INNOVATIVE OPPORTUNITY AND SCHOOL CULTURE

A Study of Curriculum Innovation
in two Secondary Schools

THESIS

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C O N T E N T S

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LIST OF FIGURES

The following publishers kindly gave permission for photocopy extracts to
be included:

     Thos Nelson   - GYSL Teachers' Guide, Cities and People;
                    Man, Land and Leisure

                    Basic Geography (Greaseley et al)

     Basil Blackwell - Location and Links (Walker and Wilson)

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INTRODUCTION

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The aim of this research is to explore the social mechanisms and processes of change in two secondary schools where innovations were introduced into the curriculum. The implementation of the Schools Council Geography for the Young School Leaver Project (GYSL), which nationally had a high adoption rate, provided the initial impetus for the research. As the schools' response to this innovation was explored, other Projects and school-based initiatives became an integral part of the study. During the main research and development phase 1970-75, the GYSL central team had little opportunity to study in depth the processes of implementation at an individual school level. This research began in 1980.

During the late 1970s, Schools Council policy shifted from large centrally-organised national Projects to small school-initiated schemes. During the same period, individual schools were encouraged to monitor and assess their work. At the present time therefore, detailed accounts of the development of innovatory programmes in school are essential in furthering an understanding of the mechanisms of curriculum change. This is the rationale for this research.

At a personal level, the researcher completed a M.Ed degree in 1977 in which a nationwide study of the effectiveness of the GYSL dissemination programme as evidenced through teachers' perceptions was undertaken. Much of the raw data, gathered through the use of questionnaires, was subsequently processed by computer programme. The present research complements the earlier study. The scale moves from the macro to the micro level. The methodology is in equally marked contrast. Two schools were put under close scrutiny. It was a recognition that the impact of the GYSL Project and other similar innovations could only be appraised at grass roots level. It was also a recognition that 'teaching any subject matter is in part determined by structural or system characteristics' (Sarason 1971, 35) -the cultural norms of the school.

Certain key questions were formulated at an early stage in the research:

What was the 'received' curriculum of the pupils involved in
the innovatory programmes?

How far was the orthodox model of learning and teaching challenged?

In what ways did the cultural norms of the institution influence
innovatory learning activities in the classroom?

Where was the Project located within the varying ideological
stances of the school's inherited curriculum?

What were the processes that inhibited or facilitated change?
What was the role of the various reality definers?

Six months were spent in two schools as an observer, with very
limited participation. There were subsequent single day visits. The
interaction of new practices and established cultures were studied
in an anthromorphological mode. In common with much of the work of
the new sociology, the research came within the ethnographic/pheno-
menological style of studying everyday life in natural settings.
The open-ended illuminative stance allowed issues central to the
life of the schools to be explored.

Dockside is a large well-established secondary modern school
in an inner urban area. Birchwood is a medium-sized high school set
in an affluent rural area. The Head of the latter school was able
to develop a distinctive style of management supported by a young
staff. The study of Dockside School provided the foundation for the
subsequent Birchwood study. The names of the schools and all teaching
staff have been replaced by pseudonyms.

The issues that emerged as central to the formulating and imple-
menting of curriculum in the early 1980s remain central to debates
on the educational process in the mid-1980s as evidenced in reports
such as 'Improving Secondary Schools' (1984).

The structure of the thesis is as follows:

Part 1 : RESEARCH CONTEXT
        The centrality of the role of the individual school in the
        process of curriculum development. The GYSL Project is
        located within the era of major Schools Council initatives.

Part 2 : RESEARCH DESIGN

    The ethnographic/phenomenological style of research
    adopted in this thesis is discussed with special reference
    to the case study and the role of the observer/participant.

Parts 3 and 4 : PORTRAYAL: INNOVATION IN DOCKSIDE SECONDARY MODERN
                SCHOOL AND BIRCHWOOD HIGH SCHOOL

    The ideologies and classroom practices of innovators are
    explored within the wider school organisation. The dynamic
    processes of co-operation, conflict and negotiation with
    various reality definers are charted.

Part 5 : ANALYSIS AND REFLECTION

    The two school studies are brought together in a systematic
    analysis of the stated intentions of the geographers, class-
    room practices as planned and implemented and the institutional
    context. There is also a self portrayal of GYSL and an analysis
    of its design strategies.

Part 6 : CONCLUSIONS

    A synthesis of the issues explored in the two schools.

PART 1

RESEARCH CONTEXT

1.1 THE SCHOOL CONTEXT

School innovation and empirically-grounded research

This research is about innovation and change in schools. Invest-
igating the processes of change at this time has particular significance
because of the interplay of two very different movements affecting
contemporary patterns of curriculum development and change. While
there is the decentralising tendency towards curriculum innovation
and in-service training at the level of the school - school-based
curriculum development - there is also a centralising tendency with
the direct involvement of national government and the DES in curricula
matters. The Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations (1964-
1984) exemplified elements of both centre-periphery and school-based
processes. During the life of the Council, there was a conscious shift
in emphasis from curriculum development administered from the centre
in the form of national projects such as HCP and GYSL to curriculum
development which sought to be effective by taking close account of
influences at work in the school and in the locality (WP 53, Schools
Council 1975)

A plea for a greater understanding of school-centred innovation
was made by Andy Hargreaves (1982) who after commenting on 'the dearth
of rigorous, critical and empirically-grounded accounts of particular
schemes and projects' expressed concern that taxonomic accounts often
'lead to a neglect of those common difficulties and constraints that
all school-based innovation schemes are likely to face within the confines
of the educational, economic and political situation ....'   the prevalent
ideology of school-centred innovation not admitting 'the presence
and importance of conflict and struggle between different teachers,
subject departments and so on in the process of educational innovation'.
To accurately portray these conflicts, struggles - and achievements
-   curriculum development models other than the classical mode of
evaluation with its priority of inputs and outputs, must be adopted.
The implementation of a curriculum innovation - in this research initially
emanating from a central project - involves the processes of learning
and teaching in unique and complex situations, involving people who
bring to these situations varying career patterns and ideologies.
So the process of curriculum development at its heart concerns matters
of perception, values and other human characteristics as well as situat-
ional factors. This study aims, therefore, to examine the GYSL Project

and other innovations as interpreted by individual teachers within the complex and varying environment of two schools.

In the Keele Integrated Studies Project, Shipman (1974) found that three related elements of the Project - subject integration, use of enquiry methods and membership of a team - produced no common perspectives among the Project workers, teachers and the local education authorities. Bolam, the Project Director, commented:

> The net impact of the Project was the result of the different and changing perceptions of the groups involved. Each group, indeed each school, had separate, even idiosyncratic aims. It may be therefore that conventional evaluations are a waste of time. They are designed to test the impact of a project against a universal predetermined list of objectives, but impact from the viewpoint of those involved is judged at a particular, local level. Very often this local impact will consist of changes judged to be important by those involved in the schools, but not anticipated or even perceived by those at the centre, and certainly not defined as objectives by them.   (Shipman 1974, 51)

Central to the implementation of innovations is the process of learning and resocialisation, if the innovation involves a radical departure from custom and practice. A failure to learn new skills can lead to rejection or inadequate implementation. Taylor (1981) quotes the Schools Council Project Science 5-13 where teachers ignored the enquiry-based methodology while readily using the materials in the classroom. The innovation involved a range of skills the teachers did not possess. The identity and present professional skills of the teachers were at stake. Foxwell (1974), in his enquiry into art innovation in middle schools, found the teachers, contrary to their stated beliefs, telling their pupils what ideas to discover in the materials with which they were working. 'It was the teachers' unstated assumption about the nature of teaching that telling is at its core, which was preventing the realisation of the innovation' (Taylor 1981).

Stenhouse (1975) emphasises the radical impact that innovation can have on a teacher's present skills and values. 'Most innovation changes both subject content and method. As innovators, teachers are asked to take on, initially at least, the burdens of incompetence'. The teacher may engage in an innovation, especially within the framework of a curriculum development project, with quite unrealistic expectations. Dale (1973) quotes a teacher:

> We expected to take back an educational package that we would
> introduce into our respective classrooms which, with the pack
> of materials available, would mean successful lessons and involved
> and committed students.

The disparity between these expectations and the reality constituted a major barrier to innovation.

Teachers' construction of reality as central to an understanding of curriculum development

Comparing the first wave of Nuffield Projects with their American and Swedish counterparts, Becher wrote:

> When one looks behind the statistics .... one finds a surprisingly
> large variation in the methods of use. Far from 'getting the message'
> implicit in the work of the development team, many teachers
> have superimposed their own very different interpretations and
> philosophies. (Becher 1971)

It would seem these projects had only limited success in developing their aims of transforming didactic teaching and passive learning into discovery-based, active-pupil participation. The use of the term superimposed suggests an almost unwelcome adulteration of a product in an advanced stage of development. Any innovation is inevitably related to organisational processes and norms:

> The predominant emphasis in diffusion research on simple, self
> winding technological innovations tends to lead to the questionable
> assumption that innovations in education may be regarded as reified
> entities having an <u>objective existence independently</u> of the
> adopter's perceptions or construction of reality.
> (McGeown 1979, 223)

Esland too has indicated that many definitions represent an innovation as a structural entity without reference to the different meanings and significance which it has for those experiencing it.

> Innovation is thus considered as if it were independent of the
> human interaction which creates, defines and sustains it and
> through which its meaning is collectively negotiated.
> (Esland 1972, 106)

Effective curriculum change appears to involve not only concomitant changes in the educational values held by teachers, but also changes in the pattern of working relationships among teachers and very possibly the internal organisation of the school. An awareness of how the innovating teacher works in his own unique situation is therefore essential to an understanding of the curriculum development process:

> <u>It must never be overlooked that the school itself is the crucible</u>
> <u>of the curriculum and that the teacher is its principal agent</u>. The
> teacher's definition of his own role, his perception of the school
> and his judgement of what is possible within it must provide the
> starting point for curriculum development. (Schools Council WP 53)

This is the rationale for the approach of this thesis. It is
an institution-based case study of innovation and curriculum change
in which the classroom situation is explored within the constraints
of the school. The individual teacher is a member of a complex interactive
social system. Shipman, referring to his experience with the Keele
Integrated Studies Project, commented:

> Curriculum change comes through the <u>interaction of groups with
> different and changing perceptions of the same situation</u>. The
> curriculum scene is a busy market place where bargains are struck
> between parties who interpret their contract through particular
> circumstances. To begin to understand how curriculum patterns
> emerge, <u>it may mean giving less attention to social systems and
> structures and more to particular situations or episodes in which
> curriculum power is taken, given, challenged or negotiated</u>.
> (Shipman 1972)

Whiteside (1978, 61) emphasised the need of more case studies
to present a coherent picture of the process of educational change.

> Ideally we could hope for <u>studies of similar innovations
> introduced into a number of organisations varying in one</u> or
> more organisational characteristics, for example, the average
> age of staff, staff experience, degree of staff autonomy,
> leadership style of the head teacher ....

This research is centred on two contrasting secondary schools both
of whom had adopted the Schools Council GYSL Project.

Since the 1930's, much of the study of innovations in schools
has adopted models of analysis and explanation borrowed mainly from
diffusion research in rural sociology. There are obviously theoretical
and practical difficulties in the assumption that innovation in schools
has close affinity to adoption by individuals in agricultural settings.
(Fullan 1972, Rogers and Shoemaker 1971)

There is evidence that school innovation follows an evolutionary
pattern. Daft and Becker (1970, 146) suggest that a first wave of
innovations tend to be top-down as changes within the organisation
are initiated by officials. At a second stage, once organisational
frameworks have been established, innovation flows from the bottom-
up. The administrators at school or regional authority level then
become the chief resisters as professional activities race ahead of
the needs as perceived by administrators.

Studies of individual schools

In this section, trends in recent studies will be indicated and

by reference to aspects of their style, links will be made to the style of the present piece of research.

In the 1960s, the dominant interest in schools as organisations was apparent, yet only the work of Hargreaves D (1967) and Lacey (1970) was based on detailed empirical enquiry of particular schools. These two studies paid little attention to interaction in the classroom. Changes appeared in the late 1960s and 1970s when the new approaches of phenomenology, ethnomethodology and interactionism were applied to schools. Attention was now focussed on the perspectives and social interaction of individuals. It was recognised that individuals and groups have very different views of the world and that people play an active part in the social world.

Sharp and Green (1975) for example, studied an infant school and found differences between progressive teachers' behaviour in the classroom and their stated progressive ideology. Important differences between individual teachers were evident. Pressures were exerted by the expectation of high standards in the basics and by the working conditions. Sharp and Green sought also to link the micro and the macro levels. The class structure of industrial capitalism was seen as intimately part of the influential context impinging upon the classroom. Another study linking micro and macro levels was the Willis (1977) study of a tough Midlands comprehensive school, which directed attention to the group of boys identified as 'the lads' whose own culture blocked the teaching and culture of the school. The atmosphere of confrontation with the school authorities reinforced the counter culture which prepared them for the shop floor. In his study of Bishop McGregor School, Burgess (1983) posed questions linked predominantly to the theoretical perspective encompassed by the term symbolic interactionism. Much of the research was based on the observation of events, situations, groups and individuals as he explored the ways in which individuals and groups defined and redefined their situations.

Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970) studied a secondary modern and a grammar school respectively. Streaming in both studies was seen as a key factor in producing sub-cultural polarisation. Neither study, however, was concerned with the formal organisation of the school and the detailed activities of the teachers. There were no detailed accounts of teachers' classrooms or departments. This was in contrast to Ball's study of Beachside Comprehensive which, although taking

up the question of the Lacey and Hargreaves work, explored a combination of interactionist and structuralist perspectives in order to analyse the definition and social construction of pupils' identities and the social process of educational innovation. Sub-cultural subject groupings were identified in staff attitudes to mixed-ability teaching.

Another whole school study was that by Elizabeth Richardson (1973), an ethnographic study of managerial practices in a large comprehensive school. This study underlined the intensity of communication among staff in a variety of matters relating to school organisation. Richardson adopted a consultants' role, directing her attention to staff and not to classroom activities.

Two classic school studies, Cambire School (Gross, Giaquinta and Bernstein, 1971) and Kensington School (Smith and Keith, 1971) focus on the failure to develop an adequate design for implementation. The former studied the implementation of a new teacher role, a catalytic role model, the latter a new, open education elementary school. At Cambire, a number of barriers to change were diagnosed, including problems related to teachers' lack of knowledge and skills, lack of clarity about the innovation, unavailability of materials and incompatible school arrangements. The Cambire research was based largely on the study of documents and interviews, the Kensington study based mainly on participant observation, plus informal interviews, analysis of records, accounts of meetings. Reviewing the two studies, Fullan (1982) comments that they both 'simply assumed without any reflection that these progressive innovations were good and that only problems of delivery interfered'. Similarly Whiteside comments:

> Under the influence of studies of innovation in industrial organ-
> isation, Gross et al have a tendency to treat innovation in
> education as a product to be introduced into a school. The value
> conflicts which surround the idea of education change, even when
> the staff are in favour of change, are treated superficially.
> (Whiteside 1978, 68)

In the Cambire study, there was obviously a lack of clarity about the innovation. The staff having initially registered a positive attitude towards it, discovered that 'the innovation was based on a set of assumptions about the nature of the child and the learning process different from those held by most teachers'. (Whiteside 1971, 167) A fundamental point about both these studies, set as they were in

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a management framework, was that the relationship between administrators and teachers obscured opportunities to examine other participants and certainly to examine the interaction between the participants in the change process.

A consideration of these past studies influenced this research into innovation in two schools. A broad range of enquiries ranging from project and school documents, interviews, questionnaires, records of meetings and informal discussions, and many classroom observations were included. Profiles of weekly curricula in the two schools were built up. Participants' perceptions within the school - Heads, Heads of Department, assistant teachers, pupils and outside interested parties, including parents and a school psychiatrist, were gathered and appraised. The GYSL Project was subject to critical analysis from teacher colleagues. Its underlying assumptions were exposed as it was challenged by alternative ideologies. Conflict, negotiation and in some cases compromise proved to be elements in the dynamics of curriculum development.

1.2   THE SCHOOLS COUNCIL AND THE G.Y.S.L. PROJECT

The Schools Council - origins

The Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations was established by
the Secretary of State for Education and Science in 1964 to undertake
research and development work on the curriculum and to advise the Secretary
of State on matters of examination policy. The Council was jointly financed
by the DES and LEA's. Its work ranged over many activities. It funded over
160 curriculum research and development projects, published a large number
of reports, teachers' guides and packages of teaching materials arising
from the curriculum projects. Research and development work relating to
public examinations was undertaken. Its interests have spanned the CSE, GCE
and proposed 16+ examinations.

The Lockwood Committee recommended the setting up of the Schools
Council in 1964. It also recommended that the Council should take over the
duties of the Secondary Schools Examination Council. A list of priorities
was established:
1.   The primary school curriculum.
2.   The curriculum for the early leaver.
3.   The sixth form.
4.   English teaching.
5.   Examinations for the 16+ age group.   (Lawton 1980)

A significant contribution to the concepts underlying the work of the
Schools Council was made by Geoffrey Caston, a joint Secretary from
1966-1970. He saw the educational values embodied by the Council as twofold
- pluralism and professionalism. The former indicated 'the dispersal of
power in education' which he regarded as essential to a democracy; the
Council was not to be seen as a central authoritarian agency.
Professionalism, Caston defined as the exercise of choice and judgment by
individuals. It would be important for the Council to exercise a
professional authority but not one that dictated what individual schools
were to do.

Anne Corbett (TES, 13 July 1973) has described the establishment of
the Schools Council in 1963 as 'an intensely political act'. It was a new

departure , originally seen by the teaching unions and the LEA's as an attempt to challenge their control of the curriculum. It seemed that the Ministry of Education was about to enter 'the secret garden of the curriculum'. A Curriculum Study Group had been set up in 1962. The move to shift control to central government was abortive and the teacher-dominated Schools Council, publicly financed but independent of central government, came into being. In its pre-1978 constitution, the sanctity of individual school's autonomy was stressed.

> It could offer advice on request to schools .... regard shall at all times be had to the general principle that each school should have the fullest possible measure of responsibility for its own work, with its own curriculum and teaching methods based on the needs of its own pupils and evolved by its own staff. (Schools Council 1978, para 4)

The Schools Council was to be a co-ordinating authority in a decentralised system.

The Schools Council - promotion and dissemination

The responsibility for the curriculum is the responsibility of the local authorities as laid down in the 1944 Education Act. In practice, this meant the decisions about curriculum lay with the Headteacher and his staff. It also meant that the take-up of Schools Council Projects and materials depended upon the Council 'winning friends' at LEA and school level. In our experience with the GYSL Project, enormous freedom was given to Project Directors as to how contacts were made and how a total dissemination programme should be planned. No firm directives were given by Schools Council Committees. In the early 1970s, opportunities to learn from other Projects were created largely on one's own initiative.

The Schools Council's approach to the dissemination of its work provides an interesting study. Dame Muriel Stewart (1970, 8), former Chairman of the Schools Council, commented on the slow rate of educational change during the last 100 years - 'individual teachers tried out new ideas and developed new methods, but it took years before it spread to other schools'. Clearly, diffusion defined by Rogers (1962) as 'the spread of a new idea from the source of invention to its ultimate user or adopter' was taking place. It was, however, only likely to affect those interested individuals who formed part of the social network of courses and conferences organised by HMI's and LEA Advisers. A Report of the Schools Council (1974), 'Dissemination and In-service Training', indicated a shift in terminology. The term dissemination implied a conscious strategy on the part of a project or central agency to affect change. The Report (1974, 9)

while describing dissemination as any activity which is designed to communicate a Project's ideas to a wider audience, emphasised 'we accept the need to plan these activities as part of a Project's work'. The Working Party stated that dissemination policies should reflect a view of the nature of curriculum development itself - a positive approach should be made to dissemination.

> Projects should follow a positive promotion of their ideas and
> materials .... positive promotion is not the hard sell. Those who
> decry it have a poorer view of the teacher's ability to judge the
> results of curriculum development than the Working Party. (1974, 11)

Such promotion could conflict with the autonomy of the individual teacher and school. An editorial in Dialogue (Schools Council 1972, 6) made it clear that schools should have the fullest measure of responsibility for their own work. Positive promotion meant communication and this implied a network of centres such as teachers' centres.

During recent years, the Council has come in for considerable criticism. In the DES memorandum to the Prime Minister in 1976 (the Yellow Book), the Schools Council was attacked for having 'scarcely begun to tackle the problems (of the curriculum) as a whole' and its overall performance on curriculum and examinations was described as having been 'generally mediocre' (TES 1976, 2-3) and later...

> .... because the influence of the teachers' unions has led to an
> increasingly political flavour - in the worst sense of the word -
> in its deliberations, the general reputation of the Schools Council
> has suffered a considerable decline over the last few years.

On 1 September 1978, the Council adopted a new constitution which contained greater lay, industrial and government representation in its committee structure. So the 1970's saw the Council under considerable criticism. Lawton (1980, 72) included the attack on progressive education among the reasons for such criticism. Because the Schools Council was also in the field of development, the two were seen as synonymous. There was, too, concern about returns on expensive projects. Some were years ahead of teachers' capabilities. Another reason was suggested. LEA's, 'who were responsible for in-service training, neglected this duty in a disgraceful way, then criticised the Schools Council for its failure' (Lawton 1980, 73).

In terms of the rate of adoption, there was clearly cause for concern. The Impact and Take-up Project reported that 32% of secondary teachers and

71% of primary teachers said they were making some use of ideas or materials from at least one Schools Council Project (Steadman et al, 1980: 8.4). GYSL was being used in 50% of schools by at least one teacher. Generally, less than a third of teachers in secondary schools using a project were making 'extensive use' of its ideas or materials (Steadman et al, 1980: 1.3). The term 'use' leaves open many questions about incorporation or implementation, but the suggestion is that the packages or materials were occasional resources rather than structured teaching strategies.

The Schools Council and ideology

The implementation of a perceived ideology has been the basis of criticism of the Council by Michael Young. He comments:

> .... through its legitimation of curricula that might be charact-
> erised in Bordieu's terms as based on class cultures, together with
> the schools, it maintains the class structure of which they are a
> reflection. (1973, 78)

However, the case is contested:

> ... if as would seem to be the case 'slippage' is taking place on
> the scale indicated (Impact and Take Up Project) and teachers are
> viewing Council products mainly as a resource bank, then the argument
> that the Council is defining the parameters of innovation becomes a
> highly dubious one. (Salter and Tapper 1981, 127)

Young (1973) also links the identification of the Young School Leaver Programme, of which GYSL is an example, with subject and institutional hierarchies and the assumptions about ability and competence that they imply. The 14-18 Geography Project was seen in its 'more able' context as reinforcing the divisive argument. The direct relation between Project and ability must be challenged in the case of GYSL. The Project quickly moved from a narrow low ability designation to working with all ability groups. An alternative Mode I 'O' level GCE examination was devised in the late 1970s. The Projects guided by their own research teams and supported by a Consultative Committee, were encouraged to develop their own strategies. The case for a common ideological stance is therefore difficult to substantiate. Before its demise in 1984, the Schools Council moved to more small-scale local funding of curriculum development.

The Geography for the Young School Leaver Project (G.Y.S.L.)

The GYSL Project was launched in 1970 as one of 21 'Young School Leaver' Projects. Decisions over funding were directed to the imminent raising of the school leaving age to 16 years and the consequent practical problems schools with their extended populations would face. Initially the GYSL Project was set up to examine the contribution geography could make to the education of average and below average pupils. It was funded for three years. A fourth year extension for systematic dissemination was given in 1973. Broadly, the Project like most Schools Council Projects, worked within a Research, Development, Diffusion framework (R D & D).

House (1979, 2) sees the mode of operation as clear evidence of the technological perspective on innovation:

> The history of current innovation efforts goes back at least 20 years to the launching of Sputnik and to the attacks on the school curriculum by university scholars. Stimulated by these traumas, a number of curriculum development projects in science and mathematics were funded by the National Science Foundation in the USA and by the Nuffield Foundation in England .... the technological perspective replaced the tacit basis of curriculum innovation with a more systematic and rationalised approach .... by 1968 the dominant conception of educational innovation was the research, development, diffusion paradigm.

The context of the R D and D approach is analysed by McDonald and Walker (1976, 25) as one:

> ... which shaped the nature of the 'unholy' alliance that developed between the military/industrial and academic establishments in the 1960s, the alliance that drew up the blueprint for the cold war curriculum.

In their view, a model of change became a model for change and

> ..diffusions suggesting a natural social process of proliferation gave way to the term dissemination, indicating planned pathways for the transmission of new educational ideas and practices from their point of production to all locations of potential implementation.

As McDonald and Walker rightly point out, 'dissemination' implies a producer-consumer relationship. There is a curriculum - it is to be disseminated - 'it' is a stable, fixed entity (1976, 27). This prevailing paradigm as a method of operating, linked to approaches to technical planning by a rational curriculum planning by objectives mode, formed an influential background. It influenced the thinking of the GYSL Project Team.

The argument can be further extended. Eggleston and Gleeson (1977,15) acknowledge the central importance of the school curriculum in the management of knowledge, but assert that the process of curriculum development seems uninformed by the debate - 'there is an incomplete awareness of the underlying issues'. They see in the Nuffield style of curriculum development (R D and D) the use of a systems approach based upon a functionalist analysis of schooling, the school becoming a rational mechanism for conveying important structural messages between society and the classroom. According to their proposal, the underlying assumption following Durkheim is that the job of the educator is to introduce the young into a social milieu in which certain ideas, certain practices, certain modes of viewing things, prevail. The functionalist perspective thus legitimates the consensual and passive transmission of knowledge, assumes agreement upon values to be transmitted, and takes as 'given' the political need to transmit such values. Alternative perspectives are suggested with a structural framework citing the work of Althusser and Bourdieu, but Eggleston and Gleeson also find this inadequate to explain how alternative changes might emerge and transform reality. Often classroom teachers do not get the needed support from curriculum designers. The stresses and strains of the classroom are underestimated. Too easily it is assumed changes in pedagogy can be brought about by merely changing content and materials (Elliott and Adelman, 1975). A strategy therefore, based on close co-operation between classroom teachers, teacher educators and social science researchers working together in constructing learning theories, is proposed. The Ford Teaching Project is cited as an example of how at grassroots level such co-operation might set a new pattern.

The GYSL support strategy

The GYSL Project gave considerable attention to its support mechanisms for the teacher in the classroom. It adopted a three-fold strategy to support implementation.

1. ### Pupil and teacher materials were produced

   'Only the ablest teachers will be able to translate very generalised goals into something specific in terms of teaching their own pupils and it is not the ablest who need most help' (Banks 1971, 439). Reynolds however argued that more than innovatory materials and teachers' guides were needed, because there was 'a danger of dealing only with symptoms rather than deeper processes affecting curriculum decisions and outcomes'. (1972, 80) The development of the curriculum materials -

Teachers' Guides and pupil resources - was based on the following principles:

(a) Education should be concerned with all aspects of pupil development; attitudes and values, understanding of ideas and the development of other intellectual and social skills.

(b) All pupils irrespective of ability should be given the opportunity to explore similar ideas at different levels of sophistication.

(c) The organising ideas should be ones having significance within the discipline of geography.

(d) The learning process should encourage the involvement and active participation of the pupils.

(e) Important social issues should be presented in ways that allow pupils to relate them to personal experience.

2. The establishment of curriculum groups

During the dissemination year, groups were established in almost all of the 104 new LEA's. They undertook activities such as the preparation of local materials and the development of evaluation procedures. They were encouraged to re-think and re-design their own curricula. These groups moved the emphasis from the R D and D model to the social interaction model (Havelock 1971) or the proliferation of centres model (Schon 1971).

3. Linking of courses to external assessment

The Project recognising the powerful influence of examinations on the curriculum, sought to co-operate with examining boards (CSE and 'O' level). As one example of the strategy of change, the new alternative Mode I 'O' level requires the school to submit its own curriculum unit which accounts as school-based assessment for 40% of the marks overall. It also moves the focus of development to the local school and individual teachers - the ultimate being the problem-solving model (Havelock 1971).

The intention of the Project was to create a structure centred on
self help groups. The structure was intended to overcome some of
the barriers to implementation acknowledged as being within the
teachers themselves, the geography department, the school, or the
outside educational system, but wherever they lie, they must be
quietly overcome before initial enthusiasm is blighted and old
ways regain their grip. (Changing the Curriculum: the GYSL Experience 1979)

The note of optimism in the post-1974 period was apparent. Five major
constraints were isolated:

1.   Lack of teacher time.

2.   Lack of effective local support.

3.   Failure to convince the decision-makers at both the   '
        school and LEA level of the advantages of this form of
        curriculum development.

4.   The attitude of some CSE Boards.

5.   Lack of long-term thinking with respect to central
        curriculum projects.

                            (Higginbottom 1977)

     The inter-relationships between the network of supportive structures
and the individual teacher in his classroom are shown in Figure 1.

GCE Examination Boards

Schools Council Curriculum Officer

Schools Council Field Officer

Regional GYSL O-Level Group

Project Examinations Officer

Regional CSE Examination Board (Modes 1,2 and 3)

O-Level Curriculum Unit Preparation Group

Polytechnic Geography Department (Research)

Assessment for External Examinations Group

National Co-ordinator

Regional Co-ordinator

LEA Co-ordinator (Adviser)

National Resource Centre

Schools Council Regional Information Centre

Teachers' Centre Resource Area

Deputy Head Curriculum

Resource Centre

Geography Department

TEACHER

Head Teacher

S

L

R

N

Termly GYSL Meeting

Regional Meetings

National Conference

GYSL Familiarization Group

Regional Familiarization Courses

National Familiarization Courses

Local Radio

Materials Production Group

Regional Exchange of Materials

Regional Exchange of Audio-Visual Resources

ATV Work Series

Project Publishers

S - School
L - Local
R - Regional
N - National

FIG 1   The relationship between regional and national activities
         and the GYSL support structure in Sheffield

PART 2

RESEARCH   DESIGN

2.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY - A REVIEW

In these sections, 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3, two fundamentally different approaches to social science are discussed. The evolution of patterns of research is then examined with reference to some of the literature associated with it. The thesis is located within the ethnographic/phenomenological school. The contribution of the case study and the limitations are discussed with specific reference to the methods adopted in this research and finally the role of the observer/participant is examined.

> In the last analysis, what matters is the extent to which curriculum
> research clarifies and makes tractable the practical problems which
> face those who confront curriculum issues in school and classroom,
> not whether curriculum research is informed by the paradigms of art
> or science, metaphor or measurement, though the need to be aware of
> the informing perspectives of curriculum resarch is not negligible.
>   (Taylor, Curriculum Research : Retrospect
>   and Prospect, 1982, 53)

Curriculum research and the classroom

While expenditure on curriculum research and curriculum development in Britain has increased ten-fold, the impact of the investment on schools has been limited.

> On the one hand, teachers have blamed the research community for
> failing to appreciate the practical nature of their concerns; while
> on the other, researchers have blamed the teaching profession for
> not discerning that the purpose of research is to pose and clarify
> questions rather than offer solutions .... the real problem is not
> so much the inadequacy of teachers and researchers but the inapprop-
> riateness of the research model so often applied to education.
> Imported from the natural sciences, this model is ill-suited to the
> exploration of individual classrooms.
>   Nixon (TES 15.5.81)

The objectivity of the researcher within either strategy is problematic.

Similar disquiet about research in schools has been voiced by Holt (1982 a, 267), 'The truth is, though, that educational research has not been notably influential and shows an alarming drift towards the self-indulgent'. The Humanities Department in one of the schools being studied in this research was greatly influenced by Parker and Rubin's book 'Process as Content' (1966). In that text they wrote:

> Research has become a thing unto itself. It has forgotten that its ultimate value depends upon the degree to which it sponsors better practice. What is called scholarly investigation is sometimes a specialised form of labour directed towards objectives which have little impact upon the classroom. Indeed, the pure research so highly prized by the academic community is essentially a mark of its disengagement from utility. (1966, 42)

More recent developments in research, however, have been towards more qualitative approaches, closely aligned to the schools and their processes. Such trends make criticism of the application of quantitative techniques to interaction understandable. The Rutter Report (1979), in which twelve secondary schools in London were studied over a 5 year period, was criticised because school outcomes were analysed and 'relations established between variables by trying to reduce the immensely complex interactions of education to a handful of measures'. Golby (1980) commented on the Report:

> The curriculum of the secondary school has not been addressed. This is unfortunate since the curriculum is the single most important set of variables in the educational process .... Rutter's attempt to isolate discernible features of school organisation and their relationships to outcomes, provides percepts without the necessary accompanying analysis of educational concepts.

The Bennett study of teaching styles (1979) is similarly open to criticism. Bennett, following the re-working of some of the original data, is quoted: 'Your research is only as good as the technology you've got. We have better statistical techniques now'. (Wilby 1981) It again raises fundamental questions about the value of such research where complex reality seems so abridged and hence provides the reader with a distorted view.

Broadfoot (1981) draws a distinction between research dominated by positivistic approaches based on attempts to apply to social science, methods of an alien field and what she terms a relativist view. She identifies the scientific movement of the 1920's and 1930's as aiming to build a science of education. By this was implied a structure of knowledge and a methodology which could be used instrumentally to resolve educational issues. The positivist view has been challenged in the two cultures debate by 'ground' and 'illuminative evaluation". Broadfoot contends:

The crucial distinction is between a positivistic and relativist view of the educational enterprise ... a positivist perspective makes two assumptions. First, there is a fixed and unchanging reality based on constant relationships which is amenable to scientifically-modelled objective research. Second, that the formulation of the research question itself is part of an objective process. The relativist rejection of this position for social, and in particular educational research, involves not so much the rejection of pseudo-scientific modes of enquiry ... but fundamentally it emphasises the problematic nature of education itself. The distinction is essentially that between regarding the concept of what it is to be 'educated' as a fixed and immutable absolute - a philosophical concept of the Hirst and Peters variety - and regarding 'education' as a social process with important political, economic and socialising functions which therefore varies from time to time and from society to society. (1981, 119)

Providing information, which can lead to better decision-making on questions of what should be taught and learned, is a central concern in curriculum research. Researchers taking opposing views can be readily identified. Kerlinger (1964) claims to be involved in a process of scientific enquiry which is directed towards establishing relationships between variables which quantitatively measure the phenomena of education. Walker (1973) agreeing with Broadfoot claims that the development of curriculum research has been hindered by the tendency to apply a reconstructed logic of physical science research to artificial phenomena and that the quest for natural laws and for generalisations based on the quantitative analysis of statistically chosen samples is likely to lead towards fragmentation rather than coherence. Kerlinger and others argue that the only knowledge of relevance to educational questions is that which is gained by the methods of science. On the other hand Reid (1978, 27) contends::

> Curriculum research should be clearly related to curriculum tasks - the planning, implementing and evaluating of the learning experience - and its concern with these practical tasks will lead it to cultivate approaches other than the 'scientific' to the creation of knowledge ... data that help us identify and define problems for decision and that increase our capacity for generating alternative solutions and for improving the quality of our deliberations about which of these should be adopted.

He further argues that

> if we are concerned with task-oriented research, we do not need to look for the best possible theory that is adequate for the accomplishment of certain specified ends.

Current writing in Curriculum Studies, he contends, does not inspire the kinds of research and theorising needed.

In the late 60s and early 70s, sociologists working in education questioned the body of assumptions that characterised current analyses.The

'new sociology' in varying and sometimes conflicting forms critically challenged the framework of positivistic science. Existing traditions such as structural functionalism came under fundamental criticism. Because of their emphasis on testing and controlling situations, it was suggested that they served to maintain the status quo. These traditions were seen to ignore the processes through which knowledge was constructed and differentiated in social settings. Positivism, in which the social scientist uses methods similar to those used in natural science, begins with a logically coherent theory, deduces hypotheses from these theories, dealing with concepts which refer to what is only publicly observable, then tests them if possible by experiment.

'The new sociologies shared one central feature - a concern with how actors construct the social world through interpretation and ·action'. (Woods and Hammersley 1977, 11). There was a re-emergence of symbolic interactionism. Its roots in the work of George Herbert Mead had been influential in the 1920's and 1930's. Mead affirmed that human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings these things have for them. In the 1950's and 60's, the writings of Erving Goffman further emphasised the way in which actors projected in their actions, definitions of what was occurring. He also investigated the cultural and institutional setting of this interaction. Phenomenology, too was incorporated into the mainstream of sociological debate. Berger and Luckmann, whose book 'The Social Construction of Reality' was published in 1966, were clearly influenced by Schutz. They sought to investigate how particular conceptions of reality became institutionalised and taken for granted in communities. More recently, ethnomethodology through the work of people such as Harold Garfinkel has been given an increased role.

So while there have been differences in the various schools of interpretative sociology, there is much in common in the methodological approaches. All emphasise

> the study of everyday life and actors' own interpretations and definition of the situation. Social order is seen as the accom-plishment of actors through their interactions; social life is thought of as a process.
> (Delamont 1978, 60)

As this research on innovative opportunity is not only concerned with individuals but essentially individuals in their social setting, the discussion now focusses on organisations. A review of theories about

organisations also reveals a central divide between a systems view and phenomenological view.

> There is an alternative view which sees organisations not as structures subject to universal laws but as cultural artifacts dependent upon the scientific meaning and intention of people within them.
> (Greenfield 1980, 157)

Again, the two views represent two different views of reality.

The phenomenological view of reality can be related to the views of Kant, who distinguished between the nomenal world and the phenomenal world. The contrasting views largely reflect the stances taken by Durkheim and Weber (Bendix and Roth 1971, 206-297). Following the Durkheim tradition, in the systems view :

> theory becomes more important than the research because it tells us what we can never directly perceive with our senses: it tells us the ultimate reality behind the appearance of things and it establishes a view which is essentially beyond confirmation or disproof by mere research.
> (Greenfield 1980, 163)

In the Weber tradition — the phenomenological view — the researcher examines the direct experience of people in specific situations. The case study therefore becomes a typical means of analysis, Silverman, 'The Theory of Organisations' (1970) in his rejection of positivism, follows the thinking of Berger and Luckmann.

> Society may be seen as populated by living actors and its institutions regarded as dramatic conventions depending on the co-operation of the actors in maintaining a definition of the situation.
> (Silverman 1970, 40)

Thus from his study of alternative systems, Silverman advocates an Action Approach, seeking to tackle both 'the micro problem of the orientations and behaviour of particular actors' and 'the macro problem of the problem of relations that is established by their interactions'.

Critics of the interpretative approach however, have a number of concerns. Rex (1974) for example observes

> Whilst patterns of social relations and institutions may be the product of the actors' definitions of the situation, there is also the possibility that those actors might be falsely conscious

and that sociologists have an obligation to seek an objective
perspective which is not necessarily that of any of the partic-
ipating actors at all - we need not be confined purely and simply
to that .... social reality which is made available to us by
participant actors themselves.

Bernstein (1974) observes that the very process whereby one interprets and
defines a situation is itself a product of the circumstances in which one
is placed. He speculates how far others impose their definitions of
situations upon the participants.

Glaser and Strauss (1968) postulate that research potentialities have
been limited by the testing and verification of theories associated with
positivistic approaches. The prior assumptions about the objective
characteristics of social situations have often served to mask the features
of social reality. Research, they suggest, should be used to generate
grounded theories rather than force data into a preconceived 'objective'
reality. 'Grounded substantive theory' would therefore attempt to explain
the nature of social relations in one setting whereas 'grounded formal
theory' would, through a study of a number of settings, attempt to
generalise.

Shipman (1981, 136) summarises the two approaches to research; one in
which:

> the social scientist initiates responses and then interprets them
> within previously determined scientific frames of reference ... the
> other in which he first learns about the everyday conceptions of the
> natural situation from those involved and then interprets.

then comments that:

> in practice the differences may not be great between the two approaches.
> Positivist social scientists often carry out exploratory pilot studies,
> combine participant observation with more structured methods and include
> open-ended questions in their schedules. Interpetative social scient-
> ists also use predetermined interviews and questions. They may try to
> get inside the everyday conceptions of those investigated without any
> preconceptions, but it is likely that these will influence perception.

Finally, Barnes (1981) also commenting on mixed styles of approach to
curriculum research in schools, suggests that any attempt to understand the
formulation and enactment of teachers and pupils' responses must inevitably
lead to mixed modes of research which seem indeterminate when compared with
models drawn from the natural sciences. Such research he comments

...cannot be value-free since the observer, as in more positivistic approaches, ultimately selects the issues to investigate ... represents them by particular data, collects the data by certain methods and analyses them according to conceptual schemes which may arise from the data but also inevitably arise from the researcher.

He concludes on a cautionary note:

· Curriculum research will not build up a systematic body of knowledge, partly because many of the underlying problems are ethical rather than technical, partly because of the nature of the curriculum - its dependence upon the formation of meanings through interaction does not lead to definitive concepts and firm conclusions.
(Barnes 1981, 311)

Nisbet (1980) suggests that we are perhaps witnessing a change in educational research such as the change in music and art - from a classical to a modern era. After the scientific hypothetic-deductive method, we ought 'to start by trying to see the situation as the other person sees it'. He identifies a range of styles which have added to the power of educational research methods.

1. Experimental method Empirical educational science	2. Exploratory survey Fact-finding as a basis for decision making	3. Curriculum development new syllabus content and method. Field Trials and Evaluation	4. Action research Inter-ventionist	5. Open-ended inquiry Grounded theory Participant observation Illuminative Evaluation

Of the extremes 1 and 5, Nisbet says there is a place for both styles in the overall pattern. (5), however, should not dispense with the need for rigour and precision.

Using this profile, this research thesis clearly spans 3, 4 and 5. The GYSL Project had its origin in a major curriculum development movement, the Project in school represented an interventionist activity but the style of research builds its constructs on the basis of open-ended enquiry. The researcher became a 'resident' member of the schools rather than studying them in a detached way, adopting an anthropological model. The attempt to see the situation as described by the participants could be broadly described as 'illuminative'. The case studies draw heavily upon the phenomenological insights offered by the participants. Its concern to study interaction within the school and its classrooms places it within the ethnographic style defined as 'research in and on educational institutions based on participant observation and or permanent recordings of everyday life in naturally occurring settings' (Delamont and Atkinson 1980).

2.2   THE CASE STUDY APPROACH

> The essential problem has been to find a way of moving back and
> forth between the particular and the general so that each
> illuminates the other.
>
> (Richardson 1973, xii)

In the Weber tradition - the phenomenological view - the researcher
examines the direct experience of people in specific situations. One
means of doing this is the in-depth case study. In this research,
two schools were studied throgh a 'period of residence', some occasional
teaching, but largely through non-participant observation in classrooms
and at departmental and other staff meetings. There were many interviews
and informal discussions with staff and pupils.

A case study has been simply identified as 'an examination of
an instance in action'. It has also been variously defined as non-
experimental, non-qualitative, non-positivistic. The term includes
educational ethnography, participant observation, qualitative observ-
ation and field study. It allows the case-study worker to capture
and portray those elements of a situation that give it meaning. It
is therefore well suited to portraying the impact of an educational
innovation in a school. Learning, Shaw (1978) reminds us, takes place
within the interpersonal activity of the classroom which in turn is
heavily constrained by the institutional pressures of the school.

Some have seen the case study as a reaction against the excesses
of quantitative research. Kenny and Grotelueschen (1984) question
whether it is feasible to expect the case study approach to demonstrate
validity, reliability, generalisability and objectivity because these
are concepts which belong to the quantitative research and positivistic
traditions. The case study advocates are placed in the problematic
situation of trying to build a case for an alternative approach to
educational research and evaluation with the language and criteria
of the more traditional approach.

A case study has a particular liveliness about it. It is able
to identify how a group of people confront a particular situation.
The data is collected by being on hand. It provides opportunities
to reconceptualise as the study progresses, thus sharply contrasting
with research based on a positivistic experimental design. The material

is personal knowledge and experience. Its strength is that it:

> must be grounded in the experience of those for whom one writes
> ....it must connect with the experience of its readers at a
> deeper level than that of formal argument. (Dawe 1973)

In 'Re-thinking the Case Study' (Adelman et al, 1976) case study data is positively viewed. They suggest it is strong on reality but difficult to organise, whereas other research data may be weak in reality but susceptible to ready organisation. The case study, however, recognises the complexity and embeddedness of social truths and can represent something of the conflicts between viewpoints.

Questions of validity arise but the argument here focusses on truth conditions. Truth is presented in the case study through the portrayal of reality. The judgement is located in that the results must seem to fit reality. The caseworker is capturing the commonsense meanings as they appear to people. For the case study worker 'as opposed to the psychometrician, the internal judgements made by those he studies or who are close to the situation, are often more significant than the judgement of outsiders'. (Walker 1980,45)

The problem of uniqueness and generality is discussed by Elizabeth Richardson in her study of Nailsea Comprehensive School. The initial dilemma was whether she should write a report about schools in general or portray one particular school.

> If it is the former, we run the risk of falling into a swamp of
> generalisations, which will offer teachers little in the way of
> recognisable human experience to stir the imagination; if the latter,
> we run the risk of intrusion into a private world, inhabited by a
> relatively small number of teachers ... ironically, the safe
> generalised account might be accepted by other teachers as
> relevant to their concerns while leaving them untouched in their
> feelings and therefore unlikely to be stirred to the point of
> wishing to change any of their assumptions. Equally a more pro-
> vocative account of actual situations might arouse more interest
> .... yet be easily dismissed by teachers as an idiosyncratic
> description of one isolated school with which they could be
> expected to feel no kinship.

Richardson adds:

> The essential problem has been to find a way of moving back and
> forth between the particular and the general so that each illuminates
> the other. Thus the episodes and events take their place both as
> illustrative material for use in clarifying concepts and as
> evidence upon which attempts to form new concepts must be
> based.   (Richardson 1973 xii)

Kenny and Grotelueschen (1984) in presenting a positive view of case studies, argue that strong challenges to the neopositivistic position have been made by philosophers such as Dray, Scriven and Hanson, who emphasise the more purposive, inductive side of the social sciences. According to Kaplan (1964, 312) there are three major philosophical theories of truth - correspondence theory, coherence theory and pragmatic theory. While theoretical science and traditional research exhibit all three, they lean strongly towards <u>correspondence</u> theory. This affirms that all scientific statements make an appeal to facts and facts are empirically viable. Alternatively, however, the case study can be seen as leaning towards <u>coherence</u> theory. Here truths are collected in a way that they are seen to cohere together in a 'holistic sense regardless of whether inconsistencies appear among people's perceptions and interpretations of educational phenomena'. The <u>pragmatic</u> theory of truth is built upon the criteria of workability. A theory is seen to be true if it guides action successfully. The pragmatic formulation also provides a justification for the case study. Such interpretation would allow for a reinterpretation of concepts such as validity, reliability and generalisability.

Delamont (1978) however is concerned that some researchers she identifies as illuminative evaluators, may be adopting procedures lacking in rigour. Reflecting upon the work of Parlett and Hamilton (1977) who rejected the dominance of pre-test and post-test design, quantification and statistics as a central strategy, there is a danger 'they merely substitute one variety of theoretical findings based mainly on observation and interview for another based mainly on test scores'. The criticism is developed further. While advocating ethnographic research, Parlett and Hamilton displayed little sophistication in the strategies and tactics of such approaches:

> ..without an adequately formulated body of theory or method, the illuminators have been, and will be, unable to progress and generate a coherent, cumulative research tradition.
> (1978, 66)

Delamont pleads for self-awareness or reflexivity in the conduct of any ethnographic research.

2.3   THE OBSERVER/PARTICIPANT ROLE

The style of this research is concerned to expose the processes
of adoption and implementation of new curricula in schools, rather
than to measure outcomes based on a specified criteria of performance
which can be used to measure the degree of success. The researcher
represents a break with the input-output model - the so-called 'black
box' model of research. With the latter, the problem is that so often:

> the contents of the black box, the social mechanisms and processes
> are neglected ... nor is there anything inherent in the model to
> challenge the notion that the factors considered by the researchers
> are necessarily the salient ones as far as the social actors are
> concerned.   (Lacey 1976, 57)

It was therefore appropriate in this research to adopt a form
of ethnographic research in which the operation of innovations could
be seen and experienced in their natural settings. The challenge
was to respond to issues of immediacy to the practitioners, 'the salient
ones as far as the social actors are concerned'. Burgess (1980, 171)
has asserted 'ethnographic research by professional researchers has
failed to build up accounts of schools and classrooms that are of
use to the practising teacher.

A variety of roles have been adopted by ethnographic researchers
in British schools and classrooms.   Examples of observer   roles
include Poppleton (1975), Delamont (1976), King (1978).   Others
have taken a participant observer role - Hannan (1975) was a participant
who did not teach, Lacey (1970) and Hargreaves (1967) were participant
observers who taught and undertook research. Ball (1980) in his study
of mixed-ability teaching in a comprehensive school,   did supply
teaching plus timetabled teaching in the first year, phasing this
out in the second and third years. Burgess (1983) in his study of
Bishop McGregor School, was a part-time teacher during a sixteen month
investigation. My period of observation with occasional teaching was
a term full-time in each school, followed by visits in the second
and third years.

