 3	Book 4
<u>Fry Graph</u>	Grade 7 (13 yrs)	Grade 10 (16 yrs)	Grade 9 (15 yrs)	Grade 10 (16 yrs)
<u>Dale-Chall Formula</u>	13.5 - 14.5 yrs.	14.3 - 15.3 yrs.	14-15 yrs.	14.83 - 15.83 yrs.
<u>Flesch Formula</u>	15.47 yrs.	15.22 yrs.	15.32 yrs.	16.99 yrs.

While minor discrepancies are noted, overall the formulae show quite similar results and it is clear at a glance that as far as these three formulae are concerned, the four texts are consistently at a reading level far beyond that of the children for whom they are allegedly suitable. Bearing in mind that the majority of children in sixth class who would be reading these books are eleven to twelve years old, the easiest of these books (according to two of the formulae) i.e. Book 1, is at least one to two-and-a-half years above their reading level, while the most difficult book (according to all three formulae) i.e. Book 4, could be up to six years above the reading level of the average child. These findings help to clarify the causes of the frustration experienced by the children involved in this study when required to complete the Cloze tests on the four books.

Table 4

Rank-Ordering of the Four Texts in terms
of difficulty by the Formulae

Rank-Order	Fry Graph	Dale-Chail Formula	Flesch Formula
1 (Most difficult)	Book 4	Book 4	Book 4
2	Book 2	Book 2	Book 1
3	Book 3	Book 3	Book 3
4 (Least difficult)	Book 1	Book 1	Book 2

Two of the formulae rank-ordered the books in exactly the same way (Table 4), the Fry Graph putting Book 4 and Book 2 at the same level, while the Flesch Formula rank-ordered two of the texts in agreement with these formulae and showed a mean difference of only 0.25 of a year between the other two books (Table 3).

The teachers in whose classes the testing was conducted were required to complete questionnaires which would give their subjective assessments of the textbooks in question. Of the thirty-four teachers in whose classes testing was conducted, twenty-three returned completed questionnaires.

The majority of teachers seemed pleased with their textbooks and considered them suitable for the children in terms of language used (Table 5) and in terms of the background and reading ability of the children (Table 6).

Table 5

Opinions of Teachers regarding Language
difficulty of Textbooks (N = 23)

Teacher Opinions	Percentage of Teachers with that opinion	
<u>Too simple</u>	0.0%	(0)
<u>Just Right</u>	65.2%	(15)
<u>Too Difficult</u>	30.5%	(7)
<u>No Answer</u>	4.3%	(1)
<u>Total</u>	100.0%	(23)

Table 6

Opinions of Teachers as to suitability of
language used in terms of background
and reading ability of pupils (N = 23)

Teacher Opinions	Yes	No	No Answer (because no text used)	Total
<u>Suitable to Background</u>	60.8% (14)	34.9% (8)	4.3% (1)	100.0% (23)
<u>Suitable to Reading Ability</u>	56.5% (13)	39.2% (9)	4.3% (1)	100.0% (23)

DISCUSSION

Despite the opinions of teachers to the contrary, performance of their pupils when reading these history texts would seem to indicate the unsuitability of the books for the children involved in this study. This unsuitability is further substantiated by the results of the most accurate and reliable objective methods of assessing readability. One cannot but conclude on the basis of the available evidence that the current situation is one where many of these children are required to read texts which are unsuitable in terms of readability. Such a situation cannot be considered satisfactory. In view of this, it was felt necessary to examine these history texts in an effort to determine the possible cause of this problem. What is it about these books that causes the children to experience so much frustration when reading them? As mentioned earlier, there are three factors in the text which influence its readability:

- (i) *Style* of writing of text - language used and how it is written,
- (ii) *Content* of text - information and concepts presented, how they are presented and dealt with.
- (iii) *Organisation and presentation* of text - legibility, attractiveness of format, illustrations.

The four books were examined, bearing these points in mind, and it was found that with regard to the style of writing and the content, all four texts were quite inadequate. In an exhaustive study of how to produce more readable writing, Klare (1976) says: "Research suggests that making writing more readable may involve word or sentence changes (preferably both)."⁷ With regard to vocabulary changes he suggests:

- (i) *Choose words which will be familiar to the intended readers.* These are generally words which have a high frequency of occurrence.

- (ii) *Choose short words where possible, because these tend to be more familiar and more easily understood by readers, e.g. words such as 'remained' (stayed), 'utilisation' (use), 'eventually' (at last), 'receiving' (getting) appear frequently in these four history texts, adding unnecessarily to the reading difficulty.*
- (iii) *Use concrete rather than abstract words as much as possible. It is often difficult to avoid abstract words such as bribery, loyalty, defiance, reprisal, independence, because of the complexity of the concept which they communicate. However, if it is not possible to avoid them, they should be explained either in the surrounding context, in parenthesis immediately following the term, or in a glossary.*
- (iv) *Replace nominalisations by active verbs.*
- (v) *By including pronouns and anaphora in the text, text coherence may be achieved, resulting in more readable text. Lack of coherence in text was not found to be a problem in any of the four texts examined.*
- (vi) *Use expressions which are familiar to the reader, and avoid such phrases as, "they had no security of tenure", "Dail Eireann ratified the Treaty", "though he breached the walls", "a crop subject to disease".*

With regard to sentence changes, Klare advises:⁸

- (i) *Reduce both sentence and clause length as much as possible, except in cause-effect relations where the relationship is more explicit in a long sentence including the word "because", e.g. the answer to (a) below is more likely to be satisfactory if a student reads (b) rather than (c);*

- (a) Why did the peasants revolt?
 (b) The peasants revolted because the king raised taxes.
 (c) The king raised taxes. The peasants revolted.
- (ii) *Decrease the number of subordinate clauses in a sentence.*
- (iii) *Prefer affirmative statements to negative constructions, since positive constructions are more likely to be verified and with greater speed than negative constructions. Also, they will be recognised recalled more easily.*⁹
- (iv) *Avoid the passive voice as much as possible because the active verb form is more familiar, more easily comprehended and more personal.*¹⁰
- (v) *Reducing the syntactic depth of sentences is an important method of reducing their complexity.*¹¹
 The syntactic depth of a sentence refers to the number of grammatical facts which a reader must temporarily hold in his memory while reading a sentence.

Other features of style of writing which tend to cause difficulty include:

- (i) *The presence of large number of modal verbs, e.g. "could", "would" etc. These tend to make writing more vague and abstract, and are best kept to a minimum.*¹²
- (ii) *The present participle construction. When this construction comes first in the sentence, comprehension is made more difficult by delaying the identification of the subject.*
- (iii) *Idiomatic writing. Edwards (1973) concluded on the basis of his research that "there was a positive relationship between the incidence of idioms in the test material and the amount of difficulty experienced by the children."*¹³

(iv) *Source material*. Obviously an integral part of any history text, source material is frequently presented in difficult technical language. Source material could be rewritten and presented in more suitable readable language for children, without losing its authenticity, by following the guidelines for producing more readable writing.¹⁴

In an article concerning the effectiveness of the conventional history textbook, Rogers (1981) maintains that 'like all other forms of knowledge, history is a process as well as an outcome, a "know-how" as well as a "know-that".' He further contends that "unless the account the pupil meets in his textbook is accompanied by very substantial overt teaching of procedures, of which the account is shown to be the outcome, there is no good reason why the pupil should accept it."¹⁵ One finds, however, examples such as the following in the currently available history texts:

Unfortunately, O'Connell and other leaders, as well as many of the clergy, looked upon Irish as a hindrance to national progress. (Book 1).

No evidence whatever is offered here to indicate why O'Connell and the other leaders took this stance. The judgement is made for the reader who, because of the absence of background material, has no option but to accept it. Moreover, the judgement has been made in the context of today, showing little or no sympathy for the situation as it existed at that time.

One of the most satisfactory methods of engaging the child in the modus operandi of the historian is to present him with plenty of well-written, suitable source material and illustrations, and to encourage him to use this information to try and reconstruct the past.¹⁶ While there is source material liberally provided in Books 1, 3 and 4, it is in most cases very difficult to read and

comprehend, and in Books 1 and 3 the child is asked to do very little with it. The situation is slightly better in Book 4, where there is quite a selection of reprint paintings which the reader is occasionally asked to examine. However, this is not done often enough and frequently the picture in the text is too small to enable the child to see the kind of detail required.

As an example of how these textbooks often fail to engage the child in what Rogers (1981) calls the process of history¹⁷ one might refer to the picture of a peasant's cabin with smoke coming out the door which appears in Books 2, 3 and 4. Only one of the three books (Book 4) indicates the source of the picture, thereby adding to its authenticity. Each of the pictures is accompanied by a caption as follows:

An Irish peasant's cabin. (Book 2)

House of poor peasant, 1780. (Book 3)

A single-roomed mud cabin drawn by Young in 1776. It lacks a chimney and windows and the thatch is in poor condition. (Book 4).

Only one of these captions (Book 4) makes any allusion to the dilapidated condition of the cabin, and there obvious statements are made instead of questioning the readers as to the state of this cabin and why it should be so. A series of questions based on this picture could result in the pupils discovering for themselves to some extent what life must have been like for the eighteenth century peasant.

Suggested caption:

This is a one-roomed mud cabin drawn by a man named Young, who visited Ireland in 1776.

Questions:

- (i) In what way is this cabin different from your own house?
- (ii) Can you suggest why no windows are visible? No chimneys?
- (iii) How do you think this cabin was built?

- (iv) Why do you think it had only one room?
- (v) What do you think it might be like inside?
- (vi) What do you notice about the field behind the cabin?
- (vii) Do you think this is a city or a rural scene? Why?
- (viii) Is the area well-populated? Why?
- (ix) How is this scene different from the Irish countryside today?
- (x) Would you like to have lived in this cabin? Why?

This type of activity encourages the child to partake actively in the process of history and thus gives more relevance as well as credibility and understanding to the account given, arising out of the source material already presented.

With regard to the actual selection of content, an unpublished set of guidelines for publishers issued by the Department of Education¹⁸ emphasises three points:

- (1) *The emphasis as far as the content of the history text is concerned should be on life.*

The idea was very evident also in the suggestions mooted by the teachers when completing questionnaires during this study. Comments such as the following illustrate the opinions of many of the teachers: "Social history rather than battles and risings"; "Less emphasis on battles and dates and more on social history"; "More detail about interesting historical characters"; "Emphasis on the lives of the people and especially the children"; "More human interest". In spite of this, however, the four texts being considered deal virtually exclusively in politics and battles - the 1798 rebellion, the Act of Union, Catholic Emancipation, the Young Ireland movement, Home Rule and the Land War, the Fenian Rising, the First World War, the 1916 Rising, the War of Independence, the Second World War ...

(ii) *Local history needs to be emphasised as much as possible.*

This too was a point raised by the teachers - the value of a text which provided "a guide on how to research local history", "advice on how to relate national and international events with local history". Obviously, any text can only offer guidelines regarding the study of local history, but a text could contain a list of possible resources as well as a set of general questions which might act as a springboard for children to investigate the historical significance of their particular locality. Books 1 and 2 of this study provide no attempt to relate the content of the text to the child's local environment. In Books 3 and 4 assignments such as the following are given:

Where in your area would you think is a suitable site for a hedge school? Remember that you would have to keep it a secret.
(Book 3)

More suggestions and questions and assignments of the type noted above would be of enormous benefit in the promotion of local history studies in which the textbook would act as a powerful positive catalyst.

(iii) *The inclusion of line-of-development studies in texts at all levels.*

Only one of the four texts in question includes any such study (Book 2).

ORGANISATION AND PRESENTATION OF TEXT

The third aspect of text related to readability is that of how the information in the text is organised and presented. For children of 11 to 13 years this aspect of text does not considerably influence their success with

any particular textbook, especially if those children are of average or above average reading ability.¹⁹ Nonetheless, the format and legibility of a text can help to make the job of reading to learn that little bit easier for more able children, and can be quite an important aid for the weaker child whose reading skills can be less than adequate.

Organisational factors which aid communication and determine readability include indentation of paragraphs the use of titles and sub-headings, the inclusion of transition words in the text, and typographical effects (bold print, italics etc.) Each of the four texts in question employed these strategies successfully.

With regard to the legibility of the texts, they generally satisfied the criteria for adequate legibility for the age group in question.²⁰ All of the texts are written in lower-case print. Three of them use serif type. Justified typesetting is used in Books 2, 3 and 4, and all texts are printed with black ink on white paper. All four texts contain ample illustrations. However, all of the illustrations in Book 2 are sketches. Complying with the results of the research of Weiss (1982),²¹ almost all illustrations are placed at the top or bottom of the page, in this way not interrupting the text. However, the best use is not always made of these illustrations, and their connection with the text is so implicit at times that many children would fail to see it, and therefore the value of the illustrations is lost.

CONCLUSIONS

- (1) A serious problem exists with regard to the readability of the four currently available history texts for sixth class in the primary school.

- (2) This problem is made all the more serious by its widespread distribution and by the extent of the frustration experienced by some sixth class children reading these history texts.
- (3) The existence of such a serious problem in relation to one of the most commonly used aids by children in the learning of history implies a deterioration, not only in the process of learning history, but also in the amount of enjoyment experienced by children during that process. This in turn implies the development of a negative attitude towards history as a subject. It also implies the development of a negative attitude towards other textbooks and the building up of feelings of inadequacy by the children when faced with these textbooks, a feeling which could ultimately lead to failure for many children.
- (4) There are two main sources of difficulty in these texts.
 - (a) The *style* of writing of the texts is too difficult for the children reading them, incorporating as they often do, unfamiliar and infrequently used words or constructions;
 - (b) The *content* of the text which is, to a large extent, unsuitable for children in this age group. How that content is treated is also a source of difficulty, where history is often presented as an account and not enough attention is given to the process of history.
- (5) Because a great deal of the difficulty of history arises from the complexity of the concepts which must be communicated, it is unlikely that the textbook difficulties can ever be completely resolved. However, by implementing the guidelines for more readable writing, and by choosing content more suitable for

11 to 12 year olds, along with including in the texts a lot more source material and exercises encouraging the child to actively work on the material and in this way experience history, one would feel that the disadvantages accruing from the present obstacles can be either negatived or minimised.

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**READING STANDARDS IN FIRST YEAR OF DEGREE COURSES
IN HOME ECONOMICS COLLEGES OF EDUCATION IN THE
REPUBLIC OF IRELAND**

Eamonn Ó Baiolláin

Reading standards in the first year of degree courses were investigated over a two year period, 1978 and 1979, in the Home Economics Colleges of Education in the Republic of Ireland, St. Angela's College, Sligo, and St. Catherine's College, Dublin. The motivation to carry out research into reading standards arose out of the commencement of B.Ed. (Home Economics) degree courses in the colleges in September 1977.

Degree candidates are expected to read for their degrees, and it tends to be assumed that students possess the required degree of competency in reading to fulfil their purposes in entering degree programmes by virtue of the fact that they win access to their courses. Evidence that the assumption may not be justified came from an investigation of reading efficiency among first year students who had been accepted in a range of Faculties at University College, Galway, in September 1974. The incidence of reading inefficiency among the entrants was 51.40 per cent on a criterion deemed suitable for university students (Curtis, 1976). Widespread agreement will be forthcoming for the statement that adequate reading standards in students admitted to third level courses are necessary if they are to fulfil academic potential and justify the heavy financial and resource investment in the provision of the courses. It is also to be recognised that the need for adequate reading levels takes on added importance in subjects who are first year student teachers.

The Sample

The student samples came from the first year intakes to the colleges in September 1977 and September 1978. The intakes were all of the one sex, female. The samples represented 88 per cent and 95 per cent samples of the 1977 and 1978 student-population intakes in the colleges, respectively, and gave a 91 per cent sample ($N = 105$) of the combined 1977 and 1978 student-population intakes ($N = 115$).

The combined sample size held up well in the end-of-first year retests; the lowest retest response rate recorded was 85 per cent on the Marino Graded Word Reading Scale.

The subjects were matriculated students of either the National University of Ireland or Dublin University. They had presented a minimum of six subjects at the Post-Primary Leaving Certificate Examination, and achieved on average three honours. Ninety-five per cent of subjects were aged between 18 and 21, and the mean chronological ages of the yearly samples were similar, 19 years 1 month. Though the subjects were spread over a range of social class categories - Professional (11 per cent), Administrative, Executives and Senior Salaried (17 per cent), Intermediate Non-Manual (18 per cent), Skilled, Semi and Unskilled (13 per cent), and Farmers (41 per cent) - the combined research sample was not representative of the social class composition of the relevant age-group population of the Irish Republic.

The performance of subjects on a measure of non-verbal intelligence yielded interesting comparative results. Curtis found Raven's Advanced Progressive Matrices Set 1 was adequate for entrants to University College, Galway, in September 1974 (Curtis, 1976). However, Set 1 was found not to be discriminating enough in the 1978 January test and it was replaced by the more

demanding Set 11 in subsequent sessions. Mean scores from these sessions did not differ significantly. Various testings were combined and compared with those of the normative sample of 170 university students (Raven, 1965). The mean of the normative sample was significantly superior to that of the combined 1978 May and 1979 January samples, but was not significantly different from the mean of the combined 1978 May and 1979 April samples.

<u>Sample</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>
May 1978 & January 1979	104	19.51 (0.50)	5.13
May 1978 & April 1979	102	20.39 (0.56)	5.60
Raven's Normative Sample	170	21.00 (0.31)	4.00

* Standard error in parentheses.

It is apparent that the combined samples were adequately representative of the population intakes to the Home Economics colleges of education, and they were composed of subjects of university standard.

INFORMAL EVALUATION OF READING STANDARDS

The reading habits of subjects were surveyed anonymously with the aid of open questions (no lists supplied) on a questionnaire.

Their reading habits in relation to daily and Sunday newspapers indicated that they read a wide range of newspapers: 77 subjects (73 per cent) reported reading a daily newspaper everyday and 87 (83 per cent) read a daily newspaper occasionally, i.e. at least two days per week; 104 subjects (99 per cent) reported reading a Sunday newspaper printed in Ireland.

The reading habits of subjects in relation to magazines/periodicals which were neither prescribed nor

recommended as part of the degree studies ranged over 55 publications, 27 of which were read at every issue. The most popular magazines were Reader's Digest named by 51 subjects (49 per cent); Time named by 30 subjects (29 per cent); Women's Own named by 26 subjects (27 per cent); Woman's Weekly named by 24 subjects (25 per cent); Woman's Way named by 21 subjects (21 per cent) and Woman named by 17 subjects (17 per cent). It was not surprising to find women's magazines and the Reader's Digest popular among women subjects, but it was not expected to find young women so interested in a popular current affairs magazine such as Time.

In response to the question: "Have you read books which were neither prescribed nor recommended as part of your course studies since September?", 83 subjects responded in the affirmative and 64 of them were able to give some backing to their responses by naming at least two books they had read. This yielded a range of 185 non-prescribed books, reportedly read in the period from September to January of the first year in college, which were only representative of contemporary paperback fiction of a good standard. Authors who may have been encountered as part of the post-primary English syllabi - Jane Austen, Emily Bronte, Charles Dickens, J.D. Salinger and John Steinbeck - are included in the list, but generally the books named by subjects were those of successful contemporary authors. The most popular authors were Walter Macken, James Plunkett, Harold Robbins, John Steinbeck and Leon Uris.

The subjects rated their reading habits in relation to books which were non-prescribed for course studies according to the following categories: Never/seldom which meant that a subject read no more than three books per year; Sometimes which meant that a subject read four/eight books per year, and Frequently which meant that a subject

read a minimum of nine books per year. Analysis of variance in their reading attainment, measured by various tests, indicated the superiority of subjects who frequently read books with reference to vocabulary and overall reading attainment, and also in rate of reading. However, the self-rating reading categories were not found to be a source of variation in either oral word recognition or comprehension attainment.

