ABSTRACT
                Research problems and issues of concern to educators
in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland are discussed in 21
papers. Papers fall into the general categories of educational
history and current practices. Papers in the first category cover the
following topics: a history of the Education Inquiry of 1824-1826,
the "hedge" or private primary schools which existed in Ireland prior
to institution of the national school system in 1831, the
relationship between the Christian Brothers schools and the national
school system, the relationship between the Irish treasury and the
national school system, a history of the Royal Commission on
Technical Instruction (1881-1884), the Educational Endowments Act of
1885, and Henry Edward Armstrong and experimental science in the
schools. Papers dealing with current practices examine the views of
Northern Ireland teachers, cognitive consciousness and the teaching
of reading, peace education, Northern Ireland's management education
program, problems and trends in computer-based education, business
studies in Irish schools, the effect of the economic recession on
business studies, ritual and symbol in the culture of Northern
Ireland's primary schools, attitudes of "Leaving Certificate"
students, the overhead projector as a teaching instrument, open
curricula, residential schooling for the hearing-impaired, an
analysis of the post-primary curriculum, and the relation between
theory and practice. (LP)

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General Editor's Comment

The history of educational research and of scholarly studies in education suggests that the field has been almost the exclusive preserve of third level academics and of those engaged in research agencies in a professional capacity. Rarely did schoolmen venture into such choppy waters. It is very encouraging to note that in this number of the journal, one-third of the papers have been contributed by either practising teachers or principals in primary or post-primary education. This, I believe, is a very healthy development in Irish education and testifies to the 'extended professionalism' of our school teachers.

I believe that educational research can serve to inform educational policy as well as improve the quality of life in schools and the effectiveness of the curriculum. If educational research is to be effective then there must be a greater cross-fertilisation of enquiry, supplemented by increased modes of cooperation and openness across our three tiered system. We need 'mesh', particularly in terms of curriculum research where curriculum development is the goal. The recent establishment of the Curriculum and Examinations Board presents us with a golden opportunity to achieve this 'mesh', allowing as it can, for primary, post-primary, third-level and other agencies to come together in a dynamic enterprise which none could achieve by working alone. For far too long we have been working alone and without liaison.

The first point that I wish to make concerns the character and choice of research problems and topics. Ireland is a small country with rather limited educational resources for research work. It seems to me that if several researchers were to pool their resources, both intellectual and capital, and attacked a common theme,

or problem, then solutions will be found all the sooner.
There seems to be a research tradition of private, once-
off type studies, whereby researchers follow their own
whims or ideas in isolation from the research community.
Would it not be eminently more sensible to establish
inter-disciplinary teams of re·earchers who might attack
serious curriculum problems from a variety of perspect-
ives?   Take for example the introduction of integrated
science or social studies at junior cycle - philosophers
could discuss the epistemological problems thrown up by
the nature of integration; psychologists could seek to
establish the effects of integrated studies on pupils
in terms of learning and achievement while practitioners
might discuss methods and strategies for implementing
integrated studies in the curriculum.

The Curriculum and Examinations Board might draw
up broad aims and guidelines for curriculum change. The
responsibility for curriculum development must then rest
with the 'school community' of administrators, teachers,
parents, researchers, design experts etc. It is not a
task for teachers acting alone. When projects have been
completed, then it would be the responsibility of schools
to interpret and implement these plans and to carefully
monitor and reconstruct these curricula in terms of the
school's needs, resources and priorities. I suggest that
educational research has a priority role to play in this .
scenario. Sound research data will form the basis for
rational decision-making about curriculum - aims, content,
methods and modes of evaluation.

Given the limited nature of our resources should
there not then be a greater concentration of research on
problems thrown up by the brief of the Curriculum and
Examinations Board? Research into modes of pupil assess-
ment and programmes of social and political education? .

Finally, it seems to me that in recent years
responsibility for many curriculum decisions previously
made by central authorities is passing to schools and
teachers. I believe that this is essentially right.
School-based curriculum development is a new name for an
old idea. The philosopher of education, Alfred North
Whitehead wrote more than fifty years ago:

> each school should grant its own leaving
> certificates, based on its own curriculum.
> The standards of these schools should be
> sampled and corrected. But the first
> requisite for educational reform is the
> school as a unit with its approved
> curriculum based on its own needs, and
> evolved by its own staff. 1

It seems to me that the establishment of the Curriculum
Board is a step in the direction of Whitehead's idea.
The research community can help to achieve his dream.

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1 Alfred N.Whitehead. The Aims of Education. (London:
        Ernest Benn, 1932).

THE EDUCATION INQUIRY 1824 - 1826 IN ITS SOCIAL
AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

Seamus O Canainn

The Education Inquiry of 1824-26 was one of three
major government inquiries into Irish affairs in the
1820s. A select committee of the House of Commons
produced four reports on the state of Ireland between
1825-29, and a select committee of the House of Lords
produced a further report in 182?. Taken together, these
reports are a study of the complete 'Catholic question'
as it was called, and laid the ground for the Catholic
Relief Act of 1829. These inquiries in the couse of
their investigations examined the constitution under
which Ireland had been governed since the late seventeenth
and early eighteenth centuries, and the principles and
perceptions of Catholic teaching which underlay it.

It is within this context that the Education Inquiry
should be viewed. The government's interest was in
"tranquillising" the country and the role of education
within this process was well established. Education had
long been viewed as a device for social control. It was
the instrument through which respect for law and authority
was inculcated and through which 'morality' was taught.
It would encourage restraint and order. However, at a
time of widespread disorder in the early 1820s, the state-
aided system of education was of no assistance because
Catholic children did not attend its schools.

The task of the Education Inquiry was to bring these
children into the education system. There was general
agreement on how such a system should be organised as had
been demonstrated by the success of the Kildare Place

Society in its early years. What was at issue was <u>control</u>.
The Catholic Bishops had made it clear that they must have
sufficient control over the education of Catholics to
avoid interference with their religious beliefs.[1]

This was not an educational problem. This was a
profound constitutional issue. Ireland was a Protestant
state with a Protestant constitution. The Penal Laws had
not been repealed. To grant senior positions of control
to Catholic Bishops in education, on a par with represent-
atives of the Established Church would be unconstitutional.
It is this constitutional issue which is at the heart of,
this broadly based investigation into Irish affairs, and
this is particularly evident in the Education Inquiry.

The starting po..nt for these investigations was with
two issues, widespread rural unrest and the activities of
the Catholic Association.

Rural disturbance.

Rural disturbances in Ireland in the early 1820s
derived from the crisis in agriculture which followed the
Napoleonic war.[2] During the war prices and the value of
land had risen. Population increase added to the demand
for land and widespread subletting was encouraged by '
landlords. Units of one acre per family were not uncommon.
Standards of housing and cultivation declined as a pattern
of subsistence farming began to predominate.

With the fall in grain and cattle prices after the
war the fragmentation of farms was reversed in favour of
consolidation. Landlords reduced the numbers of holdings
through evictions, and the consequent hardship affected
not only those who had been evicted, but the inhabitants
of towns where they settled. High unemployment, low wages,
a poor and precarious food supply, combined with a rapid
increase in population made the plight of the peasantry

very serious. Resistance to the payment of tithes spread
particularly in Munster and parts of Leinster. Secret
Societies, dormant since the 1798 rebellion re-emerged
and attacked landlords, tithe proctors and their property.

Catholic Association

Irish society was also agitated at another level,
that of the Catholic middle class. This class had been
formed since the relief legislation of 1778 had afforded
Catholics a greater opportunity to invest in land. These
opportunities increased in the aftermath of the Union
when many Protestants left the country, selling their
estates to Catholics. The fall in land prices after the
war had also contributed to the development of a class
which, while Catholic, possessed considerable wealth and
was imbued with the Radical democratic princ. .s of the
French Revolution. This class had begun to move into the
professions and found that the possibilities of advance-
ment open to Catholics were very limited, both by law and
by anti-Catholic bigotry. Mr. A.R. Blake a Catholic and a
commissioner of education, interviewed by the Commons
Committee on the State of Ireland observed that Catholics
were placed below Protestants in Law.[3] Catholics could
not become MP's or Judges. On top of that Catholics and
Protestants were both obliged to take oaths which he found
offensive. These measures were seen to be essential to
the security of Protestants but no similar solicitude was
shown towards Catholics. As a commissioner of education
he had been required to take the usual oath. Then his
appointees, all Protestants had to take an oath which
declared that he, Blake was an idolator and that his
religion was superstitious and idolatrous.

In the course of his interview with the same
Committee,[4] Daniel O'Connell enumerated several other
avenues of advancement denied to Catholics. In some cases,

the obstacles were enshrined in law, in other cases in prejudice.

Directorship of the Bank of Ireland, for example, was open to Catholics since 1793 yet not one Catholic had been appointed even though, in O'Connell's opinion, by far the greater part of commercial wealth in Dublin was in the hands of Catholic merchants. Of the clerks in the bank, only six to ten were Catholics. Another such instance of prejudice was the refusal to accept Catholics as freemen of the Corporation. Catholics were not favoured for membership of Grand Juries even though they had equal rights with Protestants in this area since 1793. He was of the opinion that bigotry was rife and that the law was not enforced impartially. Most importantly perhaps, he emphasised that the Penal Laws had not been repealed. As the law stood, Catholics who failed or refused to take the oaths required of them in certain circumstances placed themselves at the mercy of the full force of the Penal Laws, since relief was conditional on taking the oaths.[5]

While the agitation of the Catholic Association could only benefit a relatively small number of Catholics, its activities had succeeded in raising the expectations of all Catholics. Dr. Doyle, Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin when interviewed by the same committee made this clear, when asked whether the lower classes in Ireland took any interest in the Penal Laws. He replied:

> I know of no class or description of
> people in Ireland who do not feel a
> very strong interest in the repeal of
> the Penal Laws; those perhaps who
> understand the nature of them least
> are the most anxious for their repeal. 6

Education

The Education Inquiry has its place within the general investigation of these problems the wider 'Catholic

Question'. The experience of Catholics dealing with
educational matters had not been dissimilar to the
picture of prejudice and legal obstruction painted by
O'Connell of the professions generally. Dr. Magee, Church
of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin, when interviewed by the
Education Inquiry stated that he would not of choice
admit a Roman Catholic to a school, not even to engage in
the literary instruction of Roman Catholic children. And
the more sincere and honest a Catholic was, the more
dangerous he would be.[7] The views of the other Church of
Ireland Bishops were in substantial agreement. The only
circumstances in which the presence of a Catholic teacher
in a school might be considered would be in a mixed
school where he was licensed by a Protestant authority
and superintended by the local minister.[8] In contrast,
the Catholic Bishops were prepared to accept a system of
mixed literary and separate religious education.

What emerges from the preliminary investigation of
the disturbances is that the grievances felt by Catholics
were a major contributory factor. The disabilities,
whether legal or prejudicial provoked discontent and
tithes provoked violence. Having detailed the grievances,
attention now turned to an investigation of the assumpt-
ions which underlay the exclusion of Catholics from the
constitution, the Protestant constitution of the late
seventeenth century.

This required an examination of Protestant percept-
ions of Catholic teaching and an elucidation of that
teaching by the Catholic Bishops. Specifically dealt with
were the nature of Catholic allegiance to the Pope, the
extent of Papal power in temporal affairs and the
obligations Catholics had to keep faith with heretics or
non Catholics.

It was the Protestant perception of Catholic beliefs
in these areas that underlay the position assigned to

Catholics within the constitution and which had given
rise to the Penal Laws.

Protestant Fears.

It was widely believed among Protestants that the
power of the Pope superseded that of the civil authority
in temporal affairs and that Catholics were not at
liberty to disobey the Pope when a command was enforced
by threat of excommunication.[9]

If universal Papal supremacy were conceded the power
vested in the office became of great importance. It was
believed that the deposing power of the Pope had not
become obsolete and could be exercised at will against a
Protestant monarch. It had been invoked as recently as
the reign of James I in the opinion of one witness.[10]

The third area of major fear was the nature of
certain Catholic beliefs, particularly in relation to
keeping faith with heretics. Catholics it was believed
were not obliged to keep faith with those their Church
regarded as heretics. The example of John Huss was given.
Huss had been summoned to appear before the Council of
Constance (1414-18) under the guarantee of the emperor
Sigismund. When he appeared he was arrested and subse-
quently executed.[11] If these perceptions of Catholic
beliefs were true then the practical implications of
admitting Catholics to equality in the constitution were
very serious.

There was the question of land which had been
confiscated at various times during the course of Irish
history. It was believed that parish priests had records
of original owners whose descendants were awaiting an
opportunity to repossess them.[12]

There was also the fear that the Catholic church
would seek to repossess herself of the property previously

confiscated on behalf of the Established Church.

A third source of concern, particularly for the Church of Ireland was the fear of loss of status and the threat of the constitution if Catholics were to attain positions of influence and power.

In reply to these claims, Daniel O'Connell referred to the very sizeable investment of Catholics in forfeited land since the Relief Act of 1778 and particularly since the Union. As an attorney he had advised many to do so given the ease with which title could be traced. These. Catholics could not wish to have forfeited lands repossessed by the descendants of the original owners. The wealthy Catholics would he believed be ruined by it.[13]

On the fear of Catholic occupation of Church of Ireland property, assurances were given by Messrs. Blake and O'Connell and the Catholic bishops that the Catholic bishops entertained no such ambition.[14]

These replies and particularly those of O'Connell on repossession of forfeited estates are of great importance. Ireland was ruled by laws and conventions which had been devised for a semi autonomous colony with its own parliament in the eighteenth century. The constitution had been supported by a resident aristocracy and the Established Church was its spiritual aspect.

All the principal Catholic dignitaries interviewed affirmed that the propensity of the Catholic Clergy was towards an unqualified submission to the law and to the government.[15] Dr. Doyle also assured the committee that a settlement of the Catholic question would bind the interests of Catholics to the Crown.[16] Considerable emphasis is placed on these points by the Catholic representatives to counter the previous claims of disloyalty.

These were the Catholic responses to Protestant
fears for their property in the event of the political
emancipation of Catholics. The more profound questions
remained to be answered, the nature of the Catholics upon
which the Protestant fears were based: allegiance, papal
authority and keeping faith with heretics. These required
further examination not least because some of the Church
of Ireland dignitaries interviewed had emphasised that the
opinion of enlightened Catholic thinkers could not be
relied upon in view of the absolute power of the Pope over
them.[17]   This was at the same time the heart of the Inquiry
seen as a whole.

Catholic Teaching Examined.

The Reverend William Phelan, friend and confidant of
Archbishop Stuart of Armagh sought to demonstrate that
objectively, regardless of the personal opinions of
individual Catholics, all Catholics were obliged to do
what they could to bring down the Protestant Church. He
quoted a number of examples of what he had in mind from
a directory published by order of Dr. Murray, Archbishop
of Dublin, for the use of Irish Ecclesiastics. On the
feast of St. Mark,for instance the liturgy of the Catholic
Church was clearly offensive to the Established Church.
The Litany on that day included the prayer: ". . . and
thou wilt be graciously pleased to bring the efforts of
heretics to nothing". What would happen in the event of
a war with France? The Roman Catholic clergy would be
obliged to pray, not for the success of British arms, but
for the success of France, regardless of personal
feelings.[18]

This attitude was not the simple prejudice of an
individual, it was a fear that was rooted in the constit-
ution, the same fear as had been expressed by the Reverend

William E. King, Archbishop of Dublin writing in 1691.
He had then claimed that a Catholic monarch was always
obliged by his religion to destroy his Protestant subjects
even though his personal feelings might not coincide.[19]

> It is easier to demonstrate that every
> Roman Catholic king, if he thoroughly
> understand his religion, and do in
> earnest believe the principles of it,
> is obliged, if he be able to destroy
> his Protestant subjects and that nothing
> can excuse him from doing it but want of
> power.

Neither could Catholics in his opinion submit themselves
to a monarch of a different religion.

A further point of interest is that both Dr. King in
1691 and Dr. Phelan in 1824 quoted the same evidence in
support of these views, drawn from the fourth Lateran
Council of 1215 and from the Council of Constance. These
attitudes clearly underlay the Protestant constitution
and had been current at the end of the seventeenth century.
In building a constitution on them they had come to
underpin a social order, whose existence would be under
threat if they were discarded. Interestingly, a great
deal of time was devoted to an examination of them in the
course of these Inquiries.

In the Education Inquiry, the questioning of Irish
Bishops dwelt little on strictly educational matters.
Most of the investigation had to do with these central
political/religious questions: The Bishops were repre-
sented by Dr. Curtis of Armagh, Dr. Murray of Dublin,
Dr. Oliver Kelly of Tuam, and Dr. Doyle of Kildare and
Leighlin.

They were repeatedly questioned on articles from the
third and fourth Lateran Councils on Catholic allegiance
and obligations to heretics.[21] One article quoted from
the third Lateran Council went as follows:

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> That all those who are in any way bound
> to heretics should consider themselves
> absolved from all fidelity and obedience
> due to them so long as they persist in
> their iniquity.

They were asked whether this could mean that
Catholics were not obliged to observe allegiance to the
crown. Dr. Doyle, who did most of the speaking emphas-
ised that what was referred to was a local problem which
threatened both lay and ecclesiastical powers and the
measures adopted to counteract it had had the agreement of
both. Further questions on the measures adopted against
the Albigenses followed and an effort to establish whether
decrees then promulgated in particular circumstances still
had general application.

Analysing the teachings of the twelfth and thirteenth
century Catholic Church in an Education Inquiry in 1824
seems at first sight to be incongruous. But the questions
put to the Catholic Bishops represented the perceptions
held by Irish Protestants of Catholic teaching. It was
these perceptions which underlay the Protestant Constitu-
tion and the Penal Laws.

Additional topics dealt with included the freedom of
Irish Bishops to accept or reject Paper Bulls. The Pope's
power was in Dr. Doyle's view limited to the spiritual
domain and he could not for instance absolve Catholics
from oaths of allegiance.[22]

These exchanges played an important part in prepar-
ing the way for what Gladstone, writing in 1874 was to
call ". . . the great and just concession of 1829". That
concession without such declarations would he believed
have been far more difficult to entertain.[23]

The government was concerned with a much larger
question than education simply. A settlement of the
education question would not pacify the country, rather
would it feed the agitation for the resolution of other

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grievances. In any case it could not be resolved under
the existing constitutional arrangement. Insofar as
education had a role it was essential that Catholics be
involved in it. The body which had hitherto been charged
with the education of Catholics had failed to secure this
involvement.

The Church of Ireland

The Church of Ireland was a Church under siege.
Serving a minority, composed largely of the governing
class and supported by revenues paid mainly by the great
majority of the population which it did not serve, it was
an object of great hostility. During the existence of a
domestic parliament, it had been secure in its role as
the spiritual aspect of the constitution. It provided
the ideology of the society and its clergy formed a
distinct class within it with specific civil functions.
The Church of Ireland parish was both a civil and relig-
ious unit. Most importantly, however, the clergy had the
task of providing moral instruction for the people, both
formally through control of education and by example in
the community. This role was one of great importance and
the stability and peace of the community was seen to
depend on their ability to inculcate respect for the law
and the institutions of the state. In the aftermath of
the union the influence of the Church of Ireland began to
decline. In the absence of a domestic parliament, the
role played by the Church diminished. This was reflected
in the reduction to four of the seats held by bishops in
the House of Lords. The dependance of the government on
the ecclesiastical vote diminished accordingly. The
union of the Churches of Ireland and England was to prove
of little help where disagreements existed on matters
which affected the Church of Ireland.[24]

The Union itself was associated with a rash of
political appointments to the episcopacy in repayment of
debts incurred in passing the act of Union, Irish
bishoprics being within the government's patronage. As
one author has put it in the early nineteenth century,
the Irish Bishops "... were not an admirable body of
ecclesiastics."[25] Another author put it as follows:

> Indeed given the method of choosing
> the Church's Leaders, it can only have
> seemed to many that the survival of
> the Church of Ireland was in itself an
> evidence of the continuing power of the
> almighty to work miracles. 26

Discipline among parochial clergy was also poor and
absenteeism and plurality of benefices common. Sporadic
attempts to improve discipline were made from time to
time most notably during the tenure of Archbishop Stuart
appointed to Armagh in 1820. The method used to improve
residency underlined the weakness of the Church, since
the civil authority, the government, was required, first
in 1808, and again in 1824 to introduce legislation with,
in the former case, canonical sanctions and in the latter
civil sanctions, fines, to enforce the Church's standards
of discipline. Even with these measures there was little
improvement. Between 1807 and 1832 non-residents were
persuaded to return at a rate of one per annum and the
pluralists were reduced at the rate of two per annum.[27]
Inevitably under the circumstances the Church's ability
to discharge the functions vested in it diminished. In
the area of teaching morality it had clearly failed to
attract Catholic children to its schools, and with the
outbreak of tithe resistance in the early 1820s it seemed
to provoke trouble rather than contribute to peace,
requiring the enaction of Tithe Acts in 1823 and 24.

The Church was not in a strong position to repulse
an attack when a heated public debate began on its role
in 1822. The debate began with a scathing attack by

Dr. William Magee, the Church of Ireland Archbishop of
Dublin on the "increasing hostility" and "open violence"
which assailed the Church of Ireland on all sides.[28]
This was greeted as almost a declaration of religious war
by Catholic Bishops. In the ensuing debate the principal
protagonists to emerge were Dr. Phelan of the Church of
Ireland, and Dr. Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin. Some of
the areas of the debate were of a theological nature and
do not concern the subject matter of this paper. The
heart of the debate had to do with the respective roles
the two churches should play under the constitution.

Dr. Doyle directed his attack at what he termed The
Church of Ireland's 'present establishment' a privileged
position requiring that Roman Catholics pay a clergy which
did not minister to them. The privileged position held
by the Church of Ireland entirely unfitted its clergy to
act as a restraining and positive influence on their
communities. He instanced the current agitation over
tithes, agitation provoked by the existence of that very
privilege. It was the Roman Catholic clergy, not the
clergy of the Church of Ireland who had restrained the
population during this period. The sacrifices that
people had been asked to suffer, perishing with hunger
in the midst of plenty should not, he claimed be attribut-
ed to the natural character and disposition of the Irish
people.

> No! Such sacrifices could only be the
> fruit of religion pushed to an extreme
> extension by the influence and exhort-
> ation of a pious priesthood. 29

He argued that tithes, an "odious privilege" would
continue to promote disharmony and division in place of
tranquillity. To govern the Irish by means of such a
gentry was an impossible task.

He asked bluntly what need the state had of the
Church of Ireland and concluded that it had no need except

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to teach morality to the people, a task it could not
discharge:

> The state has all the communications
> easy, direct, open, her roads, her posts,
> her army, her magistrates, her police.
> She is everywhere felt. She does not
> need the aid of a Chure.. unless to teach
> morality to the people; and your
> excellency feels, most sensibly, that in
> place of aid, you receive from the Church
> immense trouble; here she produces nought
> to the government but thorns and brambles. 30

Dr. Doyle saw a legitimate function for a Church in
helping to civilize a society but he disputed most
forcibly the suitability of the Church of Ireland to
discharge such a function. Rather did he see the Roman
Catholic priesthood filling this role of a "middling
gentry", and contributing to peace and stability as they
had done during the recent period of agitation when
bishops and priests, Doyle himself included, had condemned
the activities of secret societies and had restrained
their members from violent activities.[31]

Dr. Phelan responded in like terms. He described
the attitude of the Catholic Bishops as "an insatiable
thirst for revenge". Dr. Doyle was "a member of an artful
and domineering hierarchy, and the cheap, perhaps unconsc-
ious instrument of a political faction".[32]

The role of the Church of Ireland was to wed its
aristocracy of spirit, industry and intelligence as well
as the aristocracy of power and wealth to England and
things English. Since the Union he believed, Ireland had
ceased being a colony:

> It is legally a member of the great
> British family, but it is not so
> morally. What class of person is the
> executive to have recourse to as a
> means of effecting a change so
> desirable? 33

He discussed the options open to the State. Ruling
through a hereditary aristocracy was out of the question
on account of the high degree of absenteeism. Resident
gentry of a secondary class, agents, middle men and so
forth were also unsuitable. A third possible group was
the Roman Catholic priesthood: ". . . J.K.L. hints as
much". In Dr. Phelan's opinion however;

> Their power of evil is greater than
> their power of good. The latter
> particularly in a Protestant state
> extends only to acts, not principles;
> the former is almost interminable.

The sectarian missionaries, "whom an unreflecting
philantrophy has of late years poured in on us" were also
dismissed.

The only other possible group which could meet the
requirements of the situation was the clergy of the
Church of Ireland. It was the only group which could be
relied upon to establish "a system of good principles and
good will". The twofold nature of their calling suited
them ideally to the role. In the first place they had
the spiritual duty to minister to their flock. In the
second place they had a duty to all people in their
benefices arising out of their covenant with State.

He proposed that by eliminating administrative
abuses and by maintaining existing incumbents "as respect-
fully as they now are" the country would gain ". . . a
class of men interested above all others in the mainten-
ance of universal tranquility and good order".[34]

Both churches and the government regarded the civil-
izing of the country and the teaching of morality as
legitimate functions of Churchmen. They disagreed
however, on the extent to which the Church of Ireland had
been successful in doing so and on the desirability of
having the Roman Catholic clergy doing so. The obstacle
to have the Roman Catholic clergy engage in the activity

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was constitutional, particularly so in the area of
education which was the principal means of effecting the
policy. The consideration of rural unrest did require
however an examination of the effectiveness of existing
agencies of prevention, and led inevitably to the
constitutional issue, in the interests of securing the
elusive goal of tranquillity.

This debate had brought sharply into focus the
anomolous position the Church of Ireland, as an Established
Church but representing a minority. The anomaly arose
from the extension of the principles of the British
revolution to a completely different culture and yield-
ing different results. Edmund Burke had described it as
follows:

> In England it (i... Revolution) was the
> struggle of the great body of the people
> for the establishment of their liberties
> against the efforts of a small faction
> who would have oppressed them. In
> Ireland it was the establishment of the
> power of the smaller number at the expense
> of the civil liberties and properties of
> the far greater part; and at the expense
> of the political liberties of the whole.
> It was, to say the truth, not a revolution
> but a conquest, which is not to say a
> great deal in its favour. 35

This position had been tenable under the domestic
parliament but was now increasingly vulnerable under a
pragmatic government, which might well address itself to
Dr. Doyle's query on what purpose it served.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the
struggle against the fear of domination by Catholics had
not been incompatible with maintaining a constitutional
independence from Britain. In the nineteenth century
however this struggle could be maintained only by standing
openly as an "English garrison." In doing so, and in its
explicit dependence on the government the Church of
Ireland was entrusting its destiny to the pragmatism of

British politics, which was not beyond going over the
head of the Church of Ireland to treat with Catholic
Bishops. The strain of meeting the demands placed on it
by its constitutional position had also taken its toll:

> The gulf between what the Church of
> Ireland professed to be and what it
> was, was so great that the whole
> communion existed in a state of
> institutional anxiety. 43

In contrast to this was the growth in strength of
the Catholic Church from its position of great weakness
in the nineteenth century. It now held a position of
considerable strength and influence over its members and
had acted as a restraining influence in the recent
troubles.

In vying for the role of a "middling gentry" the
goal of the two churches was control of Catholic education.
It was this which would secure for them the position of
teaching morality to the people, which was the government's
interest in the matter. It was clear however, that
enabling Catholics to have control of their own education
was not a simple legal question but a profound constitut-
ional issue. To place Catholics and by implication their
Bishops in positions of such authority would elevate the
Catholic Church to a position of equality in a constitution
which was specifically Protestant. The ground was prepared
for this change in the course of the several Inquiries of
1824-26.

Education policy in Ireland in the nineteenth century
has been described as a device for social engineering. In
examining the 1824-26 Education Inquiry it can be argued
that the ground was laid there for the largest single such
enterprise, the demotion of a social class that had failed
and the creation of a new social class, the Roman Catholic
priesthood, whose task was to be the inculcation of
respect for the institutions of state and the Rule of Law.

The Education Inquiry of 1824-26 contains the seeds of a radical transformation of Irish society which was to lead on the one hand towards disestablishment and on the other towards a position of considerable political power for the Catholic clergy.

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THE SURVIVAL OF THE HEDGE SCHOOLS - A LOCAL STUDY

James Hoban

Prior to the introduction of the national school
system of education in 1831, the vast majority of the
Irish children, received their primary education, in
what were termed hedge schools or private schools. For
many years before the arrival of the state sponsored
system, there had been a growing consensus among inter-
ested parties, that what Ireland needed was a more
highly developed and organised system,to replace the
often haphazard and irregular education being pursued
in these hedge schools.   Historians have tended to
concentrate on the development of the national system,
to the detriment of research into the whole area of the
hedge schools.

The results of my research in County Roscommon raise
issues which are at variance with the generally accepted
pictures of primary school education at this time.   The
national schools were introduced very slowly and indeed
forty years were to pass before the system had gained the
confidence and acceptance of the people.   During this
period a considerable number of the hedge schools
continued to educate, and between the years 1831 and 1851,
less than half of the school-going attendance in
Roscommon went to a national school.   This naturally
implies that slightly more than half of the primary
school children of the county attended schools run by
private individuals.   The purpose of this paper is to
examine the position of the hedge schools in the County
of Roscommon during the period 1831-1871, a period during
which the national system made progress, but not without
some stiff opposition from the more successful of the
hedge schools.

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The Second Report of the Commissioners of Irish
Education Inquiry for 1824 revealed that there were 308
schools in the county[1] of this number there were 242 pay
schools. These schools were described as "unconnected
with any society, and held by the individuals for their
own profit". This meant that the pay or hedge schools
were over 79 per cent of the total number of primary
schools in the county. The number of children attending
these schools varied in accordance to the Roman Catholic
and Protestant returns to the Commission but on the
assumption that the Catholic figures were of greater
accuracy - due to the greater presence of Roman Catholic
clergy in the county - I have accepted their attendance
return of 13,269 in these schools.

The national system of education was introduced in
1831, and in 1835 the Commission of Public Instruction
presented its report. The total number of primary
schools was 325, but of this number only six were
national schools. This suggested that national schools
represented a mere 2 per cent of the schools in the
county, and educated only 4 per cent of the school-going
population. However, the number of schools described as
hedge schools was 189 with 11,500 pupils.[2] These schools
were specifically referred to as such in the report, and
were supported by the contributions of the children only.
These contributions varied between the different parishes,
and the subjects taught by the teacher.

The chief subjects taught were reading, writing and
arithmetic. The fee for writing varied from 11p to 16p
per quarter with reading and spelling costing less.
Isaac Weld noted how in Killukes parish "the sum of 3/6
(17p) was paid for children learning accounts, and 1/6
(7p) for spelling and reading."[3]

The average annual salary from the National Board,
for teachers in County Roscommon was £10.00, and in some

areas this was aided by local contributions and subscript-
ions. Richard Wallis taught in Tarmon national school
and received "£8.00 per annum from the Board; £4.00 per
annum, and half an acre of ground from several respectable
inhabitants of Castlerea".[4] However, in many instances
the local aid given towards the salaries of teachers in
national schools was small and T.J.McElligott has noted
that "Poverty of the people made regular payment of salary
most uncertain and when the people found that the state.
provided money for the teachers they relaxed their efforts
to do so".[5] In a hedge school in Athleague the teacher
Edmund Burke received "the contributions of the children,
about £18.00 per annum", while in Fuerty the teacher
John Rooney earned £22.00 from the children's contribut-
ions.[6] In Baslic school the teacher Thomas Dwyer received
"the contributions of some of the children, from 7p to
17p per quarter each, amounting to about £35.00 per annum".[7]
While, many hedge school teachers in Roscommon received
such less than this, it nevertheless, illustrated the
sacrifices made by the people - despite their poverty
stricken conditions -to support the hedge school master
in their own areas, and was evidence of their great
respect for these schools.

It was stipulated by the National Board that one
third of the cost of building and fitting a national
school would be raised locally. This often proved most
difficult because of the extreme poverty of the population.
The First Report of the Commissioners for Inquiring into
the Conditions of the Poorer Classes in Ireland for 1836
revealed the terrible social conditions within the
county. Referring to the living conditions it noted that
in areas around Camma and Kiltoom they were "little huts
without any furniture except stools and pots; built of
stone and mortar very uncomfortable, the straw covering
being so seldom removed, the fireside consequently damp
and filthy and the inmates squalid. Bedsteads unusual

and in all cases most uncomfortable bedding".[8] The
result of this poverty was to slow up the progress of the
national system of education. In 1835 an application was
made to the Board for aid towards the building of a
school house in Cornasier. By 1837, however, the
commissioners had cancelled all grants to the school
because the applicant had not proceeded with the work
within a reasonable period of time.[9] This delay had been
due to the applicant's difficulty in raising any local
aid towards the school.

Conditions within the national schools were often
very bad, and in the summer they tended to be overcrowded,
as many more children attended them. The strongest
complaints at this time concerned the great lack of
school furniture and equipment. Very few schools had
desks or indeed a blackboard. The inspector's report for
Donamon school in 1837 stated that "this school was
labouring under disadvantages from want of space and
suitable school furniture".[10] Within the hedge schools
conditions were generally no better and many such schools
were held in "mud cabins" or "wretched hovels". A large
number of schools were also conducted in chapels and the
home of the teacher with the result that some of these
private schools were indeed superior to the overcrowded
and badly-equipped national school.

In 1834 a model training school for teachers in
national schools was opened in Dublin. This was to
provide a three month training course for teachers, but
very few attended from County Roscommon in the period up
to the Famine. In 1837 it was reported that the teacher
Michael Walsh of Carrick "although trained in the model
school was ignorant and inattentive,"[11] while in
Kilteevan the inspector noted that the mistress Eliza
Moran "writes and reads badly, she will do no good". In
Athleague the teacher did not understand English grammar,

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while in Cornafulla the teacher Francis Durney - who had attended the Model school -"was a confused answerer which arose from his deficiency as a scholar".[12] Reporting on the teacher in Finner, the inspector used a word, which was much beloved of the inspectors at this time, stating that he was "middling in the conduct of the school."[13] A large number of teachers in these national schoools were not properly trained, nor indeed suited to the occupation, which meant that a hedge school with a reputable teacher still attracted many school-going children.

Catholic reaction to the national system, which had been favourable at first, changed during the latter half of the 1830s and many of the clergy urged a great transformation of the system. The most outspoken critic was Archbishop McHale of Tuam who attacked and denounced the system openly. In 1839 the Commissioners of National Education noted that the system "has lately received a check in one district through the efforts of a Roman Catholic prelate,. . . . several schools in these parts of Galway and Mayo in which he exercises spiritual authority, have ceased to be in connection with us".[15] Part of the diocese of Tuam comes within the county boundaries of Roscommon, and it was noticeable that such areas of the county did not have any national schools until many years later. The parish of Moore which lay within the Tuam diocese had no national school until the late 1850s, bearing ample testimony to McHale's influence in these parts of County Roscommon.

By 1841 there were 32 national schools in the county, and the number of children on the rolls of such schools according to the Commissioners was 3,558.[16] Only Longford and Leitrim had less national schools than Roscommon, and the national system had failed to make dramatic inroads into the primary system of education, with the result that hedge schools were still educating the majority of school-

children. This fact was demonstrated further by the
census report of 1841.   In the primary schools there
were 6,185 boys and 4,533 girls, which meant a total of
10,718 children attending such schools. Regarding the
validity of this number the Commissioners noted "these
numbers we asserted from returns filled up by the master
or mistress, or other head of school, which gave the name
and ages of the children who actually attended during
the week preceeding the day of enumeration. We thus
endeavoured to avoid the excess which results from giving
the number on the roll of the school, while by extending
the attendance through a week, we hoped to avoid all
absence arising from the particular season to be allowed
for".[17]   The reports of the Commissioners of National
Education always referred to the numbers on the rolls of
the schools, thus presenting a rather false picture when
we wish to examine the numbers in actual attendance at
this time.

The Commissioners of National Education Report for
1841, reported the number of children on the rolls of
national schools in the county as 3,558. The census gave
the number of children attending primary schools as
10,718.[18] This implies that only one-third of the
children attending schools in 1841, actually attended a
national school. When one further considers that a
large discrepancy always existed between the numbers on
the rolls, and attendance, then there is the real
possibility of national school attendance representing
much less than one-third of the total. The same picture
emerges when we examine the number of teachers in the
various schools. There were 35 teachers in national
schools, but the census report noted a total of 299
schoolteachers in the county. This in fact meant that
264 teachers taught in schools other than those connected
with the National Board. Allowing for the schools of
Protestant Societies and the Church Education Society,

the figures reveal the significant role still played by the hedge schools in education. Since hedge schools generally had one teacher, the number of such schools in the county at that time was between 130 and 140 schools.

The famine of 1846 was no respecter of schools or teachers, and all schools suffered badly. Many reports at the time referred to its effects on education. In Kilmore school the "scholars paid nothing, but expected that once the famine ceased a number would be able to pay 1d weekly".[19] In Crosna the manager "in consequence of fever in the vicinity of the school, has moved the scholars to the chapel", while in Keadue Peyton the "school was closed in consequence of teacher's death".[20] The worst excesses of the famine were experienced during the year 1847 when the Commissioners noted that the number of children on the rolls of national schools fell from 9,634 in 1846 to 6,130 in this year.[21] These figures also revealed the significant progress made by the national system during the first half of the 1840s, when there was a very noticeable increase in the number of children on the rolls of such schools. County Roscommon experienced the greatest decline in attendance at primary schools in Connacht which demonstrated the fact that this area suffered some of the worst effects of the famine. Durcan stated about the national schools that the famine "deprived teachers of their fees, exposed them to disease, placed them in the position of workhouse porters, and when the relief ceased, left them with empty schools, the regular pupils having gone elsewhere".[22]

The distribution of food by the British Relief Association had interfered with the operation of the national schools. In Roscommon this resulted in a massive increase in attendance with the number increasing from 6,130 in 1847 to 12,669 in 1848. Commenting on this Durcan stated: "The inducement to the children to attend

under the pretext of education encouraged fraud, and not being able to distinguish between charity and a bribe, the school became associated with the latter, and the usefulness of education itself was overlooked".[23] This overcrowding only led to further disease among the teachers and children, as well as interfering with the discipline and efficiency of the schools.

The hedge schools were also affected by the famine. In 1846, however, these schools were very much in operation as many inspectors noted. Reporting on the application for aid towards the building of a national school in Knockcroghery the inspector noted that there was "A school in the village under the Church Education Society and three hedge schools - the first is not well attended, but the hedges are crowded". Earlier in the year the inspector reporting on the Strokestown district referred to "five or six cabin schools in the neighbour-hood attended by about thirty each".[24] Naturally these schools lost considerable numbers during the famine, and many of them closed. The position of the hedge school teacher was more vulnerable than that of the teacher in national school, and whereas a national school would possibly re-open or regain its number after the famine, the hedge school generally closed down with the teacher unemployed. For many such teachers, the only alternative may have been emigration. However, many hedge schools survived the ravages of the famine, as we can see from an examination of the census report of 1851.

The population of the county was returned as 173,436 which was a drop of just under a third on the population figure of 1841. The number of school-going children was 12,131.[25] The Commissioners of National Education Report gave the number of children on the rolls of national schools as 10,519. However, the actual attendance in these schools according to the census report was 4,308,

which represents over one third of the school-going
children. Private schools of which the majority were
hedge schools contained 3,408 children, or 28 per cent
of the school children. The national system was now
making clear inroads into primary education, and during
the decade from 1841 to 1851 had taken over as the main
agent of primary education within the county, educating
the greater number of school-children. Nevertheless,
the census reported 70 national schools in operation and
116 private schools, which meant that there were still
more hedge than national schools in the county.

The Commissioners of National Education in their
annual Report of 1851 had shown 114 teachers employed in
the county,[26] while the census gave the number of teachers
here as 293. When allowances are made for teachers in
Church Education Society schools, and some other schools
in the area, the number of teachers in national and
hedge schools were almost equal. Many of the schools in
the national system were two-teacher schools, whereas
the hedge school continued to be taught by one teacher
only. The hedge schools had not totally disappeared
with the advent of the national school, but continued
side by side with it, until eventually the better
financed and organised state system of education took
over completely in the late nineteenth century.

Many parents continued to send their children to a
hedge school despite the presence of a national school
in the area. In 1848 the inspector reporting on a
national school in Aughnadery wrote that there was
"a hedge school in the area which does no good to the
national school." In 1856 at Clegna the inspector
reported that "the manager hopes to overcome the ignorant
prejudice against national schools among parishioners".[27]
He proceeded to criticise the parishioners who sent
their children to inferior schools, while noting that
these schools without proper furniture or equipment had

twice as large an attendance as any national school in the area. In 1859 the inspector's report on Rathmile school stated "I find the people have a remarkable predilection for the ordinary hedge school, and hence there is as yet an unwillingness to send their children to the national school."[28] When examining this "remarkable predilection" there are a few points that require further consideration.

' The first are the observations made by the inspector Mr. J. Patten on a visit to a number of national schools in the county in 1850. In general he found the premises good, but instruction varied. In Elphin girls' school he noted that "reading and spelling are not good, writing indifferent, arithmetic merely commenced, progress of the children is poor, and little explanation given". At Mount Allen school there was "little progress made by the children in any of the branches."[29] The standard of teaching and education in some national schools was very low, with the result that a good hedge school still attracted many of the children.

Yet another important consideration was the attitude adopted by some teachers to the new system. At Knockvicar the teacher of the local hedge school was approached by the curate to join the national school system. In reply the teacher re-emphasised his determination to remain outside the system with the observation that "he would teach what he liked, where he liked, and when he liked". Implicit in this statement is the freedom that teachers in hedge schools enjoyed as opposed to the strict and narrow guidelines laid down for national teachers by the Board. These strictures extended from teachers avoiding all fairs, markets, and meetings, to their general appearance and moral values. There were numerous references to the fines levied on teachers for neglect of school, irregularity of attendance, fabrication of accounts, and poor punctuality.

The greatest pressure on the national school teacher concerned the vexed question of religion, and with the Roman Catholic and Anglican clergy so diverse in their attitudes to the system, the teachers were often the mere pawns in the game. As the majority of school managers were Catholic priests they tended to frown on any Protestant intervention in the school. This was revealed in Tarmon in 1850 when the manager had the teacher dismissed for allowing the protestant rector take shelter in the school porch from a shower of rain.[30] In schools where joint-patronage existed, the religious rivalry often left teachers without any income for long periods of time. A religious controversy in Knockcroghery meant that the teachers there were not paid for a year.[31] All this displays the problems faced by teachers in national schools. They were the lowest rung of the educational ladder, and lacked the respect of managers and inspectors alike. Many teachers in hedge schools who retained the esteem and confidence of the people were not prepared to enter such a system, and relinquish their freedom.

By 1861 there were 159 national schools in Roscommon with 14,983 pupils on the rolls. The census report of that year gave the number of children in attendance in primary schools as 10,588[32] which suggested that just over one quarter of the age group from five to fifteen attended a school in the county. The census reported that 6,870 children attended national schools, which was much less than the number on the rolls of such schools. The number of children in private schools was 2,539 which consisted of 2,351 between the ages of five and fifteen. The difficulty when examining private schools, is to discern the number of hedge schools contained in this category, as many of these private schools were assisted in other ways, aside from the contributions of the children. It is very clear from the figures, nevertheless, that the national schools now contained the vast majority

of school children. The number of schools according to
the census report was 268, and of this the national
schools were now in the majority. For the first time
the number of national schools outnumbered the hedge
schools. The private schools comprised 109 of the total,
and although the hedge school formed a significant
proportion of these, it was increasingly evident that
they were losing to the national system. Th. census of
1841, 1851 and 1861 had all displayed a trend, which
emerged even more forcibly in the latter half of the
1860s. This trend portrayed the national system moving
into a position of strength with the hedge schools
consequently declining. There was no iculty in
obtaining accurate figures for numbers of national
schools and children attending during this period.
However, the hedge schools proved more difficult, and
whether deliberate or otherwise there was little
reference to these schools in reports of the time.

It is very rewarding then to examine the Royal
Commission of Inquiry into primary education of 1870, as
this report makes specific references to the hedge school.
There were 231 primary schools in County Roscommon, of
which 167 were national schools.[33] The number of
children attending these schools of the National Board
was 9,935. Private schools were also referred to and the
number of such schools was 35. This consisted of 21
assisted schools and only 14 unassisted. The latter is
of chief interest to us, as this is referred to as the
hedge schools in the report. Commenting on the latter
type of school the Commissioners noted "Notwithstanding
the growth of national and other schools in which the
school fee is not more than one penny a week, and the
payment of even this small fee is not always enforced,
the Constabulary have returned under the name of hedge
schools, 117 schools in Munster, 43 in Leinster and

44 in Gonnaught, the teachers of which depend for their
livelihood on school fees".[34] The report gives grudging
recognition to the fact that some hedge schools continued
in existence, 40 years after the introduction of the
national schools.

In County Roscommon there were 14 hedge schools
referred to in the report, but three of these had been
discontinued. The attendance in these 11 schools still
in operation was 435 Roman Catholic children, and in
Cloonfad, Fairymount, Gortaganny and Drummad the numbers
attending had increased. Eight of the hedge schools in
the report had been in operation in the county in 1824.
The teachers in them had changed during the period 1824
to 1871, but so important had the schools become in the
community, they continued to educate the children of
their areas into the late 1800s. Furthermore, Roscommon
had the highest attendance of pupils in hedge schools in
Connacht at this time.

The underlying reason for the continuance of such
schools in any area of Ireland, is that they were
regarded by the parents as good schools, offering the
basis of a sound education in the children, and taught
by a teacher who had the respect and esteem of the people.
It is this which accounts for the reports final obser-
vation which read "there are still some poor people
willing to pay for the education of their children even
where facilities are offered of obtaining a much superior
education gratuitously in national and other schools".[35]

The hedge schools had been an integral part of
primary education in Ireland, long before the introduct-
ion of any state system of education, and had imparted
the basis of a rudimentary education to the Catholics
during the worst excesses of the Penal Laws. As such
they had gained the loyalty and respect of vast numbers
of Irish people, and the teacher was regarded very highly

in the community. The introduction of the national
system posed a great problem, however, as better
financed national schools extended through the country-
side. The hedge schools declined considerably as any
comparison of the figures will show us. In 1835 there
were 189 hedge schools, but this had fallen to a mere
11 schools in 1870. Nevertheless, despite the mushroom-
ing of the state system of education, a number, albeit
very small, of hedge schools continued to exist into the
latter years of the nineteenth century, a testimony if
one is needed of the character of these schools.

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THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS' DISCONNECTION FROM THE NATIONAL BOARD, 1936

Donald Herron

The setting up of the National Board, set out in Stanley's letter of 1831, permitted the Government to grant-aid educational provision in Ireland. On accept-ance of the Rules of the Commissioners, connected schools could receive grants toward building, furnishing, texts and teacher salaries.

The principle of combined secular and separate religious instruction was a central feature of this system of grant-in-aid. Amongst the groups who had misgivings about this principle, were the Christian Brothers, founded by Edmund Rice, in 1802, for the education of poor boys in Christian piety and in literary instruction. This instruction was gratuitous.

In common with the many parish pay-schools, the schools of the Order were in straitened financial circumstances in the 1830s. Despite the mistrust of the proposals because of the restrictions on religious instruction,[1] Br. Rice, on the advice of Dr.Murray, Archbishop of Dublin and Commissioner of the National Board,[2] decided to apply to the Board, on a trial basis, for the connection of some of the Order's schools.

The Commissioners, at a meeting in February, 1832, regularised the procedures for the connection of Nuns' and Brothers' schools and cleared the way administratively for the connection of such schools.[3]

Connection

Seven of the Christian Brothers' schools were
connected to the Board in 1832 and 1833. Six applied as
a result of Br. Rice's decision and the seventh, Ennis,
independently. Table 1 sets out the details of the
connections.

Table 1   Christian Brothers' Schools connected with the
           National Board

Roll No.	School	Applicants			Pupils on Roll	Teachers	Date
		Lay Cath	Lay Prot	Clergy Cath			
746	Mill St. Dublin	4	14	12	609	2	14.6.32
741	Nth Richmond St	3	10	9	771	6	28.6.32
645	Mt Sion, Waterford	8	15	6	630	3	25.8.32
639 640	St Patrick's(1) St Patrick's(2), Waterford	8	15	6	184	2	25.8.32
623	Dungarvan	3	12	9	519	4	23.9.32
446	Ennistymon	1	18	11	287	4	1.1.33
443	Ennis (Vested)	5	18	13	478	3	1.9.33

Source: Third Report of the Commissioners of National
          Education, 1836, (44), H.C. 1836, xxxvi.
          Appendix x, pp.34-35, and Royal Commission
          into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. VII,
          Returns furnished by the National Board,
          (C6-VI), H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt.v, section xiv,
          p.379.

The monies received were not inconsiderable. One
school received a building grant, three received fitting-
up grants and all seven received grants toward salaries
and school requisites.[5] Though the amounts were small,
they equalled, in most cases,the total other resources of
the houses.[6]

Connection with the Board, with its pecuniary
advantages, implied compliance with its Rules. Adherence
in three areas was a source of frustration to the
Brothers and each of these will be looked at: the rules
relating to Religious instruction, the Board's control
of texts for use in schools and the public's right to
visit schools in connection with the Board.

Religious Instruction: Religious instruction, was by rule
separated from secular instruction. It was to take place
on one or two days set aside for it, and, if wished,
daily, but either before or after 'ordinary school time'.
It was not until after a Rule change in 1838[7] that
religious instruction was permitted at one intermediate
period. Also forbidden, after 1838, was the right of any
visitor to question on the area of religion.[8] Devotional
practices and religious emblems were forbidden during the
period of secular instruction.

,Many of these regulations were in opposition to the
practices developed by the Brothers in their schools.
Religious thought and feeling imbued their schools and
lessons. Religious objects, hourly prayer and mid-day
religious instruction were features of school. The
Brothers' and the Board's perspectives on religious
instruction, and its place in the school day, were
different. With these differences developed conflict.

It would appear, that though there was some conflict
between the Board's inspectors and the Brothers, it was
not as great as the conflict within individual Brothers
themselves. Blake describes this inner conflict:

> ... a majority of the Brothers felt
> demoralised by the pretence of obeying
> the Board's rules exactly and yet
> surreptiously teaching religion at the
> pre-1831 times at regular intervals
> during the day. 9

This inner conflict was aggravated by the misunderstand-
ing by some of the Brothers about Br. Rice's intentions

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in connecting the schools to a Board with such constraining rules.[10] This constraint was further reinforced by a vigilant public and the Board's own inspectors.