Access to schools

My work with the Schools Council provided me with many personal
contacts with colleagues in schools and Teachers' Centres. A local
LEA Geography Inspector, who was very supportive of the GYSL Project,

discussed a list of schools recently implementing the Project. From this, two schools were selected which in terms of intake, size and other variables, offered an interesting contrast - a well-established large secondary modern school in an inner city dockland area, the other a recently-opened medium-sized high school in an affluent 'green belt' area. Following informal contacts with the Heads of Geography and their Departments, I met the Headteachers, both of whom were extremely co-operative and gave me open access to all classroom activities - subject to negotiation with staff - and to staff meetings. A brief explanatory statement of my aims was discussed. Neither Head attempted to define or redefine the issues under scrutiny - a situation frequently reported by teacher researchers (Burgess 1980). This favourable response gave me access to the geography departments as well as to a wide range of subjects during 2nd and 4th year curriculum trails.

My formal introduction to teaching staff at the secondary modern school was at a Heads of Department Staff Meeting. Early in the agenda, I was invited to speak about my research for about ten minutes. There was then informal discussion and questions, mainly about the practicalities of observation and recording of data. At the rural high school, I was introduced at the morning meeting for all staff, held each day before registration and teaching began.

In both schools, the pre-research rapport I had built up with teacher colleagues implementing the Project provided an excellent basis for the work. It also provided a useful bridge to other innovatory work eg MACOS. In examining the work of the Project, colleagues felt a shared interest in its development. There was a genuine readiness to highlight issues which they felt were relevant to their particular situation. Smetherham has fairly stated that respondents generally are far more prepared to share private knowledge with one whom they see as personally and equally involved in their world. This favours an active participant role. Yet active participation raises difficulties for the researcher. The dilemma is discussed by Gans (1968, 303).

> Being a total participant is probably the most fruitful kind of
> participant/observer, for only being completely immersed in an
> event as an involved person can one really confront and grasp
> the social and emotional incentives and pressures that act
> on people in groups. Total participation is very difficult for the
> researcher, however; it is almost impossible for him to be both a
> total participant and an observer of himself and of other people.

> In most instances, however, whatever the participant/observer's
> formal role and degree of behavioural participation, he is
> emotionally first an observer and only secondly a participant.

Smetherham explores the participant role further:

> The grounding of theory in the experience of participation
> certainly highlights the potential for affective involvement that
> is a concomitant of the research commitment. Thus, the inter-
> pretative research mode raises the question of to what extent
> there can ever be any real community of interest between the
> researcher and those being observed. (1978 a, 99)

The participant observer by such involvement, and by his presence,
changes the situation; he himself is also changed. Close friendly
contact was certainly a feature of my relationship with the Heads
of Geography in both schools. However, researchers such as Douglas
(1976) and Miller (1969) have indicated the importance of fieldwork
avoiding over-identification with the individuals being studied. In
my case, being seen as a 'specialist' in curriculum development, the
Departments probably expected a 'spin-off' of supportive help and
advice. It was difficult at times to separate my wish to contribute
to discussions and respond to colleagues' requests for help while needing
to remain neutral, a stranger to the situation. Where, for example,
there were intra-Departmental loyalties, it was important to be accessible
to both groups and not to align oneself to either faction.

Smetherham (1978b,19) highlights this as a critical dilemma facing
the participant/observer:

> ...becoming a natural part of the observed group contains a
> potential for affective involvement, whilst the rigours of the
> research methodology itself require what may best be described
> as maintaining an attitude of integrity to the stance of that
> scholarly community represented by his presence.

Further questions arise about perspective, regarding the possibility
of there being a real community of interest between the researcher
and those being studied. There are differences of perspective, diff-
iculties arising from one socially located meaning system being imposed
on actions taking place in another.

Objectivity and the observer/participant

The aim of this research is to observe the course of the GYSL
Project and other associated innovations as interpreted in the arena
of the school. An attempt is made to trace the evolution of thought,
to examine the locale in which events happen, the philosophies of

the key actors, the negotiations, the conflicts within the school community taking the 'learning milieu as containing the substance of curriculum innovation not as is often implied, its pale or distorted shadow'. (Hamilton 1975, 180)

Represented among the geography and humanities staff in both schools were many different perspectives. Varying 'filters' of personal philosophy and experience meant many 'different projects' as perceived and experienced in the classroom. The views and expectations of parents, teachers, governors and pupils all influenced the 'received' curriculum experience. The research techniques used were varied - direct observation in the classroom; lessons were taped, resources selected and adapted by the teacher were analysed. There were informal discussions in the staff common room, in the dining hall, out of school, as well as taped 'formal' interviews. By both observation and discussion rather than dependence on questionnaires - the research attempted to identify where there appeared to be discrepancies between a person's actions and that person's description of action. 'Taken for granted' under-standings were brought under scrutiny. An outside researcher has an advantage compared with a teacher-researcher. He can question everyday concepts such as learning and teaching and can follow up leads which might be too controversial or politically uncomfortable for a full-time member of staff to explore. The outsider also has the opportunity to listen to issues as they arise; because he has not a personal stake in their outcome in that school, he can adopt a more objective stance.

But how objective can the outsider be? The very act of being present at an event whether as participant observer or observer affects the event. Becker (1970) postulates that the action in progress is always interpreted from the viewpoint of some socially located position.

> The interpretative framework of the evaluator is one in which
> his values provide the meaning structure for the action and
> may similarly affect the nature of his 'insight'. (Smetherham 1978b,17)

Shipman (1981, 78) shares the concerns expressed by Burgess (1980) about objectivity when he refers to the pollution of interpretation with personal interests, values and memories, making it important to look for controls over reported observations. He stresses the import-ance of controls, (a) within subject disciplines so that the facts and concepts are open to scrutiny, and (b) over the observer by checks

of his material where possible. Whereas the results of participant observation may be valid because: there has been no distortion, although one could argue that validity is an ideological position, reliability is problematic because another observer may see things differently. Inevitably, the researcher's views are bound up with the report produced. Accepting that there will be different realities, different perceptions, it is important to bring the perceptions of other groups to bear on the same situation. Denzin (1973) for example, proposed triangulation, using multiple approaches to study the same subject.

At Dockside School, for example, the same questionnaire about classroom activities and techniques was given to the pupils and the Head of Geography. Differing perceptions of the shared experience were revealed. Similarly at Birchwood, staff holding differing philosophies were presented with similar questions. The detailed transcript of tapes and the draft analysis were read over and discussed with leading participants. Documentary evidence such as internal papers, pupil worksheets and written statements on pupil reports, were used where possible to corroborate other evidence.

The attempt to get inside the private world of the school and the classroom is complex. It requires confidence in the purposes of the research and in the process of analysis and ultimate dissemination of the findings. We are reminded that:

> ....the world of education is not one that invites scrutiny by outsiders (or even by teacher colleagues). The readers have a right to know the premise on which the researcher's perceptions are based.
> (Smetherham 1979, 11)

PART 3

PORTRAYAL:
INNOVATION IN DOCKSIDE SECONDARY
MODERN SCHOOL

3.1   INTRODUCTION : THE PORTRAYAL OF DOCKSIDE SCHOOL AS A
                      BASIS FOR THE SUBSEQUENT ANALYSIS OF
                      BIRCHWOOD SCHOOL

> The need at the moment is for more case studies which present us
> with a coherent picture of the process of educational change.
> Ideally we could hope for studies of similar innovations intro-
> duced into a number of organisations varying in one or more
> organisational characteristics, for example the average age of
> the staff, staff experience ... leadership of the head-teacher...
>   (Whiteside 1978, 61)

The choice of two schools rather than one for this research was
based on the expectation that observing the GYSL Project in operation
in two different environments would help to sharpen an understanding
of the change process. It would be instructive to examine complex inter-
actions as the GYSL Project was implemented in two social systems,
and so explore the interpretation of this innovation in the classroom
by two sets of geographers taking as the starting point 'practice rather
than precept' - regarding 'the learning milieu as containing the sub-
stance of curriculum innovation, not as often implied, its pale or
distorted shadow'. (Hamilton 1975, 180). Following Silverman's work,
an alternative to the prevailing Systems approach has been adopted.
'Beginning from the subjectively meaningful nature of social life'
he writes, 'it has been argued that explanations of social action must
arise from the definitions of the situations and purposes of the actors'.
(Silverman 1970)   The research in both schools attempts, therefore,
to understand the participants' interpretation of their situation.

Initially, it was intended that the report of each school should
have equal weighting. However, the adoption of an illuminative approach
exposed the researcher to the particular issues which were significant
to each institution. The study of Dockside School in fact proved to
be a most useful base from which to develop a more detailed study of
Birchwood School. Certain key questions were raised in the former and
carried forward into the latter school. The same analytical methods
were used in both schools. During the first study, techniques such
as detailed interaction analysis were simplified, adapted or rejected.
there was therefore a sense of progression both at the level of concept
and technique as the two studies became part of an entity. The age
of the institutions, the physical characteristics of the environments,

leadership styles, social organisation and neighbourhood catchments contrasted sharply. Not least the mix of staff, their age, background and philosophy provided a series of fascinating contrasts.

In Birchwood School, the concept of the classroom as an arena (Strauss 1964) was adopted and it proved a valuable basis for an analysis of the Dockside School data. Aspects of the interaction between teachers and pupils, the implicit and explicit philosophies which influenced both the content and form of the lessons as well as the physical environment in which the interactions took place, are all explored.

Conflict and negotiation in relation to the GYSL Project clearly figure in both schools but conflicts which were generally 'contained' or hidden at Dockside School, assume pivotal importance at Birchwood where the debate among staff about fundamental educational issues was explicit and often sophisticated in its quality. For all these reasons, the Birchwood School study assumes the major role. Dockside School in a less elaborate form begins to lay down significant pointers.

3.2   THE SETTING AND GENERAL ORGANISATION OF THE SCHOOL

Dockside Secondary School is one of the largest secondary modern schools in England and Wales. Whereas the average size of secondary modern schools in England and Wales in the late 1970s was 588, Dockside by 1978 had 1600+ pupils, aged 11-18, on its rolls. At that time, it was drawing on twenty-five local primary schools although the bulk of its intake came from four of these schools. In 1978 there was a twelve form entry. At the time of this research, the entry had dropped to eleven forms and a continued fall was expected.

The first school buillding, now housing the Lower School, was opened in 1957. Extensive new buildings were planned when the school's size was considerably increased by amalgamation with another secondary school. The new buildings were designed to accommodate the school House system. The buildings are divided into three areas, Sixth Form, Lower (Yrs 1 and 2) and Middle School (Yrs 3, 4 and 5).

Area 1 : the Sixth Form suite, also containing the Upper School library, the practical science, art and home economics rooms.

Area 2 : the Lower School containing ordinary classrooms with the addition of some practical rooms.

Area 3 : new buildings used by the Middle School, each with a mixture of classrooms and open areas for social and dining purposes. The area accommodates four Houses - two blocks with one House on each of the ground and first floors. The blocks are also designed to accommodate an area of the curriculum. For example, Ightham House contains the modern languages department, Newton House the Mathematics department, Harvey House the English department and King's House the Music/RE departments.

The mixture of building ages produced a mixture of architectural styles. Although some parts of the building with long stone corridors and formal room design did not help to convey a warm responsive atmosphere, other areas were colourful and attractive. The reception area for parents and visitors near the Secretary's office was in the latter category. More especially, the people in the building generally behaved towards each other in a friendly fashion. There was a sense of orderliness about the building and few signs of the disfigurement or damage to property exhibited in some inner city schools. The whole complex is

set amid its own playing fields.

The importance of spatial arrangement in both schools will be discussed later. Until the 1950s, Dale (1972, 51) suggests 'values hinted at by the visual symbolism contained in the architecture were relatively unquestioned'. Hargreaves (1980, 130) sees the study of spatial arrangement as illuminating the paracurriculum.

General Organisation

On entry, the pupils whose scores on the Verbal Reasoning Test range from below 75 to about 110 were placed in one of eleven mixed-ability tutor groups. They were taught in three bands, A B and C, except for mixed-ability grouping in mathematics in the first year, English in the third and general studies in years four and five. These three bands were organised in house groups, each of the four houses contributing approximately three bands to each of the first three years. The curriculum in Years 1 and 2 provided a general education with significant time given to English and Maths. The organisation was similar in Year 3, when the pupils moved to the Middle School. In Year 4, there were three mixed-ability tutor groups in each of the four houses. These were taught as a group for 25/50 periods (a ten-day timetable). There was a common core of English, Maths, General Studies and PE. The remaining twenty-four periods were spent in four option groups. The organisation was similar in Year 5, the main change being that there were five option groups. There was also compulsory Mathematics. There were a number of small but well-established courses in the Sixth Form leading to 'A' level. Those listed in the 1980 School Prospectus included English Literature, Mathematics, Biology, Mathematics, Art, British Government and Constitution, Geography, Technical Drawing, Woodwork and Religious Education.

Public examinations figured strongly throughout 4th, 5th and 6th Form courses. Pupils could be entered for Ordinary Level of GCE, or for the Certificate of Secondary Education. Up to eight subjects might be taken by any one pupil in the 5th year. At a First Year parents' evening, the Headmaster reported that in 1979 there were 1,500 entries at CSE of which less than 2% had been unsuccessful. There were 200 successful 'O' level subject entries. Sixty per cent of those who sat 'A' level were successful in at least one subject.

Staffing

The staff/pupil ratio was 18:1 for a school population of 1,623. The current staffing was ninety. Since 1974, there had been a steady turnover of staff, eg in 1974, fourteen staff left, seventeen were appointed; in 1977, eleven staff left, ten were appointed. This was a period when many LEAs, especially in the South-east, experienced high staff turnover. Uncertainty as to whether Dockside would be recognised as a comprehensive school, the lack of a large high-ability intake in a selective LEA system, plus the rapidity of promotion generally may all have been contributory factors. Although there had been quite an influx of young, relatively inexperienced teachers, there was still a nucleus of twenty-five per cent with more than ten years' experience, most of whom had spent that time in continuous service at the school. The senior staff management consisted of:

(1)   the Head - the current holder was appointed a few months before the research began;

(2)   two Deputy Heads who shared the responsibility for pastoral care and curriculum development;

(3)   a Senior Master, a geographer who had the care of the professional development of colleagues.

Responsibility posts were divided between Heads of Year groupings, House posts, and Heads of Subject Departments.

Catchment Area

Dockside School is part of a selective system whereby approximately twenty-five per cent of the most able pupils are recruited to grammar schools. The distribution of ability for first year pupils, 1977/78, for Dockside is shown (Fig 2). This indicates the high proportion of the intake in the 80-105 IQ range.

At a time of falling rolls and curtailment of resources, the school inevitably found itself competing for clientele with neighbouring secondary modern schools. The curtailment of numbers, staff and resources was high on the agenda of two of the staff meetings I attended. The difficulty in the recruitment of pupils was seen by some staff as resulting from a number of causes. Being close to the inner city, there was the problem of population movement away from the area. The school

FIG 2   Distribution of Ability – Dockside First Year Population 1977–78
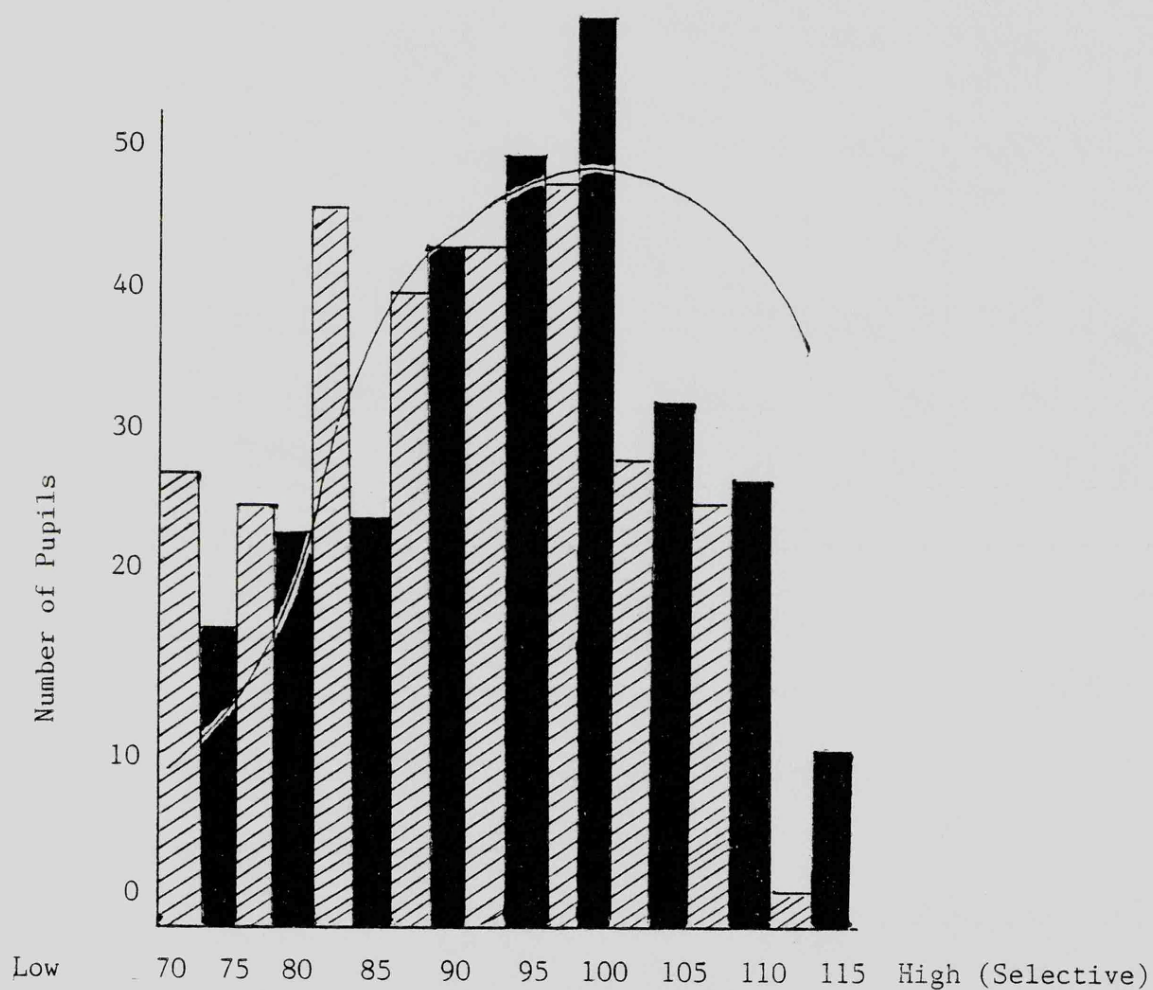
Ability levels based upon average standard score
in Maths, English and VR

Actual numbers 1977

Actual numbers 1978

Expected curve of distribution

had therefore to draw upon a wider catchment area. One teacher commented 'The school is perceived as being at the poor end of the town'. Possibly the large size of the school population made an impact on recruitment. A social worker suggested:

> The school suffers from 'big school blues'. It has gained a
> reputation for bullying which is probably unjustified, but
> many people do not choose Dockside School first - any school
> but that.

The positive side of this was reflected by the mid-First Year parents' evening when that image was widely refuted. Parents were quoted after the evening saying 'It's not a bit like we thought it was. We're glad we came after all'. A similar initial parent perception was confirmed to me by Ken Newman, Head of Geography:

> We have to do more to assure the public that there is a good
> basic education here. There is a strong public image to counter.
> Parents used to regard Dockside School as the first choice after
> the grammar school - but not now!

Competition from other secondary schools towards the outer rim of the town created difficulties for Dockside in terms of first choices as well as overall numbers. Three of the other schools, two secondary modern and a grammar, were commanding first choices so that 50% of the Dockside intake having 'failed' the 11+, had to come by bus, passing two of the schools to the east that were generally more favoured by parents. One of these schools, once looked upon very unfavourably, had been transformed under the dynamic leadership of a new head, overcoming the social diff-iculties of its location on a local authority estate which received displaced families; a 'dumping area' was the phrase used. Dockside's social catchment on the whole was more favourable than this. While the largest proportion came from a 'working-class' background, there were still a substantial number from owner-occupied terraced housing or private 'middle-class' estates.

The House/Pastoral System

I was told that two inspections had taken place at Dockside School recently. The HMIs reported on the school in March 1976. They called for a County Inspector's Report which was undertaken 1977/78. In both reports, apparently, the community life of the school had been highly commended. There had, however, been less wholehearted support for the academic work in the school. Socially, the school was rated as doing

an excellent job. Undoubtedly, the central reason for that was the House system. Each of the four Houses is seen as the primary agent of pastoral care. I was able to spend some time in Harvey House, where Kathleen Norton was the Housemistress. The House area was also used as a specialist area for the English Department. Kathleen, being on the English staff, was in the unit all day, supervising the unit and encouraging her own House pupils to take responsibility for its fabric and decor. The high standard of appearance was a tribute to the commitment of the House staff. The Houses, in fact, form mini-schools with an oversight of welfare, discipline and uniform, liaison with parents and formal committee work in the school. In a large school, Kathleen felt that the House structure was essential:

> The children develop confidence in this unit. First and foremost they are a member of Harvey House rather than Dockside School. This is where their loyalty lies. They really care for their social area.

Asked about the general attitudes of her group, ranging from 14 to 16 years of age, she replied:

> I am very impressed by their attitudes. They are very pro-House. I do not think I have any who are anti-system. They might not like particular subjects or staff members, but they do not behave in a way which is antagonistic against the whole school system

This was a surprising response as queries about academic 'opting out' were subsequently raised and will be referred to later.

The House groups took lunch in their own areas. I had lunch in these areas on many occasions. The atmosphere was orderly and relaxed. Only occasionally was a staff announcement necessary. Staff mingled informally with pupils and sat at the same tables chatting with the younger members of the community. The Head and other senior staff participated in the same way.

Kathleen Norton started her day at school at 8.00 am and was 'on duty' all day. The pre-school period, breaks and the lunch hour were all spent in the House area. She left for home at 5.00 pm: 'I have no family responsibilities so you could say this sublimates my maternal instinct'. During informal times, she was always available to pupils: 'They come and talk about anything - problems in school, problems at home'. She also took care to pass on to them positive encouragements as well as critical reports from other staff.

3.3   THE TEACHING CONTEXT AT DOCKSIDE SCHOOL

'Silent work ... every time anyone asks a question it interrupts'

To gain a deeper understanding of the ethos of the school, especially the teachers' and pupils' expectations and achievements - I planned to spend two weeks of my research at Dockside School studying the curriculum experience of two groups of pupils, one in the 4th year, one in the 2nd year (see timetable, Appendix A1). The 4th year gave an immediate context to the recently introduced GYSL Project. The 2nd year provided an insight into the general characteristics of the preparatory work done in the Lower School before pupils were introduced to the Schools Council Project. In the 4th year, because of the complexity of settings and options, the composition of the group varied from lesson to lesson, but this did not fundamentally interfere with the objective of sampling teaching and learning approaches. Ten lessons in various areas of the curriculum together with nine geography lessons were observed over the two-week period. Ten 5th year geography periods were also seen. In Year 2, eight periods in total, including two geography lessons, were seen. The profiles were on an individual class basis and no attempt was made to explore subject sub-cultural philosophies as in the Birchwood study.

I was told that the visiting inspectors, after complimenting the school on the pastoral system, added that high expectations of conduct were not always carried over into the classroom. There was at times considerable inattentiveness. There was concern, too, about the low intellectual demands of the teaching programme. There was a need to strengthen and consolidate the academic life and work of the school. This was part of the impetus for the formation of the Staff Curriculum committee.

Method of Observation

The original intention was to make exclusive use of the Verbal Interaction Category system devised by Amidon and Hunter (1967) (Appendix A2). It was experimentally used in a full day's programme at a local girls' school. However, while the analysis gives a very precise picture of the balance and structure of the interaction, it proved to be restrictive. The observer, as in the Flander's Interaction Analysis Categories (FIAC), codes classroom talk into one of eleven categories, recording

every three seconds. A forty-minute lesson produces eight hundred tallies. The record on paper, however, is unlikely to reflect the dynamics of the lesson or one's personal impression of it. A similar criticism was made by Delamont (1976, 28) when she experienced a lesson in which a casual comment conveyed an important shared meaning between pupils and staff. It gave a valuable insight into the 'changing pattern of classroom life – socially constructed over time – and constantly subject to neg-otiation and re-negotiation'. She was applying the insights of symbolic interactionist research to study the classroom. In my own research, I used the Interaction System for parts of lessons, but generally I favoured a more open approach based on a check list recorded in 'Looking Behind the Classroom Door' (Goodlad and Klein 1974).

1) <u>Milieu</u> – as a home for children, is the classroom warm and bright? Is the teacher supportive?

2) <u>Instructional Activity</u> – does the teacher bring the children into the subject-matter? Is she the source of knowledge to groups or individuals?

3) <u>Subject-matter</u> – what do the children do with it? Do they relate it to other experiences?

4) <u>Materials and Equipment</u>

5) <u>Involvement</u> – how involved is the teacher/children?

6) <u>Interaction</u> – teacher to child, back to teacher, child to child, exchanging ideas with each other. Where do ideas come from?

7) <u>Inquiry</u> – the process of learning: seeking out or learning conclusions?

8) <u>Independence</u> – freedom, control, who asks whom?

9) <u>Curriculum balance</u> across fields of knowledge, modified accord-ing to the needs of the class?

10) <u>Ceilings</u> – and floors – of expectancy.

I devised a simple recording form (Appendix A3) which provided me with scope to use both detailed interaction analysis and more impress-ionistic descriptions. The same approach was used with geography classes as part of the 2nd and 4th Years analysis. It was also used extensively in Year 5. The aim was to develop an understanding of the teaching and

learning context. The analysis thus derived provided a meaningful frame-work in which to study the geographer's classroom transactions. In addit-ion to observation schedules, tape recordings were made. There were informal discussions with pupils. Two small groups were asked to keep a diary throughout the week. This, however, provided little information of significance.

I have extracted for inclusion ten lessons in an abbreviated form. Both second and fourth year profiles include one geography lesson, (in the 4th year GYSL). A generalised summing up follows the lesson outlines.

Year 4 profile trail

17 March : 9.25 - 10.15, History

The lesson was part of the Schools Council 13-16 History Project. Many of the Project issues relate to social/political interests of geog-raphers, eg the changing nature of the environment and the importance of value clarification. The style of learning proposed is based on the use of primary sources where possible.

Here, after teacher talk lasting ten minutes and some oral questions by the teacher, class work was set. It was to be done in silence. In-structions were written on the blackboard:

p.47	Copy quotation from Engels
p.48	Summarise the Poor Law System (10-12 lines)
p.49	Summarise both sources
p50	Summarise in 10-12 lines

There were one or two questions by pupils on what what was expected. There was no summary and no conclusion to the lesson.

Homework was a continuation of written classwork.

20 March : 9.25 - 10.15, History

The lesson did not start until 9.41. With this 'B' stream, the activ-ity was again part of the Schools Council History 13-16 Project. The purpose was to examine an historical site, in particular to encourage the pupils to look closely at castles. The teacher suggested they visit one at leisure. Some pupils had been on a visit with the teacher to Dover Castle. The class were asked to rate the castles as one might restaurants, eg 5-star, using a set of criteria predetermined on a work-sheet.

There was teacher talk from 9.41 to 9.54 during which there were no questions and no discussion. There was no attempt, therefore, to use their experience orally. There was no opportunity to learn from each other. No encouragement or praise was given. At one point, the teacher said during the classwork time 'Silent work - every time anyone asks a question, it interrupts'. Those pupils not on the castle visit were asked to explain the following terms from books - moat, curtain wall, bailey.

Comment:

This was an exciting area of content but the follow-up was mechanical and teacher dominated. The excitement seemed to have been squeezed out. However, in discussion afterwards, the teacher said she felt the classroom experience had changed since she started doing the Schools Council Project: 'Now I teach them where to find things', also 'I find a need to think about specific objectives'.

17 March : 11.20 - 12.15, English

The layout of the room formed a hollow square with pupils seated around the outer rim, committee style. The lesson focussed in 'What is a cult?'

11.20 - 11.35 There was lively discussion. A typical pattern of verbal interaction   111 44 33 55 22222 33 55 1111 5 EE 999

11.35 - 11.55 The class wrote down examples of cults, followed by an exchange of pupil and teacher ideas; a great deal of verbal interaction. The teacher was constantly prompting and provoking: 'I need your ideas in case I go wrong'. There was an easy rapport. Every first name of pupil was known.

11.55 - 12.06 Class writing own definitions.

12.06 - 12.15 Exchange of ideas in groups.

Comments:

This was a racy and enjoyable lesson in which pupils did a lot of thinking because their ideas were wanted and expected. A wide range of skills were employed - listening, speaking, reading, writing.

17 March : 1.45 - 2.35, Science

This lesson was in the science laboratory. The pupils were seated at benches. The topic was exposure of skin to variations of temperature and humidity.

1.45   The video was switched on almost immediately. Only the title of the lesson was given.

2.17   A period of teacher-talk in which no questions were asked or received. Towards the end of the lesson, the pupils were asked to draw the outline of their palm on a page, then to insert areas of sensitivity.

2.45   End of lesson. No homework set.

Comment:

There was no attempt to link with pupil experience, eg problems of exposure when camping on holiday. The pupils made no active contribution. It was a perfect example of 'School Knowledge' rather than 'Action Knowledge' (Barnes 1976). Knowledge 'out there' was transmitted by the teacher.

17 March : 2.35 - 3.30, Maths

The theme of the lesson was Symmetry.

2.47   Due to pupils' late arrival and the distribution of apparatus, a formal start was delayed. There was some question and discussion initiated by the teacher, working from the blackboard. The class settled down surprisingly well considering this was the last period of the day (see later note on timetabling in Year 4). Mirrors were used individually to test symmetry. There was no mention of the reasons for doing it or how it could be used in other situations. There was no conclusion by the teacher.

18 March : 1.45 - 2.35, Geography

Layout: tables grouped. Eight pupils per unit.

This was a GYSL Project lesson. The whole lesson, on holiday centres, was devoted to practical work programmed from worksheets. There was informal discussion in groups but each pupil was doing a 'mirror exercise'

of what everyone else was doing. There was an extensive range of skills - free writing, line drawing, maps and graphs. It was part of a continuing piece of practical work with prepared questions which did not require interaction for a group composition, although the concept of the original exercise offered this opportunity. There was little pupil-teacher inter-action. There was no gathering or exchange of information or ideas at the end.

Year 2 profile trail

24 March : 9.25 - 10.15, Maths

Individual pupil work on the Kent Maths Project (KMP) demanding considerable skills and commitment on the part of the teacher.

24 March : 10.30 - 11.20, RE

10.30 - 10.40 Discussion about handicapped people and what is being done for them. Homework of an investigative nature was set: 'Find out about a handicapped group of people and what is being done for them'. This was an interesting and motivational start to the lesson.

10.40 - 10.53 Teacher-talk and some oral questioning about the story of the paralysed man.

10.53 - 10.57 Reading in class.

10.57 - 11.20 An exercise was written on the blackboard. Here are the first few questions:
1) In which town was Jesus preaching?
2) Why could not the four men get their friend into the house?
3) How were they carrying their friend?
4) Describe how they eventually got him in.

Comment:

The lesson was well-managed and attention was held after a lively start. The written class work was mainly knowledge and comprehension rather than application (Bloom 1956). There was a greater emphasis on transcriptive skills.

25 March : 1.45 - 2.35, Science
The qualities of air
1.55 - 2.12 The proportions of different gases were discussed. An

experiment was done by the teacher showing the importance of oxygen in the air.

2.12   Notes were taken down, then another experiment done by the teacher. There was occasional questioning orally, but as time went on, the class became restless. From the pupils' point of view, it was a more positive lesson than some. There was no individual work. A comment to me by one of the pupils, Jill: 'I enjoyed that lesson, but it is generally boring'.

26 March : 10.30 - 11.20, Geography (taught by Charles Tenby, second-in-charge of Geography)

The lesson was a curious mixture. It began by the teacher talking about depopulation and population densities. It then went on to discuss how a surveyor has difficulties in portraying height. The class exercise was to draw part of a complex map of West Scotland putting in the contours and shading. This was a mechanical low-demand exercise in which no attempt was made to explain the real significance of it or at any stage to draw upon the pupils' experience. It again seemed to be knowledge 'out there' which the teacher possessed but which the pupil was lacking. There was no sense of shared learning, no summary, no conclusion, no attempt to motivate.

Comments on the Year 4 and Year 2 Curriculum Profiles

The sample seen during two separate weeks was a very limited one and those included in the above account represent a selection within the sample. The selection was, however, representative of those seen (the geography classrooms will also be reviewed later). In reviewing these observations, I would like to incorporate comments made by other staff, especially the Headmaster. The checklist (Goodlad and Klein) is helpful in summarising in a more systematic way. It is also useful to refer to 'Fifteen Thousand Hours - Secondary schools and their effects on children' (Rutter et al 1979), which attempted to categorise the qualities of a successful school. As the curriculum profiles at Dockside School are discussed, the teaching/learning environment into which a curriculum development project was introduced and implemented is illuminated. What impact would it have as the geographers negotiated their individual teaching perspectives within the school?

(A) Teacher/Pupil Roles/Relationships to Knowledge
            (Involvement, interaction, enquiry, independence
            Categories 2 and 3, Goodlad and Klein)

The overall impression was of high teacher dominance and <u>control</u>
<u>of both behaviour and knowledge</u>. Classes were generally firmly disciplined.
Staff were suspicious of groups that were noisy or even engaged in verbal
discourse. The comment of the historian, 'Silent work - every time anyone
asks a question, it interrupts', was fairly typical of the expectation
when practical work was being undertaken. Even the newly-appointed Head
was aware of the concern that some staff had at the buzz of conversation
when he himself took a maths lesson. The comment had reached him 'The
boss cannot control his classes'. If there was pressure on such a senior
staff member, the pressures that younger members may sustain in exper-
imental approaches can be anticipated. There are strong pressures if
discipline is thought to be at risk, because of its domino effect in
a school, especially if there is not strong central cohesion. Idealism
and utopian statement about progressive trends, Lortie (1975) suggests,
are likely to 'press teachers back to conservatism. They discourage
the risk-taking required for creativity'. Unless there is support for
risk-taking, a school community finds innovation and change difficult.

The House system provided a positive base for favourable pupil attit-
udes at Dockside School. It certainly created a strong cohesive force
on the social side. The Housemistress had commented that she could not
identify an anti-system culture - the equivalent of 'the lads' in Willis's
'Learning to Labour' (1977).

The authoritarian role of the teacher with a strong control of
knowledge came through forcibly in a majority of classrooms. Of course,
there were variations. A history lesson taken by a historian (not so
far referred to in the profiles) with a remedial class, was one such
example. The children participated in a genuinely creative way. The
observed English lesson with Year 4 was very interactive, with the teacher
skilfully providing an initial stimulus. But much other teaching corres-
ponded more closely to the Transmission model (Barnes 1976, 144) with
such characteristics as:
   (i)   the teacher believing knowledge to exist in the form
         of public disciplines including content and criteria
         of performance;
   (ii) valuing the learner's performance in so far as it conforms

> to the criteria of the discipline and 'perceives the
> learner as an uninformed acolyte for whom access to
> knowledge is difficult'.

The model, while simplifying the transmission mode end of a continuum provides a basis for analysis. In much of the classroom work at Dockside, the pupil seemed to be regarded as 'deficit system, a passive object to be progressively initiated into the public thought forms which exist outside him (knowledge out there) as massive, coercive facticities (Esland 1976, 89). These characteristics, continued Esland, exemplify the psycho-metric model.

The new Head was concerned about what he called 'the mechanical approach of sit-down and write'. The danger as he saw it was that pupils became conditioned. 'I want to create an atmosphere in which youngsters are happy to explore and question. It is not wrong to question and to ask. Often it is 'We've got it and we are going to give it to you!' David Hargreaves (1975), reviewing teaching types, proposed three cate-gories - Liontamers, Entertainers and New Romantics. They are models of real life and any one teacher could in differing situations exhibit mixtures of all these characteristics. The liontaming had much in common with Esland's psychometric model. It would be easy to caricature the teaching seen during the 4th Year and 2nd Year profile weeks at Dockside School, but some typical 'liontaming' characteristics were present, eg:

> The liontamers believe quite firmly that the content of the
> curriculum must be entirely in the hands of the teacher. (p.167)

> It is the teacher's job to define the problem, explain the
> concepts, principles and methods involved and provide most
> of the necessary information. (p.169)

> Typically, the class is taught as a whole and for the most
> part the teacher, in his talk, is addressing the class as
> a unit. 'Individual work' consists of each pupil doing the
> same thing in a state of social isolation from other learners
> ('No talking whilst you are writing'). (p.172)

Central to the whole of this discussion is the definition of know-ledge - an issue which became the central pivot in the Birchwood School study. At Dockside, the Head wanted to create an 'atmosphere in which youngsters are happy to explore and question'. Hargreaves, in his third category, the New Romantics, emphasises the importance of learning how to learn and encouraging pupils to question: 'The pupil is then helped

to question the assumptions and the implicit values of the 'knowledge' that he meets in his explorations'. Postman and Weingartner (1969) develop the same idea: 'Knowledge isn't just <u>there</u> in a book, waiting for someone to come along and learn it'. The new Head was anxious to move the school's present centre of gravity in this respect.

The classroom observations could alternatively be analysed in terms of a Collection or an Integrated Code (Bernstein 1971). Between these there is a fundamental shift in the conception of what counts as knowledge and how the curriculum is to be structured and evaluated. Are the pupils to receive knowledge as static and closed or do they participate in the generation of knowledge. The 'liontaming' profile had much in common with the Collected Code. Strong 'framing' may be associated with that code in two respects:

(a)   to the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organisation and pacing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship,

and
(b)   the strength of the boundary, the degree of insulation, between the everyday community knowledge of teacher and taught and educational knowledge.

Many of the lessons seen were typified by '<u>strong framing</u>' in so far as the teacher was in a position of control of knowledge and behaviour and in relation to the gap between everyday knowledge and taught educational knowledge, eg the science lesson (Year 4) on temperature, humidity and the exposure of the human body.

(B)   <u>Expectation ('Ceilings and floors' - Category 10, Goodlad and Klein)</u>

<u>'Twenty minutes' work to fill three-quarters of an hour'</u>
(Housemistress)

The <u>setting of homework</u> was one aspect of expectations. The Head at one of the staff meetings quoted a letter from a parent saying that homework was not being regularly set or systematically followed up. There were practical problems. A member of staff commented informally to me afterwards:

> We do not set homework here because of £000's of damage done
> to books but if we could get the parents' co-operation, this
> would double output and raise standards.

The Rutter research regarded setting homework as one indicator of a successful school.

> Children had better academic success in schools where homework
> was regularly set and marked ... it appears that both general
> attitudes and specific actions to emphasise academic expect-
> ations can play a part here. Children are liable to work
> better if taught in an atmosphere of confidence that they
> can and will succeed in the tasks they are set. Of course,
> in turn, the children's good work will tend to reinforce
> and support the teacher's high expectation of them.
> (Rutter 1979, 188)

Other staff in discussion felt there was a <u>lack of consistent press-ure and often a feeling</u> of under-achievement in the classrooms. Kathleen Norton, the Housemistress, put it like this - and her opinions are to be respected because of the openness that existed between her and the pupils:

> The children feel with some staff they do some things repet-
> itively and they also cotton on to the fact that they are
> given twenty minutes' work to fill three-quarters of an
> hour. They are not challenged by it. Also because we are a
> Secondary Modern School, somehow there is a gulf with some
> staff. I don't think we are able to make the pupils think.
> They are either listening passively or they are noisy. They
> do not <u>think</u> - they are not made to work. There is no train
> of thought.

Pupils in Harvey House appeared to behave responsibly in the House Unit. They took good care of school property because they were given responsibility and encouragement. They responded to high expectations. Like all pupils, they lived up (ceilings) or down (floors) to expectations. Farrington (et al, 1978) for example showed that youths who were labelled in public as being delinquent, tended to exhibit greater delinquency.

<u>Expectation academically is often reflected by examination results</u>. The area psychological worker whose group of schools included Dockside, and whose wife recently taught at the school, was dogmatic: 'Staff expect-ations at Dockside are low - not only is homework infrequently asked for, rarely is there a display of work - there is a dullness about the school'. He compared it with the revitalised Secondary Modern a short distance away, serving a more difficult social area, whose examination results were superior with many pupils getting five 'O' levels.

Kathleen Norton offered another insight when I asked about <u>curriculum content and expectations</u>:

> There is only one thing the 4th and 5th year options are
> related to - that is <u>examinations</u>. We are an examination-
> orientated school - that is the <u>whole ethos</u> of the school.

In many ways, we work against it in the House System. There should be an area of the curriculum which is not examination-orientated. We 'con' them through the 4th Year. We 'con' them in CSE with an increasing output demanded of them. Then by the 5th Year, many realise they are not going to make it and the kids opt out or become bolshy - if they do not end up with results, they know they have failed. We give them nothing else!

What was the view of Senior Management on examinations?

The Deputy Head:

The examination system imposes a straightjacket on us. We are directed in that direction. GYSL examinations can be good [he liked the content and style] or in English where the approach can be exploratory. If the pupils are not taking examinations, they feel disenfranchised so they may choose courses which are not appropriate.

The Head:

Examinations create a tendency towards much more written work. There is an overall emphasis on this with less on discussion and practical work.

He saw examinations as an external pressure to be reconciled to:

We are often forced into a more didactic approach by society - by the demands that educational processes must impart and assess knowledge in an independent form. Often it was the sole justification for what I was doing as a teacher. Sadly for some parents, that is enough - the way in which examinations have come to be regarded by society as the only way of assessing young people. It is the easiest way, an almost spell-binding way - and we are not going to shift this! A broader basis of examinations should be experimented with. We need not just new syllabus content, but it is the way we approach them that has to be different.

In another interview, the Head touched on many issues, revealing his idealism about curriculum development and teacher re-education. I therefore viewed with interest the image of the school he would project to parents whose children were due to join the school in six months' time. Despite the wet evening, there was a very good attendance. I taped the whole of his speech. He spent most of his time talking about examination courses - the 1,500 entries at CSE, the 200 entries at 'O' level, the number of pupils staying on at 6th Form. Perhaps in view of the declining public image of the school, he felt compelled to reassure the parents in terms of what they saw as important, but there was no mention of pupil involvement and enquiry methods, or even of general curriculum matters. It was a sad reflection of the hold public examinations have on the Secondary system. He went on to relieve fears about behaviour,

mathematical approaches, and the importance of homework.

The first year classes were mixed-ability, but for older pupils, A, B and C bands were clearly defined. The setting arrangements were influenced by banding in the upper part of the school. One member of staff remarked to me 'There is a general lack of movement between streams - the 'A' band tend to remain the 'A' band, the 'C' band remain the 'C' band'.

> The central proposition in studies of teacher expectations is
> that pupils tend to perform as well as or as badly as their
> teachers expect. The teacher's prediction of a pupil's or
> group of pupils' behaviour is held to be communicated to them,
> frequently in unintended ways, thus influencing the behaviour
> that follows. (Meigham 1981, 119)

Nash's work (1973) with secondary pupils concluded that their behaviour varied with different teachers according to the teachers' expectations.

(C) Interaction (Category 6, Goodlad and Klein)

There was a high dominance of 'teacher to pupil' in the interaction analysis. The questioning came almost exclusively from the teachers. The children were never asked what questions they wanted to ask. One suspects they did not expect to be asked. But equally significantly, in the classrooms, the children did not apparently learn from each other. With no exceptions in the classes seen were different assignments set within the classes to groups or individuals. There was no collaborative learning.

In some classrooms, the furniture did not promote the possibility of freer activities. The spatial structure of a classroom did perhaps symbolise relationships; the formal rows of tables or desks reinforced teacher to pupil response rather than pupil to pupil interaction.

(D) Subjects and Timetabling (Category 9, Goodlad and Klein)

The impression that is reinforced as one trails a class from one period to another during the course of a week, is the sheer unrelatedness of one subject to another. This was one of the concerns of the Staff Curriculum Committee. What aims and objectives were held in common? What skills were being developed across the curriculum? One example in the Year 4 profile that stands out as a negative example of this was the

history topic 'Castles', which was being examined as a possible resource for leisure. In the same week in geography, the same pupils were analysing the spatial distribution of leisure amenities. The staff were totally unaware of the experience and knowledge the pupils were bringing to their lessons from another Department. The strong classification of the Collection Code (Bernstein 1971) was well illustrated.

One of the practical changes in organisation arising from the HMI inspection was that concerning length of lessons. This, during 1977-78, was reduced from sixty-five minutes (four lessons per day) to fifty minutes (five lessons per day): three lessons in the morning, two in the afternoon. The division of time within the day and within the week conveyed a number of assumptions about knowledge, eg knowledge is best compartmentalised into subjects. The final decisions about allocation were likely to emerge as the result of competition between subjects. The tight allocation of time was unlikely to vary between years or between children with differing needs or abilities. For those subjects wishing to innovate and needing the freedom which block-timetabling can bring, the fragmentation was most restrictive. One interesting example of the relationship between timetabling and performance came to my notice during time spent with the Year 4 Maths classes. Half-term Maths tests were being analysed. There were curious anomalies. The Year group was divided into two Houses in each half, each having the same range of ability. They were working across six sets on the same syllabi and the same teaching staff. Here were the results:

SETS (Mean Marks)						
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Houses X	50·7	41·1	46·9	21·7	22·0	10·4
Houses Y	46·1	28·9	25·8	28·4	19·7	9·2

FIG 3

The 'A' sets and 'E' and 'F' seemed to bear some similarity. The biggest disparity was in the 'B' and 'C' sets. At first, the staff were puzzled by this. They then realised that all Houses X Maths was in a morning and all Houses Y Maths was in the afternoon - some last lesson. The 'A' stream seemed to cope but the 'B' group who could quickly become

apathetic, suffered badly. It was a serious error in timetable organisation.

The trails and participating staff

The distribution pattern of staff ages has already been mentioned. Some 25 per cent had over ten years' service and had been at the school for a considerable period of time. It may have been coincidence but most of the staff whose lessons I observed were over thirty years of age. Some were much older. It may have been that they were staff whose control was deemed to be satisfactory for a visitor to observe. Lortie (1975), examining age profiles, discussed the idea that 'unstaged' careers such as classroom teaching can pose personal difficulties. He suggested:

> People who fail to get the scarcer rewards may confirm the
> negative judgements made about them by reducing their effort.
> They become less future-orientated. The status of the young
> tenured teacher is <u>not appreciably different</u> from that of a
> highly experienced old-timer.

There was a feeling of dullness in some classrooms which <u>might</u> have had a relationship to the above speculations. Clearly expertise in the classroom does not have a predictable correlation with increasing age - it may be the reverse but the visual impression of age in this school compared with the youthful staff of the second research school was marked.

These then were some of the elements in the curricula life of the school observed during the trails. As the work of the geographers is examined, especially in relation to GYSL, it will be interesting to note the extent to which the norms so far identified pervade and influence their response to change.

> The school is, in a social and professional sense, highly structured
> and differentiated - a fact that is related to attitudes, conceptions
> and regularities of <u>all</u> who are in the setting. Teaching <u>any</u>
> subject matter, from this viewpoint, is in part determined by
> structural or system characteristics having no intrinsic relation-
> ship to the particular subject matter. If this assertion is even
> partly correct, any attempt to change a curriculum independent
> of changing some characteristic institutional feature, runs the
> risk of partial or complete failure.
> <div align="right">(Sarason 1971, 35)</div>

3.4   A CHANGING REGIME? - THE HEAD'S VIEW OF THE SCHOOL

The second and fourth year curriculum trails have given an indication
of some aspects of the 'received' school experience. This section explores
some of these issues as perceived by senior staff, in particular the
Headmaster. The following presentation is based on staff meetings, informal
discussions and structured interviews. Clearly, a number of school-wide
issues and problems had to be faced. At a staff meeting held on 20 March
1980, the Head identified three areas of concern to the school:

(i)   falling rolls due to population movement and overall decline;

(ii)   uncertainty among staff about the status of the school. There
       was a possibility the school might have a wide ability intake,
       ie be less narrowly selective at the lower end of the ability
       range. Whether the school would become truly comprehensive
       was doubtful unless there was a political decision to abolish
       the grammar schools;

(iii) possible reduction of staffing points as well as other re-
       sources.

In personal discussion, much a direct transcript of a taped inter-
view, the Head elaborated priorities - among these were the curriculum
and review of aims, extension of remedial work and groupings and trans-
itions.

(A) The Curriculum, review of aims and the classroom role of the teacher

Head   This is the ideal opportunity for a Head. We have
in interview: been instructed to review the whole curriculum - I
                see the priority as examining the whole curriculum and
                I have given to Departmental Heads roughly a year
                in which we are going to do that! You have seen us
                making certain administrative changes this term, eg
                nature of the Lower School, 1-3 Years - but this
                will be overtaken, I hope, by more significant devel-
                opments and this does not mean just a look at what
                each individual department is doing. This is what
                has happened with much innovation in the past - that
                individual departments have introduced innovation and
                there has been no monitoring, looking at the whole
                school, to see what the impact has been. Many of the
                innovations in examination courses have been toward
                much more written work - also there has been more
                theory in practical subjects, therefore more and more
                written work with less time for discussion, eg science,
                with its growth of content. Overall there has been a
                move away from humanising influences, getting

youngsters to talk and be aware of themselves and the
world around, in order to concentrate on narrower aspects
of the curriculum which can be reproduced after learning.
We have to examine our whole curriculum to see that the
innovation in one area is being met by some corresponding
innovations elsewhere, but it will take a long time. I shall
ask individual Departments to read the LEA documents, then
look at their own objectives. Beyond the means of attaining
those, we need to share. This is an overall need of a group
of people to do that. I have let the Curriculum Committee
subside but there has to be a wider overview.