EVALUATION OF GENERAL CULTURE LEVELS

The levels of general culture of the subjects were measured on a inventory of authorship of 40 books and plays. Subjects were requested to furnish the names of the authors. The 40 titles listed in the inventory were considered to be representative of the major historical and literary works through the centuries. They were selected from Hopkins General Culture Test (Hopkins, (1972).

The subjects achieved low standards of general culture. No subject was able to name the authors of the following ten works: Look Back in Anger, Cocktail Party, The Rivals, The Lady's Not for Burning, A Farewell to Arms, L'Avare, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Kenilworth, Candide, and The Last Chronicles of Barset.

One subject only was able to name the authors of the following five works: Pilgrim's Progress, Under Milk Wood, Peter Pan, Death of a Salesman, and Madame Bovary.

Two subjects were able to name the authors of the following four books: A Passage to India, Brave New World, Tom Jones, Crime and Punishment.

Three subjects were able to name the authors of Timon of Athens and Dr. Zhivago. Four subjects correctly named the author of The Three Musketeers. Between five and nine subjects were able to name the authors of the following works: The Hound of the Baskervilles, Adam Bede,

Vilette, Summa Theologica, and the Koran.

There were only 13 works the authors of which were correctly named by ten or more subjects.

Three of the five works which had the highest correct response rates - Mein Kampf (48 per cent), Das Kapital, (45 per cent) and Origin of Species (36 per cent) - were unlikely to have been known to subjects other than by reference. It is possible that the remaining two works - War and Peace (51 per cent) and Gulliver's Travels (42 per cent) - were known to subjects from reading the books.

The distribution of correct responses specified according to the numbers of works the authors of which were named by subjects was as follows:

<u>Number of Books/Plays</u>	<u>Number of subjects correctly naming Books/Plays (N=105)</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
0	9	9
1	10	9.5
2	14	13
3	10	9.5
4	13	12
5	18	17
6	12	11
7	7	7
8	2	2
9	5	5
10	2	2
11	1	1
12	1	1
13	1	1
	<u>105</u>	<u>100%</u>

Therefore the General Culture level of the combined sample (N = 105) can be starkly summarised. On an inventory of 40 titles, 86 subjects (81 per cent) were unable to

Identify more than six authors and 100 subjects (95 per cent) could not name more than nine authors correctly.

Though the acquaintance of subjects with the authors of the selected books and plays was disappointingly low, the relationships between correctly naming authors and reading attainment, measured by various tests, were found to be positive, moderately strong and significant. Tetrachoric correlations of the following order were reported:

	<u>Vocabul- ary</u>	<u>Comprehen- sion</u>	<u>Total (V+C)</u>	<u>Reading Rate</u>	<u>Oral Word Recognition</u>
General	0.56	0.40	0.61	0.03	0.59
Culture	P=0.0002	P=0.0128	P=0.0001	N.S.	P=0.0002

The relationships between General Culture and reading compared favourably with those established between Leaving Certificate English grades and reading. Leaving Certificate grades in English correlated (tetrachorically) 0.58 (P = 0.00022) with vocabulary; 0.29 (N.S.) with comprehension; 0.58 (P = 0.00022) with total (V + C); 0.32 (P = 0.0466) with reading rate and -0.08 (N.S.) with oral word recognition.

FORMAL EVALUATION OF READING STANDARDS

The reading standards of subjects were established with the aid of two tests. The Nelson-Denny Reading Test, Form D, (Brown, 1973) yielded measures of vocabulary on a 10-minute group test, comprehension on a 20-minute group test, total (V + C) reading competency/computed from the vocabulary and comprehension tests, and reading rate on a 1-minute timed test which was part of the comprehension test. The Marino Graded Word Reading Scale (O Suilleabhain, 1970) is an individual test of oral word recognition and

pronunciation which reports results in reading ages. The Scale was administered from age-level 12 upwards according to a marking schedule which applied the guidelines of the phonetic scheme contained in the Concise Oxford Dictionary (O.U.P., 1974) to the words.

The five research variables were deemed suitable measures of the reading attainment of subjects in the combined samples as a result of an investigation of the homogeneity of the attainment of the yearly samples and the reliability of the tests. Reliability coefficients of the following order were established: vocabulary, 0.93; comprehension, 0.77; total (V + C), 0.91; reading rate, 0.73; and the Marino Scale, 0.84.

The normative samples by age and grade-level comparisons for the subjects in respect of the Nelson-Denny Reading Test were Grade 13 at the beginning of the year and Grade 14 at the end of the year. The normative Grade 13 sample was composed of 929 students drawn from four-year colleges and 1,018 students drawn from two-year colleges. The normative Grade 14 sample was composed of 497 students drawn from four-year colleges and 192 students drawn from two-year colleges (Brown, 1973, table 17, p.26). The samples were drawn to reflect the most pertinent characteristic of American colleges, the distinction of four-year versus two-year colleges (Brown, 1973, p.25).

The subjects of the combined research samples attained vocabulary and total (V + C) scores equivalent to Grade 13 norms at the beginning of the year, and Grade 14 norms at the end of the year.

In comprehension, the subjects attained scores which were two full grades inferior to the appropriate Grade 13 norms at the beginning of the year, but their end-of-year scores were equivalent to the Grade 13 norms.

None of the normative distributions ranging from Grade 11 to Grade 14 closely fitted the distribution of reading rates attained by the subjects at the beginning of the year. Grade 13 norms, however, were recommended to measure the end-of-year reading rates attained by the research subjects.

The vocabulary and total or overall reading standards of the subjects must be viewed with some satisfaction, especially when availability of ongoing reading tuition in American High Schools is contrasted with the non-existence of such programmes in Irish post-primary schools.

The standard attained by subjects in comprehension must be viewed with alarm. Reading comprehension has been identified as one of the most important study skills in college (Pauk, 1969; Dechant, 1970; Sherwood, 1977). A two-year deficiency in comprehension is a severe handicap for entrants to degree courses to carry, and calls for remediation. The improvement of two grade levels achieved by the subjects in comprehension at the end of the year is welcome; it must be interpreted as an endorsement of the learning potential of subjects in the context set by their course requirements and expected standards.

The Nelson-Denny Reading Rate subtest was found to behave erratically, and it rendered the claim that one-minute timing units provide an accurate measure of reading rate rather suspect (Humphreys, 1957).

The normative standard of the Marino Graded Word Reading Scale was based on the chronological age of subjects. Since the ceiling age on the Marino Scale is 20, the ages of subjects who were older than 20 were treated as 20. A total of ten ages had to be adjusted to the ceiling age of the Marino Scale. Significant differences were found between Marino ages and chronological ages of subjects; their mean Marino age was 16.68 years whereas their mean chronological age was 18.88 years.

This result was deemed typical of entrants to the Home Economics Colleges of Education.

READING STANDARDS AND READABILITY OF TEXTBOOKS

The adequacy of reading standards can be judged from the match of the readability of designed textbooks with the established reading levels of subjects (Belden, 1962). The readability levels of a sample of ten textbooks, representative of the disciplines studied in the first year B.Ed. (Home Economics) degree courses, were established by averaging SMOG ratings and criterion-referenced assessments.

The SMOG Grading Formula was devised by McLoughlin (1969). Its main advantages over rival formulas were that it used a larger sample of words, 600 approximately, instead of the 100 or 200 words in other formulas, and it took into account both semantic and syntactic difficulties of text. However, the limitations of the readability formula had to be recognised, it failed to take into account many of the quantitative characteristics of a good textbook, and it had doubtful application to texts which are saturated with technical vocabulary and scientific symbolism. The SMOG formula in company with its rivals ignored the qualitative characteristics that a reader brings to the reading of a text. Therefore, the following criteria were employed to rate the readability of the selected texts on well-defined scales:

Estimates of (i) the number of polysyllabic words,
(ii) the complexity of sentences,
(iii) the style of presentation,
(iv) the density of concepts,
(v) the quality of typography and
(vi) the organisation of the text for learning
were demanded and they were synthesised into an estimated grade level for readability.

The readability levels of the sample of first year textbooks were reported as follows:

<u>Text</u>	<u>Smog</u>	<u>Criterion-Referenced Assessment</u>	<u>Average</u>
1. Child Development and Personality	16	14	15
2. Cooking Explained	10	10	10
3. "O" Level Cookery	11	10	10.5
4. Vogue Sewing Book	12	12	12
5. Clothes, Their Choosing, Making and Care	12	12	12
6. House Craft, Principles and Practice	12	10	11
7. Good Housekeeping, Running a House is Fun	10	10	10
8. Core Chemistry	12	12	12
9. Science of Home Economics and Institutional Management	13	12	12.5
10. Chemistry	13	13	13

Mallison's (1954) criterion for independent reading was applied to the readability of the texts. Mallison warned that the reading difficulty of books must be at least one grade level below the reading level of the students if they are to be effective learning tools. This criterion was applied with reference to the Grade 11 comprehension level of subjects. Therefore, a base readability level for independent reading was set at Grade 10; readability levels between 11 and 12.5 were

associated with instructional level reading, and a readability grade of 13 or higher was associated with the frustration level of reading. The comparison between reading comprehension levels of subjects and the readability of ten texts is summarised as follows:

<u>Reading Level</u>	<u>Textbooks</u>	<u>Number of Textbooks</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Independent Reading (Grade 10)	(2) Cookery Explained (7) Good Housekeeping	2	20
Slight Difficulty (Grades 10.5-11)	(3) "O" Level Cookery (6) Housecraft	2	20
Instructional Level Reading (Grades 12-12.5)	(4) Vogue Sewing Book (5) Clothes (8) Core Chemistry (9) Science of Home Economics and Institutional Management	4	40
Frustration Reading (Grades 13+)	(1) Child Development (10) Chemistry	2	20

The table shows that 60 per cent of the textbooks surveyed were found to have readability levels which placed them at least two grade levels above the grade 10 standard required for independent reading. Sixty per cent of the texts were inappropriate for the measured reading levels of the first year student-teachers.

CONCLUSION

The data contained in the paper strongly support recommendations that (i) entrants to the Home Economics Colleges of Education would benefit academically from a reading improvement course in comprehension, and (ii) that textbooks compatible with reading levels be assigned to

entrants. The implementing of these basic recommendations would undoubtedly enhance learning productivity in the colleges.

Finally, the thrust of the data presented in the paper is provocative and, hopefully, it will result in the focusing of attention on the potential challenge in other third level institutions posed by the reading standards of their student-intake.

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RESPONSE TO LITERATURE AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

Bernard O'Reilly

INTRODUCTION

In his essay, 'The Uses of Literature',¹ Cleanth Brooks presents seven possible 'uses' for literature. They range from keeping up with the fashion or providing escape and pleasure, to the more serious uses of providing a special form of vicarious and specific knowledge, of helping to form a true vision of reality and keeping language fresh and vital.

The preamble to the English literature programme studies in Irish post-primary schools² encourages some of these uses of literature. Thus a stated aim of the first year course is to impart 'a growing enjoyment of reading..'. Among the aims of the Leaving Certificate course are:- to 'assist pupils to come to grips with their environment', and to 'widen and deepen their vision of life'. It is also hoped that the study of literature will 'perfect their mastery of language'. The preamble also says that 'authentic personal response (to literature) should be encouraged' and that 'sound criteria of literary judgement and good taste should be cultivated'. When to these is added the aim of.. 'cultivating in pupils an understanding of and an interest in good literature' all of the officially formulated aims of the teaching of English literature in Irish schools have been noted.

But what are the outcomes of the teaching of English in Irish post-primary schools? Outcomes can be reported in terms of grades in English at Intermediate and Leaving Certificate examinations but such grades will tell us little about the extent to which students 'enjoy reading'

nor are they indicators of the 'authenticity' of students' response. Two studies, McNamara and Madaus³ and Johnson⁴ suggest that the highly cognitive bias of questions in English Literature in these examinations, militates against 'authentic' response in favour of memorisation, against affective outcomes in favour of cognitive ones.

It was then with a practising teacher's desire to know the outcomes of his endeavours that the present study was undertaken. Do students have an interest and take pleasure in reading literature? How do students approach a literary text? Do literature lessons make students more competent in their handling of texts? Do pupils respond differently to literature in general and to specific texts over the course of their school career? These were the generalised questions which initiated the study.

Research in the empirical tradition into what is response to literature is generally conceded to have been initiated by the publication in 1929 of Practical Criticism by I.A. Richards.⁵ Overviews of research in this area such as Squire,⁶ Hanson,⁷ Cooper,⁸ and Petrosky-Koziol⁹ all note the influence of Richards as seminal. Significantly too these overviews also agree in seeing the Purves and Ripperre study of 1968, Elements of Writing about a Literary Work - A Study of Responses to Literature¹⁰ as a major breakthrough, as the 'foundation for the field' (Petrosky-Koziol), as 'sure to be used in years ahead in studies where analysis of individual or group response protocols is required.' (Cooper) This study in turn provided the basis for developing a set of measures to explore response to literature which were used in a study sponsored by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) and reported by Purves.¹¹

This latter study provided a conceptual framework and a wide ranging set of instruments with which to carry out an empirical investigation in the area outlined by the questions above. The I.E.A. study, reported by Purves became the parent study, making it possible to measure and compare interest in literature, modes of reaction when reading a story, and levels of understanding.

The I.E.A. study was a cross-national survey carried out in nine countries. In each country two age levels were studied and compared. The study on which this paper is based¹² was conducted in one Irish co-educational post-primary school of 445 pupils and data was gathered relating to pupils in all the second and final year classes.

Table 1 Study Sample - Age

Second Year	N	Mean Age	(S.D.)
Boys	55	14 yrs 6 months	8 months
Girls	49	14 yrs 6 months	8 months
Total	104	14 yrs 6 months	8 months
Final Year	N	Mean Age	(S.D.)
Boys	23	17 yrs 3 months	6.25 months
Girls	32	17 yrs 7 months	7.7 months
Total	55	17 yrs 8 months	7.1 months

English is the mother-tongue for all the students in the sample.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND STUDY INSTRUMENTS

Response to literature, according to Purves is:-
the ongoing interaction between the individual and the work, an interaction that may continue long after the reader

has finished reading. This response is never made fully explicit, for one could not tell of all the associations, ideas, feelings and reflections that take place as one reads a novel, or after one has finished it. Certain indices of this response can nonetheless be obtained and do become expressed, and it is the training of the expressed response that is carried on in the schools. 13

Yet in the classroom a student's response will be like an iceberg; only a small part will become apparent to the teacher or to the student himself. Teachers deal with the visible part of the iceberg whenever they lead a class discussion or assign an essay topic on a literary work. This expressed response to literature is the object of study reported here. The focus is further narrowed by limiting the areas of expressed response to the following:

- * the approach of pupils to specific texts
- * the approach of pupils to literary texts in general
- * pupils' capacity to comprehend and interpret specific texts
- * the interaction between literature and their lives as reported by the pupils
- * the attitudes of pupils to literature as a school subject.

To identify pupils' approach to literary texts a set of 20 questions (See Appendix 1) was presented to the pupils on three occasions - after reading each of two short stories, and a third time, without reference to any specific text. They were instructed to choose the five 'most important' questions. The frequency with which individual questions were chosen gave a pattern of response for each age group.¹⁴ The stories used were 'The Sea' by Spanish author Ana Maria Matula and 'The Use of Force' by William Carlos Williams.

The pupils' capacity to comprehend and interpret specific texts was explored by two sets of multiple choice questions relating to the stories.¹⁵ Literary forms other than the short story were not used; however, the choice of texts does attempt to redress this exclusion.¹⁶

The I.E.A. study employed two instruments to measure the interaction between pupils' lives and literature: one to measure 'Interest', the second to measure 'Transfer' or the extent to which literary experiences are brought to bear on life and vice versa.¹⁷ However, because of some considerable misgivings about the interest measure,¹⁸ and to ascertain pupils' attitudes to literature as a school subject, an additional questionnaire was used. This questionnaire was devised on the basis of items used by Yarlott and Harpin.¹⁹ (See also Appendix 2.)

RESULTS

When the two groups within the study sample, the second year students and the final year students, are compared in their response patterns, a number of points are suggested by the data.

Firstly, on all three instruments measuring this area of response, there are strong and highly significant correlations between the ranking order given the 20 questions by the two groups (See Table 2).

Table 2

Spearman's Rho Correlations between ranking of Questions: for Second and Final Year Students

	R	P
"The Sea"	.644	P < .01
The Use of Force	.773	P < .01
Without reference to text	.697	P < .01

However, when individual questions were looked at, as expected, some significant differences do appear. The most consistent of these differences is on the question 230 (What happens in the story?). Senior students significantly move away from regarding that as an important question. Senior students also move further away from attaching importance to question 270 (What type of story is it? Is it like any other story I know?) and this movement is significant in two out of three instruments.

Table 3

Questions on which differences between proportions of groups choosing is significant at .05 (Fisher Test)

"The Sea"	Use of Force	Without Text
210 (+)*	120 (+)	230 (-)
220 (+)	230 (-)	270 (-)
230 (-)	260 (-)	300 (-)
240 (+)	280 (-)	
270 (-)	240 (+)	

*Note: (+) indicates an increase in proportion from second year: (-) indicates a decrease

The greatest number of differences between the age groups occurred after reading The Use of Force. Two are of particular interest. The first is on question 120 (What emotions does the story arouse in me?). On both other instruments the age groups ranked this question very highly but after reading this emotionally charged story the younger group drop their ranking considerably. It may be that while the 14 year-olds were able to contemplate emotions being aroused in them in the abstract, when the emotions were activated however, they became apprehensive and less willing to acknowledge their importance. The

senior students on the other hand were able to accept this emotion in themselves with equanimity and to acknowledge the importance with which they held the question.

The second difference relates to question 280. (When was the story written? What is the historical background? etc.) Neither group ranks this question highly but after reading The Use of Force the difference between the groups on the item is significant. What is of interest is that the senior students are the less interested in historical background and biographical material. Previous studies²⁰ suggest that as the result of literature courses, this type of question would be judged important by senior students. The reverse seems to have been the case in the groups studied.

Table 4

Response Preference Consistency

	Choosing 3 or more questions on each of 3 measures	Choosing 2 or more questions on each of 3 measures	Choosing 1 more questions on each of 3 measures
Second Year	N = 12 % = 13.6	N = 29 % = 32.9	N = 68 % = 77.2
Final Year	N = 7 % = 13.4	N = 20 % = 38	N = 35 % = 67.3
	z = .038 (N.S.)	z = 1.08 (N.S.)	z = 1.29 (N.S.)

(z = 1.96 = P < .05)

Another reversal of the expected pattern is reported in Tables 4 and 5. It was hypothesised that the senior

students would be more consistent and more definite in their choice of important questions than the fourteen year olds. In this study data, however, the second year pupils are the more consistent and the more definite in their responses. Table 4 presents data and in all but one of the data categories the junior students appear the more consistent though in no case does the difference reach statistical significance.

The mean frequency of choice, averaged over all questions, is 25 per cent since five out of 20 questions were chosen on each measure by each student. The standard deviation, therefore, indicates the degree to which students moved away from that mean towards unanimous acceptance or rejection of any question.

Following Purves then it is hypothesised that final year students will show a greater divergence from the 25 per cent mean.

Table 5

Standard Deviations from 25 per cent mean
Frequency of Choice for any one item

	The Sea	The Use of Force	Questionnaire	Overall
Second Year	12.75	12.75	10.96	12.15
Final Year	7.66	9.15	8.41	8.41

Loss in Standard Deviation from junior to senior groups:
1.74

Table 5 indicates that for the sample studied the reverse has happened. The junior students were the more

definite in their responses and the senior sample kept closer to the 'average response'.

This finding could possibly be interpreted as indicating that there is more confused thought and unsettled judgement among the more senior students. If this interpretation is correct it would indeed be unsettling.

Achievement

On the achievement instruments the expected variation between junior and senior students was evident. Nonetheless there was not significant difference between the two groups on the achievement score for the enigmatic story The Sea. (See Table 6).