Visitors: The Board's inspectors were the most regular visitors, and between them and the Brothers, Fitzpatrick says, there were "satisfactory relations, frequently cordial."[11] Occasionally, an inspector had to reprimand for a failure to comply with the Board's Rules[12] but overall the Brothers kept fairly to the Rules of the Board. The Mill Street school, Dublin, devoted one day to religious instruction[13] and all save one, followed the Board's recommendation in regard to the reading of the Scripture Lessons.[14]

However, under this visitation entitlement, the Brothers did suffer some harrassment, as some members of the public, malevolently motivated, wished to find the Brothers compromised in relation to the Board's rules.[15] The rule change of 1838 concerning visitors was too late to rectify this objection[16] as the decision to disconnect had already been taken.

Texts: The Brothers' own Lesson Books, some of which were available from 1826-1828[17] were not used in the schools connected with the Board. The Board at this time reserved to itself this right. An inspector wrote of the Brothers' Lesson Books, when they applied to the Board—

> The Books of the Christian Brothers are
> not such as they can sanction in a
> National School for general instruction. 18

The Brothers adopted, when they became available the Board's texts.

The Brothers had two criticisms of the book provided. On the one hand they were aware of a religious bias in the stories and poems contained, and on the other, the lack of an 'Irish' dimension in the content.

Archbishop Whately's Scripture Lessons, printed by
the Board, became available to schools from 1832 on.
There was no compulsion to use them, but they were used
in many schools, including the Brothers. Up to 1838,
their use was encouraged by the inspectorate[19] (at times
somewhat heavy-handedly). Thereafter, they were confined
to tabulating the numbers reading them.[20]

The Lessons were for use in 'ordinary school time'
and it may be assumed that informal religious instruction
might have accompanied their use. The inspectors were,
moreover, ordered in 1838, "to refrain from giving any
suggestions ... on their usage."[21] However, this easing
of the 'encouragement' was a little too late, for that
year, Rice had already written to the Brothers concerning
the Lessons:

> It is the 'introduction of the Bible to
> National schools which will render it
> quite impossible for houses now in
> connection with the Board of Education
> to continue that connection. 22

The Brothers recommended the publication of their own
texts in 1840, when all but one of their schools had
withdrawn.[23]

We have in turn, covered three areas of discord in
the connection of the Brothers' schools to the National
Board. No sharp disagreements developed and this may
have happened because, firstly, the Brothers kept fairly
within the Rules, though disagreeing with them, and,
secondly, the recogntion of the Board's inspectors of
the merit of the Brothers' schools.

The existence of the National Board and the avail-
ability of its grants had overall effects on the Brothers.
Br. Rice, noting the rising number of schools being
connected to the Board, wrote, in 1836, "that there can
be little future for the Congregration in Ireland".[24]
The attraction to Bishops and Parish priests of a fixed
yearly grant was very great. The Brothers in contrast,

would impose a financial burden on the inviting parish,
by the maintenance of a religious community.

There was the additional reluctance of some Bishops
"to admit to their dioceses a Congregation of Lay
Brothers largely independent of episcopal control".[25]

There was a steady stream of applications for the
establishment of schools from England, where the
negotiated position for the Brothers was financillay and
managerially, more satisfactory. Expansion of the Order
and the achievement of its ideal could proceed, but now
not necessarily in Ireland.

Disconnection

The process of disconnection may be charted through
the decisions and consequences of the Chapters of the
Congregation in 1836 and 1838.

The Chapter of 1836:   This was a "Chapter of Affairs".
Of the nineteen capitulants (Delegates), eight, at least
were in, or had been in schools connected to the National
Board. Normoyle says of them:

>   While all the capitulants were by this
>   time generally well informed on the
>   matter, some had first hand experience
>   of its operation.   26

So, when the matter of the connection came up for
discussion, it was the subject of a long debate.[27]
J.D. Burke, a historian of the Institute says of this
debate:

>   The connection of those houses with the
>   National System had been made within
>   the years of two Gegeral Chapters of
>   1831 and 1837 ... and consequently
>   without the sanction of a General
>   Assembly and solely by the Founder and
>   his Assistants, as a tentative thing
>   and mainly to please Archbishop Murray,

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who was one of the Board of Commissioners,
as also to satisfy a certain public
opinion, which seemed to intimate that
the Brothers should make a trial.   28

Gillespie felt that the Chapter "in effect censured
the Superior General (Br.Rice) for connecting with the
Board."[29]   In the event, the Chapter, at the end of its
debate unanimously carried this resolution:

As it appears to us, after calm and
impartial examination of the subject,
that a connexion with the Board of
National Education, under the
conditions and sacrifices by which it
is at present maintained, would
ultimately prove fatal to the religious
as well as to the professed object of
the institute, we ordain and strictly
enjoin for the remedy of the past, as
well as for the prevention of future
evils:

Firstly, that no connexion whatsoever
shall be formed henceforward with the
Board of National Education or with any
other Board of Association without the
concurrence and approbation of a
General Chapter.

Secondly, that a Committee of five be
appointed by the Chapter to make strict
enquiry into the funds and resources of
those houses which are at the present
in connexion with the Board, and that in
those cases in which it can be satisfcct-
orily proved that adequate means for the
subsistance of the community either
actually exist, or can be supplied, the
connexion shall be dissolved at the
termination of the present half year when
the outstanding salary of the Board shall
be received for that period.

Thirdly, that while we tolerate for the
present the maintainence of the connexion
on the part of those houses whose funds
will not permit an immediate separation,
we render it imperative on the Directors
and Communities of such houses to use
every legitimate means, which zeal and
prudence can suggest, to provide from
other sources a substitute for the

salary of the Board, and thereby enable
themselves to regain the characteristic
discipline of the institute without
which its spirit cannot be perpetuated. 30

Table 2   The dates on which the Christian Brothers'
Schools were struck off, with reasons appended.

Roll No.	School	Struck off	Reason
640	St Patrick's(1) Waterford	2.6.1836	Connection withdrawn
746	Mill St Dublin	31.3.1837	Board's Rules interfering with the discipline of the Order.
741	N n Richmond St Dublin	31.3.1837	Connection withdrawn
639	St Patrick's(2) Waterford	25.7.1837	Connection withdrawn
645	Mount Sion Waterford	8.3.1838	Connection withdrawn
623	Dungarvan	23.5.1839	Connection withdrawn
443	Ennis		Has not been recognised as a Monastic school since 30.9.1840.
446	Ennistymon	31.3.1857	Connection withdrawn ("House being out of repair and without adequate and suitable furniture") *

Source: <u>Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary
Education (Ireland), Vol.VII, Returns furnished
by the National Board</u>, (C6-VI), H.C. 1870,
xxviii, pt.v, p.379.

*<u>Twentyfourth Report of the Commissioners of
National Education</u>, 1857, p.215.

The committee of five was appointed and reported
their unanimous conclusion, in early January, 1837, that

the houses in Waterford, Mill Street and North Richmond Street, Dublin, could subsist independently.[31] In Table 2 is set out the dates on which these schools were struck off the Board's Register, and the reason stated at the time.

The Royal Commission in 1870 (Powis) printed the letters of the Brothers and Inspectors at this time. There are a number of interesting points arising -- the manner of communicating the withdrawal to the Board and the delay in informing Dr. Murray.

Mr. Thomas Finn, inspector, had visited Mount Sion, Waterford and after the visit wrote to the Board on August 25th, 1837:[32]

> The school has withdrawn its connection with us. The grounds for the withdrawal were not distinctly stated to me. I was told that Mr.Rice would give his reasons to the Board... It has been stated to me that the Rev.Carlile visited the school in May last and that the dissolution of its connection with us was then communicated to him. 33

Mr. McDermott, inspector in the Dublin area, wrote to the Board on July 11th, 1837 concerning his visit to the Brothers' Mill Street school. He reported that Mr.(Br.) Kelly, when telling him of the disconnection, mentioned that the only change since disconnection was the holding of religious instruction between twelve and one o'clock. He further reported Br.Kelly as saying:

> but if that rule was dispensed with, they would thankfully receive the grant of salary as usual, it not, they must thankfully decline it. 34

The Rev. George Dwyer, in his evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Lords, in July, 1837, mentioned how he became aware of the disconnection. Br.Thornton, assistant to Br.Rice, whom he met in Carrick-on-Suir, while he (Thornton) was visiting the Brothers' school,

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told him of the withdrawal and alluded to resolutions passed to the effect that they (the Brothers) did not approve of the National system.[35]

Dr. Kelly's statements were interesting in that they indicate a willingness to remain connected to the Board, save for the Rule on religious instruction. Mill Street school was the only Brothers' school that held religious instruction on the one day set aside for it. This Rule was shortly to change.[36]

Mr. Finn, the inspector who visited and wrote from Waterford gives his interpretations as to why the Brothers withdrew:

> I have reason to think that the inquisitorial power added to the rude demeanour of those sent about as spies upon our schools, practiced in their visits to these schools connected with Mr. Rice's confraternity, contributed largely to dissolve their connection with us. Such has been stated to me. 37

Three schools had disconnected when Br. Rice wrote, in June, 1837, informing Dr. Murray of the decision and the withdrawals. Dr. Murray was moreover, Patron of the two disconnected Dublin schools. In this letter, Br. Rice hoped that the Archbishop would not be displeased.[38] The annalist of the North Richmond Street School records the events in this way:

> This step was taken without apprizing the Archbishop of the Brothers' intention to withdraw, which omission was simply an oversight on the part of the Brothers; but his Grace was one of the Commissioners and a warm . supporter of the system took offence at this want of courtesy, and manifested his displeasure by with-drawing thenceforth £40 a year which he was in the habit of giving to the Hanover Street Schools. The only

> explanation which his Grace gave of
> the sudden withdrawal of the sum was
> that 'the party who paid it had
> ceased to contribute it any longer.' 39

There is no other explanation for the delay in communic-
ating with Dr. Murray. D.S. Blake has commented on this
in this manner: "was it that they were afraid of his
reactions, seeing he supported the Board so enthusiastic-
ally, and possibly decided that a fait accompli was the
only way of getting around any objections he would surely
have".40

The communication of the Brothers' disconnection was,
then, low-keyed. Yet, there are other indications of
the causal threads that led to the severence - some
tentatively alluded to; others pointedly stated.

By 1838, most of the Brothers' schools were in
severe financial difficulties. The idea of fee-paying
(pay) schools was in the minds of many of the capitulants
who met for the 1838 Chapter. It convened in July, with
three schools still connected to the Board: Dungarvan,
Ennis and Ennistymon.

The Chapter of 1838: The three schools still in connect-
ion with the Board were discussed within a few days of
the Chapter starting. Before a decision was taken,
however, a sub-committee was appointed, as before, to
examine the funds of these schools. The committee
reported on August 6th, and when it was discussed, a
decision was reached on the position of National Schools.
It was decreed:

> that the Dungarvan establishment hold
> no connection with the Board of
> National Education after the receipt
> of the next half-yearly grant;

> that we condemn the connection of
> Ennistymon and Ennis houses with the
> National Board and impose on the
> government of our Institute the
> obligation of severing the connexion

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> as soon as other means can be procured
> for the support of these establishments.41

It was almost a year before Dungarvan effected this directive.

It was at this Chapter that it was decided to set up pay schools. This, in effect, meant a fee-paying class within an existing school. The schools chosen were Mill Street and Hanover Street, Dublin - schools which had lost financial support, one from the National Board, the other from Dr.Murray. The wording of the decree gives some clue to the objective: pay schools were

> to receive from children of easy
> circumstances, such sums as they may
> feel disposed to give, in order to
> enable the Brothers to uphold these
> establishments. 42

withdrawal from the Board was not achieved without its due hardship.

The Ennis establishment was unfortunate in having an unwelcoming Dean O'Shaughnessy as their reluctant provider. Due to this reluctance, they had a £200 mortgage on the premises which the National Board redeemed, vesting the school in the Board as a result.[43] The Brothers suffered two drops in income in the following years, one when the Dean reduced this contribution to them while building his new church, and, the other when, with the rate of salary changes in 1839, their income from the Board was nearly halved.[44] This made them even more dependant on the reluctant Dean, a dependence they did not relish.

The Brothers withdrew from Ennis altogether in September 1840. The manner of their departure is not referred to in the Ennis House Annals, but there does exist the inspector's report to the Board concerning the matter. In a letter dated September, 30th, 1840, he wrote:

> ... Upon the former teachers retiring
> during vacation, Dean O'Shaughnessy
> took the opportunity of stating that
> they need not return as he would not
> be any longer instrumental in taxing
> the resources of the parish with sums
> collected for their support. Upon
> this, one retired and was succeeded
> by Mr.(Br.) Manifold, . . . but he
> and his brother teacher are unwilling
> to open the school under the
> circumstances and only await the
> instructions of the Board and the
> receipt of their half-yearly salary. 45

The Brothers were withdrawn and the Dean proceeded to
appoint two lay teachers to take the school. The
school, then, remained a National school under the Board,
but was no longer recognised as a Monastic school.

The Brothers returned in 1853, under a new Dean.
With his encouragement they 're-occupied' the school
against the wishes of the Board.[46] However, the Board
did not proceed against them, and the final comment on
the matter is in 1870, where an inspector reported that:

> ... Ennis, the vested premises ...
> has actually been appropriated for
> the use of the latter (the Christian
> Brothers). 47

The General Chapter of 1841, condemned, in words
similar to those of 1838, the continued connection of
the Ennistymon school.[48] The school was finally
disconnected in 1857. The reason quoted by the
Commissioners in their Report that year was "house being
out of repair and without adequate and suitable
furniture".[49] That the schoolhouse was in this condition
is correct.[50] In the letters published in 1870 (Powis),
it is apparent that there was a deteriorating relation-
ship between the Brothers and the Board, through its
inspectors, from about 1847.[51]

In 1853 and 1855 there were tighter interpretations
of existing Board's rules in relation to prayer,

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signs-of-the-cross as being interruptions to secular instruction,[52] and there was a change of rule which excluded clergymen and male members of religious orders being recognised as teachers.[53] Text books other than those sanctioned by the Board were prohibited. Each of these, in their strict implementation, was a source of increasing conflict and the many letters between the Board and the correspondent, Fr. John Sheehan attest to this harrassment.[54] The newly appointed superior, Br. O'Sullivan, wrote in late 1856, to the Superior General, suggesting disconnection, and when Dr. Fallon, the Bishop, was in a position to offer an income of £70 per annum to the Brothers, their remaining in Ennistymon, without the National Board's income was assured.[55]

The Bishop communicated this assurance to the community on April 24th, 1857, and the Board was informed of the establishment's disconnection on May 1st.

Thus was the last connection between the Brothers and the Board sundered.

Conclusion

Though individual Brothers may not have felt connection to the Board as injurious, those charged with governing the Order did: injurious to the spirit and discipline of the Order, and, ultimately, they felt, to education in Ireland. The experience of founding schools in England did not present as difficult a set of circumstances or conditions as those prevailing in Ireland. Moreover, it was beginning to be felt that the future of the Order might, in fact, be in locations other than in Ireland. Future Brothers' foundations in Ireland, at this time, would be a burden on any parish or diocese when compared with the financial advantages offered by the Board.

The Brothers did not, at any stage of their connect-
ion, attempt to shape the system to their advantage. True
to the trial nature of their connection, they carried on
their work, to as great a degree as possible, whilst
being connected in the passive sense. After this trial
period, they made their assessment and withdrew. No
contact was made with Dr. Murray concerning their
proposed discussion at the 1836 Chapter, nor was their
decision immediately forwarded to him. He was rightly
annoyed.

There was at the time, a strong feeling of congreg-
ation and the establishing of a sense of identity within
the Order. The defining trait of the Order was the free
education of the poor in piety and the fear of God, and
as teachers they were emulated. Their own poverty and
financially stretched situation added to this sense of
fragility. Their code and discipline, their commitment
to their religious ideal, highlighted the constraints
that the Board's regulations meant for them. Connection
meant a National school, whilst independence meant a
Christian School (which was how they were known in those
years: The Brothers of the Christian Schools).

The new Superior General, in a letter to Dr. Cullen,
in Rome, in 1843, wrote, that

> If we were to attach outselves to the
> National Board, we would lose our
> characteristic as a religious body and
> merge more into secular school masters.57

By the mid-1830s the Brothers were well on the way to
developing their own system: they had their own Model
School at North Richmond Street, they were developing
their own system for community and school inspection and
had only temporarily ceased from publishing their own
texts. Gillespie says of these developments:

> Ideally, they aimed to be managers of
> their own schools and had a strong
> tradition of independence of both
> Church and State.   58

In a general sense, with these developing traits,
there was little hope of compromise with the National
Board. Without this compromise, the maintenance of the
connection was impossible. Unlike the denominational
groups, the Brothers never agitated - they quietly with-
drew, the poorer on the one hand - financially; the
richer on the other - freedom to fulfil their mission in
accordance "with the discipline and spirit of the
institute".

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37. Royal Commission (Powis), (1870), Vol.VII, Section
         xlv, p.466.

38. Rice to Dr.Murray, June 4, 1837, in Normoyle,
         Companion, p.498.

39. North Richmond Street, House Annals, pp.21-22.

40. Donal S. Blake, in a written communication.

41. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p.321.

42. "General Chapters" (of the Christian Brothers),
         Minutes, pp.31-32.

43. Christian Brothers School, Ennis: Centenary Record,
         1827-1927, Limerick, 1927, p.18.

44. Royal Commission, (Powis), 1870, Vol.VII, p.384.

45. Ibid., p.454.

46. Ibid., pp.454-455.

47. Royal Commission (Powis), Vol.II, p.289.

48. Decrees of the General Chapter, 1841, p.20.

49. Twenty-fourth Report of the Commissioners, 1857,p.215.

50. Christian Brothers, Mount St Joseph, Ennistymon, 1824-
         1974. Naas: 1974.

51. Royal Commission (Powis), Vol.VII, pp.452-453.

52. Eustas O hEideain, National School Inspection in
         Ireland: the Beginnings. (Dublin: Scepter Books,
         1967).

53. Royal Commission (Powis), 1870, Vol.I, p.151.

54. For an accessible account, c.f. O hEideain, School
         Inspection, pp.116-117.

55. Ennistymon, House Annals.

56. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p.276, and O hEideain,
         School Inspection, p. 118.

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57. Letter, M.P. Riordan to Dr. Paul Cullen on March 11,
    1843, in Normoyle, The Roman Correspondence:
    treating the early years of the Institute,
    1803-1844, Dublin: private circulation, the
    Christian Brothers, 1978, p.359.

58. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in England, p.42.

THE TREASURY AND IRISH EDUCATION: 1850-1922:
THE MYTH AND THE REALITY

Áine Hyland

A number of historians of Irish education have created an image of the nineteenth and early twentieth century Treasury as a body antagonistic to Irish education, intent on preventing reform, cutting back on public expenditure on education and generally frustrating any efforts to improve Irish education.

T.J. McElligott, describing the power structure of Irish education wrote:

> Nominally, at least, supreme authority
> lay with the Lord Lieutenant who stood
> at the apex of the educational pyramid,
> but real power resided with the Lords
> of the Treasury and their concern with
> education was slight. 1

D.H. Akenson seemed to infer in the following sentence that the power of the Treasury was arbitrary:

> The Treasury authorities in London could
> give Irish educational funds to pay
> for some other imperial venture any time
> they wished. 2

This view of the Treasury is a reflection of widely held and disseminated contemporary attitudes. Baron Pallas, a member of both the National and the Intermediate Boards, complained to the Lord Lieutenant in 1896, about the 'stranglehold the Treasury held upon the throat of Irish education'.[3] Archbishop Walsh reflected in 1900 that:

> it is a very discouraging thing and it
> necessarily has a very deterrent effect
> to feel beforehand that one can do
> nothing unless he can succeed in first

instructing and then converting to his
views a number of people whose very
identity is unknown to him; who live,
in fact, during official hours in London,
like the judges we read of in the
tribunals of the old Venetian Republic. 4

Padraig Pearse stated in 1907 that:

As surely as one of our Education Boards
exhibits an all too rare gleam of
intelligence, as surely as one of them
proposes to do something useful and
progressive, so surely does the British
Treasury step in with its 'I forbid'.
At every point and in every department
of Irish education, that impressive and
relentless tyranny bars the path to reform.5

Other contemporary commentators also projected a
negative image of the Treasury. Sir Henry Robinson,
Vice-President of the Local Government Board wrote in
1902:

The permanent officials of the Treasury
have always hated the name of Ireland
. . . the young watch-puppies of the
Treasury would start up like fretful
porcupines when schemes from Irish
departments came before them.

And in 1918, Major Dease, a member of the National Board
wrote:

Treasury minutes lay down, with calmest
impertinence, their views as to what
should or should not be done with
education by so-called independent boards
in Ireland who are there responsible for
it ....

This paper attempts to provide an alternative inter-
pretation of the Treasury's attitude to Irish education.
Its role in the monitoring of public funds will be seen
in a broader perspective and education will emerge as one
of many departments which experienced tensions with the
Treasury.

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In an effort to gain a more comprehensive overview
of the situation, the following diagram showing the
complex inter-relationship of the different bodies
involved in decision-making in Irish education is
presented.

DIAGRAM I
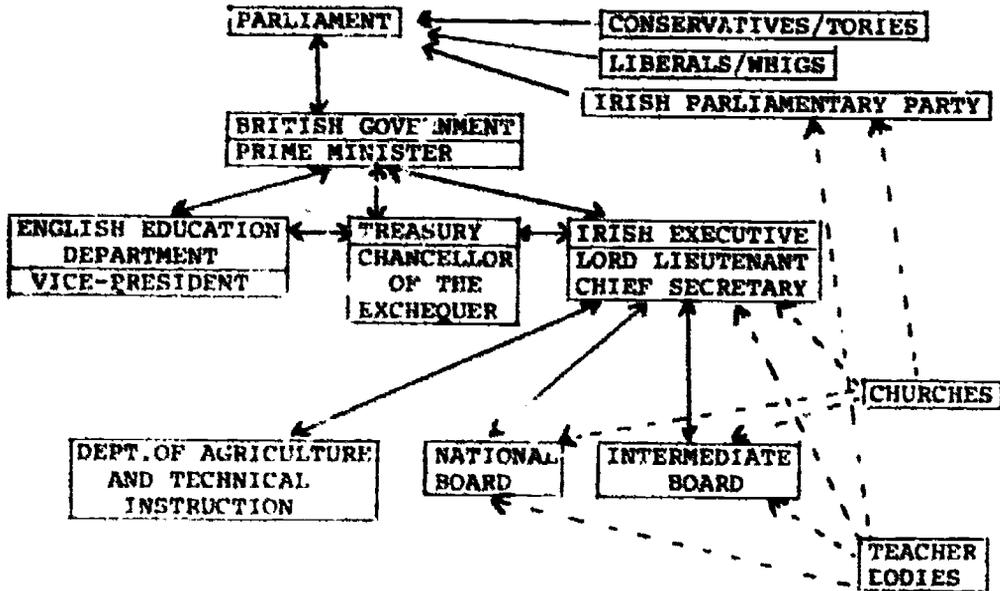
The ultimate decisions in relation to education as
in other areas of government were a matter for Parliament.
The attitudes of a strong government would be a decisive
factor in the outcome of parliamentary decisions but
during periods when Irish members held the balance of
power in Westminister or when government was anxious to
propitiate the Irish representatives, the attitudes of
the Irish M.P.s could be a major determinent of Irish
policy. The decisions of government were implemented by
administrative departments or boards. But the powers of
the administrative departments were limited by a body
which occupied an important position between them and

Parliament - i.e. the Treasury. Basil Chubb has written:

> The fact that Parliament usually defines
> only ends does not imply that departments
> are therefore free to choose their means.
> The Treasury holds a central supervisory
> position, difficult to define but clearly
> recognised and fostered by Parliament.
> And since efficiency in the nation's
> affairs cannot normally be measured in
> terms of profits gained, but is seen in
> welfare which is well nigh impossible to
> measure or define, the complicated
> business of the state is done according
> to rules. It falls to the Treasury to
> make many of these rules which are of a
> supra-departmental level. 6

The Treasury's role might be summarised as one of
reassuring parliament that its wishes in relation to
public expenditure were being carried out. In this
context, it is significant to note that the position of
the First Lord of the Treasury was almost invariably
held by the Prime Minister himself. The Treasury was
also formally charged with the co-ordination of the
different branches of the civil service. With a view to
achieving this, the nineteenth century Treasury attempted
to impose a degree of uniformity on various branches of
the civil service, particularly on those involved in
similar areas of administration. To this extent, the
Treasury drew parallels between the departments which
administered public funds for education in Great Britain
and the boards which were involved in educational
administration in Ireland.

An outline of the growth of Treasury power in the
period under review will serve as a backdrop for an
analysis of public expenditure on education. The
appointment of W.E. Gladstone as Chancellor of the
Exchequer in 1852 was a milestone in the history of the
Treasury. Gladstone was concerned with the need for
efficiency and economy in the public service and said:

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Economy is the first and great article
in my financial creed. 7

He was closely associated with the creation of Treasury
procedures which would help to bring about this economy
and efficiency. He set up the Civil Service Commission
which laid down recruitment standards and procedures and
this eventually led to greater co-ordination between
different branches of the civil service. Treasury
ministers were answerable to parliament for the work of
the Civil Service Commissioners and the approval of the
Treasury was required for requisitions drawn up by the
Commissioners.

In 1861, an Order in Council strengthened the power
of the Treasury. This Order laid down that the estimates
of all government departments had to be approved by the
Treasury before being presented to Parliament; a Public
Accounts Committee was also set up to monitor public
expenditure.

Five years later, in 1866, the Exchequer and Audit
Act required the Treasury to ensure that all payments
made out of public money conformed to proper official
authority; that they were in accordance with the purposes
of the parliamentary votes to which they were chargeable
and that the total of these votes was not exceeded. It
firmly established the concept that money would be
annually voted for each department under specific heads
for clearly defined purposes. Money voted by parliament
would have to be used for these purposes within a given
year. Any sums not expended within the year would have
to be surrendered to the Treasury. The provisions of
the Exchequer and Audit Act gave the Treasury power to
intervene in the details of spending of the votes of the
different departments and by implication to involve
itself in the interpretation of policy.

Gladstone was succeeded as Chancellor of the
Exchequer in 1868 by Robert Lowe. This appointment

ensured that Gladstons's policies of economy could
continue. Lowe was 'orthodox in his financial principles
and severe in his parsimony'.[8] He appointed R.R.W.Lingen
as Permanent Secretary to the Treasury in 1870 - a post
which he held until 1885. Lingen was also a strict
economist

> resolutely determined that the
> expenditure of public money should be
> severely checked, and his temptation
> was to look with a suspicious and
> grudging'eye upon every claim
> involving as increase in outlay.

A government committee in 1875 (the Playfair
Committee) supported the role of the Treasury as an
arbiter of departmental expenditure. This committee
felt that

> the position of the Treasury in relation
> to other departments should be as strong
> as possible . . . that it should be able
> to exercise an efficient and intelligent
> control (over other departments). 10

During the years of Lingen's reign as Permanent
Secretary, other departments of the public service grew
to resent what they saw as undue interference by the
Treasury. Lingen was harsh and unsympathetic and this
was ultimately counterproductive. By the time he
retired in 1885, the Treasury had become very unpopular
with the other heads of departments and efforts were
successfully made to reduce its power. Referring to
this in 1902, Lord Welby said:

> ... by the eighties public opinion has
> changed and it no longer puts much
> stress on economy; that change at once
> finds its reflection in the House of
> Commons and I should say that from that
> time the wind was in the sails of the
> spending departments and the effective
> power of control in the Chancellor of
> the Exchequer proportionately diminished. 11

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George Goschen, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer
from 1887 to 1892, was closely associated with the change
in attitude to Treasury control. Goschen was well-
disposed to the spending departments and he was fortunate
that during his term of office, revenue to the Exchequer
showed an upward rise following a steady decline during
the previous ten years. Three legislative measures
passed during Goschen's chancellorship benefitted
education in Britain and Ireland.

Lord Salisbury, who became Prime Minister in 1892,
found the fiscal duties of First Lord of the Treasury
distasteful and he choose to delegate this responsibility
to one of his Cabinet. (One of those who held the post of
First Lord during Salisbury's premiership was A.J.Balfour).
Salisbury was overtly critical of the Treasury and
accused it of thwarting development schemes in the Empire.
In 1895, he stated that

> when the Treasury lays it hands on any"
> matter connected with the future
> development of the British Empire, the
> chances of our Imperial policy are
> small.   12

Four years later, he criticised

> the very peculiar position given by
> our system to the Treasury, which is
> very galling to other departments, 13

and he alleged that "in small matters the Treasury
interferes too much". From these quotations, one can
see that criticism of the Treasury was an acceptable
pastime around 1900 and the quotations in the earlier
part of this paper by Baron Palles, Archbishop Walsh,
Padraig Pearse et al might be seen in this context.

The Boer War caused severe economic problems for
the government and increased military spending was
counterbalanced by cut-back in the 'spening departments'.
The early years of the twentieth century saw a return to

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the economic buoyancy of the late nineteenth century but
in 1906, Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer Asquith
announced that he would return to a "more thrifty and
economical administration, the first and paramount duty
of the government". Two years later, Lloyd-George
replaced him and immediately adopted a different approach
when he declared:

> I am the only Chancellor who ever began
> by saying and meaning to spend money.

The great social reforms of the Liberal Government
in the period 1908-1914, such as old-age pensions,
unemployment, and health insurance, medical inspection
of children, etc., were all passed during Lloyd-George's
chancellorship. The First World War brought severe
financial problems in its train. The period 1914-1918
was characterised by an unprecedented level of inflation
and public spending (other than spending on defence) was
kept to a minimum. Post-war reconstruction saw a
significant growth in public funding in areas such as
education and Ireland benefitted from the extra funds
which were made available, as we will see later in the
paper.

Irish National Education

The setting up of the national school system in
1831, marked the beginning of state intervention in Irish
elementary education. Responsibility for administering
the state grant lay with the National Board and under
the terms of the Stanley letter, the Board had 'complete
control' over the funds at its disposal. This letter
pre-dated the formalisation of Treasury control over all
funds voted by parliament. During the first 20 years of
the Board's existence, state grants grew rapidly and
decisions on the allocation of the grant were largely a

7.1

matter for the Board. With the growth of Treasury control generally after 1852, came a gradual erosion of the autonomy of the National Board in relation to expenditure on national education and the reduction of the power of the Board in this regard became more marked after the passing of the Exchequer and Audit Act in 1866. After the passing of this act, the National Board, like all other administrative departments were subject to its provisions, i.e. the Board's annual estimates were submitted to the Treasury in November for the following financial year (April-March); estimated expenditure was set out under heads and sub-heads; savings in one area could not be transferred to another and all unexpended balances had to be relinquished to the Exchequer at the end of the year. The expenditure of the National Board was also monitored by the Accountant and Auditor General to ensure that it was in keeping with the purposes for which it was voted.

During the 1850s and 1860s there was little or no tension between the National Board and the Treasury because the Treasury believed that expenditure on elementary education was in line with that in Britain and they perceived that the system of administration was more efficient here than in Britain. Following the introduction of payment by results in Britain in 1864, pressure began to build up from the Treasury for greater economy in the Irish system. The cost per pupil in elementary education in England fell as a result of payment by results but the costs in Ireland continued to rise. When payment by results was introduced in Ireland in 1872, results fees were paid in addition to staff salaries not in lieu as had happened in Britain. Consequently the new system resulted in an increase of 30 per cent in the exchequer contribution to Irish education.

The 1870 Education Act in England had further reduced the financial pressure on the central exchequer. With the

introduction of a local rate for Board schools in England,
a predictable and significant proportion of educational
costs would be met locally.   Efforts under the 1875 Act in
Ireland to levy rates through the Poor Law Unions were
unsuccessful and the amount collected in this way in
Ireland never exceeded four per cent of total current
expenditure on national education.   In 1883 it was
estimated by the National Board that the total local
contribution towards Irish national education (including
subscriptions, endowments, rates, fees and contributions)
was less than 22 per cent, the comparable proportion was
55 per cent.   The cost to the state for every pupil
attending an elementary school in England was £0.92p; in
Ireland, it was £1.53 or 66 per cent more than England. [14]

If Gladstone's efforts in the early 1880s to
introduce Provincial Councils and/or a Central Board in
Ireland had been successful, the problem of an inadequate
local contribution for education might well have been
solved but these efforts failed and when the Conservative
government came to power in 1886, the situation in
relation to Irish education was unchanged from the
previous decade.

Efforts by the Treasury to impose a degree of
uniformity on the Irish and British systems of education
had been successfully resisted in the 1870s and 1880s
when the result would have meant a decrease in public
funding for Irish education but when it meant an increase
in public funding an element of uniformity was accepted
without any protest.   Such an example was the introduction
in the early 1890s of the "school grant" in lieu of fees
by Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Goschen.   With the
introduction of compulsory and free elementary education
in England in 1891, the government made arrangements to
indemnify the schools there for loss of income from
parental contributions or fees.   Extra grants "in lieu of

local taxation" were paid from central funds to English
elementary schools and Goschen proposed that pro-rata
grants should be paid to Scotland and Ireland in a
proportion of 80:11:9. The annual grant to Irish
national education from this source (called the school
grant) was in the region of £250,000 per annum. A
further annual grant of £78,000 was also paid to Irish
national education during Goschen's chancellorship; this
grant became popularly known as the "whiskey money" and
was the excise revenue from sales of alcohol on which a
new excise duty had been imposed. Thus, while the
systems of education in Ireland and the rest of the U.K.
had evolved along significantly different lines after
1870, Irish education benefitted from additional grants
given in England and Scotland. During the period 1870-
1900 there is evidence that Treasury officials were
irritated by the failure of the government to insist on
a uniform system of administration of education in
Ireland and the rest of the U.K. but political consider-
ations had outweighed financial expediency and the
government had refused to bow to Treasury pressure for
reform. By the end of the nineteenth century, the
parliamentary grant per pupil in attendance in Irish
national schools was £2.50. In England the comparable
figure was £1.80. [15]

    Matters came to a head at the turn of the century.
The Acts of 1899 and 1902 in England had rationalised the
administration of education there; had simplified the
task of the Treasury in the allocation of public funds,
and had resulted in a much more efficient system of
administering education. In Ireland the Local Government
Act of 1898 had set up a framework which would enable a
similar system of administration in this country.
There is evidence that even before 1900 government . d
Treasury officials were discussing the possibility of a
radical reform of educational administration in Ireland. [16]

Coupled with this, the Treasury coffers were being
depleted by military spending on the Boer War, and it
seemed a suitable time to cut back on Irish educational
expenditure. A committee on school buildings which
included representatives of the Treasury, the National
Board and the Board of Works, reported in 1902 and
recommended that a system of local rating be introd :ed
in support of Irish national education.[17]   A letter from
Chief Secretary Wyndham to the Treasury in December 1902,
supported such a move and the Dale report of 1904
contained the same proposal. Wyndham floated the proposal
in parliament in spring 1904 but it soon became clear
that Catholic Church interests in Ireland were vehemently
opposed to any change in the national school system. The
Irish Parliamentary Party supported the Church in the
matter and the government conceded defeat within a year. In
1905, Wyndham wrote to the Treasury asking for additional
funding from the Exchequer for Irish national education.
The frustration of the Treasury at the government's
failure to insist on reform is evident in a letter from
Victor Cavendish, Financial Secretary to the Treasury to
Dublin Castle on 14 March 1905:

> His Excellency (i.e. Wyndham) states that
> he has arrived at the conclusion that
> there is no immediate prospect of eliciting
> any material amount out of the rates ...
> the proper remedy for the default of
> localities in respect of upkeep of schools
> vested in trustees is to take steps by
> legislation to impose this charge upon the
> rates; and My Lords (of the Treasury) cannot
> regard the fact that circumstances are
> unfavourable for making this charge as a
> reason for accentuating further the existing
> inequality between Ireland the rest of the
> U.K. in respect of the amount of the
> expenditure on national education defrayed
> out of votes of parliament in comparison
> with that contributed from local sources.   18

It is significant to note that around this period,
over 50 per cent of current educational costs in England

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were paid from local sources. In Ireland, the comparable
proportion was 5.5 per cent. [19]

With the appointment of Birrell as Chief Secretary
in 1906, the question of educational reform was again
mooted. The Irish Council Bill of 1907 contained measures
which would increase state grants for Irish education but
would involve a rationalisation of the administrative
system. The Bill was strenuously opposed by the Catholic
Church and the Irish Party refused to support the Bill in
parliament. Birrell was forced to abandon the Bill and
the experience brought home to the government the realis-
ation that any attempt to interfere with Irish education
could be political suicide. The defeat of the Bill
coincided with Lloyd-George's appointment as Chancellor
of the Exchequer and Birrell used the opportunity to gain
an increase in government grants for national education.

In spite of the problems experienced by the National
Board during the first decade of the century, the per
capita grant from the state for national education
increased from £2.83 per pupil in 1900/01 to £3.40 in
1909/10 - an increase of 20 per cent in the 10-year period. The
cost of living had increased by 4 per cent in the same
period. Seen in this context, State expenditure on Irish
national education in the first decade of the century was
not as unsatisfactory as many of the Treasury's critics
would have one believe. By the end of the decade, the
total cost to the Exchequer for every pupil attending an
Irish national school was £3.60; the comparable amount
in England was £2.22. The proportion of the total cost
of elementary education paid from state funds in England
was 46 per cent; in Ireland it was 92 per cent. [20]

During the second decade of the 20th century, the
government contribution to national education began to
show a decline in real terms. Even before the outbreak
of the First World War, inflation had begun to erode the

value of grants and this inflation escalated rapidly
during and immediately after the war. As a result, the
value of government grants to national education fell
by almost 50 per cent in the period from 1910 to 1918.
Nevertheless, Irish education continued to be more
generously financed by the Treasury than English
elementary education. In 1919, in his evidence to the
Vice-Regal Committee on Primary Education in Ireland (the
Killanin committee), the Treasury Remembrancer, Maurice
Headlam, pointed out that Irish national education
received more than 60 per cent per pupil than elementary
education in England.[21] The cost to the Exchequer for
Ireland was £5.25 per pupil; for England it was £3.22.[22]
Three years later the State paid £9.10 per pupil for
Irish education; in England the equivalent amount per
pupil was £6.30.[23]

Throughout the 50-year period from 1870 to 1920,
the average government expenditure per pupil in attend-
ance in elementary education in Ireland was consistently
higher than in England; on average, the per capita grant
was 60 per cent greater in Ireland than in England. Many
educationalists would reject this admittedly simplistic
comparison of educational expenditure in Ireland and
England and would argue that such comparison ignored the
essential differences between the two countries -
differences of population distribution, of denominational
affiliation and of educational structure. The point
being made in this paper is that since Ireland belonged
to the legislative Union, the Treasury was required to
co ordinate as far as possible, the different adminis-
trative systems within the Union. It was not the
business of the Treasury to become involved in the
political problems of Ireland; the Treasury's concern
was to optimise government funds and since Irish education
was costing so much more than English education, it was

not surprising that the Treasury expressed continuing
concern about the issue.

Summarising the situation, we have the following
picture of government expenditure per pupil in average
attendance in Irish national schools from 1852 to 1930.

DIAGRAM II

Graph showing average parliamentary grant per pupil in national schools
in constant and current prices, 1852 to 1930.
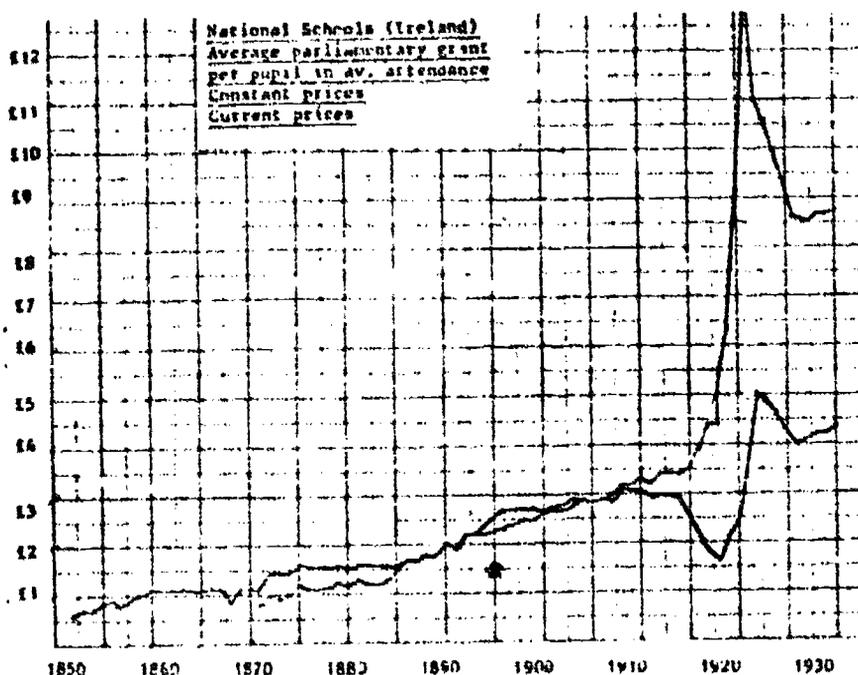
In terms of a comparison with government grants per
pupil in English elementary education, the picture that
emerges is that of consistently higher funding of Irish
education - as the following chart shows:

DIAGRAM III

Expenditure by the state per
pupil in average attendance
in elementary education in
Ireland and England.
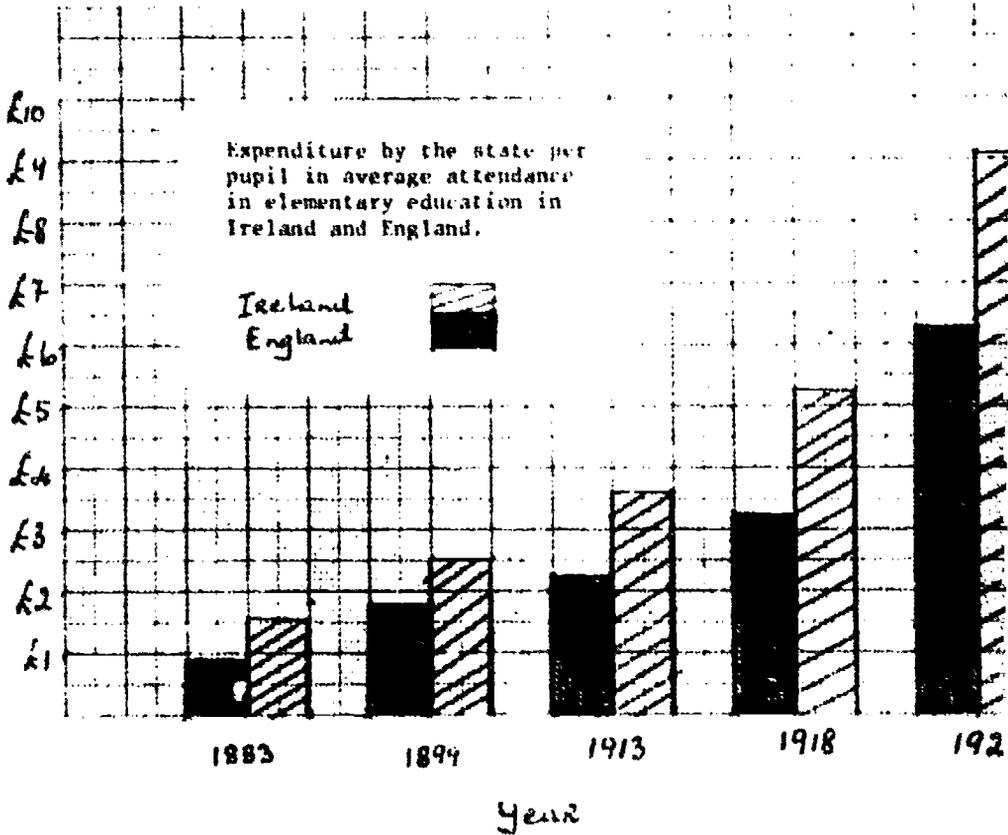
Ireland
England

Intermediate Education

Before concluding, brief reference should be made to
the financing of intermediate education in Ireland. In
this area, more than in the area of national education, a
negative and sometimes inaccurate picture of the Treasury
has been presented in the past. Intermediate education,
unlike national education, was almost totally free from
Treasury control before the First World War. Financing,
in the early years, was by way of interest from a capital

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endowment of one million pounds transferred to the
Commissioners of Intermediate Education from the Church
Temporalities fund in 1878. This sum was invested by
the Intermediate Board to yield an annual income of
about £30,000. This sum was used to defray all costs
incurred by the Board - results fees, prizes and exhibit-
ions and all administrative and examination costs. In
1892, a further sum became available from the Local
Taxation (Excise) Grant and this grant which fluctuated
annually, added an average of £45,000 per annum to its
own funds and it did not have to refer to the Treasury
for approval of its spending pattern. There was
ambiguity as to the status of the Intermediate Board as
a department of the civil service and it was not subject
to the provisions of the Exchequer and Audit Act.

The Treasury has been consistently blamed for the
fact that the Intermedaite Board was prevented from
appointing permanent inspectors in the years 1902 to 1910.
This accusation was first made by the Board itself in
its annual report in 1903; repeated in the Dale and
Stephens report in 1905, widely disseminated by Padraig
Pearse and repeated in recent histories. An exhaustive
search of Treasury records failed to find any evidence
for this accusation. On the contrary, Chief Secretary
Wyndham made it clear in 1902 that he did not propose to
seek Treasury sanction for a permanent inspectorate,
stating:

> ... the Irish government would not feel
> justified in recommending the present
> proposal (appointment of inspectors) to
> the Treasury unless it can be accompanied
> by a scheme for reducing the Board's
> expenditure for examination and other
> purposes... 26

During the following six years, the failure to
appoint inspectors was attributed on a number of
occasions to Treasury obduracy. Pearse wrote in 1907:

> The Treasury it was that by stopping
> supplies compelled the Board to dismiss
> its staff of temporary inspectors a few
> years ago; the Treasury it is that by
> refusing a grant for the purpose prevents
> the Board from appointing a permanent
> staff as it has repeatedly proposed to do. 25

This accusation was refuted by Archbishop Walsh who
pointed out that it was not the Treasury which prevented
inspectors from being appointed and "that it is not a
question of funds at all". [26]   A year later, Chief
Secretary Birrell confirmed this in a letter to Baron
Palles when he wrote:

> The Treasury, as far as I know, has never
> been approached upon the subject of the
> appointment of inspectors ...   27

Some years later, Judge Craig, a member of the
Intermediate Board, again suggested Treasury involvement
when he told a conference of managers that the
Intermediate Board "have been constantly representing for
a series of years until we all got sick, sore and sorry
that we wanted a system of inspection introduced and the
constant answer was that we had no money to do it". [28]
However, he afterwards clarified this statement when he
admitted that the Intermediate Board had never asked
either the Irish government of the Treasury for money and
justified this by saying that

> in informal conversation and so forth,
> it was conveyed to certain members of
> the Board that there was no use in
> their doing so (i.e. asking for extra
> funds).   29

Internal evidence makes it quite clear that during
the years 1900-1910, the Intermediate Board deliberately
refrained from requesting additonal money for intermediate
education and on more than one occasion reassured the
Irish Executive that its funds were more than adequate.
Perhaps the Board feared that such a request would be

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used by the government to justify administrative reform
or perhaps Starkie, who was one of the most influential
members of the Intermediate Board, feared that any money
got for intermediate education would reduce the govern-
ment grant for national education. He was aware that the
Treasury would have liked to allocate a composite grant
for all levels of education in Ireland as they did in
England. He was also aware that national education in
Ireland was in receipt of a considerably greater grant
than elementary education in England. The fact that the
grant for intermediate education in Ireland was nil
certainly indicated that Ireland had a right to govern-
ment funds for this purpose and this right was acknow-
ledged by Chief Secretary Birrell in 1911. However, there
was nothing the government could do until the Intermediate
Board asked for additional funds. It was not until
considerable pressure was brought to bear by school
authorities and teachers that the Intermediate Board
agreed in 1912 to apply for a government grant for
Intermediate education.

At this point Birrell indicated that the government
would be willing to allocate a grant to Irish Intermediate
education approximately equivalent to the grant being
given to English secondary education. It was widely
expected that this grant could ultimately amount to
£100,000 for Ireland. But the management authorities
of Catholic intermediate schools preferred that their
schools be starved of funds than to submit to conditions
which they regarded as unacceptable. Canon Murphy of the
Catholic Headmasters' Association went so far as to
accuse the government of attempting to

> seize the schools built and maintained
> by the Bishops and Religious Orders
> for the Catholic people of Ireland and
> to turn them into Government schools.   30

He added:

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> We are unable to see that such a claim
> differs from the claim of the governments
> of France and Portugal to the right of
> forcible confiscation.

The Catholic authorities blamed the Treasury for imposing
conditions on the grant. Canon Murphy wrote:

> The Treasury in aiming at a very desir-
> able improvement in the position of lay
> teachers, for the first time in the
> history of intermediate education in
> Ireland, attached to a grant conditions
> involving a principle which in the case
> of Catholic schools is irreconcilable
> with their fundamental liberty in the
> selection of the best teacher for each
> vacancy as it arises.   31

But it was Birrell who had attached these conditions to
the grant when he had presented the proposal to parlia-
ment. Moreover, this was the basis on which parliament
had agreed to allocate the grant (known as the Teachers'
Salaries Grant) to Irish intermediate education. The
Treasury's role did not arise until the grant was paid
and then the Treasury had the task of ensuring that the
wishes of parliament were being honoured in the disposal
of the grant. In 1914, the grant was eventually distrib-
uted to schools – an annual grant of £40,000. Birrell
had in fact conceded to the pressure of the Catholic
Headmasters' and the basis on which the grant was in
practice distributed, took account of the reservations
of the Catholic Headmasters. However, Birrell did not
get the consent of parliament to the changes in the way
he intended to distribute the grant and consequently the
Treasury found it necessary to object to the fact that
the grant was being paid on a basis that was "clearly
inconsistent with the intention of the scheme" which had
been presented to parliament by Birrell. The Controller
and Auditor General also drew attention to this-inconist-
ency but neither the government nor the Intermediate Board
made any effort to rectify the situation before 1922.