TD: How applicable do you see the areas of experience as listed
           in Curriculum 11-16?

Head: Geography, for instance, is providing youngsters with a whole
           range of practical experience. They are going out. They are
           seeing. They are talking about the environment. They are
           questioning it in a critical sense. The '11-16' document
           missed the mark, eg there was nothing about the quality of
           life in the school. I would look at subjects - what are
           they doing? Should others be doing it?

TD: How would you define the aims of the school?

Head: It's fairly rare to find aims and objectives written down!
           Most Heads prefer to keep these unspoken and unwritten and
           create as they go along! I would be fairly clear.

           (a) Those aims are very much bound up with belief, one's
               own philosophy of life. My first question here was what
               kind of society am I in? And then see how my own phil-
               osophy, what I want to achieve with young people, fits
               into the neighbourhood where I am. Briefly, I want to
               create an atmosphere which the youngsters themselves
               are happy to explore and work in, where they feel it
               is not wrong to question and discover. The atmosphere
               one has often seen in schools is 'We've got it and we're
               going to give it to you'. That is against what I want
               to do in terms of education. I want youngsters to feel
               they can genuinely enquire and they are genuinely accepted
               on that basis. That means some readjustment by some
               teachers who feel 'I have got what you need and you'd
               better sit there and listen!' Teachers and pupils may
               learn together because the experience they bring
               is quite amazing.

           (b) I want to see young people with an outlook on society
               which is not selfish! 'I am here to get' is common. It
               is related to pupil/teacher relationships. We are here
               to form social relationships. In this town, there is
               neglect at both ends of the scale. Children may be
               'bought off' by rich parents or seriously deprived at
               the other end. Pupils should imbibe a co-operative spirit
               rather than a competitive one. It is a personal, polit-
               ical and a moral decision. Education is a co-operative
               venture. Learn to adjust to the needs of other people.
               They must learn to exercise moral judgments so that they
               do not accept things as they are. We should not be afraid
               to be critical of our society. They need a basis for

forming moral judgements. They cannot form moral judgements without information. Therefore, bound up with the forming of judgements, you inevitably get round to the content of the curriculum because you can only form judgments if you have information. So we begin to examine the curriculum not primarily in terms of a job but rather how do we help them respond to and judge the world around and be in a position to do something about that which they see is wrong. I come to the content of the curriculum by that route.

So, coming to the content, you then have to face the pressures of employment and examinations. This is a dilemma. That is where I am very happy to encourage Ken Newman with his geography. They are critically examining the environment. Asking questions through the worksheets. So the geography curriculum as I see it and as I hope I understand it - then it is contributing to that general aim.

TD: What of the classroom role of the teacher?

Head: There has to be a much closer relationship between pupil and teacher. He has to ask what is the youngster seeing that I have missed? It is a path that may be in conflict with the examination system. The teacher putting himself into 1:1 and translating into 1:30 is difficult. We have been forced into a more didactic role by the demands of society outside the school! There, the demand is for knowledge and that must be examined and assessed in an independent form.

At one time, examinations were my sole justification. They were my guide. It was simple - I didn't have to think about why! Exams are often regarded by educationists, employers, as the only way of assessing young people - it is the easiest! Yet we have to give the pupils the best start we can in terms of a job. It goes against the grain but one has to be a pragmatist. However, in my view, examination results are the wrong way by which to judge the success of a school. I know our status will be reflected and largely determined by what we publish in the local newspaper in November (Speech Day) but I will not judge by these results.

(B) Extension of remedial work

The Head stated at the staff meeting that extra staffing was needed for remedial work. This was a positive step readily supported by the area psychologist. Of the twenty-five pupils per year seen by him from Dockside School, he reckoned fifteen were 'system casualties'. There were only two remedial staff in a school of 1,800 pupils. The neighbouring secondary modern had seven for a much smaller intake. He added, however, that with a more imaginative curriculum, many of these pupils would not have 'given up on school'.

(C) Groupings and transitions

At present, only Year 1 has mixed-ability. Beyond that, the banding

is A, B and C with little movement between them. The aspect of labelling has already been discussed. The Deputy Head was concerned by the grouping.

> The first year pupils, despite not being given a selective place, came in with high hopes. The mixed-ability pattern in the first year avoids further segregation. The real tension in this secondary modern school comes later in the 4th and 5th year. This lowers the morale of the staff. They are frustrated by the lack of ability.

The Head wanted to introduce mixed-ability in Years 1-3, but because certain staff opposed it, he proposed to let Departments make their own choice about groupings. 'Many people are frightened because the work involved is different' he said. The Lower School would continue to Year 3, providing continuity up to the time of options.

(D) Mechanisms for change

The Deputy Head mentioned that particular subjects had been innovatory; the pathfinders were GYSL and History 13-16. Ken Newman's leadership and work on the Curriculum Committee received his commendation. The minutes of the Curriculum Committee (7b) held on Thursday 14 October 1976, discussed two main issues: (i) the pattern of the timetable day, (ii) the aims and planning of the School Curriculum. Ken Newman introduced the latter item. The minutes record his statements.

> The fact of social and technological change has left schools with a curriculum based upon an assemblage of skills and information that finds little practical expression in the realities of workaday life. The answer lies in the replacement of much traditional work by new demands.....

Subsequently, the Deputy Head asked all Heads of Department for a statement of the aims and objectives of teaching their subject. A matrix of departmental aims was subsequently circulated by the Deputy Head.

> How did the Head see Ken's role as a change-agent?

> It's no good just talking about subjects across the curriculum. You may be aware I am gently pushing Ken and Mrs Draper (Head of History) to press on together with syllabus construction in the Lower School where Ken's influence will be felt a little more. It may be that as staffing permits, there could be a wider faculty so that his influence could spread. It would be difficult for this innovation to spread to English or Mathematics but easier to Science where there are common issues and techniques. If someone on the Curriculum Committee asks the questions - and Ken has the status to do it - that's fine; better if questioning comes from Heads of Department. That allows me to put my weight down on a certain side of the question. It's difficult for me to be both

questioner and answerer. Some staff see knowledge as a fixed
body of knowledge. But one subject could spread its influence by
a ginger group in a committee. I want Ken asking those questions
because it comes better from someone on the floor than me.

Comment:

The Headmaster had plans to restructure groupings and transitions at
Dockside School. He freely expressed his idealism about the process
of education. He was very supportive of staff such as Ken Newman in
the Geography Department who, he felt, were helping the pupils to be
more involved in their own learning. He wanted pupils to be critical
of their world, working out their own moral judgements. It became clear
that his world of learning and teaching was at odds with much of the
work seen on the curriculum trails. He wanted less pupil passivity
in class and more active enquiry-based learning in which pupils and
teachers together were involved in the learning process. He associated
the work of the geographers and the GYSL outdoor exercise with such
a positive trend.

He was also very aware of the compromising effects which he felt society,
by way of examination boards, exercised on the curriculum. The need
for reproducing information and didactic styles of teaching were ment-
ioned. Stuart Hall's (1977) depiction of the school as a 'beached in-
stitution', the subject of both vertical forces in the shape of the
examination boards and universalistic values and horizontal forces
in the shape of the demands of local culture, had been illustrated
in the discussion.

After the examination of the teaching context, and the views and expect-
ations among senior staff, it is appropriate now to examine the work
of the Geography Department headed by Ken Newman. He was looked upon
as an innovator and regarded by the Head as a key figure in the manage-
ment of change in the school.

3.5 THE GEOGRAPHY DEPARTMENT AT DOCKSIDE SCHOOL

The Project's in cardboard boxes - the kids fill in what they can

In this section, the approach of the Geography Department is discussed especially in relation to its adoption of the Geography for the Young School Leaver Project. It was possible to compare Project and non-Project geography, eg in the 5th Year, where the Head of Department taught two classes of similar ability. One class followed a traditional Mode 1 CSE, the other a Mode III CSE based on GYSL. How did the school regime and the Project teaching interact? There is a comparison between the classroom profiles of the Geography Department and other curriculum experiences in the school. Comments are made on the influence of 'reality definers' including the examinations boards.

Staffing

The Geography Department was serviced by a team of four teachers. Ken Newman, Head of Department, Charles Tenby (No 2), Neil Quinlan (Senior Master) and Cyril Neeve. Charles had served his probationary period at the school after completing his Teachers' Certificate. This was now his sixth year at Dockside. He was currently reading for an Open University degree. Neil Quinlan was a specialist geologist. He had been promoted within the school to Senior Master. Cyril Neeve was a probationer teacher with a B.Ed degree. Ken Newman was also reading for graduate status with the Open University. Subsequently, he was awarded a sabbatical year to read for a BA degree. Ken was held in considerable esteem by the senior management. If a restructuring of the school organisation took place, he was likely to gain promotion. Recently, he had assisted the Deputy Head in the construction of the school timetable. He had been a member of the Staff Curriculum Committee and had taken a number of initiatives including proposing that staff identify their departmental aims and object-ives - 'but this had been blocked by others'. He and two other Heads of Department who tried to stir colleagues to action had been, in Ken's words, regarded as the 'black sheep' on that committee. In Ken's view, the basic problem of the school was one of management; because of this, the curriculum had suffered. 'But some staff have taken note, for example, RE who, after trouble with the Inspectors, re-wrote their syllabus in terms of key ideas and skills, as in GYSL'. His work as a geographer

was favourably looked upon by the Head and Deputy Head, the latter regarding Ken as a pathfinder in curriculum development. Ken had made a radical revision of the geography syllabus (Section 5.1) and had produced a great deal of resource material for the Department. He was also a leading member of the GYSL county curriculum development team. He had devised an outstanding and original Further Curriculum Unit for his 'O' level submission.

Accommodation

The Geography Department was housed in a group of specialist rooms in the main teaching block:

```
         windows
  _____/]
 |      |                 /|         |          |
windows | GEOGRAPHY A    |[         |          |
 |      | (Ken Newman)    |         | GEOG B   | TEACHING
 |      |_____|           |         | (Neil Quinlan) | ROOMS
 |      |Stock|           |         |          |    |
 |      |Room |        \  |         |        \ |    |
 |      |_____|_____|_____|_____|    |
 |      |      Corridor                         |    |
 |      |                    _____ ___ |    |
 |      |                   |              | C  |    ↓
 |      |                   |  GEOG C      | o  |
 |      |                   | (Charles Tenby) r  |
 |      |                   |              | r  |
 |      |                   |_____| i  |
 |      |                   |              | d  |
 |      |  FIG 4            |  GEOG D      | o  |
 |      | Plan of Dockside  | (Cyril Neeve)| r  |
 |      |  Geography        |              |    |
          Department        |_____|
```
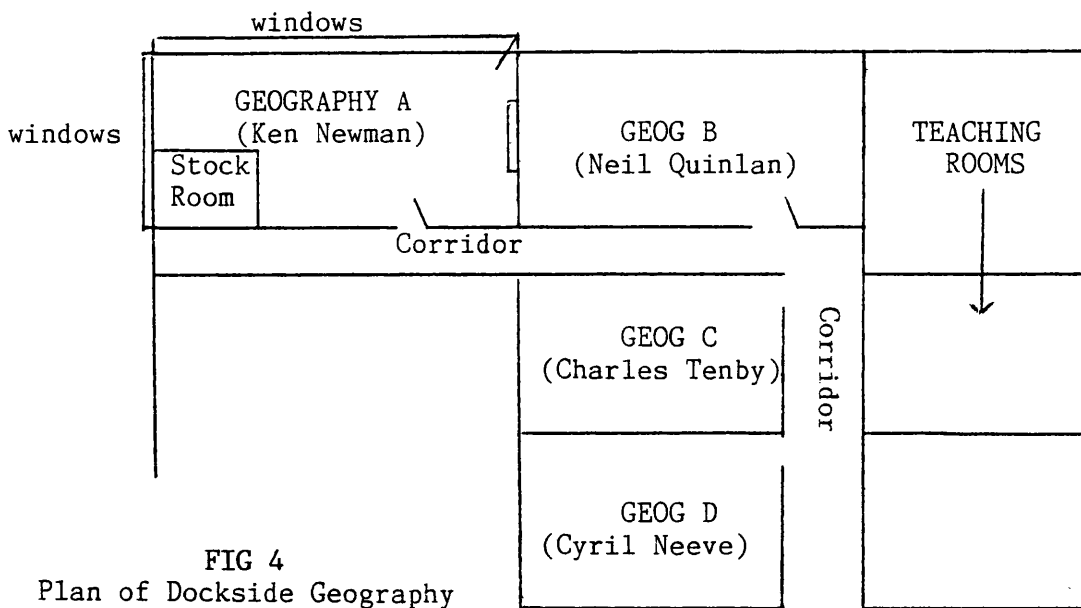
FIG 4
Plan of Dockside Geography
Department

The layout of this part of the building was very formal, typical of the rather austere factory environment created in that period. In referring to the need to develop a more practical curriculum, Ken mentioned a number of constraints, not least 'The shape of the building, the shape of the classrooms and access to resources'. The long corridor seemed to spell out certain messages - a standard size teaching group, groups and staff remaining separated from other similar groups. Creating varied sizes of groups from these classes was difficult if not impossible. Accessibility to resources in the Geography Department was particularly difficult. To reach the stock room in Room A, one had to enter at the front of the classroom which was determined by the position of the blackboard and OHP screen. The likely interruption to work in Classroom A was therefore a discouragement to free access to resources. In this part of the building, there was 'a clinical austerity of places in which one is confined for purposes other than pleasure'. Certainly, the placing and shape

of the rooms did not encourage co-operative and democratic relationships.

The teaching rooms had similar equipment. Each had large flat tables mostly arranged in orderly rows. The flat surfaces were useful for laying out maps and similar resource material. Ken said he wished to move from the imposed formality of these rows of tables, to a less formal blocking for group work. His larger room enabled him to do this but in the smaller rooms, this was impossible. In Goffman's concept of a setting from 'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life' (1971, 33), he provides an interesting insight into the importance of space for human interaction.

> First, there is the 'setting', involving furniture, decor, physical layout, and the other background items which supply the scenery and stage props for the spate of human action played out before, within, or upon it. A setting tends to stay put, geographically speaking, so that those who would use a particular setting as part of their performance cannot begin their act until they have brought themselves to the appropriate place and must terminate their performance when they leave it.

Meigham (1981, 74) questions the environmental competence of many teachers. He defines this competence in this way:

(a) a person's ability to be aware of the surrounding environment and its impact on him;

(b) his ability to use or change his settings to help him achieve his goals without inappropriately destroying the setting or reducing his sense of effectiveness or that of the people around him.

Ken Newman wanted to make his room less formal by re-arranging the tables. He wanted to do more group work, 'I do not feel I do enough'. Charles Tenby wished to do this but the size and weight of the tables in his smaller room made it physically impossible. It was a major frustration to him when using GYSL discussion material. There was a gap between classroom intention and actuality.

I suspect that Neil Quinlan, the Senior Master, who was an excellent teacher in a more traditional mould, preferred his room to remain with the tables set in rows facing the front of the room, as defined by the teacher's desk and the blackboard. Neil's oral work was stimulating but as analysed by the Flanders Interaction Analysis, the exchanges were exclusively teacher to pupil, not pupil to pupil. The experience of the curriculum profiles revealed that most of the classrooms at Dockside were arranged in formal rows. Sommer's (1969) portrayal is not

dissimilar to the image projected by Neil Quinlan's classroom.

> The straight rows tell the student to look ahead and ignore
> everyone except the teacher; the students are jammed so tightly
> together that psychological escape, much less physical sep-
> aration, is impossible. The teacher has 50 times more free
> space than the students, with the mobility to move about. He
> writes important messages on the blackboard with his back to
> his students. The august figure can rise and walk among the
> lowly who lack the authority even to stand without explicit
> permission. Teacher and children may share the same classroom
> but they see it differently. From a student's eye level, the world
> is cluttered, disorganised, full of people's shoulders, heads
> and body movements. His world at ground level is colder than the
> teacher's world. He looms over the scene like a helicopter
> swooping down to ridicule or punish any wrongdoer. Like
> Gulliver in Lilliput, the teacher has a clear view of what is
> going on. He sees order and organisation and any deviation from
> it. The aisles between the rows are sufficiently wide to allow
> the teacher to wander among the pupils and also wide enough to
> inhibit communication between pupils - 'talking' and 'copying'.

Teaching periods were a standard 50 minutes. Ken Newman was keen to have block-timetabling to enable a more varied style of work to be developed, including fieldwork in the local environment. There was 'not enough thought about the timetable', another reflection of the 'manage-ment problem' to which reference has already been made.

The Geography Department and GYSL

In <u>discussion</u>, Ken Newman's motivation to take up GYSL originated during his first teaching appointment. Working with less able pupils, he felt the need for a more relevant approach to geography: 'For me at the end of a probationary year, it was a life-line - but it was also good geography'. I put it to him: 'If you were going to a new school and the Head did not know what the Project was about, what significant elements would you want to portray?' Ken replied:

(1) Firstly, it generates motivation among the pupils - overall the kids enjoy it much more.

(2) The way it supports staff. We have got a cross-section of staff here. All require help in different ways. We have gone in for worksheets of a graded nature, simply to help them to take on board something new.

(3) Looking at levels of understanding, I found we needed some-thing more than exercise books. We needed to be more concise. I also felt it would save paper!

But it is the way it supports staff and kids - and its relevance. I've really enjoyed it - it opened me up as an individual - a real part of self education.

I put the same question to his No 2, Charles Tenby. He made four points:

(1) The GYSL themes are relevant to the everyday world in which young people are growing up. They are issues-based.

(2) The materials are excellent - varied in style and presentation and in their intellectual demands on the pupils.

(3) We are examining concepts not simply facts.

(4) The way in which we involve pupils in an active form of learning.

One of the issues which arose in the course of the research at this school was the problem of teaching different classes in the same age group from two different CSE syllabuses. Ken Newman taught both syllabuses. The Department was at a transitional stage. The local regional CSE Mode 1 was still being taught to some classes, partly in deference to Neil Quinlan, the Senior Master, for whom the more traditional regional approach was distinctly preferable. It was intended to move all classes on to the GYSL CSE Mode III.

The discussion with Ken Newman (KN) continued.

TD: The GYSL Project laid considerable emphasis on conceptual - key ideas. Did you feel you were able to adopt a similar approach with the Mode I CSE?

KN: I tried to do it but I found it very hard to do. Sometimes I gave up and slavishly followed content.

TD: We have not said anything about teacher-pupil roles in the classroom. When you compare GYSL Mode III and Mode I, do you feel that what you have done with Mode I has been different to what you have attempted to do with Mode III?

KN: In the 4th Year with Mode I, I deliberately tried to go out of my way to develop key ideas and skills. I went to Graves and White 'Geography of the British Isles' (1976) and tried to use it in a special way. Yet by the end of the year, I was pushed back to content and so in the 5th Year, it is content. I try to produce a progression of skills.

The Classroom Approach - the operational level

The lessons observed were:

Ken Newman	5D(GYSL)	5B	4B	3NA	1N2
Lessons observed	3	2	2	1	1
Lessons based on worksheets	3	2	2	0	1

Charles Tenby	4th Year	2nd Year
Lessons observed	1	1
Based on worksheets	1	0

Neil Quinlan	4B(GYSL)	4D(Mode I)
Lessons observed	3	2
Lessons based on worksheets	3	0

FIG 5   Classroom lessons observed

The spread of lessons observed was chosen with two purposes in mind:

(1)   To study the implementation of GYSL within the total work
of the Department.

(2)   To reflect on the implementation of GYSL within the wider
context of the school curriculum.

Ken Newman had said in an earlier discussion 'we have gone in for
worksheets of a graded nature'. I had not realised the impact of that
remark until seeing large cardboard boxes at the back of the main geography
room, I was told that all the three GYSL Themes were represented - and
covered - by worksheets! In the table above (Fig 5), of the sixteen lessons
seen, twelve were dominantly pupil-activity based on worksheets. All nine
GYSL lessons were largely organised in this way. With Ken Newman, a typical
lesson therefore with 5D (GYSL) was a very brief introduction followed
by further individual activity on the worksheets. There was no lead into
the lesson which might be described as motivational, eg 'Why are we doing
this?' Neither was there a corporate conclusion. Of course, pupils working
at individual rates would have reached different stages, but there was
a notable absence of oral exchange and certainly an absence of sharing.
There was also a total absence of shared learning. There may have been
a number of reasons for this - one was offered by Charles Tenby:

> The methods we use allow pupils to work on their own, because
> we have mixed-ability. We, therefore, try to keep chat to a
> minimum. The majority of the time we use worksheets.

Questioned further about the role of oral/discussion work, Charles gave
a number of reasons why he did little of it:

(1) The time factor with examinations in mind.

(2) The shape of his room and the type of furniture were
     against it.

(3) He did not have the confidence to handle a group approach.

(4) He was aware of and concerned about the general expect-
     ation of the school - staff and pupils.

Neil Quinlan, who was not convinced by the GYSL style of geography, used the Project worksheets as requested by his Head of Department but in each of the three lessons seen made his own way into the topic by engaging in twenty to thirty minutes of lively oral exchange before referring the pupils in detail to the worksheets. He had a persuasive style, punchy and dynamic. He used pupils' names, interspersing the dialogue with touches of humour. He gave a most entertaining treatment to the holiday assessment lesson, getting a lot of class participation for such questions as 'Where would you go for a dream holiday?', 'I would like a cruise up the Amazon'. What did the class think was value for money? They were asked to rate different kinds of holiday. Answers were readily accepted by Neil who complimented the respondent, often recording suggestions on the blackboard.

His style in the GYSL lessons, although 'constrained' by the prepared sheets, was more fully reflected with his Mode I class. Here, for example, with 4D on 24 March, the lesson began at 1.45 and at 2.15. Neil commented: 'I've talked long enough; now let's transfer it to paper'. There had been an open dialogue for about thirty minutes. During that time, this regional lesson moved from Middlesborough ('Did anyone hear about the poison gas leak? - Where was it? - Middlesborough') to the Hampshire Basin, where the lesson became entirely physical geography. It was a highly didactic approach with the teacher fully in command - all the questions were his questions. Pupil skills were listening and responding to oral questions. I found myself asking 'Where has all the new geography gone?' It was an approach described by Marsden (1976) as 'hard core traditionalism'. The GYSL Project conformed to his well-established pattern of teaching. Ken's aim was to introduce him to a new content and a different style of teaching through the use of worksheets. The innovation resulted in conflict. The worksheet, therefore, was seen as a constructive way of providing support in the process of change.

Most of the observed lessons taken by Ken Newman were with the 4th

and 5th Year classes and here, as described, the worksheet was the dominant technique. It would be unfair to categorise all his teaching in this way. One GYSL 4th Year lesson, for example, was in preparation for a field visit; there was a considerable amount of question and answer. On the field visit itself, there was some very constructive observation and re-cording of data relating to functions and ages of buildings. This was later gathered together and questions posed about patterns. It was a well-organised piece of work and in Dockside School was a refreshingly practical approach to skills development and learning. In its intention, it seemed to correspond with the approach the Head wanted to develop. Ken's method-ology had moved away from field work to field research in that he was not saying 'we will go out, observe, record, interpret and generalise' - but - 'we will test out certain hypotheses and our data collection will be directed to proving or disproving them'. For example, he said:

> By the end we shall be able to prove or disprove the following
> hypothesis: patterns within the Central Business District will
> show groupings (or agglomerations) of certain economic activities
> (shopping, banking, insurance, etc). Within these groupings, there
> is a high degree of specialisation.

Ken was adopting the so-called scientific approach to fieldwork. But sign-ificantly, the key ideas were given to the class. They were not generated by the pupils. The hypotheses were based on given ideas rather than evolved through group discussion. The pupils were not asked to speculate, formulate and propose a methodology for testing the hypothesis. The exercise had much in common with the classroom-based worksheets which, although active and participatory, and apparently coinciding with much of the central Project's philosophy, nevertheless reinforced a teacher-centred rather than pupil-centred approach to knowledge. It may seem harsh to categorise the field visit in a 'transmission' view of practice. But Goodson (1976) includes a broad spectrum of teaching styles - chalk and talk, question and answer, individualised worksheets, even 'discovery projects', in a transmission approach if this is characterised as an 'educational incident which sets the learning of knowledge previously planned or defined by the teacher as the basic objective'. The key ideas and hypotheses and the methodology were defined by the teacher and this, although an active approach to learning from resources imaginatively presented, gave an under-lying unity to classroom and extra-mural work.

The other lesson given by Ken which did not strictly fit into the worksheet pattern was one with a 3rd Year class. It was on transport net-

works. It was essentially a <u>teaching</u> lesson. The first seventeen minutes were largely teacher-talk interspersed with a few questions to the pupils. The questions encouraged the pupils to interpret photographs and diagrams in their text books. <u>Only one question by a pupil</u> was recorded. There was then twenty-one minutes of practical work, (the lesson had started twelve minutes late after assembly) with questions to complete and a number of outlines to trace. There were no central visuals and no summary at the end.

As <u>the worksheet</u> was the dominant mode of operating the GYSL project, it is appropriate to examine this further and also to see how the content and style were applied to a comparable age and ability group following the more traditional Mode I CSE syllabus. It has been mentioned previously that the three GYSL themes were packaged in the form of worksheets in cardboard boxes at the back of the main geography room. An enormous amount of work had gone into the preparation of the worksheets. They represented a careful systematic attempt to interpret the Project's ideas and skills into pupil activities. It was the Geography Department's representation of resource-based learning. A typical worksheet, 'Workers on the Move' (Appendix A6), gives an indication of the scope and graded nature of these exercises. There are questions demanding straight <u>factual answers</u>, eg:

Which two countries supplied France with the most workers in

(a) 1960?
(b) 1970?

Describe the type of housing that the migrant workers in France have to live in.

And later in the worksheet, a more demanding:

What evidence is there to support the statement 'immigrant workers are playing an important part in the industrial growth of European countries'?

There are <u>comprehension questions</u> requiring the transformation of data (Bloom, 1956) eg:

. Draw a bar graph to show the percentage of foreign workers employed in European countries in 1972.

And later:

....draw a flow map to show the movement of workers.

There are also questions seeking <u>pupil opinions and judgements</u> (Bloom 1956) eg:

Should we regard migrant workers as full members of the community with equal rights to public services or merely as people working in the country for a short period with no such rights? Give reasons for your answer.

And:

(a)   What does the newspaper headline suggest?

(b)   How would you deal with the problem?

It is appropriate to refer to the Project's statement about pupil involvement in the Teacher's Guide (Schools Council 1975, p.12):

> Following on from understanding ideas and knowing facts, there are
> other intellectual skills such as the understanding and inter-
> pretation of data, the analysis of statements, the ability
> to develop judgements. There is the skill of communication,
> whether it be by written text, diagram, oral discussion or
> simple cartoon drawing. There are also skills of a social char-
> acter which can be encouraged by group activities ... each
> unit of the theme contains a wide range of resources - discussion
> sheets, slides, newspaper extracts, photosheets, maps, statistics,
> etc. These are intended to be used flexibly by the teacher,
> to enable him to design learning experiences which <u>will lead
> to the achievement of stated objectives</u>. The resources provide
> the basis for pupil-centred activities. By seeking answers
> to problems, individual thinking is encouraged and this replaces
> memorisation as a dominant classroom activity. It should be
> possible to create learning experiences which will enable the
> pupil, whatever his ability or level of motivation, to test
> evidence, to interpret, to use his own judgement, to be aware
> of his own and other peoples' attitudes and to be imaginatively
> involved in creative situations. He may be working individually
> or in one of a variety of suggested group situations.

The worksheet quoted, 'Workers on the Move', clearly exemplified many of these resource-based approaches to learning but significantly in all the worksheet lessons seen, there was an absence of interactive contact between teacher and pupil and equally important, between pupil and pupil. The Teacher's Guide refers to oral discussion, group situations, awareness of his own and other people's attitudes, but this range of interaction was not evident in the Project lessons. What was the pupil's reaction to the Project worksheets? Most seemed to accept them passively, but three girls who were keeping notes on other curriculum areas for me, readily commented on their feelings: 'We know what is coming next. It is forms and forms - there is no chance to do your own work', and another 'We find it difficult to revise with this book of notes', suggesting the need for summaries. And a third, referring to the worksheets, 'We cannot understand some of the words - and we don't like to keep asking'.

The way worksheets were used as the interpretation of the Project was individualised learning or, perhaps more accurately, isolated class worksheet learning. The Project's own presentation of styles of learning was through interaction. Lawton (1981, 52) discussing effective learning comments:

... a major idea derived from Piaget is that effective learning
is often social rather than individual. Other children can often
provide more appropriate stimulation than adults. Teachers are
generally poor at constructing tasks for social learning and the
dominant learning situation still tends to be teacher talking
and children learning. This tendency has not been helped by such
recent practices in schools as 'individualised learning' and
'computer-assisted learning', where pupils usually have no
opportunity even for informal consultation with their peers.

Michael Young (1976, 50) commenting on the experience of innovations
in science, suggests that the under-emphasis of social learning is not
limited to the school-originated work:

Under the assumption of learning theories that emphasise how
learning takes place through doing, most of the projects neglect
the social character of learning and have failed to examine,
except in a very superficial way, the activity of science teachers
at all. All too easily doing becomes equated with following work-
sheet instructions for doing and the emphasis on resources implies
the teacher as a stimulus without whom nothing will take place.
Thus pupils are assumed to really learn when stimulated by the
teacher and the teacher's didactic style has been replaced by
a view of him as a kind of puppet master leading his pupils through
the routines of the syllabus.

On one occasion, Ken Newman's class had been working on a worksheet
simulation exercise relating to the movement of Neolithic peoples across
Europe. The class obviously varied in ability and speed of working. The
pupils finished the activity at different times. There was no sharing
of results between individuals. The exercise, therefore, lost considerable
value as differing interpretations would have underlined the importance
of processes such as the push and pull factors. There was no social inter-
action. It also seemed that the stance of the teacher was substantially
the same as in a more obviously didactic approach. The worksheet acted
as a control mechanism in terms of the pupils' access to knowledge, possibly
restricting the pupils' everyday knowledge. As such, the teacher was in
fact less responsive to his pupils as individuals than he was in face
to face interaction with them, since the choices had been made in advance.
All the initiatives and choices and stimuli were in the teacher's hands.
The questions were the teacher's not the pupils'. The learner was isolated.

Undoubtedly teachers' objectives, their choice of content are
important - the pupils too have 'objectives', beliefs and values
which must influence the effective curriculum just as much as the
teachers' planned objectives since the 'shaping' of understanding
is largely re-shaping existing knowledge'. (Barnes 1976, 187)

Where were the pupils' questions, their formulations of hypotheses? This is not to underrate the range of questions and skills the worksheets posed, but in going so dominantly - almost exclusively - towards this mode, the Dockside geographers were conveying certain underlying messages. By such methods, they felt they were satisfactorily representing the GYSL Project, but did the strongly guided enquiry approach ensure the reproduction rather than the production of knowledge?

Teaching style as a form of negotiation

Equally pertinently one might ask how far this representation via worksheets was a result of the geographers' negotiation with the various reality definers within the school. It is important to gather Ken Newman's view of the worksheet. It provides some useful pointers. In discussion with a visitor, Ken commented: 'After four year, I find the worksheets somewhat restrictive - the kids fill in what they can'. He agreed there ought to be more discussion, more creative work.

> What we are trying to do is to provide a balance between written
> work and discussion. There ought to be more of a discussion
> element but we are held back by unresponsive behaviour - the pupils
> do not respond easily or well. They have become conditioned. They
> are not expected to discuss or give views.

Independently, Charles Tenby echoed the same ideas. There was a rigid formality about the school. 'The youngsters seem at a loss when new methods are tried. They expect to be quiet. They expect to be told.' The Head had voiced his concern about the monotony of approach, the 'mechanical' nature of the work; the 'sit down and work' syndrome. He was also concerned about the low level of language involvement by pupils. He wanted to change the regime whereby pupils were not expected to discuss or give views. He, like Ken Newman, genuinely wanted to break through to a more interactive pattern in the school.

The maintenance of the worksheet regime in the Geography Department common to GYSL 4th and 5th Years and to other years to a certain extent, was:

Firstly: part of a social control mechanism partly reflecting the norms
           of the hidden curriculum in the school. The negative response
           to the Head's classroom participatory methods has already
           been mentioned. Charles Tenby had experienced difficulty with
           discipline; the worksheets were a support to him and the young
           probationer teacher.

Secondly: Ken saw the worksheet as a concrete method of interpreting the Project with its new approach to geography and classroom pedagogy as an in-service agent to members of staff such as Neil, the Senior Master, whose teaching was rooted in a traditional mode. The importation of the Project via the worksheets was seen as a reforming agency which, although not 'teacher-proof', gave the teacher adjustment time.

Thirdly: The worksheets were devised at a time when mixed ability re-organisation was extending rapidly in comprehensive schools. The worksheet was seen as giving individual flexibility.

The geographers were aware of pupils' expectations which in turn were related to staff expectations. Ken Newman:

> I do not feel I do enough group work. I feel this is one area where the constraints of the school impinge upon us. One of my greatest criticisms of the school is that they (staff) think they are normal. Kids come from the Junior Schools - staff become angry because the children will not sit on their chairs, they move around. They are noisy. I feel it is not a criticism of the Junior School. It is a criticism of us in that we are not developing the ideas of the practical education they experience in Junior School. I think the new Head will make a very radical change....

The staff, characterised as compelling the pupils towards certain norms, created a pupil expectation which the geographers were aware of when the pupils came to the Geography Department. The curriculum profiles have indicated the range of pupil response expected by many staff. The reality definers, in this case staff, operating through the pupil, exercised what the geographers perceived as a constraint on the more interactive approaches they would like to have developed. Such colleagues 'are likely in various ways to reinforce the conservative elements of his (the innovator) pedagogy and sanction liberal or radical elements'(Huckle 1980, 44).

Ken Newman, when asked where he would place his interpretations of the GYSL Project in an idealised three-fold category of teaching styles:

(1)   transmitter of information,

(2)   discovery learning - using a range of resources,

(3)   pupils encouraged to formulate a problem and put forward a solution,

<div align="right">

(Schools Council Geography Project
14-18) (Hickman 1973)

</div>

replied:

> I am trying to get somewhere between (2) and (3). I think many of us have reached example (2). Many departments in the

school are still imparting knowledge and some basically recall. Certainly we have moved between (2) and (3). We are getting to a stage where we are setting problems and getting kids to solve them and generate new ideas. I do not believe you can teach kids on a class basis. The ultimate is one to one. The thing that horrifies me is I want to treat them as individuals and yet there are thirty-four per class. No wonder I'm exhausted. Why don't we get rid of subjects and make more efficient use of the time?

Whether Ken's ideal of the teaching style was reflected in the experience of the pupils will be scrutinised in a comparative study of two 5th Year groups, a GYSL and non-GYSL group.

It may be that the school expectation, the school norms, created the need for greater 'negotiation' with the pupils then he himself realised. The school's norms, the pressure to play roles as defined within the culture, are pervasive - the process of socialisation. Shipman (1975, 61) suggests that in the school the process of socialisation consists of four elements:

(1)   Clear definition of appropriate behaviour.

(2)   Rewards for culturally appropriate behaviour.

(3)   Punishments to eliminate behaviour which is appropriate.

(4)   Maximum exposure to the new culture.

The pupil is subject to social control, but so are the teachers:

> The over-progressives are reminded that the noise in their classroom is disturbing others ... appropriate role performance is rewarded officially and unofficially by promotion and allowances and the favourable attitude of the staff and pupils. These sanctions form a pattern of predictable responses. They are part of the definition of the situation". (Shipman 1975, 72)

A department working on its own and adopting an innovation is under particular pressure where there seems, as at Dockside School, a fairly wide consensus towards a more traditional approach in the classroom. Not only may control in an innovator's own classroom be put at risk, but a disturbance of the institutional norms in the wider school may result. The need for support in that wider setting becomes very important:

> Any far-reaching innovation which is likely to affect attainment or attitude is likely to need to be faced by the school as a whole and to be implemented by policy. This has often not been sufficiently recognised in   secondary schools where departmental autonomy is a strong tradition. (Stenhouse 1975, 168)

Within the innovating classroom, the extent of innovation is closely related to order and control and, as already suggested, the worksheet could be interpreted as a mechanism of control. The more difficult or

unco-operative is the group or the less secure is the member of staff in exercising new skills, the more formal or traditional will.be the interpretation of the innovation (Storm 1979, 5). A working relationship will ultimately be arrived at although there is not a consensus of views between teacher and taught. The geographers wanted to develop a much greater emphasis on a pupil-centred, pupil-participatory approach related to GYSL, but felt constrained by staff and pupil expectations. Hargreaves (1975, 133) refers to the 'agreement' finally reached as pseudo-concord.

> It is rare, he suggests, for the definitions of the situation between
> teachers and pupils to be so incongruent that the negotiation of a
> working consensus becomes virtually impossible, just as it is rare
> for the two definitions to be so compatible that negotiation of a
> working consensus becomes unnecessary.

Most pupils appear to conform to the teacher's definition of the situation (pseudo-concord looks like concord) because the teacher is in a position to impose his definition on the situation.

> But the pupils do have some power so that when the teacher tries
> to replace negotiation with imposition, he finds that he activates
> resistance, subversion and interpersonal antagonism that effectively
> promote discord - the teacher has to balance his own personal satis-
> factions with the need to impose a definition of the situation that
> is expected by the headteacher, colleagues, and other role partners.

The negotiated settlement may not correspond to the teacher's ideal but discord is avoided and teacher-pupil relationships are good or at least satisfactory. The geographers at Dockside School expressed this negotiation within a framework of containment created in the wider school. The arrival of the new Head, set to foster a more liberal regime, was seen by more traditional staff as a threat to the established order. A minority of staff, however, welcomed the new trend.

3.6 TWO FIFTH-YEAR GEOGRAPHY CLASSES COMPARED

GYSL Mode III v. SEREB Mode I CSE

One unexpected issue that proved worthy of investigation in the Geography Department at Dockside was the teaching of two different CSE syllabuses. Ken's aim was to phase out the more traditional South East Regional Examination Board Mode I and replace it with the GYSL-based CSE Mode III. The dilemma of phasing out the former was compounded by the support the Mode I had from the Senior Master, Neil Quinlan. This syllabus closely corresponded to his idea of 'real' geography. The Mode I syllabus, with a strong regional element, was typical of many CSE and 'O' syllabi. It included the British Isles with special reference to South East England, general world geography, physical geography and a range of options, including fieldwork. There was no mention of techniques or classroom approaches except in the fieldwork section. The syllabus statements consisted entirely of content to be covered. Ken Newman taught both syllabuses to the 5th Year, Mode I to 5B, GYSL Mode III to 5D. The Mode III syllabus was couched in terms modelled on those stated in the Project publications, identifying content in terms of ideas, skills, attitudes and values and with the emphasis on a resource-based, pupil-centred approach. (See Appendix A4 for typical page of Teachers' Guide). I would have the opportunity of seeing both groups on a number of occasions. It would be possible to explore a number of questions.

- With very different aims, objectives and pedagogy, how would the experience of the pupils differ?

- What was their 'received' curriculum?

- How far did the GYSL innovation acclaimed by Ken affect his Mode I work?

- Did the traditional Mode I approach exert a conforming influence on the innovation?

A typical Mode I CSE lesson with Ken Newman
24 March : 2.35 - 3.30

The lesson opened with a brief teacher talk-in.

2.45   'On Friday I showed you a film strip about the Coniferous Forest Belt of Canada. This is one of the most important/popular regions to be examined. The Tropical Rain Forest also comes up. For some reason examiners seem to like it. There is a

lot for them to ask about. Turn to page 22 and 23. Look at the distribution map in the front. The cold temperate climate exists in the Northern Hemisphere through higher latitudes around the Arctic Circle'.

2.53   The worksheet 'Coniferous Forest' was distributed (Appendix A5). Most of the exercises were 'straight' find-out-and-repeat questions providing the kind of knowledge the Examining Board required. There was no further discussion. Each pupil worked individually. There was no conclusion to the lesson.

A typical Mode III CSE lesson, 5D (GYSL)

24 March : 11.30 - 12.15

11.30   There was a brief opening statement:
'Yesterday we started playing a geographical game. People were forced to move ... Finish off the game and begin to look at Resource Sheet 'People on the Move'' (Appendix A6).

11.34   By now the pupils were starting their allocated individual work.

Comment:

There was no corporate conclusion to the lesson. There was no sharing of results of the game by individual pupils, either with each other or with the class as a whole. Clearly this activity had more immediacy and relevance than the 5B worksheet. There was a wider range of skills. Opinions were solicited but was there a marked difference in the management and approach and the perceived role of pupil and teacher? The subsequent lessons with these two classes followed a pattern, broadly similar in structure, the dominance of the worksheet approach, an absence of collaborative learning and a fairly consistent teacher role as definer of knowledge.

I asked Ken how he felt his teaching of the Mode I compared with the new Mode III. He replied:

I tried to do the same thing with Mode I as with Mode III but
I found it very hard to do. Sometimes I gave up and slavishly
followed the content. I think this will come through when you
question the kids. Perhaps I did not give them a fair deal by
my own standards ... In the 4th Year, I tried to go out of my
way to develop key ideas and skills, yet by the end of the year,
I was pushed back to content. I tried to get a progression of
skills ....

From such statements, Ken showed that the examination syllabus played a decisive role in what he taught and particularly, <u>how</u> he taught it. He emphasised that the Mode III (GYSL) was the model through which he wanted to change Mode I. Examination pressures forced him back into the more traditional mould of reproducing low-level content rather than developing a conceptual structure.

How did the pupils in the two classes perceive the learning experience? A questionnaire was completed by twenty-three pupils in Class 5B (Mode I) and nineteen pupils in Class 5D (GYSL). The full questionnaire is included in Appendix A7. Key questions have been extracted for analysis. Despite the small size of the groups, the questionnaire provides a number of interesting points.

<u>Analysis of pupil views about geography</u> - Fig 6

2. <u>Compared with Years 1-3, have you enjoyed 4th and 5th Year geography more, less, about the same?</u>

	<u>5B</u>	<u>5D</u> (GYSL)
More	8	11
Less	7	2
About the same	8	4
No reply	0	2

<u>Comment</u>: The GYSL group were more positive in their response.

4. <u>Is there any way in which classroom work in geography is different to that in other subjects?</u>

<u>Analysis of free responses</u>

	<u>5B</u>	<u>5D</u>(GYSL)
No	5	5
The same	2	1
More questions to answer	2	0
Some variety	2	0
More worksheets		1
More to think about		1
Only use resource sheet and questions		2
More films		1
No reply	12	8

Comment: A considerable number of pupils did not answer this (12 in 5B, 8 in 5D). Of those who did, 7 out of 11 in 5B suggested no difference, similarly 6 out of 11 in 5D - in addition in 5D, 3 mentioned worksheets and resource sheets being different. For an innovation, it was surprising that 5D did not comment on greater differences. Perhaps the Project was 'received' by the pupils in a form which corresponded more closely to the overall pattern of work in school than the geography staff perceived.

9. I have learned most in geography from films, worksheets, teacher talking, text books, resource sheets

	5B	5D(GYSL)
Films	5	1
Worksheets	1	3
Teacher talking	9	7
Text books	4	0
Resource sheets	0	5
No reply	4	3

Comment: Here the replacement of textbooks in 5D is clearly reflected by the scoring on resource sheets. There is a similar weighting for teacher talk in both classes and a slightly stronger score in the GYSL group on worksheets. Films appear to have made a greater impression on 5B.

10. In geography we work as:

	all the time		mostly		sometimes		hardly		never	
	5B	5D (GYSL)	5B	5D (GYSL)	5B	5D (GYSL)	5B	5D (GYSL)	5B	5D (GYSL)
as class	18*	12	3	5*	2	2	0	0	0	0
in small groups	1	0	1	1	4	4*	6*	8	2	2
as individuals on different tasks	0	0	0	1	4	3*	5	7	6*	5

KEY: * Ken Newman's rating on these questions.

Comment: The class grouping figures strongly in 5B perception, not quite so strongly in 5D, small groups in both groups, the most common score was hardly, as individuals the scoring was all at the lower end in both groups, although it is interesting to note that Ken Newman's

perception of group work and individual work is much more positive than the pupils' perception of it.

13. <u>The geography course has been related to important problems in the everyday world, a great deal, to some extent, hardly at all, never.</u>

	<u>5B</u>	<u>5D</u>(GYSL)
A great deal	5	13*
To some extent	18*	6
Hardly at all	0	0
Never	0	0

<u>Comment</u>: There is considerable agreement between teacher and pupils. The content difference of the courses comes out clearly. GYSL <u>does</u> impress the pupils as being relevant! However, in the next questions, pupils and teachers differ on the classroom experience.

15. <u>I have been asked to give my own opinions and state my attitudes to problems (the world hunger, pollution, traffic and housing) very often, sometimes, rarely, not at all.</u>

	<u>5B</u>	<u>5D</u>(GYSL)
Very often	1	2*
Sometimes	8	6
Rarely	9*	9
Not at all	5	2

<u>Comment</u>: Ken reflected the largest group of 'rarely being asked' in 5B, although almost as many felt they were asked 'sometimes'. In 5D, however, the highest single group 'rarely' was very different to Ken's assessment. The pupils, 11 out of 18, said they were rarely or not at all asked for opinions. Did opinions figure less either at oral or worksheet level or did the class not respond when these attitudinal questions were posed? It would seem that <u>the experience of both classes was similar</u>.

16. <u>I wish there was more discussion in geography lessons</u>

	<u>5B</u>	<u>5D</u>
Agree	14*	10*
Not sure	8	8
Disagree	1	1

<u>Comment</u>: Both classes wished there was more discussion as did Ken. The number of pupils expressing the wish for more discussion does not agree with the staff perception of their wishes and certainly not their capability to participate more fully.

Concluding Comments

While the difference in content and relevance comes out clearly, there is a remarkable similarity between the experience as <u>perceived</u> by both classes. This was borne out by my classroom observations. At the classroom experience level, the GYSL classes seemed to conform remarkably closely to the traditional pattern, an exemplification of the pattern seen in many other innovatory projects. The other significant element was that Ken's score projected a more innovatory position than that scored by the pupils. Was there a gap between the theories espoused and the theories in use?

3.7   DOCKSIDE SCHOOL - CONCLUDING QUESTIONS

It has been suggested that research should 'strive to redefine issues' - it should be 'not so much concerned with finding answers but rather with identifying questions' (Broadfoot 1981). In conclusion, a number of questions are posed.

Question 1 : How far is it true to say that what was implemented and became the pupil received curriculum was a result of the geographer's negotiations with various reality definers? (Huckle 1980, 44)

Delamont (1976, 26) proposes that 'The changing patterns of classroom life are socially constructed over time and are constantly subject to negotiation and renegotiation'. An innovation, as Esland (1972) has noted, has often been represented as a structural entity without reference to the different meanings and significance which it has for the individuals who experience it. With this assumption, the innovation is considered as if it were independent of the human interaction which creates, defines and sustains it and through which its meaning is collectively negotiated. This is to reify innovation. Innovations such as GYSL are phenomenologically constructed in interaction with other individuals and reference groups. An innovation is 'phenomenologically 'constructed' by the individuals' perceptions, their past experiences, their attitudes, values, cognitions and competencies' (McGeown 1979). Because of the personal nature of the individual's perceptions, reflecting personal philosophies, an innovation cannot be treated as a product to be introduced into the school. There will be a conflict of values when an educational change is adopted. The content and style of pedagogy of GYSL caused conflict within the Dockside Geography Department between the younger members of staff including Ken Newman and Neil Quinlan, the Senior Master. It also produced opposition and a sense of conflict between the Geography Department and other members of the school staff. The geographers such as Ken Newman felt constrained by the attitude of other staff towards more interactive participatory methods. They also felt constrained by the expectation of pupils whom they claimed had become conditioned by the passive mode of many of the subject classrooms. One of the geographers, Charles Tenby, expressed his concern about possessing the necessary skills to cope with these new approaches. There were many similarities in the pupil's experience in geography and that in other classrooms. It was also noted that Ken Newman's perception of pupil involvement and progressive style was not reflected

in the pupil responses to the questionnaire in the 5th Year questionnaire. In studying the classroom context, the concept of arena (based on Strauss 1964) proved helpful.