Table 6

Achievement Scores

A. 'The Sea' (Range 0 - 17)

	Year 2 (N = 102)	Final Year (N = 54)
Mean	9.6	10.72
S.D.	3.07	2.10

$t = 2.33, df = 150, N.S.$

B. 'The Use of Force' (Range 0 - 19)

	Year 2 (N = 93)	Final Year (N = 54)
mean	11.64	13.12
S.D.	3.02	3.11

$t = 2.87, df = 146, P < .05$

Table 6 (Continued)

C. Total Achievement (Range 0 - 36)		
	Year 2 (N = 93)	Final Year (N = 54)
Mean	21.27	23.67
S.D.	5.68	4.66

$$t = 2.83, \quad df = 145, \quad P < .05$$

It would appear that the senior students were not significantly better equipped to understand and interpret it than the junior students.

To compare the achievement scores returned in this study with scores reported in Purves²¹ as natural mean scores for some of the English-speaking countries, may be of little validity. It may nonetheless be of interest and is presented in Table 7.

Table 7

**Study/English Speaking Countries:
Mean Achievement Scores**

(Range : 0 - 36) Mean Scores				
	Study	England	New Zealand	U.S.A.
Second Year Pupils	21.2	16.1	16.7	16.5
Final Year Pupils	23.9	26.8	26.4	21.9

It is sufficient to point out here that a national study of achievement in literature on the model of this study would yield extremely interesting data for comparative studies.

Transfer and Interest

The review of the literature²² suggests that there will be a change in general attitude to and interest in literature between the two age groups. Three instruments were used to gather data in this area: two of them taken from the parent study, Purves and the third adapted from Yarlott and Harpin. From Purves a ten item instrument to measure transfer (the extent to which one brings literary experiences to bear on the rest of one's life and vice versa) and a ten item instrument to measure Interest were borrowed.

For each student in the sample a Transfer score ranging from -30 to +30 and an Interest score ranging from -27 to +27 were available. For each group mean and standard deviations were calculated.

Table 8

Second Year/Final Year Transfer Scores

(Range -30 to +30)

	Second Year (N = 93)	Final Year (N = 55)
Mean	- 5.02	- 2.05
S.D.	8.85	9.19

t = 1.64 df = 146, N.S.

Table 7

**Second Year/Final Year Interest Scores
(Range -27 to +27)**

	Second Year (N = 93)	Final Year (N = 54)
Mean	- 4.92	- 5.48
S.D.	6.43	7.75

$t = 0.46, df = 145, N.S.$

Tables 8 and 9 suggest that junior and senior groups in our sample do not differ significantly in the degree of their interest or their inclination to 'Transfer'. On the Transfer and the Interest measures both groups return negative scores, suggesting little Transfer and low Interest. The movement however, is towards more Transfer and less Interest on the part of the senior pupils.

Reservations have already been expressed about the validity of the Interest measure so a supplementary exploration of this area was carried out by means of a general questionnaire (See Appendix 2). Results on this instrument suggest that senior students seem less inclined to reread school literature, 24 per cent saying they never do as opposed to 2 per cent of junior students; 51 per cent of junior students claim they frequently felt inclined to reread school literature whereas this percentage is halved among senior students. That reading in school is mainly confined to course material may contribute to this difference. On question No. 2 there is also a move in the negative direction by the senior students though over $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of them and over 50 per cent of junior pupils frequently or very frequently wish to read other works by course authors. But discussing literature with their friends is not common among the

senior students in this sample: over 90 per cent seldom or never do so. Over 80 per cent of junior pupils are in the same category. Slightly more of the senior students than junior students indicate that they will read novels after leaving school though neither group shows much interest in poetry or plays. That about 68 per cent of the senior students intend to 'frequently' or 'very frequently' read novels, that 24 per cent of them intend to read poetry and only 9 per cent intend to read plays (of Questions 4, 5 and 6) is a measure of the success or failure of the general aims of cultivating an interest in good literature and a 'growing enjoyment of reading'. The thought, however, that 75 per cent of the senior students will seldom or never read poetry can be far from reassuring for the teacher of literature.

But the study data which reports 90 per cent of both groups 'enjoy' their English classes is encouraging - this despite the fact that 28 per cent of second year and 70 per cent of fifth year find it difficult (Question 7). Reassuring too is the finding that 50 per cent of the second year group and 60 per cent of the fifth year group find reading 'just as' or 'more satisfactory' than watching T.V. (Question 9).

CONCLUSION

The purpose of the study has been to describe and measure the 'expressed response' to literature of second year and final year students in an Irish post-primary school and to allow a comparison of the responses of the two groups. A similarity of approach to literary texts is strikingly evident between both groups examined. The range of items deemed 'important' suggests that aims associated with 'deepening and widening their vision of life', 'authentic personal response' and 'criteria of literary judgement' are being internalised by pupils.

Paradoxically, however, infrequent choice of items relating to 'people I know' and the negative scores on Transfer and Interest measures suggest a certain unwillingness to allow the world of literature too close to their personal lives. The use of the additional questionnaire to explore the area of interest in literature yielded some encouraging data (cf. Question 7 re 'enjoyableness of English as school subject, and reading as opposed to T.V.) but also data which suggest areas of very limited success (cf. Questions 3/6 - poetry, drama. Appendix 2).

The paper has reported some of the changes that occur in the responses of pupils between the second and final year of post-primary schooling. No attempt has been made to identify the relative strengths of maturation and teaching related variables as influences on these changes. However, a modified research design using these instruments could yield data pertinent to this issue.

In general terms the study is novel, in the Irish context, in its application of empirical or quantitative methods to the evaluation of affective, as well as cognitive outcomes of literature teaching. Despite the relatively unsophisticated nature of the statistical analysis carried out on the data to date, the study suggests that these instruments, when combined with other methods of evaluation, can provide the basis for a more broadly based evaluation of literature teaching in Irish post-primary schools.

Appendix 1

These questions were not to be answered but from the group of twenty, the five considered to be the 'most important' were to be selected.

The question in each measure represented four categories of response to Literature.

- 100: Engagement - Involvement - represented by .. questions of the order of "How does this story affect me?"
- 200: Perception - "How is this story constructed?"
- 300: Interpretation - "What does this story mean?"
- 400: Evaluation - "Is this story of merit?"

The twenty questions in each measure represented these categories of response, and sub-categories within each category. The following questions were used in relation to 'The Sea'.

Engagement: "How does the story affect me?"

- 110: "Is this a proper subject for a story?"
- 120: "What emotions does "The Sea" arouse in me?"
- 130: "Are any of the characters in "The Sea like people I know?"

Perception: "How is this story constructed?"

- 210: "Has the writer used words and sentences differently from the way people usually write?"
- 220: "What metaphors (or comparisons), images (or references to things outside the story) or other writers devices are used in 'The Sea'?"
- 230: "What happens in 'The Sea'?"
- 240: "How is the way of telling the story related to what 'The Sea' is about?"
- 250: "How does the story build up?"
"How is it organised?"
- 260: "What is the writer's opinion of, or attitude to the people in The Sea?"

270: "What type of story is 'The Sea'?"

"Is it like any other story I know?"

280: "When was 'The Sea' written? What is the historical background of the story and the writer? Does the fact that the author is Spanish tell me anything about the story?"

Interpretation: "What does this story mean?"

300: "Is there any one part of 'The Sea' that explains the whole story?"

310: "Is there anything in 'The Sea' that has a hidden meaning?"

320: "How can we explain the way people behave in 'The Sea'?"

330: "What does 'The Sea' tell me about people I know?"

340: "Does 'The Sea' tell me anything about the people and ideas in general?"

350: "Is there a lesson to be learned from 'The Sea'?"

Evaluation: "Is this story of merit?"

410: "Does 'The Sea' succeed in getting me involved in the situation?"

420: "Is 'The Sea' well written?"

430: "Is 'The Sea' about important things? Is it a trivial or a serious work?"

(Note: The order of the questions was not as above and varied with the texts!)

Appendix 2

Responses to General Questionnaire. Percentage Response.

Second Year Pupils(II) (N=92)		Final Year Pupils(V) (N=54)			
Question		A	B	C	D
		Never	Seldom	Frequently	Very Frequently
1. Have you ever felt inclined to read again some of the literature read in school?	II	2.2%	44.6%	51.0%	2.2%
	V	24.0%	44.6%	25.9%	5.5%
2. Have you ever or do you wish to read other books by an author on your English course?	II	10.9%	38.0%	45.7%	5.4%
	V	24.0%	42.5%	28.0%	5.5%
3. Do you discuss literature with friends during leisure time at school?	II	21.7%	59.8%	14.1%	4.4%
	V	29.6%	62.9%	7.4%	0.0%
4. Do you think you will read novels after leaving school?	II	4.3%	42.4%	45.7%	7.6%
	V	5.5%	35.1%	46.2%	12.9%
5. Do you think you will read poetry after leaving school?	II	23.9%	51.1%	19.6%	5.4%
	V	24.0%	51.8%	16.6%	7.6%
6. Do you intend to read more plays after leaving school?	II	40.2%	40.2%	14.2%	5.4%
	V	53.7%	37.0%	7.4%	1.8%
7. Do you regard English as an enjoyable subject?	II	Definitely not	not enjoyable	Enjoyable	Very Enjoyable
	V	1.1%	7.6%	66.3%	25.0%
		0.0%	12.0%	70.0%	18.0%

Question		Very Difficult	Difficult	Easy	Very Easy
8. Do you regard English as a difficult subject?	II	1.1%	27.2%	69.5%	2.2%
	V	3.8%	66.6%	29.6%	0.0%
9. Do you agree that reading books is as satisfactory as watching T.V?	II	Definitely	A little less	Just as	More Satisfactory
	V	9.8%	34.8%	41.2%	14.2%
10. About how many books are in your home?	II	0	1-25	26-50	51-more
	V	1.1%	19.8%	14.0%	65.1%
11. About how many hours did you spend reading for your own pleasure last week?	II	0	Less than 1 hour	1-3 Hours	+ 3 Hours
	V	4.3%	22.8%	43.5%	29.4%
		12.9%	23.0%	40.2%	24.0%

NOTES

1. See Brooks, C. A Shaping Joy. (London: Methuen, 1971), p.1-16.
2. See Rialacha agus Clar do leith Meanscoileanna. (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1979-80), p. 54-5, 139-140.
3. McNamara, J., and Madaus, G.E., Public Examinations: a Study of the Irish Leaving Certificate. (Dublin: Educational Research Centre, 1970).
4. Johnston, R. An Analysis of the Leaving Certificate English Course. Unpublished M.Ed., Dissertation, U.C.C., 1975.
5. Richards, I.A. Practical Criticism: a study of literary judgement. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1929).
6. See Squire, J.R. English Literature. In Ebel, J.L. et.al, (ed.) Encyclopaedia of Educational Research. 4th Edition. (New York: Collier Macmillan, 1969), pp.461-473.
7. See Hanson, G. Some types of research on response to literature. In Research in the Teaching of English, Vol.17, 1973, p.260-284.
8. See Cooper, C.C. Empirical Studies of Response to Literature. In Journal of Aesthetic Education, Part 10, 1976, pp.77-93.
9. See Petrosky, A.R., and Koziol, S. NCTE Research Landmarks during the past twenty years, The English Journal, Vol.68, No.6, 1979, pp.95-98.
10. Purves, A.C., and Rippere, V. Elements of Writing About a Literary Work: a study of response to literature. NCTE Research Report No. 9. (Urbana: Illinois, 1968).
11. Purves, A.C. Literature Education in Ten Countries. International Studies in Evaluation. International Association of Educational Achievement. (New York: John Wiley, 1973).
12. O'Reilly, B. Response to Literature: an empirical study in an Irish post-primary school. Unpublished M.Ed., Dissertation, U.C.G., 1980.
13. Purves, A.C., op.cit., p.36. For full text of the instruments see O'Reilly, (1980).

14. For development and valuation of the instruments see: Purves and Ripper, Elements of writing about a literary work. (1968), p.1-45, and see Purves (1973), p.101, 102, and O'Reilly (1980), p.35-36. Purves (1973) reports reliability co-efficients from .9 to .99 for these measures. (Table 6, p.101, 102.)

In O'Reilly (1980), reliability in terms of stability was estimated by a pretest/test method using 45 members of the Second Year Group responding to 'The Sea' and the general measure. The results were as follows:

Reliability - Pretest/Test Stability

N = 45

	Correlation	Co-efficient
The Sea	.80	P < .01
General	.86	P < .01

15. See Purves (1973) op cit., p. 326 ff., and O'Reilly op cit for development and validation of these instruments.
16. 'The Sea' is a highly poetic short story and the text items are not dissimilar from those that would be conceivably employed to measure comprehension and interpretation if the text was a poem, e.g.

Q.No.32 Who is making the comment "But those on the shore didn't understand anything about anything".

- A. A boy
- B. The person telling the story
- C. Either of the above
- D. Neither of the above.

(Correct Answer - C)

This question points to a perception of ambiguity more common in poetry than in prose. Similarly Q. 36 tests ability to interpret symbols. On the other hand, the second text The Use of Force is highly dramatic and many of the items refer to the dramatic interaction and development of the characters. For example item No.30 asks:

What change in the mother do her five speeches to Matilda show?

- A. That she becomes more emotional
- B. That she becomes less worried about diphtheria
- C. That she becomes more sure of herself
- D. That she becomes frightened of the Doctor.

17. See Purves (1973), op.cit., p.63 ff. and O'Reilly op.cit for further discussion of these instruments.
18. The cause of the 'considerable misgivings' about the Interest measure might be summarised as follows:
(i) poor test-retest reliability estimate : .29,
(ii) the return of a strong negative group score for a pretest group whose interest, in the view of the writer, seemed positive, (iii) equal weighting for all items in the scale seemed to the writer unwarranted. For further details see O'Reilly, 1980, p.39-42.
19. See Yarlott and Harpin, 1000 Responses to Literature. In Educational Research, Vol.13. No.1 and 2, 1970, 1971.
20. See especially Purves (1973), op. cit.
21. Ibid., p. 381.
22. See O'Reilly, op. cit., p.6-26.

ARNOLD, LEAVIS AND THE FUNCTION OF ENGLISH

John Devitt

Introductory Note

Human discourse achieves intelligibility by dealing successively with things which are apprehended simultaneously. It is sometimes possible to say things one at a time without distortion though the price of almost every single assertion we make is a scruple of doubt. There are occasions when it is appropriate to stress the element of play in literature and to speak of literary experience as a kind of elaborate game in which the pleasure of the participants is their best tutor. We tend to use that particular idiom when we want to emphasise the number of ways in which life and literature differ from each other or when we want to focus on the experience of intrinsic value that a great lyric poem, say, makes available. In thus honouring Ariel we must not forget Prospero's claim on us. There are times when the intimacy of the relationship between life and literature needs to be remembered - the image of a rapidly alternating current may suggest something of the nervous vitality of the relationship. But there is also a sense in which we may be said to read one in terms of the other.

Both Matthew Arnold and F.R. Leavis had a heightened awareness of the moral dimensions of literary experience. They wrote extensively and persuasively about the function of the vernacular literature in the curriculum. The urgency which prompts their best work comes from their recognition of a deterioration in the fabric of their society (a deterioration even more apparent to Leavis than

to Arnold) and their sense that through imaginative literature pupils can gain a purchase on reality. Their analyses and arguments are rehearsed in this paper in a spirit of concern for our present predicament; only occasional disagreements are registered.

I

In a deepening recession such as we find ourselves in now, education, like most other human activities, comes under a particularly intense and unsympathetic kind of scrutiny. Bold question marks are inserted in the margin of an accepted tradition by those who pay the piper and assume a right to call the tune. While no area in the curriculum is more important than English, no subject is more vulnerable. ~~For one thing, there is no longer a~~ consensus, even among practitioners, about the nature of 'English'. Is it one subject with its own peculiar logic, its own epistemology, its own coherent structure, its own modes of assessment whose validity is self-evident to practitioners? Or is it in reality two temperamentally different subjects which made common cause in the past but which would be happier living apart in the future? In short, is the study of the vernacular literature irrelevant to the acquisition of certain linguistic skills which are necessary for the social and economic life of man? Are literary studies simply optional extras?

Writing in the Irish Independent recently Liz Ryan showed that she had few doubts about the answers to these questions. 'Perhaps the most important subject is basic English',¹ she writes and the rhetorical stress falls on 'basic'. She indicts those curriculum planners who forget that 'for a pupil the English language is this morning's newspaper, this evening's news bulletin, the advertisement on the side of the bus. It is a form to be

filled in, a poster to be studied, a vital conversation to be assimilated and manipulated'.² The argument is grown familiar through sheer repetition though few advocates of an exclusive concentration on functional English have gone so far as to suggest that young people should be taught how to manipulate vital conversations. When Brian Lenihan as Minister for Education attempted to divorce the study of the vernacular literature from the process of acquiring mastery of the language he was animated by nothing more sinister than contempt for the idea of pupils encountering what he called 'large slabs of Shakespeare, Shelley and Keats'.³ In the Irish Times report from which I have just quoted, Mr. Lenihan goes on to identify the positive aspect of his policy initiative. 'The policy will be tilted on how to speak and write original and simple thoughts without reference to slabs of poetry and prose.'⁴ That proposal was defeated by the concerted action of teachers of English, both in schools and in universities, who found the Minister's dualism intolerable and feared the erosion of the literary element in the curriculum.

It is unlikely that a replay of that old quarrel now would use the same terminology or have the same outcome. For one thing, the clientele in the schools is radically different. For another, the social climate has changed profoundly. What is less obvious but equally true is that the teaching profession itself has changed in all sorts of ways. The assumptions about the nature of English which had common currency then are frequently challenged now by younger teachers. Even among the veterans of 1968 the old convictions are no longer recited with the old enthusiasm.

II

I sense a profession somewhat confused and demoralised. If I now summon the shades of Arnold and Leavis it is not in the expectation that they can provide satisfactory answers to our questions or that they can allay our anxieties but rather because in the earnestness of their moral passions they can help to make us aware of what is at stake when we talk of English in the schools.

Arnold and Leavis are often thought of as literary critics who were provoked by circumstances into social criticism and educational polemics. They matter to us now, I would suggest, because of the seamless continuity of their thought. In both Arnold and Leavis the educational doctrines grow out of the literary criticism and this in turn is informed by their concern for the health of man in society. A famous phrase from Culture and Anarchy will indicate the kind of dynamic equilibrium I have in mind: 'in our present society, a man's life of each day depends for its solidity and value on whether he reads during the day and, far more still, on what he reads during it'.⁵ Indeed, in Arnold's case the social criticism is already present in the early verse. He describes his age in 'Memorial Verses' as 'an iron time/ Of doubts, disputes, distractions, fears'.⁶ 'The Scholar-Gipsy' diagnoses 'this strange disease of modern life/ with its sick hurry, its divided aims,' and urges the shadowy hero to avoid the risk of infection:

Still fly, plunge deeper in the bowering wood!
Averse, as Dido did with gesture stern
From her false friend's approach in Hades turn,
Wave us away, and keep thy solitude. ⁷

In 'Dover Beach' Arnold sets a fragile love relationship against the prevailing images of anguish, loss of faith, violence and anarchy. It is not an optimistic gesture.