After the war, a large increase was given to English
secondary education as a result of the provisions of the
Fisher Act of 1918. The government indicated its willing-
ness to allocate an equivalent grant to Irish intermediate
education and the Duke grant (named after Chief Secretary
Duke) of £50,000 per annum was paid to intermediate
education from 1918 to 1922. The government had hoped
that this grant would be an interim measure pending the
passing of legislation which would reform Irish education.
But the proposed 1919 Education (Ireland) Bill suffered a
fate similar to that of the Irish Council Bill of 1907
and no change was made in the administration of Irish
education. Two years later, a further Interim Grant of
£50,000 per annum was allocated to intermediate education,
bringing the annual income of the Board to approximately
£220,000 made up as follows:

Income from original endowment + accumulated funds (1878)	£35,000
Income in lieu of Local Taxation Grant (1892)	£45,000
Teachers Salaries Grant (1913/14)	£40,000
Duke Grant (1918)	£50,000
Interim Grant (1920)	£50,000

These grants were paid directly and unconditionally to
the school authorities in the form of a block grant which
was based on the results of the pupils at the Board
examinations.

In spite of the additional grants voted by parliament
in 1918 and 1920, Irish intermediate education was less
generously aided from central funds than English inter-
mediate education. In his evidence to the Vice-Regal
Committee on Intermediate Education in 1919, (the Molloy
Committee), Headlam admitted that "the amount earmarked
(by the Government) for intermediate education" was less
than the proportion to which they could regard themselves

entitled under the Goschen ratio. However, he emphasised
that

> the funds voted by Parliament to
> Irish education as a whole exceeds
> the recognised proportion of 9 to
> 80.   32

In 1918, the government paid about 60 per cent more for
every pupil in secondary education in England than in
Ireland. By 1921, with the addition of the Duke Grant
and the Interim Grant the situation in relation to Irish
intermediate education had improved considerably and the
Intermediate Board was paying out about £7 per pupil on
rolls in intermediate schools. The equivalent amount
being paid from public funds in England was about £8.50.[33]

In the years 1920 and 1921, correspondence between
the intermediate school authorities and the government
suggests that the Treasury was being blamed for the
unsatisfactory level of public funding of Irish intermed-
iate education.[34] During these years the plight of lay
teachers in intermediate schools became particularly
acute. In spite of the increase in the government grant
to intermediate education, many lay teachers were being
paid grossly inadequate salaries and a number of these
teachers made representations to members of parliament
and of the government with a view to obtaining an
improvement in their conditions. Among those approached
was H.A.L.Fisher, President of the English Board of
Education, and he supported the lay teachers who had
approached him. He wrote to Chief Secretary Greenwood
in 1921 and asked him:

> Are you proposing to make any suggestions
> to the Treasury?   35

Greenwood's reply made it clear that he did not intend to
do so. He was frustrated by the failure of his government
to enact the Education Bill of 1919/20 and he reminded
Fisher that

it was intended to deal with their
case (i.e. the salaries of lay teachers
in intermediate schools) in the Irish
Education Bill last year, but for
reasons over which we have no control,
it was not found possible to pass that
Bill into law. 36

He did not intend to take any action to improve the
salaries of lay teachers and stated:

... it is not possible to exercise any
firm control under the present system
over the expenditure of the grants made
to Secondary Education in Ireland. This
would make it very difficult, I think,
to increase their grant. 37

There is no doubt that the problems of inadequate
financing experienced by the Intermediate Board were
caused not be the Treasury, but by the failure of the
government and the school authorities to come to an
acceptable agreement about the conditions of payment of
grants. The government felt strongly that voted moneys
for intermediate education should be conditional on an
adequate salary being paid to lay teachers. The
Catholic management authorities opposed this, arguing
that any conditions imposed by the government represented
an undermining of the autonomy of intermediate schools.
The Treasury was virtually silent during the period and
should not be blamed for the inadequacy of public funding
of intermediate education.

Conclusion

Overall, it is clear that the financial fortunes of
education in Ireland were more closely related to the
political/administrative developments of the country than
to developments either in English education or in
Treasury policies. The growth of government expenditure
on Irish education was halted only when the Irish

Executive in Dublin Castle refused to support the claims
of the National Board for further funds. This happened
briefly in early 1870 when Gladstone had plans to
introduce reform similar to reforms implemented in
England and Scotland. As soon as Gladstone abandoned
his plans for Irish educational reform, government
funding for national education increased. A similar
picture emerged in the early 1880s with Gladstone's plans
for Devolution in Ireland and again in the first decade
of the century when the stop/go attitude of the Irish
Executive to educational/administrative reform was
clearly reflected in the pattern of government funding
of national education. There is undoubted evidence
throughout the period that the Treasury attempted to
halt the growth of public expenditure on Irish education
and bring it into line with the situation in England but
these attempts were to no avail except when the Irish
government was prepared to support efforts to cut back
on educational expenditure.

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THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION
1881 - 1884: THE IRISH DIMENSION

Kieran R. Byrne

The establishment of the Royal Commission on Tech-
nical Instruction 1881 - 1884 was an attempt to cast
around for a solution to a pressing problem. Ever since
the Great Industrial Exhibition at London in 1851 it was
becoming increasingly obvious that British industrial and
economic predominance was being keenly contested by her
European counterparts notably France and Germany. The
results of the Paris Exhibition in 1867 and again in 1878
clearly confirmed the once embryonic pattern, and conse-
quently left no room for complacency.[1] With the situation
becoming gradullay more desperate the by then almost
inevitable strategy - an official investigation of the
problem, and a search for a masterplan solution was set
under way.

It was Lyon Playfair, a juror at the Paris Exhibition
in 1867, who first challenged for such action. Forbidding
any further prevarication he called for 'an inquiry which
should tell the people of England authoritatively wha are
the means by which the great states are attaining an
intellectual pre-eminence among the industrial classes and
how they are making this to bear on the progress of their
national industries'.[2] Here was a demand that bore
remarkable fruition and one which did not spend itself
until a Select Committee of Inquiry and two Royal
Commissions were assigned to provide an answer.

The last of these investigations, the Royal Commission
on Technical Instruction, under the chairmanship of
Bernhard Samuelson, industrialist and M.P., was charged

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with a dual task. That commission was directed to make
a comparative analysis between the technical instruction
undertaken by the industrial classes of certain foreign
countries and that of their counterparts throughout the
United Kingdom. Additionally, the effectiveness of
technical instruction facilities in relation to industry
and manufactures 'at home and abroad' was to be
measured.[3]

Judiciously, the commissioners elected to examine
the prevailing conditions in Ireland in accordance with
that frame of reference as an issue separate from the
remainder of the United Kingdom.

The commi.:ioners arrived in Dublin on 2 June 1883
and apart from being entertained to dinner at Trinity
College the following week arou ad little public comment
or attention.[4] The Freeman's Journal, while wishing the
commission well, remarked that 'a great deal less interest
attaches to their proceedings than if they were a group
of travelling Christy Minstrels; and bemoaned the fact
that no Irishman ranked among the Commission's members.[5]

Between 4 and 13 June 1883 the commission took
evidence at Dublin, Belfast and Cork, while it also
visited a number of centres of industrial education.
Furthermore, a questionnaire inspired by the Archbishop
of Tuam and Dr. McCormack, Bishop of Achonry, inquiring
into the means of livelihood, educational facilities and
ambitions for an improved system of technical education,
was circulated in twenty-six Irish counties in an attempt
to augment oral evidence. Opinions were solicited not
only from educationalists but industrialists and other
interested parties as well, thus bringing to bear upon the
deliberations of the commissioners a wide ranging and
representative sample of viewpoints relative to technical
education in Ireland.[6]

The evidence presented to the commission represents
a major critique of educational provision in Ireland
during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Close
scrutiny of that evidence is revealing of a number of
persistent themes. It was argued that Ireland, because
of her industrially underdeveloped status, must be
afforded State support commensurate with her unique under-
privileged conditions. The Science and Art Department was
singled out for attack as a rigidly centralised institution
whose failure to cope with the disparate demands of
industrial Ireland was deemed a severe defeat. The failure
of the national system of education as a preparatory agent
to subsequent technical instruction courses was firmly
condemned and the intermediate system of education with
its emphasis on a classically oriented curriculum was
equally criticised. These inadequacies at the lower educ-
ational levels, it was asserted, hampered the prospects of
higher level institutions which were endeavouring to promote
industrially related courses of study. Industrialists,
highlighting their dissatisfaction, related how the dearth
of adequately qualified artizans was a critical handicap
to industrial development. Finally, the nature and purpose
of technical instruction proved a subject of diversified
debate.

It was stated in evidence before the commission that
among the principal obstacles to the development of
technical instruction in Ireland was the absence of an
administrative board specifically designed to accommodate
the educational needs of the Irish industrial environment.
Ireland, because of the heterogeneous character of her
many small industries, it was claimed, was not in a position
to participate fully in a system of technical and scient-
ific education more immediately designed to meet British
industrial requirements.[7] The Science and Art Department,
it was argued, was far too centralised an institution to
appreciate the unique features of Irish industry. Its

recognised courses comprised a selected content too
generally conceived to be of specific benefit in Ireland
and courses of the London City and Guilds were found to
be similarly inappropriate.[8]

If Ireland was to have the benefit of a system of
technical and scientific education, a more devolved mode
of administration and a more flexible structure were
viewed as essential to its prosperity. Consequently, it
was proposed that the State play a more direct role in
stimulating provisions for technical and scientific
education in Ireland. The absence of an industrial
tradition and industrial wealth in general made such inter-
vention all the more imperative. It was, therefore, urged
that local enterprise and initiative in the establishment
of technical and scientific classes should be encouraged
and generously assisted by the State. In this way it was
hoped that a more dynamic decentralised system of technical
and scientific education, geared to peculiar industrial
demands, would gradually emerge on a national scale.[9]

That the curriculum of the national system of educ-
ation in Ireland contributed very little by way of pract-
ical value to the future career of its pupils was a
concern expressed by a majority of witnesses. Michael
Davitt, fresh from Richmond Prison, took the view that the
text-books in use in the national schools were of inferior
quality when compared with text-books employed in English
and American elementary schools. The text-books, he
declared, were 'more calculated to produce a taste for
indulging in idle dreams and fancies than a desire for
practical and scientific knowledge'.[10] Davitt suggested
that curricular reform in the national schools was
essential to the prospects of a system of technical
education. Conceding that it was both difficult and
dangerous to attempt to identify a future occupational
role for pupils at the elementary school age, Davitt

envisaged practical foundation courses, instruction in
the general principles of various industries, the use of
tools and an elementary programme in mechanics.
Subsequent to this, a more specific trade course ought to
be pursued.[11]

Davitt's opinions were endorsed by other witnesses.
Sir Patrick Keenan, Resident Commiss'   "" of National
Education, while defending the recorc   the national
system's text-books agreed that a 'practical orientation'
might be given to the curriculum of the ·tional schools.·
In his view technical instruction of a ge..eral theoretical
nature might be more advantageously introduced if augmented
by a study of the school's local industrial environment.
Towards that purpose organised visits to ..useums, work-
shops and mills were suggested for pupils ttending urban
schools, while attendance at agricultural shows and
geological and botanical excursions were advised for pupils
of an agricultural background. Concluding his evidence,
Keenan agreed that every attempt must be made 'to endow
children with the knowledge which will especially fit them
for the future trades or professions or for domestic or
agricultural life'.[12]

It was perhaps the evidence of Harold Rylett, Manager
of Monuyrea National School, Co. Down, which most effect-
ively kaleidoscoped many of the reasons why the national
system of education failed as a preparatory agent to
subsequent technical education courses. Rylett decried
the manner in which the Commissioners of National Education
insisted that only books issued by their authority be used
in national schools.[13] In reprimanding tones he submitted
that a system which permitted teachers to select the
texts they dee ed most appropriate would prove more
effective. The absence of that freedom of choice was
manifest in the outdated and illsuited texts employed in
national schools. It was stated that the commissioners'

<u>Introduction to Practical Farming</u> was far too technical
in content for pupils at national school level, and that
the text on natural philosophy, first published in 1842,
had not been afforded a revised edition in the interven-
ing forty years. As a remedy for these defects Rylett
advocated the introduction of elementary science at the
fourth class level in national schools and T.H. Huxley's
<u>Introductory Primer</u>, published in MacMillan's series of
Science Primers, was identified as a text with potential
to provide senior grade pupils with a basic knowledge of
matters scientific. Agricultural education was in dire
need of similar reform and the introduction of text-books
more suitable to Irish agricultural conditions was
immediately sought.[14]

A further issue relating to the inadequacies of the
national system of education frequently referred to during
the course of evidence was that of compulsory attendance.
A considerable number of witnesses agreed that the country
was ripe for the introduction of compulsory attendance at
elementary level. It was pointed out, however, that the
required legislation on this matter should not seek to
institute compulsory attendance measures all at once, but
rather on a phased basis. The larger urban centres of
Dublin, Belfast and Cork, were recommended as starting
points.[15] Pupils from rural areas were more likely to be
kept from school when the peak agricultural seasons of
Spring and Autumn demanded their energies be devoted to
agricultural chores. Consequently, compulsory attendance
legislation in such instances would be resisted, or
ignored, by parents who depended on this assistance. A
modified attendance requirement, therefore, was what ought
to be allowed, initially.[16]

The failure of the intermediate system of education
to make an impact on technical education also gave general
cause for concern. The payment by results system operated

by the Intermediate Board was denounced on a number of
counts. The allocation of results fees was inequitable.
Higher awards were made for success in the classical and
literary subjects than in subjects mathematical or
scientific. An outcome of this arrangement was that
teachers were provided with an incentive to concentrate
on a classical and literary syllabus.[17]   A more serious
consequence of the payment by results system was inferred
by Alexander Jack, Professor of Civil Engineering at
Queen's College, Cork. He maintained that science teach-
ing and technical instruction should be both inductive
and deductive. The results system was a negation of these
methods, since it placed principal emphasis on cramming
and memorisation. A practical, meaningful understanding
of the theoretical and applicative principles of scient-
ific and technical subjects was sacrificed to superficial
rote learning.[18]

It was further charged that a majority of intermed-
iate schools did not have the requisite appliances or
laboratories essential to the teaching of scientific
subjects. Where science was part of a school programme
it was taught by part-time science teachers, who were
required to supply their own equipment. Few were in a
position to meet such demands and consequently the number
of teachers available to intermediate schools was severely
restricted.[19]

The absence of a commitment to scientific and
technical subjects at elementary level and intermediate
level impeded progress at higher level institutions and
in the industrial sphere in general. The Royal College of
Science was restricted in its effectiveness for want of an
appropriate preparatory education in Ireland, it was
alleged. The average number of students attending day
courses at the Royal College was estimated at between 70
and 80. Of that number, only half were Irish students,
the remainder coming from England and Scotland. The fact

that the college proved attractive to foreign students
was deemed evidence of the high standard of its courses
in engineering, mining and manufactures.[20]   That a
similar attractiveness did not prevail for Irish students
was traced to a deficiency in the teaching of science at
the lower educational levels.   It was lamented that:

> ... the students do not get the training
> at school which attracts their attention
> to science; the consequence is that the
> only field which is open to them in after
> life is a profession such as medicine or
> law.   We see that constantly in Dublin.
> Dublin is·thronged with medical students,
> but there are very few who enter anywhere
> for engineering, which is a subject which
> commands a large number of students in.
> England.   21

A suggested reason for this imbalance was that trade
vocations, as opposed to professional vocations, were held
in low social esteem in Ireland.

> The general impression is that it is
> degrading to enter anything which smacks
> of trade or handi-work and great sacrif-
> ices are made to put children to College
> where they will get what is called a
> profession.   ... a change in the habits
> and customs of the people is the first
> step towards altering that. state of things
> and we can only do that by increased
> primary education and good sense.   22

That the absence of a system of technical education in
Ireland retarded the growth of Irish industry was a view-
point presented ·to the commission by many industrialists.
Industrialists were reticent to initiate new industries
or to expand for want of a resource of qualified workers.
It was remarked that to establish a new industry a
significant outlay of money had'to be invested in premises
and plant.   In Ireland that cost was all the greater in
that finance had to be expanded also in the training of a
work-force.

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Predictably, each industrialist argued the need for
technical education as it affected his own circumstances.
The ship-building industry in Belfast had to depend on
the technical education institutions of Scotland and
England for its managers and foremen.[23]   In the woollen
industry there was a scarcity of master dyers, since no
facility existed for instruction in chemical dyeing.[24]
Of all the trades adversely affected by the absence of
skilled foremen it would seem that few were more neglected
than the building trades. Mr. Charles G. Doran disclosed
that having secured the contract to build the Roman
Catholic Cathedral at Queenstown (modern Cobh) County
Cork, he was obliged to train the majority of his work-
force in the various skills required to complete the
undertaking.[25]

It is readily evident how the demand for technical
education in England during the last quarter of the
nineteenth century was the subject of protracted controv-
ersy regarding the nature and purpose of technical educat-
ion. From evidence submitted to the Royal Commission in
Ireland a similar equivocation may be detected. It is
interesting to note also that the stances adopted in
Ireland on the question of definition were not too.
dissimilar to those taken in England. Three convictions
may be identified here.

Firstly, there was the view promulgated by John
Scott Russell that technical education was a special work-
related education. During the course of the commission's
inquiry in Ireland a number of witnesses aligned themselves
with that view. Mr. John Jaff, President of the Belfast
Chamber of Commerce, urged that the direct teaching of all
trades was an essential strategy, if Ireland was to keep
abreast of industrial progress in other countries.[26]
Secondly, one finds endorsement for the views of Philip
Magnus who held that industrial conditions should be

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simulated in technical schools. While it was allowed
that models, diagrams, and transparencies contributed to
an understanding of the principles of industrial product-
ion in schools, there was no substitute for acquaintance
with the actual machinery itself. Rev. John Hayde of
Upton Reformatory School argued that 'theory is useless
for young people; it is better to show the reason by the
fact rather than explain the fact to them after giving
the reason'.[27] Finally, there was an element of opinion
which urged, as did T.H. Huxley, that a general explor-
atory course in scientific principles should precede the
teaching of specific trades. The acquisition of a
specific trade, it was held, could be accommodated best
in the factory workshop. In the Irish context this
preliminary course ought to acquaint students with the
underlying scientific principles of some of the country's
most prominent industries.[28]

While these views are important for the manner in
which they reveal the perceived nature and purpose of
technical education in late nineteenth century Ireland,
they reflect another significant development. Opinions
expressed to the commission in an attempt to define a
technical education rationale were but the echo of a
debate that was beginning to arrest national attention at
an increasing rate. This outgrowth of concern marked an
important turning-point in the evolution of technical
education in Ireland making manifest a long-felt need and
a resolute commitment to its fulfilment.

Turning now to the findings of the Royal Commission
we note that the commissioners made a number of recommend-
ations which proved alert to the future growth of technical
education in Ireland.

Adverting to a need for a more vigorous commitment
to the teaching of science at a popular level, the
commission stated that the Royal College of Science ought

to play a central role in the preparation of science teachers.[29]   It was further advised that the regulations which precluded the lecturers at the college from earning awards under the payment by results scheme of the Science and Art Department be rescinded. That reform, it was felt, would bring the college into the mainstream of activity in relation to evening classes, while at the same time it would favour the evening artisan student with the best teaching expertise available.[30]

Predictably, the commission recommended 'that the Board of Intermediate Education take steps to ensure the provision of adequate means for the practical teaching of Science in the schools under their direction'.[31]

With regard to the national system of education, a diverse range of reforms was recommended. It was declared that a revision of the text-books used in the teaching of 'industrial processes' and 'rudimentary science' warranted immediate atten...on.[32]   Additionally, programmes in drawing, the   of tools and manual work were demanded. To properly faci..itate that plan it was proposed that teachers be afforded appropriate courses at the central teacher training institution in Dublin to qualify them for their expanded assignment. One of the principal benefits to be derived from that policy, it was believed, was the reinvigoration of 'home_industries' and 'handicrafts'.[33] In respect of agricultural education the commissioners expressed satisfaction at the achievements of the National Commissioners of Education and yet recommended further development of the agricultural programme.[34]

The immediate outcome of the findings and recommend-ations of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction 1881-1884 was the Technical Instruction Act of 1889. This Act applied to Ireland also. Under its provisions, County Councils and Borough Councils were entitled to raise a 1d in the £ rate in aid of technical instruction, control of

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which was placed in the hands of the Science and Art
Department.[35]   This new legislative measure would seem
to indicate, at first appearance at least, that the long-
neglected area of technical instruction had finally
achieved worthy recognition.

     With regard to Ireland, however, the new legislation
was less than effective. While the Local Government
(England and Wales) Act of 1888 provided a delineated
framework for the raising of a rate and for the local
administration of technical education, no-such facility
as yet existed in Ireland. This administrative vacuum
robbed the Act of much of its impact. Some municipal
authorities, notably Cork, Belfast, Limerick and Dublin,
did avail of the provisions of the Act. In the counties,
however, where local authority still resided with the old
Boards of Guardians, the proportion of finance that might
be raised by rate levy was insufficient to fund schemes
of technical instruction.[36]

     One other negative feature of the Technical Instruct-
ion Act 1889 must be registered. From Ireland's viewpoint
the Act failed to grasp the nettle and tackle a long-
standing cause of discontent. Since the mid-nineteenth
centruy it was consistently argued that the Science and
Art Department was far too centralised and detached an
institution to accommodate the peculiar needs of local
industrial requirements. The Technical Instruction Act
1889 did little to change that policy. By handing over
the control of technical instruction to the Science and
Art Department the traditional failing remained. For
Ireland that policy had acute implications. The nature
and structure of the Irish industrial framework, as noted,
was uniquely diverse in that few national industries
existed and the country's industrial prosperity, such as
it was, derived its sustenance from small local industries.
In that instance a technical instruction policy that failed

to acknowledge the principle of decentralisation as an
inherent component of its administrative structure went
little way towards meeting Irish requirements. It was
observed by one commentator at least that the main issue
with regard to a national system of technical instruction
for Ireland hinged largely 'on the general question of
centralisation or decentralisation' and any detailed
discussion beyond that matter would only divert attention
from the major priority.[37]

It becomes clear, therefore, that many of the
anticipated benefits of the Technical Instruction Act 1889
remained elusive as far as Ireland was concerned. That is
not, however, to deny the Royal Commission an influence
upon Irish educational reform during the final decade of
the nineteenth century. For, its immediate value was to
encourage reformers in their endeavours and to provide an
authority of considerable prestige to strengthen education-
al demands. Although the years brought other influences
to determine the course of events, the Royal Commission on
Technical Instruction 1881-1884 held its place as a
reference for reform and its mark can be clearly seen in
the Belmore and Palles Commissions as well as in the report
of Horace Plunkett's Recess Committee and the work of the
Congested Districts Board.

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THE EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (IRELAND) ACT, 1885,
AS PART OF NINETEENTH CENTURY EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Raymond Wilkinson

Educational endowments were grants of land or money
permanently settled for an educational purpose. The
majority of such endowments in Ireland were of private
origin, donated by private benefactors and usually
restricted to particular classes or denominations. But
some endowments were of a public nature; for example the
Ulster Royal School estates were granted by King James I
to support schools open to all. The failure of the
Government to take any posi_ive interest in educational
endowments (save the establishment of a succession of
commissioners), and the failure of the Legislature to
secure the future of endowments affected by the Irish
Church Act, 1869, left such endowments in a confused
position by 1880.

Roman Catholic appeals for a redistribution of
publicly funded educational endowments had received
support from the publication of the 1871 Census figures.
The number of intermediate schools had fallen from 729
in 1861 to 574 in 1871, while the number of pupils attend-
ing these schools had fallen from 21,674 to 21,225.[1]
Notably the decrease in the number of pupils was limited
to members of the Church of Ireland, who were in the
almost exclusive enjoyment of State endowments.

> The Roman Catholics, wholly dependent
> upon voluntary effort, and at the same
> time the least wealthy element of the
> population have increased the number of
> pupils receiving intermediate
> instruction by 2.5 per cent. Non-
> Episcopal Protestants, almost equally
> endowed, but better circumstanced

> pecuniarily, show signal increase of
> 11.9 per cent, while the Episcopal
> Protestants, whose private means are
> immeasurably largest, and who have
> practically the monopoly of State
> endowments disclose the wonderful
> decline of 14.5 per cent. 2

In 1874, Lord Emly[3] pointed out that in Irish endowed
intermediate schools there were but 2,625 pupils, of
which only 108 were Roman Catholics, so that if it were
not for unassisted voluntary efforts, 108 would have been
the whole number receiving intermediate education out of
a Catholic population of over four million.[4] By now it
was becoming evident, that some measure of reform was
essential. The Roman Catholic bishops had asserted the
right of the Catholics of Ireland to their due proportion
of the public funds hitherto set apart for education 'n
the Royal and other endowed schools.[5] Justice demanded
that these funds, insofar as they had been given by the
State, should be made available by the legislature for the
benefit of the entire nation. Statistical comparisons
between the Roman Catholic Schools and the Endowed Grammar
Schools had shown that "they who starve on nothing are
more vigorous than they w u; ustly surfeit an too much."[6]

The framers of the Intermediate Education Act in
1878 avoided any suspicion of directly endowing denomin-
ational institutions. Yet the method of endowment in the
form of prizes and results fees represented a substantial
advance in the support of private denominational schools.
The system of examinations and prizes indirectly aided
from Roman Catholic schools, "but so indirectly, it seems,
as to suffer the consciences of the Protestants of Great
Britain to remain at peace."[7] The 1878 Act represented
a landmark in the history of relations between the British
Government and Irish Catholics in that the Government made
no attempt to exercise control over Catholic education or
to advance any regulation to which Catholics might object;
and by its enactment the Government accepted, in a way

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unknown for centuries in Ireland, the right of Catholics
to have unimpeded access to a form of education reconcil-
able with their religious beliefs. Addressing the
Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland in May
1872, William Burke had complained of the lack of powers
to frame new schemes for the administration of old
educational trusts, and to adapt them to changing social
needs.[8] In June 1876, apparently unaware of the imminent
introduction of the government's intermediate education
bill, Lord Randolph Churchill presented a motion in
Parliament:

> That a Select Committee be appointed to
> inquire into the condition, revenues and
> management of the Endowed Schools of
> Ireland, with instructions to report how
> far those endowments are at present
> promoting or are applicable to the ,
> promotion of Intermediate Education in
> that country without distinction of
> class or religion.   9

Lowther, who had replaced Hicks-Beach as Chief Secretary
in March 1878, persuaded Churchill to withdraw his motion,
on the promise that a small Commission would be appointed
to inquire into the management of these endowments.[10]
Churchill's interest in Irish affairs had developed during
his "exile"[11] in Dublin, as private secretary to his
father, the Duke of Marlborough, appointed Lord Lieutenant
in 1876. On his first day in Dublin Churchill made the
acquaintance of Gerald Fitzgibbon, then Law Advisor at
Dublin Castle,[12] and their friendship which lasted till
Churchill's death, was to have far-reaching effects on
Irish education during the decade which followed. During
the winter of 1877 Churchill devoted himself, with
Fitzgibbon's assistance, to the study of Irish intermediate
education, consulting all shades of Irish opinion. On
the last day of the year he addressed a letter to the
Freeman's Journal[13] on the subject of the Diocesan
Schools, and claiming for intermediate education an amount

equivalent to that diverted when these schools were
abolished by the Irish Church Act.[14] The main result of
Churchill's research into the Irish education question
issued in December 1877 in the form of a pamphlet,
addressed to his friend Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King-
at Arms.[15] It showed, on the evidence of various Royal
Commissions, that intermediate education in Ireland was
positively declining, yet that a system of intermediate
education had existed since the days of Elizabeth, in the
shape of the Diocesan Grammar School, the Royal Free
Schools, and later private foundations.[16] Churchill
expressed wonder that the Kildare Commission Report of
1858 had not been considered by Parliament, and twenty
years had elapsed without any attempt at legislative
reform.[17] In his pamphlet he proposed to extend the
system of Royal Schools and to provide more money out of
the Church surplus. The religious difficulty was to
be surmounted by appointing lay Roman Catholic masters
in Catholic districts and Protestant masters in Protestant
districts, with a conscience clause, control by local
Boards, and a scholarship system, so as to enable the
religious minority in any district to get education
elsewhere.[18] Admirable as the plan appeared, it probably
underrated the reluctance of the Roman Catholic hierarchy
to tolerate education that it did not control. Simultan-
eously with the establishment of such a school system,
Churchill advocated a Royal Commission empowered to
inquire into, remodel and redistribute all existing
educational endowments.[19] Considering his interest in the
Irish education question, Churchill's motion of 4 June
1C78 is not surprising, though the Cabinet, anxious to
secure a safe passage for the Intermediate Education Bill,
must have been worried by his timing. The promise of a
small Commission on endowed schools may be seen as an
insurance against any interference with the government's
intended measure.[20] During the debate on the Second

Reading of the Intermediate Education Bill in the House
of Lords, Earl Spencer referred again to the question of
endowed schools, pointing out that "additional powers
should be given to those bodies in Ireland who were
unable to reform themselves," and that "those endowments
which did exist ought not to be lost sight of, and a
great deal might be done in different localities."[21]

On 3 December 1878 the Duke of Marlborough, the
Lord Lieutenant, issued the warrant appointing Commiss-
ioners "to inquire into the Endowments, Funds, and Actual
Condition of all Schools endowed for the purpose of
Education in Ireland."[22] The Earl of Rosse was appointed
Chairman, and the Commissioners included both Lord
Randolph Churchill and Gerald Fitzgibbon,[23] by now
Solicitor-General for Ireland, and soon to become a Lord
Justice of Appeal. Their Report on 31 October 1880
pointed to the need for legislation on educational endow-
ments in Ireland. The payment-by-results policy of the
Intermediate Board had not silenced Roman Catholic demands
for a share in the public intermediate endowments of the
Royal Schools.

> The Bishops again appeal to the
> Government in the name of the
> Catholics of Ireland to establish
> equality as to state grants and
> endowments between Catholic and non-
> Catholic institutions of higher
> education; either by disendowing the
> latter, or by conferring equal endow-
> ments on the other. This claim
> applies chiefly to public endowments
> still enjoyed by the Queen's Colleges,
> Trinity College and the Royal Schools.[24]

Mahaffy in his inspection of endowed grammar schools for
the Rosse Commission had found fault with their "wretched
system of management" which prevented needful reform and
perpetuated inefficient arrangements and incompetent
teachers-- "old and wearied men."[25] Arnold Graves, the
Secretary to the Commissioners of Education in Ireland,

pointed out that the lack of powers of his Board with
regard to applications by trustees to frame new schemes
for endowed schools resulted in such schools being
regulated by the Court of Chancery or the Commissioners
of Charitable Donations and Bequests behind the back of
the Board especially appointed to regulate them. In the
light of the Rosse Commission Report he claimed for the
Commissioners of Education in Ireland the same powers as
those enjoyed by the English Charity Commissioners with
regard to endowed schools.[26] In December 1882 Graves'
wrote to the Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle drawing
the attention of the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief
Secretary to the need for some legislation to enable the
Commissioners of Education in Ireland to discharge their
duties effectively.[27] Significant development in the size
of several endowed schools inevitably followed the
availability of funds under the 1878 Act,[28] and new
schools were being established particularly in large
urban areas.[29] Some measure of rationalisation was
increasingly seen as necessary. In 1883, under pressure
from Trevelyan, the Liberal Chief Secretary, the National
Board authorised the payment of grants towards the main-
tenance of denominational teacher training colleges.[30]
The surrender of the Board to episcopal demands on this
major issue marked a watershed in the Roman Catholic
Church's struggle with the system, and it marked a major
step towards the goal of complete denominationalism in
education. The Model Schools were often pointed to by
English M.Ps, as evidence of the success of mixed
education in Ireland, but in 1882 Lord Randolph Churchill
denounced these schools as "about the greatest imposture
that could be kept up in Ireland."[31] Speaking on the
Franchise Bill in May of that year, Churchill expressed
the hope that, given the more settled state of Ireland
since 1882, the government would "recognise more fully
what are the real duties of an English government towards

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the Irish people" and "to hold out to Ire. ind the generous
hand of fellowship and to sow the seends of reconciliation."[32]
The demands from whiting for reform of the endowed school
system,and government acceptance that Irish education had
become denominational, ensured that legisation on educ-
ational endowments could not be long delayed.

In August 1883 Trevelyan gave an undertaking in the
House of Cormons to consider the whole question of Irish
endowed schools,[33] though admitting that any legisation
to put things right "must be of a very drastic descript-
ion."[34] In the early months of 1884 a Bill to Reorganise
the Educational Endowments of Ireland was drafted,[35] and
care of the Bill was entrusted to Lord Carlingford.[36] The
Bill provided for the appointment of three paid Commiss-
ioners to prepare drafts of schemes for the future ;
government and management of educational endowments,
subject to the approval of the Lord Lieutenant in Council.[37]
The Commissioners were to have special regard to making
provision for secondary education in public schools.[38] At
the Bill's Second Reading in the House of Lords on 4 July
Lord Carlingford pointed out the advantages to be gained,
including the reform and improvement of both the Royal
Schools and the Commissioners of Education in Ireland.[39]
"The work of the Intermediate Board,with its comparatively
moderate income, must be greatly assisted by the applicat-
ion of some portion of the endowments coming under the
scope of the present Bill."[40] The Bill came in for some
adverse observations from the Earl of Belmore, one of the
Commissioners of Education, but the House did not divide,
and the Bill was to be considered in Committee on 14 July.[41]
In the meantime the House of Lord: threw out the Franchise
Bill, and the Liberal government abandoned all the
unfinished legislation of the session,[42] the Educational
Endowments (Ireland) Bill being withdrawn on 21 July.
Towards the end of the year the Under-Secretary, Hamilton,
invited the view of the Commissioners of Education in

Ireland on endowment legislation,[43] but, despite their
repeated calls for an extension of their powers, and the
criticism levelled at them by the succession of nineteenth
century temporary commissioners, they restricted them-
selves to a declaration that any commissioners appointed
to regulate educational endowments should be unpaid.[44]
In January 1885 Campbell-Bannerman, appointed Chief
Secretary the previous October, recommended the early
reintroduction of the Bill of 1884 in the House of Lords.[45]
Again its passage was entrusted to Lord Carlingford, who
was the only speaker on the Bill's Second Reading on 23
March.

> Inquiries of every kind had gone on
> year after year, or rather generation
> after generation. . . There was to be
> no more inquiry. That had been accomp-
> lished to excess. The Commission would
> have power to revise and reform the
> endowments in the same way as those of
> England and Scotland had been, and were
> being, revised and reformed. 46

The Bill passed to the House of Commons without further
debate or amendment on 20 April,[47] and was given its First
Reading on 12 May.[48] However, in the political crisis of
June 1885 the Bill was practically abandoned.[49] In that'
month a combination of Conservatives and Parnellites
defeated the staggering Liberal government on a question
of increased duties on beer and spirits.[50]

The new government's Irish programme was agreed in
Cabinet on 4 July, and did not include the Endowments
Bill.[51] Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, appointed Chancellor of
the Exchequer, explained that few uncontentious legis-
lative projects which the Government would try to carry
through before winding up the business of the session,
and in this he received the concurrence of Gladstone.[52]
It occurred, however, to Fitzgibbon, who had followed the
subject of endowment reform with interest since the Rosse
Commission of 1879-80, that the abandoned Liberal Bill

could be so altered as to become a useful measure. He
wrote to Hugh Holmes, his successor as Solicitor-General,
and now Attorney-General and M.P. for Dublin University,[53]
and to Lord Randolph Churchill, but received no encour-
agement.[54] On the morning of 7 August Fitzgibbon arrived
in London, and while breakfasting with Churchill developed
and enforced his views.[55] Having secured the agreement of
Hicks-Beach to the measure, provided that the session was
not prolonged, and the agreement of Holmes to undertake
its conduct in the House of Commons, Fitzgibbon set to
redrafting the Bill.

> During one of the hottest days in the
> year Cullinan our draftsman and he with
> their coats off worked at the amendments,
> which in the evening were ready for the
> printer. 56

The Bill stood no chance without the concurrence of the
Irish nationalists, and Fitzgibbon undertook to negotiate
with Thomas Sexton, M.P. for Sligo. A meeting either in
the Irish Office or in the M.P.'s lodgings seemed
inappropriate, so "they were brought together by the
medium of a cabman."[57] The regular Liberal opposition,
represented by Samuel Walker,[58] was conciliated by a
promise to make one of his constituents an Assistant
Commissioner. Perhaps the most amusing incident was the
indignation expressed by Sir William Hart-Dyke, the Chief
Secretary.

> He had been, he said, a whip for twelve
> years familiar with all the traditions
> of the house; and it was not playing the
> game to enter upon important legislation
> the last week of the session. He would
> therefore wash his hands of it. 59

Fitzgibbon's amendments, as moved by Holmes, for the
purpose of altering the original Bill into its new shape,
covered pages of the parliamentary order book, and were
unintelligible to all save Sexton and Holmes, and it is
doubtful if even they fully understood them.[60] Not one

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of the members of the new Government had read a line of
the Bill.[61] On 12 August Holmes and Sexton, in a remark-
able parliamentary double-act, steered the Bill through
the Committee stage.[62] On the following day the Bill
passed the remaining stages, and received the Royal
Assent on 14 August, the day parliament was prorogued.[63]

The Act came into force on 1 October 1885.[64] Five
Commissioners were appointed to the Educational Endowments
(Ireland) Commission.[65] The two Judicial Commissioners
were named in the Act, Fitzgibbon himself, and Rt.Hon.
John Naish, Lord Chancellor of Ireland in Gladstone's
Ministry from May till June 1885, and the second Roman
Catholic Chancellor since the Reformation.[66] The
Assistant Commissioners, "persons of experience in
education",[67] were appointed by the Lord Lieutenant on
25 September 1885--Rt. Rev. Monsignor Gerald Molloy,
Rector of the Catholic University, Anthony Traill, Esq.,
Professor of Medicine in Trinity College Dublin, and
Rev. James Brown Dougherty, Professor of Logic in Magee
College, Londonderry. The Act laid down lengthy procedures
before any scheme drawn up by the Commissioners could
receive statutory authority, by the approval of the Lord
Lieutenant in Council.[68] A minimum of six months had to
elapse between the first publication of a draft scheme by
the Commissioners and its final approval by the Lord
Lieutenant, during which time objections from interested
parties could be raised at various stages.[69] Provision
was made for future alterations to schemes by the
Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for
Ireland.[70] A number of endowments were excluded specific-
ally from the application of the Act--those relating to
Trinity College Dublin or the University of Dublin; those
applied solely to theological instruction; those wholly
or partly applied to charitable or non-educational
purposes; those consisting of voluntary subscriptions;
and those exclusively for the benefit of, and under the

exclusive control of, persons of any particular denomin-
ation. These latter denominational endowments could be
brought within the scope of the Act only by the written
consent of the respective governing bodies.[71] These
exceptions led the Commissioners to comment in their
First Annual Report to the Lord Lieutenant in October
1886, that

> . . . although the endowments coming
> within the scope of our Commission may
> seem large in the aggregate, we are
> satisfied from the inquiries we have
> already held that by far the greater
> number of these endowments, including
> some of the most valuable, are of
> private origin, and are limited by the
> intentions of the founders to particular
> classes of the population. . . . we have
> therefore reason to fear that the
> expectations generaly raised will be in
> a great measure disappointed, and that
> the provision of intermediate education
> in Ireland will remain very imperfect
> . . .   [72]

In fact of the 210 schemes submitted to the Lord Lieuten-
ant by December 1894, covering 1,350 primary schools, 80
separate intermediate schools, and 22 collegiate and
other institutions, only three schemes dealt with endow-
ments for intermediate education derived from public
sources.[73]

During a conversation with Sir Patrick Keenan in
October, 1885, Lord Carlingford came to the conclusion
that the Fitzgibbon amendments enacted in the Educational
Endowments (Ireland) Act were framed in Protestant
interests.[74] In the autumn the Act had nearly become a
dead letter because the Roman Catholic hierarchy, like
Carlingford, took it to have a Protestant bias. Dr.Walsh,
the newly-appointed Archbishop of Dublin,[75] protested
against the composition of the Commission.

> Three of the five Commissioners are to
> be non-Catholics, and we, the Catholics
> of Ireland, we the representatives of the

> interests of the vast majority of the
> successful Intermediate Schools of the
> country are to be in a minority of two.
> Is this equality? Is this fair play? 75

Of the two Catholic members of the Commission, Naish
belonged to the "official circle" and was regarded as a
Castle Catholic.[77] Molloy, though possessing the
confidence of the bishops in matters of education, was
regarded by Dr. Croke as an "unmitigated Whig, and a jump
Jim Crow man in politics."[78] He was "a genial soul, as
fit to cope with the chairman, Lord Justice Fitzgibbon, as
a shrimp with a shark."[79] The appointment of one Protest-
ant and one Roman Catholic Judicial Commissioner was
designed to ensure the protection of denominational
interests. As both Judicial Commissioners had to agree
before a scheme was signed, the Catholic Commissioner could
veto any reform of endowments of which he did not approve.
However, as many endowments had already passed into
Protestant hands, the denominational balance between the
Judicial Commissioners might not effect the equable redist-
ribution of endowments.

> . . . if the Catholic Commissioner can
> veto the Protestant scheme, the latter
> can veto the Catholic scheme, and if the
> scheme is vetoed the endowment remains
> with the Protestants. 80

On 7 October the Hierarchy called on the government to
reconsider the constitution of the Commission so as to
give Roman Catholics their due proportion of representation
thereon, and that if no action was taken the two Roman
Catholic Commissioners should resign.[81] Archbishop Croke
wrote on 29 October recommending Molloy's resignation, but
owing to the strong persuasion of Lord Carnarvon, the Lord
Lieutenant, who informed Dr.Walsh that he would leave the
Cabinet if justice was not done to Ireland, especially in
matters of education, the question of Molloy's resignation
was deferred.[82] A letter from Churchill emphasising the
pro-Catholic implications of Conservative policy on Irish

education further served to iron out the difficulties.[83]
Despite, or perhaps because of, the lack of strong
government support for the Educational Endowments Act--
a lawyer-made law, -an immense amount of administrative,
legal and financial tidying-up in the Irish educational
sphere was to be accomplished by the relatively short-
lived Commission which it established.

The Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885,[84]
provided for the making and approving of schemes up to
31 December 1888, but was ultimately continued till 31
March 1893.[85] By the power vested in the Lord Lieutenant
by the 1885 Act the powers of the Commissioners with regard
to specified endowments could be extended, and the
Commission was not finally wound up until 25 April 1898.[86]
219 draft schemes were published by the Commissioners, of
which nine were not proceeded with,[87] so that by the date
of the Commission's Final Report on 18 December 1894, 210
schemes had been signed by the Judicial Commissioners and
submitted to the Lord Lieutenant.[88] These 210 schemes
covered some 1,450 separate schools, and involved an
annual value to the endowments, including school premises
and income from lands and funds of £67,305. To this was
added a further £73,601 from fees, suscriptions and other
sources, leaving a total annual value of the monies dealt
with by the Commission of £140,906.[89] The total cost of
the Commission to the Treasury was £32,507, less than half
a year's income of the endowments dealt with, while a mere
£330 was chargeable to the Endowments for the cost of
publishing schemes.[90]

The Scheme for the settlement of the Ulster Royal
Schools Endowment was the single most important respons-
ibility of the Commission. As early as 1887 this was
recognised by the Commissioners - "probably the most
important and difficult part of our duty."[91] Prior to the
Educational Endowments Act the Royal Schools had been in a
state of decline, attributable to the management

difficulties and lack of powers commented on by the
succession of nineteenth century commissions, but also
to the fear that the disestablishment of the Irish Church
in 1869 was to be followed by the large scale disendowment
of the Royal Schools, and the uncertainty regarding legis-
lation on endowment reform.[92]   Previous to the Scheme, the
endowments were applied exclusively to the five Ulster
Royal Schools, but the Commissioners of Education in
Ireland, other than a power of visitation, had no means by
examination or inspection to test their educational
efficiency. The object of the 1885 Act was to extend the
usefulness of educational endowments, and the Scheme
promoted this, so far as the Ulster Royal School Endowment
was concerned, by providing for the maintenance, in defined
districts, of at least two schools, and the establishment
in each district of two local Boards of Education--one
Protestant and one Roman Catholic--each to manage and
control its own school. Further, the Scheme provided for
the inspection of schools, and required that each school
should satisfy certain conditions of equipment and
suitability as well as educational efficiency. The
principle of local control of intermedaite education was
established by the Endowments Commission. Control was
taken out of the hands of large Boards of unpaid Commiss-
ioners in Dublin and placed in the hands of Governing
Bodies "taking an active interest in the success of the
institution, and enjoying ample opportunities for
personal influence and personal observation."   In the
local Boards of Education, established under the Ulster
Royal Schools Scheme, Roman Catholics were able to part-
icipate in the benefits of a public endowment, while
retaining control in a local Roman Catholic Board. The
inquiries of the Endowments Commissioners with regard to
the Ulster Royal Schools confirmed their belief that the
financial provision for Intermediate education in Ireland
was wholly inadequate, and bore no relation to the

provision for university and primary education.[93]   While
the Commissioners approved of the extra funds at the
disposal of the Intermediate Education Board (and of the
schools from results fees), by the terms of the Local
Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890,[94] they pointed
out that results fees

> do not supply the place of Endowments,
> nor furnish the means of establishing
> schools where none already exist, or of
> acquiring the plant and appliances which
> are necessary before any school can
> become efficient . . . But a moderate
> amount of money applied, as in the case
> of the Ulster Royal Schools, for the
> benefit of defined localities, under the
> control of a central body and with an
> efficient system of inspection, would
> afford valuable assistance to many
> struggling institutions, give a large
> impulse to Intermediate Education in
> Ireland, and open the advantages of
> Higher Education to the best pupils of
> the Primary Schools in places where they
> have now no means of obtaining advanced
> teaching. 95

The Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, was
a wise and reasonable piece of legislation, in which an
attempt was made to give as much freedom as possible to
those already in control of schools, to avoid und e inter-
ference with established rights and vested interests, and
to ensur that any reorganisation should not violate the
spirit of the founder's intentions. In making their
recommendations the Commissioners were to have regard to
the merits of all those eligible for the benefits of the
endowments and to make provision for extending the endow-
ments for the greater benefit of the people. The
Endowments Commission worked with a small staff of a
Secretary and a few clerks, and sat frequently both in
public, where interested parties often stated their case
with vigour, and in private. It usually met in Dublin,
but it held sittings throughout the country. The real

value of the work of the Commission lies in the fact that there were many schools in Ireland which, before the Commissioners initiated vital changes in their organisation, were in a very backward state. It is unlikely that schools such as the Royal Schools would have long survived had the Commission never sat. For the century from 1791 to 1891 no endowment of public origin (excluding aid from the National board after 183 the results fees paid by the Intermediate Board, and the Maynooth Grant) was enjoyed exclusively or to any large extent by Roman Catholics in the matter of education. The Ulster Royal Schools Scheme established the Roman Catholic Church as a full partner in the enjoyment of public funds. The establishment of the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission was part of a movement throughout the United-Kingdom to reorganise endowments, but in Ireland was linked to both Liberal and Conservative attempts to redress Irish grievances. Schemes drawn up by the Commission had the force of law--indeed many such schemes still have statutory existence--and showed a preference for local rather than central control. The Commission's investigations raised many issues--the extent of Church and State involvement in education, the funding of intermediate schools, and the importance of local support. The resolution of these issues left Irish intermediate schools by the close of the nineteenth century as independent, locally managed, denominational institutions.

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HENRY EDWARD ARMSTRONG, (1848 - 1937),
AND EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE IN SCHOOLS

Gerry Beggan

In the face of social revolution in Europe dating
from the mid-nineteenth century it was clear that
education could not continue in its historic forms. As
a consequence, real differences in the philosophy of
education emerged, and educational controversy heightened.
Among the revolutionary forces, particularly in the
context of education in England, were persons such as
Spencer and Huxley, advocates of curriculum content
selected chiefly to sustain and improve the existing
material society. In the content of any curriculum which
took such forces into account science would figure
prominently. On the other hand classics, the character-
istic feature of Intermediate school curriculum, would
lose ground further, and so, expectedly, classicists
constituted the main reactionary force.

In England, down to the middle of the nineteenth
century science was the veritable Cinderella of the school
curriculum. Although as a discipline science was making
headway, science teachers were few, and those few were
engaged in fighting down opposition to the progress of
science in the schools. Even late in the century few
schools had laboratories, and such science teaching as was
done was usually done at the demonstration table.

Perhaps the most important man in the world of
science teaching during the late eighties and nineties
was Dr. H.E. Armstrong, Professor of Chemistry at the
City and Guilds Institute, South Kensington.[1] Born in
1848, Armstrong developed an interest in education early

in his career which was to continue until his death in
his ninetieth year, and was, for a period of time, to
influence profoundly the course of science education in
Ireland.[2]

Armstrong left school at the age of 16 years, and
later in life liked to inform his readers that while at
school such subjects as Latin, Mathematics, History and
Geography glanced off him like water from a duck's back,
because he could take no interest in them as they were
taught. As no very definite habits of thought were
impressed on him while at school his mind was therefore
left free to develop, and therefore he greatly valued
the ignorance in which he left school. Having left
school, and apparently for no particular reason, he
entered the Royal College of Chemistry in Oxford Street,
London, and then "just slid into chemistry", though
according to accounts, he interspersed his lectures there
with frequent visits to a nearby hospital to observe
happenings in its operating theatre. After two years he
took up employment as a research assistant, working on
water pollution, and shortly after that, following the
custom of the period, went to Germany to pursue further
studies and took a Ph.D. from Leipzig at the age of 21.

On returning to London he took up an appointment
with London City and Guilds, organising classes in
chemistry and physics, and establishing local schools
for artisans and workmen.[3]   But the adolescent boys who
were sent to him to learn chemistry were so badly
grounded in elementary science and had such little
knowledge of methodological procedure that he was given
to making bitter complaints about the ineffectiveness of
science teaching in the schools whence they came. While
working with medical students, but without previous
training as a teacher, he taught himself how to teach
them chemistry, and, aided by that effort, devel..ed a

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system of laboratory training to name which he revived
the term "heuristic". In his own words this method was
"nothing more than a method of gaining knowledge by
experience - by enquiry, by observation, by trial -
reduced to system and formalised". He then took a
leading part in the promotion of this hueristic approach
to science teaching in schools. More than anywhere else,
in Christ's Hospital School, London, where he became a
Governor in 1896, he was afforded the opportunity to put
his methods into practice.