'Examinations' the Deputy Head had said 'impose a straightjacket on us'. 'We are an exam-orientated school' said the Housemistress. The examination system, another reality definer, undoubtedly played a central role in this secondary school. The Mode I in style and content was at variance with the new GYSL Mode III, yet in the 'received curriculum' of the pupil, the difference was not as marked as might have been expected. The 'negotiation' within the school tended to even out the differences in approach at classroom level in the interpretation of two very different syllabi. The traditional Mode I pupils felt there was some relatedness to everyday problems (moving towards a GYSL approach) but the GYSL group were handled in a less open style than one would have predicted and like the Mode I were controlled and constrained by the worksheet approach. The Project conformed more to the school's norms than staff realised.

Question 2 : Was there a greater enthusiasm for and understanding of the Project's new conceptual approach than with the associated teaching styles?

Ken Newman and Charles Tenby set the pace for the innovation in the Dockside Geography Department. Both were keenly committed to their subject and were doing Open University courses. The recurring emphasis in discussions and taped interviews with both of them was on the new content, its relevance and on the new conceptual base, the new materials and resources. These were obviously highly motivational but changes in the pedagogy seemed to be assumed. A recent observer of the Project remarked on the change of content not being matched by pedagogic change (Birkhill 1980). Certainly Ken's ideas on the nature of content itself had changed. 'Most people think of content rather than principles and ideas. My intention is to introduce not only new ideas but also new ways of planning and new styles of teaching'. Fullan (1982, 246) suggests that if a Project policy document is to be used effectively, certain aspects of practice would have to change. There are at least three dimensions of change involved - new or revised materials, use of new teaching approaches, and the incorporation of new or revised beliefs (philosophical assumptions and beliefs underlying the particular approach).

Fullan adds: 'It is clear that any individual may implement none, one or two, or all three dimensions'. Materials are the easiest to produce and use. The other two aspects are more difficult. They are closely related. Beliefs and behaviour may be reciprocal, new practice may lead to a questioning of belief - this was the Project's assumption in providing extensive resource support for pupils and teachers. It was presumably Ken Newman's intention, involving other staff in the Project by way of worksheets. Examining one's beliefs can lead to new behaviour. The materials were seen by the GYSL Project as one means of accelerating change. At Dockside, the Project was converted into a worksheet approach for reasons already discussed. Clearly the content had changed and new skills introduced through the worksheets, but the impression remained that the experience of the pupils in the classroom had not radically changed. Materials had changed. There had been some change in teaching approach and some questioning of belief. Fullan provides a further pointer:

> The teacher's behaviour shapes the learning experiences of students
> as they confront that content. And the teacher's belief system
> provides a set of criteria or a screen for sifting valuable from
> not so valuable learning opportunities that inevitably arise
> spontaneously during instruction.

The worksheet, used widely in the Department, became a depersonalised mechanism and could be seen as a teaching strategy or a test of a belief system as defined above. 'Worksheets were seen as a very intrusive mechanism for teacher direction' (Goodson 1975,166) echoed the experience at Dockside.

The worksheet solution in adopting GYSL seemed to remove the teacher from spontaneous learning opportunities. There was a greater proficiency in objectives style planning and in pupil testing. Many of the school-produced resources in themselves were stimulating but had <u>there been</u> <u>real change</u>? Elliott J and Adelman C (1975) suggest that curriculum designers :

> have tended to underestimate the stresses and strains which attend
> the necessary changes in role relationships .... for both teachers
> and pupils, too easily assuming that changes in pedagogy can be
> brought about by <u>merely changing</u> content and materials.

The GYSL Project tried to encourage more interactive approaches in the classroom - a move to a more pupil-based knowledge or Action knowledge rather than school knowledge (Barnes 1976) but the worksheet approach left all the questions with the teacher, curtailed collaborative learning

suggesting a form of curriculum development which distrusts teacher and pupil collaboration, demanding the learners consider 'realities' constructed by external 'expert' sources (Eggleston and Gleeson 1977, 22).

Support for real pedagogic change within the school is another aspect of understanding the arena of the classroom. At Dockside, the new Head was concerned that departments had introduced innovations and there had been no monitoring, no looking at the school as a whole. He wanted more conscious and systematic interaction between staff: 'We have to examine our whole curriculum to see that the innovation in one area is being met by corresponding innovations elsewhere....' The geographers felt isolated in their attempt to innovate. Prior to the arrival of the new Head, they felt the 'climate' was unsympathetic to new approaches. The new Head planned to be actively involved in promoting change. He recognised the need to create opportunities for staff to interact and learn from each other. A social and psychological support system would enable experimentation to go forward without loss of professionalism when stress arose. Although outside agencies such as national projects provide initial stimulus, theirs is only a temporary system. Fullan reminds us that teachers are likely to have the collective ability to help one another to acquire many of the skills and understandings associated with change.

> Teachers' colleagues are a preferred source of knowledge and skill. One of the greatest obstacles to effective implementation is that teachers do not have the time to interact with each other about their work and changes therein. (1982, 253)

Question 3 : Questions about the content and form of the Project in its 'official' form began to be posed in a more coherent form.

What implications did the model of rational curriculum planning have for the role of teacher and learner? Did the prespecification of object- ives, though not at a detailed behavioural level, convey its own message? Was the designation of testing as part of the evaluation procedures an indication of a 'product' rather than a 'process' approach to teach- ing? Did the wording of the key ideas suggest at times a finality and certainty which also reinforced a 'product' approach rather than encour- aging a process of knowledge creation by the interaction of pupil and teacher? Did the behavioural 'efficiency' model of curriculum offer a model suitable for future trends in the subject?

Critics have seen common elements in the positivistic new geography and the efficient managerial model of curriculum planning.

With questions in these three areas:

(i)   the pupil received curriculum a consequence of the geographer's negotiations with various reality definers, both internal and external to the school;

(ii)   the apparent ascendancy of Project content over changed teaching style; and

(iii)   the Project's underlying assumptions in its model of curriculum planning and its interpretation of new geography;

a basis was laid for research into the innovative processes in another secondary school in the same LEA. It adopted the GYSL Project in its Humanities Department.

PART 4

PORTRAYAL:
INNOVATION IN BIRCHWOOD HIGH SCHOOL

4.1   <u>INTRODUCTION</u>

The purpose of this thesis is to portray the contexts in which
a national curriculum development project and other innovations have
been adapted and implemented. The organisational, social and political
environments in which the innovations developed in two school communities
were outwardly very different. There were clearly many ways in which
these educational institutions could be studied. It has been suggested
for example that:

> The setting of educational situations can be thought of as
> comprising seven systems, each overlapping. These do not form
> discrete categories but relate to each other in complex ways.
> 1.   The spatial or geographical system .
> 2.   The task system.
> 3.   The social system.
> 4.   The cultural system.
> 5.   The governance system.
> 6.   The economic system.
> 7.   The political system.   (Watson 1982, 18)

The concepts of the school as a social and cultural system have particular
relevance to the analysis of the two schools. The school as a <u>social
system</u> can be approached via such key concepts as:

<u>social interaction</u> – the extent to which, and the ways in which,
                            people interact.

<u>social structure</u>   – the structures or groupings of people which
                            arise out of these interactions.

<u>roles</u>

while the <u>cultural system</u> includes key concepts such as:

<u>expectations</u>   – what individuals expect of those occupying
                            roles or of groupings including organisations.

<u>prescriptions</u>   – what individuals believe ought to happen
                            with respect to roles or institutions. .

<u>norms</u>, values and symbols.

The Dockside School study focussed on social processes and expect-
ations relating to the curriculum. The assumption was that innovation
cannot be reified. An innovation cannot be considered as if 'it were
independent of the human interaction which creates, defines and sustains
it, and through which its meaning is collectively negotiated' (Esland
1972, 106). At Dockside School, the aim was to describe and analyse
aspects of the social system of the school as defined by participants'

interpretation of the system. For example, how did the Head define the purposes of the school to an outside observer, to parents, to staff? How did the pupils view their experience of geography in the classroom? Following Silverman's analysis of prevailing systems approaches to organisations (1970), his formula has been adopted in the research - 'explanations of social action must arise from the definitions of the situation and purposes of the actors'.

The study of innovation at Dockside School provided an excellent base from which to develop the study of Birchwood School. The common link between the schools was the implementation of the GYSL Project within their curriculum. While my research was directed towards this innovation and the context in which it developed, a stance of open-ended enquiry was adopted so that I could respond to issues that were significant in each unique situation. However, the experience generated certain key questions which had transferability into the second school, whose characteristics such as catchment area and intake, physical structure, organisation and staffing, were in marked contrast. Additional issues and questions in Birchwood School would no doubt assume importance but the two case studies became part of a progression, the first taking on a preparatory role for the second, which finally assumed a weightier role. Three key questions were posed at the conclusion of the Dockside study:

(1)   How far was it true to say that the innovation as experienced, the received curriculum of the pupils, was the product of social interaction - the geographers' negotiation with various reality definers? The various individuals and groups - Head, Departmental colleagues, senior staff, other staff, pupils - all had their own definition of reality. Salter and Tapper (1981, 72) comment:

> ... one important dimension of the new sociology of education is the claim that the individual's consciousness is shaped partially by the kinds of interpersonal relations that occur within institutions like schools.

(2)   Was there a greater enthusiasm for and understanding of the new conceptual approach than with the associated teaching styles? The evidence at Dockside revealed a number of surprising characteristics. Would a similar pattern be found at Birchwood School?

(3)   There were questions about <u>the content and form of the</u> <u>Project as 'officially' presented</u>, eg did the rational curriculum planning by objectives model have deeper implications for change than its 'efficient' classroom image might suggest? What did it mean for teacher and pupil roles? <u>Were common underlying assumptions shared by the new posit-</u> <u>ivistic approaches to geography and the rational curriculum</u> <u>planning model</u>?

4.2   THE SCHOOL - ITS SETTING AND ORGANISATION

Birchwood, a purpose-built school, was opened in 1975. It is located in a pleasant village, close to open farmland. It serves five village primary schools. The opening of the School in Birchwood was welcomed by parents as previously all secondary pupils travelled several miles to a local town. The catchment area for pupils is a varied one. The old village of Birchwood provides local services for the farming community. After World War II, new estates were built and these tended, in the words of a parent-governor, 'to be filled with the new up and coming middle-class executive types who commuted up to London by railway'. Much of the housing is owner-occupied.

The school is a modern, bungalow-style building, set in an attractive 'green field' setting. The building with its focal room structures and carpeted common areas, creates a feeling of informality. The structure and layout of the Humanities Department, for example, is in marked contrast to the cold corridor style of Dockside's Geography Department.

The School is an 11-16 mixed high school, operating within a secondary organisation, set up in September 1967. Under the scheme, the majority of pupils transfer without any form of selection at the age of eleven from primary schools to one of six high schools. All high schools receive pupils of wide ability range.During the first two years, pupil progress is carefully monitored. Parents are invited to discuss with teaching staff the most suitable course of education for their children after the age of thirteen. Those pupils wishing to pursue an academic course leading to 'A' level where considered appropriate, are offered an opportunity to transfer to Upper Schools (13-18). At 16 years, there is a further opportunity for children to transfer from high schools to upper schools or to colleges of further education to undertake 'O' level or more advanced work. There is a small sixth form at Birchwood, mainly for pupils wishing to undertake further examination work up to 'O' and CEE level.

Birchwood School at present admits an eight form entry. In the year of study there were 220 children in the first year, 240 in the second year, 180 in each of the third, fourth and fifth years and 20 sixth year pupils giving a total school roll of over 1,000 pupils.

The pupils' pastoral needs are met by a series of Units, thought

of   basically as year group areas. In these furnished group social
areas, pupils house their belongings, dine and join in assemblies.
The social areas take on the features of common rooms.

The teaching rooms have been 'suited' and associated subjects
grouped together. The Humanities teaching rooms, for example, group
around a central resources area which itself is linked to the library.
Art, Drama and Music rooms are in close proximity to the auditorium
which is available for PE, Dance and Movement. There are well-equipped
Home Economics, Needlework, Woodwork, Metalwork, Technical Drawing,
Pottery and Textiles Areas nearby. Similar groupings are provided
for Science, Maths and English. The school library also houses a branch
of the County Library. It was hoped that links with the local community
would be strengthened through increasing use of these facilities.

Organisationally, the school operates a policy of mixed-ability
teaching during the first two years with a withdrawal system for children
with learning difficulties and for those of high ability. French is
setted in Year Two, Mathematics and Science in Year Three. Spanish
or German are also available in the third year. A common approach
is adopted in the fourth and fifth years. A wide range of subjects
is offered at CSE and/or 'O' level including English, English Literature,
Maths, History (SC 13-16), Geography (GYSL), Sociology, Social Studies,
Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Integrated Science, Home Economics, Needle-
craft, Art, Metalwork,   Child Development, Commercial subjects, French,
Spanish, Music, Pottery and Drama.

Staffing

The first impression of the Birchwood staff was that of a youthful,
lively team. One member of staff commented that many of the first
appointments at Birchwood were people interested in the formative
possibilities of a new school. They also saw it as a ladder to personal
development and promotion. The staffing establishment at the school
from September 1980 was Head Teacher, 54·1 teachers, and a language
assistant. There were two Deputy Head Teachers and three Senior Teachers.
Internally, the school is organised on traditional lines reflecting
a distinctive pastoral and curriculum structure.

My introduction to the school

The local Geography Inspector named Birchwood School among the

list of those doing the GYSL Project. I was already acquainted with Robert Ingham, Head of the Geography Department at the school. He readily agreed to my research plans and later discussed them with the Head and other senior members of staff. On my preliminary visit, Robert mentioned the diversity of views in the Humanities Department of which geography was a part. 'The Humanities Department', I was told, 'is generally very radical in its approach. Geography, including GYSL, is thought of as reactionary'.

My 'official' introduction to the school staff as a whole took place at a staff meeting. Each morning, the whole staff gather in the staff common room before the day's programme commences. The room is spacious and attractively decorated and generously provided with easy chairs arranged in a circle, giving an informal and relaxed feeling to the proceedings. General announcements for the day were made by the Deputy Head, Dave Bebbington. Any member was free to contribute to the discussion. I was introduced by the Deputy Head as 'the originator of the Schools Council Geography Project who is interested in the changes and developments occurring as the Project is adapted and implemented'.

Compared with the huge staffing of many comprehensive schools, the meeting at Birchwood felt like a family affair. It was chaired informally, with touches of humour frequently 'lightening' the meeting. The Head, who contributed as an ordinary staff member, commented to me on the way in which even the youngest member of staff, eg probationers, were encouraged to participate in this meeting, responding to suggestions or putting forward original ideas. Monday afternoon after school was also reserved for staff meetings although only one per month involved the whole staff. All staff were free to join Heads of Department meetings as observers. Compared with the Dockside organisation, one got the impression of a much more open, democratic approach. In the early days of the school, there had been a voluntary Staff Forum on a range of educational issues chaired by leading members of the Humanities Department. Reference to this and to a full Heads of Department meeting which was recorded in detail will be made later.

The early morning staff meeting, Friday 13 June 1980, at which I was introduced, illustrates the range of topics covered on such occasions:

(1) Disciplinary procedures in Year 4. The cloakroom had been flooded. 'We will now provide the game'. (Laughter)

(2) The previous day's hoax telephone call about a bomb in the building.

(3) Uniform - ordering of blouses.

(4) Examination arrangements.

(5) Visitors to the school.

(6) A parental complaint about homework.

(7) Bus departures at the end of the school day. All buses had been away by 3.51 pm. This was a record to be challenged (laughter) - the Deputy Head was on duty!

The chairman, Deputy Head Teacher, Dave Bebbington, also a teaching member of the Humanities Department, proved to be a central figure in the portrayal of the school. He had an openness of approach with staff and pupils alike, a willingness to listen to points of view and argue a case rationally rather than dictating from a fixed position. The morning meeting created a relaxed pattern of relationships.

Curriculum development in a school is intimately connected with the quality of relationships within the whole school community.

> Cultural growth in curriculum depends upon a relaxed and continuous
> exchange of ideas amongst teachers which prevents curriculum
> boundaries from becoming rigid and insulated from alternative
> views. (Skilbeck and Reynolds 1976, 16)

Informal group discussion in the Birchwood common room frequently went beyond immediate practical matters to controversial curriculum issues. Barnes (1976, 183) also links interpersonal relationships with curriculum. The normative order of the school, he suggests, includes both how the school is organised and the values which are implicitly celebrated in the day-to-day interaction of teachers and pupils:

> Communication is the common term which links the social order
> of the school with the curriculum - what the pupils in fact
> learn .... the social order of a school includes how pupils and
> teachers talk to one another in classrooms and in corridors,
> how the headmaster runs staff meetings, how timetable decisions
> are arrived at ....

My programme

Most of the initial term's residence at Birchwood School (supple-

mented by single days at a later stage in the research) was spent in the Humanities Department observing lessons, going on visits with teachers and pupils, having informal discussions and recording interviews with staff and pupils. To deepen my understanding of the school context, I also observed teaching in other departments such as English, Maths and Science, tracking these subjects through the experience of Lower School (2nd) and Upper School (4th) classes.

<u>THE SCHOOL'S PLANS AND PURPOSES - THE VIEWS OF THE HEADMASTER</u>

At this stage, in order to get a wider view of the aims and purposes of the school and in order to discover something of its ethos, a detailed account of an interview with the Head of Birchwood School is included. Much of it is in direct transcript. Birchwood School soon after its opening was subject to important political decisions about its future. At this time, schools generally were undergoing major organisational changes. There was:

> ...rapid promotion of staff to senior management posts in schools; the clamant demand of curriculum change and development; the growing complexity and openness of schools, and the imminent signs (through the Tyndale affair, the 'Great Debate', and the Taylor Committee, 1977) of greater public scrutiny of school performance. (Heller 1982, 227)

The Head Teacher in English schools continues to play a key role in the drama associated with the 'arena' of the institution (Strauss 1964). A recent HMI Discussion Paper (1977) reviewing ten good schools left no doubt about its view of headship:

> Without exception, the most important single factor in the success of these schools is the quality of leadership of the Head.

The Head of Birchwood claimed that he was committed to innovation. He gave the first indication that having planned for it and sought to manage it (eg the Humanities Department was to be at the frontier of innovation) he then found that he had to limit the full impact and protect parents and other staff from over exposure to it. He was keenly aware that the 'process ideology' in the Humanities Department ran counter to much orthodox thinking. The political pressures of parental expectations continually bore in upon him. At this period, the new comprehensives were having to prove themselves. Benn and Simon (1972, 65) identified the issue:

> Certainly it seems that schools intensify their traditional aspects during the transitional stage ... in matters of uniform, speech days and the stress of GCE academic attainment to the exclusion of other forms of excellence, it is almost as if comprehensive schools were saying 'we can easily beat selective schools at their own game'.

Throughout, the Birchwood Head tried to negotiate with the various reality definers - pupils, staff, parents, governors, LEA and examination boards.

The following, with sectional headings added, is in direct speech by the Head (H). The promptings or questions are by myself (TD).

The political context

> The innovative school might well be the one which has the appropriate structures for allowing political accommodations to take place between clients and employees. (Reid and Walker, 1975, 246)

H   The original concept of the school was as an all-ability 13-18 school. I was recruited on that basis. It then seemed that about a month before the comprehensive was due to open, the original structure was not so firm after all. The first staff generally had been recruited on the basis of a comp-rehensive school (11-18 or 13-18). Then education became a party political football. The local LEA rescinded a Labour government decision. The first Chairman of Governors and other governors were very pro-comprehensive. Then the school governors were changed following local elections. The outgoing Chairman proposed an outsider as chairman without reference to the existing vice-chairman. Those parents who had been in favour, voted against going comprehensive. The vote was taken after five minutes - for the LEA scheme (all-ability to 13 then transfers to high-ability schools for most able) 7 to 6 or 9 to 8 in favour. I showed my faith in the school by sending my own child here. Only one of the other new Governors does this - the rest choose the 11+ route or private schools. They are not in business to support the school but to maintain the system, the status quo. There was also evidence of recent senior school appointments with a right wing bias.

So the school became a High School - all-ability 11-13 - then transfer. However, in our 5th year, there are quite a number of pupils who chose not to leave at 13 years, although their ability provided them with the opportunity to do so. Other parents saw the 'merits' of transfer. For the first few years the parents saw us as a community/comprehensive school, whereas now it is natural for the most able to leave - all stemming from the party political decision. The top 25% of pupils can transfer. So the expectations of parents about this village community school have now changed - the most able can achieve 'A' levels at other schools. The status of Birchwood changed. Whereas in the first year or so we had tremendous parental support - it was natural for all pupils to come here and stay. I see no immediate change likely, given the security of tenure of the county councillors who hold this view and given that it is the part of the world that it is - and the falling rolls.

Parents and the curriculum

TD   In what way do you feel parents are influencing you at the moment in terms of the curriculum - its style and content?

H   If we were a 13-18 all-ability school, I think parents would be prepared to trust us because we are still a new school, as they

did in the first two years. We had a long honeymoon period,
almost trouble-free; parents were pleased. They had queries
about such things as the length of homework but the pupils were
happy generally and so were the parents. Parents did not seem
to want to question what the curriculum had to offer. Because
transfer to upper schools has become a major item at 13 years,
parents are now looking at the curriculum or certain areas
of the curriculum to see whether it is preparing their children
for transfer to another school to follow more formal courses.
The area you are looking at particularly, Humanities, is among
some parents an area of great concern because they do not see
traditional history taught, or geography does not appear on the
timetable and this astonishes some parents. Religious Education -
well, no parent has ever objected about the way we approach RE.
No, we have had a few complaints - but parents (a certain
section) do harp back and remember the status of history and
geography and they want a formal teaching approach. There is
no great bandwagon for that but at consultation evenings, they
do dwell on this issue. Others say, of course, how much their
children enjoy Humanities lessons. I think the major reason
for parents being concerned about this area is not what the
Humanities area is trying to do but that we have to transfer
children to other schools where the philosophy of those
Departments is rather different, where 'the chalk and talk'
and 'learn this' and preparation for external examinations is
held in great esteem. We do not disregard this at the approp-
riate stage. In the Humanities Department, they encourage the
enquiry approach to learning and the development of skills - the
skills/content debate. Even in a half hour interview, it is very
difficult to convey this to the lay parent.

TD   How can the school bridge this gap?

H   We tried to meet this; because there were one or two queries
about Humanities from parents, we organised an Open Meeting.
The Humanities staff were to speak and hold seminars. Although
every meeting to date had been overflowing, only nine or ten
parents wanted to come. There were more teachers than parents!
That meeting was cancelled, which might have been a mistake.
The parents were going to have to work; think through simulations.
We have not repeated the exercise! We are certainly weak on
public relations on that side. We have not been able to communicate
with parents except by the written word and that is not easy.

TD   The Humanities radical approach adopts a different philosophical
position, eg MACOS which even teachers find quite difficult to
get into!

H   You will find this tension in this school - between Departments
and indeed within the Humanities Department itself. The original
instigator of this programme has left and his successor, Keith
Yates, is now leaving. Several people in the Department share an
enthusiasm for the teaching of Bruner - others have reservations,
although these have become less marked as they have worked on the
programme, but outside the Department, staff find it difficult to
defend the position to parents. They are not equipped or converted
to this philosophy. Have we done enough PR with the parents? Mind
you, I have not created the school for consensus. I set up the
situation of 'creative conflict'. I chose people who were different
in outlook.

Staff appointments and curriculum strategy

TD   Your original staff applications must have been influenced by the prospect of an 11-18 range.

H   Yes, but they were initially attracted to a new situation rather than the prospect of teaching at 'A' level in the near future. There was a policy behind the school appointments - for example the Deputy Heads were chosen from a tremendous field. I wanted different personalities, different strengths - one is my curriculum 'conscience', Dave Bebbington, another my discipline 'conscience'.

TD   '<u>Creative Conflict</u>' - how did you interpret it?

H   I wanted people who were idealists - in the forefront of educational thinking - but I did not have the confidence or wish to go overboard in that direction, a sort of Countesthorpe, although I wanted those ideas floating around here, some to be developed, others blown away. Take Humanities and English. If you looked at the Head of Humanities because of the nature of the position, his grasp of MACOS, GYSL - almost any apple that fell off the Schools Council tree he wanted to develop. I was very pleased with that appointment, especially as one of my Deputy Heads was in the field of curriculum development. I wanted a conservative English Head of Department because I thought English and Humanities would associate so I went for a formal, grammar school background to see that certain standards, traditional standards, were maintained in the race to be in the forefront of English educational developments. <u>It has been interesting to see the interaction of the two (English and Humanities) their influence on each other</u>. A middle position was taken - neither swamped the other - a mutual learning. <u>Some Departments seem divorced from the Humanities</u>. Early on all the new Heads of Department were lively members of a staff forum.

TD   What about Maths and Science? Did you see those as being pathfinders in their own way?

H   No. This is where some of the <u>external constraints on a Head Teacher crop up. I was fairly accurate, with hindsight, in identifying what the community wanted</u>. In areas such as this you have to make certain you win parental support for what you are doing. Overall, with the Humanities, I was prepared to allow 'controlled' experiments. In Maths, I have taught modern courses so I know people's anxieties. I was not able to appoint a Head of Department immediately so I took it over myself. In Science it was complicated by the Open Plan buildings. There were no walls. No-one was happy about it. However, an enlightened approach was adopted although it looks formal. Nuffield approaches are adopted. There are certainly no great discussions about where we are going in science. However, I wanted a well-qualified team in Maths and Science to make sure there was a <u>course content there</u> that would satisfy parents. I am pretty sure that we have succeeded - I can hardly remember a parent's complaint - there are no anxieties from my position. Anxieties have been around ... (i) Maths, (ii) Humanities, (iii) English (ref spelling).

     I was happy for Maths and Science to be modern courses but not anxious for great curriculum development here.

Our in-service weekends threw up many issues. A Staff Forum was set up, chaired by an elected member of staff. It was success- ful for two years but the chairman was always a Humanities person concerned with styles of learning, a body of knowledge, the contribution of RE etc. Then Humanities said they would no longer chair. Now the staff has grown, a change has taken place. We meet on a Departmental basis. Every Monday (first of month) a chaired, whipped meeting is called by the Head. I confine myself to twenty minutes at the beginning then it is open for debate. The Deputy Head's role is to prevent me becoming too reactionary! <u>I do not want the teachers to become too un- settled asking too many questions about learning</u>.

I developed 'days free from teaching' for Departmental In-service meetings.

TD   In policy-making, you see this as a consultative process?

H   I like the morning meetings as a way of exchanging views. I like to involve staff in consultation.

TD   The morning meetings encourage openness and sharing. They produce a cohesion. You mention Countesthorpe. There is a similar feel about Birchwood (i) shape of the building, (ii) image in Humanities. Did you welcome the shape of the building? It does, after all, express a philosophy about the curriculum.

H   I was alarmed to see the Humanities Department had no walls or sliding partitions, but if it is there all the time it imposes constraints! One cannot easily get the staff to work in this way. Some walls had to be built.

TD   Would you favour an 'Integrated Code' in Bernstein terms?

H   Yes, but <u>I cannot ignore the demands of society</u> so I look for a compromise! In Years 1-3, we go for an enquiry approach. But parents and children have expectations of bits of paper which will recommend them to an employer! We have a duty to provide more formal courses.

TD   We are, of course, caught up in an <u>accountability movement</u>.

H   I am accountable to the CEO, parents, HMI, LEA, staff - and children., If one's interpretation of what one is doing for the children is challenged by one of the other groups, then one can be removed from that situation! There is a danger of a highly centralised curriculum. Certainly in the last couple of years, many of us have been aware of party political pressures - via Governors. At times I feel influenced by party political people. One must be careful what one is doing, eg here one is almost afraid to mention 'mixed-ability' in an open forum because of party political pressures - similarly the word 'comprehensive'.

<u>Reflections on the Head's statement</u>

A.   The Head spoke of his <u>strategy for individual appointments to the staff</u>. His concept of creative conflict was intriguing. The

interaction between staff such as those in English, Science and
Maths Departments will be discussed later. The comments, however,
about the Deputy Head posts are significant at this stage. 'Dave
Bebbington is my conscience in relation to the curriculum'. Together
with the Head of Humanities, he represented the radical wing of
the Department. His membership of that Department and his ability
to represent it at the policy-making level is central to an under-
standing of the development of the Department. Dave's authority
in the Staff Common Room, the respect he engendered, his influence
upon timetabling (ensuring block periods where requested by Humanities),
flexibility over visits, and not least his ability to communicate
his ideas to other staff, reflecting the radical wing of the Depart-
ment, must have made an incalculable impact. The suspicions of
other school staff and their inability to cope with parental crit-
icisms led to some bitter situations culminating in some non-Humanities
staff refusing to cover Humanities classes when the Department
was taking pupils on visits. The survival of the Humanities programme
at such times as these probably depended greatly on the Deputy
Head (Curriculum). The agendas for staff discussions were drawn
up by Dave Bebbington. At In-service staff weekends, he played
a critical role in controversial sessions on aspects of pedagogy
and organisation.

B. The Head was very aware of the <u>political context</u>. At a major policy
    level, <u>the comprehensive school status issue</u> was 'resolved' by
    a change of national government. The implementation was the work
    of the more local political processes in which those who 'want
    to maintain the system, the status quo' got their way and Birchwood
    was changed from a comprehensive 11-16 or 13-18 school to an 11-
    16 High School. His account was confirmed by a parent-governor.

C. The decision about the status of the school having been made,
    <u>certain groups of parents, one of the reality definers, began</u>
    <u>to exercise pressures on the school curriculum</u>. In the Head's
    view this was because of the requirements of the more formal upper
    school and external examinations. This aspect of the social order
    (Barnes 1976) was particularly relevant to the Humanities Department
    where increasing concern was expressed about style and content.
    The Head was careful not to overload his staffing with controversial

innovations and therefore deliberately played safe with Maths, Science and English. There was clear political pressure upon the Head. 'Politics has to do with the distribution, exercise and justification of power in society' (Reynolds and Skilbeck 1976, 67). In that sense, curriculum questions were not just restricted to technical problems, such as the teaching of a particular skill. Curriculum questions quickly raised questions of social values, the needs and interests of different groups in society and the social meaning and significance of knowledge itself.

Birchwood School found itself caught up in a delayed 11+ system where the grammar school traditions exercised a distinct influence. At a deeper level, Reynolds and Skilbeck (1976, 69) suggest that the protection of the most able pupils' curricula by parents may be because:

> ....grammar schools and their curricula are an important
> facet of a powerful sub-culture which has its traditions,
> its values, its way of life, and their 'goodness' is
> not merely a pedagogical matter; it consists partly in that
> they serve the interests of the sub-culture'.

In a more radical comment, Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that it is almost inevitable that in a capitalist society, schools will operate to reproduce the class structure of society:

> .....what is important is not the content of education or
> what is taught, but rather the form of education or the
> way it is taught.

Certainly, the Humanities curriculum in Years 1-3 was challenging, at both the content and form level, the traditional expectations of many parents in this very affluent commuter area.

D.   <u>An alternative perspective</u> to the Head's view on the changed role of the school was offered by two members of the Humanities Department, a geographer and a historian. They suggested to me that the failure of the school to do an adequate public relations job in relation to the Humanities programme was an important element in the school losing its popular support in the neighbourhood.

> Progressive teachers went their own way in Humanities. This
> was especially true of the MACOS (Man: a Course of Study)
> Project. The work in school was greatly misunderstood.
> Parents asked questions about why their children did not
> know RE, History and Geography as they perceived it. They
> had obvious ambitions for their children via the traditional
> discipline routes.

Had there been an understanding of the Humanities approach, these members of staff believed that local goodwill towards the school could have been sufficiently marshalled to maintain the all-ability 11-18 comprehensive school at Birchwood. In a further comment, the geographer, Robert Ingham, said 'MACOS has brought us into disrepute with staff, pupils and parents'. Perhaps there was a greater need to recognise one of the fundamental dilemmas inherent in public educational systems: on the one hand, what schools teach is some kind of public possession contingent on political climates; on the other, the curriculum of the school is also the possession of individuals - those who teach it and those who experience it. There is a tension between these contrary claims. (Reid 1981) It was in this controversial and very stimulating environment that the <u>geographers negotiated their teaching perspective</u> within the Humanities Department, the evidence of which is seen in their interpretation of the Geography for the Young School Leaver Project.

Two tangible results of the pressures upon the Humanities Department were:

(i)   that when the first Head of Department left, his successor was 'demoted' by virtue of a salary scale at a lower level.

(ii)   the individual disciplines in the Department - History, Geography and RE, began to claim Units of time in Years 1-3 although these units were still taught by all teachers in the Humanities Department.

E. <u>The physical structure of the school</u> at Birchwood predetermined the grouping and close association between certain subjects. This was particularly true in the case of Humanities where there were no specialist History, Geography or RE rooms. The Head mentioned that some dividing structures had been built. The geographers were housed in tutorial rooms and because geography emerged as a separate discipline by Year 4, they used their tutorial base for some specialist equipment. The Humanities rooms were grouped around an attractive central resources area with its filing cabinets, work spaces and audio-visual sections. (See Fig 7)

The context of the GYSL Project was therefore spatially located in a physical setting which assumed an integrative approach to the curriculum. The arrangement of rooms and shared resources

H7

H8

H9

H10

H6
Stockroom

Stockroom

H11

H5

Central Resources Area
with study areas

H12

Stockroom

H4

H3

H2

H1
Library

A1
Lecture Theatre
(with permanent audio-visual
equipment)
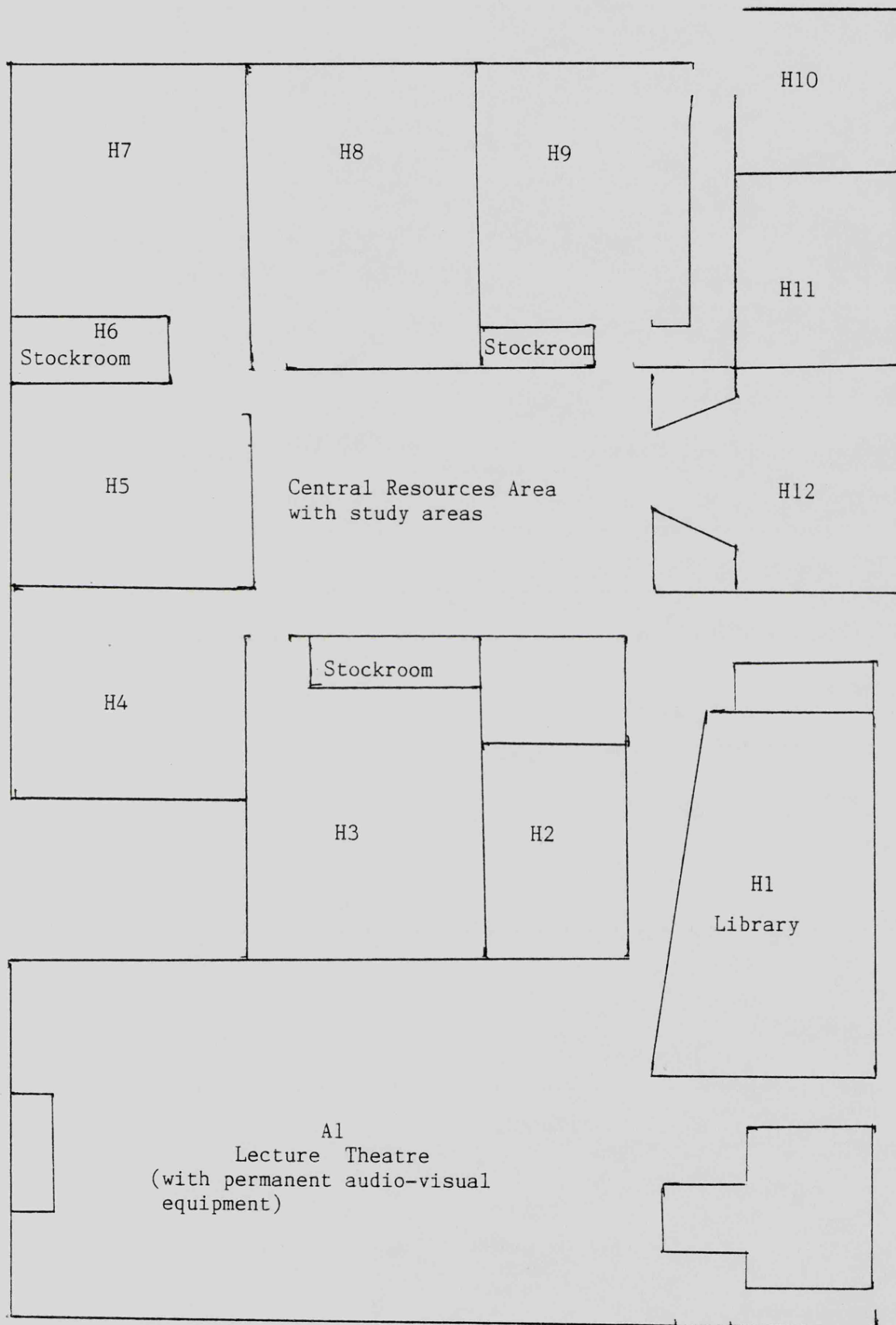
FIG 7   Plan of Humanities Dept – Birchwood School

area, made for much face-to-face contact between staff; there
was an awareness of what other staff were doing; ideas and techniques
were available to others, groups could easily be combined, allowing
for team teaching.

Hargreaves (1980) explores the concept of the paracurriculum
- that which is taught and learned alongside the formal or official
curriculum. He underlines the significance of the use of space
- the location of functional areas of schools, the arrangement
of furniture and resources. It is 'both a symbolic expression
of and a mechanism for creating and maintaining the power relation
that exists between teachers and pupils' (1980, 130). It is therefore
relevant in the portrayal of conflicting ideologies within the
Humanities Department at Birchwood to reflect upon how the total
use of space influenced inter-personal relationships.

4.4   THE HUMANITIES DEPARTMENT AT BIRCHWOOD SCHOOL

The study at Birchwood focussed on the Humanities Department rather than on the Geography Department alone. There were two reasons for this:

(1)   The geographers were part of an integrated team – they taught Humanities rather than geography in Years 1 to 3.

(2)   In the continuing examination of concepts of negotation and compromise, the expression of GYSL could only be understood within the forum of conflicting views identified as radical and relatively orthodox/traditional. The Department was committed to experimental and innovative approaches incorporating other Projects such as MACOS and Schools Council History 13-16. All these approaches become integral to the research.

After Dockside School – an alternative perspective – first impressions

On my first day in the school, I was impressed by the very informal atmosphere of the Department. The layout, the furnishing of the central resources area with its small work units, carpeted floor and easy access to resources, all facilitated informality. The relationships between staff and pupils were easy and open. At the time, Keith Yates, Head of Humanities, was discussing with an individual pupil, aspects of Eskimo life. He encouraged the pupil to question the accuracy and implications of the subject matter and the form of visual presentation in a textbook. This was very different to the Dockside approach where resources for learning via worksheets were important but I do not recall any pupil being invited to take a critical stance of the resources themselves.

Later that week, two first year groups spent a day at the Viking Exhibition in London, part of the unit 'What is History?' As an observer, I was able to compare in some detail the assignments of different groups visiting the Exhibition. Most other school groups had cyclostyled worksheets. A typical junior school worksheet, for example, had 'What did the Vikings eat?', 'How did they cook?', 'What were the hut walls made of?' The Birchwood Humanities approach was markedly different. There were no worksheets! One of the historians, Teresa Im, who piloted this

visit, said to me:

> I am trying to get away from worksheets. I believe in a high
> degree of oral exchange starting from the pupil, asking them which
> are the things they want to know about a Viking village. When
> the traditional worksheet is finished at an Exhibition, the pupil
> may think 'That's all I need to do - I have 'done' the exhibition'.
> The Birchwood pupils' hypotheses help to focus and sharpen a child's
> perception and direct his energies towards real discovery learning'.

The hypotheses were formulated in a classroom discussion prior to the
visit. There were discussions in groups with a strong emphasis on co-
operative endeavour rather than a highly individualised approach. A
lot of time was spent in these groups talking through the preparation.
Such hypotheses as 'The Vikings were not raiders but wanted to set
up peaceful trading with the peoples of Britain' or 'The Vikings were
all pagans' were typical. In discussion, the pupils were asked to:

> discuss a plan of action and discuss the sort of evidence you
> need to look for on the trip. Who will look out for what? How
> will you present your findings? Now write your hypothesis in your
> general notebook making sure you take it with you on the trip.
> In it, collect any notes that might help to prove your hypothesis'.
> (See Fig 8)

The work undertaken by the pupils at the London Museum was purposeful,
involving them in detective approaches as they scanned many parts of
the Exhibition in their search for evidence. It was their responsibility
to select or discard evidence to support or reject their hypotheses.
There was no tidy end to the exercise as there might have been with
a straightforward 'observe and record' kind of worksheet. Back in
the classroom, the co-operative work continued with the pupils, provers
and disprovers of the hypothesis, putting their results together. The
two groups were asked to reach a conclusion. The onus throughout was
on the pupils to research, organise, present and evaluate their results.

Keith Yates, the Head of Humanities, adopted an even more open,
less structured approach to this piece of work. In discussion, Keith
said to me 'I want the pupils' own questions, their own hypotheses,
their own search for knowledge, assessing, searching for ideas, listening
to others. That's how I would run it - not writing down notes'. Again,
there was a lot of preparatory oral and co-operative work. Keith showed
a film strip on the Vikings, primarily as a stimulus, making little
verbal comment. The children were encouraged to organise themselves,
to ask their own questions, to weigh up evidence, look for bias, test
their own hypothesis. Some propositions - 'The Vikings were Christian'

THE VIKINGS

Get into groups of four and then read and discuss the hypotheses below (an hypothesis is an idea or theory which has been neither proved nor disproved). You have to select one for your group and collect evidence to either prove or disprove it. You may use your notes from the slides, any information which you have collected from your visit and the other research material which you have in your classroom. Use pictures, maps and writing to back up your argument. Half the group should try to prove that the hypothesis is true and the other half should try to disprove it. Then both halves should join together to reach a conclusion as to which is the more likely to be the truth.

(1)   'The Vikings were not merely savages but great craftsmen'.

(2)   'The Vikings were not raiders but wanted to set up peaceful trading with the peoples of Britain'.

(3)   'The most important skill for a Viking to have was that of a farmer'.

(4)   'The most important skill for a Viking to have was that of a sailor'.

(5)   'The Vikings were all pagans'.

(6)   The Vikings hated Christians'.

(7)   'Cattle die, kinsfolk die, all men must die; that alone does not die - the reputation that a man leaves after him' - Havamal (the Viking Code). 'The Vikings would have been proud of the reputation which they have left after them'.

(8)   'The Vikings brought law and order to England and not anarchy'.

When you have sorted out which hypothesis you wish to test, discuss a plan of action. What sort of evidence do you need to look out for on the trip? Who will look for what? How will you present your findings?

Now write your hypothesis in your general note books and make sure that you take it with you on the trip together with something to write with. In it you should collect any notes which might help to prove your hypothesis and you might like to buy postcards, etc to help you in your work.

FIG 8

The Vikings Project - Year 1

- might be half true, half false, but in the ensuing discussion the question 'What is a Christian?' might arise. Keith added 'I was amazed at the questions the children asked - they went beyond the work Teresa had done with her group!'

Keith's group instructions were as follows:

(1)   In your group, select as many questions as you can to which you would like to find answers.

(2)   You may use any information which you can collect:
    (i)   booklets, books;
    (ii)   models, weapons, tools, guides, costumes;
    (iii) postcards of houses, boats etc.

(3)   Back in class, write up all your questions and the evidence and then make a presentation of it to the rest of the class.

(4)   Have you been able to collect evidence which suggests that some of your answers and questions/statements may have been wrong?

(5)   What questions about Vikings still puzzle you?

The Humanities Department

Staffing and Programmes

The Head of Humanities, Keith Yates, was originally appointed as the RE specialist. He took over the Department when the first Head of Humanities, Neville Eastham, was appointed as a Deputy Head of a school in another LEA. Dave Bebbington, the Deputy Head of the school, came into the Department with a history/social science background from a Head of Humanities post in a comprehensive school. He had spent a year at the University of East Anglia reading for an MA with Lawrence Stenhouse. There was one generalist teacher, Nesta Daniels, an historian, Teresa Im, three geographers, Robert Ingham, Eric Younger, Hugh Waters, and a geographer/social scientist, Harry Fielding. The subsequent portrayal explores ways in which these individuals represented a range of ideolog-ical perspectives.

The organisation of the Humanities Department followed an integrated approach in Years 1-3 (see Fig 9). A central element in Years 1 and 2 was the Bruner MACOS Project, the pedagogic aims of which had clearly had a very formative influence on the work of the Department. In each

	TERM 1	TERM 2	TERM 3
YEAR 1	Introduction to Birchwood School. The Class Profile Me, You and Other People. The above are taught in conjunction with the English Dept until the first half term.	The pupils follow Professor Bruner's course – 'Man, a Course of Study' (MACOS). This explores the key question, 'What makes man human?' through the study of concepts such as learning, dependency, aggression, social organisation, communication, culture, beliefs, technology, etc. The course starts by looking at these concepts in animals such as the salmon, herring gull, baboon and chimp.	Introduction to the idea of 'What is History?' and 'What is Geography?' Emphasis here is on skills.
	Stories with a meaning – Myths The aim is to enable pupils to discover through the exploration of myths, one of the ways in which man expressed what was significant in his experience.		Settlement Extension of geography skills from the previous half-term. This will be done via research and fieldwork, the development, morphology and function of settlement. Particular reference is made to Birchwood.
YEAR 2	Childhood Taking the topic of childhood during the 2nd World War. Primarily a skills-based course, eg researching and the comparing of evidence etc.	Continuation of 'Man, a Course of Study'. In this part of the course, we look at the changing lives of the Netsilik Eskimo. This whole section provides a contrast with industrial societies – it is thus a means of examining and reflecting upon our society.	Communication The role and implications of interaction within and between nations and cultures. Dilemmas posed by increasing technology
			Signs and Symbols Aim is to help pupils understand that signs/symbols are an important form of communication – they convey more than they actually say. We try to explore the meaning of religious language.

FIG 9 Humanities Syllabus Years 1-3

	TERM 1	TERM 2	TERM 3
YEAR 3	Schools Council Project: 'What is History?' Using a selection of problems from the past so that pupils can involve themselves in work on 'evidence' and also become involved in the exercising of judgement.	Who is Jesus? Who was he? Was he an ordinary man or someone special? What influenced him and how did he influence others? What do the images of Jesus mean? What is our image of Jesus? These are some of the questions which we explore in this unit.	Leisure. Leisure is becoming an ever-increasing part of life and in this unit we briefly trace this development. Leisure also poses spatial problems.
	Development Studies. Disparities in the development of nations exist. The reasons and problems are considered. Disparities may be ameliorated but will they ever be eliminated? Are the disparities necessary?	Religion through culture. A look at political/religious history at the time of Henry VIII, Elizabeth I, and Mary, Queen of Scots. We also look at different forms of Christian worship.	

year also, there were Units sponsored by one of the three subject contributors - history, geography and RE.

In Year 1 there was a combined English/Humanities Unit 'An Introduction to Birchwood School', a Unit on Myths (RE sponsored), an introduction to the idea 'What is History', and 'What is Geography', with a fieldwork study of a local settlement.

In Year 2 the disciplines gave a particular emphasis to each Unit, Childhood, (History), Communication (Geography), Signs and Symbols (RE), although each Unit had wide interdisciplinary implications.

In Years 4 and 5, pupils had a range of options based on specific disciplines. History was offered at CSE and 'O' level via the Schools Council 13-16 History Project and Geography at CSE and 'O' level via Geography for the Young School Leaver Project (GYSL).

* * * * * * *

The next section is a portrayal of the practice and personal statements of Keith Yates and Dave Bebbington, the radical wing. This will be followed by a similar analysis of Robert Ingham and Dave Younger's position, setting the opposing situations side by side in a case study of a teaching unit. Aligned with GYSL, the geographers thought to be traditional by the radicals, exemplified GYSL approaches in much of their work in Years 1-3. The intermediate group of Nesta, Harry and Teresa appear to have been influenced by both extremes in the debate, possibly more by the leaders of the Department, Keith Yates and Dave Bebbington. A sequence of conflict and change is recorded before focussing on a direct critique of the GYSL Project. To clarify ideological positions the terms 'radical', 'liberal or reformist', and 'traditional' have been adopted. They are relative terms. The 'liberal' geographers were deemed by the radicals to be traditional. These are not, of course, political labels although the term radical is used by some writers as an anti-establishment, anti-capitalist term. Here it is used more as Douglas Barnes (1976) would use an Interpretative classification of teaching as contrasted to a Transmission classification of teaching. Most fundamentally it implies a radical view of the nature of knowledge and hence of the nature of learning and teaching.

4.5 (1)   THE RADICAL VIEW (1) STATED AND OBSERVED

> I do not think you can ride two horses - the content and the
> process horse - you have to back one or the other. (Keith Yates)

In this personalised statement to me (TD) made in an open interview,
Keith Yates (KY) traces his growing orientation to a process approach
to education. As he exemplifies the application of his philosophy,
he contrasts it   graphically to the geographers' approach. He critically
questions much traditional and immediately 'relevant' content. The
script is deliberately left in interview form in order to bring out
the sharpness and spontaneity which might otherwise be lost.