Ah, love, let us be true
To one another! for the world which seems
To lie before us like a land of dreams,
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;
And we are here as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night. 8

Arnold asks for fulfilment but it is the words 'darkling', 'confused', and 'ignorant', which do the most work and carry the most conviction. In general we can say of the verse that it has little curative power. However brilliant the diagnosis of social ills in 'Dover Beach' and 'The Scholar-Gipsy', these poems can offer no consolation more enduring than the temporary satisfaction provided by their form. And this was not enough for Arnold. In the Preface to a collection of his poems which appeared in 1853 he insisted that 'the eternal objects of poetry'⁹ as he put it, were human actions. He rejected his own closet-drama Empedocles on Etna, because the hero's suicide, while authentic, is merely painful. It does not answer Arnold's notion of human action:

What then are the situations, from the representation of which, though accurate, no poetical enjoyment can be derived? They are those in which the suffering finds no vent in action; in which a continuous state of mental distress is prolonged, unrelieved by incident, hope or resistance; in which there is everything to be endured, nothing to be done. 10

Arnold's prose is written in the idiom of moral action - an idiom his melancholy verse could not encompass with any kind of authority or conviction. We are conscious of strain in 'Thyrsis' when the tone changes to one of affirmation. The process of secularisation, by which spiritual values came to be invested in human activities such as artistic creation, is, as Margaret Matheson¹¹ and others have pointed out, one of the most striking

developments in the literature of the English curriculum. Arnold hastened this process of conversion when he wrote in 'The Study of Poetry':

More and more mankind will discover that we have to turn to poetry to interpret life for us, to console us, to sustain us. Without poetry, our science will appear incomplete, and most of what now passes with us for religion and philosophy will be replaced by poetry. 12

It will be urged that this famous passage is commonly misunderstood and that Arnold is here, as elsewhere, defending true religion by defining it accurately and thereby distinguishing it from the largely bogus kind. But a poetry which offers 'to interpret life for us, to console us and to sustain us' makes such large claims that the qualification inherent in the phrase 'much of what now passes with us for religion' loses a great deal of its force. It will be helpful to recall here some of Arnold's critical discriminations. In that same essay 'The Study of Poetry' he denied Chaucer a place in the front rank of poets because he lacked 'high seriousness' ¹³ and not for any intrinsic or purely literary reasons. In his inaugural lecture as Professor of Poetry at Oxford he examined the Roman poets with sharp, insistent moral questions; he conceded their merits as poets but asked 'are they adequate?' ¹⁴ or, in other words, can they sustain us? Of Lucretius's retreat from the political and social arena (a gesture which might have recalled that other fugitive, the Scholar-Gypsy) Professor Arnold remarks disapprovingly 'there is no peace, no cheerfulness for him either in the world from which he comes, or in the solitude to which he goes.' ¹⁵ And most of the celebrated touchstones of poetic excellence he uses are memorable expressions of grand moral ideas. One of the most famous, and certainly one of the most muscular, assertions about the relation of poetry to mortality

occurs in Arnold's essay on the poet he found most congenial, Wordsworth:

It is important therefore, to hold fast to this; that poetry is at bottom a criticism of life; that the greatness of a poet lies in his powerful and beautiful application of ideas to life, - to the question: How to live ... A poetry of revolt against moral ideas is a poetry of revolt against life; a poetry of indifference to moral ideas is a poetry of indifference to life. 16

It is a magisterial tone that brooks no contradiction: life, italicised, is charged with a meaning which defies paraphrase and renders any disclaimer, or indeed any qualification, almost impossible to enter. For how can one declare against life? The defensive outworks of literature, everything that separates literature from life, such as form, irony, decorum, indirection, ambivalence, all are here reduced to nothing. It is a passage conceived in the imperative mood, though actually written in the indicative. There is an interesting section in Arnold's Report for 1880, in which he describes poetry as fraught with moral consequence. He envisages the operation of poetry on the sensibility of the pupil as benign and all but irresistible:

Good poetry does undoubtedly tend to form the soul and character; it tends to beget a love of beauty and of truth in alliance together, it suggests, however, indirectly, high and noble principles of action, and it inspires the emotions so helpful in making principles operative. Hence its extreme importance to all of us; but in our elementary schools its importance seems to me quite extraordinary. 17

George Steiner has taught us to suspect claims of this kind on behalf of literature.¹⁸ In brutal summary Steiner's suggestion is that the study of humane letters is morally bankrupt because, not only did it fail to avert, or even retard, the Holocaust, it may actually have

hastened it by sanctioning the display of mere emotion and dignifying moral barbarism. But this is not the area in which Arnold is involved. He does not promote the treacherous subjectivities of pure feeling divorced from action, nor does he endorse the notion that whatever feels good is good. On the contrary he proposes, in the extract from the Report for 1880 given above, to attach emotions to their proper object, which is to make moral principles operative. The problem with a great deal of Arnold's work is that the interval between the emotional experience and the moral idea or commitment is too narrow, the moralist is too prompt.

Yet Arnold's greatest work, Culture and Anarchy, might have been written expressly to prevent us from bracketing him with the dour eminent Victorians of later legend. It is a work of coruscating brilliance in which Arnold's quarrel with the Zeitgeist is resumed in a style always serious and often witty. For this reason Culture and Anarchy is more than the sum of its parts. Its style is ultimately irreducible and the movement of mind which it renders is far subtler than we are accustomed to meet in polemical prose. Unfortunately, this wonderful pamphlet is known largely through the currency enjoyed by its finest phrases and in summaries which violate its fastidious and almost dandiacal tone.

We may suspect that when Arnold attacks nonconformity because its conscience was too easily provoked, and too easily sedated by the ready availability of 'the one thing needful'¹⁹ he was rebuking a tendency of his own nature. Culture and Anarchy argues that it is not sufficient to identify 'the one thing needful' or to put first things first and other things nowhere. A serious, morally strenuous people may be convicted of a kind of mental stupidity or sullen refusal of light?

Look at life imaged in such a newspaper as the Nonconformist, - a life of jealousy of the Establishment, disputes, tea-meetings, openings of chapels, sermons; and then think of it as an ideal of a human life completing itself on all sides, and aspiring with all its organs after sweetness, light and perfection! 20

Elsewhere he remarks on strictness of conscience assiduously cultivated as a mark of poverty in comparison with that 'spontaneity of consciousness'²¹ with which Culture and Anarchy itself overflows.

Everyone recognises the force of Arnold's invective against Barbarians, Philistines and Populace in Culture and Anarchy. But when the aristocracy has been excoriated as 'children of the established fact'²² and consequently inaccessible to ideas (for any idea worth entertaining will inevitably undermine the rotten basis of the privileges the class as a whole enjoys); and when the middle-class has been castigated for its obtruse self-satisfaction; and when the populace has been chastised for its distempered assertiveness, what precisely is left? only a few declassé intellectuals, including Arnold himself, penetrated by 'sweetness and light'²³ who possess, fortunately, a passion for diffusing the benefits of culture throughout society. The benevolent State, duly reformed, will become the instrument by which reason and the will of God will prevail. In Arnold's view the state need not be a vast, alien and oppressive bureaucracy but can become 'the organ of our collective best self.'²⁴ The scenario has at this point the charm of simplicity. Having accomplished its purpose the State will cease to exercise its power.

There is a kind of rough justice in this account of Culture and Anarchy, but it does need to be sharply qualified. We may begin with the idea of 'culture'. Arnold, of course, is not thinking in terms of a

sociological hold-all. He takes innumerable stabs at the meaning of the term and is evidently undisturbed by his inevitable failure to pin it down. It is not simply the accumulation of a society's artifacts, the aggregate of its habits, the totality of behaviours not biologically determined. I would suggest that we think of Arnold's 'culture' not as an abstract noun (in need of precise definition but as a frequentative verb which acquires a new increment of meaning on every appearance. Culture is present, active and transitive in character. It does not endorse the ordinary self but tries to startle into wakefulness the 'possible Socrates'²⁵ that every man carries about with him. In an age of slovenly egalitarianism the term is grown something of a scandal and we have ways of neutralising it. When Arnold speaks of the 'disinterested'²⁶ operation of culture, the word 'disinterested' has for us a curious nineteenth-century air, like Newman's 'gentleman'. We repudiate his notion of culture being in a certain sense independent of class. Self-interest and class consciousness have taught us to know better.

The transforming action which is culture will find its mode of operation in education. It is true that Arnold resigns his prophetic role in Culture and Anarchy with a disclaimer ('We, indeed, pretend to educate no one, for we are still engaged in trying to educate ourselves.') but this is surely ironic. The central thrust is clear. Culture will prevail through the schools, through a curriculum in which poetry will be dominant. That certainly, is how Arnold has been understood by teachers of English.

Culture and Anarchy appeared in book form in 1869. A moment's reflection on that date will serve to remind us of the extent to which it ran counter to the assumptions which fuelled change in that revolutionary decade. In fact Culture and Anarchy²⁷ draws its vital energies from that opposition, the necessity for which is discovered on every page. Leavis assumes the necessity for education against the environment. If we are sometimes conscious (particularly in the early educational and polemical writings with which I am concerned here) of a certain coarseness of style and a corresponding moral crudeness, the reason may lie in the case with which Leavis vaulted onto the high horse of self-righteousness. Moral extremity is perilous.

The difficulty of defining 'English', which is to some an embarrassment, is for Leavis an opportunity. 'A great deal can be brought in under English',²⁸ he remarks with evident satisfaction and proceeds to enumerate some of the classroom activities he would sponsor:

Practical criticism - the analysis of prose and verse - may be extended to the analysis of advertisements (the kind of appeal they make and their stylistic characteristics) followed up by a comparison with representative passages of journalese and popular fiction.²⁹

The tone of the passage suggests that the exercise will be as easy as slicing butter with a knife. A little later in Culture and Environment, Leavis and his collaborator quote a passage from a contemporary popular novel and suggest that pupils might be encouraged to 'describe the kind of reader this passage would please, and say why it would please him.'³⁰ This is an invitation to intellectual dishonesty for the destination of the enquiry is implicit in the question. Indeed since the focus is not on the

pupils' own response to the material but on that of an imagined reader conjured up by the question, there is an even more disturbing possibility; namely, that the pupil will feel impelled to adopt a posture of unearned moral superiority to the notional reader. An education against the environment is beset with difficulties of this kind. Leavis certainly modified his earlier account of the relation between culture and environment when in Education and the University, he insisted that we still have a positive cultural tradition and that 'a degree of coarseness about ultimate values'³¹ had survived the collapse of the organic society during the nineteenth century. We touch here on the enabling myth of a lost Eden which lies behind Leavis's early work and his wife's once celebrated but now controversial thesis, Fiction and Reading Public. There was a time, the myth assures us, when largely illiterate people were formed unconsciously by a culture rich in music, story, proverb, song and dance; a humane tradition lived and renewed itself on the lips of the people while they pursued their daily tasks. But this organic community perished during the social upheavals caused by the industrial revolution. Education is the modern alternative to the unconscious formation in Eden:

We are committed to more consciousness; that way, if any, lies salvation. We cannot, as we might in a healthy state of culture, leave the citizen to be formed unconsciously by his environment; if anything like a worthy idea of satisfactory living is to be saved, he must be trained to discriminate and to resist. 32

The language is informed by a high degree of missionary zeal; the process of secularisation is far more advanced here than it is in Arnold. The syntax, though, is more tentative for the outcome or the process to which Leavis is committed is uncertain and clearly a second best. The

rigour of the training promises not the joy of mastery, but a grim and unrelenting resistance to a hostile environment.

Society, in Leavis's view, is far more fragmented than appears from Arnold's account. In Culture and Anarchy the classes are on terms of nodding acquaintance with each other, though there is some discussion of the mechanical and external nature of society. But, as Q.D. Leavis has noted, Arnold writes in the expectation of being immediately and generally understood; 'all is not lost' probably represents our feeling as we read Culture and Anarchy. But for Leavis the very notion of a modern society is untenable. We live, he writes in Culture and Environment, in 'agglomerations united only by contiguity, the system of transport and the supply of gas, water and electricity.'³³ Against this background of alienation Leavis's urgency can best be understood. His sense of a disabling cultural breakdown is intimately connected with his sense of a broken continuity. Improvisation is a desperate substitute for 'the delicate traditional adjustments'³⁴ which characterised the lost community. In Wordsworth's time a reader could still get his moral and cultural bearings with relative ease. But the modern reader is not in such a happy position; he is exposed to 'a concourse of signals so bewildering in their variety and number that, unless he is especially gifted or especially favoured, he can hardly begin to discriminate.'³⁵

Leavis's sense of the vulnerability of the individual - of his predestined victimage, one might almost say - will help to explain his preoccupation with what he called 'the extra-individual mind.'³⁶ He praises the good critic for exhibiting more than 'merely individual taste.'³⁷ There is a kind of inevitability about the emergence in Leavis's thought of the idea of a

minority culture for only in this way can he evoke the extra-individual mind and avoid despair. But merely belonging to a minority culture is not sufficient in itself. Leavis thinks in terms of something more strenuous than the rare gratifications of 'elegantly virtuous dissipation.'³⁸ Culture is not a possession in which a social elite can take pride. It must strive to alter the moral tone of the society, its benefits must be diffused as widely as possible. Leavis speaks of the accepted valuations and discriminations as a kind of paper money generally understood but backed only by a surprisingly small proportion of precious metal. In this analogy, gold represents the precious few. However, there is a much larger group ('though still a small minority')³⁹ who can personally endorse the original judgments of the precious few. It is with the education of this sizeable minority that Leavis is primarily concerned, though he insists on the wider social consequences of the enterprise. A concern for educational standards, is a concern for the health of society.

IV

I began by assuming the importance and questioning the integrity of English as a subject. I will conclude with some reflections on its function. The pupil enjoys an easier access to the literature of his mother tongue than to most other cultural resources. If we consider the range and subtlety of English literature this is not an advantage we will lightly abandon. The teacher of English, at least in one of his functions, may be regarded as mediating a selection from the living culture to his pupils. The principles governing that selection are obviously important. To the adolescent student literature offers vicarious experience of life; it is clear that moral questions cannot be indefinitely postponed. The kind

of critic to whom story is a science of formal possibilities is not indulgent to the naively trusting procedures of the adolescent who reads urgently to compensate for the defects of his experience. The moral considerations which weighed so heavily with Arnold and Leavis should colour our thinking. In some discussions of the function of English, too little care is taken of the moral dimension. Again, the curriculum should offer as wide a variety of literary experiences as possible. Nothing is more imaginatively debilitating than a rigidly enforced act of uniformity which stamps a certain few images as authentic and by implication condemns others as mere forgeries. In extreme situations the play of imagination itself may promote irrational guilt. There is a third function of English worth recalling here. The teacher is not simply an impersonal mediator or mechanical transmitter of a selection from the culture. He must be concerned with its continuing vitality, with its power to renew itself in the coming generations. He must rid himself of cant about class, of the notion that literature can only be construed in terms of its socio-economic matrix. There is a passage in For Continuity which is very much to the point:

There is, then, a point of view above classes; there can be intellectual, aesthetic and moral activity that is not merely an expression of class origin and economic circumstances; there is a 'human culture' to be aimed at that must be achieved by cultivating a certain autonomy of the spirit. 40

Without that autonomy of the spirit education is simply an expensive fraud.

I have been spelling out some of the implications of the questions I posed at the beginning. Of course, it may be that the questions are obsolete. Subjects, it could be argued and in some cases at least argued with justice, are merely convenient pedagogical distinctions. They do not

belong to a Platonic realm of pure, unchanging form but are merely provisional in character. Advances in knowledge, changes in the structure of the economy, social evolution or the availability of new kinds of technology in the classroom may require us to make new distinctions, as valid in their way as the older and more familiar ones. English, it has been suggested, is in need of redefinition. After all at the end of the last century it included history and geography. There may be some validity in this argument but I am not persuaded by it. Eliot speaks of words sending down their 'tentacular roots' ⁴¹ to our deepest terrors and desires. Literature is the orchestration of language understood in that sense. Does anyone suppose that it is a matter of indifference under what auspices the vernacular literature (the most important resource available to our pupils) is studied?

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LEARNING WITH BROADCASTING

John MacMahon

INTRODUCTION

The concept "independent adult learning" is one which has come to the fore only recently in educational research. That adults, and indeed young people, organize and pursue learning projects of their own is undeniable but this educational activity has largely been overshadowed by the development of mass schooling since the nineteenth century and the consequent emphasis on teaching rather than learning.

Research on independent adult learning has been pioneered by Allen Tough of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto. In his major research work, a study of adult learning projects, he concluded that:

- * Almost everyone undertakes at least one or two major learning efforts a year.
- * The median is eight learning projects a year.
- * It is common for a person to spend seven hundred hours a year at learning projects.
- * 70 per cent of learning projects are self-planned.¹

DEFINITION

While the concept "independent learning" is clear (i.e. the learner is the active agent in identifying educational aims, selecting resources, organizing his time and assessing the outcomes) there is no agreed definition.

The concept of independent learning which underlies this paper is that of a person who decides to make a

deliberate and organized effort to gain a certain skill or knowledge, or to change in some other way: who identifies and adapts the resources available to pursue this aim (e.g. books, people including teachers, courses, lectures, broadcasts and facilities such as museums, libraries); who organizes his time, paces his learning and evaluates his progress and who decides on a time span for the activity.

BROADCASTING AND INDEPENDENT LEARNING

In this paper I propose to examine the relationship between learners and broadcast programmes - what motivates a person to follow a series of programmes? Does the learner follow a course in a somewhat slavish manner or does he/she assume control over the materials? What are the experiences of the learner during the course? Are materials other than the course materials sought out and utilized? What are the problems and difficulties experienced? How are the outcomes assessed?

The opportunity to study at home is one of the major advantages which broadcasting offers the independent learner. This was certainly a major factor which attracted learners to Radio Telefis Eireann's (R.T.E.) Irish language course for adults "Anois is Aris". This paper examines the experience of a small number of these learners and the ways in which they, as independent learners, interacted with the broadcast and non-broadcast components of the course.

THE "ANOIS IS ARIS" PROJECT

R.T.E. launched the first stage of its three year Irish language teaching project in autumn 1981. It comprised 20 television programmes, 20 radio programmes,

a course book and a pronunciation guide on cassette. The course design was based on contemporary research on language teaching and learning which sees language as communication and puts the emphasis on the use of language.

In devising the course the team rejected the highly structured instructional technology approach in favour of a model which involved the learner in active interaction with the course materials, selecting the language useful to him and identifying situations in which this language could be applied.²

"ANOIS IS ARIS" RESEARCH

A team of researchers from Trinity College, Dublin was requested by R.T.E. to assess the effectiveness of "Anois is Aris" in enabling people to learn Irish. The research project recruited 171 people who intended following the course, issued a pre-course questionnaire, and provided a journal for reporting on each week of the course. The report "Learning Irish with Anois is Aris" contains full details of the research project and its findings.³

This paper examines the learning experiences of five members of the panel who continued to return the journals for the duration of the course. This data is supplemented by extracts from a recorded discussion with these five learners, which took place in October, 1982, some months after the course had finished. The quotations from learners in this paper are taken from the pre-course questionnaire, journals or transcript of studio discussion.⁴

The five learners who participated in this aspect of the research cannot be said to be typical of the audience for broadcasting. They all had taken part in the research project and followed the broadcast course. Their experiences however, provide some indications about ways in

which adults organise their own learning.

The ages of the five learners ranged from 28 to 55 years and averaged 40. Their formal education was varied, one had primary education only, two post-primary education and two had attended university. In the pre-course questionnaire three rated their knowledge of Irish as "weak", one as "good" and one as "quite good" on a four point scale: "very good/ good / quite good / weak". Four of the five had begun to learn Irish at the age four/five years, while the other person started at 19 years.

In examining how these five learners approached the task of learning with broadcasting I propose to examine their experiences under four headings - motivation; organizing study; pattern of study; and assessment of outcomes.

Motivation

In the pre-course questionnaire each of the five learners was asked "Why did you decide to learn Irish/improve your Irish?". Their replies fall into two categories: cultural reasons and improving competency. Only one of the five specified in any detail why he wished to improve his Irish:

I would like to converse in Irish whenever the opportunity will arise; to understand television and radio programmes; to read and write in Irish; to help my children with their Irish lessons and help create in them an interest in Irish. I believe that Irish is a very important part of our culture.

The others tended to be more general in their reasons: "It's part of our culture and gives us an identity of our own. Without this I would feel inferior as an Irish person".