Acutely aware that he was living in a world in which
the harnessing of steam and electricity had vastly
changed the conditions under which the work of the world
was being carried out, Armstrong saw a need to construct
satisfactory educational programmes suited to the new
circumstances. Failure to change would give technological
dominance to other countries, particularly to America, he
warned, and he foresaw in the Boer War the disintegration
of the British Empire unless Army education became much
more scientific. And in the longer term he foresaw an
energy crisis resulting from the inefficient use of
natural resources.

Critical not only of the prevailing science
programmes in schools, but of education generally, he
dismissed "the educational bread" which had been offered
since the Education Act, 1870, as "little more than
stone", and decried the fact that, even as late as 1891,
modern subjects, especially experimental science, had as
yet barely obtained a foothold in the schools. Mathemat-
ical and literary education were still regarded as the
back-bone of education. All but very few educationists
disregarded what he called "practical arts".[4]

Armstrong attributed the retardation of progress in
science to various causes. Those in control of the
education system he branded as amateurs, and advocated a

scientific approach to programme formulation. State
intervention would be required in order to bring about
change. The ancient universities he described as
classical trade unions which controlled the schools, and
these latter were too much in the hands of men impractical
by habit and trained in dogmatic beliefs. They were
least acquainted with science, and so a one-sided devotion
to humanistic studies had induced an attitude of blindness
and irreverence towards natural objects and phenomena.
Consequently, education had had little reference to the
wants of the world. Until practical men and women were
out in charge of the schools little progress could be
made. Meanwhile, the nation's youth were allowed to grow
up as literary men. Parliament was full of literary men.
Even the Press, he charged, was a purely literary organis-
ation.

Armstrong proclaimed that a new intellectual order
was arising, scientists and engineers, and that the
classes which formerly stood out as cultured were falling
behind. The average handicraftsman was not, he insisted,
in any way inferior to the average scribe or scholar -
but quite the contrary. Yet, in the schools students
heard nothing of great engineers or scientists, but were
still forced to concentrate on "pious Aeneas and on
Caesar". Latin, he felt (1910), was taught, not because
of its linguistic value, but on social grounds. Like
turned-up trousers Latin was supposed to mark the
gentleman. The relative value of Latin as an educational
subject was, he stated, grossly exaggerated. Those who
dwelt on its merits were rarely conversant with other
subjects to a sufficient extent to be able to appreciate
the effects these would produce if equally well taught.
The most capable teachers were chosen to teach Latin to
the most capable boys, but the time of the majority was
wasted studying Latin. By contrast, only those who failed
the classical side were, he asserted, given a chance to do

science. At best the Headmasters who admitted the
science teacher into their schools did so because they
saw he was getting into fashion, but they had no
sympathy with his work. So he proceeded as he pleased,
and taught as though the boys under him were going to be
chemists or physicists.

A more serious charge levied by him against
classical studies was that they tended, above all others,
to create in the mind of the learner a belief - an almost
blind belief - in precedent and authority. In a classics
lesson the first question to arise, he asserted, was
"what is the rule?", and the thought never occurred that
there may be a new rule to be discovered. Thus classics
educated the student to keep rules rather than to make
them.

Armstrong could not accept that literary and
mathematical studies were sufficient preparation in the
great majority of cases for the work of the world - they
developed introspective habits too exclusively. The
literary side ought not be disregarded however - in fact
it should receive far more care and attention - but one
ought recognise that it was only one side. Three classes
of studies claimed consideration - literary, mathematical,
and practical. Practical studies included experimental
science, manual work, drawing and physical exercises.
However complete a course of literary and mathematical
studies might be, they could not educate, he claimed,
"that side of the human brain which was instrumental in
building up science and applying it to industry - the
USE OF EYES AND HANDS".[4] Advancing Kingsley's view that
the first thing for a boy to learn after obedience and
morality was the habit of observation, he adamantly held
that the use of eyes and hands, and what he termed
"scientific method", could not be taught by means of the
blackboard and chalk, or even by experimental lectures

and demonstrations alone. Individual eyes and hands should be practised actually and persistently, from the very earliest period in the school career.

Armstrong scorned the prevailing use of 'ext-books in schools. He deemed learning from books and teachers to be a lazy and ineffective method of learning, and exclusive resort to such methods corrupted the scholar at an early age. He alleged that modern boys and girls were made absolutely dependent on their teachers and on books. The modern primer he described as "the creation of the enemy". "The curse of books is upon us" he warned, "for books are a curse when used to train parrots". "Real books, readable books, informing books are scarcly to be found in the schools". He considered that textbooks were not readable, in fact they spoiled reading, and afforded no assistance in reading "the great book of Nature."

Despite this ban which he would put on textbooks, Armstrong advocated not just the teaching of the three R's but the teaching of the four R's, reading, writing, arithmetic and reasoning. Reading should be concerned not only with the reading of print, but also with the reading of Nature, and experimental science elements should accompany reading. Students should be taught to use books as sources of information and should be referred to dictionaries and works of information generally. Use of textbooks should be avoided in order that that which should be elicited by experiment would not be previously known, and merely demonstrated, the great object in view being the acquisition of the art of experimenting, and observing with a clearly-defined and logical purpose.

Writing should include composition, and composition should be taught in connection with experimental work. A record of what was being done should be written down while the work was being done. Indeed, Armstrong envisaged that each scholar would be the author of his

own personal book in this way. The information in that
book would have been gained by the scholar himself by
inquiry, and would not have been imparted to him by
others.

Drawing also should be included in the second R..
Arithmetic would embrace not only the usual topics in
that subject, but mathematics, and especially measurement
work. Weighing, measuring and comparing were among the
chief activities in experimental science. Such exper-
imental studies were judged to be highly conducive to the
formation of morals, and, as a means of developing
character were deemed unquestionably superior to any
provided by the other subjects of the school curriculum.
Indeed the balance was an instrument, the use of which
would be regarded in all schools as an extraordinary
potent means of effecting moral culture.

In an article written in 1895 on 'Science Teaching
in Schools in Agricultural Districts'[5] Armstrong outlined
subject priorities to be the mechanical arts of reading,
writing and working elementary problems in arithmetic.
Next in order should come effective training in the nature
and use of scientific method. But spelling, grammar,
history, geography and similar subjects could, he stated,
be safely relegated to very secondary positions in the
programme. First among educational aims must be the
encouragement of the growth of the spirit of inquiry and
research.

When giving a title to his book The Teaching of
Scientific Method Armstrong was purposeful in his choice
of words. He deliberately drew a distinction between
science teaching and the teaching of scientific method.
It was the teaching of scientific method, and not of any
particular branch of science, which he advocated, and he
attributed the retardation of educational progress to the
absence of a proper distinction between these two things.

With the objects of putting thinking heads on the shoulders of the rising generation he advocated that all education should be made scientific. In this connection he categorised as scientific any education which taught exact knowledge.

Armstrong would not countenance the science specialist drafting school programmes, nor would he advise the teaching of early school science as separate subjects - a practice which he always opposed and which would, he feared, lead to intellectual pygmies and a lack of general culture. He would however envisage elements of astronomy, botany, chemistry, geology, mechanics, physics, physiology and zoology in programmes. He seemed to have no preference as to sequence among these, though he did state that he himself would begin with botany. He admitted that few teachers would be adequately prepared for such work, and it seems doubtful that he could ever envisage women suited to the task. A woman's lack of originality was, he once wrote, the most fatal blot on the woman as a teacher. And he warned that it would be a suicidal policy to place education in her hands anymore than could be helped. Even co-educational schools which at the time (1910) were sweeping the United States were, in his judgement, a threat and an evil, and would lead to the effeminisation of all who would submit to them.

To permit the teaching of experimental science or scientific method the future design of schools should be altered to give more workshop accommodation and less classrooms. In fact he would convert nearly all class-rooms into workrooms or workshops, de-emphasising lessons and dispensing with timetables. He viewed the two or three hours per week given to workshop at the time as altogether inadequate and would have students spend every afternoon and several mornings per week in them, also substituting workshop for excessive amounts of homework.

Specific tasks would be set in the form of problems which each child would work out experimentally in the workshop. The teacher would move through the class, acting as foreman, aiding each pupil to accomplish the alotted task, and caring little to ascertain what they knew, but making every effort to lead each to do something. Armstrong would give little attention to knowledge, and stated that the knowledge idol would have to be deposed, and the knowledge caste removed from its position of predominance. The function of the school of the future would be to develop knowingness, not to inculcate knowledge. One consequence of breaking down the knowledge idol would be, he forecast, that we would cease to be slaves of a rigid time-table. Though knowledge, he agreed, was power, power was only in that knowledge which was got by observation.

Armstrong entertained a deep disaffection for examinations, declaring that they retarded rather than favoured improved teaching methods, their effect on the student being to make self-help impossible. When he became professor at the City and Guilds Institute he determined to have nothing to do with teaching for examinations. "The programmes here" he once boasted, "have never been disfigured by references to examinations as objects to be kept in view by students". He held the view that too much dependence on examinations would be likely to lead to the selection of what he termed "clerical" rather than practical ability, and he showed sympathy for the substitution of inspection entirely for examinations in the elementary stage.

Written examinations were however to be a major cause of the downfall of Armstrong's methods. The 1902 Education Act which established Local Education Authorities in England encouraged the expansion of secondary education, and one of its by-products was the

increase in numbers of pupils taking a wide variety of examinations especially at age 14 or 15.[6] By 1909 there was a felt need for some national guidelines for examinations to be laid down, and although these took effect only from 1917 onwards when the Board of Education issued major recommendations in this regard, Christ's Hospital School was, in 1908, obliged by the Board to adopt the School Certificate Examination as a criterion of efficiency. In consequence the heuristic methods of teaching, nurtured by Armstrong, had to be modified to meet the requirements of the examination syllabus. Most likely it was to this set-back he was alluding when, in the Preface to the 1910 edition of his book he wrote that "our cause has suffered repression rather than encouragement". Was it not ironical that a man who looked impatiently to State interference to put education on a scientific bases was to be an early victim of the power of that same State?

The decline in popularity of Armstrong's methods cannot however be explained solely by the demands of State-imposed examinations. The man himself generated opposition by his deliberate attempts to stir up controversy. Nor could the curiously narrow pedagogical creed which he expounded escape the criticisms either of reactionaries or of those who believed with a fervour equal to his own that the art of teaching could never be reduced to any stereotyped procedure based on a few simple precepts or canons. And yet, even though some of his students yielded to his methods only reluctantly, Armstrong's success as a teacher cannot be denied. To what could this have been due?

Writing in 1929 when heuristic methods of science teaching in England had given way to a happier combination of demonstration-table and laboratory training, a former member of His Majesty's Inspectorate, F.W.Westaway,

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expounding a freer and more individualistic approach to
methodology, stated, in regard to the heuristic method:

> Progress is inordinately slow, even with
> exceptional teachers. Far too little
> ground is covered in a term. The work
> attempted is confined almost entirely to
> physics and chemistry, and boys get a
> wrong idea of science as a whole, or, for
> that matter, of physics and chemistry as
> a whole. The succession of exercises is
> rarely planned to fit into a general
> scheme for building up a subject
> completely; bits of a subject are chosen
> just because they lend themselves to the
> particular type of training. Time is
> wasted over experiments that are beyond
> the pupil's skill and ought to be performed
> by the teacher. The whole method tends to
> be spoiled by its background of false
> perspective. ... A boy never "discovers"
> a principle, and it is doing him a
> disservice to let him think he does.
> Above all things science teaching demands
> intellectual honesty. 7

Though he himself never heard Armstrong teach,
Westaway learned a good deal about Armstrong's methods
from Armstrong's former pupils, and came to the conclusion
that Armstrong's success resided in his extraordinary
personality, and not in his use of the balance or in
heuristics. Westaway also doubted that Armstrong ever
taught a class of dull students, - as distinct from
students totally ignorant of science, and pointed out that
the successful use of the method pre-supposed not only a
gifted teacher but also a very small class, say four or
five, so that throughout the lesson the teacher could be
at the elbow of each.[8]

In Ireland, as the twentieth century began, far-
reaching changes were being introduced into education. At
primary-school level science was being promoted by the
National Board, and this Board had appointed Mr. Mayhowe
Heller, B.Sc., to organise the instruction in the national
schools. Science was a compulsory subject in the new

programme issued in 1900, even though the Departments governing primary education in either England or Scotland had not yet moved in this direction. Heller's goal was the implementation of this National Board programme, the purpose of which was, he said, to give pupils ample experience of the scientific method of inquiry, to teach self-relianace in work, to cultivate accurate observation and accuracy of thinking and of verbal expression, and to lay the foundation of habit and education on which could be built any form of higher or technical education.[9] Unfortunately, he was attempting to achieve admirable objectives by means of teachers whose training was by the monitorial system, and who had not experienced the benefits of any Intermediate education.

The institution in Ireland of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in 1899 to replace the Science and Art Department was the outcome of effort to help create better conditions in the 'New Ireland' which was dreamed of as the new century began, and Home Rule seemed nearer. Following conferences between this new Department and the Intermediate Education Board, it was agreed that Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Drawing should be replaced in the Board's examinations by one subject, to be known as Experimental Science and Drawing. From 1901 onwards, and until a year's notice would have been given by it, the Board agreed not to hold any examination in that subject, but would accept the inspection, and, where necessary, the examination of the new Department.

The foregoing developments in Intermediate Education were a consequence of the Report of the Commissioners on Intermediate Education, 1899, and were part of the Intermediate Board's drive to establish a Modern s de to the Curriculum of Intermediate schools, and to encourage the emergence of schools of a Modern type.

Heller expected little success from this drive, and
doubted that Intermediate schools would provide
adequately for the practical side of education. Adequate
provision, in his view, would require that half the
school week be devoted to the practical work of workshops,
laboratory and drawing office, and the other half spent
in the classroom.[10] Only in the cities of Dublin,
Belfast and Cork did he see hope that a school might
simultaneously offer both a Grammar-type and a Modern-
type education. The former could be tested by written
examinations, but the latter, he felt, would be best
tested by inspection.

The Department of Agriculture and Technical
Instruction insisted that persons recognised as teachers
of Experimental Science in Intermediate Schools should
have experience of laboratory work, but, because few
teachers in Ireland had this experience, (there being
only six laboratories in the secondary schools of Ireland
in 1901)[11] it was found necessary to establish summer
courses for teachers. Originally it was hoped that by
attendance at such courses, each of about one month's
duration, a teacher would, in five or six years, be
adequately qualified, and in the same time scale a
suitable body of science teachers could be made available.
These Courses were attended in 1901 by 293 teachers from
196 schools, and the new science programme was taken up
by 152 schools in 1901-02 after the hurried installation
of laboratories. The influence of heuristics is evident
in the Report of the Board for 1902 which pointed out that
"The phase of transition has been necessarily abrupt, from
a time honoured method, in which the textbook reigned
supreme, to one in which the pupil, under skilled
direction, is encouraged to find out the facts of science
as far as possible for himself, the change is somewhat a
revolution".[12]

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Unfortunately the examination standard set in 1902
was so high that the results had to be revised and 30 per
cent instead of 40 per cent was accepted in most subjects
as a pass.[13]   In his address to the British Association
in 1902, convened in Belfast, Armstrong made reference to
these reforms, and, having acknowledged the superiority
of the power of imagination of "the Irish race" over that
of other sections of the "nation", had this to say about
science:

> The programme laid down for primary and
> intermediate schools appear to me to be
> well thought out and full of promise;
> the fault that I might be inclined to
> find in them is that perhaps they are
> somewhat too ambitious. But very able
> men are directing the work who should
> be wise enough to see that thoroughness
> be aimed at before all things. Nothing
> could be more gratifying than Mr.Heller's
> statement in the Report for 1900 "that
> the Irish teachers as a whole seem to
> possess a great natural taste and
> aptitude for science and the method of
> experimental inquiry". May they seek
> to set teachers in other parts of the
> Kingdom the example which is sorely
> needed.   14

Unfortunately, complaints about the amount of work
required for examination candidates continued, and it
would seem that the demands on Irish teachers, requiring
them to shift from the almost entirely theoretical and
verbal approach to science teaching were over-stretching
their capabilities. Yet, despite this, science was to
become compulsory over a few years.

Heller, to whose Report Armstrong made reference in
the foregoing citation, had spent three-and-a-half years
as a science demonstrator in connection with the school
Board for London in the 1890's, and by 1897 had helped
to put the science scheme of the British Association
into operation in no fewer than 40 of the London Board
schools. After this he spent three years as head of the

day department of the Municipal Technical School in Birmingham. From 1901 onwards he was Head Organiser of Elementary Science and Object Lessons with the National Board of Education in Ireland until the reorganisation of Educational bodies, after national independence was won, placed him in the Technical Instruction Branch of the Department of Education of the Irish Free State.[15] He remained in that Branch until 1933. The methods used by Heller in London, and presumably continued by him in Ireland, fitted the heuristic philosophy so well that Armstrong included a description of them in one of his papers on the art of making children discover things for themselves.[16]

So well did the improverished schools in Ireland respond to the financial inducements provided for the promotion of Experimental Science that in 1906-07 more than £25,000 was paid to Day Secondary Schools compared to less than £1,500 in 1901-02. The impact of this advance of science was felt especially on the Classics, so that by 1908, of 619 Exhibitions awarded by the Intermediate Education Board only 40 went to Classics compared with 370 for the Mathematics, Science and Drawing grouping.[17] This rapid decline in Classics was taking place despite the fact that teachers of Classics, unlike those of science, were well qualified usually. The hope expressed by Armstrong on an earlier occasion that science would not replace classics was rapidly proving itself vain, at least so in Ireland, and the worst fears of classicists who saw science as a threat in the long term were now clearly justified.

Given the relatively poor qualifications of teachers of science and the ambitious nature of the science programmes it seems incredible that student performance in examinations could have risen to such a level that science claimed so many Exhibitions. While the popularity

of science could be explained by the fact that science
was paid for twice, - once by the Department and again
by the Board as an almost universal subject in the
examination, - it had the further appeal that, in the
case of Pass students it was examined by inspection
only, each class either passing or failing in toto, the
verdict depending on attendance and quality of workbooks
kept. The uniformity of results based on this method of
assessment appealed greatly to teachers of science who,
unlike their brethren teaching other subjects, were not
encumbered (in their labours for results fees) by the
vagaries of pupils' abilities, teacher skills, or the
difficulties inherent in the subject, and, being
registered, which other teachers were not, they could
command higher salaries into the bargain.[18]

Not unexpectedly some misgivings were entertained
as to the wholesomeness of an education whereby, at the
age of 14 or 15, many students, having come to Intermed-
iate school too late, could pass successfully after a
year's work in the particularly popular combination of
subjects: Science, Irish and French, whereas students
of classics would have no hope of passing in that subject
under similar conditions.[19] In addition to this the
provision of science instruction according to the
requirements of the Department caused a lot of disorgan-
isation in schools. Probably this was to some extent
due to the administrative structures which required that
Heads of schools serve two masters, the Board and the
Department. A further contentious matter was the ban on
the use of text-books, despite the fact that in some
countries, especially in Germany, demonstrations by the
teacher and use of books was acceptable science method-
ology. An article in The Irish Ecclesiastical Record in
1912 deplored the banishment of not merely books, but
also of Music, Drawing and kindred subjects from the
schools, which, like Experimental Science, could cultivate

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the faculty of observation and criticism, and the senses of sight and touch.[20] Besides these things the selection by inspectors of the Department, of students deemed capable of taking the honours courses without consultation with Headmasters was a cause of further dissatisfaction.[21]

The introduction in England of a code of regulations pertaining to public examinations was paralleled in Ireland in 1916 by a unilateral decision of the Intermediate Education Board to introduce individual written examinations in science for Pass candidates. The move was not favoured by science teachers,[22] and undoubtedly was a set-back not only for discovery methods of teaching, but also for the Technical Instruction Branch.

Experimental science received a further serious set back on the institution of the Irish Free State partly because the revival of the Irish language took precedence over the more ulitarian features of both primary and secondary school curricula. Yet the characteristics of this new emphasis were in many respects a repetition of those which earlier marked the emphasis on Experimental Science. Both developments serve to highlight an important aspect of curriculum changes in Irish schools - i.e. the placing of too much control of education in the hands of a few enthusiasts. The science experience also serves to illustrate that tensions between technical education and the secondary system had roots in the excessive demands of the Technical Instruction Branch on the private secondary schools.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Vide Journal of the Chemical Society, 1940, pp.1418-1439.

2. This article is based large on a collection of 26 papers by Armstrong, most of which were published between 1891 and 1908, and later republished in book form. (Vide ref.4 infra).

3. (i) Nature, July 24, 1937, pp. 140-142.
    (ii) Dictionary of National Biography, 1931-1940, pp. 16-17.
    (iii) Chemistry and Industry, Vol. ix, 1941.

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5. Armstrong, op. cit.,pp. 186-194.

6. Vide ref 1 supra.

7. F.W. Westaway, Science Teaching, (Blackie & Son Limited, 1929), pp. 26-27.

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9. W. Mayhowe Heller, Evidence of the Commissioners, Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland, Second Report.

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11. Graham Balfour, M.A. The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland, Second Edition. (Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 203.

12. Quoted in Balfour, op. cit., p. 203.

13. Balfour, op. cit., p. 208.

14. Armstrong, op. cit., p.90.

15. Vide Thoms Directory,1900 to 1934.

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20. M'Hardy, Flint: 'The Philosophy of Action Applied to
        Education', The Irish Educational Record,
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21. Committee of Inquiry into the Provisions of the
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THEORY AND PRACTICE - A DISCUSSION OF THE VIEWS OF
NORTHERN IRELAND TEACHERS

A. McEwen and J.F. Fulton

Probably the main criticism of courses of initial
training for teachers is that they do not adequately
prepare the students for the practical realities of life
in the classroom. Certainly this is the critical comment
most frequently made by teachers who tend to look back at
the old certificate course of a quarter of a century ago
as at least enabling them to acquire a range of useable
classroom skills and methods. Some of this can be put
down perhaps to a nostalgia which helps to cloud accurate
recall (as can be seen from the literature the same
criticisms were made by practising teachers of the
certificate course then). However, a feeling now appears
to exist that, between the training courses and the
challenges young teachers will have to confront, there
has opened up a gap which has left many of them feeling
ill-equipped, frustrated and without support. Their
unease is reinforced by their belief that the advent of
the degree has led to a disproportionate amount of time
being given to theoretical studies with practical concerns
relegated to a minor place.

The perceived discontinuity between theory and
practice is a matter of controversy with a long history
in the initial training of teachers and a question of
major significance for any course of professional prep-
aration. There has always been tension (often less than
creative) between teacher trainers and the practitioners,
the class teachers. The level at which this debate is
conducted is frequently unsophisticated, at times crude,
and reflects the differences between the teachers and

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those who have managed according to the teachers to
escape from the chalk face and have taken refuge in the
mystiques and myths of not altogether relevant theory.
Trainers on the other hand, counter by pointing out that
practice without an adequate theoretical basis for making
decisions and deploying one's skills is not only non-
professional but anti-professional. To be professional,
it is argued, teachers must accept the responsibility for
the goals they aspire to achieve and the social contexts
in which the process of seeking to achieve these goals
takes place. Such arguments are not unique to teaching.
If is no coincidence that reports such as the Todd Report
on Medical Education and the Ormrod Report on Legal
Education have each taken the theory-practice relation-
ship as one of their major themes. There are a number of
points from which one could approach an analysis of this
relationship and its implications for teachers and
teaching. One of the most useful is to examine the area
in which the knowledge gained from theory is utilised in
practice. In relation to teaching the focus is on the
classroom, the school, and other professional arenas.

For example, in a recent paper, Terhart and Drerup
(1981) distinguished three models of teaching based on
different ways in which knowledge is utilised. Since
each has its advantages and disadvantages, they are often
combined with different degrees of emphasis. However for
analytic purposes it is necessary to consider each
separately.

1. Craft Model
This model for teaching strongly emphasises the
importance of practical experience in schools, which is
held to provide the student not only with an opportunity
to acquire classroom skills but also to learn about the

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the aims of education. These are generally couched in
terms of the development of children. It was the first
historically. Preparation for teaching was looked upon
as an apprenticeship, sometimes rather unkindly referred
to as "sitting next to Nellie". It is likely that
teacher-trainers today frequently dismiss Nellie's virtues
too lightly and do not take sufficiently seriously the
potential which a good teacher can have for making a
substantial and unique contribution to the training of a
student placed under her supervision.

Those who favour the craft approach to teacher
training are generally indifferent to theory. The only
theoretical principles considered relevant are those which
grow directly out of practice. This model was dominant in
teacher training colleges during their early years when
they were concerned almost wholly with the preparation of
students to teach in primary schools. It was often
supplemented by reading the great books on education or
rather reading about the great educators with a view to
analysing their systems to provide methods to follow.
Learning was by imitation - the professional tutor/class
teacher often took model lessons or by following the
system of methods recommended by the great figures of the
past (the Herbartian steps achieved great popularity).

The main disadvantage of the model is that it implies
a view of knowledge and of methods of transmission which
are relatively static and unchanging. What change does
take place is limited in extent and gradual in develop-
ment. There is no place for research and theory-construct-
ion, without which there is no basis for criticism and
innovation. In this approach an increase in knowledge and
informed change can only come about through an extension
of practice. Continuity from theory to practice is
replaced by one from practice to practice. Despite all
this, the craft element in teaching is again becoming a
focus of attention for teacher trainers. At a time when

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there appears to be a gap between theory and practice,
it is now being argued that it at least provides students
with a core of knowledge and skills without which they
will not survive as classroom teachers and any danger of
uncritical acceptance of existing practice can be over-
come by other aspects of the course.

2. Applied science model

The craft model no longer holds the dominant position
it once did; its influence has now waned - at least in
respect of teacher training. In the 1950s, a more rapidly
changing world characterised by more dissensus and
plurality in respect of values and an expanding corpus of
knowledge which continually put earlier ideas out of date,
clearly made different demands on teachers which required
different modes of preparation. Many of the challenges
facing teachers were qualitatively distinct from those
with which they ear.ier had to cope. It became clear
that skills acquired through an apprenticeship scheme no
longer constituted a complete training. An approach
through which curriculum principles and methods of teach-
ing could be derived from scientific research was held to
be necessary. According to this model, sometimes called
the technological model (Hartnett and Naish, 1979),
education is comparable to medicine and engineering, the
social and behavioural sciences replacing the natural as
the sources of readily applicable knowledge. Little
account is taken of aims. These should be considered and
defined elsewhere. The focus is on means, the goal effect-
iveness and what we do not yet know about means, we'll
find out by research. One of the most influential systems
in this model has its philosophical and psychological
roots in behaviourism of the Skinnerian variety. This
movement finds it methodological expression in such
technical innovations as performance-based (or competency-

based) teacher education (PBTE/CBTE), micro-training, behaviour modification and certain games and simulation activities. These and similar methods based on operant conditioning principles can be seen as part of a concern to define objectives more specifically, so that schools can be made accountable to the various publics for the job they are doing.

Terhart and Drerup refer to this model as the theory-to-technology model because as far as possible the production of the theoretical knowledge is separated from the field of application (utilisation). This is thought to be the only satisfactory way to maintain scientific rigour, because of the difficulties of controlling all the variables in the classroom.

A major disadvantage, of course, is that educational research has not produced an agreed set of principles and methods on which a best way of teaching can be based, but a number of different theories which provide for alternative courses of action. Some even think that frequently no basis for action is provided at all. In addition, a number of writers, including Terhart and Drerup, have argued that "the utilisation of scientific knowledge in education is not in the first instance a logical problem of transforming general laws into efficient technologies but a matter of psychological, social and political bargaining".

3. Enlightenment model

The applied science (technological) model, while extremely useful, has been criticised also on the grounds that it takes no account of either the relationship aspects of teaching or the sociocultural conditions under which schooling takes place. Neither is it concerned with the complex moral questions which arise about both ends

and means. The nature of the educational enterprise
appears to be reduced to a series of technical problems,
the elucidation of which can be attempted through
empirical research.

Terhart and Drerup, who leaned heavily on the
writings of Habermas, use the term "enlightenment" to
describe a third model because they believe that in order
to have an effect on practice in education, which is an
enterprise involving persons, theoretical knowledge must
be used to enlighten or illuminate the understanding of
the prarticipants involved (teachers, pupils, parents and
others) about teaching and learning in a particular
society. However one can see an immediate difficulty -
a utilitarian problem. If a critical analysis shows some
changes in practice to be necessary, we have to decide
what changes should be made and how they should be
organised. Frequently these changes will be guided by
what empirical research suggests is an efficient way of
doing so. Often a "best way" is not known and even if it
is, it may not be possible for any of a variety of reasons.
So we are brought back to eclecticism and bargaining.
Another difficulty is that this kind of critical analysis
often leads to no practical action because of a reluctance
to organise changes according to the criteria of technol-
ogical efficiency.

It is clear that aspects of all three models are
found in our courses, and that is as it should be since
positive elements exist in all. The craft model emphasises
the need to help young teachers acquire well-tried, proven
methods of teaching as are currently used in schools -
otherwise they would flounder. Tne applied science model
holds out the promise of an objective analysis of teaching
without excess philosophical baggage (without any at all).
The enlightenment model stresses that the improvement of
educational practice is based firmly on the enlightenment
of those involved in education, about society, about

education and about themselves. I find this analysis
valuable not only because it provides a useful basis for
considering the place of theory and practice in the
training courses but also because it shows clearly the
absurdities which can result from a naive approach to
the theory-practice issue.

This analysis of teaching can provide insights not
only on the relationship between theory and practice but
also on the views held by teachers on a range of profess-
ional issues. For example, there is some evidence to
suggest that teachers, while critical of training courses,
both initial and in-service, for being too theoretical
and paying insufficient attention to practice, nevertheless
see theory as making the more significant contribution to
their professional status and identity. Accordingly, it
was decided to ascertain initially the views of teachers
on a limited range of issues which appeared to be related
to theory and practice in teaching.

Surveys

A group of twelve teachers ranging in experience
from two years to twenty-six were interviewed on three
aspects of their work, the pedagogical, the academic and
the social-political. The first included such issues as
professional freedom with respect to curriculum and
methods, teacher-pupil relations and discipline. The
second comprised items such as selection, mixed abilities
and the sources of professional identity. The social-
political was concerned with the wider ideological frame-
work within which teachers carried out the task of
schooling. The interviews, each of which lasted about
1½ hours, took place over a period of six months. They
were conducted either at home or at the interviewee's
school and all were taped for later analysis. The format
was semi-structured and the teachers were given wide
freedom to pursue all the topics.

On the basis of the results of the interviews, a
questionnaire was constructed.   This was further refined
on the basis of a pilot study with 300 teachers and the
final form of the questionnaire was sent to a sample of
900 teachers throughout Northern Ireland.

Questionnaire

Pedagogical

1   There are accepted basic professional skills
    which all teachers should share.

2   For the teacher to be fully effective he/she
    needs to develop skills for projecting his/her
    personality in the classroom.

3   Educational administrators work in the
    professional interests of teachers.

4   Pedagogical skills should form the core of a
    teacher's professional authority.

5   Each school subject has its own particular
    identify and should be taught that way.

6   Where subjects are harnessed to one central
    theme it develops a more informal style of
    teaching.

Academic

7   A professional identity in teaching is best
    obtained through the development of one's own
    subject.

8   Academic ability at academic subjects accurately
    determines a pupil's potential for future job
    success.

9   The chief characteristic of an academic curric-
    ulum is that it is highly theoretical.

10   Non-academic knowledge deals with ideas at a
     relatively low level of abstraction.

11   The subjects of the school curriculum can be
     arranged in a prestige hierarchy with respect
     to their academic prestige.

12   Working with one's brain carries more prestige
     than working with one's hands.

Social/Political

13   Teachers have a social contract with society to
     introduce children into generally accepted
     social ideas.

14   A teacher's methods and approach to his/her
     pupils should reflect a general political
     awareness.

15   The needs of the economic system should directly
     influence teaching.

16   The needs of industry are not sufficiently
     taken into account by the teaching profession.

17   Educational investment gives a better return
     economically when concentrated upon most
     tatented pupils.

18   It is important to pupils to let them know
     their abilities at as early a stage as possible.

The sample was drawn from all types of schools,
secondary, grammar, secondary intermediate and primary.
In addition, the secondary intermediate and primary schools
were divided into controlled (i.e. state, almost wholly
Protestant) and maintained (i.e. voluntary but maintained
by the local education and library boards and almost
wholly Catholic). A five point Likert scale was used.
5% per cent of the questionnaires were returned and useable.

The responses were analysed using an analysis of variance
procedure (SPSS computer package - 1975).

Discussion of results

TABLE 1   PEDAGOGICAL ELEMENT BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probabili
1	secondary				
	intermediate	1.65	0.67		
	grammar	1.78	0.74	1.47	0.230
	primary	1.66	0.58		
2	secondary				
	intermediate	1.69	0.73		
	grammar	1.90	0.96	5.19	0.005*
	primary	1.95	0.86		
3	secondary				
	intermediate	3.22	0.93		
	grammar	3.14	0.95	5.21	0.005*
	primary	2.93	0.86		
4	secondary				
	intermediate	2.32	0.90		
	grammar	2.16	0.83	1.50	0.22
	primary	2.22	0.83		
5	secondary				
	intermediate	2.79	1.06		
	grammar	2.63	1.06	14.64	0.001*
	primary	3.77	1.04		
6	secondary				
	intermediate	2.64	0.81		
	grammar	2.61	0.73	14.45	0.001*
	primary	2.42	0.70		

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*  = 0.1% level of significance   (P  0.001)
** = 1%    level of significance   (P  0.01)
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TABLE 2   ACADEMIC ELEMENT BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
7	secondary				
	intermediate	2.74	1.03		
	grammar	2.44	0.96	14.00	0.001*
	primary	3.09	1.00		
8	secondary				
	intermediate	3.85	0.86		
	grammar	3.84	0.88	0.28	0.970
	primary	3.82	0.89		
9	secondary				
	intermediate	2.83	1.07		
	grammar	2.98	1.09	2.97	0.520
	primary	2/66	1.03		
10	secondary				
	intermediate	3.24	1.05		
	grammar	2.91	0.90	3.84	0.220
	primary	3.15	0.99		
11	secondary				
	intermediate	3.14	1.16		
	grammar.	3.20	1.17	2.06	0.130
	primary	3.01	1.03		
12	secondary				
	intermediate	3.10	1.25		
	grammar	2.96	1.16	1.91	0.15
	primary	2.85	1.27		

* = 0.1% level of significance (P 0.001)

TABLE 3   SOCIAL/POLITICAL ELEMENT BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
13	secondary				
	intermediate	2.36	1.00		
	grammar	2.64	1.20	12.11	0.001*
	primary	2.05	0.80		
14	secondary				
	intermediate	3.33	1.09		
	grammar	2.91	1.00	10.83	0.001*
	primary	3.51	0.96		
15	secondary				
	intermediate	2.94	1.12		
	grammar	3.00	1.11	1.42	0.243
	primary	3.12	1.03		
16	secondary				
	intermediate	2.46	1.09		
	grammar	2.70	1.07	2.53	0.80
	primary	2.42	0.92		
17	secondary				
	intermediate	3.76	1.01		
	grammar	3.53	1.02	3.77	.024***
	primary	3.50	1.02		
18	secondary				
	intermediate	2.89	1.14		
	grammar	3.10	1.01	1.28	0.280
	primary	3.00	1.15		

* = 0.1% level of significance (P 0.001)

** = 1%   level of significance (P 0.01)

*** = 5%   level of significance (P 0.05)

It can be seen from Table 1 that for teachers from
all types of school, pedagogy forms a significant part of
their professional identity. The responses to the two
general statements (VARS 1 and 4) show no significant
differences among the groups. However, clear differences
emerge on the other more specific variables. VAR 2 shows
a significant difference between secondary teachers on
one hand and grammar and primary on the other. Although
the three means are at the agreement end of the scale the
latter two groups appear less sure about the importance
of personality in the classroom than secondary teachers.
This may reflect a greater concern with discipline matters
in secondary intermediate schools and also more emphasis
in the grammar school upon the intrinsic discipline of
the subject. VAR 5 also shows a clear difference in the
views of primary teachers on one hand and secondary and
grammar teachers on the other. The primary teachers have
a less subject-centred view of pedagogy. In respect of
VAR 7, there is a significant disagreement between the
three groups. Grammar school teachers, as might be
expected, agree most clearly with the statement. The
views of primary teachers confirm the earlier finding that
method is more central to their identity as a teacher than
subject content.

Significant differences emerge on three statements
in respect of Table 3 (VARS 13, 14 and 17) although in
all cases it is the extent of agreement or disagreement
rather than a fundamental split. One of the groups feels
more strongly about these issues than the others. In
respect of VAR 13, the score for grammar schools could be
interpreted as indicating a dislike for anything that
could be perceived as "social engineering". On the other
hand, there is a feeling, particularly among grammar school
teachers that they should be aware of wider political
consideration. In the main, primary school teachers
disagree with this statement, a response that could be

interpreted as a desire to protect younger pupils from
the arguments, disputes and tensions that inevitably
surround differences in political and cultural ideologies.
All groups disagree with the suggestion that educational
investment should be concentrated on the most talented,
although the strength of the disagreement varies between
the groups.

TABLE 4   PEDAGOGICAL ELEMENT BY MANAGEMENT TYPE

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
1	controlled	1.69	0.73	0.71	0.41
	maintained	1.64	0.54		
2	controlled	1.80	0.82	0.44	0.50
	maintained	1.85	0.85		
3	Controlled	3.17	0.91	4.79	0.02***
	maintained	2.98	0.92		
4	controlled	2.25	0.88	0.007	0.97
	maintained	2.26	0.82		
5	controlled	2.83	1.08	6.88	0.009
	maintained	3.10	1.07		
6	controlled	2.52	0.75	0.25	0.61
	maintained	2.48	0.85		

TABLE 5   ACADEMIC ELEMENT BY MANAGEMENT TYPE

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
7	controlled	2.75	1.02	1.57	0.21
	maintained	2.88	1.03		
8	controlled	3.82	0.86	0.42	0.52
	maintained	3.87	0.89		
9	controlled	2.87	1.05	4.68	0.03***
	maintained	2.65	1.06		
10	controlled	3.10	0.99	2.39	0.12
	mainatined	3.26	1.05		
11	controlled	3.15	1.12	0.16	0.69
	maintained	3.10	1.12		
12	controlled	2.91	1.24	3.47	0.06
	maintained	3.13	1.22		

TABLE 6   SOCIAL/POLITICAL ELEMENT BY MANAGEMENT TYPE

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
13	controlled	2.36	1.01	3.01	0.08
	maintained	2.20	0.98		
14	controlled	3.28	1.05	1.11	0.29
	maintained	3.38	1.02		
15	controlled	2.99	1.09	0.53	0.47
	maintained	3.06	1.08		
16	controlled	2.51	1.04	0.53	0.46
	maintained	2.44	1.01		
17	controlled	3.50	1.05	12.90	0.001*
	maintained	3.85	0.92		
18	controlled	2.99	1.08	0.64	0.42
	maintained	2.90	1.21		

    *   = 0.1% level of significance (P 0.001)
   ** = 1%   level of significance (P 0.01)
  *** = 5%   level of significance (P 0.05)

     The most striking fact emerging from the analysis of
the results by management type of school is the homogeneity
of views between teachers in controlled (Protestant) and
maintained (Catholic) schools. In relation to only three
of the eight on variables do the responses differ signif-
icantly (VARS 3, 9 and 17) and in all cases it is the
extent of the agreement or disagreement that the difference
is reflecting. Protestant teachers appear to be less in
sympathy (VAR 3) with the views and practices of the
educat onal bureaucracy, a result perhaps of the differing
relationships between the two types of schools and the
local education and library boards. A small but signific-
ant difference emerges about the nature of the academic
curriculum (VAR 9). Both groups feel strongly that
beneficial results would not flow from discriminating in
resource provision in favour of the most talented pupils.

Teachers in maintained schools feel this somewhat more
strongly than their counterparts in controlled schools.
One interesting aspect of the agreement between teachers
in the two types of schools is shown in the responses to
VAR 14. It seems clear that both groups agree that schools
have a duty to help their pupils learn generally accepted
social ideas and thus help them to acquire the shared
values necessary to bind the community together.

TABLE 7   PEDAGOGICAL ELEMENT BY SEX

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
1	Male	1.69	0.70	0.26	0.510
	Female	1.66	0.60		
2	Male	1.73	0.74	6.07	0.014***
	Female	1.90	0.89		
3	Male	3.14	0.98	4.54	0.033***
	Female	3.02	0.83		
4	Male	2.19	0.85	3.44	0.064
	Female	2.33	0.88		
5	Male	2.91	1.06	0.01	0.89
	Female	2.93	1.10		
6	Male	2.61	0.79		
	Female	2.39	0.75		

TABLE 8   ACADEMIC ELEMENT BY SEX

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
7	Male	2.81	1.02	0.06	0.810
	Female	2.79	1.04		
8	Male	3.81	0.93	0.77	0.370
	Female	3.88	0.80		
9	Male	2.84	1.07	0.73	0.390
	Female	2.76	1.04		
10	Male	3.07	1.01	2.84	0.090
	Female	3.22	1.03		
11	Male	3.11	1.16	0.20	0.650
	Female	3.16	1.09		
12	Male	3.00	1.21	0.11	0.740
	Female	2.96	1.26		

TABLE 9   SOCIAL/POLITICAL ELEMENT BY SEX

Variable		Mean	Std.Dev.	F Ratio	F Probability
13	Male	2.48	1.03	14.57	0.001*
	Female	2.14	0.94		
14	Male	3.29	1.05	0.24	0.620
	Female	3.34	1.03		
15	Male	3.00	1.11	0.04	0.840
	Female	3.02	1.06		
16	Male	2.51	1.06	0.16	0.680
	Female	2.48	1.01		
17	Male	3.57	1.06	1.45	0.230
	Female	3.68	0.98		
18	Male	2.97	1.14	0.06	0.800
	Female	2.95	1.11		

    * = 0.1% level of significance (P 0.001)

    ** = 1%   level of significance (P 0.01)

  *** = 5%   level of significance (P 0.05)

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The results show that, when the responses of male
and female teachers are compared, the results are remark-
ably similar. On only three of the variables were the
differences significant. Both groups consider interper-
sonal skills to be important (VAR 2), but surprisingly
perhaps, male teachers hold this view more strongly than
female teachers. On the other hand, the male teachers
are more sceptical than the female teachers and the role
of the administration. This may reflect a greater concern
and frustration with promotion and salary prospects among
male teachers. With respect to VAR 13, female teachers
express stronger agreement than do male teachers with the
role of the school as an agent of socialisation through
helping the pupils acquire generally accepted social
ideas and values.

Conclusions

A number of tentative conclusions can be drawn from
the results of this survey:

1. There is a wide measure of agreement on many professional
   issues among the different groups of teachers. As has
been shown there are some differences but most of these
reflect the extent of agreement or disagreement rather
than a fundamental difference in ideology. The profession
can be said to have shown a remarkable degree of homogen-
eity.

2. Teachers appear to be ambivalent about their role as
   a learned or academic profession. Professional
identity is related closely to subject knowledge, although
on this issue primary teachers, not unexpectedly, differ
somewhat from secondary level teachers. Academic know-
ledge, which is seen as highly theoretical, is held to
carry great prestige. With respect to the models of
teaching, teachers appear to emphasise the skills or craft

element when discussing the requirements of initial and
in-service training courses, yet in relation to profess-
ionalism emphasise the importance of theoretical
knowledge.

3. The concept of professionalism when applied to
teaching must be treated with caution. The results
are consistent with the statement that different groups
interpret professionalism in different ways. It is
important that these differences are fully examined since
many educational issues are related closely to the
professionalisation of teachers and their perceptions of
their role. The morale of teachers, their efficiency and
the rewards they receive are all dependent to a large
extent on their perception of their status and of the
sources from which the status is derived. It is also of
practical concern to those in teacher training since it
influences relationships between the schools and the
training institutions at all levels. For these reasons,
it is clear that a more detailed research programme is
necessary. The authors are about to start such a
programme using a repertory grid approach to examine some
of these factors and their policy implications.

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COGNITIVE CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE INITIAL
TEACHING OF READING

N. G. O'Neill

What is the nature of the problem faced by children
when they begin to read? This must be one of the most
important questions for the teacher of reading. It is
the central issue of discussion in this paper. Our
ignorance of the process of reading and especially of the
ways in which children approach reading is enormous. It
is the aim of this paper to examine the relationship
between cognitive consciousness and the initial teaching
of reading and hopefully to illuminate aspects of the
difficulty faced by many children when starting to read.

Cognitive consciousness refers to the process of
reflecting on our own thinking, becoming aware of it and
consequently gaining control of it. It is on this
process that all higher intellectual skills depend
(Vygotsky, 1962). Reading is such a skill. It is argued
here that essential to the process of reading is gaining
awareness of aspects of speech. Reading, in its initial
stages at least, is a deliberate conscious process,
speech is for the most part an unconscious process. The
issue of the nature of the relationship between speech
and written language is a central one in any theory of
reading. Three basic approaches to the teaching of
reading can be identified; each approach hypothesises a
different relationship between oral and written speech.
Following Ghall (1967) the first two approaches will be
referred to as the decoding-emphasis and the meaning-
emphasis. The third will be referred to as the
metacognitive approach. Metacognition refers to the
awareness of cognitive acts. Reading is a cognitive

social skill. Its initial development requires conscious
awareness of aspects of language. It is argued that
although the decoding – emphasis and the meaning –
emphasis approaches have added much to our understanding
of the reading process, it is the metacognitive approach
that focuses our attention on the nature of the problem
faced by the learner.

1. The Decoding – Emphasis Approach

The Linguists Bloomfield (1933) and Fries (1962)
argued that reading and listening were two parallel
passive processes. The task of the reader is to transfer
from the auditory code of listening to the visual code of
reading. Thus the emphasis in this approach is on
decoding. A one-to-one relationship is assumed to exist
between language coded in the auditory mode and language
coded in the visual mode. This view of reading leads to
a 'phonic' approach where the emphasis is on analysing
the sound of words and the learning of rules. This
theory is deficient in several aspects:

   (a) the relationship between speech and written
       language is a complex one.

   (b) phonic analysis is not sufficient to explain
       how we recognise words.

   (c) the wrong issue is being emphasised. Most
       children possess the information processing
       ability to work out how the code works.

2. The Meaning – Emphasis Approach

The debate between a decoding approach and a meaning
approach to the teaching of reading has dominated the
world of reading. Even in countries such as China which

do not have an alphabetic script the central issue has
been the relative merits of meaning-emphasis versus
code-emphasis approaches (Downing, 1973). The meaning-
emphasis approach to the teaching of reading stresses
the meaningful communication aspects of written language.
The psycholinguistic theories of Goodman (1967) and
Smith (1978) are the most influential. It is assumed
that reading and listening are parallel active processes.
It is argued that the process of learning to read follows
a similar pattern to the process of learning to speak,
"that children learn to read and write in the same way
and for the same reasons as they learn to speak and read "
(Goodman and Goodman, 1979). They argue that learning
to read is "natural", that children in a literate society
develop an awareness of print at a very early age without
formal instruction. The acquisition of literacy is
viewed as an extension of the acquisition of speech.

This theory is not consistent with the evidence:

> (a) children are typically confused by the
> reading process (Downing, 1979); they lack
> an awareness of print (Reid, 1966) and are
> often not motivated to read.

> (b) there are fundamental differences between
> the nature of spoken and written language
> and it is precisely these differences which
> lead to the confusion about the nature of
> reading.

> (c) the assumption that children do not require
> systematic instruction is questionable.

3. The Metacognitive Approach

That written and oral speech differ fundamentally
has long been argued by the Russian psychologist Vygotsky
(1962), "Written speech is a separate linguistic function

differing from oral speech in both structure and mode of functioning."

Oral speech is learned without conscious awareness of the process, it is learned spontaneously. Awareness of spontaneous concepts such as speech develop slowly after the concept has been learned unconsciously. Vygotsky (1962) argued that the development of highly structured concepts such as written language follow a different development. Due to the nature of the difference between speech and writing the learner needs to be consciously aware of aspects of the reading process as a prerequisite to literacy. A similar view has been expressed by Downing (1979) who emphasises that understanding must be the key concept in any approach to reading. He stated that, "the chief aim of reading instruction should be to develop clear understanding of why people read and write and how they code language in writing."

It is argued here that the development of conscious awareness, the ability to reflect on one's own actions, is the essential prerequisite to literacy. Reading is a form of language, like speech, its chief purpose is communication. To say that learning to read must be meaningful is not sufficient; the learner must be brought to an understanding of how meaning is communicated in both speech and written language.

The child who has learned to speak has demonstrated a powerful ability for learning. In order to speak, his knowledge of language must be extensive. Much of this knowledge is implicit, he lacks awareness of it. Although reading is also a form of language it is of a different order to speech. Reading requires explicit knowledge of the fundamental concepts of language. This knowledge is made explicit through reflection on specific aspects of language. Cognitive consciousness is therefore the making

explicit that which was implicit; it is gaining access to cognitive unconsciousness.

Children possess a highly developed information processing system. They do not need to be taught how to recognise words. What is perplexing about reading is the process itself. Many children simply do not understand what it is all about. Other than learning to read much of their effort is directed to the finding out of what it is that they are supposed to be learning.

It is highly likely that we all evolve our own methods for word recognition. The various decoding approaches indicate possible clues to word recognition. It is possible that our ability to recognize words may be enhanced and insight gained by being made aware of these clues. However, it is probably detrimental to systematically teach one approach to word recognition as this would probably lead to a lack of development in the learners' information processing capacity. Besides no decoding system adequately explains the phenomenon.