A commitment to Process Education

KY   When I first came here, I was appointed for my interest in RE
yet I was never happy about it in isolation. I wanted to see
RE within the total picture. Previously, I was at a girls'
Grammar School. I then left to do an MA at the London Institute
under Professor Peters. The course did not live up to my
expectations. It was far too demanding and academic. I had to
give the course up because of a personal vitamin deficiency. I
then did one term in a Junior School before coming to Birchwood.

TD   Did the course at the Institute change your views on education?

KY   I found Peters and Hirst very dull, very traditional; they did
not seem interested in change. They saw MACOS in a sceptical
light. Following Hirst - if you're not careful you finish up
with the grammar school curriculum! Michael Young, the sociol-
ogist, was the only person who was really questioning and throwing
up ideas and other issues which I had not come across before.
His ideas really sparked me off. Peters, Hirst and Dearden saw
this as a threat - up to then I had totally accepted their views.
John White, too, got me thinking. He wanted us to come down on
the 'objectives' side of the wall. I came down on the 'process'
side of the wall. It was only when I came here and was actually
involved in teaching the process approach that I could say this is
what I want to do - it means something.

I came here as a learner... I still am. I worked with Neville
Eastham who was an inspiration. He, like Dave Bebbington, was a
man of great ability and both were great teachers of staff. I
would like to follow their style - their ideas, philosophy,
attitudes and values. I became more and more involved in 'process'
education. I could turn to Neville and say 'I don't know where I
am going with MACOS' and he would encourage and support me
but with other teachers of less experience who could cope less
well with classroom problems - and with students - it could be
frightening. One is constantly trying out open-ended ideas.

The MACOS Project exemplifying process education

TD Do you find that MACOS exemplifies the spiral curriculum with
    ideas that have progression - with structures which form the
    framework of a discipline?

KY I find it hard to see them.

        [MACOS explores the key question 'What makes a man human?'
         through the study of concepts such as learning, dependency,
         aggression, social organisation, communication, culture, etc]

TD What makes MACOS tick for you? ·

KY I am very enthusiastic about it.
    (i)   it is open-ended, never finished;
    (ii)   it gets kids raising their own questions and deciding
           where they want to go. I don't know where it is going
           to end. When I start a Communication lesson (sponsored
           by Robert Ingham as a geography unit) I know where it
           is going to end. This is the big difference.

    MACOS is so flexible you can do what you like with it - I see
    it getting kids into learning how to learn all the time. If that
    is the structure of MACOS it does come through.

TD Is there any reason why the geography 'Communciation' Unit
    (Fig 9)   couldn't be equally open-ended?

KY In the hands of certain curriculum makers, it could be just as
    exciting, just as stimulating. It all depends how you view
    education, how you view learning, what you think is important
    at the end of the day.

TD Are the principles of MACOS just as important for 4th, 5th,
    6th year, university students? Is such education about creating
    an environment in which the child can develop - an environment
    that draws from the child things that are meaningful to him
    and is highly creative?

KY That's it!

TD So here's a topic - what are the questions we should think about?

KY Let's take CHILDHOOD. We've had lots of trouble in the Department,
    lots of arguments and personality clashes. I would like to follow
    the Bruner path. What would interest the pupils?

    Take Children at War using the Keele Resource Pack. Let's not
    make it a CONTENT BASED course, not learning about the last war
    primarily but looking at children's experience and getting
    empathy between now and then. Teresa, the historian, brought
    in useful ideas.

    Ideally, start with the seven instrumental or pedagogic aims
    from MACOS. These really sum up my ideas of education. They also
    sum up what this Department stands for:

(1) To initiate and develop in youngsters a process of question-posing (the enquiry method).

(2) To teach a research methodology where children can look for information to answer questions they have raised.

(3) To help youngsters develop the ability to use a variety sources, first, second and third-hand, as evidence from which to develop hypotheses and draw conclusions.

(4) To conduct classroom discussions in which youngsters learn to listen to others as well as express their own ideas.

(5) To legitimise the search; that is, to give sanction and support to open-ended discussions where definite answers to many questions are not found.

(6) To encourage children to reflect on their own experiences.

(7) To create a new role for the teacher in which he/she becomes a resource rather than an authority.

'Where is the geography?' (Interview continued on a later date?

Keith, having applied for another post, had just visited the school to which he would move next term. When introducing the MACOS Project, he was immediately asked by his new Head, a geographer, 'Where is the geography?'

KY   The Deputy Head, a historian, understands the process curriculum, but the geographers I have met think geography as a subject is important. They think the factual side of the subject is more important than the process of learning. For example, instead of looking at rivers, if children were going to be more involved in the process of learning, I would use cream bun throwing! That is the problem. You cannot teach content as well as process. The new Head agrees that the learning process is very important – she does not understand MACOS. It took me a whole year to understand it!

Geographers seem to think the Amazon Rain Forest is highly important. My new Head agrees content is not that important but then says 'Where's the geography?' Robert Ingham, the geographer, says the same thing. Can't you teach content as well as process? I think you can in certain areas but I do not think you can ride two horses – the content horse and the process horse – you have to back one or the other! If process is important it does not matter what content you pick, rivers, salmon, cream bun throwing!

Whether geographers are pseudo-scientists or pseudo-mathematicians I do not know – if it is like that, why doesn't the Science Department or Maths Department teach it – why are geographers so anxious about it? I think geography is a social thing – it is about human beings, about town planning, the environment, but our geographers want to teach this content as well as process.

TD How do you achieve a balance? - process aims may be fulfilled yet in the Hirstian sense key areas or forms of knowledge remain untapped?

KT I am not against Hirst's fields or forms of knowledge, but I think Hirst is really arriving at subjects (grammar school curriculum). Hirst is not a supporter of the process curriculum. He is very much a traditionalist - the Plato elitist ideas - he stresses content rather than process. If you tried to do 'process' thoroughly, I think you would cover things like science which are important by the time the youngster leaves school, for example - question-posing (No 1 on the list) - 'teach a research methodology', etc. These are not scientific knowledge but surely scientific processes. It is not knowing how heavy a gas is but the process through which you go to test the hypothesis. Language development is again central; also the role of the teacher.

The process model is so fundamental to my concept of education. The strength of the process is that it is so fundamental to learning yet to people who are content teachers, the content gets in the way of these straightforward aims. They look at this and say 'Where's the geography?' 'Where's the Amazon Rain Forest?', 'Where's Henry VIII?', 'Where's the RE?'. I haven't found a way of overcoming this with teachers. I do not know how to tackle the problem! Content dominance seems to me to run counter to these aims.

I would like to see History, Geography and RE used to explore the process of learning. I would like to see more Art, Drama, Music linked into this.

Incorporating the process philosophy into a Departmental programme

TD How far is the programme here a negotiated deal in view of the divergent views in the Department?

KY We have tried to get a balance of time in Years 1-3, that is a balance between MACOS and the rest. If you add it all up, each subject has a fair share. This is an acknowledgement that we had to recognise the subjects but only because of pressure by Robert (geography) and Teresa (history). Having said that, I am very disappointed with geography in the Lower School. In no way does geography follow the process approach in education. Although they wanted time one has only to look at the Comm- unication Unit. The geography is not process. On the whole, it is very low level skills. So after three years at the school, Robert has not understood the process. Yes, we have achieved a working compromise, eg the Communication Unit, but the kids get nothing out of it!

TD What could you as a Head of Department do? Could you work out a common approach?

KY The basic problem is a personality problem otherwise it would be possible. In no way can I work with the geographers; we are on different planets! Robert has found it difficult to fit in with the Department.

TD   Neville Eastham (the first Head of Department) was a geographer.

KY   Yes, but Neville and Robert fought like cat and dog. Then Robert
      took it out on me. He does not understand the PROCESS CURRICULUM.
      If you look at what is produced it is obvious he does not.

TD   What about examinations?

KY   We developed a Social Science Mode III CSE based on evidence/
      skills paper, not content. We used a checklist of eleven objectives
      of what made one activity more worthwhile than another (see
      p 138), but the 'O' level Board would not accept it. There was
      no 'content' although we had themes such as life's questions,
      the family, power, research.

TD   When you deal with power, marriage, you surely have some key ideas
      in mind - cultural stigma, authority, control - so are you not
      moving into 'content'?

KY   One cannot teach without a content, but the high concepts give
      a very open structure and content is not the ultimate aim. These
      higher level ideas could be applied in any area of the school.

      Our geographers teach GYSL as content. The conceptual approach
      has become the new content.

TD   What about the role of world issues? eg the management of resources,
      the super powers, priorities of space/location, problems of
      minorities/segration.

      When you say content does not matter, do these have a place?
      Would not youngsters be deprived if they did not have these
      in their curriculum?

KY   There is a danger of old topics being replaced by a new geography
      content. It does not matter what you pick if the pupils become
      thinking, questioning people. In no way can you cover every world
      issue. It does not matter which you pick as long as the pupils
      are involved in the thinking process. So that when they come
      across world starvation, problems in the Horn of Africa, the
      Olympic Boycott, etc., we have given them the thinking skills
      to come to a rational sensible view. Today's world problems will
      not be next week's world problems. All I can do is to give them
      a thinking suitcase.

TD   Suppose we build the whole curriculum around Birchwood village
      and develop the most marvellous thinking skills, are we really
      satisfied that we have given our young citizens the best opport-
      unities in a 'shrinking' world?

KY   We set up a role play on the island of Foula (a simulation exercise).
      At the end of it, the pupils understood a great deal about power
      and politics.

      We have developed many Units but within the Department, we have
      failed. Dave and myself have tried leading by example, but we
      have failed.

I have made tremendous efforts to get on with Robert - I have
been sailing with him, had him to my home, been social drinking,
but we still do not get on. Neville Eastham, the first Head of
Department and a geographer, influenced me a great deal. I got
on well with him. In our present Departmental Team, we
try to find a common pattern of curriculum by helping each other
but the other three (the geographers) are not in this social
mix.

TD   Is it the other way round? Because they have very different views
     of knowledge and the nature of learning, they are not 'with you'
     philosophically and therefore they do not relate to you socially?

KY   Yes, I suppose it is a chicken and egg situation - but how do
     I help others in the Department? At the end of the day, if I
     came across another Robert, we must work together. I
     possibly have to compromise and avoid confrontation. I would
     probably have to do that!

     Coming back to process - I quote Bruner again when he says the
     pedagogic aims centre around the process of learning rather than
     around the product. As Bruner suggests, these goals put the highest
     importance on the community of education, on exploration and
     on question-posing rather than on factual specifics or information
     per se. A course will have many concepts but these are not super-
     ordinate to the critical process goals.

TD   May I return to the issue of real-life content as a
     vehicle - could you not take a real West African State?
     [cf Foula Island, a simulation]

KY   My unit on the Island of Foula was not real although the slides
     of Iona in Scotland helped to create a belief that it existed.
     It has all the problems, run by a Laird. Two teachers take the
     part of political candidates. The kids have to vote. They help
     in the political campaign. There's a Jubilee Edition of the
     newspaper to plan, posters to design. Then twenty-five years later
     there is a rapid growth in unemployment. The military take
     over, Chile style.

TD   Could it have been done in West Africa or South America, using
     a historical perspective? Could it not be real?

KY   I think it could be applied but that is less important than the
     'process'. Foula has become 'real' for the pupils.

TD   But supposing you could find a real situation where the process
     was equally effective?

KY   In the hands of most teachers, it would quickly become different
     in its aim.

     Another issue, of course, arises. If the teacher lowers the barriers
     and is no longer seen to be the guardian of knowledge, he
     has to depend on something different to status. Knowledge is a
     form of social control. The mystification of knowledge which
     is a common stock in trade is an option no longer open to the
     process teacher.

<u>Comment</u>:

(1) <u>'Geography and the rest of Humanities are like a husband and wife</u>
     <u>staying together because of the children!</u>'

     The different approaches of the two wings of the Department will
     be illustrated in practice but it is worth underlining that the
     divide is not simply at a philosophical level; it is also at a
     personal level. At a later date, Keith illuminated the dual aspects
     further:

> There has been a breakdown at the level of MACOS, a
> breakdown of confidence in adopting schemes. Both sides have
> tended to eschew the other. The differences in the Department
> have, if anything, become more entrenched. I have
> accepted things the previous Head of Department would
> not accept. The geographers produce poor materials, largely
> from 'Basic Geography' Is the main emphasis in learning on
> <u>how</u> to think or <u>what</u> to think? There is a fundamental
> difference in philosophy. Robert wants to set up a Department
> in its own right! Geography versus the rest! The struggle
> is really about <u>power and status</u>. He has gradually taken
> over more space in the central resources area, where he has
> five filing cabinets for his own materials. Now he wants
> the school to become the centre for LEA geography teachers.
> He has never accepted me as Head of Department. Geography
> and the rest of Humanities are like a husband and wife staying
> together because of the children!

     The interview comment about relationships in the Department is
     very significant: 'In the present Departmental Team, we try to
     find a common pattern of curriculum by helping each other but
     <u>the other three, the geographers</u>, are <u>not in this social mix</u>'.
     Shipman (1968, 79) refers to the likelihood of conflicts developing
     in schools:

> Innovators and rebels become leaders of groups pressing for
> change .... <u>ritualists and retreatists form withdrawn</u>
> <u>minorities.</u> In both cases, whether active or passive,
> <u>groups form and develop their own sub-culture</u>, frequently
> clashing among themselves and with the dominant group.

2.   The divide at the <u>philosophical level</u> is defined very sharply.
     Keith Yates cannot see how content and process can be equal partners
     in the classroom. He is adamant that 'in no way does geography
     follow a process approach in education' at Birchwood School. 'The
     geography is not process – on the whole it is very low-level skills
     in the lower school'. He is equally clear about the unity of approach
     which the geographers show in both lower and upper school. Whereas

he favours high level concepts with a very open structure - although he qualified what he meant by structure in relation to process - 'the geographers teach GYSL as content' and 'the conceptual approach has become the new content'. <u>Their underlying philosophy of education produces a similar approach whether with new materials or schemes or not</u>. Robert, he says 'treats the lower school texts like he does GYSL. He converts it into worksheets'. It is an experience repeated in many innovations. Goodson (1980, 187) comments about the Schools Council History 13-16 Project:

> In seeking to change classroom pedagogy, a curriculum project
> is approaching one of the vested traditions within teaching
> and one supported by a huge range of rational and irrational
> arguments....Traditional teaching patterns have not and will
> not be changed by exhortation or by <u>new</u> materials that can
> be readily put to use in teaching with the old method.

Keith's radical approach to education involved a fundamental shift not only in a view of knowledge but also of the teacher - no longer a guardian in the traditional sense.

3. There is also <u>discontent with geography</u> as portrayed at Birchwood School. The geographers were incorporating some of the new scientific methods into their teaching. Some of these approaches were referred to as 'mindless and mechanical' and 'arid'.

The Radical Position: Classroom Examples

Keith Yates' teaching was typified by a high emphasis on language through discussion and simulation. His classroom was arranged either in groups of tables for small group co-operative work or, if as a whole class, the tables were arranged as an open square to allow for maximum interaction by all members including the teacher.

The first example of lesson material is taken from the Signs and Symbols Unit in Year 2:

> The aim is to help pupils understand that signs and symbols are
> an important form of communication. They convey more than they
> actually say. We try to explore the meaning in religious language.

Example 1 - Signs and Symbols in Everyday Life - Advertising

A handout used in a lesson.

> Look at a selection of six different adverts and answer the following
> questions:

(1)   What is the advert trying to sell?

(2)   How much space is given over to picture-caption-information?

(3)   How does the advert capture your interest?

(4)   Write down what things the advertisers want you to associate
        with whatever is being sold?

(5)   Have the advertisers deliberately left something out?

(6)   Which advert do you like best and why?

(7)   Design a travel advertisement/holiday brochure for
        Sandscombe - do not use more than FIVE words.

(8)   Write a letter to Ainsbury Advertising (AA) advising the
        company how to increase its sales through advertising:

        Tinned Prunes
        Luxury Bicyles for the rich
        Sun glasses for winter
        Ice cream for Eskimos.

Keith was unable to take this lesson. Robert came in to cover
it. He photocopied the sheet and distributed it to the class individually
as a worksheet. Keith complained about this approach. The sheet was
intended as an open starter for the teacher not as a 'programme' or
directive to the pupil. It was another interesting indicator of the
differences of approach. It was probably a relief for Robert to issue
a ready-made lesson. Keith saw it as a reflecton of the deeper philo-
sophical divide.

Example 2 - Part of the History Unit - Religion through Culture
                The political/religious history at the time of Henry VIII,
                Elizabeth I and Mary, Queen of Scots

The local vicar was invited in to discuss issues relating to the
church's authority, the role of the priest, attitudes to marriage and
remarriage.

The approach was open and relaxed. The vicar informally took questions
that the pupils had devised. Keith used him as a 'resource' for the
pupils' own questions rather than inviting him to give a set lecture.
At times, Keith moved the discussion along or contributed a controversial
question himself.

Example 3 - A practical exercise in the Unit - 'Who is Jesus?'

The following is quoted from the Department's suggestions to staff:

CHRIST'S EXPERIENCES

(1)   Split the class into six different groups.

(2)   Every person in the class is given a situation/reponse
        sheet.

(3)   Each group is given a different story.

(4)   Pupils discuss the incident and fill in the situation/
      response sheet.

(5)   Discuss responses.

(6)   Watch video extracts of: 'Synagogue of Nazareth', 'Demon-
      possessed Boy'.

      Things to look for:

      (a)   Scene of situation.
      (b)   What was the issue or problem?
      (c)   What role did each person play?
      (d)   What was Jesus' reaction?
      (e)   What would you have done?

(7)   Discuss the above points.

(8)   Six groups reform to do the following task:

      Work out a possible conversation between you and Jesus
      and friends in either the modern situation/the Jesus situation
      - video or written extract/or both. Key
      questions:

      (i)   What did you see as the main points?
      (ii)   What previous experience have you had?
      (iii) What makes you react the way you did?
      (iv)   Have you ever regretted acting the way you did?

Homework

What do you make of it all? Write a letter to a friend telling
him/her about this person Jesus that you have been watching.

The co-operative approach to learning is noted. Each group has
been given a different story. There is discussion and a range of creative
tasks. The groups are expected to organise themselves and evaluate
the responses.

Example 4 - First Year. Settlement Study

A handwritten handout of suggestions for staff from Keith Yates.

First Year - Periods 5 and 6 Monday: Periods 3 and 4 Tuesday

Pupils have been deciding on what part of Birchwood they
would like to look at as a study on settlement. So form pupils
into groups, eg those that wish to study the graveyard form a
group and so on.

When pupils are in their groups they then have to organise what
they are going to do and how they are going to do it.

What I want from them is the following:

Which area do they want to study and why?   ) All these
What questions are they going to raise?   ) suggestions
How are they going to find the answers?   ) have got to be
What are their plans for producing a 'Trail') practically possible.
   on this study?

Pupils read, discuss and complete the sheets 'A House Survey'.

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Note again the group emphasis and the way initiatives are expected from the pupils. They are expected, as part of the dialogue with each other and with the teacher, to decide what they are going to do and how they are going to do it.

Almost, it would seem, as an afterthought, the pupils are asked to study and complete a sheet 'A House Survey', a compromise gesture. This had been prepared by the geographers and was critically viewed by the radicals.

Discussions, interview and observations - Dave Bebbington

The presentation of Dave Bebbington's viewpoint is also a combination of informal discussions, taped interviews, actual teaching sessions observed and personal documents made available to me.

Dave was appointed as Deputy Head when the school opened five years previously. Earlier, he had experience in grammar and comprehensive schools.

The taped interview

A philosophy of education

TD   May we start at a general level - the development of your ideas about education - in particular about knowledge and the role of the teacher.

DB   I am fairly pragmatic in approach while holding to aims. The aims which I hold to now have not changed much over the last ten years. Perhaps my views are a shade less radical than they were then.
I think I would want to lay down the ideal situations and extend them throughout the school, but I don't think you can make people different from what they are but you can help them to develop by offering insights; hence In-service training, contacts with University Department, visits by people, by yourself, provide an enrichment because it makes one think about basic questions. But I think it is very difficult to persuade teachers that discussions about aims are productive. It was quite interesting at the Heads of Department meeting relating to what I issued on content and process.*I think the Friday evening when the document was distributed was the worst time to give it out - and the person who distributed it would probably 'knock' it as he gave it out (weekend reading!) so it got the worst billing possible. The feedback was negative. They said 'Why discuss this? Surely, we should be discussing something more fundamental, eg rooms next year?' In practice, I think people found the meeting helpful yet one is up against a feeling that discussing aims and relationships in the classrooms perhaps doesn't matter very much. I don't know why that is because I have tried to stimulate people over the years. At the Staff Forum, educational issues were discussed. There were some very good ones but only about 25% of staff attended and they were not sufficiently interested to elect a new chairman after Neville Eastham and another Humanities teacher had done their terms. So I think people are not very interested in what makes an educated person, what sort of relationships. They are not thinking about the deeper issues.

* Extracts from Rowntree D,'Educational Technology in Curriculum Development'
           Parker J A & Rubin L J, 'Process as Content'

TD   Not looking outside their own specialisms and territories?
     Promotion and status all reinforce this kind of outlook.

DB   In an idealised school, give the fruits to those who think about
     aims and what education is about rather than to those who build
     empires! I do not know how to make people think at a deeper level
     although more people do it here than in most schools, but
     there are many who don't.

TD   I have reflected on our GYSL dissemination conferences. How far
     did we involve teachers in the process of curriculum development?
     Often it was lectures followed by discussion. How do you involve
     teachers in the process?

DB   In my last school, because of crises, people were forced to think
     laterally.

TD   Supposing you took a workshop session - would this help? Teachers
     acting as your class? Often the conceptual maps of teachers are
     unaffected by a conference and it fails to create the possibility
     of real change.

DB   It is interesting that in some of the articles that have
     been flying around the Humanities Department, I know that I have
     underlined some bits and Robert (geographer) has underlined other
     bits. He has reinforced the point that there are certain key
     concepts which children should know. I would probably underline
     that process is all-important. Even in our discussions, we are
     looking for our own reinforcements. So how do you change people?

TD   Where did MACOS come in your own personal case? When you
     wrote a document in 1970 you appeared to be thinking along similar
     lines. Did it crystallise what was already going on in your own
     thinking?

DB   MACOS was a Neville Eastham import. I would not say it was a
     follow-up of what I wrote in 1970. What I was fighting for was
     the Humanities Curriculum Project (HCP) approach plus
     enquiry-method/style projects initiated by the pupils, unstructured
     in the sense that I would not lay down what they should study
     (the pupils' actual presentation was structured) only in broad
     terms. As in HCP, you may feed in a broad issue and materials,
     but the pupils have the thinking, the posing of questions to do!
     If there are no questions - no progress! They could not just select
     or transcribe from books. For example, what are the issues about
     gypsies? What questions do they want to raise? Then they would
     either find their own material or we would help them.

     That is a bit different from Bruner because I think although it
     involves question-raising, there is an introduction. It is
     investigation by research but I must say its a bit
     weak on the actual involvement in devising their own direction
     - their own spin offs. Perhaps its too structured. I went for
     loose structures, eg I had a Law and Order Project.

     We had three weeks of HCP-style discussions - visitors, films,
     resources, a rich programme (two superb colleagues). Then

'over to you' having classified issues - what are you going to investigate? For example:

(1)   <u>Vandalism on the buses</u>   -   the kids took the initiative, they wrote the letters, devised the questionnaires. They were not directed.

(2)   <u>The Institution Projects</u> -   the precise agenda was not prescribed - the possibilities would be discussed. They would then be left to their <u>own devices</u> - eg a study of Cheshire homes.

The pupils were made to be independent.

So I would go for <u>less structure than Bruner</u>, but his aims are absolutely right on the mark.

TD   In books on geography and education, the quote that occurs so frequently is the one about need for structure, the need to identify the concepts so that basic concepts can run through the course, i.e. the spiral curriculum. That substantiates views about structures in subjects. One does not find in them the process elements actually being developed, which to Bruner were just as important. It could be a selective treatment which reinforces what we want to do - but it raises the whole question that Bruner says the teacher's knowledge is important in so far as the teacher is part of the classroom dialogue and therefore what he sees as a historian or geographer is important. This suggests if knowledge and under-standing in depth are important qualities, the teacher should possess them. Discussions otherwise could become very superficial. The teacher is surely fulfilling his role by having a wider and deeper view.

DB   Of course, every teacher should be informed and knowledgeable. <u>It's what you do with the knowledge that matters, I think.</u> It's perhaps whether you have the humility to realise that <u>you don't happen to have all the answers, or if you do, you are not interested in foisting them on the children.</u> I think, for example, if you are teaching history or social science, you should have the knowledge and skill but what I think is dubious is to sit smugly at the front and say 'actually I know the answer to this problem - I know who caused the First World War'. It's got to be a <u>joint enterprise.</u> The children have to feel there is not a set answer which the teacher knows. <u>They have to gain the knowledge through their own mental processes and skills.</u> That is not to say knowledge is not important, but they have to select knowledge, assign the knowledge rather than teacher saying 'The river flows....' Many questions children ask are unanswerable. One's standard knowledge won't necessarily answer them. Some of their questions are the really fundamental ones - very difficult to answer. Most teachers, perhaps, avoid the fundamental questions. They stick to 'rivers veering to the left' or the prescribed causes of the First World War because it gets you through 'O' level.

TD   <u>From the point of view of curriculum planning</u> - if you were sponsoring a topic, how far would you try to anticipate the kinds

of questions they might pose to the children? How far do you as
a team provide some sort of structure for it? Do you just
say here are a number of resources - here are some key questions
I have in mind (may differ from teacher to teacher)?

How do you operationalise this openness?

DB   I suppose we do not give the teacher much back-up material. On
     the Russian Revolution, I assume people will read it up to improve
     their background as in '13-16 History'. The pupil materials are
     there. If they (the teachers) want to find out more, they must
     go and do it. I do not lay on back-up materials. I don't think
     it matters desperately. If the children raise further questions,
     the teacher is sometimes forced to raise his own questions
     in the course of the lesson. They have not got the complete picture
     with all the pat answers. It's an enormous advantage. You see
     with the Geography Unit, the thing that really bugged me
     about it was the Regions of Leicestershire exercise. It is not
     a GYSL handout. On the page they showed the county boundary of
     Leicestershire. They then showed things like the electric service
     area, Hotpoint service area, Water Board, newspaper area
     (Appendix A8). Children were intended to suggest whether this
     was a region:

     (a)   What do we mean by a region?
     (b)   If you want to develop a sense of a region, why
           Leicestershire?
     (c)   Do Hotpoint service areas matter? They are bureaucratic
           devices.

     I would use this to 'send up' the whole idea of regions! It was
     a 'duff' exercise. In my class, however, we started with the school
     catchment area, shopping, people meeting each other. That seemed
     far more meaningful! I'm not a geographer but I think by having
     read a handbook on regionalism, I was able to look with
     critical eyes at the exercise from the outset. I guess
     Robert could do the same in History. I feel at home after reading
     about a history topic but my very weakness on content may mean
     the pupils have 'strength' on the questions they ask.

     The latest fashion seems to be this quantitative geography. I
     am talking out of ignorance but some of the exercises I
     saw in GYSL seemed to be a crazy quantification of problems.
     Dehumanising them. Producing some of these pat answers.

TD   There is a trend towards scientific method for issues which are
     not scientific in themselves.

DB   That's right. Of course there are some problems for which this
     is appropriate, but where there are humans involved, with feelings
     and motivation, it is not as appropriate.

     So here is the difficulty. Is the teacher better for
     learning the orthodoxy of the day inside out? Perhaps so, but
     if he is not thinking critically about it and the children are
     having it forced or foisted on them and they are not encouraged
     to think critically, it is of no avail.

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TD Coming back to the Romans or the Vikings. How would you as a
    Planning Team treat this? Would seven people all do something
    different? - depending on staff understanding and children's
    questions?

DB The trouble with deciding a theme, eg the vikings, inevitably
    you narrow it down to what interesting content is there! I would
    say that there is a heartening move here to check out the aims
    as set out in the Bruner document. So we don't think that it is
    the Vikings in history that is important; I will develop
    skills but we look at these aims and say we have specifically
    developed that aim and that aim. I don't think we have done enough
    of that. We have said - right, it is 'Settlement' next or
    'Evacuation', so we get stuck into settlement and evacuation
    - fruitful bits of content, good stuff but dangerous because you
    get away from what it is all about! When I tried to get the children
    at my last school to develop their own projects, it was dangerous
    to nail them down to a content because then the content becomes
    the end, rather than the means.

                    * * * * * *

    The statement referred to by Dave, which he wrote ten years ago,
while still Head of Humanities at a comprehensive school, throws further
light on his personal philosophy. Here is an extract from it:

    It is felt that pupils have for too long been the passive recipients

    of knowledge and confined too often to subject disciplines; both

    of which have an unnecessarily narrowing view of life. Pupils have

    been, for example, unable to see that history may be the result

    of certain geographical factors, that religion is a way of looking

    at the whole of life and that the poet and creative writer can find

    inspiration from all aspects of life.

    By the time a pupil reaches the age of 14+, he should be treated

    as a student or young adult, given more say and thus more respons-

    ibility in his choice of study and helped towards a wider and more.

    harmonising insight into life. In this way, he can start to be equipped

    to deal with the problems of the future, not least of which will

    be the population explosion, technology, leisure time, pollution

    and man's inability to struggle to live with man.

    It is recognised, however, that there are problems in this method

    of working. The teacher loses his autonomy - there may too at times,

    appear to be less content in this method of teaching but it is surely

    worthwhile if it, at least, allows pupils not only to perceive that

    life is larger than our subjects but also to respond to this fact.

The teacher is no longer simply the authoritative imparter of knowledge, the decider of issues, but is acting as a consultant, a guide, a resource bank, a stimulator, a prodder, a raiser of questions. He is a person who will be primarily interested in what the pupil is thinking and doing; where he's going and how he arrives at decisions. He will ask the question 'why?' and rarely be satisfied until he gets a thoughtful answer. He will, of course, also be able to direct pupils to necessary information and suggest methods of inquiry and ways of presenting work. He must be prepared to accept the pupil's decisions on these matters as long as it is a reasoned one. He must not, however, be satisfied with shoddy work and low standards; nor must he accept an opting-out or an escape from thought or decision by either our very bright or not so bright pupils.

(End of statement)

On aims, he mentions the need to 'apply fully the skills and methods of the traditional disciplines, largely acquired in the first three years'. But, again, as stated in the interview, Dave makes great play of the need 'to encourage pupils to think for themselves, to research and learn on their own initiative'.

In his document, under Methods, he goes into considerable detail about enquiry methods especially with reference to a project, eg it should begin with a period of intense pupil stimulation in the form of visits, speakers, films, subject instruction. Throughout the project, there should be small group discussions in which pupils discuss evidence relating to issues which they themselves have chosen. After a period of initial stimulus, perhaps two to three weeks, pupils should undertake an independent line of enquiry into an issue or topic which is of personal interest to them. There should be a final exhibition of the work in order 'to share ideas and ensure that critical standards of thought and presentation are being achieved'.

Comment:

Although in interview, Dave distinguished between his philosophy and that of Bruner as demonstrated in MACOS, he warmly supported the pedagogic aims of Bruner. He did not underestimate the problem of changing other people's attitudes and beliefs. At times, he seemed perplexed

by other people's non-response to new ideas. <u>Ultimately for him, these issues revolved around the basic question – what is an educated person?</u> Generally too little thought was given to this. Staff worked in too narrow limits. This unquestioning attitude was not limited to his teaching staff. Silberman (1973, 111) reviewing the American curriculum reform movement commented:

> The most fatal error of all, however, was the failure to ask
> the questions that the giants of the progressive movement always
> kept at the centre of their concern however inadequate some of
> their answers may have been: What is education for? What kind
> of human being and what kind of society do we want to produce?
> What knowledge is of most worth? There is considerable irony that
> the contemporary reformers did not put these questions in the
> foreground, for certainly they did think about them. <u>Bruner's</u>
> <u>'The Process of Education' is full of reflections on these</u>
> <u>questions.</u>

For Dave, as for Keith Yates, process was all-important.

Coming through strongly in the interview with Dave was a radical view of knowledge. The pupil is encouraged to generate knowledge not just reproduce it. The teacher's role is changed from transmitter to stimulator of questions, consultant, resource bank.

There was obviously a close sense of kinship with Keith Yates in school matters and they co-operated easily on In-service programmes. One such programme, on MACOS, was an initial training day for college students. Their summary document indicated a number of benefits which arose from MACOS and which, as we review their statements and observe their teaching of non-MACOS material, runs through their whole approach.

<u>Extracts from : Report of MACOS Conference</u>

(1) <u>Language development</u> – pupils used sophisticated and technical language with confidence and understanding. Why was this? They suggest because MACOS is unfinished – 'there are <u>no final answers</u> <u>to many of the issues it raises</u>. It thus keeps conversation on the move; there is an on-going dialogue as pupils bounce ideas and raise hypotheses with each other'.

(2) <u>Research skills and group work</u> – much of the MACOS work gives scope for observational and group work. 'We believe that the MACOS material encourages the teacher to raise pupil expectation so that he/she is forever trying to expand their thinking'.

(3) Questioning: Personal responsibility for learning - MACOS encourages
    pupils to ask the right questions. Two of the girls who undertook
    research into pupils' attitudes to MACOS moved to another school
    at the end of the second year (upper school). When they had been
    at their new school for several months, they sent this report
    to the school: [I was shown a copy from Dave's file]

> We are writing to inform you about our opinions, now that
> we have experienced History and Geography, in compar-
> ison to Humanities. We have found that History and
> Geography are not as interesting as Humanities. In History
> we are learning about the Renaissance. In Geography, we
> are doing longitute and latitude. In Geography, History
> and RE and Music, the teachers dictate most of our work
> to us. How are we expected to learn from this?

The document adds:

> What an indictment of how some teachers view education.
> Here are two girls wanting to control the material
> for their own learning, and not being allowed to do so.
> In fact, the school that these two girls and some of our
> other pupils have been moved to have commented on the fact
> that our pupils ask too many questions! It's hard to believe
> that such a comment is heard in the teaching profession,
> but there you are!

(4) The opportunity given to the teacher to be a 'learner' once again.
    MACOS puts the teacher in a position where he cannot opt out.
    He cannot operate the authority model.

* * * * * *

The Birchwood Humanities Syllabus

Now that Keith's and Dave's interview comments have been presented,
extracts from the Humanities syllabus embodying their philosophy are
included. The syllabus emphasises that the curriculum is seen not in
terms of behavioural objectives but in terms of principles of procedure.
'These principles are not pre-specified targets at which teaching is
aimed but criteria of judgement which help teachers get the 'process'
of learning right'. (A direct quote from Schools Council Working Paper
53 - The Whole Curriculum 13-16). The principles of procedure are given
prominence in the paper - detail of the content is not indicated. Units
of work are chosen because they exemplify certain key concepts such
as Communication, Power, Values/Beliefs, Conflict/Consensus, Similarity/
Difference, Continuity/Change, Causes/Consequences. The units are therefore

never static - they may be changed from year to year because they are not ends in themselves. The principles of procedure are similar to the pedagogic aims already quoted. They include the preamble that one activity is more worthwhile if:

(1) it permits children to make informed choices in carrying out the activity and to reflect on the consequences of their choices;

(2) it assigns to students active roles in the learning situations rather than passive ones;

(3) it asks students to engage in inquiry into ideas, applications of intellectual processes or current problems;

(4) it involves children with real objects, materials, artifacts;

(5) completion of the activity may be accomplished successfully by children at several different levels of ability;

(6) it asks students to examine in a new setting an idea, an application of an intellectual process or a current problem which has been previously studied;

(7) it requires students to examine topics or issues that citizens in our society do not normally examine - and that are typically ignored by the major communication media;

(8) it involves students and faculty members in 'risk' taking;

(9) it requires students to re-write, rehearse and polish their initial efforts;

(10) it involves students in the application and mastery of meaningful values, standards and disciplines;

(11) it gives students a chance to share the planning, the carrying out of a plan, or the result of an activity with others.

(Raths 1971)

The above emphases provide a useful check-list when recording the classroom lessons of members of the Department, especially those whose philosophies and abilities were closest to the Head of Department, who drew up the document.

* * * * * * * *

The Radical View (2) - The classroom observed (Dave Bebbington)

A First Year Settlement lesson was tape-recorded.

A. The beginning of the lesson took place in the Lecture theatre. The lesson took the form of a public meeting - the issue, the location of a new school. The two main speakers taking part in public debate were Dave Bebbington (Chairman of Governors) and Keith Yates (Education Committee Representative). An angry argument developed with ready questioning and statements from the pupils (local residents).

B.   After fifteen minutes, everyone returned to the classroom where Dave led a discussion - 'Who won the day, the Education Committee or the Residents?' Various locations were discussed, the environmental problems analysed.

C.   Maps of Birchwood village were distributed and photocopies of a letter sent by the CEO to the Divisional Educational Officer. Three main sites were identified. 'The site finally chosen was not mentioned by the CEO. Read the letter. Report back in ten minutes from your group. Say why you think none of these three sites got through'.

D.   Reporting back from each group. Evidence was asked for from the letter and map (map skills). 'Why were some sites likely to fail?' 'Why would people object?' 'Why did the CEO not favour one of the three sites?'

E.   'In the last fifteen minutes, in your notebook working under two headings -
     (1) Why in fact did sites 1, 2 and 3 fail?
     (2) How and why was Leyland Farm favoured in the end?'

The pupils having made their own speculations, we were now provided with further photocopied documents, all of which gave clues. 'If you are stuck, ask me'.

As one reviews this lesson, the pupils were taking an active part throughout; they were asked to speculate on the basis of evidence, make informed choices and reflect on the consequences. By virtue of working in groups with much emphasis on oral activity, the pupils of varying ability were learning from each other and they were finally asked to present a systematic, carefully written account of the arguments. The lesson went forward in a stimulating way as the location and groupings and demands varied throughout the lesson. A range of skills expressed a process approach in which the final content proved relatively unimportant. It was considered by the teacher as a suitable vehicle for this activity. The aims of the geographers will be considered shortly but clearly, many spatial concepts - location, siting, pattern and inter-relationships, were an integral part of this exercise.

A Historian's Viewpoint

Both Keith and Dave viewed the historian's approach with favour. In the Upper School, it was based on the Schools Council History 13-16 Project. Teresa Im, however, shared many of the views of Robert, Head of Geography, about the reasons why Humanities had run into difficulties with parents, staff and pupils. Keith and Dave felt that she and Robert had been largely responsible for 'carving up' the Humanities teaching programme so that each subject had a space in which they could develop their own themes. So, while her approach and evaluation procedures were seen by Dave and Keith to have more in common with their approach, at a personal level her subject interests gave her a closer association with Robert. Independently, she commented to me that when she attended history teachers' conferences, she was regarded as avant-garde while some members of the Department regarded her as reactionary. A similar remark was made by Robert who, certainly in local geography circles, was regarded as innovatory.

I was able to observe some of Teresa's work. One lesson she took was based on Saxon Birchwood. A booklet had been prepared with attractive documentary material including diagrams and pictures. A Saxon Folk Moot was described. The case to be brought was that a boy was accused of stealing a pig. Instructions in the handout sheet were given:

> Now prepare and act out your own moot. Divide yourselves into groups
> of four - each must consist of two girls and two boys. You will
> then be given your individual instructions. When you are
> ready to start, the individual cases will be heard and members
> of the settlement will vote as to the guilt or innocence
> of the accused.

Another lesson in the series of 'What is History?' based on the 13-16 Project, was an imaginative piece of work. 'Being a historian is like being a detective'.

(1) Swap bags containing personal items.

(2) Take to class and ask them to deduce what sort of person owns the bag using such questions as:

    (a) What can we tell about the person from these pieces of evidence? Show and circulate the contents.

    (b) How reliable are the conclusions reached?

(3) Get the children to jot down in the GNB ten key questions to ask the owner of the bag in order to get to know him/her

better. They should also write down any <u>firm</u>
conclusions they have reached from the evidence.

(4) The teacher can use lead-in questions such as:

    (a) What have you learned about me?

    (b) Is it accurate?

    (c) What else should I have put in the bag?

    (d) What skills were involved on your part?

    (e) Has this got anything to do with History?

    (f) What is History?

Such a lesson met many of the pedagogic aims of enquiry, research, developing hypotheses and being active in discussion that Keith and Dave espoused. Yet Teresa was mystified why some of the materials she had prepared, such as the Birchwood Saxon booklet, were not used by the more radical members of the Department. Teresa suggested it may have been because they were suspicious of a 'content' base.

Shemilt (1980) in History 13-16, an evaluation study, contributes to our understanding of some of the influences at work in the historical aspects of Humanities at Birchwood. He suggests that the Project Team quickly came to two conclusions:

(1) A vindication of History as a scholarly pursuit is
    insufficient to justify its inclusion in a timetable
    from which many intrinsically worthwhile disciplines
    are excluded.

(2) History cannot be justified solely as preparation for more
    advanced courses.

There were five ways in which History could prove a useful and necessary subject for adolescents to study:

(a) as a means of acquiring and developing such cognitive
    skills as those of synthesis, analysis and judgement;

(b) as a source of leisure interests;

(c) as a vehicle for analysing the contemporary world and their
    place in it;

(d) as a means of developing understanding of the contemporary
    forces underlying social change and evolution;

(e) as an avenue to self-knowledge and awareness of what it
    means to be human.

A series of concepts are identified as crucial to historical enter-
prise, including 'evidence' empathic reconstruction, motivation, causation,
change and continuity.

4.6(1)   THE GEOGRAPHERS' VIEW, STATED AND OBSERVED (1)

The positions of Robert Ingham and Dave Younger on the 'reformed' or less radical wing of the Department are now examined. The emphasis in this section is again on the actors' views and interpretation - their construction of reality as stated and observed. A later section will examine the wider implications of the geographers' work, including GYSL in relation to academic and methodological developments generally. Firstly, their stated views are given, followed by examples of classroom work. Two topics which were taught by both 'wings' of the Department will then be reviewed.

Robert Ingham (RI) was the Head of Geography.

RI   I wasn't in complete sympathy with integration when I came to the school - because I was concerned that a lot of things would be subsumed. I could not see how it could work in the time available. If we had the same time we have now, it might have worked! I started fighting for 'Basic Geography'. (Greasley et al 1979). It also seemed that the Head wanted a stronger representation of geography in the Upper School.

TD   You came as Head of Geography?

RI   Neville Eastham was a geographer and also Head of Humanities. The previous geographer had a very small number of pupils coming through. Keith Yates came for RE and a historian was promoted.

TD   When you came your brief was to develop Years 4 and 5? Years 1-3 were established on an integrated pattern when you came.

RI   I did produce one or two bits for the lower school but most of my time was spent with Years 4 and 5 in CSE and 'O' level work.

TD   Do you see Years 1-3 having a content, eg MACOS with an identifiable body of concepts? Could you project this into Years 4 and 5 as a study in society?

RI   How far do we want geography to be a social science? I believe there is a large element of social science. We tend to look at reasons for behaviour rather than behaviour itself. We look towards causes. We have to get to grips with examples.

TD   Are geographers working in a different framework to MACOS?

RI   I never thought it out!

TD   What is your main reservation about Years 1-3?

RI   The main problem is more practical than philosophical really, in that kids tend in MACOS to associate themselves with the content. The content leads to cynicism. They latch onto learning about salmon or baboons rather than starting gently into an exploration of social science. They do not see it in that way.

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TD Scientists are more happy with these topics? Are you asked questions about salmon?

RI Yes, I found that upsetting! Kids want to go into the Library to trace pictures of salmon. They find it interesting for the wrong reasons. They are more interested in scales.

So let's have a CONTENT with credence - so even at a low level, it is worthwhile! Salmon does not seem worthwhile.

TD Does each person in the Department go their own way?

RI Keith did detailed notes but no-one followed it. I went from the Teachers' Guide. Some teachers got their classes to copy out notes. MACOS does demand a great deal. We finish up exhausted. I have to do something other than communicate 100% with kids. They have to sit down and get on with it at times.

TD If you started in a new school, would you start with MACOS?

RI I haven't quite decided: (i) I think it has a role for educating teachers, so if it encourages teachers to think it has value! (ii) it is an induction into a style of working. Many primary children come from an informal approach. Once past the first year a credibility gap appears, however. In the first year, it does open minds.

TD Should MACOS become a reforming agency in the school?

RI   No the task is too big.

TD As a catalyst to provoke discussion?

RI I was willing to run the Staff Forum but was not encouraged to do so by Keith Yates or Neville Eastham. I offered to run it.

TD An argument against MACOS is not an argument against an integrative programme?

RI The two are different.

TD People talk a great deal about their work to each other here.

RI Perhaps too much!

TD Presumably, any innovation accepted within a Department will meet with varied individual responses, eg GYSL.

RI Certainly. Some staff feel resource and worksheets are out of order. If staff are not preparing, not reading the Teachers' Guides and therefore not seeing the ideas, I cannot do much about it. It may be a lack of security but when you are more confident you can begin to ease up.

TD It might be, of course, for fundamental reasons of differences of outlook on education, on the nature of teaching.

RI   If you are engaged in MACOS or GYSL type of work, you have to have a commitment to it - you cannot keep dodging out of the classroom.
[Possibly reference to the House staff - not to Keith and Dave]

TD   How far do you think GYSL exemplifies the MACOS style of work? In its intention, in its 'sympathy' with Years 1-3?

RI   I think that the intentions are reasonably similar but the problem tends to arise because of the style - because we tend to research ideas which are slightly more specific - than social science. I think people see us as being quite mechanical and tend to pounce on lots of different case studies, compared with the classroom where you see more children working independently and there is more discussion. Therefore <u>we</u> could be devalued. I don't engage the whole class in large discussion situations but I think we are rather better in 'gathering up all the fish' because providing the teacher works with individuals or small groups some of the time, I think this can be more successful than working with the whole class, having enormous class discussions.

TD   Do you see the role of the teacher as being different? Has the teacher a more dominant role? MACOS seems more open.

RI   I have a certain prejudice against MACOS. I have not got over it. MACOS is more open-ended, but as it is rather less specific it becomes very difficult to see where you are going for teachers and children. Most people need a more structured plan and clearer objectives - more specific; some idea also of how you might measure the success or failure of it.

Comment:

    <u>The breakdown of a working relationship in the Department was apparent</u>. Robert said that there had been a revulsion against 'mindless worksheets' so this year he did not produce sheets. He was then asked where is the structure?

> I am not going to work to the bone producing resources that others are not going to use. We want to know aims. There should, however, be ideas worth knowing. Changing Birchwood (as a village study) needs an analytical approach but <u>almost no-one in the Department will do that</u>. We need a wider world view. The kids are too self-centred, eg a study of part of Africa was <u>refused</u> by others in the Department as teaching geography and because of its content. 'Knowing' means having a 'knowledge of'. 'Process' surely means guiding people to things that are worthwhile.

To Robert, MACOS for the pupils was more an experience of irrelevant content that a justified immersion into process. The pressure that innovation exerts comes through as well - the exhaustion as well as the insecurity of radically different approaches. Robert did not find whole class discussions easy or desirable ways of organising the class.

Keith and Dave appeared to have the skills and motivation to do this. He suspected his classroom approach including GYSL was undervalued - possibly misunderstood.

Robert consistently argued for what he called a worthwhile content and then a process to go with it. Keith persistently argued 'you cannot ride two horses at the same time'.

Robert, to clarify his views, produced a paper in 1979 entitled:

'Objectives in Geography Teaching'

(1) Three levels of generality are indicated.

(2) Concepts are refined.

(3) An outline approach to curriculum planning is proposed.

---

(1) Levels of generality

Level (A) Principles: 'formed by linking of concepts - evidence
that the principle has been grasped is proved if a
person knows how to go on and deal with a new situation
in the light of it'. A principle could also be termed
'hypothesis'.

Level (B) Concepts: eg water supply, competing land use,
etc.

Level (C) Examplars: These are the resources/data for the
exploration of higher level concepts. A strong advocate
of the need to pursue structure as a curricular objective
is Bruner. Apart from the pleasure it may give, he sees it
as a central goal of learning, the promotion of transfer
of training.

(2) Structuring Concepts

eg Centrality (nodality) - gradient, spacing, minimum movement
                                          models
    Distance   Movement   Connectivity   Gravity   Regions

This conceptual scheme derives from systems theory (Haggett
1965)

Suggested themes:

Transportation   Agriculture   Land form process

City Morphology   Settlement

Typical hypothesis for a settlement study

All functions in a settlement have a threshold size.

(3) Planning the Curriculum

Concepts

Strategies of

difficulty of

presentation

based on Everson
in Walford R (1973)
New Directions in
Geography Teaching

Comment:

Throughout the emphasis is on structure. The article quoted (by
Everson) suggests deciding on the subject area to be studied then defining
objectives. The first of these is enquiry skills (these are taken to
be the structure of the subject), attitudes and values, lastly knowledge
(facts to test theories). Robert's discussion paper on objectives makes
no mention of enquiry skills or attitudes and values. Perhaps these
were 'taken for granted', the teacher's role seen primarily as the
knowledge transmitter?