The reasons given for deciding to follow "Anois is Aris I" centred around the convenience of being able to follow a course at home, with other members of the family, and the suitability of the course as a way of gradually improving fluency.

Immediately prior to the broadcast of the course these five learners were highly motivated to learn Irish, either for cultural reasons or more specific behavioural reasons. They saw the broadcast course as offering them the opportunity to achieve this aim within their own homes. How successful these five learners were in organizing their own learning activities must now be examined.

Organizing Study

The first major task which faced the learners was to organize their own study and integrate it with the broadcasts. In the pre-course questionnaire most of the learners rejected the option of joining a class or support group, and, in fact, only one actually did so. Four of the five expressed an interest in finding a partner to practise speaking Irish and during the course all regularly reported engaging in conversation through Irish.

Table 1 shows the amount of time spent on private study every week by each of the five learners. From the amount of time spent each week one can make certain deductions regarding the learner's approach. Learner A did some study on week one, missed week two and developed a routine from then on. That this learner did no private study on weeks six and seven can be attributed to the proximity of Christmas and the major snowfalls of that January ("Chuir an sneachta isteach orm"). More intensive study on weeks eight and nine compensated and from then on this learner was back to the more routine 15 - 10 minutes of private study each week.

TABLE 1 : TIME SPENT ON PRIVATE STUDY

Week No.	Dates 1981-1982	<u>LEARNERS</u>				
		A	B	C	D	E
1	11 Nov	10 mins.	1 hr.	10 mins.	1 hr.	6 hrs.
2	18 Nov	-	30 mins.	-	1 hr.	6-8 hrs.
3	25 Nov	10 mins.	30 mins.	-	1 hr.	6-7 hrs.
4	2 Dec	20 mins.	1 hr.	-	1 hr.	6-7 hrs.
5	9 Dec	10 mins.	30 mins.	15 mins.	1 hr.	6-7 hrs.
6	16 Dec	-	1 hr.	5 mins.	1 hr.	3-4 hrs.
7	6 Jan	-	30 mins.	-	1 hr.	6-7 hrs.
8	13 Jan	1 hr.	1 hr.	-	1 hr.	6-8 hrs.
9	20 Jan	30 mins.	1 hr.	-	1 hr.	6-8 hrs.
10	27 Jan	15 mins.	1 hr.	-	1 hr.	6-8 hrs.
11	3 Feb	15 mins.	1 ¹ / ₄ hrs.	-	1 hr.	6-8 hrs.
12	10 Feb	15 mins.	1 hr.	-	1 hr.	-
13	17 Feb	20 mins.	1 hr.	-	1 hr.	-
14	24 Feb	20 mins.	15 mins.	-	1 hr.	2 hrs.
15	3 Mar	15 mins.	15 mins.	-	1 hr.	3 hrs.
16	10 Mar	20 mins.	15 mins.	-	1 hr.	8 hrs.
17	17 Mar	15 mins.	1 hr.	-	1 hr.	4 hrs.
18	24 Mar	-	1 ¹ / ₂ hrs.	-	1 hr.	5 hrs.
19	31 Mar	15 mins.	1 ¹ / ₂ hrs.	-	1 hr.	³ / ₄ hr.
20	7 Apr	15 mins.	-	-	1 hr.	3 hrs.

Learner B established a regular pattern very early. The drop to 15 minutes study for weeks 14, 15 and 16 was due to the fact that he was involved in professional examinations at this time.

Learner C is of interest for many reasons. This learner is a "drop-out" who continued to return the journals. The selection of learners for interview was made on the basis of journal returns. The assumption was made that those who returned all journals also completed

the course. In fact this learner's presence at the studio discussion resulted in many perceptive comments on how she would approach the task if starting again. The reasons why she did not study the course related to the style of presentation of both the radio and television programmes - "I disliked the television programme intensely, it took ages to set up a scene that taught one expression, it was too gimmicky and more slow-moving than ENSEMBLE.⁵ I think I'll follow the radio in future. I liked the book and intend to study it". This learner made consistent efforts to return to studying the course. On weeks five and six she watched the television programme and used the course book but again found the programmes unsuitable. A covering letter on week ten again expressed dissatisfaction with the television programmes and an intention to try following the radio programme. These intentions did not result in any further study and by week 17 the learner was again expressing an intention to make a fresh start. She listened to the radio programme which she found unsatisfactory. These experiences did not extinguish her desire to learn some Irish and on week 18 she reported "I read a story from my 11 year old son's Irish book tonight and discussed it with him".

During the discussion this learner reiterated her dissatisfaction with the programme style and called for a more direct teaching approach: "I'd rather if they took a very serious approach and pushed it into you and practised that sentence backwards and forwards".

However, during the course of the discussion the perspective of this learner changed:

I have learned something about myself in the discussion because I think I have had a vague love of the Irish language and a vague desire to learn Irish but I haven't been determined enough. What has come

across to me from talking to the others here is that I need to make a fresh commitment. It has to be something, that I want to say will be a goal of mine, something which I am determined to achieve. I think that in that way I won't be put off by difficulties or likes or dislikes or whatever.

The learner is aware of the necessity to translate this vague desire into a series of planned activities if she is to achieve her goal: "I think I need to plan this lovely notion of speaking Irish. I think I now need to take it out of the clouds and bring it down to hours per week, days per week, books, notes and get down to it". When questioned she had no doubts of her ability to achieve this virtually on her own: "I'm sure I could. It's a question of thinking about it in advance and making it a goal".

The experience of this learner illustrates a transition from a somewhat passive response to the broadcast course to a much more active role in planning her learning.

Learner D is consistent in his study pattern, which was established at the beginning and maintained throughout.

Learner E is the person who spent by far the most time in private study. This learner had done an intensive Irish language course immediately prior to the broadcast course and during most of the period of the broadcasts he was also attending three classes a week: "I was spending a lot of time, maybe in excess of 20 hours a week (studying Irish). 'Anois is Aris' was just a part of that". It is noticeable that the study pattern changes from week 12 but the amount of time spent on private study is still high.

Patterns of Study

In their week-by-week journals each of the four learners who followed the course reported regular use of the course book and, in some cases, the tape: reading and listening to Irish on radio and television and engaging in some conversation through Irish. Their reading materials were books, newspaper articles, Irish language magazines and journals. The Irish language news bulletins on radio and television were frequently mentioned as resources and two Irish language current affairs television programmes were mentioned occasionally. Their conversational ability was limited to single statements or short exchanges. In the discussion one learner mentioned that "the real test is to take a phrase and put it in a different situation to that which you've heard it being used". This learner found a few people to whom he "occasionally threw a few words (in Irish) and they didn't mind responding to me". He found that this response encouraged him "to think in the language to a certain extent ... to be able to say it maybe hesitantly but at least be able to use it in a situation where it would be appropriate". The learner indicated that he endeavoured to use some Irish "When I was speaking to friends; to sort of greet them in Irish or to say 'slan go foill' at the end of a telephone conversation or what have you". Another learner said "I make a point of speaking a bit of Irish every day in some shop or other. If it is only 'go raibh maith agat' ... everywhere I go I say something in Irish and it's amazing the amount of answers you get in Irish".

Both these statements indicate that the learners have taken the language to be learned from the 'Anois is Aris' course and not merely mastered it as language to be learned, but have also mastered its use in their own social exchanges. As one of them put it "the problem again

is translating it from the educational framework to the real life framework". In this context the learner, rather than what is to be learned, is the main focus and the role of the learner as an active participant in the learning process is of paramount importance.

The learning strategy adopted by the learners in this project meant that they availed of every opportunity to revise their learning targets. A common approach utilized was to write phrases on a sheet of paper which they could then look at at any time during the day. One learner made use of every available second: "If I had any difficulty in sleeping or anything like that I would use it, pick up a book. Some of my best work might be at two or three o'clock in the morning". The course book was a central resource and was used both to prepare in advance of the broadcasts and to revise the content of the broadcasts. The book also provided the opportunity of revising earlier lessons as the course progressed. The course tape was used extensively by some learners - while driving, for instance, or while doing various activities around the house.

Assessment

With the exception of Learner C, whose response to the course has already been examined, the learners responded positively to the course and to their study experience:

I think it was very worthwhile, that I did benefit from it really. I think that like everything else what you'll get back out of it depends on the effort you put into a thing yourself.

I enjoyed it, I found it very helpful and it consolidated my interests in the language and was a constant refresher to what I had learned immediately prior to the course.

Bhi mise lan sasta leis an gcursa ...
imposing the weekly discipline has
improved my vocabulary and improved
my knowledge of Irish.

Criticisms were directed at the absence of cultural material and what was considered as an entertainment bias in the programme. Learner B, for instance, appreciated the entertainment element but felt that more could have been done to include an educational content in the entertainment framework.

The learners reported no serious difficulties in keeping up with the amount of new material presented each week or in organizing and finding time to study. Learner B mentioned on week four that he had difficulty in keeping up with new material but did not refer to this difficulty again.

THE ROLE OF BROADCASTING IN INDEPENDENT LEARNING

The experiences of these learners establishes that broadcasting has a significant role in independent learning. It is essential, however, that both the producers of broadcast courses and the learners recognise that the learner is an active interaction with the course materials. This was assumed by the 'Anois is Aris' production team and by four of the five learners who participated in this research.

This distinction between the 'active' learner who takes command of his own study, using the resources that are available, and the 'passive' learner who 'follows' a course is critical in any study of independent learner. It is fundamentally a question of control of the learning process. Does the learner control the process or is control in the hands of an external agent? The response of the learner to this question may depend on the learner's confidence in approaching a learning task. It could be

argued that the more organized learning a person engages in the more confident he or she becomes in approaching learning activities. A learner who lacks this confidence may 'drop-out' of an independent learning project. It may be that independent learning is the culmination of many years of education experiences during which there grows an awareness in the learner that control of the learning process rests in himself rather than in the teacher. The experience of learner C in this paper illustrates the growth of this type of awareness, though I do not suggest that such a theory can be based on the experience of one learner. It does, however, provide an example of what broadcasting can contribute to independent learning. The mere existence of a broadcast course which postulates the active involvement of the learner in organizing his own learning is sufficient to generate independent learning activities among certain learners. It is clear from the comments of the five learners that the launching of 'Anois is Aris' stimulated them to consider learning Irish. It is probable that in four of the five cases a general desire to learn Irish would not have been translated into a decision to study at that time had it not been for 'Anois is Aris'.

The convenience which broadcasting offers for those who wish to study at home has already been noted but in this context it is necessary to point out some of the disadvantages which may be associated with studying at home. It may prove difficult for some people to break through the normal routine in the home and incorporate a study pattern into this routine. The perception of television within the home should also be considered. Television is seen primarily as an entertainment medium and it is noticeable that the learners tend to use the term "relax" in relation to television, while radio was seen as instructive and something one could concentrate on.

The discipline imposed by a broadcast course is mentioned by one learner and another mentioned that the radio programmes stimulated him to further study: "after listening to the radio I would come away with a burst of enthusiasm and would go to the book or would pick up some other book and do a bit of reading".

These are some, but by no means all of the ways in which broadcasting can be of assistance to the independent learner. Further research in this area is necessary, particularly to determine what generalizations the educational broadcaster can make about the ways in which learners use the media

CONCLUSION

Research on independent learning has concentrated largely on empirical studies and the development of methodologies for investigating and analysing such learning. This emphasis on empirical study, while an essential element, has possibly curtailed the development of a theory of the adult as an independent learner. Brookfield suggests that the works of Knowles, Maslow and Carl Rogers challenge the "behaviourist notion of adult education".⁶ The humanist perspectives of these authors provides a philosophical foundation for the development of a theory of the person as a learner. Such a theory would recognise the person as an active agent in control of his own learning - defining aims and specifying objectives, selecting resources and planning activities and assessing outcomes.

A theory of the adult as an independent learner would provide the framework within which suitable guidance systems and resources can be developed. Educational broadcasting is one such resource. If educational broadcasting is to develop as a resource for independent learning, a theoretical framework is an essential pre-requisition.

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**THE HISTORY OF THE SECONDARY INDUCTION SCHEME IN
NORTHERN IRELAND, 1974 - 1982**

Joy Bell

INTRODUCTION

I would like to begin by giving you a brief historical outline of the Northern Ireland Induction Programme, and as I go along, I will try to build in an evaluation of what happened. Then I will talk about recent developments, and explain the reasons for our present position. Finally, I will outline briefly the structure of what I think would be the ideal induction programme.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

So far as Northern Ireland is concerned, the story is closely linked with what happened across the water, and this began in 1966-1969.

During the period 1966-1969, a national survey of first year teachers was carried out by University of Bristol School of Education. This survey revealed that probationers were in need of very specific help during their first crucial year. In particular, prior to beginning teaching, many had a lack of knowledge of the school, pupils and schemes of work.

In 1972, The James Report made strong recommendations in response to the needs set out in the national survey:

- a) teacher-tutors should be appointed and given a reduced teaching load.
- b) probationers should have a lightened teaching load, so that they might have time to continue their training.

- c) the role of professional tutor should be explored.

This report introduced the idea of a continuum in the 'Triple I' concept.

In 1973, The Lelievre Report made similar recommendations for Northern Ireland.

By 1974, as a result of this, five official pilot schemes were launched in Northern Ireland. My own involvement came when, in 1974, I was appointed as a coordinator of one of the secondary schemes.

1974-1976: Phase I - THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER TUTOR

By the end of two years, the Queen's University of Belfast Teachers' Centre Scheme had eleven schools - six grammar and five secondary - each with a teacher-tutor. It was essentially a school-based scheme. The emphasis was on initiation into a school rather than induction into a profession, and quite frankly, many teacher-tutors stuck at that stage and did not move on into the professional development role which we had anticipated.

We looked hard at the role of teacher-tutor throughout the school year, and found that it ought to pass on into a wider framework thus:

1. Summer term Appointment of probationer in a school. The teacher-tutor influences choice of classes, rooms, timetable on probationer's behalf.
2. Pre-school visits in June and late August The teacher-tutor, knowing his objectives for these visits, organises them in cooperation with appropriate staff.
3. September - inservice orientation. The teacher-tutor provides specific, practical support in the early weeks.

4. Autumn term - adaptation. The teacher-tutor works closely with the Head of Department, providing help. He sees the probationer teaching and arranges for him to see experienced teachers.
5. Spring and Summer terms - development. As initiation into school procedures decreases, opportunities for professional development increase.
6. June The teacher-tutor may or may not be involved in the probationer's assessment.
7. May/June - Overview of the year's programme.

The role of the Teachers' Centre was primarily to organise a training programme for this new breed of people - teacher-tutors. In the first stages, the teacher-tutors themselves drew up a list of topics they wished to cover to help them to run their school-based sessions with their probationers. Most of them were senior members of staff, and almost all were given time free in common with their probationers. Incidentally, because it was a pilot scheme, they received the princely sum of £100 a year for their services in those halcyon days.

As far as their training programme was concerned, the kind of things we covered in the once-monthly sessions were:

The needs of probationers throughout the school year. (Appendix A gives a typical list created by a teacher-tutor).

The initiation procedure in the first few weeks.

How to help the probationer in the classroom.

An introduction to guidance and counselling.

Composition and use of case studies.

A study of the initial training programme.

Appendix B is from the diary of one teacher-tutor, and perhaps gives the flavour of the job more effectively than a job description could.

Centre-based, we did very little for the probationers in those early days - we left it almost entirely to the teacher-tutor. The probationers came into the Centre three times during the year for the following:

A talk by the Inspectorate on the assessment procedure.

Discussion with practising teachers, in subject-based groups.

An exercise in role-play to highlight problems of relationships and communication in schools.

It is easy with hindsight to see the weaknesses in what we were achieving. Although the schools involved thought very highly of the scheme - and it is interesting to note that teacher-tutors were promoted to Vice-principals and Principals with amazing rapidity - we became aware of important flaws:

- a) The subject barrier was a very real one. Where a teacher-tutor was a physics teacher and the probationer a classics teacher, both felt that they had very little common ground.
- b) The teacher-tutor needed the very real support of the Head, or he could achieve very little. And Heads had to be very committed to the whole concept before they were lavish with release time, either for teacher-tutor or probationer. In theory, they had agreed to both. In fact, we agreed with Bristol findings that certain factors had to be present in the school if

a successful induction scheme was to operate. See Appendix C.

1976-1981: PHASE II. EXTERNAL SUPPORT - SUBJECT BASED

In 1976 we altered the nature of our support considerably when we moved into the business of giving external support to probationers in their own subjects (which incidentally was in line with what happened in the Liverpool scheme.) It took three/four years of experimenting to streamline this, but what happens now is that the five providing institutions in Greater Belfast share the various subjects between them and, until this year, they have been offering 3-6, one day courses in each subject for all probationers in the Pilot scheme schools.

The provision is as follows:

Q.U.B. Teachers' Centre	- English, Maths, R.E.
Stranmillis College	- Science
St Joseph's College	- History, Geography
St Mary's College	- Modern Languages, Commerce
Ulster Polytechnic	- P.E., Home Economics, Art, C.D.T.

Here I should comment on problems of release. In the early days, schools were horrified about releasing probationers a great deal - we never had anything like the original recommendations of The James Report, although in the schools where induction worked best, probationers had a lightened teaching load. When the subject courses began, we tried one full day a term and then quietly increased it to two and then three. The interesting thing is that for the most part this is now happily accepted, and we like to think that the quality of the courses has been a help in this respect.

Regarding the subject courses, I can speak most accurately of those provided by the Teachers' Centre,

namely in English, Maths and Religious Education. Our guiding principles in mounting these courses are as follows:

1. To involve the subject inspectors in at least one programme, as subject specialists.
2. To hold at least one programme in a school.
3. To use good practising teachers to pass on their innovations/materials/ideas.
4. To put emphasis on providing useful materials.
5. To include one session on teaching the slow learner, one on G.C.E. and one on C.S.E.

Thus we have gradually moved from simply being a support for the teacher-tutor to being one point of a triangle of support for the probationer, the other two being the teacher-tutor and the Head of Department. More and more we have come to see that it is vital to work with the Head of Department in order to do anything valuable in the subject area for the probationer. So we have experimented in different ways of involving the Head of Department.

1. We used them as course leaders.
2. We sent the probationers back with copies of interesting materials for their Head of Department in the hope that they would discuss it together.
3. We informed Heads of Department in detail of the aims of the course/agenda etc., and invited their comments.

But we still realize that despite all our endeavours, there are strict limitations in this area. For example, if the probationer is having major problems because of the organisation of school, (e.g. timetabling, unsuitable

classes, no room of one's own or perhaps an unsatisfactory mobile) no matter how excellent the external course is, it cannot do anything to help. However, we have now had six years of experimenting with external subject courses and we feel that for the most part we can stand over their quality.

THE TEACHER-TUTOR AND INITIAL TRAINING

The schemes organised by the three colleges have used the resources on their own doorstep, and experimented with ways of using the teacher-tutor with students during initial training. In St. Joseph's, students have a week of preparation prior to teaching practice, and both teacher-tutors and principals come in to help with that preparation. In St Mary's, teacher-tutors have been specifically trained in a programme of clinical observation in the classroom, and they are encouraged to practise this programme to help their students on teaching practice. Stranmillis also bring teacher-tutors in to help prepare students for a period in school. In the case of the Teachers' Centre, unlike the colleges, we do not have a built-in supply of students available. But our teacher-tutors very soon found that they were the logical people to provide a 'mini-induction scheme' for the students when they arrived in school. They scaled down the programme of initiation which they used with their probationers, and used this potted version successfully with students. We are at present working with teacher-tutors, developing materials to use during teaching practice.