Awareness of these aspects of language required for literacy does not develop spontaneously from spoken language; they are inaccessible to consciousness without the aid of a teacher. The role of the teacher is therefore central in the process of learning to read. Children must be involved in the process of thinking and reflecting on language. The key concepts of awareness and understanding cannot be directly taught. The role of dialogue is crucial. The learner must be involved in situations and activities which will lead him to reflect on the fundamental concepts of language. How the learner approaches the reading process is the prime consideration. The most effective teaching method will involve not only genuine dialogue (where the expressing of the learner's understanding of the task is valued) but also a conscious reflection by the learner in those situations in which he is unable to communicate.

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The argument is concerned with the initial process of learning to read. It is not inconsistent with a developmental approach to the reading process in general. The task involved in the initial learning process is significantly different from the task involved in later stages of reading. It is arguable that the notion of reading as a "psycholinguistic guessing game" (Goodman, 1967) is more appropriate to a later stage in the process.

Three specific aspects of the reading process can be identified which contribute to its inaccessability:

(a) the nature of the alphabetic script;

(b) the abstract nature of written language;

(c) the obscure nature of the communication structure.

The Nature of the Alphabetic Script

Written language is a purposeful representation of aspects of spoken language. Although written language was derived from spoken language both language forms function independently. All that is provided in a writing system is sufficient cues for the reader to work out the writer's message on the basis of prior knowledge of the language. The clues provided are arbitrary and differ from language to language. It is the writer's task to work out the logic of the grapheme/phoneme relationship. This is no easy task and leads to much confusion on the part of the learner. Young children for example, are often totally unaware that the continuous flow of speech can be subdivided into units (Francis, 1975).

Although it is a matter of considerable debate among linguists (Downing and Leong, 1982) it is generally accepted that the phoneme is the basic unit of our writing system. Our 26 letters represent some 44 phonemes the

exact number differing from dialect to dialect. The
phonic approach to reading aims to explicity teach the
complexities of the grapheme/phoneme relationship.
Children do, however, learn to read without explicit
phonic instruction. The argument here is that what is
required is not knowledge of the rules but an awareness
of how the system works. Francis (1982) distinguishes
three levels of linguistic awareness. The basic level is
that of the direct understanding of speech in everyday
use. The second level is understanding that verbal
expressions can themselves be talked about. Awareness of
verbal expressions as objects of attention seems to be a
necessary condition for learning to read. The third
level is awareness of the linguistic structuring of oral
and written expressions. Certain aspects of knowledge of
this structuring seems to be necessary in linking spoken
and written language.

Two basic steps can be identified in the development
of this awareness. The first step is to develop an aware-
ness of the sound structure of spoken language,so that it
can be segmented into units. The second step is to help
the learner to realise that there is a logical link
between the units of speech and the units of writing.
Given this understanding the child can very efficiently
evolve his own personal system of word recognition.

The Abstract Nature of Written Language

Very few children experience difficulty learning to
speak. By contrast it is not unusual for many children
to find reading a very arduous task. Vygotsky (1962)
argues that it is the abstract quality of written language
that is the main stumbling block. He claims that, "even
its minimal development requires a high level of abstract-
ion. It is speech in thought and image only, lacking the
musical, expressive, intonational quality of oral speech."

In perceiving oral speech we perceive the whole
situation, not just the words. We use not only all the
non-verbal language clues but we sift the environment for
clues to the meaning of an utterance. It is not simply
the logic of the statement that is attended to, it is
every aspect of the environment. Margaret Donaldson
(1970) carried out a series of Piagetian tests on
Scottish children. In their original format the children
typically failed. When, however, she presented the tasks
again, preserving the logic but setting them in more
familiar situations she reported significant improvement.
She argued that the children's thinking was "embedded in
the flow of events." They did not understand the
"disembedded" language of the tests. Written language
has this disembedded quality.

Reading requires an awareness that words are
separable from their referents and can be represented by
written symbols. In oral communication words are only
one element of the process. Oral communication does not
demand an awareness of words as symbols. In reading,
meaning must be communicated through the use of language
only. The learner must become aware of the symbolic
nature of language. This entails reflecting on the use
and power of words.

Writing is not simply speech in written form. The
written word must be abstracted from the situation in
order to convey the meaning of the situation. In order
to write the writer must possess an ability to consciously
manipulate language. In order to read the reader must be
aware that language can be consciously manipulated.

Two steps can be identified in the development of
metalinguistic awareness. "The first step is the step of
conceptualising language, freeing it from its embeddedness
in events." (Donaldson, 1979). What is required is not a
greater facility with spoken language but an ability to
reflect on it.

The second step is realizing that the written word
must express all the meaning that was previously expressed
by the whole situation. In reading, the text provides the
only clues to the intended meaning; it is up to the
reader to fill in the situation from his own experience.

The Obscure Nature of the Communication Structure

"The primary function of speech is communication,
social intercourse" (Vygotsky, 1962). Social interaction
is one of the most basic abilities of the human infant,
right from the beginning he participates immediately and
deeply in communication. In many ways infancy can be seen
as a preparation on the part of the baby to begin using
language. Children do not have to be motivated to learn
to speak, the need to communicate is sufficient. Language
is a social phenomenon; it is the result of human inter-
action. In order to communicate orally, reflection on the
act of speaking is not necessary; the knowledge of the
complex rules of communication is implicit.

Reading and writing are also social in nature, their
prime function is communication, be it with oneself or with
others. Written language, thus, has a similar communic-
ation structure to speech. The communication aspect of
written language is somewhat obscure, however, and is
often not apparent to children. They are typically unsure
about the function of reading (Reid, 1966) and are
frequently lacking in motivation to learn to read.
Francis (1983), following a three year longitudinal study
on beginning readers, concluded that, "learning to read is
frequently not motivated by a desire for effective
communication, and conscious awareness that words may be
used to influence actions or beliefs may be a necessary
condition for success."

Speech does not demand an explicit awareness of the communication process; reading does. If, as is argued here, that the desire to communicate is the prime motivator in learning to speak, then it is understandable that children often lack motivation for reading.

It is suggested that the first step in developing a concept of communication is the ability to reflect on the communicative nature of speech. There is some evidence (Robinson, Goodman and Olson, 1983) that teaching children metalinguistic terms such as 'mean' and 'understand' helped them to conceptually distinguish between what was said and what was meant and thus helped them to become more aware of the nature of communication.

The second step is the understanding of communicative nature of written language. Francis (1982) argues that children deprived of a literary experience at home might benefit more from a thorough introduction to the under-standing of authorship and readership than from reading schemes. That such an approach develops an intimate understanding of literacy is convincingly argued by Graves (1983) who illustrates how the approach can become the cornerstone of a school's writing curriculum.

Conclusion

It is being argued that much of the difficulty faced by children when beginning to read is cognitive in nature; they have problems understanding the reading process itself. Three structural aspects have been identified which contribute to this cognitive confusion:

    (a) the nature of the alphabetic script;

    (b) the abstract nature of written language;

    (c) the obscure communication structure.

It is argued that for each structure two levels can be identified, one at the level of speech and the other at

the level of written language. The ability to use speech does not demand an awareness of these structures whereas one of the major problems with literacy is that an explicit awareness of each structure is required as a pre. quisite to success. It has thus been argued that the first logical step in the process of learning to read is the development of awareness of those structures at the level of speech. This process requires reflection and thought on the part of the learner.

The argument is not that children cannot develop linguistic awareness through exposure to print. It is more that children who have not developed this awareness of language are faced with an extremely confusing and difficult task. My argument is that the foundations of literacy can be laid before the child lifts a book.

The role of the teacher is central to the development of this linguistic awareness. Because thinking and reflection are the fundamental activities, the teacher much involve herself in dialogue with each learner. It is through dialogue with his teacher that the learner - can be brought to an awareness both of the language process and of his own thoughts. Opportunities for reflection must be built into each learning activity.

If reading is taught in this manner then the process of reading becomes itself a powerful tool to the development of cognitive awareness and intellectual control.

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PEACE EDUCATION: A VALUES DIMENSION

Daniel McQuade

Introduction

Peace education has basically three dimensions:

1. a knowledge orientation

2. a value perspective, and

3. an action orientation.

It is essentially the second dimension - the value
dimension - that I wish to focus upon.

In the development of a Peace Education Curriculum
the value dimension is of paramount importance. It
determines the formulation of aims and indeed the very
definition of 'peace'. In the recently completed Peace
Education Programme for Irish Primary Schools, "Free To
Be", we find ample illustration. While acknowledging
the legitimacy of other value perspectives on peace, the
concept is there defined in essentially Christian terms.

> Peace is a climate in which every person
> or group of persons can live the fullness
> of life which God intended for his
> creatures. It is a climate in which we
> respect the rights of others to that
> fullness of life and are concerned for
> the well-being of all creation. 1

Equally it is the Christian value perspective that has
determined the formulation of the general and specific
aims, content and pedagogical and evaluation strategies
of this programme.

The value dimension of a Peace Education programme
often demands from the teacher a degree of commitment to
the philosophy of the programme. Indeed Peace Education
can make rather staggering demands from the teacher. In

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the opinion of Professor Hermann Rohrs of Ruprecht-Karl
University, Heidelberg:

> Peace Education is basically a process of
> humanisation, of strengthening human
> character. Where individuals are concerned
> it means making peace with oneself, by
> developing a strong sense of identity and
> learning to be at one with oneself. At the
> same time this process of making peace with
> oneself, which is at the centre of all
> humanistic philosophies, is directly
> connected to a sense of responsibility for
> others ... Learning to be at peace is an
> anthropological problem which needs to be
> tackled in one's own life. 2

The value perspective in Peace Education is thus essent-
ially concerned with the individual process pattern in
education - not just the pupil as an individual but also
the teacher as an individual. Both pupil and teacher must
come to know their ownselves and cultivate a sense of
responsibility for others by enabling others in their turn
to come to know themselves.

Equally important in Peace Education there is the
structural process pattern. Speaking of the social
dimension of Peace Education Professor W.F. Connell
declares:

> Much of the teaching associated with
> education for peace and international
> understanding has placed stress on the
> importance of individual development and
> the exercise of individual rights and
> freedoms. These are highly desirable
> objectives, but in the present situation
> a sole emphasis on them is strategically
> misplaced... An essential element in
> the achievement and maintenance of a just
> peace is a disciplined behaviour in which
> obligation controls the exercise of right.
> Such obligation implies social responsibility.
> Peace education is concerned not primarily
> with individual activities but with social
> relations, with the discharge of the
> obligations one person owes to others.
> Basically, we are engaged, in this
> exercise, in laying the attitudinal and

behavioural foundations for a society of
mutual obligation. And it is therefore
upon social rather than individual factors
that a curriculum in peace education should
concentrate. 3

The main focus of this paper will now centre on the
social or structural factors of Peace Education.

The Structural Process Pattern: Education for Social Justice

Subsuming Peace Education under the category of
Political Education, Gert Kreli[4] of the Peace Research
Institute, Frankfort, defines 'peace' and 'social justice'
as process patterns with peace referring to a reduction
in personal violence and social justice as a reduction of
structural violence.

FIGURE 1
"Peace" and "Social Justice" as Process

The Process pattern of peace

manifest	latent	decreasing personal violence		absence of personal violence
personal violence	personal violence			
WAR	"COLD WAR" arms race	CO-EXISTENCE arms control	COOPERATION arms limitated	INTEGRATION disarmament

The process pattern of social justice

manifest	latent	decreasing structural violence		absence of structural violence
structural vi lence	structural violence			
MASS POVERTY	DEPENDENCE	organized REPRESENTATION OF INTERESTS	social SECURITY	social JUSTICE

It is essential that Peace Education programmes and curricula should be centred around the social justice process as much as the personal peace process. One feels at times that perhaps too much emphasis is placed in Peace Education upon the personal process pattern. The underlying assumption in such a view is that if personal peace is attained in all mankind then structural peace and social justice will follow. Social justice is seen as a by-product of personal peace within all men. In educational terms this view assumes a degree of passivity on the part of the individual pupil. There is an implicit assumption that all that the teacher need do is to provide the environment and the circumstances for the "conversion" to peace to happen. The individual is not seen as an agent of structural change in society. The action orientation of this category of Peace Education is directed primarily upon the individual pupil or teacher.

Reconstructionists in education take an alternative view of the role of education in society. Dewey is the thinker most prominently associated with this perspective. He pictured the school not solely as providing the means by which pupils could be "fit into" the existing society, but also as a laboratory which would provide them with the wherewithall to change society for the better. Schools would not merely transmit culture but would develop in pupils skills and knowledge to advance and renew the culture. In "My Pedagogic Creed" Dewey places faith in his belief that:

> education is the fundamental method of
> social progress ... a regulation of the
> process of coming to share in the social
> consciousness; and that the adjustment
> of the individual activity on the basis
> of this social consciousness is the only
> sure method of social reconstruction. 5

In Dewey's view the educational task of the community school was that f the integration of the cultural values

of the various ethnic groups within the USA. In the
context of Northern Ireland we have a similar cultural
integration problem to which education has to address
itself. McKernan has provided us with an analysis of the
cultural divisions within Northern Ireland.[6]

FIGURE 2

Cultural Factors Contributing to Divisions
in Northern Ireland

RACE	Native Irish/settler. Traditional fear and suspicion. Claims to racial character.
RELIGION	Catholic/Protestant folk religions. Religion used as an index of political allegiance.
LANGUAGE AND CULTURE	Gaelic/English songs, literature dancing, games, folk-lore philosophy, art.
POLITICS	Nationalist/Unionist divisions along socioeconomic lines.
HISTORY	Tribal versions even by historians.
ATTITUDES AND VALUES	Different norms, attitudes, values and beliefs which help to determine behaviour.
SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS	Housing, segregated schools, newspapers, sports.

Of all the various educational ideologies, it is the
reconstructionist ideology that offers most scope for
cultural integration and social reconstruction in Northern
Ireland. Peace educators in Northern Ireland generally
acknowledge that this ideology will best help to equip
teachers to cope with the problems of a divided community.

The emphasis must be placed upon cultural and structural renewal, creation and development rather than upon cultural and structural preservation and division. Schools must become agencies of social consciousness, analysis and change. Teachers and pupils alike have to become agents of such cultural and structural developments. In structural terms, this is the main function of Peace Education. Professor Connell explains it in these terms:

> Peace education is an important sub-set
> of the broader category of education for
> social change. It is not a negative
> change in the sense that it aims merely
> to abolish war, outlaw armaments, and
> prohibit oppressive social institutions.
> It must be a positive peace which plans
> and produces concrete improvements in
> the conditions of human living. 7

It must be remembered, however, that one of the dangers inherent in the reconstructionist ideology is the assumption that the school and the teacher alone can restructure the whole of society without the help of other agencies. Political agencies often have a more direct and powerful role to play in the reconstruction of society. Successive British Governments, for example, have attempted to resturcture aspects of society in Northern Ireland to ensure a greater degree of social justice - power sharing, Fair Employment Agency, local government structures and powers, better housing etc. Successive Irish Governments have offered to restructure Irish society to ensure a greater measure of social justice for Ulster Unionists in a projected New Ireland. Ostensibly the political system in the form of central government ha more power to bring about structural change in society than the educational system has in the form of the school. Yet successive agents of the central governments have failed to bring about major structural changes in Irish society. The main cause of the failure lies in the attitudes and values of those who resist these

structural changes. And it is here that we return to
the values dimension. It is basically the role of the
school to attempt to change these obstructive attitudes
and values by seeking to identify and challenge them and
to provide values and attitudes that will be conducive
to a society that is structurally more just. Schools and
curricula must provide this opportunity for their pupils
and teachers must facilitiate it for the reconstruction
of a society that is not only peaceful but also just. The
aim of the reconstructionist ideology is not only to
provide social cohesion, unity and harmony but also to
provide social justice.

It is essentially this concern for social justice
that links Peace Education with other areas of the
curriculum. Religious Education, Political Education,
Development Education etc., focus upon goals and values
related to social justice and often, in reconstructionist
terms, are committed to social action programmes aimed at
changing society in order to improve the quality of
living.

What then is the role of the role of the teacher in
relation to a Peace Education programme or curriculum
based on the concept of justice?

The Role of the Teacher in Peace Education

Values-clarification techniques, through which the
teacher helps the pupil to think through values for
himself and to build his own set of values, have
undoubtedly made a very valuable contribution to the
pedagogy of Peace Education. The successes of the Schools
Cultural Studies Project at the New University of Ulster
are ample illustration of the effectiveness of such
strategies. The values clarification approach is a very
appropriate pedagogical framework from the reconstructionist

perspective. However, my main reservation about this
approach in Peace Education is its "Value-relativity" -
a values position in itself. To effectively use the
approach in Peace Education the teacher must renounce his
values neutrality and actively promote pre-social and
non-violent values. In emphasising the necessity of
learning constructive alternatives to aggression and
violence, the teacher must proclaim that these altern-
atives constitute more desirable values than violence and
aggression. The justification for such a values position
on the part of the teacher is not inherent in this
approach but must be sought elsewhere. Justification is
often given in terms of a general societal values
consensus. Indeed most individuals in our complex
societies probably subscribe to a conformist values
system. The danger here is that in a society, that is
increasingly progressive and pluralistic, individuals
whose basic values justification is conformity to authority
or laws cannot judge the true meaning of social change:
they will tend to shift their views and values in accord-
ance with those of aurthoritative leaders instead of
making their own judgements based on the principle of
social justice. Undoubtedly the issues of peace, violence
and war are complex and will not be fully understood by
those who are mere proponents or followers of conformist
thinking. The aim of Peace Education has no place for
such conformist thinking. In the words of Professor
Connell the aim of Peace Education is

> ... to teach students, in Freire's words,
> 'to grasp with their minds the truth of
> their reality', to deal critically and
> creatively with it, and to 'participate
> in the transformation of their world'.
> It is an effort to build through
> education a climate of social recon-
> struction throughout society which will
> eventually build up sufficient impetus
> to become the new reality. 8

The dangers of a Peace Education Curriculum or
programme based on a conformist values system are equally
apparent for Political Education curricula or programmes.
R. Freeman Butts has outlined a set of ten "value-
oriented" concepts as an intellectual framework for the
design of Civic Education programmes and curricula for
American schools. Consideration of these ten concepts,
I feel, is as important to the development of Peace
Education as they are to Civic or Political Education.
Justification of social reconstruction must be given in
terms of the true forms and not the corrupted forms of
the democratic values.

FIGURE 3

A Decalogue of Democratic Civic Values for the Schools*
(with apologies to Moses and Aristotle)

Corrupted Forms	True Forms of Unum	True Forms of Pluribus	Corrupted Forms
'Law and order'			Anarchy
	Justice	Freedom	
Enforced sameness and conformity	Equality	Diversity	Unstable pluralism
Authoritariansim	Authority	Privacy	Privatism
"Majoritarianism"	Participation	Due process	"Soft on criminals"
Chauvinism	Personal obligation for the public good	International human rights	'Cultural imperialsim

Cosmopolitan Civism   Stable Pluralism

Pluralistic Civism

*R.Freeman Butts, The Revival of Civic Learning: A
 Rationale for Citizenship Education in American Schools
 (Bloomington, Ind: Phi Delta Kappa, 1980).

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The value concepts are divided into two main types
viz. (1) those that primarily promote desirable cohesive
and unifying elements in a democratic society and (2)
those that primarily promote desirable pluralistic and
individualistic elements in a democratic society. There
is continuous tension and often conflict between the
values of the unum (the common good) and the pluribus
(the individual good), yet civic education must, as in
any democratic society strive to promote and honour both
and maintain the balance between them. The corrupted
forms of the values are described in terms comparable to
Kohlberg's conventional level of thought whereas the true
forms are comparable to Kohlberg's post-conventional
level. Concerning the ten concepts R. Freeman Butts
declares:

> It will be obvious that these are
> normative concepts, each with
> extensive histories of scholarly
> analysis, controversial interpret-
> ation, and conflicting practice.
> But they are the very stuff of our
> common political life, and they
> should be confronted directly and
> explicitly as appropriate to the
> age and capacity of students. 9

With this reference to the developmental treatment
of the concepts, consideration may now be given to the
contribution that Kohlberg's views might make to Peace
Education. Kohlberg identified six stages of develop-
ment in moral judgement. The stages are invariant, i.e.
they occur in a fixed order, each stage based on the
previous stage and none of which can be skipped. Kohlberg's
cross cultural studies also claim to have established this
invariance to be common to all cultures. The stages are:

I Pre-Conventional Level

    Stage 1:   Orientation toward punishment,
               deference to superior power.
               Physical consequences of action
               regardless of human meaning or action.

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Stage 2:   Right action is that which satisfies
           one's own needs, sometimes others'.

II Conventional Level

Stage 3:   Good boy-good girl. Good behaviour is
           that which pleases or helps others and
           is approved by then. Seeking approval
           by being "nice" to others.

Stage 4:   Orientation toward authority. Right is
           doing one's duty, showing respect for
           authority, maintaining the social order
           for its own sake.

III Principled Level (Post-Conventional)

Stage 5:   Social Contract. Right is defined in
           terms of general rights and in terms of
           standards which have been critically
           examined and agreed on by the whole
           society.

Stage 6:   Orientation toward decisions of
           conscience and self-chosen ethical
           principles appealing to logical
           comprehensiveness, universality, and
           consistency. The principles are
           abstract and ethical (the Golden Rule,
           the categorical imperative).

Obviously in such a short summary I cannot hope to
do full justice to the intricacies of Kohlberg's complex
theoretical treatment of moral development. For my
present purpose it is perhaps enough to stress one point
that is very relevant - the final or "highest stage"
represents the theoretically "ideal" endpoint of develop-
ment. As an individual progressively develops from
childhood to adulthood, his way of reasoning about issues
develops through the series of stages towards the highest
stage that may or may not be reached. It is only those
individuals who reach this level of moral development who
can make judgements and decisions that take into account
a complex conceptualisation of the world's problems.
Those at the conventional level of moral judgment have

difficulty thinking through complex highly differentiated problems of peace in the world. They prefer to wait for guidance from authoritative leaders but unfortunately there is no guarantee that such leaders themselves have progressed beyond this conventional level.

Conventional moral reasoning for Kohlberg is not a satisfactory long-term goal for the majority of citizens in a democracy. The conventional individual, for example, believes in obeying and upholding the law as an end in itself whereas the post-conventional person believes society's laws are merely rules of conduct designed for the protection of fundamental rights and the welfare of its makers. Such rights are in turn based on the universal principle of justice. For the conventional person, the law is right simply because it is the law: there is no confusion or conflict between the legal and the moral. On the other hand, for the post-conventional person the law is right if it is just: the moral is differentiated from and considered to be superordinate to the legal. The post-conventional person believes in changing any law that is contrary to the principle of justice and hence to the welfare of society's citizens. It is the post-conventional citizen rather than the conventional who is essential for the development and maintenance of a just and free society. The post-conventional person makes his judgments on the basis of abstract justice and even though Kohlberg concludes that persons who make all or most of their decisions are usually not tolerated by the rest of society (he cites Jesus, Gandhi and King as examples), his work is a source of optimism in that it suggests that the human capacities for abstract reasoning and analysis may in fact be further developed to much higher levels than was previously thought.

Kohlberg's research suggests that in the USA the "critical period" for the transition from conventional

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moral reasoning is late adolescence to early adulthood
(ages 16 to 20). Those adolescents who do not begin to
use at least some Stage 5 moral reasoning during this
period may fixate at the conventional level thus making
it more difficult to progress to the post-conventional
level at a later age. A major goal for moral education
is to prevent such a fixation. Fenton[10] in his research
into the implications of Kohlberg's work   Civic
Education found that Stages 5 and 6 were ..   ed only by
a small minority of the adult population, with only 10 to
15 per cent reaching Stage 5 in their late te   s or early
twenties and indeed only a few people reach Stage 6 at
all and those who do may be older than 30 years. Stage 3
may be reached as early as nine years of age, but usually
later, with Stage 4 reached by middle or late adolescence.

Such research findings have far reaching implications
for the teacher. The secondary school teacher will
basically be teaching pupils only a few of whom (mainly in
the Sixth Form) will reach the post-conventional level.
However, this does not mean that the concept of justice
and other related value-oriented concepts should not be
dealt with in the classroom.   Kohlberg believes that
the role of the teacher is to teach justice and not about
justice. I believe that in most instances we must settle
for the latter. W.F. Connell presents a framework for a
secondary curriculum in Peace Education which is based on
a philosophy of social change and includes the treatment
of social justice and other related concepts. It is

   (i)   Human relations. e.g. co-operation and
          competition, group dynamics, nature of
          negotiation, community participation,
          moral and social obligations.

  (ii)   Analyses of social institutions, structures,
          and structural change, e.g. structures of
          governments of different kinds, social
          class, social and economic institutions
          within communities and across communities,
          nationality and nation states, news media,
          international organisations.

(iii) Analysis of ideas and social policies, e.g.
       social justice, peace, power, development,
       the making of public policy, international
       law.

(iv)   Analysis of conflict and conflict mediation,
       e.g. history of modern war, class struggle,
       revolution, character of aggression, nature
       of present conflicts, methods of mediation.

(v)   The planning of non-violent social change
       e.g. equality of opportunity, mass
       participation, creative role of education,
       positive outcomes of social change. 11

     If the critical period for the transition from
conventional to post-conventional thought is that of late
adolescence to early adulthood, then I feel that it is
essential that further and higher education should in
every way possible facilitate this transition. This is
particularly so for teacher education if we are to
provide teachers who will become authoritative leaders of
our pupils - authoritative leaders not confined by the
limitations of conventional thought patterns. This view
of the role of the teacher is very much in harmony with
that of Dewey when he declared that "... every teacher
should realise the dignity of his calling; that he is a
social servant set apart for the maintenance of proper
social order and the securing of the right social growth."[12]

Conclusion

     Circular 1982/21 of the Department of Education of
Northern Ireland spells out the duties of teachers and
educationists in Northern Ireland in relation to the
contribution that the schools can make in the improvement
of community relations in the province. In this respect
the circular is an acknowledgement of the reconstruction-
ist ideology. Teacher education in Northern Ireland has
a major role to play in helping teachers meet their

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responsibilities in this area. Pre-service and in-service courses on Peace Education are an important first step in this direction. Such courses must familiarise student-teachers and teachers with the various teaching materials available. Furthermore the value dimension of such courses must be thoroughly examined. In teaching Peace Education some teachers may prefer to follow value-clarification strategies, others may prefer the teaching strategies of Kohlberg's approach to moral education. Irrespective of what personal preferance individual teachers may have in relation to teaching strategies, I feel that it is of the greatest importance that all teachers become imbued with a sense of social consciousness and a vision of social justice that are so essential to the philosophy of reconstructionism. It is the task of teacher education to develop within teachers a social consciousness that will make them sensitive to the concrete issues of social injustice on both a national and inter-national level.

Teachers are ideally placed within society not only to increase their pupils' awaren ss of social injustice but also develop within them the necessary motivation to change the structures of their society when they function upon disturbed values. The school must provide future citizens, whose role will be not just to fit into the existing social order but rather to become non-violent agents of change intent on making their society more just and more humane and hence more peaceful. Peace thus truly becomes the work of justice.

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EVALUATION OF NORTHERN IRELAND MANAGEMENT
EDUCATION PROGRAMME

Anne T. O'Shea

INTRODUCTION

This paper gives a summary account of an evaluation
of the first two years of a management education programme
for principals of both grammar and secondary schools in
Northern Ireland. The programme, which was under the
direction of a senior member of the Department's Inspect-
orate, took the form of two one-week residential study
conferences interspersed with one or two-day events. The
evidence for the evaluation derives from the first four
courses in the programme.

Surprisingly little information exists as to what
effects various kinds of inservice training actually have
on teaching and schools. Up to the 1970's scarcely any
effort was made to determine the efficiency or otherwise
of inservice training programmes. The James Report (1972)
drew particular attention to the absence of research
evidence which might indicate:

> "What effects various kinds of post-
> experience training actually have on
> teaching and the teacher; how long
> these effects last; what are the most
> appropriate kinds of education to
> accomplish ends which may be quite
> different for different individuals
> and what effects on the school them-
> selves the in-service education of
> their staff has. One could think of
> many more questions to which we badly
> need answers."

Since that time there has been a number of research
studies of various forms of inservice provision, many of

them in the form of unpublished theses which have gone
largely unheeded. Ruddyck (1981) quotes some findings
from three such studies which provided interesting
ihsights into the strengths and weaknesses of short
courses inservice provision. Where inservice courses of
management education are concerned, little research has
been done on their efficiency or otherwise in the U.K.
Centres such as the North West Educational Management
Centre in Padgate, Cheshire, seek for immediate feedback
from participants on their courses as well as engaging
im continual critical observation and informal evaluation
of the entire training programme. This.is the more usual
form of evaluation of inservice training programme, based
as it is on the immediate experience and assessments of
participants. Esp (1981) has given an account 'of a more
ambitious form of evaluation which 'is currently being
undertaken in Sweden, where the 'School Leader Programme'
is being evaluated over a five year period. As well as
the immediate assessment of the programme by participants,
efforts are being made to gauge the longer term effects
of such programmes in schools.

The Swedish evaluation intends to look at several
aspects of the school, including the decision-making
process, working arrangements and routines, communications,
sub-groups, power centres and relations between pupils and
staff. This evaluation is planned on the basis that the
development process works slowly and that it may take
several years to see any effects. A major problem with
this type of longer term evaluation is that the influence
of factors other than training is bound to distort the
picture considerably. Another method of evaluation which
has been attempted in Sweden has been that of two training
teams assessing each other's courses (Esp. ibid).

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THE MANAGEMENT EDUCATION PROGRAMME

In February 1980 the Department of Education in Northern Ireland initiated a programme of management education for principals and senior staff in post-primary schools. A senior member of the inspectorate was commissioned by the Department to assume responsibility for the organisation and running of an inservice programme of study conferences in management education similar to those being run in the North West Centre for Management Education, Padgate in Cheshire. To assist and advise him in the task he set up a Steering Group of seven members drawn from different sectors of the education system and with a sufficient representation of practising principals. The conferences were to be residential and would consist of one week at the beginning of a school term and another at the end linked, by intervening meetings. The three main elements in each study conference were:

(i)   a of lectures to enunciate the theory
      and ing different aspects of school
      manage.ent;

(ii) intensive discussion in small groups; some-
      times the discussion was used to tease out
      the practical implications of lecture
      content; sometimes case-studies or video
      material were used as a basis for discussion.

(iii) less frequently plenary sessions were held
      in which the full conference membership
      together with group leaders and lecturers
      took part.

Membership in any study conference was limited to a maximum of thirty. A significant feature of the conference membership was the inclusion of three or four persons other than principals or vice-principals to represent other dimensions of the education service - DENI[*]

*Department of Education, Northern Ireland.

inspectorate. Area Board[*] advisors or education officers, representatives of other statutory or voluntary bodies currently involved in the management of schools.

A typical first residential week incorporated a broad survey of the following issues:

> The Changing Role of the Principal
> Leadership Styles
> Aims and Objectives
> Staff Development

Each of these topics was likely to be the subject of a key lecture; which was usually followed by group discussion. The treatment of each topic was sufficiently general to be relevant to principals in different types of secondary school - grammar or secondary. The problematic issues associated with each topic were teased out in group discussion as well.as in informal conversation during meals and free time.

The one or two day sessions which occurred in the interval between the two residential weeks were devoted to such topics as:

> The Teacher and the Law
> The Role of the Secondary Advisor
> The Role of the Inspectorate
> Staff Selection and Interviewing
> Schools and Area Boards

Speakers who were considered to have expertise in these or similar areas were invited to treat of these topics and be available to lead discussion on related matters.

The final residential week was usually devoted to an intensive study of the curriculum. This included coverage of curriculum philosophy and design, the effective deployment of resources, both human and material, and the distribution of time. Different curriculum models were

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[*]Area Education and Library Board - approximately equivalent to LEA in Britain.

examined and an opportunity was given to debate their
advantages and weaknesses. The latter part of the second
residential week was devoted to the question of evaluation
both of the school a d the curriculum and included a
perspective on the examination system.

THE EVALUATION PROGRAMME

In March 1980 the Department of Education requested
the Northern Ireland Council for Educational Research to
undertake a formative evaluation of the Department's
programme of training in educational management. The
request was accepted by the Research Council and it was
agreed that the evaluation should extend over a two-year
period and that it should involve a full-time research
worker in the following activities.

1. Membership of the Steering Group and the monitoring
   of its work.

2. Attendance at and evaluation of all study-conferences
   by:
   (i) preparation and analysis of evaluation
       questionnaires;
   (ii) observation of plenary and group sessions as
        well as attendance at all lectures;
   (iii) follow-up visits to schools from which
         participants came;
   (iv) a brief report on each study-conference.

3. A written evaluation report of the programme at the
   end of a two-year period.

In September 1980 an evaluation panel representative
of both the Research Council and the DENI Management
Steering Group was set up to monitor the evaluation
programme. The role of the panel was designated as follows:

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(a) to give advice and support to the researcher carrying out the evaluation;

(b) to discuss problems and monitor the flow of information with regard to the evaluation;

(c) to receive interim reports from the researcher.

The evaluation was conceived as a two phase program. Initially, it would seek to provide course organisers with an ongoing critique of the programme based on course observation and feedback from participants. The second phase of the exercise was to be concerned with gaining a longer term perspective on the value to participants of the management conferences in terms of the impact they had on role performance after their return to the job. In this second phase of the exercise it was hoped that the data gleaned from interviews and questionnaires would add to our understanding of the management training needs of principals and senior staff and that this knowledge could, in due course, be fed back into the planning of the programme.

METHODOLOGY OF EVALUATION

The initial phase of the evaluation in relation to each study conference entailed continual observation of what was going on in the programme. This involved attendance at and observation of all planning meetings as well as conference events. The methods used to collect data were participant observation, completion of evaluation schedules and some interviewing. Data for the second phase of the evaluation derived mainly from interviews with participants, supplemented by some questionnaire responses.

Participant Observation: In most evaluation exercises
the evaluator remains outside the programme and aims at
neutrality in relation to any decisions taken. At the
outset of the management training programme it was
decided that the evaluator should be a full member of the
Steering Group responsible for the development and
planning of the programme. This enabled the evaluator to
be part of the decision-making process. In addition to
observing others and recording their responses to the
demands and constraints of the situation it allowed her
to record her own response to the programme as it
developed. It allowed opportunities to talk to all other
participants - programme planners, course members and
lecturers alike. Each informant's perspective - whether,
trainee, group leader or course member - was important in
building a clearer picture of the programme.

Evaluation Schedules: At the beginning of each study
conference, course members were invited to participate in
the evaluation of the programme by giving their individual
assessment of different aspects of the conference together
with an indication of its impact on themselves in relation
to their role as school principals. The evaluator recog-
nised that each of these schedules represented the
participant's picture of the programme as he saw it and
in the form in which he was willing to transmit it at a
particular time and in a particular context. She did not
see them as representing objective reality but rather the
individual participant's perception of reality moderated
by his/her cognitive and affective reactions to the
situation at a particular point in time. She also
recognised that this perspective might change over time as
the participant moved further and further away from the
conference experience.

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Interviewing: To supplement participant observation and
the completion of protocols the interview was used with
both programme planners and participants as another
channel of information about the programme.   It seemed
important to give each member of the Steering Group an
opportunity to express an individual opinion about the
way in which the programme was planned.   Semi-structured
or open-ended interviews with Steering Group members
sought to elicit views about the programme as it was
actually planned as well as alternatives which were
rejected without sufficient consideration.

The interview was also used in the second stage of
the evaluation as a means of getting term perspective on
the programme from participants.   Conference participants
were encouraged to express themselves on matters which
were significant to them rather than those which the
evaluator presumed to be important.

Questionnaires: The questionnaire was used only with
participants in the third conference.   Questions were
similar to those used in interviewing, with a few addit-
ional probes designed to encourage respondents to be
genuinely critical of the conferences in terms of the way
topics were dealt with or perhaps omitted altogether.
Open rather than closed questions were used with a view
to encouraging the expression of differences of perceptions
and reaction of which the course organisers or the
evaluator might have been unaware.   In general, it would be
true to say that where responses were individual and
idiosyncratic they were regarded as significant sources of
insight rather than as a sound basis for modification of
strategy; where the responses were fairly uniform they had
to be clearly registered with course organisers.

THE EVALUATION PROCESS AND THE ROLE OF THE EVALUATOR

One of the basic principles underlying the evaluation
programme has been the desire to emphasise the continuity
and mutuality of concern between programme participants
and organisers, the DENI, the Evaluation Panel and the
evaluator. An evaluation of this type of programme can
only articulate and share understandings about how the
programme was planned and implemented by reference to the
aims of the providers, the perceived needs of the partic-
ipants, the contraints of circumstances and the available
opportunities. It can relate these understandings to the
perspectives and views of the programme audience and thus
maintain an ongoing conversation between providers and
clients. This evaluation, therefore, had as its main aim
to contribute to programme improvement both directly and
indirectly, directly by the evaluator's interaction with
programme planner's and indirectly by feeding back and
highlighting various facets of the interaction between
programme planners and their audience. By bringing these
perspectives into contact with one another on a regular
basis and keeping the lines of communication open across
the boundaries of the programme it was hoped that a
clearer perception would be reached about how principals
of schools can best be supported as well as challenged
by inservice training. It was also hoped that programme
planners would gain insight into the more successful
teaching/learning methodologies for senior administators
and into the kind of interaction process which is most
likely to generate fresh thinking and new approaches as
well as lead to personal growth and development.

This evaluation exercise was therefore a limited one
and it would be inappropriate to draw far reaching
conclusions from it. From the outset it was clearly
stated that, where evaluation was concerned, it was the
course itself which was under scrutiny and not the impact

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of the programme on participants in terms of post-
conference activity in the schools. Such an intent
necessitated a process rather than a product evaluation;
it meant that the purpose of the exercise was course
improvement rather than assessment of results. To evalu-
ate the conferences in terms of their impact on school
organisation and classroom learning would be a much more
labour intensive and costly exercise. In a climate where
courses themselves attract insufficient finance, it is
difficult to envisage extra resources being committed to
such evaluation. Nevertheless, at a time of growing
concern for accountability, it would appear to be
inevitable that inservice training will have to show that
it is giving value for money. One approach to such a task,
which derives from the experience of evaluating this
programme, might be to bring conference participants more .
closely into collaboration with the entire exercise and
allow them to become partners in the task of course evalu-
ation and concomitantly in evaluation of their own perform-
ance. Experience in Europe would appear to indicate that
there is a growing tendency to allow heads to have a part
in planning their own training. In France, the Rennes
Academie has developed procedures for negotiating course
content with trainers and in other European programmes
which encourage participants to initiate development
projects in their own schools there is an attempt to meet
individual needs (Esp, 1980). The study conferences being
evaluated in this report, by their very nature, could not
match content to individual needs. It may be that this
is a further stage of development of a habit of collabor-
ative evaluation as well as collaborative planning.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

One of the major problems for a programme of this
nature is linking the experience of the conference with

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the routines of everyday life in schools. It would appear
from principals' submissions that a relatively short
inservice programme such as membership of a study
conference should not be regarded as sufficient to effect
substantial changes in principals' day-to-day management
of schools. If substantial development or change in the
system is the aim of the course, then participants'
interests and energies should probably be engaged prior
to the course through some such exercise as an analysis
of needs in their own situation. This should enable them
to relate the learning experience of the conference more
precisely to their own situation. They should also leave
the conference with a plan of action and a sufficient
understanding of the strategies required to enable them
to continue the task of development, even in the face of
difficulties and unforeseen constraints when they are
back among the daily pressures of their own school. There
was scant evidence in the evaluation data of concrete
proposals for action and, even where these were adumbrated,
the problems of 'know-how' or implementation strategy
remained acute. Pleas for follow-up, support and further
training were many. Attendance at a conference by a team
(or at least two persons) from a school was one suggestion
which was supported as a means of facilitating a better
transfer from course theory to school practice. Such an
approach to management training appears to have had
considerable success in Norway, where the main thrust of
the programme concentrates on initiating an innovation
process at the individual school level while at the same
time providing leadership training externally for the head
and at least one other teacher from the school (NAHT 1982).
The Northern Ireland programme organisers were not in a
position to mobilise such an infrastructure of support for
individual principals.

However, there was ample evidence that the programme
did much to break down the isolation of heads and to put

them in touch with a range of ideas and concepts relating
to the management of schools. In a residential setting
heads found that they learned from colleagues as well as
from the formal conference programme. They would,
therefore, welcome opportunities to meet more frequently
with colleagues whom they perceive as having the clearest
understanding of the problems which daily confront them.
Given that principals are quick to appreciate that their
social and personal needs have been adequately met, the
climate which pervades an inservice training event should
not be underestimated. The conferences provided an oasis
from which the ordinary pressures of time and responsibil-
ity were excluded. In the residential setting they were
able to learn from one another as well as from the pro-
gramme, to confirm one another in their strengths and
perhaps learn alternative strategies for the solution of
problems which seemed insuperable prior to the conference.

The evidence from the evaluation also showed that
if principals are expected to initiate and sustain changes
in their schools, they need training in interpersonal
skills, staff development skills, the handling of conflict
and the management of change. Their vice-principals,
senior teachers and heads of department also require
training in management responsibility and role understand-
ing. Finally, there was evidence that principals would
welcome a permanent support structure such as that of a
staff college which could respond to their expressed needs
by way of resources, consultancy, residential courses of
various kinds and meetings for specific purposes. Such a
structure would facilitate the provision of an organised
system of inservice support and training at different
stages of a head teacher's career - on entry to the job,
some years afterwards and at times of major developments.
The evidence from the evaluation also showed that the
programme had served to boost the confidence of principals,
to enhance awareness of their managerial role, to provide

insights into alternative ways of tackling problems and generally to renew enthusiasm for and interest in the job. Only time and further research can determine whether principals were really enabled to carry through to the real world of the school and classroom the plans and intentions generated in the supportive atmosphere of the conferences.

In conclusion, there was a positive attitude towards the evaluation, both on the part of programme organisers and participants. This was evidenced by the high response rate in terms of completed evaluation schedules and in the manifest readiness of participants to openly discuss their experience in the subsequent interviews. It would seem that the approach promoted a habit of collaborative evaluation in which organisers and participants took a shared interest in the progress of the conferences. It may be that positive attitudes towards evaluation are more easily developed when course organisers work as a team on a series of conferences where they have regular opportunities for dialogue and constructive criticism of their own operations. It may also be that participants like to be consulted on the extent to which provision matches their individual needs, especially when there is evidence that serious consideration will be given to their views.

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PROBLEMS AND TRENDS IN COMPUTER BASED EDUCATION

John A. O'Connell

Introduction

Developments in computer technology in the last twenty
years have led to the purchase of computers by many of our
educational establishments. Many courses have been
developed to teach students about computers and how to
apply computer technology in commerce, administration,
industry and research. Since the 1960s some education-
alists have become interested in investigating the
possible uses of the versatile computer in assisting the
processes of learning and teaching. This paper might well
be entitled, "The Rise, Fall and possible Resurgence of
interest in Computer Based Education". (CBE).

Influences from the Past

The growth in the use of computers in education was
stimulated by major projects and was influenced by some
unique individuals. A selection of the more famous
projects follows.

Stanford Institute of Mathematics started a computer-
based education project in 1962. Suppes and Atkinson
headed this project which applied the computer to the
teaching of Mathematics, Reading, Slavonic Languages and
Music.

University of Illinois and the Control Data Corpor-
ation, with the support of the National Science Foundation,
began work on the PLATO project in 1959. This has been
the most expensive project to date and it has brought the
production of CBE materials to an advanced level where

the end product can be successfully marketed in a
commercial environment. Earlier versions of PLATO used
special Multi-Media workstations controlled by a large
central computer. Recently subsets of PLATO have been
marketed for use on the micro-computers which are now
available in many Irish Schools.

Educational Technology Centre at the University of
California where Alfred Bork has worked since 1970. He
has concentrated on developing computer based material
for teaching undergraduate Physics[1] where the student
could explore a "controllable world". Simulation tech-
niques were used to allow students to experience and
manipulate models of real life situations that could not
be created safely or at reasonable cost using other exist-
ing facilities.

United Kingdom: Many interesting projects were brought'
together by the NCPCAL programme in the United Kingdom
from 1973 to 1978.[2] Bob Lewis and Peter Smith were among
a group of outstanding contributers to the Computers in
the Undergraduate Science Curriculum (CUSC) project and
the Schools Council Project supported by the Council for
Educational Technology (CET).

Currently the Micro-electronic Education Program
(MEP) is supporting many developments in the CBE area.
Other notable systems that emerged from the work in the
United Kingdom were the CALCHEM project which produced
modules for use in Physical Chemistry and the CICERO
project which was used extensively by the Open University
to improve student feedback.

MIT - LOGO Group: Seymour Papert set out to use
computers to create a new learning experience for
children.[3] He was not concerned with vocational computing
or with CBE as previously envisaged. He saw teachers
using LOGO to create an environment of natural learning
which would have no threshold or no ceiling. His work has

received much publicity and has attracted its share of
critics. However, some mathematics teachers have been
encouraged to use the "Turtle Graphics and Floor Turtles"
associated with LOGO in teaching mathematical concepts.

Types of CBE[4]

The above projects have given rise to some signif-
icant educational material of various types.

Drill and Practice: The computer is transparent to the
student. He is presented with the same or very similar
questions repetitively until his responses indicate
mastery at that level.

Any teacher could do this but the computer could be.
useful because of it's inherent patience, convenience and
impersonality.

Tutorial: This is frequently referred to in the U.K. as
Computer Assisted Learning (CAL) and in the U.S.A. as
Computer Assisted Instruction (CAI) or Substitute CAL.

This is much more ambitious. The computer is used
to present material to the student. Having evaluated the
student's responses to various questions on the material
presented earlier the computer selects new or remedial
material for the student to study. The main problems
with tutorial CAL are concerned with course structure and
the evaluation of student responses. While this technique
has had some success in skill development courses for
Industry and Commerce its application to general Education
as a form of lecture substitution needs much more research.

Simulation: This is sometimes referred to as Supplement-
ary CAL or Laboratory CAL and would include the work of
Bork described earlier.

In Laboratory CAL the computer uses a mathematical
model built into a computer program to simulate physical

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systems found in Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Geog-
raphy. Both time dependent and inference models are used.

The essential characteristic of such systems is that
the student is allowed to explore the model rapidly and
efficiently by changing various parameters on request. The
concepts underlying such models are usually discussed in
class before and after the student uses the computer
model. These systems have been found to enrich the learn-
ing that the student achieves. The main problem is to
design a package that can be integrated into existing
courses and that demands non-trivial input so that the
student can use his previous knowledge productively.

Management: This is sometimes referred to as Computer
Managed Instruction (CMI) or Computer Adaptive Testing
(CA.).

In CMI, learning takes place away from the computer,
while the computer scores tests, interprets results,
advises the student what to do next and manages student
records and other information.   Three problems persist
in CMI systems. One is the difficulty in breaking a
course down into modules and the creation of pools of
graded questions for each module.   The second is the
Computer generation of study prescriptions based on the
tests completed.   The third is the security of the vast
amounts of personal data collected on each individual
student.

Problems that led to the Decline of Interest in CBE

Despite exaggerated claims and the optimism of the
early years the major shifts towards CBE forecast at that
time have not yet taken place for a combination of reasons.
Some of these problems will be overcome in the next
decade.

Inexperience: Those involved underestimated the magnitude of the task they were undertaking. Indications are that they misunderstood the economics of the technology they were trying to use. Many had a poor understanding of the dynamics of the educational environment where they wished to introduce this new technology.

Cost of Hardware: Up to 1980 the cost of computer hardware was excessive and many projects tried to do too much with too little equipment. Micro-computers have brought about a major improvement in this area and costs will continue to fall during the 1980s as micro-computers make computing accessible to millions.

Hardward Instability: Until recently computer equipment was unreliable, bulky and expensive to maintain. The newer micros are reliable, portable and very powerful compared with the microcomputers of ten years ago. As such we can now bring reasonably robust intelligent stand alone units into the classroom.

Failure of computer hardward during public demonstrations defeated many enthusiastic teachers.

System Instability: Many of the earlier systems used large computers controlled by complex Control Programs and supporting many users simultaneously. In many cases the user was linked to the large computer by unstable communications facilities such as the public switched network. When the Central Computer Control Program or the communication facilities failed the user was unable to use the system. Powerful microcomputers have less complex more stable Control Programs and their cost obviates the need for many users to share one computer over the public telephone system.

Courseware: This is the main problem area at present. Courseware is the actual package used by the student or

the teacher. There is a lack of courseware in large
enough quantities and at acceptable levels of quality.
A certain "Critical Mass" of courseware must be available
before CBE can really begin to show its usefulness. Much
of what is available is the product of a new cottage
industry which has emerged with the growth of micro-
computers. Some studies indicate that as much as 95 per
cent of this material is of poor quality or games
oriented.

Related to the problem of poor quality courseware
are the problems of recognition of courseware development
as a legitimate activity.[5]

At second level, teachers are rarely given free time
to develop courses or materials for courses, nor are
there reward mechanisms for those who do such work in
their own time. At University level there are active
disencentives for engaging in such activities rather
than in "legitimate" research. I would like to appeal to
the members of the Educational Studies Association of
Ireland to give this matter urgent consideration.

My main concern is in the area of "Tutorial CAL".
Some of the existing packages do a little more than ape
the activities of good teachers and many do far less. If
we can do no better than "page turning" or emulate the
old "teaching machines" we should perhaps forget these
applications and concentrate on the areas where the
computer can perform a real function of which a human
teacher is incapable, e.g. simulation.

Teacher Training: Very few teachers have had substantial
exposure to computers and many have had none at all. There
is a lack of appropriate in-service and pre-service train-
ing. All in all the situation in Ireland adds up to a
hotch potch of sometimes substandard courses that lack a
real life foundation on which to base future developments.

In times of educational cut-backs, in-service training
is often one of the first things to suffer.

Teacher training is not equipped to cope with a
changing subject in a changing world. Many teachers are
left with a natural aversion or fear of a rapidly
changing technology which they see as challenging their
role or status.[6]

Teachers need to know how to select and "drive"
suitable packages for their own subject areas. Most
suffer from "sticky fingers" because of their inadequate
keyboard skills when they try to use their computers in
pubic. The result can be embarrassing and the effect on
students may be negative.

Integration: Successful CBE has always been properly
integrated into the course in which it is used. This
requires the support of all the academic staff in the
relevant department. The introduction of innovations
into a conservative area will have administrative,
·political and operational consequences which should be
measured and discussed before starting. The time
required to restructure courses and timetables may be
substantial. Experience shows that it is difficult to
involve the brightest academics in curriculum development
work which is rarely recognised by promotions boards.