   [cf Teresa Im's paper on history - it has a wider range of
   objectives. She quotes at length the HMI paper on Teaching
   History spanning concepts and skills]

The geographer's classroom teaching observed (1)

Example 1: Lesson with 3rd Year - Survey of local leisure facilities

   Robert's room gave a feeling of spaciousness and informality,
the modern tables arranged in small groups. The walls were attractively
presented with an arrangement of pupil work.

   The teacher introduced the purpose of the lesson, linking it with
the previous session. The pupils gathered information as indicated
on a duplicated questionnaire on place of residence, involvement in
youth organisations, and the kind of facilities that they would like
to see. The outline was carefully explained by the teacher. There was
an opportunity for questions.

   The rest of the lesson was group work which involved purposeful

discussion on the variations of results within the group. Each member of the group was then asked to link with a similar member of another group in order that each section of the questionnaire could be processed for the class as a whole and the results presented graphically.

The use of the groups to forward the exercise was in sharp contrast to the individualised approach at Dockside where although some pupils were arranged at group tables, they followed activities which did not depend on or expect interaction.

The teacher moved around informally between groups and led a series of discussions on a group basis.

Example 2: 1st Year - What is History?

This lesson followed the plan outlined earlier (p 140). There was extensive involvement by the class in this detective exercise. Robert seemed at ease in this kind of approach. He said afterwards how much he had enjoyed it. Obviously the pupils enjoyed it too.

There was also a period of preparation for the Viking Museum visit. There was a discussion on procedure and the way in which the hypotheses suggested might be proved or disproved.

Example 3: 4th Year - GYSL

This was part of the Man, Land and Leisure Unit. The lesson was entirely practical with the pupils undertaking a series of exercises on distances/time and environmental potential as suggested in the Teachers' Guide. There was no space given for oral work with the whole class.

[Note the comments on this section follow the portrayal of the geographer (No 2)]

4.6(2)   THE GEOGRAPHERS' VIEW STATED AND OBSERVED (2)

Eric Younger (EY), No 2 in the geography hierarchy - Discussion and taped interview

We began by reflecting on the previous day's Regional Co-ordinators' Meeting where staff colleagues from schools met to discuss progress with the Avery Hill 14-16 Geography 'O' level Project. The Birchwood approach to individual pupil work had been a startlingly different approach to that of most people at the meeting. At Birchwood, the pupils were shown the guidelines but they had then formulated their 'own ideas, opinions and research methods'. Other schools, it seemed, had presented the pupils with a 'cut and dried' approach. Eric Younger said: 'The aim of individual work in geography should be - they tell me what their ideas are'. One teacher at the meeting said: 'I don't know how I can go on dreaming up more hypotheses'. Eric was very critical of her. The remark, when conveyed to other members of the Department, caused considerable amusement. In Eric Younger's class, twenty-eight pupils came up with twenty-eight different ideas, eg:

> Heckthorpe is not adequately provided with public transport.
> The local area is being swamped by commuter dormitory settlers
> with no advantage to the original community.

EY   We are seen as very traditional here (geographers within the
     Humanities Department). Yet when I go to a meeting, I see
     some of the same traditional methods used by teachers twenty
     years ago. They have failed to take the chance GYSL offers them.

TD   How would you start a theme in Years 1-3?

EY   I would like to see an approach centring on Humanities, eg Settlement.
     Go for techniques and general ideas, leaving pupils to organise
     ideas in an experimental research approach.

TD   In the Communication Unit, you produced the ideas?

EY   Yes, eg 'physical environment can hinder communcations'. I
     wanted to get the pupils thinking historically and geographically.
     'Basic Geography' (Harraps) introduced these ideas. They were not
     intended as actual exercises but to be used first in discussion.

TD   The exercises were very detailed. What did you feel about them?

EY   I saw them as discussion material but it does highlight the problem
     of a multi-disciplinary approach in Humanities, in that Nesta
     finds difficulty in teaching geographical or historical ideas
     which I find very important!

TD   Why are many Units now subject orientated?

EY   I think it arose because of criticism of MACOS. It was an olive branch by Keith Yates! I enjoy looking at specific ideas which could be more interestingly taught, eg conflict, territory. MACOS should ideally be taught by social studies. I like ideas and skills taught through settlement and communication. Basic ideas in terms of content, attitudes and skills could be taught through this, but Keith would not go along with this.

TD   What do you see as the divergence over content?

EY   I certainly think content should be desirable and interesting, but base it on specific ideas which are historical and geographical. Let's not exclude skills and attitudes because content is there.

TD   What about evaluation in Years 1-3?

EY   Settlement and communication would lend themselves in Years 1-3. We want to know who had retained knowledge for planning CSE. I believe children should learn specific knowledge and ideas and reproduce these without a great problem. This would also prove to Keith that by introducing some content in Years 1-3 it would not destroy their chances. They had more content/ideas last year. In fact by introducing more content/ ideas, Year 3 produced a better result. GYSL tests children very well. We need regular evaluation. At the moment we have to make assessments in Year 2. How can we make assessments for transfer accurate? It is also important at the end of Year 3, important to know what ideas and skills are known. Children should know they are succeeding.

TD   Do you see GYSL as a natural sequel to Years 1-3?

EY   Yes, it asks what ideas are illustrated? Settlement, communication and development provide linking ideas and skills. MACOS of course does introduce skills - these are fine but there is not enough continuity through ideas.

TD   Does GYSL exemplify what you do in Years 1-3?

EY   I do not see that GYSL needs changing but Years 1-3 does. The GYSL subject orientation ideas of pattern and space do not come through strongly in Years 1-3. They do in our Units where spatial ideas are introduced!

TD   Are differences in the Department philosophical or personal? Is there a fundamental difference in outlook?

EY   No, we all have the same outlook. The difference is in the way we look at issues. It is not a difference of values but of interpretation! Keith and Dave Bebbington will not acknowledge that content can also be interesting! We see process and content as part of each other. Neither Robert not Keith will accept each other's point of view. It is not personality but interpretation.

Keith has not given leadership. We do not work together as a team.

The Head came to a meeting to see why there was divisiveness
- but it is a healthy conflict. Many children are bored
with Maths. Science has not progressed as Geography/Humanities
has done. It is a healthy conflict!

Geography classroom teaching observed (2)

Example 1: A lesson with 2H - Communications Unit

There was a ten-minute introduction on techniques. While this
was going on, small groups were called out to discuss the possibility
of an investigation into movement in and around Birchwood, eg is a
by-pass necessary for Birchwood? Eric Younger described the changes:
'It would be sensible to look at a by-pass so we will look at ideas
of congestion. If you were to ask questions what sort of questions
would you ask?' Eric was implementing a process approach. 'Think up
five questions then construct a questionnaire in the light of that'.

The lesson was an interesting mixture of styles. Other pupils
worked from exercises unrelated to their experience and for many of
them, undemanding in quality. A member of the radical wing of the Depart-
ment called this exercise (see enclosed - Roads 2.3, Fig 10) - 'a
collection of low-level exercises - where was the framework?' Keith
Yates too, was very critical of this and other exercises from Basic
Geography. He said they were treated as Robert treats GYSL - conversion
to worksheets; 'The questions are too mechanical', 'remote, mindless,
low-level questions', 'undemanding'. Eric Younger used many of these
sheets in the communications sections - straight photocopies from the
text book.

Example 2: Year 4 - GYSL

Eric Younger used the straight photocopy of the Tourism master
copies from the GYSL Teacher's Guide.* There was no central discussion
during the lesson. *See Appendix A9
[Note the way that many Humanities Techniques (related to pedagogic

aims) were being used by Eric, eg questions to pupils, hypothesis

testing, yet to him it was not incongruous to set alongside these

mechanical exercises]

Comment on the geographers' views

(1) Both geographers tended to play down the differences in the Department.

3 To show which is the busiest road draw a flow diagram based on these results. For the arrows of the flow diagram use a length of 5 cm, and for the width use a scale of 1 mm to represent 10 vehicles.

Now add up the totals for each direction of flow. For example, the total flow along Arbury Road in a south-easterly direction is 168. So the width of the flow line will be $168 \div 10 = 16·8 =$ approximately 17. The width is therefore 17 mm.

Draw the line on a diagram like this one.

A flow diagram of traffic movement at a road junction

Constant length
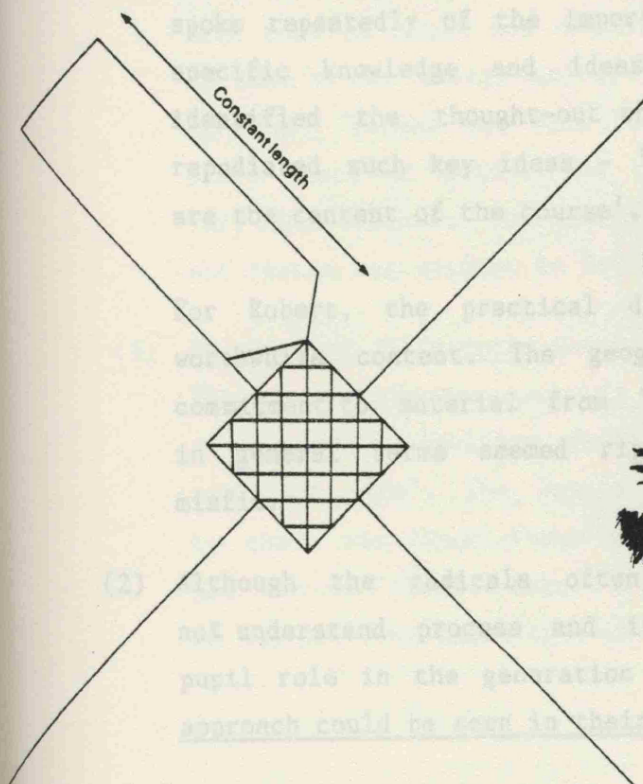
This bar-graph shows the types of vehicle moving along Union Lane in a south-easterly direction. The survey point was letter G.

Number of vehicles

30
20
10

Cars
Lorries/vans
Buses
Bicycles/Motorbikes
Others
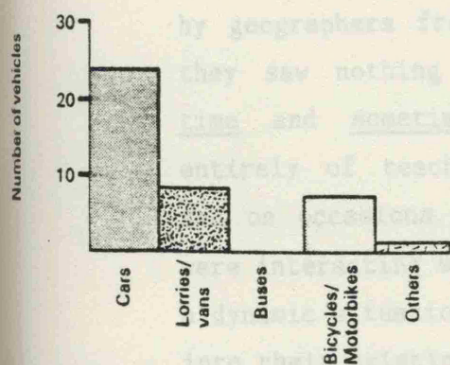
The types of vehicle moving south-east along Union Lane

4 Draw the eight flow lines in such a position so that they show the movement of traffic at the junction.

5 Give your finished work the title: **A flow diagram of traffic movement at a road junction**.

6 Look at your flow diagram. Which is the busiest road? Which is the quietest road?

7 How did you work out these answers?
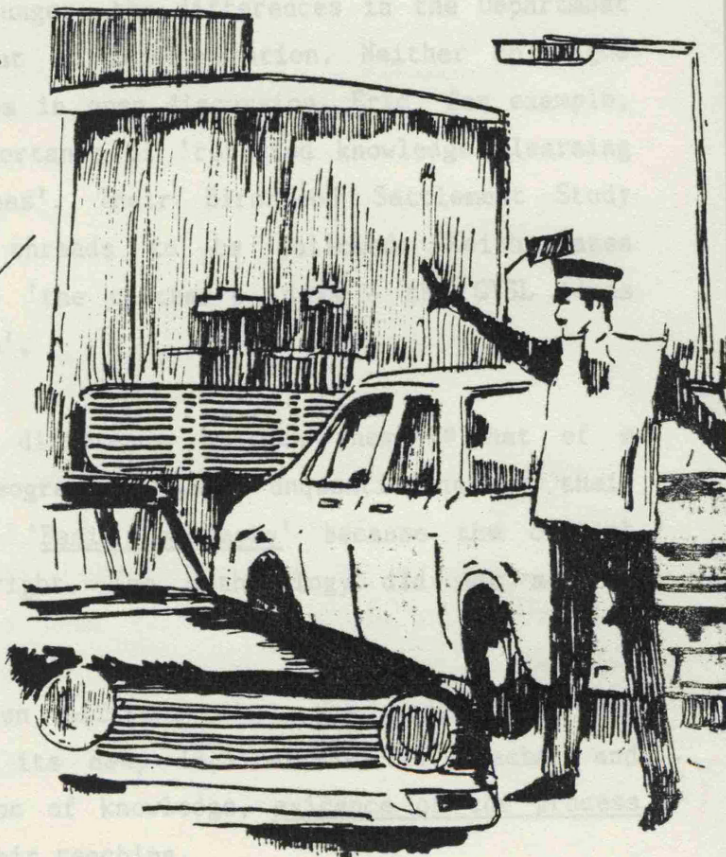
8 Draw bar-graphs for each of the survey points C, D, F and H to show the number of different types of road vehicle.

Use a vertical scale of 1 mm to represent 1 vehicle.

9 From your graphs write down the roads which carry the highest number of

(a) CARS
(b) LORRIES/VANS
(c) BUSES

10 Are the sentences which are in bold type on the opposite page true? From the work you have done you should be able to write a short report saying whether you agree with them or not.

FIG 10 Roads.- A Year 2 practical exercise
Basic Geography Book 1, Harraps

However, Robert admitted that there were difficulties which he described as 'practical, reference to content rather than philosophical'. He saw MACOS as being only marginally different to GYSL in its approach. The conflict, he said, was in their understanding of worthwhile content. Central to Robert's thinking was the range of ideas. 'Process is guiding people to things that are worthwhile'. For Eric Younger, the differences in the Department were not ones of values but of interpretation. Neither colleague laid much emphasis on process in open discussion. Eric, for example, spoke repeatedly of the importance of 'retained knowledge, learning specific knowledge and ideas'. Their Birchwood Settlement Study identified the thought-out threads to be followed. Keith Yates repudiated such key ideas - 'the teacher's ideas - the GYSL ideas are the content of the course'.

For Robert, the practical difference between them was that of a worthwhile content. The geographers were unquestioning in their commitment to material from 'Basic Geography' because the content in general terms seemed right. The methodology did not seem a misfit.

(2) Although the radicals often affirmed that the geographers did not understand process and its deep implications for teacher and pupil role in the generation of knowledge, evidence of the process approach could be seen in their teaching.

Documents used in team-teaching and prepared by the radicals were, of course, common to all staff. But in more independent situations in GYSL pupil projects, the geographers took an individual hypothesis formation and testing approach which was looked upon sceptically by geographers from other schools. Within their classrooms, however, they saw nothing incongruous in encouraging this and at the same time and sometimes with the same class, duplicating materials entirely of teachers' questions with the key ideas pre-determined and on occasions written on the blackboard! Perhaps the geographers were interacting with the process ideology more than they guessed. In a dynamic situation, they were incorporating some aspects of innovation into their existing experience - 'assimilation'.

(3) Both geographers linked testing and the need for structure. Robert: 'most people need structure as a means of measuring success'. Eric was worried that in Year 2 (when transfers took place) they would have no means of assessment. One of the strengths of the rational curriculum planning approach was that pre-determined objectives provided a basis, linked with evaluation, for assessing teacher and pupil success in achieving the objectives.

(4) The role of teacher personality and present state of skills in the classroom should not be underestimated. Robert, for example, said that he could not continually cope with whole-class discussion. He hadn't the energy anyway for this approach for extended periods of time. 'Formal set work for some groups was essential for everyone's peace of mind'. The radical leaders of the Department were very able teachers. The demanding, energy-sapping nature of innovation and change was evident in Robert's comments.

(5) Personality differences exacerbated differences within the Department. The mixture was personal and philosophical - 'we do not work together as a team'; 'neither Robert or Keith will accept each other's point of view'. The Deputy Head said that no-one could be found to chair the Staff Forum after two members of the Humanities Team had served terms. Robert's view was that within the Department he had not been encouraged to offer his services!

4.7   RADICAL AND REFORMED - THE TWO APPROACHES COMPARED

In this section, by way of summary, a comparison is made of approaches to the same topic:

Example No 1: Year 1 - Settlement Unit

(a)   The Geographers' Approach

Eric Younger and Robert Ingham were responsible for organising and resourcing this section. The following documents present the guidelines they wished to establish.

Sheet 1

Settlement Study

(1)   Housing/Building Function Survey

The area most important to cover is the survey of building age and materials.

Function - what the building is used for. Let them find their own key.

(2)   Why learn about towns/the first towns

This is very straightforward and I feel self-explanatory.

(3)   Where are villages located?

A simple simulation (Extract from Location and Links, see Fig 11)

(4)   Definition of a settlement

An exercise for discussion.

(5)   Amenity Index

Useful for homework. They could work out an index for two houses per homework.

(6)   Shopping Survey

A recent staff sheet from the geographers shows the focus has been firmly placed upon key concepts.

Sheet 2

The following notes illustrate the basic threads to be followed during this study.

These statements form the framework:

(a)   people in small settlements have to travel further for things than people do in large settlements;

(b)   a settlement is either growing or declining;

(c)   today's settlement reflects earlier people and technology;

(d)   settlements have clear reasons for being there;

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Figure 7 shows the area in which you wish to settle and the three possible sites for your village. Your major needs are arable land, grazing land for your animals, fuel, building material and water. All are available within the area but at a varying distance from the three possible sites. You wish to locate your village at the point which is most accessible to all your requirements.

(a) *As the leader of a group of Anglo-Saxon settlers, list the following in order of importance:*

> Arable land
> Grazing land
> Supply of fuel
> Supply of building material
> Supply of water

(b) *Give the first on your list a value of 5, the second 4 and so on down to the fifth which will have a value of 1.*

(c) *Measure the distance, in tenths of a kilometre, from each of the three possible village sites, A, B and C, to the nearest point where each of these resources is available. Multiply each distance by the appropriate 'value' number which you gave to each resource in (b). For example, if water is available 0·5 km from Site B, and you have given water supply a 'value' number of 4, that is put it second in your list of needs in (a), multiply 5 by 4 = 20. This is the access number for water at Site B.*

> *You will have five access numbers for each of the three sites. Add these five together and you will have the total access number for each site. The site with the lowest total access number is the best site for your village.*

(d) *Compare your result with that of a friend. Are they the same? If not, why not?*

Sometimes the settlers did not choose the best site. This was mainly because they did not have complete knowledge of the resources available. This human factor can be brought into your decision.

Other things to do

(a) *List in order the three possible village sites, lowest total access number first.*

(b) *Take a dice and shake it. If the score on the dice is either 1, 2 or 3 accept the first site as your final choice. If the score is either 4 or 5 accept the second site. If the score is 6 accept the third site, which you will remember is the least desirable in terms of access to resources, as the site for your village.*

> *Have you been forced to change your decision based on total access numbers?*

Because of chance factors Anglo-Saxon settlers often chose sites for their villages which were far from ideal.

FIG 11   Year 1 Settlement Unit exercise
          Location and Links   Book 4   (Blackwell)

Water

★ Grazing

● Arable

▼ Fuel

▲ Building Material

Scale 20mm represents 1km

Figure 7   Village sites
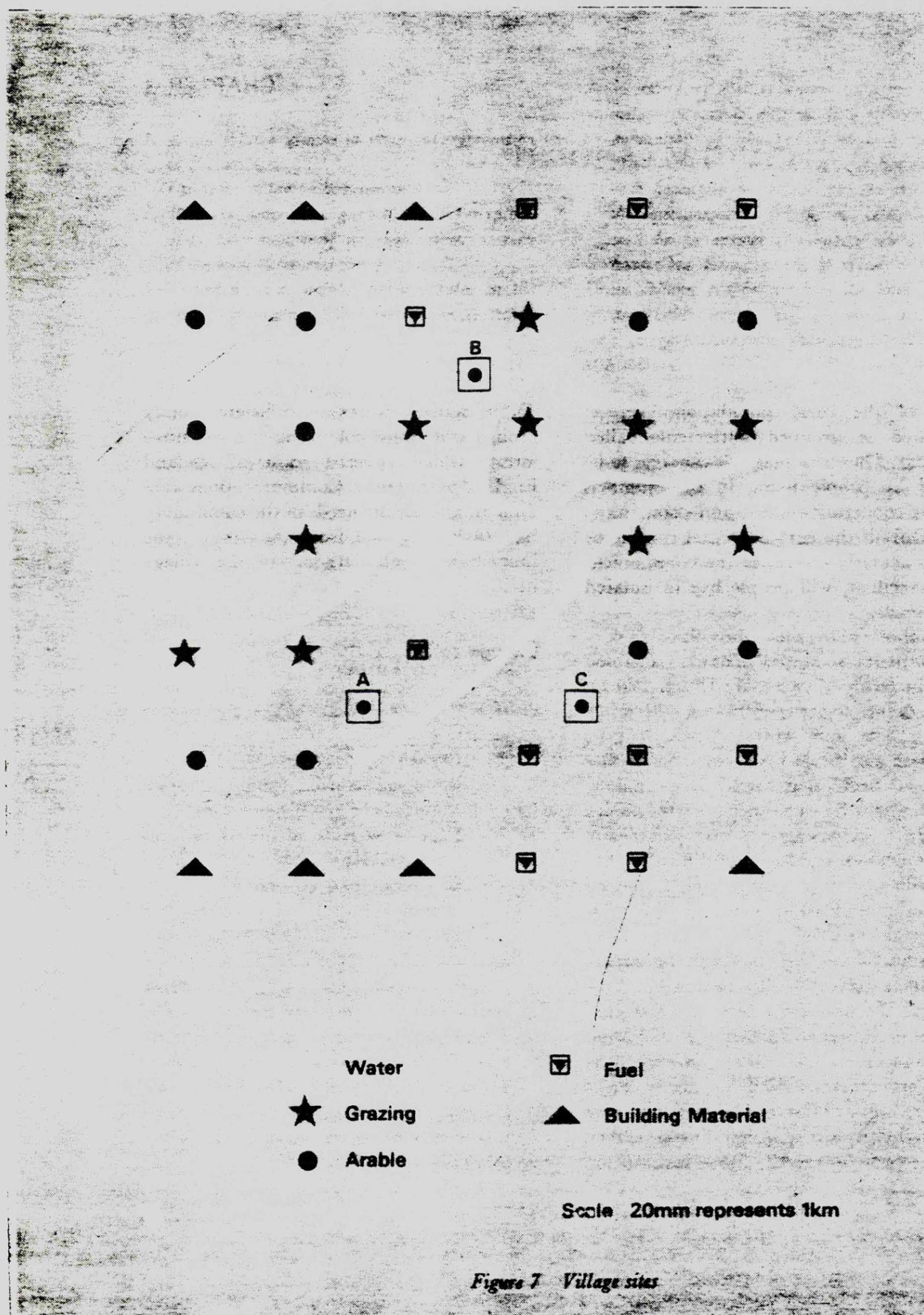
(e) every settlement has an influence over its surroundings depending on size.

One or all of these can be looked at. Five independent research groups perhaps. I suggest people see me for guidance. I will endeavour to supply notes of ideas for (a) - (e).

A good starter is a discussion around 'What is a settlement?' Each idea can be written in the General Notebook, eg is a camping site a settlement? Is a house a settlement when everyone is out? A class will probably come up with at least ten ideas. Individuals can then give reasoned ideas about these questions, possibly written on file paper.

If used! carefully, the worksheets can be valuable too.

Pupils can study their own village.

25" maps of Birchwood available. Various one-off resources in large blue file boxes.

(b) Keith Yates' Radical Approach

Extract from an interview with him

KY I never start with key ideas - to me key ideas presuppose the content of the course. They narrow the curriculum right down. They are teachers' ideas, eg GYSL ideas are the content of the course. If you are doing a study of Birchwood, the village is your resource. Then focus on procedures. What are key concepts? I never think of them! Key ideas and key concepts seem so inflexible. It reinforces the mould of GYSL.

How would I do settlement?

Probably start with a settlement game - what questions does this raise? Why is it here? Look at historical place names. Then give the kids the task of producing a town trail. Do not feed the answers. Leave the questions to them. Groups could focus on the station, the Green, pubs, Cricket Club, graveyard, using a wide range of documentary evidence, books, archive material.

Have you seen the settlement material? (geographers) It is a waste of time; a shopping study, an amenity index. Do these involve the pupils?

In my scheme, here is an idea. At one time Birchwood might have become an overspill area for the GLC, say a plan for 40,000 people. The stimulus material would be to show slides of Harlow and talk about New Towns.

Now I would say to the group 'You are a pressure group. I want you to make a case against this by using all the resources available. Make your own Town Trail with written material, slides etc. Convey something of what Birchwood is.

You see, we have not started with key ideas. Make it fun, make it enjoyable. Get them out. They would at the end have learned an awful lot of history, geography and social science - but above all they would have become involved in the _process of learning_.

Example 2 : Year 2 - Communications Unit

Here, the geographers used a controversial exercise on regions/ areas of influence from _Basic Geography_ in which reference was made to the Gas Board, Hotpoint delivery areas, for a Midlands town. Dave Bebbington criticised it severely. In his adaptation, he used the pupils' direct experience, _questioned them on criteria_ they might use, and suggested a way of testing out certain propositions. After recording their own data on a map he asked 'how far do shopping patterns support or oppose the idea that the school's catchment area forms the basis of a clear region?

This exercise, implemented in two very different ways, crystallised the difference of approach. In _Basic Geography_, the exercise presented information which was intended to add to the pupil's knowledge, possibly understanding. The value was unquestioned. It was intended to develop the pupils' spatial understanding. The alternative approach developed by Dave helped to build upon, reorder, then extend the pupils' experience, but most significantly, it saw the content as a vehicle for developing skills of analysis, synthesis and judgement. The content did not claim a place in its own right. There would be understanding of the region idea but the content was not seen as the key product. _It exemplified the process approach to the curriculum_.

Viewpoints in the Department have now been portrayed. The extent and origins of the differences will now be discussed in detail.

4.8 A REVIEW OF THE FORMATIVE INFLUENCES SHAPING THE PHILOSOPHIES WITHIN THE BIRCHWOOD HUMANITIES DEPARTMENT

In this section, the main strands of thought and associated practice within the Humanities Department at Birchwood are discussed. An attempt is made to identify the formative influences of writers and philosophers such as J S Bruner and M Young. Clearly, any individual teacher's philosophy has been formed by a variety of influences. Neither does thinking remain static but reflects adjustment and change as interaction takes place, particularly with those in close working contact. External pressures, demands and expectations of pupils, colleagues, parents, LEAs and examination boards all create a changing environment. Interactions within the school and department are related to the mix of personalities as well as philosophies. The architectural design of the building at Birchwood as well as the integrated organisation of Humanities subjects, facilitated and promoted a high degree of personal interaction. The planning of the programme and the joint enterprise within classrooms and resource areas provided day-to-day evidence of this. Such exposure normally leads to a closer alignment of views or to an increasing polarisation. It was fascinating getting to know the individual teaching staff and noting trends in philosophical orientation.

At the polar extreme, the 'radical' wing was represented by Keith Yates and Dave Bebbington, while the <u>relatively</u> more orthodox or traditional wing was represented by geographers, Robert Ingham and Eric Younger. The debate has already been partially charted. The central argument focussed, as Keith Yates often reminded colleagues, on his view of learning as process rather than product. It was significant in a discussion with Keith Yates and Harry Fielding, that their starting point was the content of the GYSL Project, in particular questioning how the Project defined knowledge. In this discussion, <u>views of knowledge become pivotal</u>. They contended that in practice it is impossible to separate one's views of knowledge and content from the planning of learning activities or teaching methods. Douglas Barnes (1976, 139) develops the same contention:

> It is possible to show that the way in which teachers think
> about what constitutes knowledge is often linked to what they
> think learning and teaching are. That is, a view of knowledge
> is likely to carry with it a view of classroom communication
> and of the roles of teacher and pupil in <u>formulating</u> knowledge.

Barnes hyothesises a relationship between:

(1) the teacher's view of knowledge;

(2) what he values in the pupil;

(3) his view of his own role; and

(4) his evaluation of the pupils' participation.

Using these four characteristics, he arrives at relationships which would be evident in what he defines as the Transmission teacher and the Interpretation teacher (1976, 144). Meigham (1981) also examines ways in which sets of ideas and beliefs are inter-linked and are demonstrated in behaviour and conversation in school. These broad sets of ideas and beliefs may be referred to as 'ideologies of education'. Such ideologies contain various theories including:

(1) a theory of knowledge;

(2) a theory of learning and the learner's role;

(3) a theory of teaching and the teacher's role;

(4) a theory of resources appropriate for learning;

(5) a theory of organisation of learning/situations;

(6) a theory of aims, objectives and outcomes;

(7) a theory of assessment to discover whether learning has been successful.

All these theories will be seen to have relevance in an attempt to illuminate the opposing ideologies in the Humanities Department. The emphasis is on the way in which a teacher's thinking about any one of these aspects is likely to form part of differing patterns of ideas and beliefs about education. In addition to Barnes' Transmission and Interpretation ideologies, Meigham makes mention of authoritarian and democratic ideologies (Lippitt and White 1958), open and closed ideologies (Kohl 1970), meaning-making and meaning-receiving ideologies (Postman and Weingartner 1971), autonomous study (Husen 1974) and the ubiquitous 'traditional' and 'progressive' ideologies.

It is also helpful to make reference to Bernstein's theoretical construct 'classification' and 'framing' which attempts to classify relationships between the form of knowledge and the control of knowledge. 'Classification' is concerned with the strength of boundaries between

subjects, 'framing' with the control of knowledge. Bernstein (1971) defines the frame as 'the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organisation and pacing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship. Framing is also related to the degree of insulation between the everyday community of teacher and taught and 'educational knowledge'.

The teacher's view of knowledge influences his theories of curriculum planning in terms of aims, objectives and outcomes, the style of learning and teaching, choice of resources and approach to evaluation. Such elements provide a framework for analysis.

In Robert's statement, 'Objectives in Geography Teaching', he placed a strong emphasis on planning based on the cognitive elements of an objectives approach. In his departmental discussion paper, he begins:

> In this statement, three levels of generality are indicated
> and they will be illustrated by reference to the topic of water
> supply. Levels of generality are identified in an effort to
> clarify terms. The second aim is to refine the concepts considered
> important for consideration, and thirdly outline an approach to
> curriculum planning.

He then sketches principles, quoting Peters's definition - 'higher level assumptions or rules that can be applied in order to substantiate and give unity to lower-order ones'. T Bennett in 'New Movements in the Study and Teaching of Geography is also quoted at length. Concepts at different levels are developed - 'abstract technical' and 'abstract vernacular', with exemplars (resources/data for the exploration of higher level concepts). The need to pursue structure as a curricula objective is quoted from Hirst and ideas that are transferable from Bruner.

> Continuity of learning requiring a mastery of structure or the
> fundamental ideas behind the subject matter. These fundamental
> ideas relate to the generalisations, principles and concepts
> and their interconnections of the discipline - grasp of the structure
> makes the detail more easily remembered -(from the same source.)

In planning the curriculum, a planning matrix is produced, quoted from Walford's 'New Directions in Geography' (1973). Robert's paper is almost totally dominated by the cognitive element. He makes this very clear in a statement:

If geography is organised conceptually, it is easier to ensure
a full geographical understanding of a particular area of
knowledge.

Although not spelled out, he writes 'many of the enquiry skills, values and attitudes and exemplar material will transcend disciplines'.

Robert, before coming to Birchwood, was a member of one of the Cambridgeshire Geography Departments which produced Basic Geography. This text was much used for photocopying by Robert and Eric Younger in the Humanities Department. The underlying implications and the approach to learning it projected were much criticised by Keith Yates and Dave Bebbington. An article, (TES 18.4.80) written by Brian Greaseley, one of the authors of Basic Geography, is informative. When children reach the secondary stage of their development, he contends, they begin to develop a greater awareness of the disciplines into which we divide knowledge. Changes in the subject should be reflected in the structure and teaching strategies of the geography course:

Using this approach enables the teacher to develop a course
which presents ideas which may be taught to pupils of the whole
ability range.

Five key concepts for structuring an 11-14 course are identified:

Each of these was to be developed through the course through a
series of related secondary concepts. A breakdown of statements
provided the key ideas or ideas around which each week's learning
experiences were to be organised.

Teachers should introduce a sequence of skills appropriate to the stage reached by the pupil: then a significant statement:

One of the underlying aspects of the philosophy of the
department was that the pupils should be involved as far as
possible in the learning experiences being offered. This
approach of pupil involvement allowed a greater opportunity for
pupil investigation, the teacher presenting resources and materials
leading the pupil towards a realisation of the idea being taught.

This strong emphasis on the cognitive element and predictable outcomes directed by the teacher gave rise to criticism by Keith Yates who in the discussion detailed earlier, emphasised that in his style of teaching he did not know where he would end up because 'content' as such was not of paramount importance to him. John Huckle (1980) in his review of all three Schools Council geography projects, comments:

Not only are feelings, emotions and values placed far below
'knowledge' or ideas, but the teacher is offered relatively little

guidance in affective, moral and political education to complement
the considerable amount relating to cognitive outcomes.

It would seem a reasonable supposition that the Cambridgeshire team
and certainly Robert were considerably influenced by this approach
to knowledge and planning.

The Teachers' Guide in the GYSL Project sets out its objectives
under three headings - ideas, skills values and attitudes, eg:

> The key ideas are often important concepts and serve as the focal
> points for the selection of content. The specific facts, at a
> lower level of knowledge, often represented by case studies, are
> the raw material and are important largely as they help
> pupils to discover ideas. By defining them, the teacher can
> 'operate' with them at varying ability levels in this age group
> and adapt or replace the illustrative content to meet the needs
> of the pupil. Following on from the understanding of ideas and
> knowing facts there are other intellectual skills such as
> the understanding and interpretation of data, the analysis
> of statements, the ability to develop judgements.

Robert's reference to Hirst and Peters was significant. The influence
of the Hirst and Peters school of thought in relation to school curricula
has been pervasive. Eggleston (1977) categorises Hirst's perspective
under the heading of 'received' in contrast to 'reflexive'. The 'received'
perspective is one in which:

> Curriculum knowledge like other components of the knowledge system
> in the social order, is accepted as a received body of
> understanding that is 'given' even ascribed and is predominantly
> non-negotiable.   (1977, 52)

It will be recalled that Keith Yates reacted strongly against the Hirst/
Peters school of thought while at the Institute of Education. In the
reflexive perspective, curriculum knowledge is open to negotiation,
content may be legitimately criticised and argued about.

Each of Hirst's forms of knowledge have central concepts, logical
structures and tests for truth. There are also fields of knowledge
of which geography is cited as one. For Hirst:

> The curriculum can be clearly described in terms of the forms
> and fields of knowledge and the formal structures that link them.
>   (Eggleston 1977, 57)

This is not necessarily reinforcing the subject based curriculum, indeed
Stenhouse (1975, 20) proposes that Hirst is attacking rather than defending
the existing subject status but Eggleston suggests that Hirst requires

that any curriculum remains true to the underlying forms of knowledge. The link between Hirst's analysis and curriculum planning by objectives becomes apparent when he claims, 'there can be no curriculum without objects', the objectives being determined by the forms of knowledge. Contrasting to the 'received' position associated with Hirst, Pheonix and Peters is the 'reflexive' position:

> Since the 1960s, the constructed view has been increasingly advocated by the progressive educators with programmes of curriculum development and innovation. (Eggleston 1977, 55)

This view has been developed by radical educators such as Holt (1964), Reimer (1971), Postman and Weingartner (1971) who also question the institution of schooling itself. The constructed view has been more fully developed by sociologists drawing upon the work of the phenomenological school (Young 1971) who argue that reality is a social construct. Curriculum knowledge, like all other knowledge, Eggleston suggests is seen as not having an unalterable 'out there' nature but rather seen to be an artefact as are the qualities of 'truth' and 'objectivity' commonly associated with it. A similar definition of this perspective is offered by Pring (1976, 67). Quoting Gorbutt and others (1972) he indicates the emergence of an alternative paradigm. This paradigm challenges rather than reinforces prevailing practices and their underlying assumptions:

> Such prevailing practices include treating knowledge as a commodity which is transmitted (or sold) to passive (and frequently unwilling) pupils; one underlying assumption of such practices is that knowledge is something 'out there', independent of people knowing'.
> (Pring 1976, 67)

Knowledge, according to the phenomenological school, should be redefined because previous definitions are seen for what they are — social constructions legitimated by those in positions of power and control.

> Curriculum knowledge is what is defined as knowledge by the school or university and institutionalised in subject departments and the examination system. (Pring 1977, 68)

The philosophy of Keith Yates can be seen reflected in this perspective He acknowledges, in discussion, the point at which he began to question the Hirst and Peters interpretation and the refreshing challenge to his own thinking that the approach of <u>Michael Young</u> had brought. Whenever knowledge was under discussion, he would question whose knowledge,

whose definition? <u>Knowledge for him was a process not a product to be transmitted</u>. He was deeply sceptical about the examination system which legitimised so much school knowledge. There were in fact no formal tests in Years 1-3 of the Humanities programme. The emphasis of his individual pupil reports clearly indicated the qualities that he valued. At 4th and 5th year level, an arrangement through a Mode III CSE had been arrived at, strongly based on a process approach. It was an attempt to value individual enquiry and involvement, underlining that the teacher and even the authoritative bases of school knowledge are not infallible.

It must be emphasised that in seeking the origins of Robert's and Keith's differing philosophy of education, the polarity is frequently being sketched. It would be too simplistic to categorise one as 'received' position and the other as 'reflexive' but differences existed because of consciously thought out valuations. Interactions within the same Department meant accommodation at levels of practice and also perspective. For example, Robert's individual projects for Geography 'O' level were based on individual hypotheses and strategies, springing from the pupils' understanding and initiatives rather than being imposed by the teacher.

Bearing in mind the formative influence of the Institute of Education on Keith Yates' thinking, it is worth examining Michael Young's and Geoff Whitty's position further. In an alternative epistemology, truth and objectivity are seen as nothing but human products. Man is seen as the ultimate author of 'knowledge' and 'reality':

> Any attempt to appeal to an external reality in order to support
> claims for the superiority of one way of seeing over another is
> dismissed as <u>ideological</u>. <u>Knowledge is seen as inextricably linked</u>
> <u>to methods of coming to know</u> and any supposed dichotomy between
> them is therefore false. A particular target of the phenomenological
> paradigm has been the prevailing tradition within the philosophy
> of education - the tradition represented by the work of such writers
> as Phoenix, Peters and Hirst - the exponents of the phenomen-
> ological perspective want to challenge the model of learning and
> teaching (implied by Hirst) in which knowledge (X) is transmitted
> from the teacher (A) to the pupil (B) and the notion that education
> can be adequately defined by the acquisition of certain fundamental
> public modes of experience, understanding and knowledge. I am
> suggesting then that there is a wider 'culture of
> positivism' whose embeddedness in the culture of the school creates
> considerable difficulties for those who want to 'see' the world
> differently and transcend prevailing conceptions of knowledge.
> Such culture operates with a notion of valid knowledge detached
> from particular knowing objects and views school knowledge
> as verifiable 'knowledge' about a real world rather than arbitrarily
> legitimated ways of seeing... In making such distinctions, it

recognises a hierarchy between those who possess such knowledge and/or the means to it (and thus may teach) and those who lack it (and must learn).

(Whitty 1974, 120)

One writer to whom both 'wings' of the Humanities Department paid considerable attention was <u>J S Bruner</u>. In his departmental report, Robert refers to Bruner as a 'strong advocate of the need to pursue structure as a curricular objective. Apart from the pleasure it may give, he sees the promotion of transfer of training as a central goal of learning'. This 'consists of learning initially a general idea which can then be used as a basis for recognising subsequent problems as special cases of the idea already mastered'. (Bruner 1960). Grasp of structure makes the detail more easily remembered. Later in his report, Robert returns to the idea of developmental sequence. A matrix is produced. 'This is a suggested way of pursuing Bruner's desire for structure'. The article from which Robert took the diagram (Walford 1973, 184) gave a short summary of Bruner's views on curricula organisation:

(1) The basic concepts of the subject, ie the structure of geography, are what a child really needs to know.

(2) The basic concepts of the subject can be introduced at an early age and touched upon again and again, spirally revisiting certain issues.

(3) Problem-solving is the best way to show children how geographers think and allow children to think as geographers think.

(4) The work should interest and motivate the child.

(5) Discovery methods are one of the best ways of getting children to understand the basic concepts of geography.

Later in the same article, the writer discusses deciding on the subject area to be studied then defining objectives under three headings:

<u>enquiry skills</u> - these are the structure of the subject;

<u>attitudes and values</u>;

<u>knowledge</u> (facts to test against the theories);

all these to be described in detail and in behavioural terms. But the term structure can be interpreted not only in a '<u>received</u>' form, eg concepts are introduced based on a set programme of ideas but also in the more reflexive mode which is the way the radicals would have chosen to interpret it. Referring to Bruner's work, one of the Humanities staff, Harry Fielding, in a recent article defines the structure of a discipline as consisting of:

..a set of basic principles and interrelated concepts that give
it definition and allow a multitude of items to be related to
it in a meaningful way, its merit depending on its power to
simplify information, generate new propositions, and increase
the manipulability of a body of knowledge. Structure,
Bruner argues, is not absolute but relative and should always
be related to the needs of the learner. In this sense, it becomes
clear that Bruner's concern with structure is psychological not
philosophical — he is not subscribing to the rationalist perspective
that sees knowledge as hierarchical, inert or revealed — it prov-
ides a processing apparatus that allows individuals to 'go beyond
the information given (Bruner 1966, 95) and generates modes of
thought, knowledge and opinions of their own.
                                            (Edwards 1983, 282)

The Humanities syllabus sponsored by Keith and Dave Bebbington
also made considerable reference to Bruner. It talked of a curriculum,
not in terms of behavioural objectives but in terms of 'principles
of procedure'. Indeed, the Department eschewed

> the use of objectives in curriculum planning, although ironically
> this is the model it is encouraged to use through the local
> authority's initiative 'Aims and Objectives in the Secondary
> School' (Edwards 1983, 287).

Neither are 'principles of procedure' related to the content of subjects.
Subjects are seen as 'resources' in interrelation and not as ends in
themselves.

> The content area of Humanities does influence us as to what we
> take as illustrative material to clothe the conceptual skeleton.
> The bones or concepts of the skeleton are eg Communication,
> Power, Values-Belief, Conflict/Consensus. But central to
> all the work is a list of seven instrumental or pedagogic aims
> taken from Bruner's Man, A Course of Study (MACOS). It's what
> we would 'nail to the mast'. (see p121)

The document adds:

> It is clear that these goals centre round the process of learning,
> rather than around the product. As Bruner suggests, these goals
> put highest importance on the community of education, on
> exploration, on question-posing rather than on factual specifics
> or information per se. The Humanities Department here
> at Birchwood therefore aims at enlarging human capacities by
> exploring in the way we have set out above the central question
> — 'What makes man human?'

With reference to MACOS, Bruner writes:

> A curriculum is the enterprise par excellence where the
> line between subject matter and method grows necessarily indistinct.
> (Towards a Theory of Instruction, p 72)

The statement on MACOS continues:

The course is replete in concepts and information <u>but these are</u> <u>not superordinate to the critical process goals</u>. Rather a continual interaction of method and materials has been devised, whereby a conceptual grasp and mastery of information are never considered separately from the method of discovery.

It is interesting to note that Bruner's contribution is included in Eggleston's 'received' perspective not because in any sense is it reactionary or traditional, but because in his view within this perspective Bruner, like Hirst and Phoenix, believes there are established and knowable structures of knowledge that exist independently of teachers and other individuals.

Keith Yates' comment that the new conceptual structure adopted by GYSL and strongly favoured by Robert, was another form of content curriculum, was in sharp contrast to what he conceived as the process curriculum. Both individuals interpreted Bruner, it would seem, in support of their own philosophy. The radicals said that the aim of the MACOS course, for example, is:

> not mastery of structure per se but a mastery of structure so that it assists in the thinking process and becomes a tool for raising and exploring important questions.
> (Dow 1970, 13)

> The intention is to provide a framework within which pupils research, speculate, analyse and discuss rather than pass- ively assimilate a body of facts or concepts.
> (Edwards 1983)

Parker and Rubin (1966) make a valuable contribution to the knowledge debate in defining contrasting viewpoints in their text '<u>Process as</u> <u>Content</u>'. An extract from the text was given to me by Dave Bebbington, one of the radicals. The argument developed within the text closely reflected his own thinking. The basic proposition is that process:

> <u>the diverse procedures which surround the acquisition and</u> <u>utilisation of knowledge is, in fact, the highest form of content</u> <u>and the most appropriate base for curriculum change</u>. Through process, we can <u>employ knowledge</u> not merely as a composite of information but as a system for learning.

The authors define <u>content</u> as:

> a compendium of information which comprises the learning material – a body of facts, laws, theories and generalisations; in other words, <u>content is a rhetoric of conclusions to be transferred</u> <u>(or transmitted) to the student</u>. <u>Process</u> in contrast refers to all the random or ordered operations which can be associated

with knowledge and with human activities .... Where the <u>primary</u>
emphasis is on content (pre-formed conclusions) the learner
functions in a passive mode. Where the stress is upon process,
the assimilation of knowledge is not derogated but <u>greater importance</u>
<u>is attached to the methods of acquisition and its subsequent</u>
<u>utilisation</u> - knowledge becomes a vehicle not a destination.(1966, 2)

It is argued that educational theory has persisted in accenting the
implied dichotomy between process and content. On the one hand, science
and geography curriculum projects have been overhauled to reflect more
updated information, stressing structurally orientated concepts, while
learning theorists are developing new processes for improving cognition.
Process should be the life-blood of content - there cannot be a dichotomy.
Did one group at Birchwood see content, closely defined, being transferred
to the student howbeit through guided discovery, designed worksheets,
etc., with techniques providing a means to that end, whereas for the
more radical group, the main emphasis was on process with prime importance
on the methods of knowledge acquisition and its subsequent utilisation?
Education from that perspective is a process by which cognitive growth
is facilitated rather than propositional knowledge acquired (Edwards
1983, 281). If the content did not demonstrate process, the principles
of procedure as outlined, it would be discarded.

Robert Ingham and Eric Younger were very pro the disciplines.
Dave Bebbington and Keith Yates questioned the narrowing effect of
'subject disciplines'. They both favoured a more open interdisciplinary
approach where teachers work in a team yet can still be called upon
for specialist or consultant help. However, they were supportive of
the approaches made within History as exemplified by the History 13-
16 Schools Council Project. A discipline; argue Parker and Rubin (1966)
has a valuable role in its special way of looking at phenomena, its
methods of enquiry, its procedures for utilising research and its models
of systematic thought. It is possible to learn history as a system
rather than as a culling of its details. One of the Parker and Rubin
models of the teaching learning sequence (p55) begins with processes
which expose the student to a particular body of knowledge - the students
formulate questions - which closely resembles the first of the Bruner
principles (note the Viking Exhibition organised by Keith Yates where
he began with the children's questions). Then follows a series of process-
based activities concluding in Action:

(i) using the material to create a problem

(ii) using the material to clarify a problem

(iii)using the material to solve a problem.

The emphasis on process seems to be at odds with many discipline-based approaches; that is, in the Rubin and Parker sense of giving it greater importance than the assimilation of knowledge. The danger is that process skills and techniques assume a relatively minor role. The dichotomy between content and methods is apparent in statements such as:

> methods are designed to produce understanding about certain content or subject matter. They are subservient to content in every sense, and a content should never consist of a collection of techniques. (Beddis 1973, 179)

The question arises whether, in the radical wing of the Humanities Department, the pupils' interests could be dominant at the expense of the contribution that the public nature of knowledge could make. The child-centred view represented by Kilpatrick and Dewey focuses not on the subjects or subject matter chosen by the teacher, but on what is already effectively engaging the mind of the child. Pring (1976) summarises Dewey's account of how we think in pursuing some interest or enquiry:

(i)   a state of perplexity arises

(ii) suggestions of solution

(iii)an intellectualisation of the perplexity felt into a problem
      to be solved

(iv) ideas or hypotheses to guide efforts to solve or resolve
      the perplexity

(v)   elaboration of the ideas or hypotheses

(vi) testing out of the hypotheses by overt or imaginative action.

Dewey argues for the relevance of this theory to the curriculum, concluding that:

(i)   the logical ordering of subject matter into different kinds
      is rooted in enquiry;

(ii) the process of enquiry itself is roughly of the same kind
      in its different manifestations;

(iii)this unitary process rather than the differentiated product
      should be the focal point of the curriculum;

(iv) the differentiated product (the different subject matters)
      should no more than help the teacher in directing the pupil
      along the most fruitful lines of enquiry.

The expression of such theory, often in terms of a 'project' style approach, represented much of the direction of the work favoured by Keith Yates. Ideally, he would have liked a very free-wheeling curriculum with the direction of the activity springing from the pupils' own interests. Pring (1976, 62) sees much to be learned from the Dewey approach because there is 'an important connection between the product of enquiry and the process', thus involving children in the process of enquiry. He adds:

> Projects in history (eg the Schools Council History 13-16) and science (eg the Schools Council Science 5-13) have stressed the importance of enquiry, of the children engaging with historical and scientific problems that give point to enquiry. But is this generally true? Does not even the teaching of Nuffield Science so frequently return to the learning of conclusions? The content has changed but the process, the teaching process, that is, often remains the same.