1979: THE TEACHER-TUTOR STUDY GROUP REPORT

While this was the picture at the coalface, two bodies set up by the Department monitored the induction

programme. The first was the Teacher-Tutor Study Group, chaired by the Staff Inspector in charge of Inservice which produced a report in 1979. The Teacher-Tutor group was given that name and brief because at the time it was set up it believed that the teacher-tutor was the focal point of inservice. But when the group had a closer look, they realized that induction/inservice were really the responsibility of a wider group of people - a management team rather than one person. Instead of training one person per school, if the continuum of initial training - induction - inservice was to be preserved, a much wider concept had to be envisaged, and this would necessarily be more expensive. External factors very often influence if not dictate the pattern of events in education as in other fields, and about this time there was a change of government and with that change of government came heavy financial cut backs. The result was that the recommendations of the report had no chance of getting off the ground in their original form. A second external factor which came about the same time was the drop in size of schools and the consequent drop in the number of probationers appointed. This factor is still with us and has had a very important influence on the development of the Induction Programme.

1981 DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, NORTHERN IRELAND (DENI)
PUBLICATION - Staff Development - Induction

The teacher-tutor study group was replaced by the Induction Coordinating Group, another body set up by DENI. This time, however, it had representation not only from each of the five schemes, but also from each of the five Area Boards. Its brief was to look at the possible provision of an induction programme province-wide. In 1981, it produced probably our most important document to do with induction Staff Development - Induction and this

booklet set induction squarely in the context of staff development within a school.

This is basically where we stand at present. The Induction programme as we now see it is not - as it was initially - a structure created simply to respond to the deficiencies of the school or gaps in training. The aim is a positive one - to aid the professional development of first year teachers, and help to make them into fully professional people, and this is a process which may begin in their first year but should continue until the day they retire. The teacher-tutor study group was right when they said a team was involved. In fact the whole school is involved. The school must have certain characteristics if it is to promote any staff development - of which induction is one part. And therefore, I have come in a roundabout way to saying that, in the early days, we probably paid too much attention to the role of the tutor and too little to the fact that the school as an organisation as a community has the strongest effect on the beginning teacher in terms of professional development. What we have moved towards is accepting the notion that the person who needs training is not the teacher-tutor but the Head, because he is the one who can bring about a school in which professional development will be fostered. (It is interesting to note that the Inspector who chaired the Teacher-tutor study group is now in charge, among other things, of organising series of residential courses for Heads.) I still believe there is an important, practical task for the teacher-tutor, perhaps I see his role now more as that of liaison officer. In terms of professional development, however, his powers are limited and are controlled by the school and its environment.

THE PRESENT POSITION

Meanwhile what has happened to the external programme for probationers?

The Coordinating Group made one important contribution when it brought the Boards together, because now we have been asked by DENI to provide a standardised external induction programme province-wide for all probationers, and to do it through the Boards. Because of the drop in the number of probationers, this seems a good time to try it.

It is only October 1982 and we are not very far into this experimental year, so I cannot comment on how successful this will be. So far, my colleague Mrs Harris and I have visited all the Boards individually and have had a joint meeting with them. We are aware that there is a tremendous amount of goodwill for the idea. But we will now for the first time be working with probationers in schools which have no teacher-tutors, and therefore, we have had to anticipate a lack of information in the schools. So we have produced a series of four booklets on behalf of the Boards, introducing the external courses to four different sets of people for whom they are relevant - Heads and Senior Staff, Heads of Department, first year teachers, and Inspectors/Advisors. The Boards then stamp the booklets and send them out to their own schools. We are at present involved in drawing up the normal programme from the five providing institutions, but this time, depending on the spread of probationers throughout the Province, the courses will sometimes have to be run in Teachers' Centres in other areas as well as or instead of Belfast - and administratively I foresee many headaches. But if the last eight years have done nothing else, they have made us aware of the possibilities as well as the limitations of external courses, and though we realize it is the least part of Induction, it is also an important one and probably the simplest part to streamline.

A NOTE ON PRIMARY SCHOOLS

The scheme for Primary schools was organised on the same basis as the secondary one. I was not directly involved with it, except on occasions when we brought the two groups of teacher-tutors together for training programmes. Like the secondary scheme, it was 90 per cent school-based, but it became apparent earlier than in the secondary sector that roles were falling. Thus we found that we were training teacher-tutors for a role they would exercise very occasionally. For a time, we tried to involve 'sleeping teacher-tutors' more in inservice and working parties produced very valuable materials. For example, Mrs McGrogan, the primary coordinator, and a group of teacher-tutors produced the publication Read, Think, Discuss.

Now, simply because of expediency, we run courses for probationers in the Centre, and attempt as far as time permits to work through the principals. Attendance at these courses is particularly high.

There was one experimental year when the coordinator worked as a peripatetic tutor in small outlying schools. But she found that her role was very limited and this did not continue. The probationers appreciated her help when she was there, but there was also an internal role which she just could not fulfil.

CONCLUSION

It is always tempting to ask oneself - If I had a clean sheet, what kind of scheme would I have? Ideally, I would like to see something akin to what in the medical profession is called the houseman's year - a year when on the one hand the probationer would be fully professional in his own right in that he would earn a full salary, but on the other hand he would continue to have support and

training. He would teach three days out of five. The fourth and fifth day he would spend on training - half in the school and half in the Centre, with some time built-in for educational research. The school would have to put itself out to do the training, as indeed a training hospital does, but as a perk for its trouble it would be allowed to appoint the probationer for the year as a supernumerary, subject to the guarantee that it would provide the factors which I believe can contribute to professional development. One attraction of this idea would be that it would give a guaranteed year of employment, when the probationer would have the opportunity to dovetail theory with practice, but the responsibility for it would be with the school. It is intriguing to discover that teaching is one of the few professions which does not give probationers the opportunity of such a 'bridging' period between initial training and inservice. Moreover at the present time with dwindling numbers of probationers it might be an opportune time to set up such a structure - but, alas, it is only a dream.

APPENDIX A

THE IDENTIFICATION OF PROBATIONER NEEDS

(A possible checklist, compiled by Teacher-tutors)

- Pre-September: Confirmation of the appointment-Salary, Contract, conditions of service.
Job specification - clear understanding of subjects to be taught. Knowledge of the school, background of children etc.
Plan of the school timetable.
Schemes of work and appropriate planning material.
General personal needs, accommodation, travelling etc.
The Local Authority.
- September: Appropriate material; keys, number of classes etc., feel confident with hardware, know where it is available.
To be settled at home/travel.
To be familiar with day-to-day procedures re: sanctions, accidents, to be aware of resources/library.
To know key people and where to find them; procedures, pastoral system.
To have relaxation of supervisory duties and administrative responsibilities.
Reassurance.
Not to be overwhelmed especially with administration.
To perform well in class during the first week.
To have a balanced time table re: allocation of classes.
To have a suitable classroom for all lessons.

Not to have initiative undermined.
To have a satisfactory relationship with
Head of Department.
A relaxation of teaching duties.

Rest of Autumn
Term

Guidance and re-assurance re:
Planning of lessons
Content of lessons
Progress of children
Record keeping and marking
The school's assessment system
Knowledge of how they are to be assessed
- and how they are progressing.
General support from other staff (e.g. to
appreciate that certain classes cause
problems to all)
To share problems with other probationers.
Help with writing reports.
Guidance in practical subjects re:
(a) rapid use of materials (b) criteria
for assessment.
Role of Adviser.

Post Christmas

1. Reassurance
2. Awareness of professional issues
3. Teachers' Centres
4. Guidance on in-service courses.

APPENDIX B

Q.U.B. TEACHERS' CENTRE

NOTES FROM A TEACHER-TUTOR DIARY

- 5 September The inevitable problem has cropped up. John Black came to me at lunch time to say that he had agreed at interview to teach some maths, although he has only Physical Education qualifications. But he was completely taken aback to find that it means one period of maths in the week including a Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) class. He is particularly worried about the CSE group in case he will let them down. I must try to get him switched to a non-exam class, at the very least.
- 6 September No luck! Tackled the maths Head of Department and then we both tried the Vice Principal. But he is adamant that it is not possible to switch him because of the timetable demands.
- 8 September I went back to maths Head of Department to see if he could 'restream' the CSE classes, so that young Black could work with the slower pupils and not feel so inadequate. But that is also impossible. Maybe it is not a good idea anyway. The slower pupils are the ones who are probably in most need of an experienced teacher.
- 15 September Had a chat with Black again today. He's a very conscientious chap - still desperately worried about his CSE classes. I'm trying to reinforce his confidence in his own ability until I can come up with any other practical

help. I can be very little help on maths content as I am no mathematician!

- 20 September A solution at last. I decided the best action was to have a session with Black and the maths Head of Department together. We finally arranged that Black should work along with another maths teacher, while the two classes are doing course work, and also that he and the Head of Department should have one period a week when they are able to get together to work out any problems. They both seem enthusiastic about this arrangement.
- 13 October Had a lengthy chat with John Black about his maths. It's still important to build up his confidence here, although he is quite happy about his PE teaching.
- 4 December Maths Head of Department had a word with me today about John Black's results. He is very happy that his CSE results compare very favourably with those of the other classes. He thinks our earlier action is justified.
- 7 December Saw John Black at lunchtime, and made a few encouraging remarks about his results. He admitted that he quite enjoys the work now. Says that the fact that he had to learn the subject material himself meant that his preparation was thorough, and he realized more clearly the difficulties the pupils had to face.
- 6 April Maths Head of Department wants Black to keep some maths classes next year. Would be keen to use him with remedial maths groups. Black seems happy about the idea too!

APPENDIX C

Q.U.B. TEACHERS' CENTRE

Major Components of School-Based Induction Schemes

1. The school has a defined induction policy.
2. This policy has been made known within the school.
3. An appropriate member of staff has overall responsibility for seeing that the school's induction policy is carried out.
4. The school has produced an induction training needs for the year ahead.
5. The school is able to carry out its induction training plan effectively.
6. Probationers are released and/or encouraged to attend any centre-based induction activities.
7. Induction scheme records are maintained.

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO SOME FACTORS AFFECTING THE
REACTIONS OF PRIMARY TEACHERS IN THEIR FIRST YEAR
ON PROBATION IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOL**

Pamela O'Siorain

Since the publication of the James Report¹ in Britain discussion has intensified on the best possible way of reforming the probationary year for newly-qualified teachers. There are reports of studies and discussions which seek to identify the problems involved in the induction and orientation of the young teacher and various suggestions to overcoming all or most of these problems.

Initial training has two major purposes - higher education and professional training and from ten to twenty weeks of unpaid but reasonably realistic practice teaching. Following this training period the young teacher arrives in the school to begin a one-year probationary period. Problems faced by these first year teachers warrant separate attention because they are quite different from those encountered in the schools on practice teaching in the following respects:

1. probationers receive a full salary;
2. provided they complete the probationary period satisfactorily, they have tenure for life;
3. they have a full teaching load;
4. they have full responsibility for a class;
5. they receive no supervision from their ex-college and only minimal supervision from their school;

6. they receive uncertain support from peers;
7. their value orientation and reference group is now based within the school culture whereas as students it has been within the college culture;
8. they are committed to the same children, colleagues and job for at least one year and probably a great deal longer;
9. they have a high and specific commitment to their school and pupils;
10. they have a very high exhaustion rate (mental, emotional and physical stress caused by daily demands of the job);
11. their personal and social circumstances are often undergoing considerable change.²

TABLE 1
THE STRUCTURE OF TEACHER EDUCATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND - PRIMARY

Initial and Pre-Service Education and Training		
3 Year B.Ed. College of Education - recognised colleges of N.U.I. Primary - Academic and Professional 15+ weeks school practice	3 Year B.Ed. (Pass) Colleges of Education associated with University of Dublin 15+ weeks school practice 1 Year B.Ed. (Hons.) Trinity College based Academic	3 Year B.A./B.Soc. Science. B.Sc. University based N.U.I./University of Dublin. 1 year Graduate course - Colleges of Education 9 weeks school practice
One year of Probation and (Induction?)		
Forty years of In-Service Education (?)		

Table 1 outlines the structure of teacher education in the Republic of Ireland for primary school teachers.

The purpose of this study is:

1. to describe some of the factors which affect first year probationary teachers in primary schools in Dublin City and County, as perceived by principal teachers and by first year teachers on probation in these schools;
2. to analyse critically the conditions under which probationary teachers serve their first year of teaching;
3. to identify the support given to probationary teachers in their induction into the teaching profession;
4. to identify the induction procedures currently in operation;
5. to arrive at some awareness of the probationary teachers' perceptions or attitudes towards them;
6. to arrive at some awareness of the probationary teachers' perceptions of their own experiences and reactions to their first year of teaching.

The main thrust of the research, by means of a postal questionnaire to Principal teachers and probationary teachers in Dublin City and County, was to collect data on the principals' perception of the factors affecting the first year teacher and the probationers' own perception of factors affecting their first year as teachers on probation. Although the study was primarily concerned with the probationers' induction into the teaching profession, it was considered appropriate to send questionnaires first to principal teachers in order to ascertain their own perceptions of the probationary year. The climate, organisation and management of a school,

together with the whole school community play a vital role in the induction of the young teacher - the principal therefore, plays a vital part in this process. The questionnaire arrived through several stages and in its final broad plan aimed to collect information in five main areas:

1. Biographical data and training background.
2. Appointment and placement.
3. Teaching data.
4. A framework for induction - the teacher.
5. Personal data.

Information in relation to each of these areas was gathered by questions in the questionnaire to probationary teachers in their first year of service in the primary school. The questionnaire to principal teachers in its broad plan aimed to collect information in three main areas:

1. The school/principal - biographical data.
2. The probationary teacher.
3. Methods of advising and assessing probationary teachers.

The schools surveyed comprised every primary school in Dublin City and County. The list of schools was obtained from the Department of Education, Statistics Section. Schools which had been recently closed or amalgamated were indicated and new schools had been added to the list. The Department of Education Statistical Report, 1979-80,³ indicated the following:

TABLE 2
NATIONAL SCHOOLS BY COUNTY

County	No. of National Schools		Total
	Ordinary	Special	
Dublin City	237 (63)	31	268
Dublin County	144 (3)	9	153

Figures in brackets refer to the number of schools with special classes.

The population in the survey was obtained thus: Dublin City: number of schools on revised list 228; 29 schools excluded by request; five schools closed or amalgamated; 30 schools excluded as they were used in the pilot study. Thus the total schools in the population for Dublin City was 163.

Dublin County: number of schools on revised list 180; 15 schools were excluded as they were used in the pilot study. Thus the total schools in the population for Dublin County was 165. The total population surveyed was 328 schools.

The response to the survey was as follows:

TABLE 3
QUESTIONNAIRES TO PRINCIPALS AND PROBATIONARY TEACHERS

	Principals	Probationers
Number of questionnaires distributed in the survey	328 (100%)	145 (100%)
Number of questionnaires returned	204 (62.2%)	105 (72.4%)
Number of questionnaires analysed	174 (53%)	100 (71.4%)

An analysis of the factual information sought in the questionnaire resulted in the following:

1. Profiles of the Principal Teacher and the Probationary Teacher, i.e. the respondents.
2. A profile of the respondents' school.

With regard to questions on attitude, the results consisted of an analysis of the characteristics which:

1. (a) gave a profile of the principal's perception of the role in the early induction process - selection and interview.
(b) gave a profile of the probationer's perception of the selection and interview procedures.
2. (a) gave a profile of the principal's perception of support for the probationary teacher in the form of an induction course.
(b) formulated a profile of the school and the probationer.
(c) formulated a profile of help which the probationary teacher needed - in school and out of school.
(d) formulated a profile of the probationers' perspective of the ideal induction process.
(e) formulated a profile of the perspective of the probationers' job satisfaction.

In summarising the data regarding the Principal Teacher, the over-all picture was of a young male principal in his first principalship. The inexperience of the principal would have certain implications for him in his role as support agent in the induction process. In the system of promotion in the Primary sector, a teacher is teaching his class today and tomorrow is either a

teaching principal (schools with less than eight teachers) or a 'walking' principal (schools with eight teachers or more). The responsibilities of the new role of principal, without any type of formalised training in organisation, administration, personnel selection and relationships, are of their very nature demanding of the skills expertise, time and personality of the newly appointed principal. In an non-formalised induction process it can easily be seen how the problems of the probationer can fade into insignificance as the Principal endeavours to cope with the daily problems of a busy school.

With regard to the probationer, the profile which emerged was of a predominantly young probationer with a B.Ed. Degree, teaching in schools which had classes from Junior Infants to Sixth. The majority of the population was female, over three quarters, and most were teaching the age-range of their choice.

Amongst the most important factors which influenced the probationers in their choice of schools were:

- (a) the fact that they had no other job offer, and
- (b) the reputation of the school.

There was no indication of any great dissatisfaction with their teaching positions.

Over a third of the schools in the survey had no male teachers on their staffs. This continuing decline in the male teacher population must affect the profession as a whole. There are many schools where children will have no contact with a male teacher throughout their entire Primary Education. In our changing society where children from 'broken' homes -- homes with a single parent (generally female) -- fatherless children due to early death, -- there is an ever increasing likelihood that children will grow from infancy to teens without the influence of a male. There is a growing concern within

the profession at this decline in the male entrants to the teaching profession and efforts are being made to identify the factors which are influencing this decline.

There was evidence that the reduction in the pupil/teacher ratio during the past few years was benefitting the probationary teacher. The majority taught in the traditional classroom but it was disappointing to note that almost a quarter taught in pre-fabricated buildings. Many of the probationers had family members in the teaching profession and this was seen as an added source of support and help.

The Principal's perception of his role in the early induction process indicated that the main difficulty was caused by having to set up the appointment process without sufficient notice, i.e. teachers leaving the school without giving three month's notice, reductions being made in the pupil/teacher ratio during the month of June. In cases where the reduced ratio allowed for a new appointment this meant that the whole interviewing process from national advertising to selection had to be completed within two weeks, if the new teacher was to be given an opportunity to visit the school, meet the class, the teachers and be given some help to prepare him for his new job in September. In the survey the principal teachers indicated that the latest date by which they usually know the name of every probationary teacher who will be taking up an appointment in the school was:

TABLE 4
DATE OF CONFIRMATION OF APPOINTMENT FOR AUTUMN TERM

Date	Number	%
April 30	12	7
May 31	35	20
June 30	56	32
July 31	32	18
August 31	22	13
Other	13	8
No reply	4	2
Total	174	100

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From the data in Table 4 it is evident that 77 per cent of the principals in the survey have appointments confirmed by July 31. As all Primary Schools in the Republic of Ireland close for Summer vacation on June 30, this means that all teachers appointed after that date will not have an opportunity to visit the school to meet teachers and pupils. The principal is unable to implement the early induction procedures of meetings and consultations with the school community. The thirteen principals in the survey who commented in the open-ended section of the question under 'other', indicated that they have been forced on occasions to look for teachers to fill unexpected vacancies on the last day of the summer holidays. They believed that it was essential to have a panel of trained supply teachers available for such emergencies which could be called upon to fill vacancies until a permanent appointment could be made. At present no such panel exists even for substitute teachers.

In interviewing a probationary teacher the following were perceived by principals as most useful:

TABLE 5
USEFUL GUIDE - INTERVIEW

	Rank	Number	%
Class of degree	1-3	14	8
Main subject	1-3	27	15
References from college	1-3	126	72
Personal references	1-3	73	42
Aptitudes - complement existing team	1-3	136	78

Other useful information included the general appearance, dress, speech and personality of the applicant and a reference from the principal of the school where the applicant completed teaching practice.

The fact that the applicant had family members in the profession was considered helpful and in certain areas the fact that a teacher showed that he was socially conscious of the needs of the underprivileged child.