Advantages of CBE

Despite the problems outlined above the use of good
CBE systems has had many advantages both direct and
indirect. Some examples follow:

Independent evaluation of the CUSC project in the U.K.
indicates that students improved their understanding of
the topics covered. Their ability to interpret statistics
and graphs was improved Students felt that they learnt

more by finding their own strategy for manipulating a
particular model. This in turn encouraged them to
study their lecture notes and text books. Generally it
was believed to have led to a greater ability to visual-
ise the subject and to an increase in intuitive under-
standing.

The Physics department of the Florida State University
found that those students who used various CAL packages
needed 17 per cent less instructional time than those
who only attended traditional lectures. These students
also scored higher in final examinations and attained
superior conceptual mastery.

Many medical schools use a life-like computer controlled
model to teach Anaesthesiology. This combination of an
inference model with time dependent features has reduced
both the cost and the extent of subsequent field work.

The Chicago City Schools Project was begun in 1971 by
Suppes and Atkinson. One aspect of this project was an
attempt to improve the reading skills of 12,000 fourth
to eight grade students. The reading ability of these
students was increasing at the rate of 5.4 months per
pupils for each ten months of regular classroom instruct-
ion. Using computer tutorials the average increased
to 9.0 mont! improvement per 8 months of Instruction.
These results were verified by the National Institute
of Education and the National Testing Service.

Many educational establishments have been impressed by
the side effects of using CBE. It has removed the fear
of computers and it is seen as a way of preparing those
students who will not be studying Computer Science to
live in the "Information Age". When the micro-processor
has become as common-place as television sets those who
have not learned to use the computer as a tool will be
as functionally illiterate as those who have difficulty
with reading and writing today.

The Resurgence of Interest in CBE

There is a noticeable resurgence in the level of
CBE activity during the last three years. This resurgence
was brought about by the increase of micro-computers
whose price performance ratio continues to improve drama-
tically. Computer hardware is now more reliable, smaller,
cheaper and more powerful than ever before.

This resurgence is more effective than earlier
efforts because it is tending to adopt certain principles
and ideas based on the experience gained in the past.

When to use CBE: CBE should only be used to solve a
specific instructional problem where it can provide a
unique solution or compare favourably with other media.

How to use CBE: Any proposal to use CBE should have the
support of department head and a number of teachers. The
user or target audience must be clearly identified. The
usage of the package should be spread over a period. The
use of the package must be mandatory rather than optional.
Records must be kept to support evaluation procedures.

How to identify good Courseware: The package used
should be educationally sound. It must be relevant to
the students' needs and appropriate for his learning
objectives. It must contribute to the learning process
and it must be stable when field tested.[7] It should be
easy to use and not require any knowledge of computers.
It should be "bullet proof" or capable of withstanding a
hyperactive teenager banging all the keys at the same
time. The user instructions should be screen based,
clear, concise and in a standard format. Following
these guidelines will not guarantee success but failure
to do so will guarantee problems.

How to Evaluate a CBE Package: On receipt of the
material the author's objectives must be checked. The

teacher should check that he has the correct computer,
operating system, peripherals and machine characteristics
for running the package. The teacher should then use the
package in three modes - as a bright student who uses
the package intelligently, as a difficult student who
tries to deliberately crash the package and as a teacher
exploring all the nooks and crannies. The teachers'
assessment should then be written up in a standard form.
If the package is not suitable it should, be returned
promptly to the supplier with the assessment report
indicating the problem enclosed. Reputable suppliers
will refund any monies paid for packages which are later
found to be unsuitable.

How to benefit from the work of Others: Educational
consortia as well as groups within the professional
associations of academics are setting up resource centres
to provide peer evaluation, publication and distribution
mechanisms for CBE materials.[8]

Caution: I am worried by some of those now working on
CBE systems who think that they already know all the
answers.[9]   We are only beginning the task of learning
how to use computers in education. We must be repared
for many more years of trial and error.

The Future of CBE

       The amount of CBE material in use at any level in
the world is trivial at the present time. The next few
years will see a sharp rise in this activity as more
effective courseware and less expensive hardware becomes
available.

       Resulting in part from the fate of past predictions,
forecasts of the future have become guardedly optimistic.
Most writers would agree that the remaining hardware

barriers will be resolved in the near future. Work-
stations will accept voice input and output, interactive
television, video disk systems and satellite communicat-
ions. Personal computers will be powered by batteries,
use a flat screen non CRT display, have mass-storage
facilities with no moving parts and have the reliability
of televisions. It will also cost the equivalent of
today's colour televisions.

A recent American study[10] on the impact of tech-
nology, stresses that the "Advanced Information" society
of the future will place a premium on skills oriented
towards the creation of new knowledge and the design of
new technologies. The educational need of such a society
will constantly change and lifelong retraining is
expected to become the norm for many people. Computer
Based Education as part of the more global Information
Technology of the future will play a major role in
overcoming future educational problems.

Atkinson[11] for example sees the spread of CBE
packages for use on powerful home comuters. These
packages will be purchased or leased outside the usual
educational framework but they will be able to compete
with traditional educational establishments on a cost
effective basis.

As some traditional institutions become involved
with Information Technology they will have to consider
how they should change or what would happen if they
resisted the pressure to change. As new powerful
learning resources become available around the clock for
use in the home or the classroom we can expect changes
in the curriculum, in course structure, in grading·
systems and in certification procedures. Many teachers
will shift from being delivers of courses to become
designers and developers of courseware. Teachers will
still be needed to handle those who cannot cope with the

new learning situation but it is likely that there will
be less time spent handling large classes and more time
spent with small groups. The rise of new types of
institutions plus the changes in existing formal instit-
utions will eventually lead to a new educational system.

Conclusions

The present level of Computer Based Education and
it's growth over the next ten years are of vital import-
ance to the teaching profession at all levels.   In
keeping with its declared purpose I would like to see
the Educational Studies Association of Ireland establish-
ing a group to monitor the educational impact of
Information Technology. Your Society will then be
capable of offering a professional advisory service to
those who wish to apply the computer as an effective
educational tool rather than a toy for the technician who
wishes to impress others by his use of gadgetry.

The changes in our educational system will take
place whether we like it or not. Those with ability and
courage must come forward now to guide their profession
during what promises to be an exciting if at times a
turbulent period.

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THE DEVELOPMENT AND VALIDATION OF COURSES IN BUSINESS STUDIES LEADING TO NCEA AWARDS: 1972-1982

Anthony White

This paper attempts to take an overview of the
development of courses in Business Studies over the period
1972-1982 in that area of higher education which falls
within the responsibility of the National Council for
Educational Awards. It examines the rationale for the
development of courses in business studies and the process
by which they were validated and assessed. It also makes
some tentative judgements about the effectiveness of the
courses and also as to how they may develop within the
coming decade.

Numbers of Student Awards

It is necessary initially to place Business Studies
in context within the overall picture of NCEA awards and
courses. In the period from 1972 to 1982 NCEA made
18,306 awards to students. Of these, 4,747 were in the
general area of business and social studies. In other
words what is classified as Business Studies accounts for
slightly over a quarter of all awards made, a smaller
segment than engineering and construction within the NCEA
system, but considerably larger than science and para-
medical studies, art and design or education and general
studies.

The percentage breakdown of the levels of award in
Business Studies for the first ten years was:

One Year Certificate:	13.3%	(One Year)
National Certificate:	57.0%	(Two Years)
National Diploma:	23.9%	(Three Years)
Degree:	5.8%	(Four Years)

From this it can be seen that over 80 per cent of all
awards were at National Certificate and National Diploma
level. (These two areas are expected to remain around
75-80 per cent of all NCEA awards in the coming decade.
What is likely to be seen is a drop in the number of One
Year Certificates and a sizeable increase in the proport-
ion of awards at degree level.)

These figures refer to twelve institutions: the
National Institute for Higher Education, Limerick, the
nine regional technical colleges, the Dublin College of
Catering and the College of Industrial Relations. (It is
only in this year that the first awards will be made at
the National Institute for Higher Education, Dublin and
the College of Commerce Rathmines.)

Courses

In the Business Studies area there are currently 59
approved programmes or courses. (In passing one can say
that this is a conservative figure. If one were to
consider the various options and electives open to students
within these programmes one could multiply that figure two
or three times. This is a valid point, because quite often
in the process of course evaluation individual options or
streams within a programme will have to be looked at
separately by a group of assessors. In many programmes,
even at National Certificate level, students can have a
very varied menu of subjects from which to choose.)

The courses in business studies fall within three
general categories - General Business Studies, Secretarial

Studies and Hotel, Catering and Tourism Studies. As it
is intended to concentrate on the general business studies
area, a few words about the other two are required here.
The last two areas have accounted for about 35 per cent
of all awards in business studies. Their main difference
from general business studies is one of emphasis. In
hotel, catering and tourism there tends to be considerable
coverage of craft skills even in courses which are prim-
arily of a management nature. There is a similar difference
with the secretarial studies courses in that there has
been a stress on typing and shorthand which are also
primarily skills areas. However, these courses are
currently undergoing reassessment and in some the skills
requirement is being reduced and this in turn, is likely
to bring them closer to the mainstream of business studies
courses. However, this is a separate issue which would
deserve a paper of its own.

Objectives and Rationale for Business Studies Courses

If one looks back at the published documentation[1]
at the time the Regional Technical Colleges and the
National Institute for Higher Education were being
conceived in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it is clear
that one of the primary concerns was to provide an
adequate supply of engineering and science technicians and
technologists for what was then seen as a shortfall in the
manpower needed for economic growth and for attracting
foreign industrial investment. The planners at that stage
were much clearer on both the importance and on the
requirements in the engineering and science area than they
were in the general area of business studies. However
this pattern is by no means unique to Ireland. Although
business studies will normally be a component part of any
development of technical and technological education, its
rationale is quite often less explicit than in the

engineering or science areas. If one examines Peter
Venables' major work[2] on the British technological
universities, it is striking how little he has to say
about business education as compared to engineering and
the sciences. Likewise, if one inspects Charles Carter's
book on Higher Education for the Future [3] a similar
contrast can be made. One could cite similar examples
from elsewhere.

Inevitably given the less explicit rationale for
business studies and the fact that a creature such as
the "business technician" presented rather greater problems
of definition and acceptability than a science or an
engineering technician, course aims and objectives in the
early years tended to be influenced very much by the
requirements of existing institutes, particularly the
professional accountancy bodies. The structure and content
of business studies were coloured by the more advanced
examination requirements of the accountancy bodies for
which the National Certificate in Business Studies provided
a foundation. The early developments at National Diploma
level were also almost exclusively in the area of account-
ancy and management finance. It is only within the last
four or five years that at the national diploma level
there has been a counter-balancing development of special-
isation at diploma level in areas such as marketing,
personnel management, industrial relations, banking and
agribusiness.

Because of the rather problematic nature of defining
a rationale for certificate and diploma courses in business
studies, and because there was always an inherent danger
that they would not be seen as educational experiences or
terminal qualifications in their own right but rather as
a passageway to some other qualification, the second Board
of Business Studies at NCEA devoted some time to setting
down guidelines[4] for the National Certificate courses.

These guidelines were published in 1979. On the question
of the aims and objectives of these two year NCBS courses,
it was decided that "NCBS courses should meet the
fundamental aim of providing learning experiences which
would enable students to acquire:

(i) a preparation for employment

(ii) an education for general personal development,
which would also help them in adapting to
change, and

(iii) a foundation for further study.

These guidelines also stated that the courses, though
embodying "immediate usefulness" should also provide the
framework for "long-term usefulness".

If I could perhaps give a personal view on how well
these aims have been met or how seriously they have been
taken, I would say briefly at this stage that the courses
appear to have been surprisingly effective insofar as
they are a preparation for employment. This point is
returned to later.

With regard to general personal development it is
argued here that the courses have struck a reasonably
good balance between the narrowly vocational and the broad
general curriculum. At one stage in the mid-1970s
Business Studies, in common with every other area within
the NCEA, was embroiled in a protracted debate on the
role of complementary studies within courses validated by
NCEA. In my own view business studies have emerged rather
well out of this in that in most courses students have
been exposed to studies in communications, behavioural
science, economics and law which, as they are taught in
most colleges, do provide a solid base of general education
with, in most cases, a practical and vocational component.
This is not to deny that teaching programmes in some of the
more applied disciplines like accountancy, marketing data

processing and languages may also contribute to students'
general development. Indeed NCEA course assessors are
enjoined to ensure that courses provide what has come to
be called an "integrated educational experience". Now
obviously how successful any individual course is in
providing this must be a matter of judgement and must
depend on a cluster of different factors, such as the
quality of the people teaching the course and the academic
leadership provided by the institution conducting it.

With regard to the third aim - the foundation for
further study - this is perhaps the area most susceptible
to a hidden curriculum. For students who did not do well
at Leaving Certificate NCBS and, more particularly,
specific diploma courses provide a second chance for those
who aspire to professional qualifications, particularly in
the area of accountancy. Once again, of course, the
danger so inherent at second level can re-emerge. What you
are studying is not valuable in itself as much as for what
it can help you to proceed to in some other course of
study. In my own judgement there has been something of
a move away from designing courses primarily to meet the
exemption requirements of professional bodies. One could
instance the redesign of syllabi in individual courses as
an example of this. In other words it is arguable that,
while these courses provide a foundation for further
study (and, indeed, there are numerous students who have
continued successfully to degree-level and professional
studies) there has been a greater realisation that for a
majority of students these courses are terminal awards
and that it is more important to concentrate on the
present than on the hereafter. There has been therefore a
slight shift in terms of the basic aims of the courses,
and preparation for employment and personal development
have had a higher emphasis as a result.

Validation of Courses

Before examining the situation with regard to the effectiveness of the courses in terms of how they helped students to obtain employment, a few words are required about the process of validation. Since its inception the Council has considered about 200 written submissions for courses in business studies. From the beginning the procedure has been for courses to be designed by the Staff in the colleges who were to teach these programmes. The Council has never acted as an examining body nor has it ever involved itself in drawing up syllabi. Once courses are designed by a college they are submitted to the Council for evaluation and validation. The detailed evaluation of courses is not undertaken by members of the Council, but it is delegated to an appropriate Board of Studies. The Boards of Studies in turn delegate the detailed evaluation to panels or boards of assessors whose recommendations are subsequently considered by the Boards of Studies and the Council. Individual panels or boards of assessors have varied in size from two to nine members, although four or five has been the normal membership range.

In assembling these groups of assessors there has always been an attempt to have a mix of people - educationalists, members of the appropriate professional body or bodies who may or may not be teachers, and other assessors who are not teachers or educationists but who have a relevant industrial, trade or consumer interest. It is worth referring here to the latter group. One of the innovations in the educational system brought about by the Council's existence has been the close involvement in the evaluation and assessment process of individuals who are not professional educators. For NCEA they have acted as both course assessors and extern examiners. My own view is that they have contributed considerably to

curriculum development and to ensuring that courses are broadly speaking responsive to whatever changes occur in the market-place. This has not been a process entirely without tension. Businessmen may not always be totally realistic in their expectations of the education system. Nevertheless the cooperation between the schools and the world of employment has been arguably one of the most fruitful outcomes deriving from validation of this sort. There have been quite a few instances where colleges have been encouraged and, in some case, prodded into venture into which they would not otherwise have entered (such as industrial placement) which in general have been to the benefit of students.

Where there is such a diversity in the profile among those who actually carry out the evaluation process, there can always exist a difference in perspective, if not in basic assumptions, among the assessors. One of the functions of the Boards of Studies, and indeed of NCEA staff members who participate in the visits to institutions, is to attempt to maintain consistency and coherence and to eliminate arbitrary judgements as far as possible. By its very nature the NCEA is intended to harmonise the standards of courses at the same level in so far as it can. This is not easy in a system which is essentially a devolved one, where the individual syllabus is drawn up by separate groups and where the assessors are drawn from different backgrounds.

It was partly because of this that NCEA had to draw up some basic criteria such as the Guidelines for the Evaluation : Study Courses,[5] the primary degree criteria[6] and the Guidelines for the National Certificate in Business Studies. What has emerged over the decade is that there is now virtually a core curriculum at National Certificate Level in Business Studies, so that every student with a National Certificate can be taken to have studied aspects

of accountancy, economics, law, business administration, mathematics and statistics, behavioural science and communications. Within the next two years it can also be assumed that every student will have studied data processing or computer studies. Each student will have taken six subjects in each year and in one of the years each of the above subjects will have been taken. In addition the students will have taken a range of elective subjects and those currently on offer include marketing, personnel, costing, office administration, typing, management principles and practice, taxation, organisation and management, French or German, computer programming, management information systems and systems analysis. As colleges have grown in size they have been able to extend the range of elective subjects which they can offer students on certificate courses (and even more so, this has been true at diploma level) but at the same time there has grown an informal consensus on a core curriculum which has begun to establish itself at certificate level.

Employment of Award-Holders

The success or failure of courses which are explic-itly vocational must be judged largely by the ability of students to get jobs at the end of them. In recent years the Council has carried out surveys of those receiving awards and it has published data for the years 1979, 1980 and 1981.[7] The survey is carried out in the period December to February, some six months after students have completed the courses. Over these three years there was a remarkable consistency in the pattern of responses from Business Studies students. In all three years just under two-thirds of the students had obtained full-time employ-ment, and each year 22 per cent had gone on to further study. There were two significant facts about the figures.

The numbers of those proceeding to further study
immediately were consistently lower in every year than
the average for NCEA awardholders and the numbers obtain-
ing full-time employment directly from business studies
courses was higher than in other areas, including the
areas of science and engineering which were focused upon
at the time of the setting up of the RTCs, and more
recently focused upon by the Manpower Consultative
Committee. There are nothing but the most tentative
figures for 1982, but again it would seem that the
employment opportunities for award-holders in business
studies have held up extremely well in what was unquest-
ionably the most adverse labour market conditions since
any of the colleges under consideration were set up. In
the present severe recession nobody can afford to be
complacent but it is heartening for any of those involved
in the business studies area that these students are able
to obtain employment soon after graduation, and it would
appear to indicate that those who planned those courses
had identified their market and had identified a need
which was waiting to be tapped. It would also appear to
indicate that the fundamental aim of providing learning
experiences which would enable students to acquire a
preparation for employment is _prima_ _facie_ being achieved.

What sorts of jobs are these successful students
doing? The research on this topic is fragmentary,
although there is unpublished material from at least four
colleges which gives some picture of the career progress-
ion of the graduates. In the absence however, of any
co-ordinated research on the colleges concerned one is
relying to an extent on the anecdotal and it would appear
that there is a very fruitful area of research here.

Such a picture as we do have would indicate that a
very considerable number of the successful students have
found their way into the accounts function in firms of a

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variety of size and undertaking, both manufacturing and
services. A sizeable number work in the general adminis-
trative area with a number in marketing, production,
personnel and computers. The range of employments taken
up by these award-holders varies widely. While the
majority would appear to slot, at least initially, into
the lower and middle ranks of organisations as accounts
or wages clerks, many more find their way into being the
office managers in small concerns and it would appear
that the broad range of subjects covered at the level of
National Certificate in Business Studies has been useful in
preparing people who have the necessary kind of versa-
tility. It would seem too that in some colleges, th   is
a substantial proportion of students who come from small
family businesses and that the general business studies
course appears to have been identified as a useful prepar-
ation for managing these. As to how many have actually
set up in business on their own, again we are relying on
the anecdotal. The numbers currently appear to be very
small, and it would seem true to say that the vast
majority of students have been educated to become
employees rather than employers.

Future Developments

The first decade has seen a consolidation at the
level of National Certificate. The areas of expansion,
in terms at least of subject provision, in the next decade
are most likely to be at the level of National Diploma
and degree. It has been noticeable in recent years that
some colleges have attempted to mark out particular
specialisms which are reserved for diploma work or are
provided as options in the second half of degree courses
in business. It is likely that even in recession times
not all of these niches have been identified. No college,
for example, has yet identified purchasing or materials

management as appropriate specialisms for the third year
of a course, though materials management appears to be a
very important specialist area at a time when profit
margins are squeezed.

One would also hope to see a greater number of
specialisms in the agribusiness area. Agriculture is the
country's single biggest resource, it is an area which
for a variety of historical and administrative reasons
has operated largely outside the mainstream of the
education system, and one would hope to see in the future
a greater marrying of business skills and techniques with
agriculture and agricultural production.

The number of awards in business studies which have
been made for part-time study has been very small and
one would like to think that this will grow. One cannot
be altogether confident about this at a time of recession
because evening courses can be expensive to mount and
organise and not as easy to plan as full-time courses.
Nevertheless they are important not only in justice to
those who missed out at the end of second level education,
but because some of the areas of business education are
very amenable to part-time study and contribute handsomely
both to the development of the individual and to the
general level of competence and skills available in the
workplace.

Finally, it is to be hoped that the next decade will
see the development either of full courses or of modules
that deal with enterprise development, entrepreneurial
skills and small business development. Some of this
obviously must be specialised work which is currently
dealt with in intensive short courses by bodies like
Shannon Development. However, it seems important that
these subjects are not left entirely until after students
have left third-level education. Because of the recession
it is now truer than it would have been five years ago to

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say that the majority of the best and most talented of
our young people are proceeding to higher education. It
is a truism to say that providing jobs and work for this
enormous youth population is probably the biggest and
most important task facing the country at the present
time. It is also the case that to a very large extent
we are on our own and that it will be our own initiative
and enterprise that will see us through this challenge.
Experience elsewhere would indicate that it is increasingly
going to be small rather than large business that will
provide employment. Identifying opportunities and open-
ings and knowing how to capitalise on them is therefore
of great importance. If so many of the most talented of
our young population are in the higher education system,
it is there that some of the seeds for this must be sown.
It is not suggested that anything other than a minority
of students in business studies, or indeed in science and
engineering, are going to become the entrepreneurs of the
future or that all business studies courses should be
re-routed in that direction. But it is going to be
crucial that those who have the flair and the spark should
at least be given the orientation and shown the possibility.
This is arguably the biggest single contribution that
business studies could make between now and the end of the
century.

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Note: Any views expressed in this paper are those of the
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ECONOMIC RECESSION: RESTRAINT OR OPPORTUNITY FOR HIGHER EDUCATION?

Daniel O'Hare

Objectives

The objectives of my paper are:

- To provoke you to think positively in these times of financial constraint

- To suggest a number of issues, armed with which we could seek support

- To challenge you and other higher education institutions to espouse some or all of the ideas

- To challenge Government to fund the initiatives, as a demonstration of its support for change:

Preamble

I undertook a visit to the United States a little while ago. In the course of this visit I met senior staff at MIT, Southern Methodist University (SMU), Stanford and University of Mid America - State University Nebraska (UMA-SUN). At MIT, SMU and Stanford I discovered that Engineering courses were being taught on-campus and via T.V. links to industry in the locality and that videotapes of these and other programmes were pooled, shared, exchanged and hired amongst a nation-wide grouping of Universities.

At UMA-SUN I discovered that a consortium of approximately six universities in different States had been formed to provide courses by Distance Education. I

wondered why similar ventures did not appear to have
developed in Ireland.

What, you may ask, have these stories in common
with my paper today. I believe that they are relevant
because in them is an inferred cooperation and sharing
between institutions; there is innovative experiment-
ation in teaching method or approach; there is a
sensitivity to cost effectiveness - to mention but a few
issues.

Introduction

The substantial characteristic of Irish higher
education over the past decade has been its expansion
and diversification. New institutions were created and
expanded rapidly; older institutions expanded also -
and we were all preoccupied with that growth and that
diversification in discipline, levels and types of
courses.

We seemed to have convinced ourselves that we were
creating a vast higher education system - it is
certainly substantial in relation to our national
population - but we tended to forget that our combined
higher education system was no larger than many individ-
ual institutions in some other countries. Then
recession and cutbacks came thundering upon us! There
were our cries of 'crisis' - and, I agree in a most
heartfelt way with that cry (a personal comment from me
as head of a new developing institution which is engaged
in an 'Irish Exercise' i.e. developing in a contracting
situation!). So, then, why did I entitle my paper as I
have done?

I believe that the current climate may provoke
actions and responses which logic and open debate might
not have otherwise provoked; this financial crisis has

and increasingly will facilitate or produce a dynamic
at local and national levels which will question the
hitherto unquestionable. One such active debate is
already well known to us - namely, the need for
Humanities/Arts programmes in higher education. In
mentioning this topic I do not mean to infer that the
Arts are less than vital; quite the contrary. I believe,
though, that there is now an opportuntiy for our Arts
Faculties to question, to examine and to articulate their
role and function - dare I use that latter term; a firm,
clear, unambiguous policy for the support of Arts could
be the result and, when adopted, would be the basis for
considerable progress.

Opportunities

What other opportunities are there for the higher
education sector? There are many, in my view, and I
will list a fairly conservative number of these and
refer briefly to each.

1. ### Interinstitutional Cooperation in Providing integrated part-time and post-experience courses

   The history of Adult Education provision has been,
   to a large extent, intertwined with the Vocational
   Education system; other agencies have made their
   contribution also. More recently, the Adult or
   Part-time Education provision has developed two
   major emphases:

   - general adult education
   - post-experience and qualification-based
     programmes.

   The extent to which the higher education sector -
   excluding the VECs and RTCs - has responded to these
   needs has not been tremendously impressive to date.

In our current economic climate there is a real danger
that such programmes as exist might be curtailed, and
that would be unfortunate.

Another feature of this part-time course
provision has been its disjointed, non-integrated and
non-coordinated nature; these features could be seen
as the outcomes of flexibility emanating from
institutions. My view is that there has been much
duplication and fragmentation. In short the public
has been poorly served; these comments are meant to be
a factual statement on the overall situation not a
criticism of the activities of Extra-Mural Departments
and Colleges.

My suggestion is that the recession with its
consequential tightening of purse-strings should
persuade higher education institutions to devise
integrated and structured programmes for their
surrounding city, county or region.

I would like to refer to the Greater Dublin area
as an example. I propose that UCD, TCD, St Patrick's
College Maynooth, DIT, NCAD and NIHE Dublin, should,
together, devise a part-time integrated programme of
courses across the broadest number of disciplines for
the Greater Dublin Area on an annual basis. The
institutions would then decide which College would
provide modules or full courses within the full
programme.

Need I elaborate further! I can think of
obstacles to the implementation of this idea. However,
in my opinion, the benefits which the population would
derive from this approach would justify the effort
which the Colleges would expend. Do we not owe that
much to our community?

2. Shared Development of Distance Education

Economic recession has been an active partner in the
development of the Distance Education idea in Ireland.
It has - to a certain degree - indicated that we should
devise a model for Distance Education which is very
consciously cost effective in our small country.

The results have been extremely encouraging to
date - 1,000 students enrolled on the Computer
Programming course, attending at 20 local centres for
elements of that course - in schools, National
Institutes, University Colleges, Regional Technical
Colleges, industry, prisons and libraries, and all this
organised by two full-time staff.

The cost-effectiveness of this form of education
is self-evident. However, what is less apparent is the
role which all institutions must have in its further
development.

The cost conscious approach, the emphasis on,
quality, on smooth, integrated administration and on
the excellence of multi-media materials - all of these
dictate that a central facility is a sine qua non.
The particular national novelty of this statement is
made most challenging by the desirability and necessity
for NIHE Dublin to involve all institutions in a
meaningful, non-cosmetic and real way in the develop-
ment of the National Distance Education effort.

3. New Role for Academic Staff

We are all very well aware of the effect which
recession has had on staffing levels in our institut-
ions; embargoes apply in most Colleges and these are
causing much hardship and difficulty. How then, you
might ask, can such an issue represent an opportunity?

I believe that the embargoes on staff recruit-
ment have been introduced as a general measure without
any specificity. Unfortunately, too many of us are
preoccupied with reducing the pay element in recurrent
budgets for highe. education to "an acceptable level"
in the interests of cost effectiveness. However, there
is a major defect in this thinking - it has not
extended to the establishment of any study on increas-
ing the effectiveness of staff output; more crudely -
the pay element in College budgets may be reduced to,
say, 60 per cent of recurrent budgets but there is no
professional assessment being made as to how the
greatest return can be obtained from this reduced
figure. There is a real opportunity in my view in this
situation to study and to anticipate and plan a new
role for the lecturer. New technology, cost effective
and reducing in cost while the cost of labour increases
apace, surely must have a greater impact if it is
anticipated, nurtured and guided.

Let us reflect on the change, or rather lack of
change, which has characterised the lecturing profess-
ion over the past 50 to 100 years. Students still
leave home, travel hundreds of miles to campuses, file
into lectures, much as they did in 1900 and before.
Will future generations be fascinated or even amused
at our lack of foresight? Can we grasp this opport-
unity which recession and new technology provoke?

4. I have spent some time, not enough, I appreciate,
   on what I consider to be significant opportunities.
   There are so many others that I would have to speak
   for quite a few more minutes to introduce each.
   However, I believe that discussion might be a more
   productive way to explore these possibilities rather
   than an extensive exposition on each way. I will,

therefore, briefly list other opportunities and allow
your interest and their attractiveness, if any, to
develop them further.

ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

1. **T.V. links between Colleges in order to share
   specialist lectures and lecturers.**

   The advent of cable TV will make it extremely simple
   to transmit lectures from one institution to another.
   I consider that this will open up real opportunities
   to rationalise the provision of academic staff
   between institutions. For example, a specialist
   lecturer in 'Japanese Export Marketing' could lecture
   the final year B Comm class in UCD while final year
   BBS students at TCD, NIHED and DIT could tune in and
   also communicate with the lecturer.

2. **Rationalisation of Library development between
   institutions in a locality.**

   Consideration should be given to enhancing cooperation
   between all Libraries (including technical libraries)
   regarding periodical holdings for instance, could
   release funds for other purposes.

3. **Joint studies on Decision Support Systems in Higher
   Education.**

   I believe that joint studies on Decision Support and
   Control Systems in Higher Education could lead to
   better financial, purchasing and planning systems in
   our higher education system.

4. Joint studies on the four-term Academic Year of Dual throughput.

Much comment on this issue is ill-informed, in the absence of proper studies and data. The higher education sector should establish a group to study these issues and report on them to a public seminar. The result could be to reaffirm the status quo; alternatively, a more cost effective model for the use of buildings.

5. The joint marketing by professionals of the research expertise of higher education staff.

I would advocate the establishment of an office entitled the Irish Research Institute whose function it would be to market the research expertise of the higher education sector at home and, particulary, abroad. Funded from contract earnings, this office would consist of, say, four persons. The idea is based on what I believe to be an erroneous expectation that good research physicists, biologists, and electronic engineers should be equally good marketing people, good at identifying where commercial opportunties for research output lies ... IRI should be given an initial 'pump priming' amount for, say, three years during which time it should become self-financing; otherwise, it should be eliminated. I also believe that IRI would be more acceptable in most countries than UK or USA agencies, such as Stanford Research Institute (SRI). This initiative could unlock the research expertise of the Higher Education sector for the support of Irish industry; it could also be a considerable earner of foreign currency; and it would also enhance Ireland's image abroad as a centre of research expertise and also enhance IDA's task in attracting foreign investment.

7. **Joint production, acquisition and modification of learning materials.**

A central clearing house, loan centre and evaluation centre for audio-visual learning materials, for all levels of the education system, (perhaps in association with the Distance Education facility) would have great potential savings while enhancing the quality of education.

8. **The shared provision of special topic courses for research students.**

I have been impressed by the US Graduate School approach to requiring students to attend special courses in order to broaden and strengthen the knowledge of postgraduate students. It is my view that our postgraduate research programmes could be strengthened immeasurably by requiring students to attend series of lectures in their discipline, broadly defined. In view of the relatively small numbers of research students in any one higher education institution a joint initiative between UCD, TCD, Maynooth, NIHE Dublin and An Foras Taluntais should be undertaken, as an initial venture.

9. **Joint provision of staff development programmes - for administrative, support and academic staff.**

10. **Joint study on student fees, loans and support systems and their effects.**

Perhaps I can summarise my presentation in one sentence: economic recession provides us with the greatest opportunity of all - real inter-institutional cooperation.

A SUMMARY OF OPPORTUNITIES

1. Inter-institutional cooperation in providing integrated part-time and post-experience courses.

2. Shared development of Distance Education.

3. New role for academic staff (Staff development, new technology).

4. Sharing resources and effort

    - T.V. links for specialist lecturers
    - Admission to higher education
    - Research effort (Universities, AFT, AFF, IIRS...)
    - Library Development

5. Joint study on Institutional Research

6. Studies on unit costing and cost effectiveness (including 12 month year, rational approaches to SSR)

7. Centralised, joint production or acquisition and modification of learning materials (CAI, VCR, laserdisc, Cable T.V., local radio).

8. Development of an Irish Research Institute.

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RITUALS AND SYMBOLS AS CONTRIBUTORS TO THE CULTURE
OF NORTHERN IRELAND PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Dominic Murray

Introduction

The data for this paper were collected by means of
participant observation in two primary schools in
Northern Ireland. A period of six months was spent in
each of two schools, one Catholic, the other State.
There is enough evidence existing to justify state schools
being described as Protestant establishments and through-
out this paper the terms State and Protestant should be
taken as being synonymous.

This paper is about culture in Northern Ireland and
the possible influences on, or reactions to, culture
displayed by the schools. The impression may be given of
the existence of only two cultures in the Province
commonly referred to as Catholic and Protestant cultures.
While there is obviously a strong link between religion
and culture in Northern Ireland, it is quite erroneous to
present them in terms of such a stark dichotomy. There
are in fact many 'grey areas' which are probably more
important to comprehend than the extremes. Therefore,
although the time available here allows only reference to
be made to the two broad and popular views of culture in
Northern Ireland you should remain aware of the existence
of many more. See Robinson (1980) and Lyons (1979).

Another aspect of culture requires comment at the
outset. An attempt was made throughout the research to
distinguish between the character and culture of schools.
I define character as the atmosphere in any school which
is unique to that school. This uniqueness can be due to

the area in which it is located, its particular principal and staff or its age or structure. Culture is seen more in terms of climate within the school which is a function of the community which the school serves.

This is a vital distinction to make although unfortunately it is one which has been often overlooked in cultural analyses of education in Northern Ireland.

The most immediate impressions formed by a stranger entering a school are engendered by the symbols displayed and rituals enacted within it. Despite the fact that in many cases such stimuli are obvious, it should not be assumed that they provide superficial information only. The rituals and symbols themselves are merely the instruments through which deeper value positions are conveyed and to which meanings are apportioned.

For the purpose of this paper a symbol is defined as an object which is displayed to evoke images and meanings designed to influence attitudes and values and thus structure behaviour. In this sense ritual is also a symbol but is more active and participatory. It implies involvement and identification of members of the group for which it has specific meaning. In the case of schools these meanings may be communicated to, or understood by, members of a particular school only. In which case they can be said to preserve the character of the school.

Such a case is demonstrated by the yearly pageant in Rathlin which highlighted different aspects of the school's long historic past. Pride was expressed in its tradition and children were made aware of the distinct-iveness of the school which dates back to the plantation of Ireland. The pageant concluded with the rousing musical exhortation - "Lets be proud of our story and our past glory". In the dim assembly hall parents, many of whom were past pupils clasped hands with their enraptured offspring. There was an almost tangible feeling of belonging to a sentimentally exclusive fellowship.

Symbols in schools however, can have meaning for a much larger group who may have no direct contact or relationship with that particular school. The 6' x 2½' papal flag hanging in St. Judes, is a case in point. A Roman Catholic entering St. Judes, even though he has never done so before, would be made immediately aware that the school was part of a more general system of which he had had experience. He can therefore proceed to operate on the assumption that both religious and cultural values which he himself holds will be reflected and cherished within that school. Symbols, therefore, can stimulate subsequent behaviour.

Such 'cues' are important in Northern Ireland where at any gathering, members will assiduously attempt to determine the religious affiliation and hence political and cultural aspirations of the others. There is nothing insidious in this process, it is simply a means of avoiding possible embarrassment. The more visible the symbols displayed the more this identification process is facilitated.

There is, however, another significant outcome which such overt symbols may precipitate. Protestants entering St. Judes, being confronted by the Papal Flag - or indeed Catholics observing the large Union Jack out-side Rathlin (both are of equal cultural and political significance) may well have their stereotypes of the other type of school confirmed. These stereotypes are, by definition, based on superficial observation or heresay evidence. Miss Jackson, who taught P4 in Rathlin confided in me:

> When I saw all those statues and things
> in St. Judes it made me wonder just
> what exactly went on there.

Mr. White in St. Judes was more outspoken:

> They fly the flag down there (in
> Rathlin) to show that they are more
> British than the British themselves.
> It's also to let us know that they
> are the lords and masters and we should
> be continually aware of it.   I wonder
> what would happen if we tried to fly
> the Tricolour.

Those observations demonstrate well the dangers of
symbols in a segregated society.   Individuals, not being
privy to the meaning structures of those for which the
symbols are constructed, must therefore, interpret their
display at a superficial level.   By the very nature of
rituals and symbols they must be clearly visible.   In
Northern Ireland, however, visibility can be perceived
as provocation.

In St. Jude's for instance, members would go to any
lengths to avoid giving offence and considered it quite
natural to display "statues and things" in a Catholic
school.   In Rathlin, many of the teachers were unaware
that the Union Jack fluttered daily outside their school
and in fact could not have cared less if it did not not.
They also found it quite incomprehensible that a state
school, in Britain, flying the British emblem, could
cause offence ...

> If they (Catholics) want to stay out,
> well that's fine with us.   But how can
> they object to us showing that we want
> to stay in?

These comments, and many more on the same topic suggest
that more cognisance may be taken of symbols by those who
are observing them than by those who consciously or other-
wise are displaying them.   Why then do such symbols and
rituals continue to exist?   An attempt to answer this
question is attempted under four main headings.

1. THE SYMBOLS AND RITUALS THEMSELVES

The choice and presentation of books was seen to be symbolic of what each school was trying to do. A body of research exists in this field with regard to academic (or 'set') books. However, I considered it more appropriate to study what might, perhaps unfairly, be described as peripheral reading, i.e. library books and those which have been collected over the years and surround most classrooms.

It must be said at once that there was a marked difference in essence and tenor between the literature available for reading by the pupils in the two schools. A selection of three broad headings demonstrates this difference.

(a) <u>Religious Books</u>:   In Rathlin these were exclusively biblical in nature - 'Stories from the Bible', 'The Bible for Children' were typical texts. In St. Judes every religious book was specifically Roman Catholic, they varied from academic - 'Religious teaching in Catholic schools' to almost proselytising material such as 'The Far East' and 'Africa' which one teacher left in the classroom because - "you never know when they might spark off a vocation".

(b) <u>Geographic/Travel Books</u>:   Again under this heading the schools demonstrated interesting differences in emphasis. In St. Judes there seemed to be a strong attachment to Rome - 'The Vatican and Sistine Chapel', "A Visitor to Rome', 'The External City', 'Roma, photographs'. In fact there were many more books about Rome than there were about Belfast.

These kind of books were replicated in Rathlin, however, in this case the centre of attraction seemed to be London - 'The Book of London', 'Come to London' give some of this flavour.

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(c) Historic Literature:. In Rathlin the vast majority
of such books were strongly British in content with books
such as 'The Gunpowder Plot', 'Warwick John and the Magna
Carta', 'The Crusades', 'Great Men and Women from
Britain's Past', 'Norman Britain' in proliferation.

Books on these subjects simply did not exist in St.
Judes. Here such literature tended to be strongly Irish
in content and indeed nationalistic in nature - 'O Connell',
man and boy', 'The Republic of Ireland', 'Ancient History
of Ireland', 'Irish Myth and Magic'. It is interesting
to note that all of these books treated Ireland as a unit
of 32 counties rather than recognising Northern Ireland as
a separate entity.

At a symbolic level, therefore, the casual literature
in both schools seemed to encourage the cherishing of
cultures which had their roots outside Northern Ireland
itself. This may have important implications since it
may portray these cultures as being all the more incom-
patible having little in common historically, tradition-
ally or geographically.

Obviously in this section I can only give a flavour
of the casual literature in both schools. I might,
therefore, be accused of being selective in order to
better demonstrate my point. This in fact is not correct.
Throughout the research every book in the 'casual'
category was recorded. When these were tabulated it was
quite extraordinary how culturally specific and indeed
exclusive such literature was.

Other rituals within the schools demonstrated a
similar disparity. Prize day in Rathlin is a case in
point. The occasion also had strong cultural undertones.
In the first place the platform part was composed of
establishment figures: the management committee, the
chief officer of the Education and Library Board,
Ministers of the three major Protestant groups and

representatives of the London body who had founded the school. All of these represented successful members of the cultural group to which the pupils belonged.

Proceedings commenced with a request by the principal that

> To show our Loyalty, lets sing our
> National Anthem. (God save the Queen).

which was complied to with gusto.

Mr. Long also ended his yearly report with the claim

> It is a great honour to wear the motto
> of the City of London on our uniform.
> We do so with much pride.

These two examples of action within Iathlin were perfectly natural recognitions of a shared cultural identity in the school. They served to bind the members as part of a broad (i.e. British) community but also to emphasise the school's distinctiveness in terms of its unusually close links with London.

Whilst one might expect the latter function to differ from all other schools, it must be emphasised that neither aspect would ever be enacted in St. Judes, nor indeed in any Catholic school, where members lack any such affinity with either monarchy or the site of such rule. This may seem a gross over generalization but it is one that can be made with justification. It is in fact generally accepted in Northern Ireland that Protestants cling to a British identity and Roman Catholics to a vaguely Nationalistic/Catholic ideal.

In fact formal ritual within St. Judes tended to emphasise religious identity and monthly Mass was the most powerful. Here emphasis was placed on the strong bond that should exist among Church, parents and school. The Church therefore was the unifying factor among all

Catholic schools. Such ritual in the school, in emphasising this global collectivity, could be said in the context of this discussion to be predominantly cultural in content. The pupils were being made aware that they were members of a much larger family.

> May God our Father bless the families, teachers and the priests in this parish as they hand on the faith to the children . . . May the Holy Spirit guide our hearts and strengthen our wills so that we may all grow as one family of God.

This relationship between Church and school was constantly reinforced. The instructions for the Offertory procession of one Mass demonstrates the point

> ... Parents, teachers and pupils form an Offeratory procession bringing bread and wine, flowers, some symbols of school work e.g. books, etc.

All religious ceremonies and rituals proceeded during school time - Mass, First Communion, Confirmation, Confessions etc. took place in the adjoining church during school hours. The school closed for all major Church holidays, a fact which seemed to provide the most graphic evidence to the pupils of both schools that "the other school was different".

Less public were the internal religious symbols and rituals. The Parish priest visiting the school every year to distribute ashes to every pupil and teacher on Ash Wednesday. Classes stopping for prayer, as the angelus bell, which could be heard clearly from the parish church fifty yards away, pealed out dolefully every day at 12 o'clock. This tended to emphasise both the physical and religious affinity of Church and school. The rota of altar boys for Parish Mass on the main school notice board, Prayers and Church announcements at assembly, all served to highlight the natural and integral presence of Catholicism within the school.

This concept, which is central to the argument for the retention of the Catholic school system, was also stressed within the formal curriculum. Preparation for First Communion formed apart of religious instruction classes (and in fact many other classed as the event grew more imminent). Religious Education was in fact the teaching of Catholic doct.ine.

Further evidence of the Church/School link was observed in Miss Elder's classroom. During the month of May there was a small alter introduced which consisted of flowers which the children brought in daily and a large statue of the Virgin Mary. Surrounding these symbols were pupil essays about the Blessed Virgin which has been marked and graded in the normal way.

All of these demonstrations not only highlight the links between Church and school, but also confirm the Catholicity of the school itself. This fact has polit-ical and cultural ramifications. Apart altogether from the historic Catholic connection with Nationalism the fact that Catholicism is emphasised inevitably allies the school to Catholic Ireland. In reality this means the South of Ireland and ideally perhaps a United Ireland. In other words, the emphasis on Catholicism can be seen (and indeed is seen) as a political acclaimation. Thus, while the Catholic Hierarchy may defend their schools on religious grounds, many Protestants, including the staff in Rathlin, perceived them to be strongly political in nature. Every ritual and symbol observed or heard about in Catholic schools, reinforces this perception.

While ritual in St. Judes can be said to reflect a National identity subsumed perhaps in the mantle of religion, no such ambiguity was observed in Rathlin's demonstration of a British affiliation. Here ritual at a cultural level was visibly and self avowedly British. As already noted, the emblem of Britain is flown daily

outside the school. State schools in the area are required by the local Education and Library Board to display this symbol. Such a formal requirement would seem to suggest an official desire to either publicly affirm the link with Britain or to consciously influence the attitudinal positions of pupils within. It would seem that neither of these intentions will facilitate a Catholic acceptance of the official claim that state schools are open to all and thus already integrated. Catholics perceive them to advocate a cultural position which is anathema to the majority of Catholics.

Less visable to outsiders was the internal symbols and ritual in Rathlin which also emphasised a British culture. A 5' x 5' memorial plaque was affixed in the P6 classroom on which was named all the past pupils of the school who had fought in the "The Great Wars", some of whom had made the ultimate sacrifice. These men had fought in defence of the country of the present pupil population, i.e. Britain, and were being honoured for doing so. Thus the emblem provided an example of a symbol which constructs a framework of meaning over and beyond its objective self. It evokes a sympathy and empathy with others who had striven to maintain the security of the cultural group to which the pupils also belonged.

Cultural identity however, would hardly be constructed or indeed significantly influenced by any one symbol or ritual. It is rather the cumulative effect of the myriad of such stimuli which may affect the attitudes and hence behaviour of pupils. The impact is likely to be greater the more public and concensual the stimuli. That is the more members of the social group who actively take part in it. Special assemblies in Rathlin provide a good example of this.

On Commonwealth day, the whole of assembly was
devoted to this topic. A letter from the Queen was read
out to the pupils by Mr. Long. He also delivered a brief
eulogy about the Commonwealth. One of the Ministers
present gave a homily about the Queen and the good words
she carried out for her subjects. The proceedings closed
with everyone singing a verse of 'God Save the Queen'.
Assembly broke up amid a festive atmosphere. All pupils
from P1 to P7 were <u>united</u> with teachers and clergy in a
common identity within a Commonwealth family.

While this particular aspect of social action within
Rathlin seemed both natural and enjoyable, it is incon-
ceiveable that anything comparable would ever be enacted
in St. Judes. When I described the ritual to staff there
it was treated with derision. Miss Elder articulated the
general feeling:

> What has the Great Commonwealth ever
> done for us? British Colonialists have
> milked Ireland dry for centuries and
> yet you still get people who applaud
> them for it. I think they are mad or
> stupid. In Rathlin they get people
> coming over from London every year and
> dishing out a few prizes to the natives
> and they are treated like God Almighty
> ... Have they no pride at all? God it's
> pathetic!

The general intensity of reaction in St. Judes was impress-
ive. It demonstrated graphically the perceptual and
cultural gulf that existed between the two establishments
and very probably between the two separate systems of
schooling operating in Northern Ireland as a whole.

2. THE INTENTIONS OF THE PRESENTER

In St. Judes there seemed a clear purpose in the
employment of ritual, i.e. to emphasise the Catholicity
(with a large and small 'c') of the Church, home, school

trinity. This aspiration was demonstrated by action throughout the whole school and was as obvious to an outside observer as it was taken for granted by the school members. Implicit in this emphasis on the values of the Catholic home and school was the reinforcement of a Nationalist culture and identity.

In Rathlin there seemed to be more ambivalence in this respect. While there were rituals and symbols presented which accentuated a broad Protestant (or British) identity, there appeared to be a greater concern for demonstrating that their school was unique and in fact better than any other within the general State system.

As observation proceeded it became apparent that in St.Judes, ritual and symbols existed predominately to emphasise the culture of the school. In Rathlin such activities seemed mainly designed to demonstrate the distinctive character of the institution. This may well be explained by the differing rationales of the two establishments.

The official rhetoric on Catholic schools has invariably posited salvation higher than education. It is not surprising therefore, that any such school attempting to attain this goal will in fact emphasise its Catholicity rather than its educational process. Since this Christian objective is presumably not competitive the result will be the formation of a distinct collectivity of all Catholic schools sharing this common goal.

Rathlin, on the other hand, being part of the more secular State system of education can, be seen to exist in a more competitive market. In a society which tends to view education in academic terms, a successful school must demonstrate its academic excellence. The greater the efforts made to establish such kudos the more distinct the school will become as an identifiable entity.

However, State schools are at the same time
Protestant in nature and it is to be expected that they
will reflect the general cultural aspirations of that
group. Hence the duality of ritualistic practice in
Rathlin.

This analysis with regard to the two thesis schools
is rather too general. Suffice it to say that examples
of ritual in St. Judes which emphasised character were
rare - in Rathlin they were myriad.

1. THOSE FOR WHOM RITUALS AND SYMBOLS ARE CONSTRUCTED

The case for children attending St.Judes is clear,
quite simply it is the local Catholic school in the
area. Parents send their children there because they
have made the moral decision that their children should
be brought up as Catholics. The more visable evidence
that exists within the school that it is striving toward
this end then the less conflict there will be between
parent and school. Ritual then serves to bind these
people into a community. Their meaning is clear and
their purpose accepted.

Although Rathlin is a Protestant school (all staff
are Protestant and only six pupils are Catholic) it is
not homogenously so. One factor which unites the vast
majority of Protestants in Northern Ireland is a claim
to be British [Robinson,(1980); Russell,(1972)]. This
aspect of schooling was evident in Rathlin and other
State schools which the researcher has visited. Rathlin
however, has a longer history and tradition than most.
It was founded in 1709 by a group of people who were
appalled by the "lack of learning" in the area. It has
striven over the years to establish an individual or
unique character based on academic excellence.

The success rate in the 11+ examination is 20 per
cent above the National average. This statistic itself
becomes a symbol which communicates meanings to parents
of prospective pupils about what the institution is
trying to do. Rathlin therefore, has an appeal for a
section of the community who value academic emphasis in
schools. This appeal is reinforced by rituals within
the school where the head boy or girl are appointed
solely on academic criterion and, by the most powerful
ritual observed in either school, prize day where the
overwhelming majority of prizes were awarded for
academic achievement.

It can be argued therefore, that rituals and symbols
are important not only for individuals within an
institution/school but also for prospective members who
are attempting to determine which institution might best
reflect and encourage their own attitudes and values.