The latter statement expressed a concern often voiced by the radical wing of the Department about the GYSL Project as they saw it in the classroom. Pring, however, concludes that while one should start with the pupil's active, questioning mind, one should still retain a 'belief in the superiority of the more public traditions of thought that as a teacher, one represents and can introduce to the pupils'. This seems close to the views expressed by Dave Bebbington:

> Of course, every teacher should be informed and knowledgeable,- it is what you do with the knowledge that matters, I think. It's got to be a joint enterprise - the children have to gain the knowledge through their own enterprise and skills.

The role of the disciplines was a constant source of discussion in the Humanities Department. In the section on the evolution of the Department, 'Dialogue, Debate and Change' (4.10), it is obvious that here was a steady pressure from the historians and geographers for a more clearly defined 'territory' in which their concepts and skills could be developed. While conceding that there are many central aspects of life where the propositional truths developed by the disciplines have little direct relevance - experiences in which we make judgements about complex situations, interact or sympathise with other people, enjoy recreation, landscapes, etc - Reynolds and Skilbeck (1976, 49) warn that curricula built on these aspects of life are likely to be trivial and intellectually unsatisfying unless linked to more penetrative ways of viewing life, developed through the quest for truth. The central

task of curriculum, it is suggested, is <u>to relate disciplined ways</u> <u>of thinking to children's general flow of consciousness</u>. Chanon and Gilchrist (1974) emphasise the importance of co-ordinating detached reflexive ways of using symbolic forms to the day-to-day experience and action of children, ie <u>to use the disciplines as resources to solve</u> <u>problems</u> as, in fact, the Humanities syllabus stated.

There were many elements in the organisation and classroom teaching at Birchwood which could be analysed using the concepts proposed in Bernstein's paper 'On the classification and framing of educational knowledge' (1971). Any structure, he argues, symbolically reproduces the distribution of power through a system of 'classification' and the form of social control through 'framing' procedures. In the Collection Code, referring to strong classification and strong framing, the teacher will probably be a subject specialist regulating what is taught and when. The pupil will be visibly under the teacher's control and will, like the teacher, have a strong subject orientation. In the Integrated Code, there is a weakening of boundaries between individuals and knowledge, teachers working much more closely with colleagues and pupils. New forms of dialogue will become established so that authority is much more personalised, pupils being able to express their individuality and differences more easily. 'Each form of code represents a different type of social control'. Keith Yates verbalised his concept of this:

> If the teacher lowers the barriers and is no longer seen to
> be the guardian of knowledge, he has to depend on something
> different to status. Knowledge is a form of social control.

Social control may take on a more personal form in the Integrated Code. The 'given' authority of the subject specialist with his traditional identity gives way to a more personal dialogue such as that suggested by Bruner's pedagogic aims where pupils and teachers exchange ideas and listen to each other in a much more open relationship. Such a change within a school or within a Department is likely to <u>generate tension</u> <u>because it raises the most fundamental questions about authority, power,</u> <u>organisation, the teacher's role and the quality of learning in the</u> <u>classroom</u>. While all members of the Humanities Department were moving towards informal relations with the pupils, the identity of staff, in relation to their training, qualifications and educational philosophy, were viewed in very different ways within the Department. Certainly

the degree of 'framing' evidenced by the geographers in the much tighter structuring of work with its emphasis on <u>teachers'</u> ideas and <u>teachers'</u> planning differed from the much greater control over content and approach exercised by pupils in other classrooms.

A Process v Content Debate - Heads of Department Meeting
23 June 1980

An insight into the teaching context and the attitudes of other key members of staff to curriculum issues was provided by my attendance at a Heads of Department meeting convened by the Deputy Head, Dave Bebbington. Members had been circularised with two printed extracts - one from 'Educational Technology in Curriculum Development' (Rowntree 1974) - part of Chapter 3, 'Developing Objectives', in which Life Skill Objectives, Methodological Objectives and Content Objectives are discussed. The second extract was Chapter I 'Process as content' (Rubin and Parker 1966). There were sixteen staff present.

> DH   Deputy Head
> C   Contribution from a Head of Department

The Deputy Head opened the discussion:

> The two articles are intended as an issue-raiser! There are no clear-cut answers. We are asked to put our minds to aims and objectives (LEA is sending us documents, asking for a response). In the 'Developing Objectives' paper, Group 3 is the content bit - often low-level. We should first specify the Group 1 objectives, Life Skills. Decide what we are aiming for.

C   Often the decision is taken above us by the Government/LEA or Exam Boards. Can we do anything about it? Content pays in examinations. Everything depends on examinations.

DH   So teachers should fight for the Schools Council History Project type of examination which is essentially not a memory/ factual approach.

C   How can our present structures accommodate these aims?

DH   We draw up high-minded aims yet in curriculum planning we do not go back to these. We get into content again.

C   Exams will not allow us to be different   An 'A' level candidate may have to write something up in forty-five minutes which covers two years' work. The exam system is imperfect.

DH   Surely the emphasis should be on process. Do schools make children think?

C(PE)   I think we make them think too much! We spend too long on how to think! We should ask what information is needed.

C   Children must understand why.

C   It is arrogance if schools do not help children to think critically.

C(PE) At school, I was taught to remember, not to think or question.

C   Children surely need knowledge <u>and</u> thinking.

DH   Is critical thinking for all?

C   They can be told as well as having 'discovery teaching'.

C   <u>Content</u> can be relayed to the pupils. This process - many children could not do it! Subject methods are more important.

DH   One can justify process - even without answers at the end.

C   Doing 'What is History' - it is the why and how rather than (Hist)what.

C   Do they need the right answers?

C   The answers the children come to themselves are the right ones (Hist)at their level.

A checklist of aims/objectives generated discussion and revealed considerable divisions among the staff. The query was raised: Should all Departments see to what extent they hold methodological objectives in common?

DH   The <u>process</u> at this meeting has been <u>raising issues</u>. There are no pat answers!

DH concluded with an anecdote about the Chairman of Schools Council. 'There was one question he was always unwilling to ask the participants at a Teachers' Conference - 'What is an educated man?''

<u>Comment</u>:

The extract from the discussion while rather fragmentary, nevertheless throws up interesting issues. As Dave Bebbington said in an interview, the reading material issued on a Friday evening got the 'worse possible billing'. Staff did not feel process/content was a key issue. They would have preferred to discuss practicalities such as rooms, equipment. Reflectively, Dave commented 'I think people are not very interested in what makes an educated person'.

However, the discussion indicated a range of viewpoints about the process issue. It helped to clarify further the school context of the Humanities Department. The historian proved to be very supportive of the radical approach. The differing views of teaching and learning in the rest of the school were hinted at. Some staff went for a 'telling' and 'discovery' approach, to which Keith Yates, had he been present

at the meeting, would undoubtedly have retorted 'You cannot ride both horses'. The comments of the Heads of Department, while not representing the total voice of their own staff, again suggested elements of sub-cultural perspectives.

Dave referred to the requirement to complete LEA documents. Ironically, the local authority's initiative 'Aims and Objectives in the Secondary School' encouraged departments to use an objectives planning model.

* * * * * * *

A Study of two Departments

Outside the Humanities Department, staff have been suspicious, particularly in traditional areas
(Headmaster of Birchwood School)

Innovation as a cultural phenomenon is defined by Esland (1972, 103) as a social process:

It takes place through time and is part of the social reality
of a community of people. Although the innovative idea is in
individual consciousness, it nevertheless remains a product of
social interaction.

It is also a valid assumption that individuals will share certain group perspectives. Group perspectives may be closely related to different subject sub-cultures (Ball 1981, 182). In his study of mixed ability work, Ball comments that:

..members of the Mathematics and Language departments in their
opposition to mixed ability in their subjects projected a perspective
- essentially they saw the introduction of mixed ability as
a threat to the traditional values of their subjects at
that time. However, these perspectives represented the differences
in the prime orientation of groups of teachers within the whole
staff and they were not in every case exclusively held.

The science teachers' attitude he found, presented a view of science teaching current within a subject sub-culture. The role of conceptual structures in the planning and formulation of a teaching programme was significant. Ball comments:

....like the other dissenting subjects, the teaching of
science is made up of symbolic constraints and demands that provide
for certain 'necessary' concepts to be covered by certain stages
in the school careers of certain pupils. (1982, 182)

As at Dockside School, some time at Birchwood School was spent observing pupils and talking with staff in other areas of the curriculum. In this Section, observations are focussed on the process/content debate as evidenced in the views and practice of two departments at Birchwood, Science and English.

The Humanities radicals regarded the Science Department as one of the most traditional departments in the school. The English Department, however, presented a different 'face'. The Head, as related in an earlier section, appointed some staff, such as Maths and Science, with a more traditional role in mind. In the new school, the strategy of 'creative conflict' was operationalised by timetabling the Head of English to work alongside the Humanities Department. There was suspicion, and at times hostility, towards Humanities staff from other colleagues. The radical approach was not popular. Problems about class work being supervised had arisen when Humanities staff were out on visits. There was an expectation that their groups would be taught in an active, participatory way. As one member of staff in the English Department put it, 'The pupils were doing research in Humanities. Staff who were covering wanted to sit and mark books and were unable to do so'. There was other evidence of hostility. Some staff refused to cover Humanities lessons - refusals it would seem on the grounds of both content and style. Equally, Keith Yates expressed critical views about other Departments who were clearly working very differently to his own. For example, about Science, Keith said:

> In this school it is very much a behavioural objectives approach
> with regular testing. Science is caught up in teaching content
> and facts. The enquiry-based learning seems to have gone!

The Science Department

Observation of Class 2H - Biology

The theme was the germination of seeds. The pupils prepared tubes in which cress seeds were placed. Each tube provided a different environment for the seeds, eg dry cotton wool, wet cotton wool. There was much questioning from the teacher about the nature of the experiment but the class were not asked to hypothesise as to the result, neither was a link made with their existing knowledge. Most of the activity arose from text books and was done independently of other pupils, a mixture of questions based on provided information, labelling of diagrams, etc., an example of a 'guided discovery' approach.

Observation of Class 2H - Chemistry

This followed a similar pattern to the Biology lesson although taken by another member of staff. The presentation of the experiment was very efficiently organised. There was a period of structured questioning about the reactive qualities of metals. What might take place under certain conditions? No reply to the question was required - the class observed as a colourful demonstration took place. The class were then asked to write up a description of what had happened based on their observations. They were not asked why this happened. The interaction was from teacher to pupil rather than from pupil to pupil or pupil to teacher. There were pupil skills of observation, skills of listening, skills of describing and remembering, but not of pupil enquiry or research. There was an identifiable body of content and in these terms of dominantly transmission, the lesson seemed to achieve what it set out to do.

Regular testing took place every month. It was a feature of the Department. The tests were one indication of the priorities objectives had in the programme. The following is an extract from a First Year test:

- In this picture of the bunsen burner

    (a) which part is the jet?
    (b) which part is the unburnt gas?
    (c) which is the hottest part?
    (d) what is B called?

- We measure mass in units called ....

- This measurement is usually done with a ....

- Which of the following will a magnet attract?

    A. Brass screw
    B. Iron nail
    C. Silver coin
    D. Lead bullet
    E. Aluminium foil

Similar testing was seen in the 4th Year. For example:

    Draw a labelled diagram to show four important features
    of a named Coelenterate.

    State four ways in which a named Protozoan is different
    from a named Annelid.

All the tests seen were heavily weighted towards 'knowledge' (Bloom 1956). They were concerned with the accurate reproduction of information in a form similar to that in which it had been transmitted. Keith commented that behavioural objectives typified their approach

to testing. Their teaching programme, however, at the junior level, followed the Nuffield scheme and was therefore, in the Head's term, an enlightened approach.

Observation of Year 4 - General Science

This was an interesting lesson to compare with the Year 4 GYSL approach. The lesson ran from 10.10 - 11.20 and very quickly took the form of notes being dictated. There was a period of questioning, largely straight information-seeking questions, followed by more dictated notes on flowers and reproduction.

I was able to gather the views of the Head of Science, Chris (C) in a tape-recorded interview.

The discussion began with a query about a recent Science Staff In-service Day at the school:

C   Most of the first half of the day was on aims and objectives.
        I think we tend to be more down to earth than other departments.
        It goes against the grain with some people to discuss any-
        thing vaguely philosophical but once we got going, it
        seemed alright. Then we looked at organisation in the lower
        years. You don't have time to think what or why you are doing
        something. You tend to carry on the way you have been doing for
        many years.

TD   I was interested at the staff meeting when Dave Bebbington raised
        the question of the process v content model.

C   It's really a question of Nuffield v the traditional approach.
        The Nuffield approach is the discovery method of learning
        which is the process approach! Finding out how to find out.
        The traditional is factual. This is what others have discovered.
        Here we try to get the best of both methods. You have to
        lay a foundation of factual knowledge. You cannot go on discovering
        over and over again! So straight old-fashioned teaching and
        discovery methods are our approach.

TD   How far does Science 5-13 represent your approach? They tried to
        combine a behavioural objectives model and a child-centred approach.

C   Science 5-13 is more suited to Junior and Middle Schools. Here
        we are trying to lay a foundation for future examination work.
        Years 4 and 5 have two double periods a week; it is a real cram.
        We introduce them to separate sciences although there is
        the Schools Council Integrated Science Project. I resisted it.
        It is not fully accepted by employers. It is also more difficult
        to get teachers to teach it. In the younger years, Nuffield
        Combined Science suggests beginning with a display - microscopes
        etc. It sounds a good idea but in practice it is difficult.

- 180 -

We must have discipline and control - so at the beginning
it can be a bad way to start. Many of the idealist ideas -
individual/independent learning - I like, but they make demands
on apparatus/technicians, etc. It is just not on - we must be
practical. You see other departments can afford to put
their idealist ideas into practice! They have not got so many
constraints.

I then went on to discuss how departments differed in outlook.
In particular, I asked Chris about his image of the Humanities Department:

C   I must admit we are aware that the Humanities Departments gets
        a lot of 'stick' from parents. They fall a bit short in laying
        a firm foundation of general knowledge. However, they are very
        good at stimulating the pupils to follow through ideas on their
        own. In geography, for instance, an earth science, we find general
        knowledge and map skills appalling. We have done some work to
        try and help them, eg on rocks and minerals, but we are not
        sympathetic to what Humanities are doing at the moment. We would
        like to see some changes - more towards building a firm foundation
        of knowledge they can use later on. It's fine to be able to find
        things out - to know how to find out for yourself - but you should
        have sensible general knowledge you can use.

I questioned Chris further on parental attitudes.

C   Some parents complain about pupils not doing history/geography
        etc. The Department is too theoretical.

Finally, I enquired:

        What is the role of testing and evaluation?

C   We split our Science into topics and at the end of each topic
        there is a test - about twenty questions. It used to be termly,
        then we added results at the end of the year, working towards
        a normal distribution curve. We use the information for LEA
        selection because we are testing them for their ability to pass
        examinations. They are going to have to follow quite academic
        courses at their grammar schools, with 'O' and 'A' level,
        so it gives us a fairly good idea of how they are going to perform.

Comments

(1)   Chris' comments reflect the common everyday experience of teachers
        when constraints at a practical level overtake more idealised
        views of learning and teaching. 'You don't have time to think
        what or why you are doing something'.... 'Many of the idealist
        ideas, individual/independent learning I like but you must be
        practical'.... 'other Departments have not got so many constraints'.
        Argyris and Schon (1976) suggest that within each person's theory
        of action, two components may be distinguished: 'espoused theories'
        and 'theories in use'. Chris espoused ideas of discovery learning

finding out how to find out'. The evidence of the tests and classroom activity, however, seemed to reflect the 'old fashioned teaching'. (Day 1981, 11) referring to Keddie's work, comments 'a teacher's theories – in use – in the classroom are based on assumptions about teaching and learning which may be incompatible with his espoused theories'. Chris also found his intentions towards a more open approach constrained by the academic expectations of the 13+ transfer and the practical needs to maintain 'discipline and control'.

(2)   In his own Department, exams and tests were extremely important. There were no such tests in Years 1-3 in Humanities. In Science these tests occurred every month. The testing was seen as a direct preparation for the local education authority transfer scheme: 'We are testing them for their ability to pass exams'. This need to anticipate formal examinations per se was rejected by Keith Yates. The radical Humanities staff accepted, of course, that external examinations are part of the pattern of schooling and a normal expectations of parents and pupils but they attempted in their CSE Mode III design to make the exam system reflect their process approach. The knowledge (factual recall) types of testing in the Science Department were critically viewed by the radicals. Another comment about Science came from the Head of English:

> They try to push content too much – the pupils have got to learn this and learn that! They try to identify 'natural scientists' referring to the grammar school orientation – and these will be a small proportion anyway!

(3)   The radicals always felt that their model of education could have been exemplified to great effect in Science. Knowledge, they would argue, is derived from a process in which 'thought provides hypothetical ideas in response to a problem' which are then 'tested in action' (Sheffler 1965, 4). The process is on-going in that new discoveries lead to new problems which in turn have to be hypothesised and resolved (Edwards 1983, 288). The radicals' perception of the Science Department did not approximate to that model of education implicit in the above principles.

The English Department

I had considerable contact with the <u>English Department</u> The Headmaster singled out this Department as one exemplifying his strategy for 'creative conflict'. One observed lesson with 2H was taken by the Head of Department, Bill Francis. After the formal behavioural approach to evaluation taken by the Science Department, this lesson had some surprises. Bill was following up some creative writing completed in the previous lesson. First of all, he asked the group to suggest the criteria for marking this piece of work. 'Just suppose you were in my shoes' he said. So the pupils offered ideas which he wrote on the blackboard - 'spelling/ punctuation/story, content, plot/vocabulary'. Each term was discussed and some idea of the relative importance or weighting arrived at by way of the pupils' suggestions. 'What about the interest of the story, characterisation, the beginning and end of the story'? 'Now' said Bill 'I want you to work with a partner, read through his work and assess it'. This gave rise to extensive interaction and through this pupil involvement, the participants gained insights and perspectives likely to influence their future work. Barnes (1976, 144) makes an interesting distinction between the Transmission and the Interpretation teacher in respect of evaluation. The former, he suggests 'perceives the teacher's task to be the evaluation and correction of the learner's performance, according to criteria of which <u>he</u> is the guardian'. The latter 'perceives the teacher's task to be the setting up of dialogue in which the learner can reshape his knowledge through interaction with others'. The former definition appears closer to the Science approach while the latter was exactly what the Head of English was doing.

In discussion later, Bill commented on how much his style and outlook had changed since working alongside the Humanities Department. He confirmed that the working relationship within the Humanities Department had had a considerable influence on his own style of working. He had previously worked in a grammar school, an initial traditional image the Head wanted to convey to parents. The Head had, however, 'managed the situation' so that Neville Eastham, then Head of the Humanities Department, exercised a liberalising influence on this more traditional English teacher. Actually, Bill Francis, the Head of English, had previously been on an HCP training course and was very open to new ideas. 'I learned a lot from Neville. The Tuesday afternoon, when I worked as a team member with the Humanities staff, became the high spot

of the week for me'. Bill found the involvement very stimulating. This is how he saw the change of teaching style that he was developing: 'I think I have moved step by step. At one time I would set exercises which I would have marked myself. Now I try to get children to <u>look more critically</u> at what they have done'. What was the underlying change? 'I can now see <u>why</u> we ought to be doing things. <u>Aims</u> and <u>objectives</u> were not originally in my mind. I was just doing a job. It was a matter of survival.'

<u>Comment</u>

(1)   The last remark of Bill Francis' was significant. He was led, through his contact with the Humanities Department, to question his values and priorities - and indeed, the very nature of knowledge. Prior to his Birchwood experience, he was in a similar position to the teachers who took part in Chris Day's study of classroom teaching:

> ..they were bound within 'taken for granted' norms and assumptions. They were having to rely, therefore, on their 'experience' of what it was to be a teacher and what it was to be a teacher in their particular school.
> (Day 1981, 2)

Bill had begun to assess some of the 'opposing interests' eg ideological factors and the presentation and nature of material (Lacey 1970).

(2)   The Head had 'budgeted' for change in his management plans. The close association of Bill to the Humanities Department (his room was part of the Humanities suite) and his timetabling with the Humanities team - a combined English/Humanities first year programme and some 4th year work, encouraged changes in philosophy and thus practical teaching approaches. The positive reactions of the pupils and the greater rewards for the teaching through pupil involvement helped to extend the potential for change. The changed role of other staff as innovations are developed is noted by Eggleston (1977, 136). He refers to it as the 'contagion effect'. Bill's involvement with the Humanities Department began to influence other colleagues in his own Department. They and he would have welcomed more integration with Humanities, developing a process approach. Other colleagues, however, resisted this chang,e so Bill found himself as a 'bridge' between two wings in his own Department!

(3)   The dominance of a subject sub-culture was well exemplified in the Science Department. The English Department, however, found itself caught up in changing ideologies. The role of subjects is discussed further in the Section 4.10 but it is of interest to note Barnes' comments on these two disciplines (1976, 143). In his small-scale survey, he found most Science teachers held Transmission views - most English teachers held Interpretation views. He commented:

> It was as if a teacher when he is trained to teach history
> or science or English, learns not only his subject matter
> but also a view of what constitutes teaching and learning
> in that subject.

He noted that in Science, most teachers perceive themselves:

> ..to have access to coherent and public bodies of knowledge
> which their pupils' everyday experience does not give them
> access to. Most English teachers do not believe themselves
> to hold a unique body of knowledge which is out of their
> pupils' reach, but see themselves as helping pupils to
> extend and refine the knowledge and skills which they use
> in everyday life.

4.10   DIALOGUE, DEBATE AND CHANGE

A.   Evolution: Integration and the role of the subjects

> If you add it all up, each subject has a fair share. This
> is an acknowledgement that we had to recognise the subjects...
> the struggle is really about power and status
>   (Dave Bebbington)

The various subject components in the Humanities Department present statements of their rationale. These, over a period of time, are attempts to define boundaries and priorities - 'the curriculum debate can be interpreted in terms of conflict between subjects over status, resources and territory'. (Goodson 1983, 3)

The material for this section is largely drawn from filed documents and records of Departmental meetings during the first five years of the Humanities Department's existence. The main drive for an integrated approach came initially from the first Head of Deparment, Neville Eastham. The impetus was maintained by his successor, Keith Yates, supported by Dave Bebbington, Harry Fielding and Nesta Daniels. Keith, in his personal philosophy, had moved away from distinctive subject bases, the boundaries of which he saw as artificial and confining. He was critical of the geographers who generally speaking 'think geography, as a subject, is important. They think the content of the subject is more important than the process of learning'. The subject specialists, in his experience, tended to be content teachers. 'I would like to see History, Geography and RE used to explore the process of learning. I would like to see more Art, Drama, Music linked into this'. Dave Bebbington felt that knowledge and understanding in depth were important qualities for the teacher and these were likely to be the academic disciplines, but that for the pupil they are 'confined too often to subject disciplines' and 'life is larger than our subjects'. A radical view of knowledge came through such comments as 'children gaining knowledge through their own mental processes and skills'. Dave was prepared to allow for the possibility of subject differentiation at pupil level although he was somewhat ambivalent about it:

> I do not think children would be severely handicapped if they
> spent their first three years studying just what we call history
> or geography or RE providing the courses followed the process
> principles.

The subjects should be seen as resource banks: 'If children are raising

questions it does not matter if they are historical or geographical, or questions about the meaning of life'. Then followed an unequivocal statement about the disciplines in the first three years: 'If I did not teach any history or Robert any geography but did apply the seven process principles, would our children be at a great disadvantage? The answer is No'.

The establishment of an integrated approach

Mention has already been made of the Head's plan to bring English and Humanities into close association. An integrated course of Humanities and English was developed for all pupils in Year 1. In a document entitled 'Justification for a combined Humanities/English course in Year 1, Term 1', Keith Yates set out his thinking. The course was successfully developed. He summarised the case for such an integrated development:

(1) Provides a continuation of the work done in the Primary School.

(2) Gives security to the child in a new environment - teacher and pupil get to know each other.

(3) A block of time such as twelve periods a week with one class enables curriculum development and possibly enquiry-based learning.

(4) A combined course allows a team of teachers from different departments to work together; to appreciate each other's contributions to learning in such a way that pupils see their learning as a coherent whole, rather than in fragmented, compartmentalised units.

(5) Teachers' professionalism may be extended as it encourages them to think about different formats of learning.

(6) There is a similarity in units of work and methods of teaching between two departments, viz Humanities and English.

Subsequently, Keith became Head of Humanities. Throughout, he also had responsibility for Religious Education. In a syllabus statement, he emphasised that although the Humanities Department at Birchwood,

> ..could be said to be made up from the following departments - History, Geography, Religious Education - the members of the Humanities team do not see the departments as being made up of three separate and distinct subjects. We see Humanities as a course on Man and we try to look at man's nature as a species and to explore the forces that shaped and continue to shape his humanity. I believe that a Humanities course should explore the question 'What makes man human'?....I believe it is possible to equip pupils with certain skills, concepts and attitudes ....in order to try to help the pupil to analyse his/her own experiences at greater depth.

It is important to note the emphasis on self-knowledge grounded in the child's lived experience. Keith Yates saw strong links with other subjects:

> I would like to add that the important 'tools' as it were, are
> shared with those in other academic fields. For example, the
> ability to read and write, the ability to use a reference book
> or dictionary and the ability to pursue a line of enquiry
> logically, are skills required for almost any subject and
> may be learned almost anywhere in the school. Some other skills,
> like the ability to discern whether a passage is meant to be
> taken poetically or literally are shared in the Humanities and
> may just as likely be acquired in the study of literature or
> history as in RE. This is why I see RE as very much part of
> the Humanities Department here at Birchwood.

He outlined the contribution RE could make to a Humanities programme:

Key Skills

(1) Listening so as to be able to respond, to follow an argument
    or a story, to judge and to select.

(2) Ability to ascertain facts and to know what constitutes
    reliable evidence.

(3) Ability to note what one is thinking and feeling.

Key Concepts

(1) The dimension of mystery, eg self-consciousness, death
    good and evil.

(2) The religious approach to life.

Key Attitudes

(1) Curiosity.

(2) Healthy self-esteem.

(3) Acceptance and appreciation of others.

The document clarified the approach to RE.

What is a religious question?

> The approach I take to answering the question is to say that
> religious questions are the unanswerable questions which life
> throws up. For example, why am I here? What is the purpose
> of life and death? Why am I suffering? To me, a person's religious
> attitude rises out of that person's reflection on his/her own
> and other's life experiences. If this is so, and I believe it
> is, then to begin the pupil on this process of reflection is
> to involve him/her in some activity which hopefully will somehow
> achieve this. Thus the subject matter of RE for me is not the
> Holy Spirit, eucharistic worship, the journeys of St Paul

or even world religions, <u>but is life itself and the</u>
<u>problems which life throws up. My aim as an RE teacher within</u>
<u>the Humanities Department therefore, is to try and help the pupil</u>
<u>to analyse his/her own experiences at greater depth</u>.

The first Head of Humanities at Birchwood, Neville Eastham, initiated the early programmes. Having established the Year 1 and 2 pattern, he issued <u>a discussion paper 14.9.75</u> headed '<u>a brief re-think</u>'. The case for continuing the pattern of an integrated programme in Years 3, 4 and 5 was based on the grounds that:

(1) it provided a synthesis of much subject-centred work which students could relate more directly to the society in which they lived;

(2) it gave freedom to experiment and use different teaching/ learning techniques, actively encouraging participation and group discussion.

It combined the elements of more effective pupil learning with staff professional development.

He then asked:

(a) Have the effects of the HCP debate and their implications for classroom activity filtered into much of the work now being undertaken in <u>Geography, History and English</u>?

(b) Does the discussion of controversial issues from one of the main springboards, English, work in the 1970s?

(c) Are geography and history moving to accept a more open discussion of values and attitudes in their courses?

Whereas in the mid and late 60s, HCP and some 'Newsom' courses provided an alternative view of teaching and learning - with implications for a changed role for both teacher and student - I feel that in 1975 they have become the mainstream (at least as far as Birchwood is concerned). They paved the way for schemes like GYSL

<u>I would never argue that content is the starting point for</u>
<u>curriculum development</u>.

* * * * * * *

In <u>another memo to staff</u> he raised the possibility of pupil grouping so that 50% of pupil time in school could be spent in a 'team'; English, Maths and Social Studies. The teams would be autonomous and decide on their way of working. The teams would form the tutorial base. The idea of negotiated learning was explored:

Pupils choose an area and with a tutor work at a work
scheme, to include:

(i)   topics within the theme;

(ii)   'things' that can be done (active learning stressed.)This
       leads to a work scheme with a structure - [problem then
       of resources books/pamphlets, people from the community]

(iii) ideas to explore, ie going beyond the materials and
       descriptive;

(iv)   need for pupils to keep a record/diary of their progress
       and problems.

Later all pupils in that year group were given a typed sheet
with five option themes listed. They were to work on three of these.
'Obviously, this will mean working in a different room with a different
teacher and different boys and girls.

The syllabus at this stage was shown - the type of option, free
grouping occurring in Term 3 of Year 1. The topics would be dealt with
by all members of the Humanities Department. Although the individual
subject perspectives are apparent in some of the themes, there is a
clear inter-disciplinary 'feel' about most of the work. MACOS is incorp-
orated in Year 2. In Year 3, History and Moral Education begin to figure
much more clearly.

Detailed notes were provided - at the end an important note was
included:

> Throughout all this work, it is important that we keep the
> emphasis on enquiry/discovery learning NOT content.Each unit
> should give leads into more imaginative work. It is therefore
> important that we get together frequently and share our ideas
> on this one. All the units need working on and improving -
> new units also need to be suggested and if found to be worthwhile
> in terms of enquiry learning put in. We need to pool our skills
> as a humanities team so that we make the process of learning
> as effective as possible for the pupils.

The approach to the disciplines is somewhat similar to that already
quoted from Dave Bebbington's document where he wrote:

> There may, too, at times appear to be less content in this
> method of teaching but it is surely worthwhile if it, at least,
> allows pupils not only to perceive that life is larger than
> our subjects, but also to respond to this fact. He will be helped
> to do this if he sees that teachers can work together as a team
> and yet still be called upon for specialist help. The role
> of the teacher is seen no longer as an authoritative imparter
> of knowledge but is acting as a consultant, a guide, a resource
> bank, a raiser of questions.

The trend described above has much in common with the ideas set out in Bernstein's Open Schools, Open Society' (1965). He suggests that there has been a shift from mechanical to orgaaic solidarity typified by more personalised forms of control, recognising differences between individuals, varied organisation of teaching groups, an emphasis on the teacher as problem-poser or creator rather than solution-giver, altering the authority relationship between teacher and taught, <u>the pedagogy now emphasising the means whereby knowledge is created and principles established in the context of self-discovery by the pupils</u>. The unit of the curriculum then is not so much a subject as an idea (topic-centred interdisciplinary enquiry), teachers switching from commitment to a subject to the bearing the subject has upon ideas.

From the description of the work in the Humanities Department, it is clear that these were the emphases in the topic approaches to which all subject specialists contributed.

* * * * * * *

Territorial Claims

As the Department evolved, it became clear that subject specialist staff, particularly <u>History and Geography</u> were <u>less happy with the organisation of topics and time.</u> Mixing with ideological differences about the nature of knowledge and learning were personality clashes and suspicions about subject-based 'empire building'. 'Acquiring territory for resources' was one illustration given.

In <u>November 1978, the Geography section</u> received a lengthy document from the LEA Geography Inspector entitled 'Curriculum Planning in School Geography'. Headings included:

(1)   A statement of aims of the course.

(2)   Objectives to be achieved:
    (a)   Knowledge to be acquired, including ideas to be understood.
    (b)   Skills to be learned.
    (c)   Attitudes and values to be developed.

(3)   Framework - systematic, regional/areal, thematic, combined study.

(4)   Scale of Units.

(5)   Resources available.

(6)   Suggested methods of working.

(7)   Assessment procedures.

The approach closely resembled suggestions in 'The Teaching of Ideas in Geography' (DES 1978). The ordering of the sequence is important. Knowledge assumes priority compared with the Humanities' detailed statement of principles of procedure and pedagogic aims.

A teachers' sheet 'First Year Settlement Study', issued at the time by the Birchwood geographers, indicated the ideas base on which the unit was developed.

(a)   People in small settlements have to travel further for
      things than people in large settlements.

(b)   A settlement is either growing or declining.

(c)   Today's settlement reflects earlier people and technology.

(d)   Settlements have clear reasons for being there.

(e)   Every settlement has an influence over its surroundings
      depending upon its size.

One or all of these can be looked at. Five independent research
groups perhaps?

I suggest people see me for guidance if required. I will endeavour
to supply notes of ideas for (a) - (e).

Another teacher's sheet on settlement development gave more detail indicating types of activity pupils would be involved in:

-    recognising and interpreting visible evidence;
-    using visible evidence gathered by mapwork and fieldwork.

A Geography Departmental Report was produced in December 1979.
Under the heading of 'Staffing', Robert Ingham as Head of the Geography
team, wrote:

The main problem to occur in this area is one of commitment.
All teachers of Geography have responsibility elsewhere and
as a result it is not always easy to achieve an equable division
of work. Heads of Year tend to have their main responsibility
elsewhere and even Mr Younger has a considerable part of his
timetable devoted to General Humanities. The level of allegiance
tends to fragment the group and thus reduce the power of change
and development. Rather too easily it is possible for my role
to become one of 'hander-out of materials and ideas'; evidently
this is not what a developing curriculum is about - dialogue
and team work is paramount.

The importance of the subject and the claim it should have on the teacher's commitment is underlined. Geography was, of course, part of the Humanities organisation in Years 1-3 yet the comments about Mr Younger's responsibilities suggest that the Humanities commitment was detracting from his geographical contribution rather in the way that pastoral responsibilities did for the Heads of Year.

The tension between Humanities and the identity of the individual subjects was further reflected by the following comment:

> Resourcing has improved and currently there are no gaping areas but I hope that we may be able to introduce some relevant, lively, modern texts in the examination and lower school areas. For Years 1-3 (Humanities) there are many superb books and for each of the units I currently arrange, an allocation of funds for this purpose is desirable. As I have indicated previously, I feel there is a very good case for a distinct allocation of money for <u>resourcing a course with a geographical bias</u>.

The Lower School position as the geographers saw it was further elaborated:

> A large component of each year contains a consideration of geographical ideas. <u>This movement is welcome</u> but my concern continues to be as to whether the ideas have sequential development, and whether they efficiently prepare candidates for examination Geography as well as providing a basic overview for those no longer studying Geography. Geography in many ways is a 'type example' of investigative approaches,<u> currently its full value is not being realised</u>.

The concern for the development of ideas - their sequencing and coverage was clearly emphasised. The role of the Head of Geography as the 'hander-out' of materials and ideas to others, comes over in contrast to the process emphasis of Keith Yates in the agreed Humanities principles of procedure document. The geographers did not exclude these but the fact <u>that process is not mentioned except as geographical investigative approaches illustrates a significant divide of thought</u>.

The <u>continuing debate</u> within the Humanities Department during the period 1978-79 was also reflected by reactions to the Working Paper by the Geography Commmittee of HM Inspectorate, appended to 'Curriculum 11-16' (1978). Dave Bebbington scribbled his comments on the document. These give interesting clues to the departmental debate. The statements on conceptual knowledge, the geographical concepts which the 16-year old able pupil should be able to make sense of - location, distribution

pattern, accessibility, resource, environmental quality - are underlined. Dave queries 'Children's capability in learning geography - do we over-estimate it?' He questions the lack of reference to children's needs and comments: 'watered-down main content'. The HMI Document after discussing the nature of geography, moves on to 'Content areas that need to be studied' - this brings many responses in margin notes. The Document states: 'From these studies, they should acquire a body of factual know-ledge'. Comment by Dave: 'What is this body?' HMI: 'which will provide during and after school life a succession of points of contact which will quicken the pupils' response to events and situations in the world around them'. Dave queries: 'Does content achieve this?' HMI: 'This factual knowledge will represent an essential foundation on which to build conceptual understanding since without quick recall of relevant basic information, pupils will have difficulty in discussing or manip-ulating general ideas'. Dave notes: 'Facts, concepts and ideas'. HMI have a section on skills. These cover a wide range - observing, collecting, interpreting, solving problems, testing hypotheses 'none of these is uniquely geographical although in nearly all the other subjects, their development is rarely attempted outside the classroom. HMI state: 'geog-raphical analysis requires geographical ideas and in this sense the skills are closely related to the subject content'. The individual skills such as role-playing exercises and simulations and the way in which geography develops the key areas of experience - linguistic, social and political, etc., receive Dave's ticks indicating agreement. The central controversy, however, sharpens with Dave's note 'skills last a lifetime' and 'Do you decide content then clothe in skills or decide skills and then find a content?'

In the HMI section 'Interdisciplinary work'. Dave underlined 'What is not acceptable is the planning of a syllabus around the development of skills and attitudes without first defining a sequence of cognitive learning'. This one sentence is scribbled over by three question marks. A further question mark appears against 'the definition of learning objectives is fundamental in all interdisciplinary work to which geography contributes'. Dave response 'The last part supports content prior to sequence'. This is really at the heart of the argument within the Depart-ment. While both 'wings' of the Department work with content and clearly develop a range of skills, the premise on which these are based and the order in which they are incorporated into the curriculum planning

<u>process are very different.</u>

The GYSL approach corresponds closely to the HMI Working Paper. The predictive nature of learning as defined by objectives within the Project therefore proved unacceptable to the 'radical' wing. The Humanities rationale currently available to all the team in the 1978-79 period stated the Yates/Bebbington position very clearly:

> ...behavioural objective described in terms of measurable learner
> behaviour carries the assumption that curriculum change is achieved
> by clarifying objectives, classifying them in some hierarchical
> order and choosing the best means (content) of reaching
> them. We take a slightly different view and it is this: <u>it is</u>
> <u>possible to select content for a curriculum unit without reference</u>
> <u>to precise student behaviour or to ends of any kind</u> other than
> that of representing fields of knowledge in the curriculum. Con-
> tent is then selected to exemplify the most important procedures,
> key concepts, areas and situations. <u>We therefore see the Humanities</u>
> <u>curriculum not in terms of behavioural objectives but in terms</u>
> <u>of principles of procedure</u>. These principles are not prespecified
> targets at which teaching is aimed, but criteria of judgement
> which help teachers get the 'process' of learning right.

Eleven key 'principles of procedure' are given. The subjects are seen as resources in interrelation and not as ends in themselves. Seven key concepts are explored and used as a basis of choice and organisation.

<u>The Historians also wrote a progress report dated 7.12.79.</u> They felt during the previous four terms' work 'progress had been made in some areas' but there had been a lack of progress in some others. There was dissatisfaction that pupils were not acquiring certain ideas, concepts and skills by the fourth year. 'We do not expect pupils to be mines of information but we are concerned when very elementary errors are made'. They felt that staff should teach history throughout the school to ensure that they and the pupils became familiar with the aims, ideas and suggestions laid down by the Schools Council. 'Crucial' matters could be glossed over by either a geographer or a social scientist. The report continues:

> I am happy with the increase in <u>bias towards history teaching</u>
> that has been introduced in the lower school, but feel there is
> <u>still an imbalance in the amount of time given over to topics</u>
> <u>of a historical</u> nature where historical skills can be introduced.

It is evident in this brief review of notes and document scribblings that both the historians and geographers were expressing concern about the extent to which their subjects were making a distinctive contribution to the pupils' educational programme. They were claiming more 'space',

more specialist interpretation of their area of knowledge. Contesting this emphasis, the radical wing, while seeing a representation of fields of knowledge as important, saw the subjects as resources rather than as ends in themselves. Foremost in their thinking were the principles of procedure.

A diagram in Dave Bebbington's file analysed the relative importance of the subject contributions. The Humanities programme was becoming less integrated. The structure of the components including MACOS, counting as Social Studies, indicated the 'balancing' of various competing elements.

TERMS

	1	2	3	
Year 1				[There were no detailed entries]
Year 2				
Year 3				

G	S Sc	RE	H	Intro
$2\frac{1}{3}$	(MACOS)	·		
1				
1				
——	——	——	——	——
$4\frac{1}{3}$	5	$3\frac{2}{3}$	4	1

G   Geography
S Sc Social
       Science
RE Religious
       Education
H   History
Intro   Introd-
          uctory
          Unit

A copy of a Department scribbling

18 units identified on basis of 9 terms (9 x 2 half units)

A balancing   of territorial interests in the Humanities Department

The radicals were aware that the divide was ideological. They saw elements of the Collection Code whereby students' access to knowledge is controlled, in the teaching of knowledge in separate subjects. 'Only the few experience in their bones the notion that knowledge is permeable, that its orderings are provisional'. (Bernstein 1971) For the radicals, the search for subject identity was associated with an increasing emphasis on content then skills, rather than skills then content, although clearly process could be developed within a subject framework.

Keith Yates gave another angle on the debate - 'the struggle is really about power and status'. Stenhouse (1975, 171) puts it this way:

> Innovations (such as integration and the process approach) have strong implications for the internal politics of the school. The school has a hierarchy of status and power. Curriculum and organisational change disturbs that allocation of status. Integration threatens the power base of subject departments.

So at Birchwood, for a variety of reasons, there was a strong pressure for subjects to reassert themselves in the Humanities Department.

Subjects 'through time become the habituated thought forms through which individual reality is constructed; in other words they become part of the taken for granted stock of knowledge' (Esland 1971, 99). It is important, Esland reminds us, to analyse what a teacher thinks his subject is:

> The knowledge which a teacher thinks fills up his subject is held in common with members of a supporting community who collectively approve its paradigms and utility criteria, as they are legitimated in training courses and official statements.

Further, specialist knowledge provides the teacher with employment and a career. 'Knowledge becomes a commodity which they can exchange for status and wealth' (Barnes 1976, 156). Given this:

> there is a tendency which varies with the strength of specific frames, for the young to be socialised into assigned principles and routine operations and derivations. The evaluative system places an emphasis upon status of knowledge rather than ways of knowing. (Bernstein 1971)

Robert genuinely felt there was a need in the lower school for a 'course with a geographical bias'. While Chanon and Gilchrist (1974, 96) propose that the world is not divided into subjects or disciplines, they see a role for 'sustained focussing' through the insights the subjects offer.

> Thus perhaps the art of pupil-centred teaching lies more in the encouragement and facilitation of autonomous intellectual activity around well-structured (and well-chosen) subject matter than in putting too much emphasis on the ability of pupils to arrive at satisfactory themes, topics and problems through the sheer exercise of curiosity and creativity.

Goodson (1983) provides an illuminating study of the shifting boundaries that subjects erect in order to defend their territory. The

support offered by the Geographical Association to geographers is noted:

> Besides defining the internal unity of the subject at various
> levels, the Association was alert to definitions of
> knowledge by those outside its territory .... it was on hand
> to challenge this low status 'integrated subject' and defend
> the integrity of its own brand of integrated knowledge that
> had been so fiercely promoted for eighty years. (1983, 84).

With such professional support, geographers, including those at Birchwood, acted within a well-established tradition for survival!

Summary

The early foundations and later development of the Department have been traced through Departmental documents. The successive Heads of the Humanities Department expounded a clear philosophy, seeing their radical approach as one which put the emphasis on enquiry-based learning rather than content - a process model. The pedagogy emphasised the means whereby knowledge is created and principles established in a context of self-discovery by the pupils where the unit of the curriculum is not so much a subject as an idea. The teacher is seen as a consultant, a guide, rather than an authoritative imparter of knowledge.

Over a period of time, certain staff, especially in history and geography, became dissatisfied with the integrated schemes. They did not see the evidence of their ideas, knowledge and skills figuring sufficiently. A process of adjustment began and certain half-termly units in the three years were sponsored and dominated by more sectional interests. 'This is an acknowlegement that we had to recognise the subjects'. In the 4th and 5th year, the geographers adopted GYSL, the historians the Schools Council 13-16 History Project. The sociologists devised their own 'process' Mode III CSE and began a search for an Integrated Humanities 'O' level with an enquiry approach.

<p align="center">* * * * * *</p>

B.   Current Dialogue within the Department

> To understand how curriculum patterns emerge we should perhaps
> look less at social systems and structures than at particular
> situations or episodes in which curriculum power is taken, given,
> challenged or negotiated. (Shipman 1972)

An attempt is made to capture the immediacy of hotly debated issues in Departmental meetings held within the school day and at a residential

departmental in-service planning conference. Out of the dialogue comes compromise as a working arrangement is reached.

This section portrays the way in which teaching staff negotiate, creating their own social realities. Reynolds and Skilbeck emphasise the need to avoid glossing over tensions by appealing to a common social function. An alternative sociological approach to the curriculum focusses on social conflict and reveals to what extent there are opposing views held by teachers working in the same area of the curriculum. The curriculum is often given a 'superficial cohesion and unity of purpose by the power and authority of senior decision-making bodies such as examination commit-tees, or persons such as school principals' (Reynolds and Skilbeck 1976, 35)

In the previous section, the written statements of staff, representing differing subject and ideological positions, were selected to illustrate how tensions and conflicts created changing emphases in the overall programme. This section, by selective extracts, illustrates conflicts and negotiations at a day-to-day level in departmental meetings and at a residential in-service planning conference.

Departmental Meeting No 1

The meeting began with a discussion about the timing and purpose of a possible in-service course relating to the immediate concern, ie a review of the present course structure (See Fig 9).

Nesta Daniels (Humanities and PE)

I feel we need to look at the units (Years 1-3)

Eric Younger (Geography No 2)

Are we going to discuss structure or particular units? We need to decide on the structure for next year.

Robert Ingham (Geography No 1)

If we look at the whole structure, at everything we do, we are talking in less concrete terms.

Dave Bebbington (Deputy Head)

This is the structure we hammered out last year. If the structure is accepted again, logically, we should have an in-depth look at some particular units and smarten them up.

Keith Yates (Head of Humanities)

> The hard task is thinking out the structure you want to
> use - copying resources is easy.

Robert   Let us see what we want to do, then isolate the deficiencies.
          We could work in pairs, looking at particular units. I've
          done this with CSE.

Eric   The value is surely that <u>we do it altogether</u> - I am
          not sure about dividing into twos and threes. What is to
          be ditched? We have not got the money! Do people want a
          radical change?

Robert   Let's go through it unit by unit. I would go for Settlement
          rather than asking 'What is History?' 'What is Geography?'
          - (previous unit)

Dave   Are there more fundamental objectives?

A discussion of the first-year programme followed.

Robert   MACOS could serve as a good introduction for how we go
          about things in the First Year, yet there are difficulties
          with English. I will circularise people to see what they
          think.

Dave   We are really back to structure again!

Robert   It was bitty. I would like to get more structure into it.

Keith   Is there an educational rationale in the first unit?

Robert   The prime need is structure.

Dave   Last time we finished up with compromise.

Robert   Let us isolate what we need then check on structure.

Nesta   Do we need to discuss the objectives document?

Keith   The seven pedagogic aims of Bruner. I'd love to see the
          Department working to these.

The divide within the Department is reasserting itself. The geographers
(Robert and Eric) are continuing the claims set out in the document
analysis - they are claiming clear territory. They are concerned about
structure and cohesion. The radicals are continually bringing them
back to the pedagogic objectives or principles which form the official
platform of Departmental policy.

Robert   I would not dispute these. The need is a <u>thread of ideas</u>
          to make them hang together.

Dave   Because we could not go forward on these ideas, we abandoned
          them without hope and went our own separate ways.

Robert   Not 'abandoned without hope'. I don't want a hotch-potch.

Dave   Do we look at aims and objectives?

Robert   I would like to look at particular ideas, eg in geography,
          then the way those ideas can be looked at.

Nesta   That is the trouble!

Keith   And whose ideas are they?

Robert   We are aware of difficulty.

The Deputy Head, Dave Bebbington, sees the practical need to maintain
some cohesion in the Department.

Dave   Do we go our separate ways or try to keep the Department
          together?

Robert sees no contradiction in having the predefined ideas at a
specific level and the pedagogic aims -

Robert   You can keep the seven aims but you can still develop them
          with ideas which will satisfy others!

Teresa Im (Head of History)

          Surely it is skills we are developing.

Robert   It is not just skills but ideas as well. It does not matter
          what ideas you are developing as long as you are developing
          them in a worthwhile fashion.

Keith wants to distinguish between the MACOS overarching concepts
and the more specific GYSL organising ideas.

Keith   I think it does matter which ideas you are developing.
          Are they low-level or high-level ideas?

Robert   But high-level ideas have to be approached in a low-level
          fashion.

Eric   What we are doing is streets ahead of what was happening!
          Yet you were horrified at some of the geography!

The geographers are voicing their awareness of the known criticism
of their work by the radicals.

Robert   I don't see any of the units as being disastrous.

Teresa   I don't like the GYSL Leisure theme.

Robert   I like the whole of it! Let's look at the structure of
          the course first then build in <u>shades</u> of opinion after
          - <u>it is only shades!</u> How can you develop <u>depth</u> in a theme?
          eg <u>the idea of COMMUNICATION</u>. We need to find a structure
          and certainly <u>MACOS has a structure</u> but we have gone away
          from that. Should disciplines be in chunks? Geography then
          History - are there peculiar ideas?