Principals perceived the ideal way to introduce a probationary teacher to the school as follows:

TAF = 6

IDEAL ACTION

	Rank	Number	%
Interview probationer in the school	1-3	87	50
Invite teacher to meet principal to discuss general organisation	1-3	142	82
Meet staff in school	1-3	77	44
Meet staff socially outside school	1-3	23	13
Meet class(es) he would be expected to teach	1-3	69	40
Work with class, discuss work with class teacher	1-3	65	37
Give teacher a school handbook	1-3	13	7
Provide up-to-date records of pupils' progress	1-3	32	18

The introduction of the young teacher to the school is an important factor in the induction process. There were many comments indicating that the majority of principals were anxious to extend a warm welcome to their newest colleague and to make the transition period as meaningful as possible. However, it was stressed that it was not always possible to achieve this ideal when short-notice staff vacancies occurred.

Principals whose schools were designed for co-operative teaching in shared areas indicated that the newly appointed teacher would if it were possible, be given an opportunity to meet his teaching partner to discuss methods and plans.

In primary schools in the Republic of Ireland the Principal teacher's designated responsibilities include:

...ensuring that each member of the staff carries out his duties in accordance with the requirements of the Rules for National Schools. He should avail himself of opportunities to visit classrooms to become familiar with the quality of the teacher's work. He should give encouragement, advice and teaching demonstrations or arrange for teaching demonstrations, particularly in the case of weak teachers or teachers on probation. 4

In order to ensure that each teacher carries out his duties and responsibilities, the principal teacher must appraise. Since he is not obliged in any way to write reports this appraisal is informal. 72 (41 per cent) of the respondents believed that the principal should carry out formal appraisal of the work of the probationary teacher; 100 (58 per cent) did not agree with formal appraisal.

In analysing the criteria which principal teachers use when making their appraisal, either formally or informally, 62 (36 per cent) indicated that they would use assessment in terms of "improvement" (i.e. a recognition of the fact that probationary teachers start off at different points). 51 (29 per cent) indicated that they would use an analysis approach (i.e. grading a number of qualities pertaining to the 'good' teacher by awarding A, B, C, D or E): 50 (29 per cent) indicated that they would use other criteria when making their appraisal such as observing teacher/pupil relationships, the probationary teacher's willingness to co-operate in

planning schemes and the teacher's control in the class situation. 55 (32 per cent) principals believed that they ought to exercise close control over their probationary teacher's work while 113 (65 per cent) believed that the probationary teacher ought to be allowed to work largely along his own lines.

In regard to the criteria which the Department of Education Inspector uses when assessing the probationary teacher for the teaching Diploma, 81 (47 per cent) of the principals indicated that they knew what criteria were being used. 99 (52 per cent) indicated that they did not know what criteria were being used. Three principals indicated that this criteria had never been specified but:

... assumed that they would largely correspond to my own. To my mind his role should be very supportive to the young teacher, his interest should be in helping and advising. I have always found inspectors to be most helpful to my probationary teachers and the teachers have appreciated this.

The profile of the probationer's perception of the selection and interview procedures which emerged from an analysis of the data indicated that many young teachers were disappointed when their letters of application (enclosing stamped addressed envelopes) were not acknowledged. With regard to the interview itself the majority 60 (60 per cent) were satisfied with the interview procedures. Amongst the reasons for dissatisfaction 11 (11 per cent) believed that insufficient time was allowed; 15 (15 per cent) disliked the fact that they were kept waiting for a considerable time; 6 (6 per cent) were subjected to interruptions during the interviews; 8 (8 per cent) were afforded no opportunity to ask questions; 12 (12 per cent) indicated that the questions asked were of a personal nature which caused embarrassment.

Other factors which caused dissatisfaction were mainly the impressions received that the position was already filled and that the interview was simply an exercise. From the foregoing it is evident that a need exists for a re-appraisal of the interview and selection process which has implications for the in-service training of the principal and interviewing boards.

From the analysis of the data of the principal's perception of support for probationary teachers in the form of an induction course 87 per cent of the principals indicated that they favoured various forms of induction from within the school and from outside the school. It was evident that the principal teachers perceived their role in the induction process to be a supporting role and welcomed the support of outside agencies. Principal teachers were especially aware of the importance of the organisation and good management of the school in the induction process and of a positive relationship with the Inspector - the formal appraiser. From the probationer's point of view the evidence supports the view that new teachers need immediate reassurance. Probationers showed interest and enthusiasm in availing of opportunities offered to them to visit their schools prior to taking up their teaching appointments. Probationers were aware of sources of advice, in particular, the principal teacher and teaching colleagues. Many also sought help from their immediate families who were teachers. The majority of the probationers found staff attitudes positively friendly and helpful.

In seeking to assess probationers' perceptions of the kinds of help which teachers in their first year particularly need the following emerged:

TABLE 7
HELP - AS PERCEIVED BY PROBATIONER

	Rank	Number	%
Staff Member	1-3	55	55
Free time	1-3	62	62
Plan work with other teachers	1-3	83	83

In a large school which has three or four classes or more in the same year group it is easy to understand the young teacher's anxiety about the standards of the class 'next door' and the desire to know how more experienced teachers plan their work. Other forms of help which probationers perceived as being helpful were having access to the record cards of pupils. Opportunities to discuss the class with former teacher; frequent discussions, formal and informal with the principal and staff regarding progress and problems; help with schemes of work and with planning yearly schemes.

The probationers' perception of problem areas in the first year indicated that individual discipline problems and class discipline problems ranked highly together with coping with weak pupils and coping with pupils suffering from emotional problems.

An examination of the type of specialised help which the probationer looked for indicated that many probationers welcomed a school-based course directed by a Teacher Tutor or the Teachers' Centres. The majority of the probationers were anxious for the involvement of the practising teacher in their course and almost one quarter of the population welcomed involvement from all the agents in the induction process, from Inspectors to College Lecturers. The data therefore, proved the hypothesis that probationary teachers need individualised and specialised help not only

from within their own schools, but from outside agencies in the form of induction and on-going in-service.

Over half of the teachers in the survey indicated that they found teaching exciting or enjoyable or satisfying. At the same time there was an awareness of the demands of the job, of the fatigue and the stress created by having to cope daily with pupils, work preparation and the ever-present probation and assessment.

The changing face of primary education in the eighties is now with us. In any study concerned with the problems and needs of newly-qualified teachers, it is inevitable that much of the discussion should concentrate on seeming weaknesses or malfunctions in the school support systems currently provided. It is worth noting that much valuable work is being presently accomplished in a large number of schools, often under trying conditions, i.e. pre-fabricated buildings; large classes; poor support services for children with emotional and learning problems. Lastly one must not lose sight of the fact that there is now an all-graduate profession, our new entrants are of first rate calibre, well-motivated towards their work and capable of reaching a high level of performance in their initial year. Induction is not simply for the average or inadequate teacher, it is only by fashioning a process which identifies and satisfies all these varied and individual needs, however basic or developed, can the probationary period become meaningful and relevant to every new teacher.

By way of final conclusion one may say with Professor O'Suilleabhain that 'a profession is:

... a vocation or calling or occupation which carries with it its own inner dynamism which is constantly appraising and modifying practice in the light of a theoretical framework of specialist knowledge derived from a co-ordination of relevant research findings from

various disciplines. The professional status of the practitioner depends upon the scope, depth, and quality of the underlying cognitive foundation and the degree to which his training has brought him into contact with this, and the skill with which he is able to apply specific cases in the practical exercise of his profession. ... It is clear that teaching is a profession and has within it the possibilities for increasing professionalization. The task of the future will be to develop the specialist framework and bring all intending teachers into contact with this at increasingly wider and deeper levels. 5

There is a further task -- to continue the professional development of the teacher through induction and on-going in-service education for all teachers.

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**THE RELOCATION OF TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMMES AT
THOMOND COLLEGE OF EDUCATION: A MOVE IN CONTEXT**

Diarmuid Leonard

In Autumn 1979, at Thomond College, there took place an event of some significance in the development of the Irish educational system. There, following a Government policy decision, students who intended to become teachers of woodwork, metalwork and rural science enrolled for the first Irish degree programmes for teachers specialising in these subjects. Much more was involved than a simple resiting of the previous teacher-training courses from their locations at a number of centres throughout Ireland. This paper explores some fundamental problems arising in the design of these new programmes.

The design task was novel. None of the previous three-year teacher-training programmes in these subject areas could be adopted unquestioningly to meet the given mandate, namely to design and teach a four-year degree programme. On the contrary, for a new type of programme in a new purpose-built setting, decisions and choices have to be justified in terms of basic principles. Where many persons of several different backgrounds participate in programme design, and shared working assumptions about relevant knowledge and the professional roles of teachers have yet to be established, even the grounds of justification have to be identified and made explicit.

The key question is: How to design new programmes that are worthy of degrees and will qualify intending teachers of long-established practical subjects for tomorrow's schools as well as today's? The first step is to ground the development of a programme rationale design

firmly upon a reappraisal of its context. Teacher education, however, has to be viewed in a variety of contexts - social, cultural, political, economic - and also obliquely, that is in terms of the needs of schools. Though multiple, complex and fluid, these contexts are interrelated in their interaction with schools. Though changing, they are historical too, requiring continuities¹ as well as innovations. What is needed for our purpose is a theoretically coherent framework which locates the new programmes in an evolutionary setting and which illuminates that location by exploring the principal societal influences affecting schools and teacher education. From this two-dimensional analytical approach, useful tools are to hand in the work of Beeby² and Reid.³

An Analytical Framework

Beeby hypothesises four stages in the development of school systems, running from extreme to a stage in which personal meaning and understanding are strongly emphasised. Coolahan⁴ has shown that this hypothesis may be aptly applied to evolving patterns of teacher education in the Irish primary sector. Here it is contended that this quite distinct evolution of Irish post-primary education may also be better understood when analysed in the light of Beeby's model. Beeby's four stages are as follows:

1. The Dame School Stage. Typically as in the worst of the hedge schools the school experience is ill-organised, confused, mechanical, even stultifying.
2. The Stage of Formalism. With state intervention there is a noticeable improvement in the school's purposefulness, efficiency and discipline. As in the payment-by-results system a rigid formalism governs the syllabus, teaching methods, teacher-pupil relationships and standards.⁵

3. The Stage of Transition. The system is in transition from heavy dependence on prescription to the fourth stage in which the pupils' personal understanding is the highest priority.
4. The Stage of Meaning. With the acceptance of a profound change in educational philosophy, new goals are pursued. Education is about constructing personal meaning, and intimately involves the pupil's emotions and attitudes besides his developing intellectual powers. The introduction of the new primary school curriculum⁶ signalled the official arrival of this stage in Irish primary education.

Beeby's model succeeds in lending a credible form and shape to the changes and trends in school systems. But his assertion that system progress depends upon teachers' general levels of education and professional training is only partly true, for it ignores the social context within which teachers work; for example, teachers who share the attitudes of a highly traditional society are unlikely to adopt innovative methods. A more comprehensive explanation of a school system's essential features is to be found in Reid's theory of consonance between schools and their societal context. In order to function as a working entity, the school must achieve equilibrium between its three principal elements, all of which draw upon the societal stock of available models: a) its Theory - its view of its aims and functions, what it should teach and how; b) its Technology - its methods of teaching and organising people, time, materials, space, its routines and procedures; c) its Social System - the order and style of relationships within the schools. The influence of the larger society upon the school is, in Reid's perspective, seen to be powerful and pervasive.

At each of the stages in Irish education that can be discerned along the lines of Beeby's model, Reid's insights

can be applied to explore the extent of correspondence between pedagogical and, on the other hand, changing social and cultural norms, aspirations and attitudes. In this perspective, teacher education, as part of the education system, is shaped by the social forces of its day. It is seen to be as much an effect as an agent of change: it must respond to the needs of schools as well as help determine them.

The Move From Stage Three to Stage Four

We turn now to the two stages with which we are chiefly concerned, namely Stages Three and Four. Beeby suggests that typically the third stage of educational systems development is characterised by a conception of education in which goals are fairly limited but meaning is emphasised. In Ireland the abandonment of the payment-by-results system marked the realisation that knowledge had at least as much to do with understanding meaning - a highly individual process - as with reproducing prescribed quantities of information and prescribed standards in basic skills. During the first forty years or so of the State's existence, the national school's theory reflected strongly the State's insistence on its cultural identity, but otherwise maintained strong continuity with the earlier stage. Prescribed standards continued to be realised through a Technology of class instruction, standard drills and exercises and large classes. Social relationships remained formal, mirroring the social codes associated with authority figures in Irish society. That this situation persisted so long would suggest that the national school system experienced little pressure to change from an apparently static society.

The period did however, see a characteristic Stage Three innovation. For the first time, the State created a new post-primary institution, the vocational school, thus opening up popular access to extended schooling and creating a dualist system. This innovation was in striking consonance with the thinking of its time. Its theory was entirely accepting of prevailing assumptions: for example, that academic education should be conducted in a separate, higher-status institution and that the principal perspectives upon the practical subjects were furnished by their uses in employment. Its technology assured the accurate reproduction of useful crafts that the school's theory valued, and it faithfully echoed prevailing views of the proper relationship between the teacher, who knows how, and his pupils, who do not.

The teacher training programmes in the practical subjects neatly serviced the vocational schools' requirements. To meet the social needs of the time, the subjects woodwork and metalwork were conceived in terms of trade and other vocational requirements (such as their agricultural usefulness). It seemed obvious that the best exemplars of proficiency in the subjects were to be found among qualified tradesmen, and this version of technical proficiency was adopted as the proper content of teacher training. Technical expertise and loyalty to the system's values were strongly emphasised.

With the Sixties there arrived a new context for which Stage Three schooling became less appropriate. Quite suddenly Ireland was experiencing new social phenomena - television, affluence, industrialisation, urbanisation - which brought with them deep seated changes in social attitudes and aspirations.⁷ Irish official attitudes to education began to change, and were given an authoritative reinforcement by the publication of the OECD Report Investment in Education in 1965.⁸ This report partly echoed a notion - equality of opportunity -

already introduced into official rhetoric by Dr. P.J. Hillery, Minister of Education, in 1963. The Report adopted a strongly revisionist ideology of education. Thereafter debate about Irish education would use terms such as educated manpower, pool of ability, wastage of talent, economic relevance, and the needs of the economy.

During the sixties then two powerful forces for change converged: on the one hand a broadening social demand for education, and on the other economic pressure to widen access to education and to extend the duration of schooling. Ministers promoted a new view of the State's interest and role in education,⁹ and took action to realise new goals. Their initiatives were directed at quantitative and structural change: a doubling of the second-level population in the late Sixties and corresponding increase in the teaching force, the institution of novel structures - e.g. comprehensive and community schools, and regional technical colleges - to realise the new twin priorities, equality of opportunity and economic relevance. But far less amenable to ministerial direction was the problem of qualitative change: in what ways, by what means, should the school content and experience change in a new era of mass education? How should free extended education increase the intrinsic personal meaning of school learning? Could school learning unite the personally meaningful with the socially significant?

Such questions were not seriously addressed. When for example, technical subjects were introduced into the Intermediate and Leaving Certificate programmes, the opportunity for radical curricular revision of practical work was lost. (Consequently, in five decades the practical courses in junior cycle metalwork and woodwork have never been revised.) Undoubtedly, the absence of clear official statements of relevant, updated educational aims

(i.e. of a new theory) has inhibited the continuing development of school curricula.¹⁰ Still the school's theory could not remain unaffected by the newer societal stock of attitudes, expectations and images regarding the school. Among such expectations are these: that pupils have rights and teacher authority has limits, that education should be outgoing, active, relevant to future employment, and useful in everyday affairs and in the larger dilemmas and problems of life.¹¹ Most important of all is the expectation that schooling should be characterised by concern for real meaningfulness in the pupils' experience.¹²

To such expectations pedagogical responses are to be found in learning approaches prized in our age, such as problem-solving, learner-centredness, independent inquiry, creativity, that are basic to the Stage Four understanding of what the school should be about - making sense of one's world, constructing personal meaning. Many internationally known projects concern themselves with just this process: examples include the EEC projects on transition from school to working life, and in Ireland the SPIRAL projects at Shannon. Internationally, modern conceptions of educational woodwork and metalwork have followed similar impulses, emphasising their contribution to young people's personal development by synthesising activity and understanding at their higher, more creative as well as lower, skill-reproductive levels.¹³

Such pressures and influences are registered unevenly and in different ways in the various sectors of our education system. Peripheral curriculum innovation agencies such as Shannon have responded to adolescents' desire for job-relevance with a speed that contrasts with the central system's general inertia in the face of demands for a personally relevant senior-cycle curriculum. Individually, many second-level schools in Ireland place

increasing emphasis on life skills, active modes of learning, flexibility of choice - in brief, on the personal significance of education. It is this emphasis, found generally in the later years of second-level schools in developed countries, that characterises Stage Four in Beaby's model of systems development.

And yet it must be admitted that the Irish second-level system has not adopted in thoroughgoing fashion a theory that takes adequate account of the newer realities of its social context and especially of adolescents' desire for personal meaning in their school lives. Does not this fact confound Reid's hypothesis of consonance between the societal context and the school system? Certainly it can hardly be explained away simply on the grounds of time lag. Twenty years have passed since the Minister for Education, Dr Hillery, first acknowledged a new societal context, when he voiced a revised state ideology of education. In that time, the face and content of Irish third-level education have undergone a transformation. Similarly, first-level education has seen a remarkable shift in emphasis with the publication of the new curriculum. The will and enterprise that achieved such rapid qualitative development in two major sectors of the education system can hardly be so unequally absent in the second-level sector. Why then has the Irish second-level system failed to reform its aims and content?

A plausible line of explanation is suggested by Reid's notion of curricular equilibrium. No school can function, he claims, unless there is harmony between its theory, technology and social system. Applied to Irish schools, this principle helps uncover the key role of examinations in our schools' failure to adapt. The present examination system, although largely untouched by fundamental changes in its societal context, nonetheless determines most of schools' theory. The school's

Technology - its methods of organising itself, its pedagogy and its teaching materials - could hardly be more obviously geared to examinations. As the examinations are based on subjects, the five main components of the school organisation - knowledge, time, professional staff, space, learners - are organised as respectively subjects, subject period, subject teachers, subject rooms, with pupils grouped often on the basis of their subject choices or subject attainment. The school's social system is one in which a teacher is regarded as first and foremost a subject specialist, someone who relates to pupils in the single dimension of attainment in one school subject. Given such internal consistency, the school organisation is formidably resistant to change.

Consequently the longstanding dominance of an unresponsive examination system has stifled the school's capacity to respond to external demands for reform or to the intense desire of adolescents for personal relevance in their school experience. It is from other more socially powerful sources that the Irish second-level school has traditionally drawn its theory: from parental demand for examination success, from the conservatism of educational authorities that kept schools in isolation from and not in interaction with their social setting, and ultimately, from "the many vested interests" that the school services.¹⁴ The close correspondence of curricular and dominant social norms maintains the mutual reinforcement of the examination system, the subject-based identity of teachers, and the organisation of schooling, and so retards the post-primary sector's transition towards Stage Four. Nonetheless, it is increasingly recognised that far-reaching change is inexorably being forced upon school curricula,¹⁵ and with it, as in the case of the technical subjects,¹⁶ the involvement of teachers in fundamentally reappraising their subjects and their own roles. Already an impressive variety of innovations,¹⁷

piecemeal and often local, point the general direction of future change, although it is difficult to predict in detail future changes in the technical subjects.

What does all this imply for teacher education? In particular what should be the response of a new degree-level programme of teacher education in practical subjects long established in our system? In a legitimate important sense what Irish schools want of teacher education is more of the same: an existing system of examinations, syllabi, school equipment must be serviced. But the longer-term implications of powerful currents of change in the contexts of education must also be addressed by teacher education. To do otherwise is to close our eyes to change outside and inside the classroom. Our programmes must look then to both the present and the future. They must produce teachers who possess the skills and abilities that school employers now require and value, but who in addition possess the adaptability that their future careers will demand of them, whether in the teaching of subjects whose own futures have yet to be defined (as for example media of personal development in an era of comprehensive education or as the basis of technological education in a technological economy), or in the exercise of typical Stage Four professional concern for the quality and significance of the pupils' whole schooling experience. The mandate to provide a degree programme may then be securely founded not just on sociopolitical considerations regarding the status of teachers, but on a conviction that degree-level teacher education is needed to meet the shift from developmental Stage Three to Stage Four.