4. OBSERVERS WHO ARE NOT FAMILIAR WITH THE MEANING
   STRUCTURES OF THE RITUALS AND SYMBOLS

Rathlin, being a State school is legally non-
denominational. It is, however, attended almost exclus-
ively by Protestants who acclaim Unionist or British
aspirations. The school, therefore, in common with other
State schools, is placed in the invidious position of on
the one hand attempting to reflect or reinforce the values
and attitudes of a broadly Unionist culture yet at the
same time avoiding being seen as being exclusively
Protestant. The Union Jack flying outside Rathlin
provides a good example of this dilemma. When considered
at all, the staff there considered that it was perfectly
natural to have such an emblem in a school which was
located in Great Britain. One teacher articulated the
mood:

> I don't know why you are making such a
> fuss about the flag. Why should we
> apologise for flying it? We are a State
> school and the flag is the emblem of the
> State. (Laughing) Would you rather we
> flew the Tricolour or the Hammer and
> Sickle?

The fact that I had not been "making a fuss" nor suggest-
ing that apologies were required and the defensive tone
used, suggested that the teacher was aware that possible
offence could be taken by the exhibition of the emblem.
In fact it is true to say that in general, and certainly
among the staff in St. Judes Catholics equate the Union
flag with Britishism and therefore Protestantism. The
reality of them therefore, is that Rathlin was a
Protestant school.

The principal and staff in Rathlin vehemently denied
any such assertion. They claimed (rightly) that their
school was open to all. However, every ritual and symbol
which demonstrates their natural British aspirations
simultaneously reinforced the Catholic conviction that
State schools were Protestant establishments and actively
sought to maintain an exclusively Protestant nature. This
perception can lead to quite extreme positions being
adopted. The parish priest of St.Judes, shortly before
I arrived, refused to allow the school choir to partake
in a musical festival which was taking place in a local
town hall simply because the Union Jack was flying outside
His reason, given to staff was:

> If they (Protestants) make it clear
> that we are not welcome, then why
> should we disappoint them?

The fact that none of the other choirs had any
responsibility for the display of the symbol nor, it
would seem, would the vast majority have noticed its
absence, is irrelevant. The point is that for the parish
priest at least, meanings were attached to the object so

that it was seen as a provocation. This then was the
reality of the situation as far as St.Judes was concerned
and social behaviour, in the form of a boycott, ensued.
Miss Jackson who had previously mentioned to me that she
"wondered what went on in Catholic schools" elaborated
on this point in a later discussion:

> We play St. Judes often in games and
> we visit their school regularly. I
> never fail to be impressed by the
> plethora (sic) of religious pictures
> and icons staring at you around every
> corner. It's hard to escape the view
> that a special show is being put on
> for our benefit ... this doesn't just
> apply to St.Judes of course, but they
> must know that these are the very
> things that we have objections to yet
> still they are flaunted everywhere.

I asked what this "Special show" might be for:

> Oh I think to demonstrate their
> separateness and isolation from the
> State system of education... I suppose
> this might be fair enough but in
> general in Northern Ireland I think
> that Catholics don't want to have
> anything to do with the State. That's
> why they are so against integrated
> education.

Here then are examples of symbols being misinter-
preted by individuals for whom they were not constructed.
I put Miss Jackson's views and other similar ones of
Rathlin teachers to the staff in St.Judes. They reacted
unanimously to the intolerance of the opinions. Mr.White
was most outspoken:

> We are a Catholic school. Statues and
> holy pictures are part of the Catholic
> way of life. They are, in this school,
> for the benefit of the people within the
> school not for any outsiders who might
> visit us. If they take offence well
> thats too bad but it is also irrelevant.
> I think that it is typical of the
> general Protestant approach to Catholics-

- why should our religion offend them?
            I think they would prefer that we
            didn't exist at all).

    The point is that there seemed to be no intention
to offend anyone by the display of rituals or symbols.
It was simply unfortunate that they were perceived in
this way by outsiders.

    Here then is an important, and often overlooked
aspect of ritual. It may act as Bernstein (1971) and
Skilbeck (1976) suggest, to bind people together as a
distinctive collectivity or to preserve an identity.
In a segregated society however, served by segregated
schools, it would seem that the more distinctive they
are then the more suspicion and intolerance is engender-
ed in outside observers who neither understand nor
identify with the more overt signs which contribute to
this distinctiveness. Whatever the intentions of the
group, it would appear that distinctiveness is inter-
preted as exclusiveness and hence with suspicion.

    It is unfortunate that within the two schools such
a gulf exists between intention and perception, since
it is on the basis of both of these that social reality
is constructed. At the level of ritual in the two
schools, such realities would seem to be poles apart.

    It must be stated at this stage that it would be
naive to suggest that in the Northern Ireland context,
symbols were never intended to be provocative. On the
basis of observation and discussion in both schools,
however, it seemed that perception of a provocative
intent grossly exaggerated and misrepresented the intent-
ion itself. This may well also be true of the society
in general.

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A STUDY OF LEAVING CERTIFICATE STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS
OF TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TO LEAVING CERTIFICATE

Madeleine O'Shea

I. Design

This paper is extracted from a larger study which investigated the attitudes of Leaving Certificate students to the Leaving Certificate examination.   Three schools cooperated.

School A,   co-educational, largely unstreamed and
            non-selective in intake.

School B,   a single-sex girls' school, streamed and
            fee-paying.

School C,   a single-sex boys' school, strictly
            streamed and exercising selective entry
            procedures based on predicted academic
            ability.

All sixth-form students in all three schools partic-ipated in the study.   (n = 196).   The two instruments relevant to this paper which were used in the main study were:

(a)   a 5-point Likert scale consisting of 30 statements,
      (the scale was constructed via collection of an
      item-pool and refined in a pilot-study).

(b)   an open-ended questionnaire of 12 items designed
      to elicit clarification of students' attitudes to
      items included in the Likert scale.

Five statements on the Likert scale and four questions on the questionnaire elicited data relevant to students' perceptions of their teachers' attitudes to them and to their preparation for Leaving Certificate.

Each school provided a breakdown of students in the
sample into high, medium and low ability groups.

II. Results and Analysis

A. The Likert Scale: The five items which elicited
student perceptions of their teachers' attitudes were
items 6, 12, 18, 24 and 30.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree
6 Most teachers help to reduce my anxiety concerning Leaving Certificate.	1	2	3	4	5
12 Teachers think that Leaving Certificate is the most important facet of a senior student's life.	5	4	3	2	1
18 Teachers use Leaving Certificate to instil fear in students.	5	4	3	2	1
24 If I have confidence in the teacher, I feel less anxious about the examination in his/ her subject area.	1	2	3	4	5
30 I would like to see Leaving Certificate replaced by teachers' assessments of work done during the years.	1	2	3	4	5

To guard against the "acquiscence set" (Martin, 1964)
items 12 and 18 required reverse scoring. Total raw
scores could range from a maximum of '25' to a minimum of
'5'. High scores indicate perceived pressure from
teachers while low scores suggest perceived teacher
support and co-operation.

Item analysis produced the following table of means:

TABLE NO. 1

Table of means on 'teacher' items

$\bar{X}$

Item number	6	12	18	24	30	Total
Total population	3.78	3.90	3.36	3.91	2.17	17.12
Total girls	3.97	3.63	2.89	4.09	2.05	16.63
Total boys	3.69	4.02	3.57	3.83	2.22	17.33
School A	4.02	3.79	3.43	3.98	2.36	17.58
School B	3.96	3.63	2.79	4.08	2.05	16.51
School C	3.53	4.11	3.64	3.78	2.17	17.23

Apart from item 30, high scores dominate this table.
There seems to be strong agreement among the students in
the sample that they experience pressure and domination
from teachers in their preparation for Leaving Certificate
rather than assistance and co-operation. The consistently
low scores on item 30 suggest equally strong agreement
that they would still prefer teachers' assessments of
their work to the more impersonal assessment of Leaving
Certificate.

Scores on item '6' were compared with scores on a
similar statement in the main study (O'Shea, 1980) which
related to parents: "My parents help to reduce my
anxiety concerning Leaving Certificate". This comparison
indicated that boys found parents ineffective in helping
to allay examination anxiety and teachers even more
ineffective. Girls tended to find parents helpful in
reducing their examination anxiety; their scores on item
'6' here suggest that they find teachers generally
unhelpful.

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Scores on item '24' confirm this trend. With one
exception (and even in that instance - School A - the
reduction is very small) these scores are _higher_ than
scores on item '6'. Students in this sample report
consistently that having confidence in the teacher does
not reduce their examination anxiety even in that
teacher's subject area.

Scores on item '18' were also compared with a
similar statement in the main study (O'Shea, 1980) which
related to parents: "parents use examinations as
disciplinary agents (i.e. excuses for curtailing parties,
social functions, etc.)" Students' scores suggest
their belief that teachers use Leaving Certificate to
instil fear in students (Item 18) to a greater extent
than parents use Leaving Certificate as a disciplinary
agent. Here again a divergence of opinion emerged
between the perceptions of boys and girls. Boys tended
to believe that teachers use the examination to instil
fear; girls tended to believe that they do not.

Boys and girls agree that teachers consider that
Leaving Certificate is "the most important facet of a
senior student's life" but again boys record this
opinion more strongly than girls.

Analysis of results according to students' reported
ability levels yielded the following breakdown:

Table of means on 'teacher' items classified according to
reported student ability.

$\overline{X}$

high ability (n = 58)

Item Number	6	12	18	24	30	Total
Total population	3.91	4.02	3.38	3.91	2.35	17.55
Total girls	3.76	3.29	2.71	4.24	2.12	16.12*
Total boys	3.98	4.32	3.66	3.83	2.41	18.20**
School A	4.09	4.00	3.47	4.00	2.63	18.15
School B	3.85	3.15	2.62	4.08	2.31	16.01
School C	3.85	4.46	3.69	3.85	2.12	17.97

medium ability (n = 75)

	6	12	18	24	30	Total
Total population	3.63	3.77	3.39	4.07	2.04	16.90
Total girls	3.86	3.62	3.03	4.17	2.10	16.78*
Total boys	3.48	3.87	3.61	4.00	2.00	16.96**
School A	3.94	3.65	3.53	4.24	2.10	17.54
School B	3.80	3.56	2.92	4.12	2.24	16.64
School C	3.33	4.00	3.67	3.94	1.82	16.76

low ability (n ≈ 63)

	6	12	18	24	30	Total
Total population	3.84	3.94	3.30	3.73	2.17	16.98
Total girls	4.38	4.00	2.88	3.94	1.88	17.08*
Total boys	3.66	3.91	3.45	3.66	2.28	16.96**
School A	4.06	3.82	3.29	3.82	2.24	17.23
School B	4.43	4.07	2.79	4.00	1.93	17.22
School C	3.47	3.94	3.53	3.56	2.25	16.75

*Total girls' scores.   **Total boys' scores

The difference in _pattern_ between the total scores
for girls and boys merit attention. Girls' total scores
increase from high through medium to low ability students;
boys' scores decrease on the same continuum. It would
seem that high ability girls have most favourable
perceptions of their teachers' assistance to them in
preparation for Leaving Certificate while high ability
boys have least favourable impressions of their teachers.
Alternatively low ability girls and high ability boys
experience most teacher pressure. Since boys in the
schools in this sample have a majority of male teachers,
while girls in the girls' school are mostly taught by
female teachers, it is tempting to speculate whether
these results suggest an actual difference in the
attitudes of male and female teachers. The pattern
divergence may imply that male teachers concentrate
principally on t'- more able students, while female
teachers exert more pressure on the less able.

Responses to item '30' show that all ability groups
indicate preference for teachers' assessments replacing
Leaving Certificate. High ability boys and girls
indicate least preference for such change, though their
inclination is still positive. Medium ability boys and
low ability girls show strongest preference for teachers'
assessments. It may be worth noting that low ability
girls show strongest perceptions of teacher pressure and
strongest preference for teachers' assessments replacing
Leaving Certificate.

B. Analysis of respondents' scores in the 'teacher'
   group in the open-ended questionnaire: Questions 4,
5, 7 and 9 elicited responses on student perceptions of
their teachers' attitudes to them in preparation for
Leaving Certificate.

Q.4 Many people have interest in your examination.
Will you indicate how these 'others' help your
studies? (b) Teachers.

Q.5 What are the factors you experience as
militating against your studies - (b) at school?

Responses to these two questions were analysed
together as students presented mainly positive feelings
on Q.4 and negative feelings on Q.5. Taking either set
of responses separately would present an unbalanced
picture of students' reported perceptions.

Virtually all responses on Q.4 recognised the
teachers' central function and role in teaching the
course material. Typical of such responses were:

"They (i.e. teachers) help me understand my
work".

"Teachers help by teaching, by making the subject
reasonably interesting, by suggesting work".

"They provide the material for me to study and
help me to overcome errors. "Without my
teachers, I would have no change of getting my
Leaving Certificate".

Apart from the basic teaching function, students
isolated six constructs as teacher attributes helpful to
them. All six seemed important. Hence the list below
is not in rank order:

Encouragement from teachers to do well.

Additional help from teachers when
required/requested.

Interest shown in student's welfare and
in his future.

Advice on studying.

Advice on examination strategies.

Constructive feedback.

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Responses to Q.5 generally concentrated on unhelpful teacher attributes. Poor classroom management was a prominent theme though, not surprisingly, no student used this term. Students commented on being hindered from concentration in class by other students 'dossing', disrupting the lesson, or deliberately refusing to participate. Five other unhelpful teacher attributes emerged:

Perceived lack of teacher interest/ concern for the individual student.

Destructive feedback/lack of encouragement.

Excessive amounts of homework combined with failure to appreciate that the student was coping "with six other subjects".

Homework set but not checked, or inadequately checked.

Boring classes.

Responses on questions 4 and 5 have not been classified on a percentage basis. An attempt to do so proved meaningless, as virtually all students differentiated between teachers:

"Some teachers are genuinely concerned about our results and futures. Some have not got a clue and couldn't give a damn".

"The teachers who help me are those who treat us as individual people. There are others who think we are a group of objects sitting there, taking information".

Two continua seemed to dominate students' different-iation between teachers and the two were not seen as mutually exclusive:

(a) Competent teachers who provided stimulating/ interesting classes v. incompetent teachers

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in whose classes boredom and/or lack of
discipline led to "messing" and "dossing".

(b) Teachers whose personal concern for the
individual student was perceived v. teachers
who were seen as not caring about students'
welfare.

Only one difference emerged between the responses
of boys and girls. Many girls in the girls' school
commented on teachers themselves becoming "uptight" and
anxious as they came closer to the examination. Typical
of this set of comments is:

"Some teachers at this stage in sixth year
have got a bit nervy and this comes across
in class".

No comment of this kind was presented by the boys.

Q.7 In what ways do you consider that your results
in Leaving Certificate are important to your
teachers?

Three construct dominated student responses:

(a) Teachers are interested in Leaving
Certificate results on their own
account.

(b) Teachers are interested in Leaving
Certificate results on the students'
account.

(c) Teachers are not concerned about
students' results.

Analysis over the entire population in the sample
gave the following results:

TABLE No. 3

Returns on Question 7 as percentages of the total
population

Construct	(a) 65%	(b) 24%	(c) 11%

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Breakdown on a school basis yeilded the following table:

Returns on Question 7 as percentages of each school population

Construct	(a)	(b)	(c)
School A	71	23	6
School B	62	23	15
School C	63	26	11

Students in this sample obviously show overwhelming agreement that teachers are interested in their Leaving Certificate results. However, the value they attach to such interest seems to depend principally on their attribution of causality. While more than 85 per cent of students in all three schools indicate their belief that teachers are concerned, only a quarter of the population(s) consider that the students' welfare is the primary focus of teacher concern. Some typical responses were:

> "Results are important to the teachers because this reassures them that they have taught their subjects well"

> "Their (i.e. teachers) efficiency is measured upon the results they can get. Therefore, results are important to them".

> "Results are important to teachers because if we failed, teachers would lose their jobs".

> "Some teachers are genuinely interested for my sake".

Q.9 Do you think class tests, 'mock' exams, etc., help your preparation for Leaving Certificate? Please give reasons for your answer.

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88 per cent of the total population recorded their opinion that class tests and 'mock' exams were useful to them as preparation for Leaving Certificate. Breakdown on a school basis revealed that this opinion was constant across the three schools in the sample.

TABLE NO. 5

Table showing percentage of each school population which favoured class tests and 'mock' exams

%

School A	School B	School C
87	89	88

Reasons presented by students to justify their belief that class tests and 'mock' exams were useful to them were:

These tests and 'exams' helped them to phase their revision programmes realistically.

Tests/'exams' provided practice for Leaving Certificate.

Tests/'exams' helped them to study by setting short-term goals.

Tests/'exams' alerted them to areas of weakness while there was still time to effect corrective procedures.

Tests/'exams' provided practice for coping with examination questions within specific time limits.

The small number who rejected class tests and 'mock' exams gave the following reasons for rejection:

> Such tests/'exams' "upset" them.
>
> They were unlikely to get the same
> questions on a Leaving Certificate
> paper which they worked on in class
> tests or 'mock' exams.
>
> Teachers gave unrealistically low
> marks on class tests and 'mock'
> exams.

Some typical student comments were:

"Tests and 'mocks' give you a change to
see how to answer a Leaving Certificate
question. Also, if you are going to make
a mistake, it is far better to make it
during the 'mocks' than during the real
thing".

"Tests and 'mocks' give you some idea of
how you are getting along. If you do
badly, it gives you more reason to study
harder".

"Yes, I do think they (i.e. class tests
and 'mock' exams) help. They give you an
idea what the real exam is like. You get
familiar with the layout of Leaving
papers".

"I do not like tests and 'mocks', but they
help me to organise the information that
I have learned (sic) and find out how
much more I need to learn. Sometimes
when I have thought I knew it all, I found
I didn't when I came to write it down
during a test".

"I don't like tests and 'mocks' because they
upset me and build up pressure and tension".

Many students showed their ability to differentiate
between their cognitive and affective approaches to
class tests/'mock' exams. These students recorded that
they did not like or enjoy such tests/exams but that
they appreciated their value as preparation for Leaving
Certificate.

III. Discussion and Conclusions

Students in this sample were concerned with teachers' perceived interest/lack of interest in them as individual people, and seemed to consider that this element was an important factor in their preparation for Leaving Certificate. They did not consider that such interest was a substitute for effective teaching but an important element of teaching successfully. Yet less than one-quarter of this population considered that students' welfare is a primary focus of teacher concern. Dale (1974) reported that a major complaint by some students in his large samples was "the impersonality of pupil-teacher relationships in some schools" and he concluded that this factor was so important to students that it was "vital for schools to meet this need for individual recognition". While there can be little doubt that most teachers get personal satisfaction, and probably reassurance, from "good" Leaving Certificate results, other motives attributed by the students were quite inaccurate. No material or status benefits are received by teachers because of "good" results nor need they fear demotion or reduced income if their students' examination results are poor. It may be that a better public relations job could be done by teachers and that improved communication of teacher-motives and teacher-objectives might benefit student-teacher relationships to their mutual advantage.

> "We who teach have to see that not only do we care but that it is clear to the pupil, that we care". (Hamblin, 1974).

Results discussed here suggest that we should also communicate why we care.

Students perceived teachers as ineffective in reducing examination anxiety. Confidence in a teacher did not reduce their anxiety even in that teacher's

subject. Further investigation in this area would seem
interesting. One could speculate that the Leaving
Certificate students are anxious about the imminence of
evaluation, the effectiveness of their preparatory study,
their capacity to cope w'th examination papers and that
these concerns are quite separate from perceptions of
teacher competence. It is possible that a wish not "to
let down" a respected teacher could increase anxiety. It
is also worth considering that while these findings
indicate that confidence in a teacher does not reduce
student anxiety, lack of confidence in a teacher might
still be a factor in escalating anxiety.

   Students perceive teachers as agents of pressure.
Many public pronouncements in the popular press and in
teachers' publications (Astir; The Secondary Teacher)
indicate that teachers would respond that the Leaving
Certificate curriculum and the Leaving Certificate
examination exert the pressures and that they are power-
less to counteract these. While accepting the validity
of the need for curricular and examination reforms
(Heywood et al, 1981), I would urge that it is also
important to recognise the interdependence of the
curricular and pastoral elements in secondary education.
Attribution of causality is crucial to reactive behaviour
(Heider, 1958) and few of us would doubt that adolescents
tend towards reactive behaviour. The D.E.S. Report (1979)
on secondary education in England provides strong
evidence that curricular and examination reforms were
less than effective in improving the quality of education
in secondary schools. This has veen particularly true in
the lower socio-economic groups (Rutter and Madge, 1976).
Rutter et al (1979) provide hard data attesting to the
differential effects of different school environments.
The pastoral element of teaching has been bedevilled in
Ireland - as in Britain and the U.S. - with wishy-washy
concepts of hand-holding and the easy dishing out of

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dollops of sentiment. Hence, it is probably important
to stress that real pastoral care of students envisages
specific programmes and structures for the teaching of
specific skills, the skills of time-management (Hopson
and Scally, 1979), study-skills and examination
techniques (Hamblin, 1981), the art of thinking (DeBono,
1970) as well as the social skills of communication and
self-presentation. The P.A.C.E. programme seems to be
a first step in recognition of the teaching of these
skills as valid educational objectives.

Students value class-tests and 'mock' examinations.
The findings here that 88 per cent of the total population
recorded their opinion that class-tests and 'mock'
examinations were useful to them in the context of
preparation for Leaving Certificate may be interesting
to those teachers and parents who express doubts about
their value. The reasons I have heard for such
reservations are that such tests can discourage students,
that poor results in these tests erode student confidence
and that valuable teaching time is wasted. In this sample
at least it would seem that the consumers' perceptions
are favourable. Student perceptions seem congruent with
Bloom's (1976) findings that constructive feedback and
corrective intervention greatly assist the learning
process.

Raven (1974) isolated similarities and divergences
in pupils' perceptions and teachers' estimates of pupils'
perceptions in the junior cycle of post-primary schools
in Ireland. Greatest divergence emerged in the areas of
school work and public examinations.

> "Teachers in fact underestimate the
> proportions of their pupils who will
> think their subjects are useful and
> they underestimate the proportion of
> their pupils who will say it is 'very
> important' to them to get through
> examinations; whereas 72 per cent of

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> pupils said that it was very important
> to them to get a good examination
> result the teachers estimated the
> percentage of pupils who would say this
> at 58 per cent. ... It may be that the
> reason why they underestimate these
> proportions is that they project their
> own feelings onto their pupils"

and again:

> "Teachers underestimate the serious
> mindedness of their pupils: they
> overestimate their interest in pop
> music, dancing and starting work as
> soon as possible, and they under-
> estimate their concern to have a job
> they like doing, to be able to apply
> what they have learned at school, their
> concern with their families, and their
> concern to get a good examination result"

There were indications that Raven's findings on the
priorities and concerns of students in the junior cycle
of post-primary schools were valid for the senior cycle
students in this study. These Leaving Certificate
students suggested strongly that teachers are perceived
as significant others in preparation for Leaving
Certificate in a far wider context than as purveyors of
knowledge. Students indicated that their perceptions of
teachers' attitudes were salient affects for them.
Relevant data on teachers' perceptions had not been
collected. In the course of analys.) this omission was
regretted. It opened up the question: are teachers
perhaps more significant to their pupils' achievement
and examination success than they themselves appreciate?

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF MEMORY APPLIED TO
THE USE OF THE OVERHEAD PROJECTOR IN THE CLASSROOM

Francis Douglas

This paper sets out to examine the possible implic-
ations of some selected psychological theories for the
use of the overhead projector in the classroom. The
theories selected are of necessity few in number; however,
it is hoped to show that there is something to be gained
from their application. Consideration is given to the
implications of the research concerning theories of
Short Term Memory, Long Term Memory and the Gestalt Laws
of Perception.

The overhead projector is one of the most useful
teaching aids in the classroom. It focusses the pupils'
attention and can therefore be employed to stress
important points and facilitate retention of material.
It is, however, important that the teacher uses it
properly and that he understands the importance of proper
presentation of material - an overcrowded acetate sheet
for example will only confuse, not enlighten. It is my
intention to show that an understanding of the basic
workings of memory will greatly benefit the teacher,
particularly in his use of the overhead projector.

Although not all psychologists agree that different
memory stores exist, for the purposes of teaching it is
useful to assume that memory can be divided into two
types - Short Term Memory (S.T.M.) and Long Term Memory
(L.T.M.).

One of the earliest psychologists, William James[1]
said, ". . . as a rule sensations outlast for some little
time the objective stimulus which occasioned them".

This he called Primary Memory. In other words, if you look at something and then close your eyes you will see the image of the thing you have been looking at fading away. If a stimulus lasts for a sufficient length of time it produces a more durable image which may pass out of consciousness but which can be recalled to it later. James termed this Memory Proper or Secondary Memory.

Further research carried out since James' time would tend to indicate, at least to some psychologists, that primary memory consists of two distinct types of memory. The first is known as Sensory Information Storage[2] otherwise known as the Iconic Store or Sperling Store; it lasts for a few tenths of a second and unless focussed on by attention, just decays and fades away. The second is known as Short Term Memory and lasts from a few tenths of a second for as long as a process called 'rehearsal' continues. Rehearsal is in fact saying something in your mind over and over again.

Short Term Memory has a limited capacity. G.A. Miller[3] came up with his famous 'The Magical Number 7 ± 2' in which he showed that the capacity of S.T.M. ranges between five and nine according to the type of item.

Miller's findings have been confirmed by many other experiments. As an example which will be useful in teaching and in using the overhead projector, we will take some findings from Hunter[4] for University students (these would very much represent upper limits for Secondary School children).

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Type of item	Capacity of S.T.M. (on average)
Digits	8.5 items
Consonants	7.5 items
Different coloured cards	7.5 items
Common names	6.0 items
Simple geometrical figures	6.0 items
Pairs of common words	3.0 items
Nonsense syllables	3.0 items
Short simple sentences	3.0 items

As regards Long Term Memory it would certainly seem from the number of trials required before an item is learned that the process of L.T.M. storage is somewhat complicated. A number of points arise when looking at L.T.M. Firstly it does not seem likely that we look at information in the order which it arrives - we almost certainly try and impose our own structure on it before storage. What we think is important will depend upon our previous learning and experience as well as our level of conceptual development. According to Sternberg,[5] there is no need for us to store information verbatim, although this would seem to be the case with S.T.M. Usually in L.T.M. we can extract what we think is important and discard the rest. The research evidence[6] showing that L.T.M. organises incoming information is now considerable.

The job of the teacher is to present information in such a way that it can be stored and recalled easily. To do this he must be aware of the importance of the meaningfulness of his information to his pupils - can they understand what he is getting at, do they know anything about the subject already, will they be able to retain what he tells them? Various techniques can be employed to facilitate learning.

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To start with all material needs to be structured
if the pupils are to acquire it efficiently. It needs
to be structured hierarchically in such a way that there
are ideally no more than five bits of information in
each level of the hierarchy. Notice that the acetate
sheet below taken from Bower et al,[6] is arranged
hierarchically in four levels. Notice also that there
are not more than five words at any one level. Such
organisation of material promotes learning and remember-
ing in a way that mixing up all the information would not.

MINERALS				
Metals			**Stones**	
Rare	Common	Alloys	Precious	Masonry
Platinum	Aluminium	Bronze	Sapphire	Limestone
Silver	Copper	Steel	Emerald	Granite
Gold	Lead	Brass	Diamond	Marble
	Iron		Ruby	Slate
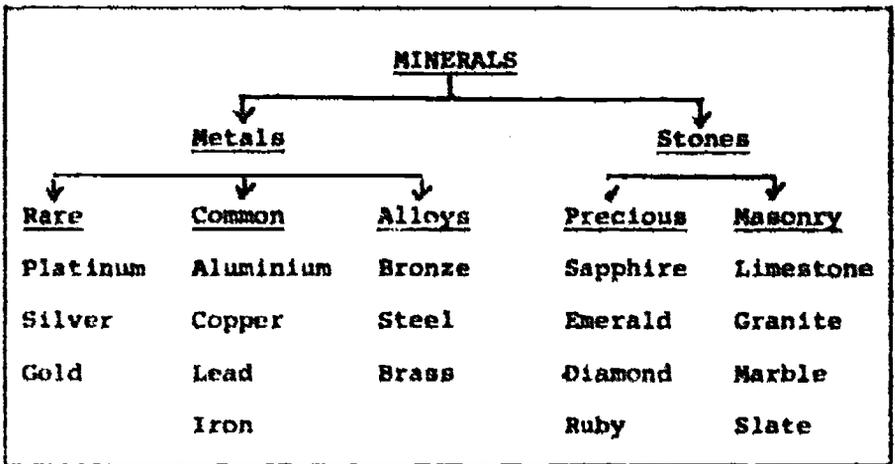
Past experience and knowledge of the subject should
be taken into account. For example, suppose we were
presented with the following Greek word on the overhead
projection screen:

κλοιλιος

Those who do not know Greek will only be able to look at
each letter in turn and try to remember each of them.
The eight letters above will, according to Miller and
Hunter, be at for near the limit of an adult's S.T.M.
However, by rehearsing these letters most adults who do

not know Greek could keep them alive in S.T.M. provided that they were not interrupted. The point to note is that the maximum amount this adult can take in at one go is one short Greek word.

If, on the other hand, a person knows Greek he, using a process of rehearsal, will be able to take in seven or eight unrelated Greek words at one go. If the words are related to each other in meaningful sentences suc⁴ a person might be able to take in three short Greek sentences at a go. These sentences might contain 150 or more Greek letters.

When words are grouped together as meaningful sentences it is possible to remember more than seven or so words at a go because groups of words form chunks in our perception (likewise with individual letters making up words). For example, an acetate sheet with

```
+-------------------------------------------------+
|                                                 |
|          ALL THE WORLD'S A STAGE          .      |
|                                                 |
|    THEY HAVE THEIR EXITS AND THEIR ENTRANCES    |
|                                                 |
+-------------------------------------------------+
```

has thirteen words on it but forms two cohesive chunks in perception. So, although Miller's Magical Number 7 ± 2^3 needs to be treated as a limiting factor on what we perceive at any one time, it is chunks of information which are the limiting factor, not the individual items.

This process of 'chunking' can be further expanded. If the words already have associations for a person they will trigger further words. If one's upbringing featured nursery rhymes, the three words 'Jack and Jill' may trigger the rest of the first verse:

Jack and Jill went up the hill
To fetch a pail of water.
Jack fell down and broke his crown
And Jill came tumbling after.

Notice that present recall depends on past experience.
An overhead projection sheet with 'Jack and Jill' on it
will elicit only the associations the perceiver has
acquired in the past. However, in our example above these
words have called forth 22 further words by association.
The same thing happens in the teaching of all subjects and
is an illustration of the current preoccupation with
'coding'.[7]

It is also important that the teacher uses appropriate
illustrations and therefore maximises the number of mental
associations his pupils will have with the subject in hand.
For example, a picture of a house will have many more
associations for an Irish child than a picture of a mud
hut. Obviously this may not be true in other countries. A
picture of a house is therefore a 'meaningful' image for
an Irish teacher to use on the projector. Such a teacher
has to draw up a list of these 'meaningful' images, making
sure that they are pertinent to his particular subject area.

The teacher has at his disposal various aids to memory
or techniques which he can employ in getting his message
across effectively. Once he has assured himself that his
material is well-structured and meaningful he can turn his
attention to the problem of ease of retention of that
material.

When people are told something or shown something
they tend to remember certain bits of it and forget the
rest. A process of levelling, sharpening, normalising and
restructuring tends to take place and this process is
known as the 'Law of Pragnanz'.[8]

How can the teacher ensure that the pupils zoom in on
the particular things he wishes them to? Firstly he

should keep the message simple and reduce the competing
stimuli to a minimum.   Secondly he should use the laws
stemming from the Law of Pragnanz as compiled by the
Gestalt psychologists Koffka, Wertheimer, Kohler, Wulf,
etc., viz.

(i) similarity;

(ii) closure; ·

(iii) common movement favouri·q grouping;

(iv) and others not included ·ere.[8]

The Gestalt psychologists' Law of Similarity is
based on the fact that similar objects tend to form groups
in perception. For example anyone who has studied book-
keeping for a time will ter.. to see such things as Land
and Buildings, Machinery and Plant, Motor Vehicles, etc.,
as being similar in that they are Fixed Assets.   Debtors
would not be similar as debtors are obviously a current
asset.   Therefore if I write the following list on the
overhead:

```
Stock
Motor Vehicles
'reditors
Profit'
Debtors
Bank overdraft
Machinery and plant
Cash
Land and buildings
Capital
```

to the trained accountant the list will tend to divide up
into four groups or patterns as follows:

_APITAL	FIXED ASSETS
Capital	Land and buildings
Profit.	Machinery and plant,
	Motor vehicles

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LIABILITIES

Creditors
Bank overdraft

CURRENT ASSETS

Stock
Debtors
Cash.

Notice that this list would not have been divided up in this way without past knowledge or experience declaring which items were similar. Only by the teacher or the textbook constantly affirming that in the context of the balance sheet these items go together does one come to recognise these particular similarities. Look at the list again. One could say that debtors and creditors are similar and therefore stand out from the list and so or. Similar items are determined by the context in which they are found. This has to be borne in mind by the teacher when using the law of similarity in the construction of visual aids.

The law of similarity also invokes a further psychological principle – that of reinforcement, already mentioned in connection with S.T.M. This is illustrated if I draw an acetate sheet with the following on it:

THE COMMON FACTOR BETWEEN

A CIRCLE

AN ELLIPSE

A HYPERBOLA

AND A PARABOLA

IS A CONE

CONE

CONE.

It would seem from the research that three repetitions is the optimum for any one word.

Closed areas more readily form units and are
therefore more easily remembered – this is the gist of
the Law of Closure. The layout of the acetate sheet below
provides an example of the application of this law:

```
+-----------------------------------------------+
|                                               |
|            SINE                               |
|          /    \              FORMULAE.         |
|       HYPERBOLA                               |
|                                 GRAPH          |
|       PARABOLA                                |
|         CIRCLE                                |
|                                 SURD           |
|         ELLIPSE                               |
|                                               |
|   INDICES                                     |
|                                               |
|        VARIATION               COSINE         |
+-----------------------------------------------+
```
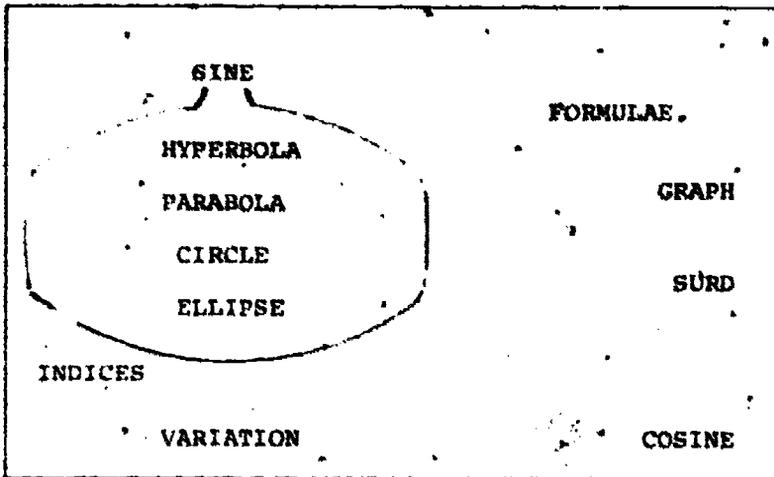
Notice that closure in the above is incomplete
complete closure being where a complete ring is drawn
round the material which you wish the audience to
concentrate on. Incomplete closure is better since it
sets up a tension within us.

An example of common movement favouring grouping
would be where acetate sheet (1) was superimposed over
acetate sheet (2). If acetate sheet (1) is now moved
around, the four words will stand out from the rest,
which they did not do before, and will therefore tend to
be remembered.

```
+-----------------------------------------------+
|          HYPERBOLA                            |
|               PARABOLA                        |
|                                               |
|   CIRCLE                          Accetate     |
|               ELLIPSE             Sheet (1)    |
+-----------------------------------------------+
```
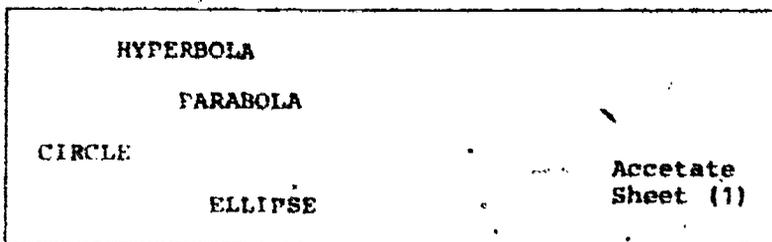
```
SINE                    INDICES

   .TANGENT             FORMULAE

COSINE

   FACTORS              SURD

GRAPH                                   Acetate
                                        Sheet (2)
SUBTRACTION             VARIATION
```

This procedure can be used when the teacher particul-
ary wishes a point to be remembered by the class, although
as with all techniques overuse will destroy much of the
effect.

In addition, the importance of rehearsal, mental
images, verbal mediators and pattern notes must be borne
in mind when making up acetate sheets.

Almost anything can be committed to L.T.M. by using
rehearsal. As a general teaching strategy it is a good
idea to repeat subject matter over and over again in
different ways, aiming to achieve a two-fold purpose.
Firstly the teacher must find a method which will allow
every member of the class to understand what he/she is
teaching (some methods suit some pupils and other methods
others) and secondly, by such rehearsal help the pupils
to remember. Material on the overhead projector can form
part of this strategy.

Where items to be learned can be imagined easily,
images are often used by subjects even though their use
has not been suggested by the experimenter. The value
of imagery when learning material is illustrated by an
experiment by Bower.[9] He told one group of subjects (the
experimental group) to form mental images linking
together the stimulus and response words of lists of
paired associates, e.g., sea - boat. The subjects were

shown five lists of twenty pairs of concrete nouns and were allowed five seconds to learn each pair. A control group was told merely to learn the lists. The results showed that subjects instructed to form images recalled 50 per cent more of the pairs than did the control group. If images help pupils remember then the teacher can help the pupil form these images himself in large numbers. It is likely that when the teacher shows something on the overhead projector he is presenting the pupil with an image. If the teacher's work is clear, logical and easy to read the pupil will be aided in acquiring an appropriate mental set for the particular aspect of the subject - if it is not, he won't.

What we have spoken of so far is concerned with 'passive' images - the teacher has made no direct move to arouse a particular image in the children's minds. This can, of course, be done and, provided that it is not overused, it can prove very helpful. For example, cartoons shown on the overhead projector can often be used to create a very powerful image in the mind of the viewer and can at same time incorporate several important points concerning the subject being taught.

An alternative strategy to forming images and using them directly is to incorporat these images into the formation of sentences, stories or merely a word or phrase which links together the items to be learned. This type of activity produces what is known as verbal mediators. These can be used, as can mnemonics, in a limited way on the overhead projector.

Pattern notes have been shown to improve retention of material. They work because they allow the learner to impose his own organisation on the material to be learned and thus form his own Gestalt or pattern out of it. The teacher can use the overhead projector to show how this can be done an example of a pattern note would be:

THE TREATMENT OF
DEPRECIATION

PHYSICAL
FACTORS

FUNCTIONAL
FACTORS

Wear and
Tear

Decay

Obsolescence

Destruction

Inadequacy

Caused
by use

Caused
by nature

Development
of a better
machine or
process

More pro-
duction is
required
than the
asset·can
give

This can
cause aarly
retirement
of the asset
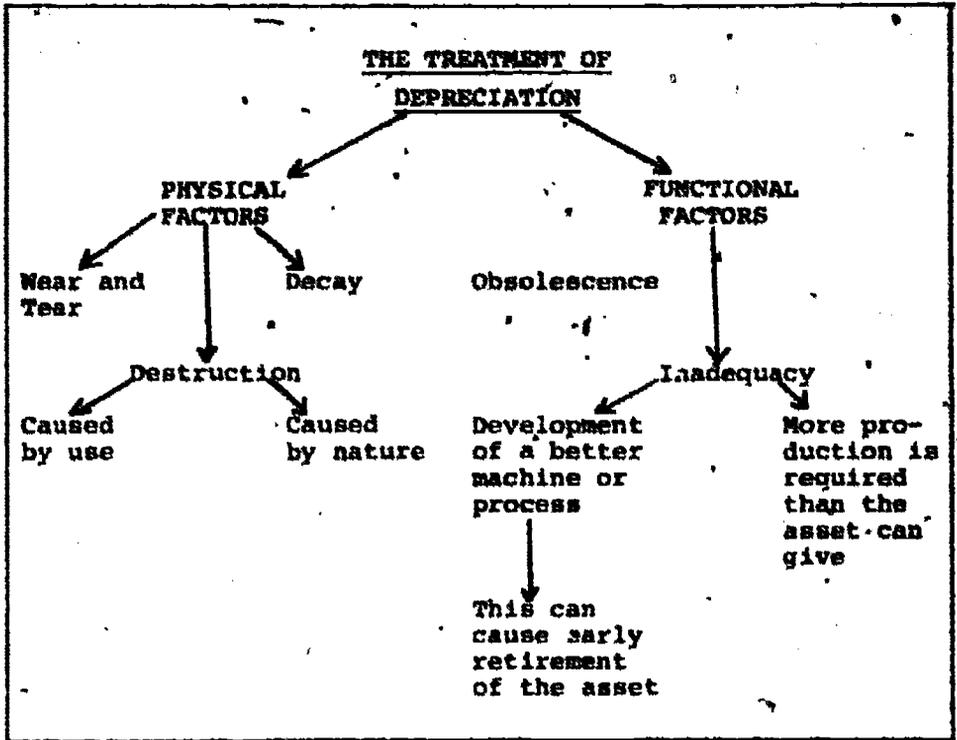
Buzan[10] suggests that pattern notes often need to be
supplemented or backed up with ordinary notes. However,
used properly, the pupil can construct a good set of
pattern notes which, at a glance, will call to mind the
main points he is trying to learn and thereby trigger off
a sequence of thought covering the whole area in question.

In conclusion, the use of the overhead projector
must be governed by a few basic rules. Material must be
structured, preferably hierarchically, and bearing in mind
Miller's Magical Number 7 ± 2. Previous learning should
be taken advantage of and appropriate images used to make
the material meaningful to the audience. Acetate sheets
should be uncluttered, the data on them being presented
clearly and concisely. Long lists should be broken down
into groups, certain important points should be reinforced
by repetition or by making them stand out from the rest

of the information by enclosing them. Pupils can be
presented with key images either in the form of individ-
ual words, phrases or sentences which will trigger off
further information in their minds. They can be shown
how to construct their wn pattern notes which will play
a vital role in effective study technique. Once the
teacher has mastered the skill of using the overhead
projector both he and his pupils will reap the benefits.

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RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLING AND THE EDUCATION
OF CHILDREN WITH IMPAIRED HEARING

Patrick McDonnell

Introduction

In Ireland children with impaired hearing are likely
to spend the greater part of their childhood and adolesc-
ence attending special schools. For substantial numbers
of these children this is schooling on a residential
basis. Out of a current special school population of
over 800 pupils, more than half are boarders.

Residential special schools are unlike other
boarding schools in several important respects. Firstly,
children are admitted at an exceptionally early age -
often before their fifth birthday. Secondly, attendance
at the special school extends over the pupil's whole
school life. Thirdly, the degree of voluntariness
attached to special schooling is relatively reduced.
Fourthly, special schools are characterised by educational
objectives not found in ordinary schools.

In this paper, I would like to look at residential
special schooling for children with impaired hearing under
three main headings:

1. An outline of the general characteristics
   of residential special schools.

2. Language development in a residential
   school context.

3. Pupils'/views on residential schooling.

Fundamental changes are taking place in the
education of children with impaired hearing. In conclusion,
therefore, I would like to examine the implications of
these changes for residential special schools.

General characteristics of residential special schools

Erving Goffman observed that there is a fundamental difference between an organisation devoted to the pursuit of war or the making of money and one which has as its purpose the task of caring for persons who are in some cases dependent and are taken into residence.[1] These latter institutions have two basic features. They have an encompassing or total character which tends to isolate the residents from the wider world. The work of such an institution has uniquely to do with people. Among his total institutions, Goffman included residential schools.

Residential schools for children with impaired hearing adhere closely in several respects to Goffman's model. There is firstly, a breakdown of the social arrangements customary in everyday life in that all aspects of the day's activities are conducted in the same place and under the same authority. In the residential school the children sleep, eat, work and play in the immediate company of groups of others.[2] Secondly, all phases of daily life are tightly scheduled and various enforced activities are brought together under a single rational plan ostensibly in pursuit of official aims of the school.[3] Thirdly, there often exists a degree of supervision that amounts to surveillance.[4] As Moss puts it, the essential quality of residential care is "its potential for full-time control".[5] A fourth characteristic of the residential school is the basic division between a managed group of children and a relatively smaller supervisory staff.[6]

In an organisational sense, residential institutions, including special schools, tend towards inertia and inflexibility.[7] One reason for this is the high financial cost of change or replacement. In addition, long established and influential patterns of management and administration give rise to sectional interests,

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resistent to change. These patterns are further
reinforced by intricate networks of tradition, values
and sentiment.[8]

Although possessing many general characteristics
in common, residential schools vary substantially from
one kind to another. Moss identifies two main and
contrasting types of residential institutions which
exist for the upbringing and schooling of children
deprived of the common pattern of home and school life.[9]
In one group he places approved schools, borstals,
special schools and hospitals which provide by and large
for children who are severely deprived or impaired
either socially or personally. In contrast, there are
boarding schools which might be described as privileged.
Children from working class homes are over-represented
in the former; children in the latter come predominantly
from professional or managerial backgrounds. . There is
also a marked contrast in terms of performance and
outcome between the two populations. Children who pass
through provision for the deprived or impaired tend to
show very low levels of school attainment. Children
from the other type of boarding school achieve high
levels of academic success and are abundantly represented
in further education and in the professions.

In common with boarding schools, residential special
schools can be seen as repositories of certain skills and
expertise as well as material and physical resources not
readily available to the family. Only in the milieu of
the school, it is argued, can the child acquire these
attitudes and aptitudes believed to be important for her/
his development.[10]   The influences exerted by both types
of school extend well outside the schools themselves.
There is, however, a significant difference in the
direction and possible consequences which these influences
assume in relation to the home. In the case of the

boarding school the influence extends from the home towards the school in that the school is intended to implement certain ends believed by the home to be desirable.[11]   In the case of residential schools for children with impaired hearing, the influence travels in the opposite direction in that the school attempts to guide and direct behaviour in the home towards ends believed by the school to be desirable.[12]   This constitutes a source of potential conflict since very young children are usually involved and the directives of the school may infringe on what are ordinarily areas of parental responsibility, questions of child rearing and upbringing.

Furthermore, the particular conclusions of experts may run counter to the intuitive understanding of parents.   The 1972 report on the education of children with impaired hearing stresses: "The role of the family . . . in the pre-school training of hearing impaired children is a formidable one.   The average parent who has no previous experience of hearing impairment cannot undertake this training effectively without encouragement, support and guidance.[13]   If, however, the advice of the experts is questioned or rejected, parents may be designated as inadequate, unaccepting or even disturbed. This is all the more dangerous as the parents are likely to feel vulnerable and at a disadvantage.   Harper remarks that what is written on the role of parents in the child's life is often presented "in the form of instruction rather than information" and adds that it is not unknown for experts to resort to obstructive tactics when their intimations conflict with the views of parents.[14]

Parential anxiety, too, is likely to be very acute in situations where extremely young and vulnerable children are placed in a residential school. For parents the school may be a relatively unknown and threatening

quantity. Neither are parents likely to get much assistance if they turn to the books seeking objective information on the residential aspects of special schooling.

Research in this area is relatively sparse and the findings of such studies as have been conducted must be interpreted with extreme caution.[15] Attempted assessments of personality and feeling imply some assumptions about what good adjustment is and whether it can be accurately measured. Because of communication and linguistic difficulties, the particularly hazardous nature of measuring the social and emotional adjustment of individuals with impaired hearing has to be emphasised. Finally, where there is evidence of maladjustment it is not always possible to say whether it is a consequence of hearing loss or whether it can be attributed to residential experiences.

With these reservations in mind, it is however, useful to outline the general findings that have been reported in research. In their investigation, Quigley and Frisina found no significant differences between residential pupils and day pupils in terms of psycho-educational development.[16] They concluded that "institutionalisation" did not have any apparent adverse effects on the pupils in their study and suggest three reasons why this might be so. The children are not admitted to residential schools until after the age of five. They were encouraged to return home at regular intervals. Finally, the child with impaired hearing may feel less isolated emotionally and intellectually in a community of hearing impaired people. Two further studies seem to reinforce this last point. Fisher and Farrugle and Austin reported that hearing impaired pupils attending ordinary schools were experiencing some degree of emotional stress.[17] On the other hand, Rodda, in his

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general study of the British school leaver, found no
evidence to show that any one type of school was better
at preventing maladjustment in the kind of pupil for
which it catered.[18]

However, several studies have indicated that
residential living has negative effects on social
development and on speech intelligibility.[19] These two
factors are probably associated with the restricted
opportunities of residential pupils to function in the
wider world outside the school. It is this aspect of
residential schooling which I would like to examine next.

Residential schooling and the development of language

Children acquire the language of their environment
with remarkable ease and rapidity, even in the face of
dramatic handicaps.[20] In addition even very young
children develop an awareness of different acts of
language and that different linguistic forms are
appropriately used in different situations.[21] In most
countries school-going age normally coincides with the
time in children's lives when they have mastered the
grammatical forms of their language.[22]

Among the very few exceptions to these general
rules are children with profoundly or severely impaired
hearing. In the case of these children a conscious and
formal strategy is employed in enabling them to acquire
or develop a language. The implementation of this
strategy has been identified as the central task in
their schooling.[23] Unlike the hearing child or the deaf
child of parents who use sign language, the majority of
children with profound hearing impairment are unlikely
to have mastered the grammatical forms of any language,
oral or sign, before they enter school. The primary goal
of educational programmes in special schools is therefore

the establishment of an easy and fluent system of communication which in turn will provide the foundation upon which the secondary language systems of reading and writing can be developed.[24]

Despite the fact that individuals with impaired hearing display the same range of intellectual abilities as their hearing counterparts,[25] numerous British, American and European studies agree that they perform less well in tasks that involve a standard linguistic component.[26] The overall picture of the hearing impaired pupil's achievement in school is one of very limited performance in oral communication and low levels of attainment in reading and writing. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that such findings have given rise to heated debate particularly with regard to teaching methods currently employed in the schools.[27]

In Ireland the majority of pupils with impaired hearing are placed in schools where oral methods of communication* predominate and where the declared primary object is to facilitate the acquisition and development of oral language in the pupils.[28] On teacher training courses oral communication techniques are the only ones taught at length. The question then arises as to how a strictly oral methodology can remain tenable in view of the failure of so many pupils to acquire adequate linguistic skills.

Many oralists hold that the system which they advocate ". . . has not as yet had a fair chance to succeed".[29] It has been argued that there are ". . . few schools in which oral communication inside and outside of the classroom is consistently maintained."[30] There is a shortage of teachers with special training as well as a

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*Oral communication implies communication between the hearing and the hearing impaired and among the hearing impaired themselves by means of speech and speechreading supplemented by amplified sound.

high turnover of teachers with special qualifications.[31]
Early diagnosis and assessment of hearing loss is neither
universal nor efficient.[32]   Equipment is often outdated
and servicing arrangements leave much to be desired.[33]
Morris, however, points out that extremely low standards
have existed in special schools for decades and that
relative improvements in equipment, training of personnel,
parent guidance and assessment procedures do not appear
to have altered the situation.[34]   In this debate one area
of crucial significance has been more or less ignored -
the influence exerted on language usage by the environ-
ment of the special school, in particular by the
environment of the residential special school.

Special schooling on a residential basis involves
gathering into one place large numbers of children who
have not mastered an auditory-vocal channel of communic-
ation. In these circumstances, children will have to
resort to other than vocal channels of communication in
order to understand and be understood. Well-documented
evidence suggests that this is exactly what they do.[35]
The urge to communicate obliges hearing impaired children,
often in the face of adult disapproval and hostility, to
construct gestural linguistic systems or to surreptit-
iously acquire a sign language from peers.[36]   The
existence of non-vocal linguistic systems has been
observed even in programmes which formally pursue
strictly oral methods.[37]   It has been suggested that these
systems are generally highly organised and rule governed
to a point where they must be considered as functioning
in a symbolic way for the users.[38]

Several areas of conflict arise out of this
situation. Firstly, there is a serious divergence
between the official communicating system of the school
and the private system of the pupils. Secondly, divergent
language usage implies divergent sets of norms and values

which underlie all communitative interaction.[39] Pupils,
for example, may be able to use oral language in certain
situations, but they may choose not to;[40] speech may not
be appropriate in the situation as perceived and
categorised by the pupils. Thirdly, pupils' identities
and self-esteem may be invested in a gesture or a sign
system which they use in their interactions with those
who share their difficulties.[41] Indeed, pupils of all
ages in special schools for the hearing impaired tend to
use sign language as the preferred channel of communicat-
ion in their private conversations.[42] Finally, the
negative impact on the development of communicative
competence must be considerable if one method of
communication is enforced and the other ignored or
actually suppressed.

It must be emphasised that the point here is _not_
that oral communication is impossible for children with
impaired hearing. It is that if the objective of special
schooling is the development of oral language only, then
there are important aspects of the special school setting
that are likely to make this exercise a frustrating or
self-defeating one for both pupils and school authorities.
Alternatively, if special schooling is to be preserved
then it seems logical to argue that the legitimacy on a
wider scale of some form of sign language must be
recognised.

The issue of linguistic environment is of relatively
greater significance in the case of residential pupils
who spend most of their time in the special school setting.
The final section of this paper is devoted to a closer
examination of institutional experiences among residential
pupils, from the pupils' point of view.

Residential schooling - the pupils' view

The effects of residential institutions on individuals has been a major concern of research among children who are deprived of the common pattern of home and school life. However, as I have pointed out already, relatively few studies appear to be concerned with the residential aspects of special schools catering for children with impaired hearing. A reason for this may be the fact that residential schooling has long been the accepted norm for the majority of children.

One recent study set out to obtain a pupil perspective on key areas of experience in a special school for children with impaired hearing.[43] Sixty residential and day pupils from the post-primary section of a school were interviewed and one major concern of the research was to investigate several aspects of experience that were likely to impinge in a special way upon the out-of-school lives of boarders. These were:

    1. Routine

    2. Block treatment

    3. Privacy

    4. Social distancing.

In this paper it is possible only to outline the main findings of this research.

With regard to routine, the residential lives of pupils were characterised by a considerable degree of regimentation. The pupils, however, did not always consider this to be especially oppressive. Attitudes depended on the nature of the activity being pursued: regulations were liked if they were associated with valued objectives. Rules governing study period, for example, were well-liked, probably because of the association with passing examinations, an objective highly regarded by the pupils.

Of course, not all routine activities were consid-
ered to be gainful. Rules governing recreation were
disliked where, perhaps, greater freedom of choice was
desired. High levels of discontent were expressed about
the regulations governing meals and bedtimes and the
consequences of being unable to comply with these were
perceived to be significantly unpleasant.

Finally, there was a marked neutral or non-committal
response to several enforced activities. Pupils either
did not experience institutional control as oppressive in
these areas or they were resigned to it. Neutral
attitudes may have their origin in a realistic acquiescence
to residential life: restrictions are perceived and
experienced but the individual feels powerless to alter
the situation and tries to make the best of it.

Block treatment is a key factor of residential life
and it typically involves subordination of individual
needs to the exigencies of the group schedule. The
difference between the lives of day pupils and the lives
of residential pupils was nowhere as sharply evident as
in the individual's influence over the choice and
preparation of food. At home the family can cater for the
individual palate; in the institution the collective
taste dominates. It is hardly surprising, therefore,
that the adaptations which residential pupils had to make
in this regard were the source of exceptionally high
levels of resentment.

Concerning residential pupils, the 1972 report on
the education of children with impaired hearing emphasised
the need "to reproduce as far as possible the conditions
of the good home".[44] Almost ten years later more than
two-thirds of the residential pupils interviewed, reported
being placed in dormitory type accommodation (more than
six beds to a room).[45]

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Block treatment involves supervision to ensure that
organisation and movement of individuals comply with
institutional regulations. Residential pupils experienced
an extensive degree of supervision and, by implication, a
very circumscribed degree of personal privacy. Super-
vision was a particularly pervasive feature of the
experience of younger pupils. The vast majority of these
pupils believed it was against school regulations for
pupils to be alone.

The issue of supervision has particular connotations
in special schools for children with impaired hearing. In
order to ensure that only approved modes of communication
are used by pupils, school authorities sometimes enforce
what must be regarded as continuous surveillance. In such
situations, pupils may have neither social nor personal
privacy.

Another implication of supervision is the basic split
that follows between those who supervise and those who are
expected to comply. Social mobility between the two
groups is severely restricted. An important factor here
is the manner in which social distance is prescribed and
maintained.

There were considerable limitations to the movements
of residential pupils within the school. Locked doors
were a common feature of their everyday lives. Social
distance was maintained by the absence of participating
adults at meal times. During leisure periods, on the
other hand, adults were perceived to be present in a
supervisory capacity; supervisors joined in games and
helped with homework but they also "watched for trouble".
Structural and administrative characteristics of the
school, therefore, served to sustain the basic divide
between staff and pupils.

To sum up, then, not all aspects of residential life
in the special school were equally disagreeable, not did

pupils react identically when the adaptations they were
required to make were the same. For some pupils
residential special schooling was perceived to be gainful
insofar as it facilitated the attainment of desired
educational objectives and the establishment of contact
and friendship among children who might otherwise feel
geographically or socially isolated. This is not, of
course, an argument for residential schooling. Rather it
reveals how conditions, which in ordinary circumstances
might be deemed oppressive, are not in fact felt as such.
And a further point must be made: public awareness of the
problems and difficulties consequent upon loss of hearing
may leave the child with no alternative but to seek
companionship in the special school.

Finally, the conditions perceived by pupils in the
study I have been quoting, were considerably removed from
the home-like environment recommended in the report, "The
Education of Children who are Handicapped by Impaired
Hearing". In almost every instance the daily out-of-school
lives of boarders diverged substantially from those of day
pupils. Thus, while children have to adjust to the
institutional features of the residential school environ-
ment with or without disaffection, procedures character-
ised by routine, regimentation and supervision are hardly
adequate ". . . to prepare them to develop their abilities
to the highest possible level, to help them to live as
independent members of the community and to offer them
stimulus and opportunity for cultural enrichment of
their lives."[46]

Conclusion

Many countries have seen a marked shift away from
residential schooling.[47] In Britain the movement towards
mainstreaming has been most noticeable among children with
impaired hearing.[48] In the mid-1960s residential schools

in the U.S. lost their former status as the major
enroller of students to various forms of day programmes.[49]
The characteristics of the residential school population
have also changed. Firstly, there is now a trend for
younger pupils to be enrolled in day programmes and for
increasing numbers of day programme students to switch
to residential schools for adolescence, probably because
of the greater resources there for vocational and academic
post-primary curricula.[50] Secondly, the more severe the
hearing impairment the more likely is the pupil to be
placed in a residential school.[51] More and more children
with partially or post-lingually impaired hearing are
being accommodated in ordinary schools. Thirdly, because
of the greater survival rate of hearing impaired children
at birth and during infancy, special schools will be
concerned with larger numbers of pupils with additional
disabilities.[52]

    There is no doubt that in Ireland too, the patterns
of special schooling are changing. The 1972 report
advocated the expansion of the two largest residential
schools and had grave doubts about the benefits of
establishing schools in provincial centres.[53] Since then,
however, two provincial schools (in Cork and Limerick)
have been established and there is a strong possibility
that others will follow. At post-primary level, special
facilities for hearing impaired pupils have been
incorporated into the Bishopstown Community School in
Cork. It is also likely that similar models will be
required in other parts of the country.

    Ideally, one would argue, children with impaired
hearing are best educated alongside their hearing peers.
Nevertheless, the poor school experience of so many
children with neither physical nor mental disabilities
suggests that successful placement of children with
impaired hearing in ordinary schools will depend upon
careful planning and the provision of adequate resources

and satisfactory support services. While criticism of
the assumptions and practices of special schooling has
been implicit in this paper, I am not claiming that
residential special schools have no place in an overall
school system. I am arguing that residential facilities
must be improved and communication methods reassessed to
cater for the current and future needs of pupils.

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'OPEN CURRICULA' FOR AN 'OPEN SOCIETY'

Jim Callan

INTRODUCTION

The Socio-Economic Context: The Old-Order is Breaking

A central thesis in my paper is that schooling as we know it needs a radical re-orientation, a radical re-structuring both in its organisational structures and in its understanding of what constitutes educational pro-grammes. There is nothing sacred about the way we currently perceive schools. They, like other social instit-utions are products of a particular historical period and like other social institutions require significant changes with changing circumstances. To-day young people live in a highly sophisticated technological culture; they live in a society that it becoming more open-minded and in which relative value systems are becoming more apparent and acceptod. Irish Society is becoming more democratic.

To plan for the future is a difficult and audacious task. While we can see what is happening, we cannot say where we are going or want to go. What we see happening at the moment is the exhaustion of eighteenth and nine-teenth century's notions by which we have lived, worked, related to one another, believed. There is a withdrawal of beliefs and practices from the established order - as is evidenced, for example, in recent surveys on religious beliefs and practices in our country; people are coming to insist that their new sense of importance of their own experiences and of the reality of their relationships to one another, to society and to the earth, be reflected in the way society works.

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With the present unemployment situation we are
witnessing, not just a passing phase due to an economic
recession. A significant factor in rising unemployment
is the emergence of new technological modes of production.
Over 54,000 young people (i.e. under 25 years) are
unemployed (January figure). What can be offered to them
is not at all clear. It would seem that while there is a
need to stem the tide of unemployment by way of making
present industries more efficient and by developing in
young people the kinds of skills needed in potential
growth industrial sectors, in addition, however, some more
radical alterations need to be found which imply a
different conception of 'work' and 'wealth distribution',
i.e. that economic problems will not be solved by economic
means alone.

An essential task for to-day's generation is to look
critically at some of the underlying values and assumpt-
ions in our society, our organisations and ourselves to
find a new sense of direction, a new social consensus and
a new basis for organising and managing our institutions.
In our case this clearly implies educational institutions.

OPEN CURRICULA

In a democratic society in which open-mindedness and
relativity of values are the Hallmark, where diversity of
student interests, backgrounds, motivation are evident;
where opportunities for working and creating must be
sought out and not expected to be passed on, educational
institutions must become more open in their form of
organisation and in the diversity of programmes on offer.

Accordingly I use the term open curricula to imply a
number of events which I believe should emerge in our
thinking about and implementing educational programmes.

In the first place I use the term curriculum to refer more to the activity of experiencing rather than the content of experience. This is an important distinction and is crucial when considering what I am proposing.

By 'open' I imply a number of things:

1. Open in the sense of broadening our understanding of knowledge and accordingly what we understand by the concept educational programmes (as distinct from other kinds of programmes).

2. Following from 1, that educational programmes be more diverse in character, i.e. that they help different pupils develop different competencies. This requires that a variety of courses be designed to ensure that each pupil is able to develop his unique potential. This is my understanding of equality of educational opportunity. Learning is individual and unless it meets a pupil's need, desire, curiosity or fantasy nothing is learned effectively. Unless there is a reaching 'from within', learning cannot become 'second-nature'.

3. That conative and affective aspects of our personal make-up be given more educational worth/ recognition.

4. That teaching-learning situations be conducted in an 'open' democratic environment and that teachers perceive their role as encompasing researching skills both in relation to how they handle knowledge and how they come to develop learning strategies.

In addressing these issues I am conscious of such factors as teachers' expectations, schools' values, parental expectations, trends in industrial development and ideological shifts. It is not intended to present a

blueprint for future education programmes - curriculum
planning in action is a much more complicated task than
simply drawing up means to a clearly identified end.
They are, rather 'directions' as to where I believe, we
ought to focus our attention.

Towards a Broader Concept of Educational Programmes

A more open view of what reasoning is, is required.
In our education system reason is regarded as the ability
of the human mind to grasp, manipulate and seek out
necessary connections between ideas. In this sense, reason
is scientific abstraction dealing with either formal
symbols created by the mind or empirical data viz., the
only cognitively meaningful statements are one which are
either true by definition - i.e. analytically true - or
empirically verifiable. The general, the universal, the
abstract, and the public facts of the exterior world have
come to dominate educational processes in our schools.
They have been concerned primarily with intellectual
operations the goal of which is knowledge of true propos-
itions or facts. Its assumption:

> "to be rational was to be able to
> recognise truths and the connection
> between them"   - Gilbert Ryle.[1]

However, as Gilbert Ryle has shown, what constitutes
intelligent practice is not necessarily an intellectual
operation. "Intelligent practice is not a step-child of
theory". What schools should be more centrally concerned
with is the development of intelligent living which may
or may not be intellectually (i.e. propositional theory)
oriented.

Thus, for example, one can help young people to
respond intelligently and creatively to social issues
which confront them. Social education can be as demanding

in terms of requiring intelligent responses as traditional
scholarship. There is nothing sacrosanct about the place
of traditional subjects on a curriculum: they simply
represent one mode of developing one's understanding about
the world around them. It is not necessarily the best
mode; increasingly, it is becoming an irrelevant mode for
curriculum design; because of their incompleteness as a
map of human culture and their strongly intellectualistic
character.

In ordinary life to-day, and it would seem moreso in
the future - considering present trends in our value
system and present employment patterns, people are more
concerned with their own competencies than with their
cognitive repertoires, with procedures than with the
truths they learn. These competencies such as the ability
to learn on one's own, independence, being inventive, a
sense of responsibility, are legitimate and desirable
educational (and not only methodological) goals), which
in my view should receive primary focus in very different
learning contexts than we currently practice. The school's
role will have to change. Instead of being primarily
purveyors of knowledge they should concentrate on helping
pupils develop competencies. The emphasis in the learning
would be on procedures i.e. the kinds of learning situ-
ations constructed, the kinds of learning experiences the
students are exposed to. It means the development, for
example, of various problem identification processes,
problem-solving processes; placing an emphasis on the
teaching of interesting puzzle forms which are useful for
converting troubles into problems.

What clearly is needed is a sense of how to construct
these kinds of learning situations, for example, how to
convert chaotic situations into manageable problems. The
education system, accordingly, needs to become much more
open to on-going action-research programmes or innovative

research programmes. _Action research programmes_ or
innovative research programmes should address themselves
to helping teachers obtain a clearer understanding of the
nature of such competencies as initiative, self-reliance
and of problem-solving process. Certain questions need
to be answered:

> Are academically weak students unlikely to
> be good at anything or do they possess other
> talents which schools could help them
> develop?

> What is the range of competencies teachers
> should have in mind when considering how
> they can help pupils develop to their full
> potential?

> What kind of learning situations need to be
> provided for developing these competencies?

The curriculum innovation work that has been occurr-
ing in the two curriculum centres in Shannon and Dublin
in the are: of alternative learning procedures should be
further encouraged and developed. Such programmes as
Community Based Learning, Miniatire Student Companies and
Youth Enterprises Shannon provide students with opportun-
ities for developing a wide range of competencies and
outside school experiences. In the context of national
industrial development, for which educational establish-
ments have some responsibility, such programmes are very
desirable. The recent Telesis Report (commissioned by
the National Social and Economic Council), the reports
from the N.B.S.T. scheme of linking universities with
developing industries, Research from the Irish Management
Institute, all identify the need for the development of
indigenous Irish owned industries which require not only
research and development skills but also skills in
marketing, selling, etc.. In evaluation-research work in

which I was engaged, I spoke with a number of employers
who have usually employed young people at 15 years.
They indicate that due to increased technological means
of production and the rising cost per unit of production,
the opportunities for young people have become fewer.
Also in recession, employers tend to prefer older applic-
ants. What is changing, then, is the concept of vocat-
ional education and academic education or general
education. We will need to prepare individuals not for
the performance of routine activities that can be done
with great skill and precision by devices. Manual skills
requirements are replaced by researching/developing skills.
The skills of recourcefulness, creativeness, self-reliance
are at a premium for living and working today. Themes,
issues, topics, whether on social, economic, political,
religious institutions, can be addressed within a critical
perspective. Teachers in schools should leave the realm
of neutrality and objectivity: in a situation where old
habits are dying, we cannot afford the luxury of passive,
uncommitted and increasingly irrelevant institutions in
which young people are not being challenged to develop
their potential on social, economic or moral issues which
affect them. Schools have a social role to play, which
to-day means: re-structuring, re-creating a culture.

Work-situations and modes of economic operations
could be examined as could the value systems and norms
of conduct, i.e. patterns of social meaning ought to be
critically and creatively explored. Social and political
institutions, social and political policy, likewise. The
emphasis should be on processes of enquiry, analysis,
pupil participation in practical/creative activities in a
spirit of reflective action. Let pupils develop competen-
cies in tasks which they perceive to be significant.
Projects in conservation, urban renewa_, community radio,
local newsletters, community theatres, these present oppor-
tunities for young people to develop a number of competencies.

This is not an exercise in subversive activity aimed at
endangering the security of the State but rather in
mobilising personal skills and knowledge in the interest
of conviction that change is imperative. It is to
believe, moreover, that the educational tasks which
schools take responsibility for in our communities,
promote value-inquiry rather than imprinting values. In
this students can experience a sense of freedom which is
the only way towards authentic citizenship; verbal moral-
ising philosophising does not have the same educational
effect.

What I am saying involves a vast change in our
thinking about the role of the school in society, our
understanding of knowledge and the development of intell-
igence. At the moment, our schools are not only intell-
ectually oriented, but their representation of subject
knowledge is dubious and even invalid. As Bernstein has
noted:

> "For the many socialisation into
> knowledge is socialisation into
> order, the existing order, into
> the experience that the world's
> educational knowledge is
> impermeable." 2

But if in teaching science or history or any subject, the
emphasis was on developing students capacities to find
out truths for themselves and their ability to organise
and explore them when discovered, such procedures could
afford opportunities to students of "learning ways of
dealing with givens, connecting things, processing
unrelated things.." (Bruner).[3]

Pro-Active/Creative Living

With the development of student competencies on
tasks which have a social significance, or even in a more

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discipline-based approach in subject teaching, students
will have a more creative approach to living and respond-
ing to their environment. The young person will not be
in awe of or feel submerged in the presence of encyclo-
paedic knowledge.' Knowledge is something that one does
something with - to oneself, to others, to society. More-
over it affords the students an opportunity to appreciate
that knowledge is a human achievement developed by people
who were grounded in experience as the student is.
Educational processes have an opportunity to embody a
powerful and coherent vision of man and students as
meaning makers (by being inventive, expressive, presistent).

Education and Personal Identity

A challenge to educational policy-makers and admin-
istrators and others is to ensure that as society becomes
more geared to technological requirements, it is essential
that it (i.e. society) does not become alienated intern-
ally or emotionally flat. Becoming technically efficient
does not necessarily imply that we become dead personally.

There is cause for some concern, however, that this
may be happening. For example it is evident that
computer analogies are invading psychology and philosophy:
the human mind is 'data processing', knowledge and
emotions are 'programmed'. More disturbing, however, are
the ill-effects which unemployment has on those who have
been cast into thi- category. Their sense of human
dignity suffers when they have been placed outside the
realm in which values and meanings are assigned: they
are exiled from full-humanity. The forthcoming European
Values Study Report shows, for example, that the
unemployed group in Ireland "will increasingly develop a
strong collective consciousness generally hostile to the

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more settled elements in society"\ (Other reports show
the ill-effects of unemployment; sickness, suicides..).

Other examples of man's inhumanity to man can be
seen in the escalating spiral of 'weapons technology'
where man's 'technical reason' works away at creating
nuclear monsters which threaten all life; he also works
away at creating pills for the prevention of anxiety and
for the replacement of what an earlier age called hope.

Bearing these things in mind, I am reminded of what
Gerald Vann, O.P. wrote about the challenge to education:

> "...in these days we have to struggle
> consciously to learn what other ages
> learnt unconsciously the deep lessons
> of nature... that the first thing is
> to receive and accept, to lay open the
> mind and heart to reality and let it
> flood in and take possession."

What I interpret this to imply is that educational
(learning) experiences be also concerned with the
particular, the concrete, the idiosyncratic, the exper-
iential, the personal. In the absence of such personal
and experiential learning process students while perhaps
having knowledge have no wisdom, ideas but no feelings,
techniques but poor in convictions. The educational world
in its scramble for the examination marks, the degrees,
diplomas, has meant that the evaluative system has placed
an emphasis on attaining states of knowledge rather than
ways of knowing or experiencing. This is not the road ·
to a deep and vivid culture. Accordingly, the arts in
whatever form - literary, visual, the art of cooking,
the art of love (eros, philia, agape) the art of movement;
dance, drama, mime, - must be taken out of the context of ·
an intellectual pursuit and be pursued more in a context
which is personally, and spiritually relevant to our
young people. Such developments will necessitate the
development of a sense of standards, i.e. the development
of different means/modes of assessing students' growth

and achievement. The emergence and development of these standards can take place in the context of teacher development action-research programmes.

Observers to classrooms - researchers and guests - have identified, for example, a certain hostility on the part of students towards poetry. This is explained, in part, by the fact that poetry is being forced on them as something that it isolated from their own lives, their own experiences. Students are not encouraged to use these elements in their own appreciation of poetry. Consequently, poetry is treated as something alien. If pop-songs -"the folk memories in the making - were harnessed: the emotions, feelings, etc., which they express - they could provide a strong educational force in the classroom. Modes of individual expression and creativity can be greatly released in a context which students can relate to and are motivated to respond to. Teachers will have to accept the personal, idiosyncratic character of artistic expression: they provide a useful framework for the education of emotions, feelings and also for stimulating wonder, mystery and developing a sense of the intrinsic significance of being. Words in poetry invite us, not to 'think about' and judge but to 'feel into' or 'become' - to realise a complex experience in words. Coupled with a more personal and experiential focus in the arts I would like to see other alternative educational programmes being explored to facilitate the conative and affective dimension in our personal development. Possible features of such an educational programme are focused on by Sam Keen[5] and some of them are referred to below:

1. should not our educational establishments
   provide students with time to develop inner
   silence, to cultivate the ability to let
   things happen. Meditation exercises, whether
   of Eastern or Western tradition could provide
   some ideas on techniques and content.

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2. our classrooms focus on teaching minds and
   not bodies. I believe that experiences
   and understandings designed to generate
   understandings of the integration between
   body, mind and the world should be encouraged.
   We need to sensitise ourselves to our bodily
   existence - exercises such as awareness
   through movement, i.e. psychophysical
   exercises which can facilitate the body/mind
   relationship. Respect for bodily existence -
   man is a being-in-the-world, not an idea or
   notional existence is an important educational
   perspective. It may well be, for example,
   that a democratic society can only survive in
   a sensitive milieu (the body politic: personal
   and public).

     "The new demands are not for sex but love,
     not for new tyrants but for participatory
     democracy, not for a greater share of the
     wealth but for a more caring society." 6

   Ensuring that the unemployed, for example, are
   not condemned to an impoverished environment will
   require a more caring and sensitive society.
   Economic policies alone cannot ensure this.

3. respect and care for the earth: man's natural
   habitat is the focus of concern for many so-called
   dissident groups around the globe to-day. Now
   we are polluting our natural resources reflects a
   philosophy of existence in which we have become
   technological adverturers conquering a hostile
   environment. There is a need to cultivate
   attitudes such as wondering, contemplating towards
   modest objects - natural or fabricated. Plato,
   for example, insisted that love had a ladder of
   ascent whose lowest rung was a simple object.

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4. Respect for simple objects can facilitate
   respect for other persons. While no technique
   can produce friendship certain therapeutic
   techniques can remove barriers which prevent
   intimacy. Role-playing and psychodrama can
   encourage empathy and compassion.

5. The management and resolution of conflict, i.e.
   developing alternative ways of dealing with
   anger, conflict and competition - the ability
   to enter into "loving combat" (Jasper). Some
   new techniques are being developed that allow
   students to participate as decision-makers in
   simulated international and national crises.
   These can assist in students appreciating
   different perspectives.

   Treating of these conative/affective dimensions
   is giving recognition that it is persons who
   are educated for maximum vividness of life.
   Each person must find in the educational process
   something beyond the penmanship and grammer of
   his culture that gives him a name, a place, a
   commitment.

Teacher Pupil Relationships: In an 'Open' Environment

Power is a problem for all of us. We live in a
society which is very conscious of a hierarchic order -
whether in political life or in the life of the Church.
The development of an open democratic style of relation-
ships presents us with the problem of abandoning the
authoritarian use of power and of providing workable
alternatives.

Schools, no less than other social and political and
administrative institutions, need to explore the provisions

of alternative styles of relationships between teachers
and pupils. In how many of our schools can students
question teachers' decisions? Is not a central function
of teaching in schools controlling the pupils or keeping
them in control? Is this the best preparation for
democratic decision-making?

An open environment, as articulated and practised
by Kohl (The Open Classroom), is one in which the teacher
gives up his/her power, learns to listen to pupils, to be
led by their interests and needs, and learns from the
experience of pupils.

It is difficult for such a pedagogy to be practised
in a society in which hierarchical structures dominate.
But as I mentioned at the outset of this paper, increas-
ingly there is a move among people to question existing
hierarchic institutions and to demand a more participative
style of leadership (results from religious survey support
this observation). As Bruner has pointed out:

> "... the educator who formulates
> pedagogical theory without regard to
> the political, economic and social
> setting of an educational process
> courts triviality and merits being
> ignored in the community and in the
> classroom." 7

While Bruner was speaking in the context of new innovat-
ions, I use his quotation to suggest that the danger he
refers to applies equally to outdated pedagogical
practice. Relationships between teachers and pupils must
move with the spirit of emerging democratic aspirations.
Schools should assist this process by way of negotiating
with students on what to learn and how to learn.

<u>Innovative Research: The Paradigm for Educational</u>
<u>Development</u>.

Dr. Margaret Mead once wrote:

"... those students who have devoted
themselves to studying cultures as
wholes ... can make the following
contribution ... implement plans for
altering our present culture by
recognising the importance of includ-
ing the Social Scientist within his
experimental material and by recognis-
ing that working toward defined ends
we commit ourselves to the manipulation
of persons and therefore to the negation
of democracy. Only by working in terms
of values which are limited to defining
a direction is it possible for us to use
scientific methods in the control of the
process without the negation of the
moral autonomy of the human spirit." 8

To those in political life and social scientists these
recommendations will be strange since they tend to see
human affairs patterned upon purpose, means and ends.
What she suggests is that we look for the direction,
and 'values' implicit in the means, rather than looking
ahead to a blueprinted goal, i.e. to find the value of
a planned act implicit in and simultaneous with the act
itself, not separate from it in the sense that the act
would derive its value from reference to a future goal.

What I have outlined here are directions - the
complexity really arises at attempts to develop educat-
ional processes within the ideological frame implicit
in what I have suggested. Attempts to realize these
aspirations requires not an intellectual acknowledgement
of the rightness or otherwise of them but a public
(political) commitment to action. It has not been the
purpose of this paper to examine or analyse strategies
for innovations. I believe this issue deserves some
public discussion. As is implied in Dr. Mead's statement
change in social life is dependent on people's values;

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the means used to bring change about requires the
innovator to respect and to work with those values. In
that sense planning curriculum change is a matter of
planning with teachers, parents, employers more than
for them. It is not a blueprint exercise.

* More specifically, this will cast the teacher in the
role of an innovative researcher. The model for curric-
ulum innovation which I regard as most meaningful is one
in which it places the teacher in the situation of
systematically analysing events in class; engages in more
hypothesis-making and prediction, in order to generate
more understanding about particular teaching situations.
Innovative Research of this kind is premised on the belief
that teachers can do good research if they have the support
of people with time to give and expertise to share.
(University Departments of Education have a crucial role
to play in this regard both in terms of teacher develop-
ment and teacher education for student-teachers.) This is
a developmental style of innovation premised on the belief
that we cannot 'produce' solutions or blueprints to
complex educational problems. We can only aim to embark
on a line of policy development which will give promise
of systematic and thoughtful improvement.

Educational policy-makers, educationalists, teachers
and parents will need to appreciate the fact that the
criteria of curriculum developers is not in pursuing a
'right' or 'good' curriculum. But, rather it is engaging
in a series of activities on curriculum as policy, which
activities are attempting to give intelligent and pene-
trating insights into its adequacy as educational policy
in practice.

CONCLUSION

The challenge is clear - innovative research needs
to become more of a reality in our system; it will keep
the mind of the teacher open; it will facilitate more
openness between ideas within and outside the school.
Education for the future is still in the womb. It's up to
all of us to ensure it is not 'still-born'. That would
be the death of us.

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A PRINCIPAL'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE POST-PRIMARY CURRICULUM

John Harris

First, may I say that it is a great pleasure for me
to talk tb this delightfully alliterative and plosive
title. My pleasure derives, not just from the alliter-
ation but because the theme of this conference reflects
what must be one of the great educational concerns of the
moment - reform of the post-primary curriculum. There
will be those who say that this is not the time to talk
of curriculum development when money is scarce and the
financial hatches are being battened down. I say that it
is because of this situation that change is needed now
more than ever before.

There can be no doubt that attention will focus
closely on where every penny is spent on education.
Questions will be asked about return for money invested.
We cannot afford to squander money on providing education
which is not relevant, which wastes talent, and which
props up a system which thrives on failure for too many
of those who experience it. These are the issues which
curriculum development is concerned about.

I am asked to give a principal's perspective on the
post-primary curriculum. Reason and logic suggest that
such a perspective should have a firm theoretical base
and that it must derive from a clear understanding of
curriculum principles. The reality is that the perspect-
ive of most principals is a pragmatic one. The practical
possibilities of what will work in a school situation
necessarily predominate.

The principal's responsibilities towards the
curriculum of his/her school are of crucial significance.
It must be admitted, however, tht most principals are
fundamentally ill-equipped to exercise their role as
curriculum manager. They are often ill-equipped by
training, or qualification, or, by experience. Look at
the basis on which principals are recruited. How high
does knowledge of curriculum feature among the criteria
used to select those chosen for the office of principal?
This fact is highly relevant to considering the state of
curriculum development in Ireland today.

It may be that some have "greatness thrust upon
them" but, without doubt, modern day school principals
are increasingly having curriculum change thrust upon
them - sometimes by members of their staff, often by the
dissatisfactions and discontents of their pupils, and
their parents; alas, not often enough by the Department
of Education.

In his study of the relationship between curricular
innovation and organisation structure in post-primary
schools John MacMahon concluded:

> The important factors for the occurrence
> of innovations in schools are not
> related to teachers' characteristics or
> to teachers' attitudes. They seem to be
> related to characteristics of the principal
> and the way in which the work of the school
> is organised. 1

Thus the principal's role in curriculum development
is of particular importance.

Thus the principal must have a special concern for
curriculum, whereas individual teachers will tend to be
more concerned about their particular subjects. The
school timetable is an administrative statement of the
curriculum; it is also an expression of one's educational
philosophy and priorities. It must be remembered, however,

that in drawing up a timetable, one is subject to a range
of constraints; e.g. the Department rules, availability
of personnel and of facilities.

What are the crucial issues which a principal must
face in drawing up a curriculum? The overall problem is
how to achieve a balanced curriculum for all pupils. This
must be determined by reference to some kind of conceptual
model by which the essential elements of a balanced
curriculum can be identified - or perhaps one should look
out for those elements without which a curriculum will be
seriously unbalanced. It is possible to approach such
questions in a purely philosophical way - in terms of
theories of knowledge, for instance - yet this would be
to do less than justice to the needs of the pupils for
whom that curriculum is designed. It could certainly fail
to take account of the diversity of pupils - their range
of capacities and interests - the relevance, in their terms,
of what is taught.

Thus the question about core curriculum is crucial.
How wide a core? How much choice? What options? These
are crunch curriculum questions which the principal must
face.

We have built too much of our education around
failure. For the examination system to work, a certain
percentage must fail. We choose to reward some kinds of
achievement only and to leave others largely unrecognised.
Yet pupils achieve success at different levels and at
different things and in different ways. Everyone has
strengths and weaknesses. Are these facts adequately
recognised in our systems of national assessment?

We talk of 'equality of opportunity' in education or
'equality of access' to education yet both of these
concepts are deficient to a degree. I have always been
more attracted to what Daunt called the 'equal value
principle' - "that the education of all children is held

to be intrinsically of equal value".[2] If we were to take seriously this basically simple principle, we would be forced to bring about a revolution of major proportions in our education system.

There has been much criticism of the lack of aims in our educational system, particularly so in relation to the curriculum. It has been the practice in the past to take aims and objectives for granted. It wasn't the teachers' job to worry about aims . Everyone knew what they were supposed to be about.

In this company, I will not need to enter the fray and discuss the importance of aims, or to labour the point about 'product and process'. I would be starting to head too widely off target as regards my brief. Suffice to say that it is important that a principal should set up, on a regular basis within his school, an exercise which will seek to challenge the assumptions which teachers may make about the rationale of their teaching programmes. If, for instance, the staff of a school are encouraged to spend time in debating and analysing what they can agree to be the purpose which their school is trying to serve and how the school curriculum should be trying to meet the specific needs of the pupils, it will not be long before the curriculum process begins to be set in action. If such a debate is taken seriously, it must necessarily throw up questions about what a school is doing and force the exploration of alternatives.

It will be part of the principal's responsibility, although he will find it at times a difficult task, to ensure that the necessary rigour is observed in the course of this task. There have been unhappy instances recorded of half-baked and ill-conceived curriculum projects floundering through inadequate thought being given at the aims and objectives stage.

What this effectively means is that curriculum development must grow from within the teaching body. The teacher is the primary agent in curriculum development. The trend has recently been away from the large scale project more towards school-based initiatives. As Holt said:

> A school is likely to innovate or become creative or show organisational health if it sees a change process as a normative imperative. Once there is a general consciousness that the status quo should first be questioned and maybe replaced by more coherent proposals then the wheels turn, committees meet, teachers talk and ideas flow ... schools have so much to learn from themselves. 3

This is the kind of situation which has to be managed by the school principal.

I have been long attracted to many of the ideas which emanated from Goldsmith's College Curriculum Laboratory in London. The ideas which came from the groups of teachers which met there during the 1960s and which formulated proposals for Inter-disciplinary Enquiry and a four-fold curriculum, have, I believe, been greatly undervalued. They talked much of collaboration among teachers, of 'collaborative learning', of a focus group of teachers who would meet to focus their attention and to pool their specialist interests and expertise in order to design integrated courses flexible enough to allow pupils of all ability levels to engage in meaning-ful and satisfying work. Perhaps the time was not right for those ideas when they were first enunciated.

In their report of the first pilot course for experienced teachers at Goldsmith's College, the follow-ing words appeared.

> The school is seen by society as a place where children are selected and prepared for the labour market. They are shaped in their formative years, not according

to their development needs, but so that
they can fit into pre-ordained niches,
a system in any case, doomed to failure
since the shape and number of niches are
constantly changing. They are class-
ified and labelled according to their
anticipated market value and this essay
in astrological prediction continues,
despite our knowledge that it attempts
the impossible. The pressure of parents,
employers and universities constricts
the school with a straitjacket of
examinations. Yet we have evidence from
these same agencies that the products of
the schools disappoint. Small wonder
when the system has extruded them who,
by sex or class, prefer to opt out of
this obstacle race and when the
criteria for selection give credit to
convergent thinking and the willingness
to conform to conventional patterns of
attainment. 4

Do those words not cry out for a response in terms
of developing the curriculum?

The process can begin, then, when teachers start
to meet and discuss what their work should be about.
The principal's task is to set that process in motion
and to structure it, to organise it, to guide it and,
where need be, control it.

Having done this, however, they must face the
constraints within which they must necessarily work.
The principal constraint will be, of course, the exam-
ination system. There have been reports issued, studies
made, of different modes of examinations. Yet, despite
some changes in recent years, we have failed to face up
to the fundamental restructing of the system which
education requires. It should not be impossible to
conceive and devise an examination system which would be
supportive of local initiative and which will recognise
and reward a range of talents and skills.

Curriculum writers have correctly pointed out that
logic demands that one should first devise the curriculum

and then determine how to assess pupil performance in
that curriculum. This is not, however, what actually
happens. Despite the logic one must say that practical-
ity demands that if we are to be able to change the
curriculum in any meaningful way, it is necessary first
to liberate the examination system. I believe, therefore,
that it is necessary at a national level to create a
sufficiently flexible structure so that schools will be
free to breathe fresh air and to introduce movement into
the area of assessment reform.

Not all teachers would be ready to move at the same
time or in the same way. Some will be better equipped
both in terms of attitude and expertise to break new
ground in terms of the curriculum. The structures should
be free enough to allow this. Those that do engage in
curriculum reform must feel assured that their pupils
will have equal opportunity for national certification at
the end of the course. The leadership for this kind of
change must come centrally. But the main function of
that leadership must be to clear the ground so that
professional activity can function at the level of the
individual school.

Let us now turn to some areas in which I personally
would hope to see curriculum development take place.

We have already seen many instances in this country
of attempts to establish integrated programmes, often in
the areas of humanities or science, occasionally across
these or other boundaries. There is scope for more work
of this kind. One of the great advantages of integrated
programmes is that they allow for opportunities for
teachers to come together and to pool their collective
talents in collaborative ventures.

The second area is that of technological studies.
There has been, I believe, must vague talk about this.
There is indeed a need for increased awareness of and

knowledge about technological advances. These develop-
ments must be reflected in the curriculum. There is,
however, some confusion about how these can be best
approached. It is partly a matter of syllabus reform
within existing disciplines. There may also be a need
for new disciplines. It is not just a case for more
teaching of subjects such as woodwork and metalwork as
we know them. We have been slow in this country to look
for the potential for development in the area of the
so-called 'practical subjects'. There are possibilities
here for integration which have not been tapped. There
should be more courses emphasising a range of craft
skills, design-based courses, courses which look at
technolog per se.

Another area greatly in need of reform is the whole
area of Mathematics teaching. There are widespread cries
of dissatisfaction about existing mathematics courses,
that they are too abstract and academic, much to irrelev-
ant to the needs of many young people, yet there is a
great reluctance to tackle this problem. Mathematics is
surrounded by some kind of aura which seems to render it
untouchable.

What about the experience gained to date by those
who have engaged in courses in Health Education, in
Consumer Education, of Media Education? Many of these
have crept in through the back door, as it were. They
have featured as part of experimental educational prog-
rammmes. Yet they have much to offer as part of a core
curriculum in the post-primary school. They are all of
enormous importance in terms of influences on young
people's lives and cannot be ignored by education.
Courses in such areas must be recognised too in national
systems of certification. Perhaps this is a case where
systems of profiling of pupil's performance should
supplement traditional modes of examinations.

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Home Economics is a subject much in need of change
and reform. The syllabuses, as presently laid down, are
restrictive. The sewing syllabus, for instance, is
such as to greatly discourage boys from taking the
subject. Yet there is no reason whatever why boys should
not take it both in the junior and senior cycles.

I am particularly concerned that much of the excell-
ent course material which is included in the Scientific
and Social Home Economics syllabus for Leaving Certificate
should only be available for those who choose this
subject as an option at this level. It seems to me that
there is a very strong case for including such syllabus
material for all.

To bring these changes about would mean a whole new
range of approaches to the design of curricula and of
assessment procedures. Is this beyond us?

I refer lastly to the importance of evaluation as
an essential and integral part of the curriculum process.
This Association, whose members engage in educational
research, have here an area fallow for activity. As
curriculum development has become more school-based, the
aspect of evaluation of curriculum change tends to
feature less and less prominently. This is for the simple
reason that the people involved simply don't know how to
do the job. As Holt has pointed out:

> The growth of interest in school-based
> development gives these questions
> (curriculum evaluation) a new importance
> and we can readily see that preordinate
> styles of evaluation will not, in their
> classically pure form, be appropriate
> for adjudicating a process which allows
> its means to influence its ends. A
> number of illuminative models have,
> therefore, been devised which, on the
> face of it are much better suited to
> school-based applications. 5

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But how many teachers know about such things? and
to what extent has research helped to identify skills
and techniques which can be used in the school-based
situation to evaluate curriculum programmes?

Heywood has said that

> teachers must all have the illuminative
> attitude so that assessment and eval-
> uation may be an integrating process in
> the process of education. 6

It is, therefore, one of the major concerns of the
principal in the whole area of curriculum development,
indeed for the whole area of his job as school manager,
to establish processes and procedures for what Shipman
called "In School Evaluation".   This is a difficult area
and for that reason many teachers fight shy of it. Yet,
if curriculum development is to function in a way which
is not haphazard or which is not to experiment glibly
with children's lives in a way which may be detrimental to
them, this problem must be tackled as a matter of urgency.

This, therefore, represents some aspects of this
principal's perspective on the post-primary curriculum,
together with some glimpses of his hopes and dreams for
the future. I have held my position in Newpark for ten
years now and, in that time, have seen quite a number of
changes occur in education. Not least among these has
been an awareness of new attitudes, aspirations and
expectations and also new problems and pressures on the
part of students. I believe the curriculum must change
constantly to meet the changing needs of students and,
if principals are not in tune with these changes, and if
they do not listen to the voice of the young, what hope
can we have for the future of Irish Education? A mighty
responsibility rests on the principal's shoulders.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Hugh Gash

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to give a brief and rough account of theory of thinking, and then to consider three areas of application. I hope that what I write will elicit questions and critical comments. Those of you who are interested in a fuller account of this theory will find one in Gash (1983). The three areas of application are as follows: an assessment of the status of action in learning; student-teachers "readiness" for philosophy, psychology, and sociology; and posing problems to young children in the easiest possible ways.

THE THEORY

As soon as one sees directed purposeful action one can infer mind. We can gain insight into much of children's learning and behavior by considering it as experimental activity. Experiments are guided by informed guesses, they proceed by means of carefully planned actions, and they produce results which allow assessment of the guesses. In such an account of knowing and knowledge action plays a central role in the construction of new ideas and in the reduction of uncertainty.

The following sections will consider the implications of this theory.

THE STATUS OF ACTION IN LEARNING

In recent years there has been much criticism of some of the work done by Jean Piaget (1970) in the framework of the theory I have outlined. One recurrent criticism is on the emphasis Piaget put on action as necessary to the learning of certain skills. Critics have pointed out that experimental studies have failed to demonstrate that children who learn certain skills by means of action do not perform better on tests of these skills than children who are instructed on these skills. A careful case can probably be built that Piaget over-emphasised the role of physical activity in learning new ideas. A problem with the criticisms is that action can be thoughtless, just as instruction may not be understood.

If one is insensitive to the relation between ideas and actions one is likely to be sympathetic to the critics' conclusion that action is not necessary to learning. The basic issue is not new. It is the old familiar one of the relative merits of drumming information into children versus allowing them to build their knowledge.

Children learn quickly that the most efficient way to tackle arithmetic problems is to use a procedure. To the extent that a teacher encourages such habits the children in their turn will learn not to think carefully about the problem. I watched seven year olds doing subtraction recently. If John has 10p, and his bus fare is 7p, how much change will he have? Some children learned that the way to get the answer was to see what to add to 7p to get 10p. When the numbers changed, however, they were stuck. They seemed unable to get a grip on what to subtract from what. The idea of subtraction is intimately connected with certain activities, those of taking away parts from wholes. The

operations are crucial to understanding. It was clear
to me that these children were confused about subtraction.
They were confused precisely because they were trying to
follow procedures without understanding them. The way in
which anyone tries to solve a problem flows from the
ideas one has - the action and the idea are finely
connected. In my example the children needed to act on
parts and wholes to try to get the feel of what is
involved.

STUDENT TEACHERS' IDEAS

In primary and secondary school teaching great care
is taken to ensure that the lesson taught is pitched at
the correct level. In terms of the theory a child's
understanding limits what can be learnt and if the
subject matter being studied is too complex children will
lose interest. At the third level this is no less true.
In philosophy, psychology and sociology there are well
established paradigms. Loosely speaking a paradigm is
a way of approaching a problem within which certain
assumptions and problem solving techniques are taken for
granted. Lecturers who have grown accustomed to these
assumptions and methods may have difficulty understanding
the problems which students face in getting to grips with
the paradigms within these disciplines. I think that the
argument can be made that the way in which students think
about a number of topics in these disciplines deserves
study. I will give some examples of ideas which seem
difficult to communicate. My suspicion is that these
ideas are difficult to teach because non-specialists tend
to think about them in other ways.

(1) The description of human behaviour and communication
    in terms of problem solving seems to pose difficulties.
    Is this because people generally don't think of
    behaviour in this way?

(2) Students may well be excused for thinking of knowledge
    in terms of facts or in Ryle's terms - "knowing that".
    Exams of the type Irish students are very familiar
    with depend in large part on factual information.
    There is a relation between many such facts and that
    other type of knowing which Ryle called "knowing how".
    (I am unsure whether Ryle ever considered the intimate
    relation between these forms of knowing when knowing
    is considered developmentally.)   In mathematics, for
    example, knowing that 10 per cent of 50 is 5 probably
    requires that one knows how to calculate the answer.
    One could be quite precise about the steps which
    children can take to construct this fact.

     I wonder whether you would agree that sensitivity to
considering the way in which knowledge is put together
may be inhibited by years of schooling in which knowledge
was primarily something which one memorized?

MAKING PROBLEMS EASIER FOR CHILDREN

        In recent times significant developments have
occurred in our understanding of the nature of the child's
physical and social experience.   Piaget has contributed ,
so much to this literature that until recently it had
been difficult to subject much of what was said to the
sort of critical assessment necessary to a more complete
understanding.   One central theme in Margaret Donaldson's
(1978) book, Children's Minds, is that Piaget's tasks have
sometimes confused children.   She documents experiments
which show that in a number of areas different ways of
putting questions make it easier for children to
demonstrate that conceptual competence.   I believe that
it can be argued that this central theme in Donaldson's
book is merely an exploration of horizontal decalogue or
what other writers have distinguished as competence versus

performance: I use the word merely to imply that what
has been demonstrated is not the error of Piaget's theory
but rather ways have been demonstrated in which children
can be presented various tasks which help the child
express her developing competencies. Therefore what
seems to have direct practical implications are the clues
which Donaldson's book gives as to how to present topics
to children in the easiest possible way. I will
consider one example.

Understanding children's difficulties with classific-
ation of objects is related to pre-number activities with
children who have just entered school. One aspect of
classification is the ability to understand the relation
between part and whole. Traditionally, this has been
assessed by showing a child an array of objects such as
nine red flowers and three white flowers and asking a few
questions. Initial questions are asked to establish that
the child can count and understands that there are more
red flowers than white flowers. The class inclusion
question is about the numerical relation between the red
flowers (part of the class of flowers) and the flowers
(whole, all flowers). Traditionally it is assessed by
asking a question of the following form: Are there more
red flowers or are there more flowers here? Typically
five and six year olds are confused by this question and
answer "more red flowers". Their difficulty seems to be
that they cannot easily consider red flowers as part and
whole in the same question. It has been argued that
children would be helped by a question form which
emphasises the whole class, in my example it would be
flowers. Donaldson cites a study (Anthony, 1977) using
three black cows and one while cow. Questions on class
inclusion were asked in two ways, the traditional as just
described and a new way, which emphasised that the black
cows were to be compared numerically with all the cows.
This was done simply by putting the cows lying down and

the class inclusion question was "are there more black
cows or more sleeping cows?" There is then some truth
to the claim that the whole class needs to be emphasised
and this information, while not the whole story, is
certainly useful to know if one is engaged in prenumber
activities with four-year-olds and five-year-olds.

POSTSCRIPT

It is clear that there are other ways in which the
theory practice relation can be portrayed. In this
paper I have been concerned exclusively with one type of
cognitive theory in which the separateness of theory and
practice is radically diminished. Generally theory means
various disciplines in University and College of
Education courses which include psychology, philosophy,
sociology and hopefully applied linguistics. It would be
my view that many, indeed most, of the sorts of
activities in these courses are rather fundamentally
related to the ways in which we teach, wherever we teach.
However, it was clear at the symposium on theory and
practice at this conference that there is a need for more
opportunities for contact between practitioners at
different levels in our educational system if there is to
be a more compatible relationship between those who teach
theory courses in third level and those who wish to apply
these theories in their classes.

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