What kind of changes then, in aims, content and style, should one expect to find in the new teacher education programmes?

Aims and Content.

The need for new consonances between schools and their milieu, consonances that are present in a school education that is personally as well as socially significant, requires that teacher education looks far beyond traditional practices towards new contexts for decisions: social, cultural and technological changes and their educational implications, involving new priorities for schools, changes in what students expect and hope for from their schools, redefinitions of the technical subjects, and new roles for teachers. It becomes necessary to promote a new professional consciousness, an expanded view of the scope of one's work as a teacher, embracing:

- selfaware critical monitoring of one's work in the classroom, involving the assumption of responsibility for (instead of an unquestioning reproduction of) the system's approved knowledge, practices and values;
- participation in curriculum reappraisal, development and innovation; and
- collective decision-making and action in settings beyond the classroom, e.g. the school, the local community, the subject associations, the teachers' centre, the national system.

The necessity to reappraise the sources of professional knowledge now becomes obvious. However, if, for example technological change is accepted as a source of content decisions, precisely how should a teacher education programme for crafts teachers best respond? Should it address itself to technology in industry at large, to what is specifically relevant to Irish industry, to technology as a medium of personal development, or to technology as a cultural artefact? What is now the proper place of craft skills? What would constitute a

defensible balance of priorities between craft and technology? How do we view the pupils in the schools - as future users, operatives or makers of technology? Equally the pedagogical content of training needs to be reconceptualised. To carry out new teacher roles in new contexts, the student teacher needs to approach the study of education not in the style of an apprentice learning predetermined procedures but as a future decision-maker who will be guided by his own 'professional framework of reference'.¹⁸ Educational studies must now aspire to furnish a theory-base for classroom practice and to promote the teacher's 'enlightenment'¹⁹ about the self, pupils and society. Because of his professional concern with the sum total of his pupils' school experience, the teacher has to think of himself as a part-creator of the circumstances within which he works; this implies that our students, both trade entrants and leaving certificate entrants, be enabled to acquire, as well as 'enlightenment', necessary social and communicative skills.

Styles of Experience

In earlier stages, the principle focus of teacher training was upon expertise in classroom subject matter and its transmission. Values learned included not just commitment to one's expertise but an unquestioning trust in the system's ends and means. In contrast, Stage Four teacher education - and in this it corresponds with dominant contemporary social norms - values the pursuit of critical inquiry. This value is mediated through the NCEA's degree validation criteria, which include in-depth knowledge, intellectual challenge, openminded consideration of alternatives. What is valued in degree programmes, as in the working life of most graduate professionals, are the qualities that accompany critical enquiry - detachment, objectivity, a proper scepticism.

Now these are very different from the values that characterise Stage Three styles of teacher education: loyalty to the system, wholehearted acceptance of received aims and assumptions. Styles of learning and interpersonal relationships designed to inculcate correct views and attitudes are unlikely to be compatible with the styles of experience associated with critical enquiry. Instead exploration of alternatives, expression of doubt and challenge, experiment and independent study become necessary and important features of the programme.

The Curricular Significance of the Move to Thomond College

Administered, taught and examined by its own outstanding products, teacher training in these subjects was formerly closed off from the mainstream of teacher education. The mutual reinforcement of teacher training and the examination system resulted in a strong conservative tradition. But once it is accepted that the new aims, content and styles of educational experiences are required to meet the evolving contexts of teachers' work and the demands of a degree programme, then it follows that teacher education in these specialisms must move out of its previous political position within the Department of Education's administrative focus and into a position of some autonomy. The fact that it is the NCEA, and not the Department of Education, that validates Thomond College programmes ensures that rather freer curriculum choices, and justifications based on first principles rather than long-established practice, now become possible. The effect of the move is profound. It emancipates teacher education from the service requirements of the schools and presents it with the challenge to do what it was never before enabled to do, namely to anticipate and even help shape the future of its subjects in the schools.

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SOME CONSIDERATIONS OF THE CONTEXT FOR PROFESSIONALITY

Richard Clark

"All professions are conspiracies against the laity", George Bernard Shaw, The Doctor's Dilemma.

This is a time when the least savoury offences of hired footballers are called 'professional fouls' and when, in Great Britain, one, still small, section of the teachers seeks to differentiate itself from the rest by entitling its association 'professional'. Clearly those teachers are, in saying something of themselves, saying something of the others. The notion 'professional' is invested in a state of abuse and confusion.

There are, conventionally, two ways of engaging the question of teacher professionalism. One is essentially static and mainly descriptive: it examines such issues as what recognisedly professional versions of the occupation to teach would be like, how the present positions depart from one or more postulated states, and in the light of likely outcomes whether and why attainment or retention of any state is more or less desirable.

A dynamic approach would, for instance, examine influences upon and trends in the characteristics of the occupation to determine which were taking it towards, which away from professional status and what the net effect appeared to be. This approach, too, would probably extend to normative and political aspects, i.e. what trends were advantageous to whom and how they might be checked or encouraged. It would encounter the diversity of interest groups in contemporary society and would not assume too readily that professionalization was perceived as an advantage to all such groups.

The current context of the occupation to teach could be examined using such familiar categories as entry, conditions, standards, contract, service, client, redress and control. Those tend to reappear even when the locus of enquiry is, usefully, shifted to the institutional scene in response to the conception of 'teacher as hired agent for the purpose of schooling'. What and for whom are these purposes become superordinate questions. Clearly, for the bulk of cases, pupil cannot and parent does not make an individual contract to receive a service. Neither are free agents but are constrained, with the consequent creation of a particular moral relationship, to submit to a purpose sketched out in the lightest of details - much less than for the formal arrangements made in attempts to achieve it.

Beyond the limited immediacy of the teacher's classroom autonomy, authority and policy are diffused in a recessive bureaucracy which reduces politicization and in a reification of the institution - 'the school can - can't, etc'. Though what happens to children is the central issue of purpose (or could there be some who might be inclined to substitute 'process' for 'purpose'?), in general, parent-child neither stipulate service nor have significant redress for misservice.

Perceptions of schooling and valuations of child and children depend, it seems, upon constituency or area of interest and are competitive. To an extent the service may be defined by the interest groups. Both children and services are susceptible to being commodified. Current tensions between perceptions may reflect desires for contrary movement on a 'close-open' dimension of society - an apparent recent general shift towards openness may have heightened such tensions and provoked some reaction.

Schooling is thus vested with functional ambiguities of which some teachers are unaware, which some resolve

at a personal level and which deeply trouble others. Some consequences of uncertainty are reflected in various aspects of schools and teaching, for example those conveniently designated 'provision', preparation, procedures, practitioners'. Each of these aspects is considered here briefly, but beforehand, a central component of the context is revisited - what happens to children in schools? Whatever may be the compatibilities and discords among purposes and teachers' awareness and allegiances towards them, the pupil-teacher relationship is firmly in the moral domain, placed there in part by its involuntary nature and the inequalities of privilege, experience and authority within it. How teachers respond to and are enabled to treat function and relationship is not only an ethical concern but central to the notion of professionalism. That is, motives for extending professionalism are subordinate to pupils' best interest and the asymmetric pupil/teacher relationship.

A major characteristic of public education is that it is legislated, financed, controlled and judged in one amalgam of authority, central and dispersed. Manipulative advantage lies with the centre. Despite some concessions to the development of local peripheral influences and choices, the shift of decision is now towards the centre, in response to and to the advantage of certain constituencies. It is likely that tension between periphery and practitioners and the policy-makers at and nearer centre will increase, and that teachers' individual and combined spheres of and scope for influence may not expand. Whether or not these consequences are deliberately sought, they are not wholly another matter, for it is by no means evident that teaching can move towards greater professionalism under the prevailing exercises of central or state wishes. They may, rather, increase the strain among teachers between perceptions of self-interest and service to views of pupil interest and of purpose in education.

Institutions which prepare and endorse new teachers both endure and contribute to the general context for professionalism. Among the characteristics of teacher education (even some of those who engage in it persist in calling it 'training') and its institutions are divisive separation of teachers by types, a not irrational ambivalence about the contribution of school teachers to selection of students, design and preparation in courses and examinations, and disparate views on the qualities and competencies desirable in prospective teachers.

Despite the desire of teachers' associations for greater influence in initial preparation for teaching, the degree of separation of preparation from provision and from existing practitioners is not obviously disadvantageous to a quest for greater professional status for it conserves distribution of influence, potential for innovation, experiment and analysis, and sources of relatively independent critique which is, perhaps, insufficiently exercised. Closing of colleges consequent upon declining demand for teachers is clearly significant in this respect.

How teachers perceive and conduct their work obviously influences the strength of any case for it to be regarded as professional. Several relations of balance are chosen as examples. The first is the relationship between claims for autonomy in the classroom and for influence in curricular matters and perceptions of and assumptions of responsibility. Another is the relation of reflectiveness to intuition in making decisions for and in the classroom. Closely linked is the degree of acceptance that there could be a substantial knowledge or theory base, even informed by research, for discourse on and for practice in teaching: misologist tendencies among teachers are not unrecorded. Fourthly, those interactions within a school that influence the degree of professionalism are

significant; as is well-known, the ethos of a school which gives new recruits their first picture of 'what teaching is really like' is a remarkably effective conditioner.

Acts of teachers as teachers but outside teaching, besides affecting the public apprehension of the occupation, directly shape its qualities. For example, disunity among employees' associations and some propositions, disparate in level and vision, on intentions and procedures, coming from various subject groupings are doubtful assets in a quest for greater esteem and status. Even more serious are abuses of the underprivileged status of pupils by overt and covert propagation of various patent advocacies. In, I trust, a less conscious way a number of teachers have acquiesced to shifts of emphasis towards managerial styles which seem to increase the value placed on views of efficiency drawn from commercial and industrial models at the expense of concern with enrichment of children's experiences. There are also signs of skill shifts in curricular matters and, though the processes and motivations towards this may be several, the overall effect may be convergent in shifting curriculum skills to expert groups in or out of the schools. Curriculum skills include critical analysis as well as construction; the opportunity for the former is always present but how often taken? It is not clear how responsibility to purpose and pupil could be exercised in an agency function which may be pressed on teaching and which not all teachers seek to reject.

In short the present overall context does appear to contain trends towards what Apple (1981) has called the deskilling and proletarianisation of teachers. Perhaps this is what teachers in general want; not all give contrary impressions. It may turn out to be difficult to avoid. There could be an inclination to suggest that the question of whether teaching is or is not on the way to

greater professionalism is of less moment than what happens and could and ought to happen in school to children, without whom the question could not exist. It may well be that the best interests of neither pupils nor teachers would be served by a dominant central authority. If striving for a version of professionalism acts to sustain both interests it might merit support, but not at the expense of greater values. It might also be that some of the tendencies becoming noticeable in public education are part of a broader movement towards a form of corporatism: it would be ironic if teachers of all people, by whatever means, made such a movement easier.

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PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHING

Roderic Harrison

What the function of teachers amounts to in the social structure is the support of the professional classes, the prevailing class and gender relations in the social-economic order, and the ideologies by which power maintains power. The collective service function of teachers is essentially conservative, lending legitimacy to social control techniques and conveying the view of society as right and equitable.

Whether such a function warrants the claim of professionalism could be a matter of fruitless debate. Empirical studies have tended to find 'profession' used evaluatively rather than descriptively, as an expression of how some would wish their work and themselves to be perceived. What is more to the point are the stressful realities of the role of the teacher today: intensification, ambiguity, diffusion and re-definition, all of which may be attributed to a delayed industrial revolution in the Republic and its evident failure to create or sustain a generally acceptable social and economic order. In the circumstances, the legitimacy of the teacher role as popularly perceived comes increasingly into question and under attack from sectors of society growing more vocal and confident in their criticism of authority figures.

One possible countermeasure for teachers, as well as for the established or traditional professions which it is their function to uphold, is the prolonging of the period of preparation before primary qualification to practice. One desirable consequence, that of higher status and prestige for the teacher role (with or without

commensurate rewards) is unlikely to be realised. Other consequences are unlikely to be encouraged; an occupational group constituting a cohesive body of mutually dependent practitioners, knowledgeable about their social and economic function and all that circumscribes it, capable and desirous of exercising autonomy in matters of central educational import.

The service function of teachers as a 'below-stairs' sub-professional group through which the interests and the ideologies of powerful 'upstairs' professional groups are mediated has been faithfully fulfilled in the past in Ireland without much question or criticism. The dominant hegemony penetrated with a single and unequivocal voice. There was nothing complicated in the teachers' function as the state's stabilisers or in the schools' function as mirroring and reinforcing a most settled stratification system. In a strongly patriarchal and culturally integrated society, schools and teachers could proceed unchallenged with the business of social and economic reproduction, with presenting gender and social class relations, one's place in the order of things, as ordained and 'natural'.

The stability, cultural integrity, and unquestioned authority associated with that period of our history have since come under crushing pressure from several sources. The advent of a delayed industrial revolution yielded all the predictable consequences of industrialisation elsewhere: urbanisation and urbanism, role specialisation and specialism, divisive social class differentiation, disparities, competition, self-interest, self-protection. The sense of community was lost.

It was the unanticipated rapidity of the revolution which the culture was unable to withstand. The new professionals, industrialists, economists, econometricians, technocrats all cried out for attention. For teachers,

the conflicting or competing or as yet unreconciled ideologies had to be respected: one, less assuredly sacred, intuitive and conservative; the other, more aggressively secular, rational and scientific. The new cant, 'the needs of an industrial society', was urged not as problematic, but as given.

Whether or not Irish society as a whole has reflected upon this dualism, its impact on the teacher role appears to have induced the negative effects of those forms of stress already mentioned. But what is remarkable is the extent to which the Irish educational system (or systems), management roles and teacher roles have been resistant to deep change. There has been no significant curriculum reform or development since our industrial revolution though it should be said that, somewhat ironically, the primary school New Curriculum was implemented by a predominantly female sector traditionally regarded as a conservative force. Teachers still have little or no power to make the crucial curricular decisions, and centralised control remains as unchallenged and immovable in Dublin as when Pearse lived. The role of teachers with respect to entry to teacher education, with respect to school appointments and to school management is minor. Their collective influence has been conservative. One wonders whether cultural and ideological contradictions coupled with the threatening power of economic recession have combined to exhaust the confidence and vitality of teachers.

One serious consequence, and perhaps one of the most hopeful consequences, may be the increasing clamour on the part of students and parents for reform in educational structure, management and curriculum. I believe the matter to be as serious as that. A social and economic order which can offer through its educational system something little better than full unemployment for four-

fifths of its young people places its dedicated teachers under intolerable strain and renders any claim to 'professionalism' unsustainable.

COMPETING IDEOLOGIES IN TEACHER-TRAINING

Liam Norrby

Briefly, I, like many of you have, over a number of years, and as a result of my experience of having gone through teacher-training, teaching in both secondary and primary schools, and finally in St. Mary's College of Education, Belfast, have become increasingly concerned about the quality and content of college curricula. Historically, teaching has been seen as a "cinderella" profession. It has been described as "the refuse of all other callings". As a result, the profession has attempted over many years to raise the status of its academic respectability culminating in its present form of awarding degrees at both honours and pass level. This position, while recommended in the McNair Report (1944) did not become operative until 1968 when the colleges of education in the North of Ireland became constituent colleges of Queen's University. Inevitably, this has led to a greater emphasis on academic achievement at the expense of professional competence. The desire to establish external validity of the B. Ed., degrees' standards of excellence on the part of the certificating body and the demand for a greater depth of specialisation by students has decreased the amount of time available on college curricula for professional training. If there is a case to be answered, and if it can be shown through a sample of student opinion that academic content relating to the professionalization of student teachers is less valued by intending practitioners than by educationalists, it may be argued that the discrepancy arises from competing ideologies within the training structure.

Drawing on the works of Marx (1965), Mannheim (1936), and Gramsci (1971), I have attempted to develop a sociol-

ogical model of the ideology of training. Using the economic and class-oriented theory of ideology proposed by Marx, it would appear that the notion of a dominant ideology offers an approach which explains the persistence of an ideology of training as the suppression of the consciousness of practitioners by a dominant group. The training offered, is in Marx's terms an example of 'false consciousness' in which students accept a paradigm because they are powerless to do otherwise. The Marxist approach draws attention to the nature of ideas between 'rulers' and 'ruled', but there is some doubt, since it is difficult to state clearly the nature of the relationships in both economic and social class terms. This is occasioned by the Bourgeois/Proletariat dichotomy, since the social situation involved is not overtly one of class struggle, but a struggle of ideas that derive from the nature of course content. Mannheim's work, while important in its theoretical import tends to generate too wide a perspective and could lead to the researcher adopting a narrow, evaluative position rather than a general, non-evaluative concept of ideology in teacher-training. Two concepts from Gramsci - that of 'Hegemony' and 'Intellectuals' arising from the base/superstructure complex as these affect the organisation of an ideology are used to examine the situation in which the training institutions become ripe for the establishment of a new hegemony due to the evolution and implementation of the new B.Ed. The role of 'intellectuals' becomes of important significance in this development. The resulting model is as follows:

Ideology	Social Position	Educational Policy
1. Professional	Teaching Profession, Colleges, Students	Methods, Techniques, Practice Vocational.
2. Academic	University Bodies	Theory, High Status Knowledge

The model permits one to examine whether students do experience a conflict between the two ideologies, and secondly, to analyse whether this conflict emerges in the personal development of student-teacher attitudes to their experienced reality of their training/education.

Hypotheses

1. As a result of the investigations respondents will show a negative orientation between Academic and Professional Aspects of their training irrespective of sex.
2. Students will indicate, as a result of (1) that their personal experiences of training have been unsatisfactory.
3. If students are more inclined to identify with teachers in schools, the conflict between ideologies will show up as a result of (1) and (2).

Results

Respondents answered a three-part questionnaire which covered Sixty-five items relating to Academic, Professional and Personal aspects of teacher-training. Students, being male and female, provide for sixty-seven variables. Percentage relative frequencies reveal that students do experience a conflict of ideologies. There is high support for subject specialisation but a rejection of the amount of time devoted to Professional skills. In other words, students agree that teachers should have degree status, and all that that entails, reject the view that educational theory is irrelevant to professional practice, and in turn reject the suggestion that their pre-service training has been unsatisfactory. In general there is considerable support for both

ideologies, but this position is qualified by a desire for some form of institutional change. In particular, the place and importance of teaching practice requires some modification, particularly in the context of a degree structure.

A bysection analysis of the relationship between Academic, Professional and Personal dimensions of teacher-training is carried out by calculating Pearson's Product Moment Correlation, "r", in order to determine the relationship between variables.

Academic and Professional	r = +0.16	not significant
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Academic and Personal	r = +0.03	not significant
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Professional and Personal	r = -0.47	significant
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The significant "r" poses some interesting questions. There is an apparent rejection of the practical skills offered in the college curriculum, yet no rejection of either the academic or professional ideologies. Why? How is it that hypothesis (1) is rejected and H2's negative relationship is supported. I may suggest that student's dissatisfaction may be characteristic of Marx's notion of 'false consciousness' imposed by the hegemony of 'intellectuals' and the expectations of society. The definition of teacher-training which is apparently accepted by students is one which they might not articulate in reality.

Some Conclusions

There is no doubt that this pilot study can be criticised on its validity. It is always difficult to arrive at empirical verification when dealing with the

actual and substantive nature of any ideology. There is a constant danger of imputation on the part of the researcher and with the truthfulness of responses to questionnaires. Again there still exists the difficulty of stating whether institutionalised ideologies are similar to the ideologies of the institutions' constituent members. In the final analysis, one might suggest that the conflict in ideologies does not lie with students while in training, but only emerges once they become practitioners.

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