Harry Fielding (Humanities and Sociologist)

          Should we try to adapt the disciplines?

Robert   We should start at that point!

Harry   We should put geography first? The need is to get away from
          the disciplines!

Robert   My way of working is very much in line with pedagogic ideas
          - but <u>I am forced to choose AREAS of KNOWLEDGE</u>. I do
          not think there is a problem.

Keith   You should use knowledge as a <u>vehicle</u>.

Harry   It is difficult to achieve these aims in the Communications
          Unit.

<u>Comment</u>:

     The differing ways of looking at knowledge quickly became apparent.
The geographers were constantly looking for a 'thread of ideas' -
a pre-planned structure. Keith Yates quickly questions - <u>whose</u> ideas?
Robert saw no reason why the defined ideas and areas of knowledge
cannot be equally linked with the seven pedagogic aims. There was clear
unease and a virtual refusal by some departmental members to teach
two of the units sponsored by the geographers. The preservation of
the identity of geography as dominant in some units is similarly quest-
ioned.

<u>Departmental Meeting No 2</u>

     Two documents had been prepared. One prepared by Robert, Head
of Geography, was on Curriculum Development with a reference to the
Communication Theme. This document is reproduced below in full.

     <u>Curriculum Development</u>   <u>Communication Theme</u>

     Eric and I have isolated the following points about this unit
     in the light of our teaching and discussion with other members
     of the team.

(1) There is a need for even <u>clearer</u> aims and ideas.

(2) Tasks require a more open-ended and investigative approach to ensure meaningful participation by pupils. Some of the worksheets can enable pupils to find simple answers too easily and then give little scope to develop any depth. Some materials have ill-conceived exercises in terms of the mechanics.

(3) Teachers need clearer guidance, <u>through the develop-</u> <u>ment of ideas,</u> to ensure that there isn't too much superficility. Methods guide also needed.

(4) A matrix is needed to help towards a <u>clear structure</u> of developing ideas, skills, values and attitudes.

(5) Next task:- fuller teacher guidance for the remainder of the course; this to include practical help plus idea development.

(6) It is useful if the team write in detail about their classroom approaches and additional ideas they have developed in order that they may be evaluated and used/integrated next time through.

(7) In future, it will be best to aim for all materials to be ready before the course begins. People have had good ideas, stemming from the material so far produced, but this can easily pre-empt the subsequent work. If the material is ready plus an ideas, skills, values and attitudes matrix and teachers' guide, this should not occur. In future, people can have an overview of the unit. This structure evidently must not smother curriculum change due to the structure being perceived as immovable. Classroom innovations must be shared between the team.

<u>What have I/we learnt for future course development?</u>

NEEDS

- Clear aims, clarified via ideas, skills, values and attitudes matrix.

- Pupil materials ready beforehand.

- Teachers' guide with idea development and practical help.

- Expectations on the part of the team that they will be required to share any innovations by bringing notes as in 1, 2, 3 above so that they can be used at the time or in the future.

- This part is more philosophical but I think we have consensus:- Are the tasks open-ended? Are we encouraging observation and research? Do we have group work? Are we developing language? Do we have discussion? Are we

encouraging lateral thinking? Does our classroom activity
develop respect, confidence, and toleration in pupils?
Are we fully involved ourselves?

Add additional ideas below!

<div align="right">Robert</div>

Comment

(1) The document reveals the increasing pressure of the geographers
towards clearer aims and ideas. It continues the theme of the
departmental meeting. The clear structure presented as a matrix
for course development (ideas, skills, attitudes and values)
is a replication of the GYSL Project approach.

(2) At the same time, Robert makes a plea for open-ended and invest-
igative approaches. This is particularly well-developed in
the Needs section, where open-ended observation, research and
discussion are mentioned.

(3) These characteristics are in close association with the classroom
techniques of the radicals and probably indicate Robert's genuine
wish to develop common approaches in the Department arising
from his MACOS and GYSL experience. However, in the radicals'
view, tight structure and open-ended, pupil-based approach
are not compatible so the document was not well-received. The
complaint of the radicals was that the practical materials produced
by the geographers did not exemplify the techniques listed.
In the case of the geographers, was there a gap between 'espoused
theories' and 'theories in action'? (Day 1981)

A document on the Communication Theme by the geographers was also
presented at the meeting.

Second Year Summer 1980

Communication

Communication is a recurrent theme in Geography, being a
major factor in the location of industries, social activities
and man's place in society. Communications, therefore, provide
a means by which places and people are linked and it follows
that this influences accessibility and patterns of movement.

B. <u>Key Ideas</u>

1 - Spatial Interaction and its importance.
2 - Flows of ideas, people, things.
3 - Networks of routes development.
4 - Mode of communication.
5 - Distance factor.
6 - Influences upon transport decisions.
7 - Effects of communication systems.
8 - Barriers to communication

In the departmental discussion, Eric Younger, who was initiating this piece of work, began by saying there was a hypothesis he would like to put forward: 'Present congestion in Birchwood warrants a by-pass'. He said:

In class, we have discussed congestion in areas of congestion.
The causes have been discussed. We then examined them in detail.
We outlined the problems then chose a method of investigation.
We also decided on a vehicle census. The class devised their
own questionnaires.

There were queries about procedure from Nesta who added 'I'm not excited about this'. Dave Bebbington interjected 'Congestion is not an issue'. Eric Younger: 'The central question is looking at traffic. Give it an aim - the research is to see <u>if</u> there is a problem'. The radicals were unconvinced: 'The by-pass may have nothing to do with it. Should they not be forming their <u>own</u> hypotheses about movement, accidents, etc?' Another query from a radical - 'What if <u>your</u> hypothesis falls flat?' Eric - 'Surely it is the research methods that count!' Rejoinder from Harry Fielding: 'Could one say to them:

Here is the possibility of a by-pass - now formulate and test
your own hypotheses which would add to your own understanding
of the problem. eg The amount of heavy lorries passing through
does not warrant a by-pass. Others will say it does.

After further discussion, Nesta chipped in 'The biggest congestion problem is at school'. Eric: 'Surely research will be limited'. Keith Yates, who had been unusually quiet so far, now contributed 'The trouble is <u>we</u> are giving the hypothesis, not the kids'. Eric: 'I would like to see the pupils doing fieldwork and directed to a hypothesis - it is difficult to formulate their own'. Keith: 'But this is absolutely vital'. Eric finally conceded 'Perhaps I should put down examples for children to discuss - then let them formulate their own hypotheses'.

At that point, the meeting ended. Out of the debate, the persuasive

influence of the radicals had affected the geographers. However, the radicals left feeling that the seven pedagogic aims on which the Department was trying to build its programme were being interpreted in a way which left the teacher's role relatively unaltered. The geographers' pupils, however, were active and interactive in a way unknown in more traditional schools.

As a result of the meeting, Eric produced another document giving examples of hypotheses based on causes of congestion, but opposing staff had other ideas.

A process approach to communications

Nesta suggested studying congestion at school rather than in Birchwood village. In personal discussion later, she told how she reacted to the geographers' Communications Unit:

> I feel that we should start with the child and see how far
> it takes one rather than do what Robert does. He wants to get
> to a certain point and that's where he starts and tries to
> bring the children along. Robert starts with the end-product.
> I like our agreed aims 1-7. The generalisations the geographers
> produce mean nothing to me as a non-geographer. I try to start
> with each child at their own level whether they be border ESN
> or potential University calibre. So I presented the prob-
> lem to them. The border ESN child asked the Head why cars
> are parked at the front. The children took initiatives, gave
> the Head their recommendations - also how to implement them.
> They interviewed parents, bus drivers and an official
> from the Transport Depot. We have to be prepared to move from
> 'traffic' or it quickly becomes the content argument. Why did
> Eric say 'go into Birchwood'? Was it because Birchwood is
> important in itself or was it because the processes were
> first and foremost?

Nesta developed this further in another discussion:

> Perhaps I do not understand CONTENT. I believe in PROCESS.
> People who believe in content seem to be the geographers.
> They have never in argument convinced me there is any
> particular content worth going for. The geographers pushed and
> pushed for the Communications Unit although we had great
> reservations which we never expressed. It was another great
> let-down as far as process was concerned.

The CONGESTION Unit was the first process Unit Nesta had worked through on her own. It reflected a 'break-through' to a new style of teaching.

The Unit started with open discussion - what areas did the

children know? - what had these areas in common? During the exercise, the children formulated <u>their own</u> hypotheses. Her job was to stimulate thought, listen to the children's questions, help them to develop a research methodology.

At the end of the Unit, which evolved from grappling with a 'real problem', there was an impressive display of chidren's work in the classroom. The presentations were colourful and clear and focussed around particular sub-themes or hypotheses. The children's own hypotheses included:

> The space available is not used to its best means.
> It is not necessary for so many people to go along the same path at the same time.
> There is congestion where cars and buses mix and cause jams outside the school.

Nesta circulated her own document to the Department. Extracts from the first part are shown.

A REAL PROBLEM

(1) Introduce the idea of finding the most large-scale congested place in Birchwood village.

Discuss each idea in turn briefly.

Introduce idea 'skilfully'.

> Birchwood School 3.35pm
> Probably over 1,000 people gathered!
> (any other point in Birchwood near this size?)

(2) Let us look at this problem as the people responsible for recommending an improvement (sorting out the mess!!!)

<u>Restrictions</u>: There is no money available for any change. Your ideas and recommendations cannot involve any expenditure at all.
(this I feel makes the problem more realistic more rigorous)

<u>Methodology</u>?

<u>Question</u> (for Dept staff)   Which method?

<u>Possible methodology</u>:

(1)   Start with a hypothesis, find evidence.
        Conclude from findings.
or
(2)   Look at problem and then ask:
        What interesting hypotheses are presented at the end of the investigation.
or
(3)   Start with hypothesis as in (1) and ask should we have asked (a different question) in the beginning.

<u>I decided to start with a Hypothesis</u>:

First of all by a discussion around the problem

Birchwood School 3.35 pm
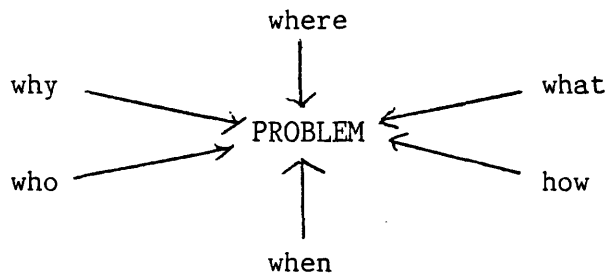
Many points will come from this discussion giving ideas for a hypothesis, eg

(i)   Too many people in too small a place.
(ii)   Too many people, too few buses
(iii) Teachers inefficient at organising the mass of pupils
(iv)   Pupils indisciplined and inconsiderate
(v)   Parents cause congestion by parking cars in 'bad' places
(vi)   Original planning ineffective now

(Major Areas for Study: People, Space, Buses, Cars)

* * * * * *

<u>In-service Planning Conference</u>

The third and last example of a departmental dialogue was an in-service planning conference held at a residential teachers' centre. Time release was made available by the Headmaster in the post-CSE and 'O' level period of the Summer Term. Each major department in the school was given the opportunity of taking three days free from timetable commitments so that it could engage in professional re-training or planning. The Humanities Department was well represented at the residential centre - Robert Ingham and three other geographers, Keith Yates, Nesta Daniels and Teresa Im. Dave Bebbington was unable to be present because of administrative duties at school.

The session which extended over much of the first day will be reported in detail. Keith Yates had already been appointed to a post in another school. Robert was heir to the Head of Humanities post as from the Autumn Term. At the planning course, it was soon obvious that factions would again take up their positions. Threats of walk-out were made and at one point, Robert and Eric left a session

without indicating when they would return! The beginning of the first session was ominous. Keith refused to chair it although he was still technically Head of Department. Robert also refused, so the meeting decided it would operate without a chairperson. Should they review the whole of a year's programme or look at one theme in depth? Eventually, the latter was decided upon – the Settlement Unit in Term 3 of Year 1. The geographers felt a particular responsibility for this unit so Robert quickly took a dominant role in the discussion. He had planned exercises with a strong geographical basis. Some of the Department opposed his suggestions. A direct transcript of a typical part of the discussion portrays the interaction – the proposals and challenges, the negotiating and final compromises.

Teresa Im

> If we take Birchwood, we could do a reconstruction of
> life in a previous century or decade – children making
> tapes of old people's memories or look at the changing role
> the church played.

Robert Ingham

> We could look at shapes, patterns, ages of houses. We
> could have two groups: one on building age, the other
> on building function in terms of the growth of the
> village.

Another geographer (G)

> What do the pupils do – sketch houses, fill in maps?

Robert   The idea is to see how the settlement has grown over
          time. How, why. Map it in terms of age. Link function with
          the parish records.

G   Should each of the staff take small bits?

Robert   Give them a map of the village to show patterns.

Teresa   We should emphasise change and decline.

Harry Fielding (Sociologist and geographer)

> Is there any point in sending kids to a newly-built
> estate? To me it is pointless!

Robert   No, they can see the whole area is the same. Fill it in
          on the base map. It's dead easy. Mine have done it.
          Secondly, we can get them to compare areas like the
          Nursery Gardens. Kids can demolish it in five minutes!

Harry   Are there not other ways to get information from
          documents? Probably more accurate, like Tythe Maps?

Teresa   Yes, compare the present day with the past.

Nesta Daniels

          What can they find of interest to talk about if all they
          have is a map?

G (also a housemaster)

          I am concerned about safety.
[He elaborates for about ten minutes on this theme]

Robert   If we look at function, growth, buildings, materials,
              we must do a coverage.

Nesta   I still query it. Isn't it the cart before the horse?

The discussion returns to 'safety'. Keith Yates gets uneasy.

Harry   Initially, I do not tell them anything!

Robert   (Trying to get speedy agreement on his approach) Are we
              agreed on it? A booklet more suitable? Agreed we will
              all do it? Otherwise it is a waste of time.

Harry   I am not convinced by the exercise! Can they identify
              houses in terms of age? Have they enough information?
              I would find it difficult! Housing is too complex an
              exercise.

Robert   I think you can do it.

Harry   To what extent are you looking for generalisation rather
              than finding every house individually?

Teresa   General patterns will emerge.

Harry   That's not obvious to me - or the kids.

Robert   You can overlay the growth on a base map.

Teresa   It can make sense.

Robert   They can bring back queries. Go back to the owner.

Harry   (reluctant) Maybe worth a try. Colour in a master sheet,
              street by street.

Robert   If that is the aim, I agree, but beyond that the whole
              village is covered. The mapping is incidental. We must
              use it!

Nesta   What use is a street of new homes?

Robert   If some are older than others we want to know why.

Nesta   That seems difficult.

Robert   It's not too difficult - the teachers should learn with the children.

Nesta   An accurate map - how long did it take?

Eric Younger (Geographer)

              Three weeks including techniques

Harry   How much was taken up with the mapping?

Robert   It is so easy. Much of it is the same. They do it by just walking round.

Harry   It still worries me. It does not show how houses may have changed over time.

Eric   We are, after all, dealing with a generalised pattern.

Harry   (Key thrust) Does this exercise match up to <u>the principles of procedure</u>? Does it satisfy a majority of them? Take points 1 and 2 for example -

              (1)   To initiate and develop in youngsters a process of question-posing (the enquiry method).

              (2)   To teach a research methodology where children can look for information to questions they have raised.

Teresa   Once we come back with the map <u>then</u> we ask why.

Harry   But we have taken a hell of a time to reach the questions when they are back with the map! They may be fed up by then.

Robert   Immediately they will ask questions. Before, you thought it too difficult?

Keith Yates (first contribution)

              But what questions? Where are they?

Teresa   I know it is low-level, but then it becomes high-level later. How would <u>you</u> do it?

Robert   We will give you the skills to map age and function!

Nesta   You could give them the map. You do not have to go round the village!

Robert   (somewhat irate) Now <u>you</u> are <u>giving</u> them the map.

Teresa   They have discovered these things for themselves for the first time.

Harry   But they have not discovered these things. I think common sense would tell them this. We underestimate them. All we are doing is giving them a map - it's the same as giving them figures and asking them to draw a piechart. They are not really asking questions on age/function etc.

Teresa   I think it is good to train them in these skills.

Robert   They come up with many questions when doing it. You would
           be surprised.

Keith   You should start by saying 'What questions would
           you like to raise about Birchwood?'

Robert   I think they would want to find out anyway. Things happen!

Teresa   How can they recognise buildings without help? They must
           gain these concepts and be involved.

Nesta   You should start by talking to people, interviewing, library
           work.

Robert   We are much more able.

Nesta   That does not apply.

Teresa   Where does it lead?

Robert   Free methods can lead to very little. I want to give them
           methods.

Harry   Have materials, resources to stimulate pupils. Why not
           start with the generalised maps? You see we have decided
           what the kids are to know. What happens if they say they
           are not interested? Why go through all this?

Teresa   Methodology.

Robert   When they do this, then they can tackle problems.

Nesta   Better a guided walk, structured!

Robert   This is a better exercise than a walkabout.

Keith   I think you should start with resources.

Nesta   Yes, get resources - use their own ideas to go out and
           start with themselves.

Robert   My scheme starts with different areas. Would it work to
           start with themselves?

Nesta   Robert starts with the end-product, not with the child.

Keith   There are more interesting things than looking at houses.
           Let the children ask the questions first. They can get
           really excited about this!

Robert   (conceding) Yes, we have to make certain the kids are
           motivated.

Keith	Let's get resources together with the possibility of developing a trail. Better still, why not let the pupils devise a visitors' trail?
Robert	One of the dangers is giving them resources in school rather than letting them go out!
Keith	That is not my way of working.

At the end of the session, Robert was willing to concede there were other worthwhile possibilities. After lunch, the discussion became more relaxed. A wide range of possibilities was opened up and the emphasis switched from a narrow focus on the key idea of pattern and associated skills to 'goals that centred around the process of learning rather than round the product' (Hanley, Whitla, Moo, Walter 1970,5). Many ideas of documentary material were contributed by everyone including Robert: Should one family provide a base for investigation? The church could be a focus. Keith began to make the dominant contribution and in effect assumed the Chairman's role. Harry talked about the National School and the Workhouse. Robert had doubts about the demand on map skills but Harry wanted to give them maps of 1800 and the present day and ask them to write down ten questions to which they would like answers. Robert returned to some of his earlier ideas: 'We could divide the village into sections on the 25" map and let them record change'. But Harry felt this was too restrictive. By seeing the whole village, questions relating to the railway, (when did it come?), the National School, the Farm, would all be raised.

Robert had another idea. Why not start with the Survival Game which introduced key ideas on settlement - agriculture, shelter, water, transport? And that was where the dialogue ended. The rest of the Department agreed - some reluctantly, that the Survival Game could be used as a starter but Robert then agreed <u>to allow the pupils to choose questions</u> they were interested in about Birchwood and offered to provide a wide range of resources and to help the pupils to structure their research.

Conclusion

The concept of the exercise had moved a long way from the rather narrow, at times mechanical, building age/function exercise originally planned by the geographers. At stake was not just another content

but the application of a process approach to education. Instead of an exercise highly developed - and probably well organised - with an emphasis on skills for ends designated by the teacher, an exercise centring on the principles of procedure evolved:

> Either the teacher must be an expert or he must be a learner along with his students. In most cases, the teacher cannot in the nature of the case be an expert. It follows that he must cast himself in the role of a learner - it implies teaching by discovery or inquiry methods rather than by instruction.
> (Stenhouse 1975, 91)

As the settlement discussion evolved, the potential in terms of creative skills, in formulating and testing hypotheses, developing a research methodology, using first and second hand resource materials, was considerable. Nesta summed up the fundamental issue in this way:

> Talking to Robert he thought of the pattern of roads. He started with the end product again, not with the child. There are geographical concepts which Robert feels are important. I would wait and see what the children found but I would not say that geographical or historical ideas <u>have</u> to come out of it. I would hope certain things would come out of it but <u>I would not impose them</u>. I would not guide it so that they did - as long as the process is right!

In terms of group interaction, the residential conference was a fascinating experience. The discussions evidenced the continuing conflict between the geographers and the radicals at the personal and philosophical level. Perhaps because in the opening session, the 'battle' with Robert was waged by two of Keith Yates' closer friends, Nesta and Harry, rather than by himself, the possibility of change was facilitated. Teresa, the historian, adopted an intermediate position between the two factions. She saw the need of a foundation-skills exercise in line with Robert's proposals. Yet she also saw the need for interdisciplinary approaches and pupil-initiated learning. Eventually, there was <u>some sort of compromise</u> which was open enough in structure to allow the more radical members to respond to the individual interests and insights of their pupils.

Bion's (1961) work on group behaviour led him to believe that continuous struggles were a common experience among small groups of eight to twelve members. There was often he suggested 'a struggle between the wish to learn by experience which was conscious, rational and sophisticated, and the wish to take refuge in basic assumptions - unconscious, irrational and naive'.

The opportunity of being present at the residential conference as a participant observer provided a vivid example of the process of curriculum evolution. Philosophical differences were sharpened by personality clashes. The sharing of ideas, however, clarified positions and led to accommodations being made. There was also the practical need to keep the Department together.

PART 5

ANALYSIS AND REFLECTION

5.1 INNOVATION, SCHOOL CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY : THE GEOGRAPHERS

Introduction

In this section, the geographers' interpretation of their subject in the two schools is examined with particular reference to their adoption of the GYSL Project. The focus is on the Department's stated content, the proposed methodology and the underlying assumptions rather than on the dynamics of the classroom situation which are discussed in Section 5.2. The geographers' statements did not go unnoticed or unchallenged in either school. While the hidden curriculum exerted its pressures on their interpretation of the syllabi, their stated intentions - the official curricula - were scrutinised, supported or in some cases rejected by teacher colleagues.

Dockside and Birchwood were both chosen as case studies because of their adoption of the GYSL Project. The Project was seen by the geographers then in post or by their immediate predecessors, as an important element in the secondary school curriculum. Because of the insular nature of the Department at <u>Dockside</u>, the ideas and strategies that the geographers wished to incorporate into their programmes were 'officially' unquestioned by the other staff. Senior staff were very supportive. The GYSL ideas, in the style of planning adopted, influenced geography teaching in Years 1-3, as well as in Years 4 and 5. At <u>Birchwood</u> School, while Years 4 and 5 were taught solely by the geographers, following GYSL at CSE or Alternative Mode I levels, Years 1-3 were team-taught within a wider Humanities programme. There, the geographers' contribution to the 11-13 programme received maximum exposure which led to constant debate within the Department.

In this section, the development of the GYSL Project's approach is traced.

- the incorporation of a number of overlapping geographical traditions is identified.

- the syllabus as planned at Dockside School is reviewed with reference to the work of the Project.

- Birchwood geographers' syllabus is similarly discussed; the critique of the radicals at both upper and lower levels is incorporated into this review.

- finally, an attempt is made to question the assumptions
  on which the critique is based and to analyse its sign-
  ificance in the light of recent developments in geographical
  thought.

Changing geography and GYSL

The Schools Council launched the GYSL Project in 1970. This was a period of extensive curriculum development. A number of Projects were set up in preparation for the imminent raising of the school-leaving age to sixteen years. The title of <u>Geography for the Young School Leaver</u> left no doubt as to the original purpose of the project. In particular, the Project initially saw its role as assisting teachers of lower to middle ability pupils in the 14-16 year age group. Its initial aims extended over a number of aspects - examining successful work currently undertaken with 14-16 year old pupils, defining the contribution that geography could make to the particular educational needs of these pupils and investigating the skills that these pupils could master in pursuit of this work. But as stated in the first Newsletter, July 1971, 'the preparation of teaching materials is seen as one of the most important aspects of the Project's work'. Central to the Project's work was the devising of themes, not selected because they were in the traditional sense geographical; rather the criteria for selecting issues-based themes emphasised a genuine attempt to motivate and challenge young people who through personal choice or force of circumstances had decided that formal schooling had little to offer them.

(a) the start of the topic should be <u>interesting</u> to the pupils
    now at this point in their lives;

(b) it should be <u>relevant</u> to their future and of more than
    transitory significance;

(c) the topic should be capable of stimulating the pupil to
    <u>personal involvement and creative thinking</u>;

(d) the topic should be exploitable in the <u>local situation</u>.

(GYSL Newsletter, July 1971)

Thus, it was primarily to the needs of less academic young people that the Project Team addressed itself. Secondly, the team asked - in what way could the changing nature of geography make a contribution in the understanding of a complex and rapidly changing world?

All four members of the Project Team had taught geography in

secondary schools before joining the Schools Council. Much development in geographical teaching occurred in that pre-Project period. Marsden (1976, 73) refers to types of 'traditionalism' rather than traditions of that period. 'Hard core' traditionalism, derived largely from the 'capes and boys' approach, had a narrow area studies basis and was distinguishable by its heavy stress on rote learning and factual recall, by geographical facts and factors as ends in themselves, by deterministic explanations and by a heavy reliance on external examinations. 'Enlightened' traditionalism, while still narrowly subject-orientated and in an area - studies framework showed a growing concern with the needs of the pupil and with a search for relevance through reality. Such approaches as first-hand field study in the local environment (Archer and Dalton 1970), an extensive use of case studies and other resources, all aimed at greater immediacy for the pupil. Marsden (1976, 74) adds, 'It may not be unfair, however, to suspect that many enlightened traditionalists are content to maintain a comfortable status quo'. These traditionalisms provided the immediate context of the GYSL Project in 1970.

But as the 1970s began, methodological debate within the discipline of geography was gaining momentum. In an article in the T.E.S. (26.5.67), Professor K C Edwards summarised the main features of the post-War expansion of geographical work:

> While important advances had been made in geomorphology and
> biogeography, it was in human geography and in various aspects
> of applied geography that progress had been greatest; and in the
> social and economic fields, there had been an almost revolutionary
> advance ... applied geography had increasingly turned its attention
> to the problems confronting modern society in urban and highly
> industrialised communities at one extreme and those facing the
> inhabitants of underdeveloped countries at the other.

Edwards pointed out the need for a better knowledge of some aspects of mathematics enabling quantification to be applied to data in both physical and socio-economic studies.

The 'new' geography was initially associated in many teachers' minds with quantification and statistical techniques and this proved a barrier to gaining more positive teacher-reactions. In some universities there was discontent with the low standing of academic geography and its perceived isolation from the mainstream of scientific thought. The deterministic environmentalism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries began to give way to more scientific approaches.

There was a shift from area studies towards a spatial tradition with its concern for the geometry of spatial relationships. The nomothetic approach engaging in the search for patterns and processes, for generalistions and laws, provided a shift of emphasis from ideographic approaches which emphasised the empirical study of events which were treated as unique. The new movement stressed the need for a body of theory to underpin and focus attention on a number of concepts distinctive to geography, such as location, distance, spatial interaction, areal association, nodality and diffusion. Systems analysis, originating in biology, examined the interlocking elements and processes of organisations. Locational analysis sought to simplify reality by abstracting from it limited sets of relationships. The new emphasis was on models, theories, even laws. Publications such as Haggett 'Geography: a Modern Synthesis' (1972), Chorley and Haggett (eds) 'Models in Geography' (1967), and Haggett 'Locational Analysis in Human Geography' (1965) were typical of books embodying many of the new ideas.

In response to the perceived environment, the behavioural strand was also important in the changing emphasis of geography. Kirk (1963) in the previous decade, had drawn attention to the relevance of the behavioural environment. The importance of personal perceptions of the environment in decision-making was adapted to school programmes through 'mental' or 'cognitive' maps. The application of these techniques opened up further possibilities of involvement in environmental issues.

In an article 'The New Geography - and After', J Wolforth (1976) attempted to forecast trends in the 1980s. One of these was radicalism in geography. Smith D M (1974) noted:

> a shift away from the mechanistic approaches of the quantitative and model-building 'revolution' towards greater involvement in contemporary social issues, along with a renewed interest in applied geography and public policy.

The implications for analysing the use of space in political terms provided the foundation for a socially activist geography well exemplified in Harvey's 'Social Justice in the City' (1973).

Having as a central objective the development of new programmes and materials on contemporary and relevant themes, the GYSL Project explored how far new emphases in the discipline could enrich the education of secondary pupils. The £30,000 funding of GYSL in 1970 hardly stood comparison with the £1 million already invested in the American High

School Project, mainly by the Ford Foundation. The latter Project, in terms of content, teaching strategies and evaluation techniques, gave 'a magnificent lead' (Rolfe 1981). The American Project and subsequent British geography Projects, developed conceptual structures and adopted some of the techniques of social science with an increasing emphasis on quantitative methods, prediction and generalisation. In Britain, the Madingley (Cambridge) seminars resulted in the publishing of 'Frontiers in Geographical Teaching', ed Chorley and Haggett, (1965). The first of the Charney Manor Conferences chaired by Rex Walford was held in 1970. At this Conference, Peter Ambrose, a university geographer, indicated five possible new directions for school programmes:

(1) a move from a factually-based to a concept-based mode of study;

(2) a move from regional to systematic work;

(3) a move from compartmentalised to interdisciplinary work;

(4) a move from qualitative to quantitative statements;

(5) a move from a lesser to a greater emphasis on values.

(Walford 1973)

Rex Beddis was one of the contributors to the Charney Manor Conference which met soon after he became one of the GYSL co-directors. Direction (1) as indicated by Ambrose was given firm support by Beddis. The logical and useful basis for choosing content was:

> the fundamental body of ideas or concepts contained within geography as a discipline ... it is clear that the strength of the new geography is its greater concern with ideas and the formulation and testing of geographical concepts ... If we are to have a subject-based curriculum, then we must do what this implies – teach geography. And that means teaching geographical ideas .... It is nonsense to suggest that we must not allow people to think until they reach a certain point in school life – no concepts before 'A' level.

Then with an emphatic affirmation:

> On the contrary, we should try to instil the ideas at the earliest moment and develop them as the pupil matures ....
> Pupils who are made to think about geographical ideas and related themes are being more effectively prepared for an adult role in a rapidly changing society than they could ever be by learning a static body of facts.
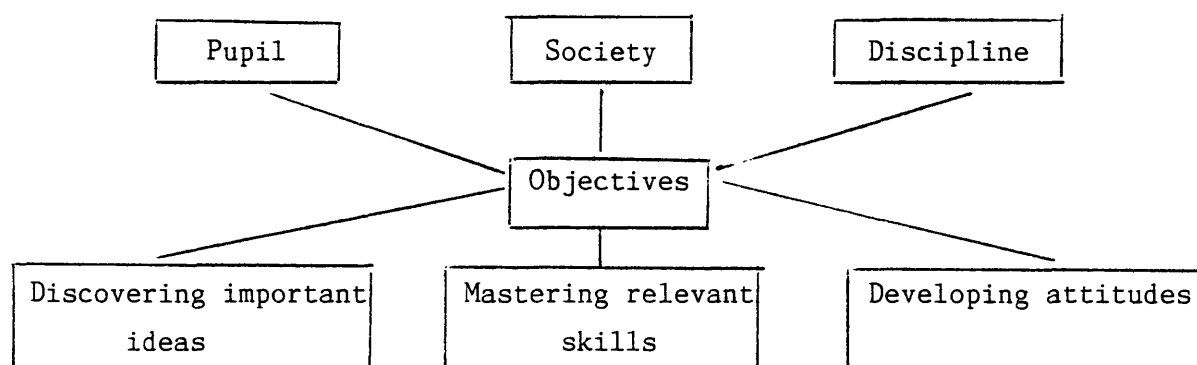
In formulating its objectives, the Project attempted to integrate the insights that geography could bring to bear on contemporary issues with:

(i) concerns with the pupil – the young school leaver often deprived of motivation, almost certainly having 'failed' the academic

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hurdles of the school system, and

(ii)societal concerns to do with leisure and work in an urbanised
society.

The diagram included in the Teacher Guides (1975) sums up these threefold
considerations:

```
 ┌──────────┐      ┌──────────┐      ┌────────────┐
 │  Pupil   │      │ Society  │      │ Discipline │
 └──────────┘      └──────────┘      └────────────┘
            ╲          │          ╱
             ╲    ┌───────────┐  ╱
              ╲───│ Objectives│──╱
             ╱    └───────────┘  ╲
            ╱          │          ╲
 ┌──────────────────┐ ┌────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────────┐
 │Discovering important│ │Mastering relevant│ │ Developing attitudes │
 │      ideas         │ │     skills      │ │                      │
 └──────────────────┘ └────────────────┘ └──────────────────────┘
```

The GYSL Theme, Cities and People (Schools Council 1975), for
example, sought to fulfil the criteria of immediacy and relevance
to the pupil and relate this to the contribution of the discipline:

> There are many urban issues which impinge upon the pupils'
> life in the community, for example, congestion, the increasing
> separation of residential from working areas, conflicts of
> renewal and rehousing, the quality of environment.....Such issues
> provide a legitimate field of enquiry for the geographer yet they
> have rarely been part of secondary school geography syllabuses....
> The content of the theme goes beyond providing information and
> descriptive resources likely to stimulate the pupil and aims to
> enable him to discern patterns and discover processes at work
> in the urban environment. This reflects the changes of thinking
> in the discipline.....

In summary, the Introduction to the new 'O' level Avery Hill
14-16 Geography Project syllabus brought together the conceptual and
issues-based approaches of the Project:

> The key ideas on which this syllabus is based are derived from
> important spatial principles. This emphasis on theory, with its
> generalisations and models on the one hand and its potential
> for prediction on the other, is in line with developments in
> other social sciences. At the same time, geography has become
> more consciously concerned with a consideration of spatial
> problems - local, national and international - of an economic,
> environmental, political and social nature. This syllabus attempts
> to translate the conceptual and issue-based approaches outlined
> above into the 14-16 curriculum.

The 'academic' framework for Cities and People is shown in Appendix A10
and a typical framework of organising ideas for Unit 3 of that theme
is shown in Appendix A11.

From a broad commitment to 'enlightened traditionalism', the
Team moved on to explore the implications of the new geography.
Michael Young (1971, 23) has suggested that school subjects are
'no more than socio-historical constructs of a particular time'.
The messages they convey are permeated by current ideological/academic
stances and the values of contemporary society. Reference has been
made to the recent trends reflecting a more radical approach in
geography. Such approaches are well illustrated in Peet's 'Radical
Geography' (1977). The contributors are writers 'who have become
disillusioned with the 'scientific approach' to human geography
espoused since the mid 1950s, largely because of the perceived inability
of this approach to initiate major social changes'. (Goodson 1983,
81). The GYSL Project Team at the time of its development phase,
1970-74, consciously attempted to interpret such elements in the
programme, but such interpretation could not be value-free.

Recent critics have challenged some of the GYSL Project's 'taken
for granted' positions. In concerning themselves with environmental
and social relevance for example, did the Team take for granted
the concept of created space, a construct of modern industrial society
reflecting the prevailing ideology of ruling groups and institutions
in society? (Harvey 1973). Dawn Gill (1982) in her analysis of the
unit on residential environments in 'Cities and People', commented:

> A city which has a poor inner area surrounded by relatively well
> off suburbs is in itself a spatial form which should be studied
> by pupils. Geographers are satisfied with generalisations. All
> cities are like this. What they should be doing is explaining
> why. The city is a built form which reflects social inequality.
> Students should be encouraged to ask how social inequality came
> into being, and how it is perpetuated, if they are to understand
> the spatial patterns within a capitalist city. GYSL then, like
> the LREB syllabus, is the product of a certain ideological system.
> It can be viewed as part of the mechanism by which this system
> is ensured a future.   (1982, 17)

Dockside School: an interpretation of geography

An examination of the content of the geography syllabuses at
Dockside School was revealing. They spanned the GYSL Project's develop-
ment phase. An early document (1972) devoted six tightly typed A4
sides to introductory statements dealing with rationale, content
and methods, description and references. It opened with 'Regional
Geography':

A substantial body of geographers subscribe to the idea that regional geography is the very heart and central core of the subject that gives it its unique character. Regional geography unites geography whilst systematic geography examines its disparate parts. Regional geography gives a coherent picture of a specific place; systematic geography seeks to give a coherent picture of the world.

'New Geography' was then discussed. Rex Walford was quoted:

New approaches to the teaching of the subject should not seek to overthrow all the established techniques overnight. But they should be given a chance to make their way and add to the variety of possibilities from which a teacher may choose.

Geographical content was reviewed:

....some knowledge of the local area is advocated at all levels as it is often used as a yardstick to interpret the world beyond .... studies of the British Isles by any of a variety of methods is to be expected. Physical geography and its associated topics are perhaps best treated by planned 'incidentalism' rather than by an 'A' level kind of separate study.

The opening sections thus emphasised an areal/regional studies approach. The debate about 'New Geography' illustrated a questioning of its relevance, typical of the time. The discussion about Teaching Methods was well-informed and incorporated writings by Briault and Shave (1952). Reference was made to Education Pamphlet No 59 (1972) including skills and attitudes.

The Dockside 1972 geography syllabus – Contents and Schemes of Work – stated:

In its simplest form, the aim of the syllabus is to outline a course of work that will impart an understanding of the local environment and homeland and the ways in which other countries differ from or are similar to our own.

The content was listed briefly:

Year 1   Local   Mapwork   Physical Aspects
           Human Aspects   Fieldwork

Years 4 and 5 followed a CSE Mode I or 'O' level programme, both with a traditional regional basis. Some adjustment was made for a social geography approach for the less able, non-examination pupil.

A new syllabus was introduced in October 1975. The change in style and layout was dramatic. The aims were first of all set out as applicable to the whole 11-18 age-range. The wording of the four

points was virtually _identical with that used by the GYSL Project_:

   (a) the work should be concerned with _all_ aspects of pupil
        development – understanding ideas, acquiring facts,
        developing skills, engaging attitudes, etc;

   (b) all themes should be of interest and relevance to the
        pupils now but will need to be of more than transitory
        significance;

   (c) the approach to the teaching of key ideas will be of a
        concentric pattern beginning in the local community and
        environment;

   (d) the teaching methods used should encourage full pupil
        involvement and participation at each stage of develop-
        ment.

Objectives

   1. to develop the understanding of concepts and to develop
       the ability to suggest solutions to geographical problems;

   2. skills – geographical skills – map and photograph inter-
       pretation, ability to read and evaluate statistics; to
       develop skills of observation, recording and inter-
       pretation; social skills – group work and discussion;

   3. through presentation in a meaningful and attractive way,
       the acquisition and retention of facts that will broaden
       the pupil's general outlook;

   4. to encourage the development of attitudes through involve-
       ment in curriculum activities and discussion.

The syllabus for Years 1-3 consisted of a series of themes:
(a) People; (b) Place; (c) Work, hunting, fishing, farming, resources,
industry and towns.

Each topic was then analysed in great detail under the headings
of _Key Ideas, Skills and Content_.

Years 4 and 5 again followed CSE or 'O' level patterns, the
CSE being based on either the GYSL Project or the South East Regional
Board syllabus.

Conclusion:

It is significant to note the way the Lower as well as the Upper
School geography syllabus moved towards a close alignment with
the GYSL philosophy. From the largely descriptive regional work
of the previous syllabus, the analysis was now ideas-based with
an attempt to motivate the pupil through local experience and colourful

case studies. Skills and attitude awareness were systematically included.

The Head of Geography, Ken Newman, was open to new ideas. He was anxious to extend his academic qualifications and to improve his professional expertise in the classroom. In general terms, his Departmental aims and intentions were actively supported by the new Headmaster who saw the GYSL Project as a pathfinder for curriculum development in the school. The Head spoke approvingly of the issues basis and the attempt as he saw it, to involve pupils in a more active style. The worksheet approach in Years 4 and 5, however, into which the Project classroom work had been converted, reflected a controlled approach to active learning. The curriculum syllabus statements evidenced a fundamental re-think of the contribution of geography. The style and content moved close to the GYSL philosophy although not uncritically. During the dissemination year of the Project 1973-74, Ken Newman was a participant in the week-long GYSL training course in Derbyshire.

Birchwood School: an interpretation of geography

The Birchwood Humanities syllabus has already been discussed in some detail (Section 4.5). As at Dockside, the geographers were keen professional teachers. Judged by their commitment to improving their own practice through constant reflection on new developments, they might be designated as illustrating the qualities of 'extra profession-ality' rather than 'restricted professionality'. (Hoyle 1972).

Over a period of time in Years 1-3, the geographical contribution became more specialised. Although it was an integrated Humanities course, the subjects RE, History and Geography began to take respons-ibility for particular terms or parts of terms. They outlined the programme, prepared resources and briefed the rest of the Department. In Years 4 and 5, the individual subject departments did their 'own thing'; in the case of geography, the syllabus for CSE and 'O' level, which was built around the GYSL Project as at Dockside. The geographers were members of the GYSL LEA Curriculum Development Group responsible for joint work on new resource materials, assessment units and course structures. The reaction of other Birchwood Humanities staff to the

approach associated with GYSL is now recorded.

For the radicals at Birchwood, process was <u>indispensable</u> to thedevelopment of pupil understanding. Their criticism of the geographers' approach emerged at a number of levels.

(i)   They queried the <u>responsibility for deciding the choice of ideas</u>. Harry Fielding commented: 'The children come up with equally relevant ideas. I have free writing from my second year pupils which contains many higher level ideas which are already part˜ of their experience'. To demonstrate this in relation to the Leisure theme, Harry got his third year class to write about leisure in an unstructured and spontaneous way. At a general commonsense level, the writing included some of the ideas embodied in the early units of 'Man, Land and Leisure'. These were discussed by the pupils independently of the ideas formulated by the staff.

(ii)   The radicals were also critical of the level of <u>specification</u> of content. They queried whether geographers' concepts were the best way of looking at the world.
       -    were they the best representations of reality?
       -    were these ideas needed, anyway, as pre-statements?
       -    did the key ideas in the form presented suggest that this was not an area of debate or genuine search by the pupil?

       'If as a hypothesis, fine, but the statements have an <u>air of finality</u> about them' was a typical comment. 'When I start a geographer's communication lesson, I do not know where I am going to end' - hence the rejection of the precisely-stated geographers' key ideas as being too deterministic, too author-itarian, too positivistic. Keith Yates had a distinctive view of content: 'it does not matter what you pick as long as the process is right'. Dave Bebbington would not have gone as far. He emphasised the need for the teacher, thoroughly immersed in an understanding of an area of knowledge, to be available to the pupils as a resource for learning within a general content/ conceptual structure. Some guidance on content in the syllabus was needed.

       Generally, however, the radicals favoured concepts of a high order in curriculum planning, allowing an open structure for day-to-day work. Content as such was not their ultimate aim.

The lower level GYSL conceptual approach had in their view become the 'new content'. The content should be so subservient to _process_ that when for example students came across world starvation problems in the Horn of Africa, they would have the thinking skills to enable them to come to a rational sensible view about it. The geographers found it difficult to see why a simulation exercise could not be linked to a _real_ geographical area, for example a West African state, rather than the fictional Foula Island. The radicals argued that if the teacher is to genuinely be a resource, he has to be well-informed. Although there were other views, Dave Bebbington did not see subject labels in Years 1-3 as necessarily a handicap, providing the key principles of procedure were followed. As reported in the section on Dialogue, Debate and Change (Section 4.10), Dave queried the HMI Series No 5 (1978) statement: 'Content areas that need to be studied' (something the GYSL programmes never designated).

The HMI Paper stated:

> From these studies, the pupils should acquire a body of factual knowledge.

Dave queried:

> What is this body?

The HMI:

> ...which will provide during and after school life a succession of points of contact which will quicken the pupil's response to events and situations in the world around them.

Dave noted:

> Does content achieve this? Do you decide content, then clothe it in skills, or _decide skills_ then find the content?

(iii) The radicals were also critical at times of the _stated techniques_, ie the geographical methods of representation. They felt some were too repetitive or low-level or mechanical. More specifically, did they help the pupils to understand the real world more effect- ively? Harry Fielding referred to the skills that were employed: 'I see too much of the mechanical skills, eg transforming data on to radial charts, graphs of neighbourhoods. There is too much emphasis on skills of this kind'. In contrast, skills/prin- ciples of procedure were in the radicals' view much more fund- amentally _learning_ -knowledge generating skills. In their CSE Mode III Social Science syllabus, skills were categorised under

three headings - information skills, research skills, and extension skills. Dave Bebbington was impatient with some innovative techniques:

> The latest fashion seems to be quantitative geography.
> I am talking out of ignorance but some of the exercises
> I saw in GYSL seemed to me to be a crazy quantification
> of problems. It is dehumanising them...

So the concerns of the Birchwood radicals centred around content specification and techniques in the planning of geography programmes. To them, the presented structure was not open-ended. It left the teacher in a position of firm control. The radicals would certainly not have related to the Mark II Dockside syllabus with its detailed specification of Key Ideas, Skills and Content.

In the geographical components of the Birchwood Lower School programme, the radicals were concerned about the imposition of this so-called scientific method. This they saw as a new orthodoxy. As they experienced its ideas and models, they questioned its application, unrelated as it seemed to them to the pupils' needs, experience and present conceptual understanding. Two examples from Years 1 and 2 at Birchwood illustrate their anxiety (Figs 12 & 13).

Unit 16, City and County (Basic Geography) really antagonised Dave Bebbington. He found it difficult to see the relevance or worthwhileness to 13 year old pupils of the regions around Leicester as defined by Hotpoint service engineers. 'These bureaucratic service areas added nothing of significant worth to a pupil's understanding. Why not draw upon pupils' direct experience?'

The second illustration comes from the Communication Unit which the radicals also found unacceptable. It seemed to them to be another example of an abstract idea imposed from without; an academic model taken over by the school and grafted onto the programme. It was also an example of 'school knowledge'. Barnes (1976, 81) suggests this is the knowledge which someone else presents to us. We partly grasp it, enough to answer the teacher's questions, to do exercises or to answer examination questions, but it remains someone else's knowledge not ours.

> In so far as we use knowledge for our own purposes, however,
> we begin to incorporate it into our view of the world and to
> use parts of it to cope with the exigencies of living. Once

1 Make a copy of the map, 'Leicester and the surrounding area'?
2 Mark with a tick all the towns shown on the map which can receive BBC Radio Leicester.
3 Mark with a tick all the towns in the maps of
  (a) Water supply area.
  (b) Gas service and engineering area.
  (c) Area covered by Leicester telephone exchange and the list of towns which
  (d) receive the Leicester Mercury,
  (e) the Hotpoint engineers' visit.
  Some will have more than one tick.
4 Now draw a line all round the towns on your map which have four or more ticks. This shows the area around Leicester which is most closely connected with the city.
5 How far is it from the centre of Leicester to the farthest edge of the area your line shows?

Jane and Pete Deer and their two children, Catherine and David, live in Ibstock. You can find where this is on the map you used for the last exercise. Jane Deer does most of her shopping in Coalville for groceries and other things the family need each week. If she forgets anything she can always go to the smaller local shops in Ibstock. Coalville, however, is her main town for shopping. The map of 'local shopping areas' shows where people in Leicestershire do most of their regular shopping.

Local shopping areas

County boundary
Boundary of shopping areas

0 kilometres 20

As you can see, Leicester is the largest area on the map, which means people are willing to travel a long way to the shops there.

6 Why are people willing to travel further from home to shops in Leicester than to any of the other towns?
7 How far is it from Leicester to each of the other towns? Make a list of your measurements.
8 What do you notice about the distance in your lists?

Sometimes Jane and Pete Deer and the children do travel to Leicester to go shopping. There are very many large stores in Leicester which sell things which the family cannot buy in the shops at Ibstock or Coalville. These large stores often give a wider choice as well. At times when the family need something really important like a new piece of furniture or some special clothes, they go to one of Leicester's large department stores. If they buy a large piece of furniture they cannot take it home themselves so they will ask the store to deliver it. The map of the 'Delivery areas of Leicester Stores' shows the areas to which these stores deliver.

9 Look at these delivery areas and the area you marked on your map of 'Leicester and the Surrounding Area'. Write down whether the areas on the two maps are nearly the same or not. Give reasons for your answer.
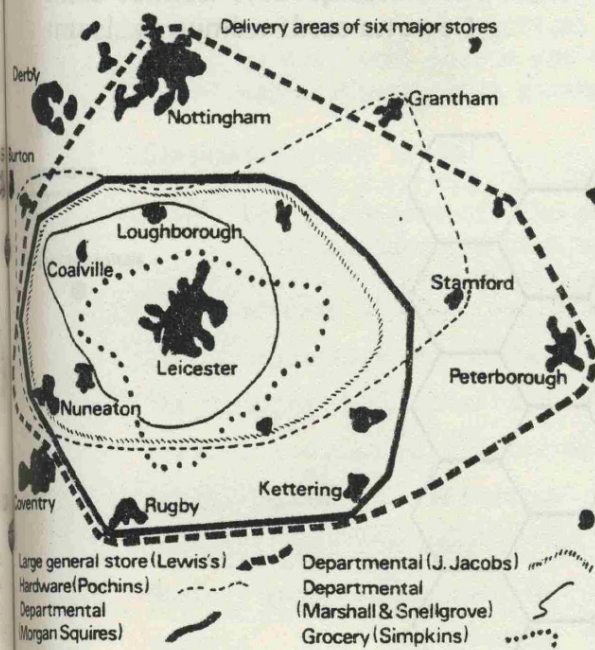
Delivery areas of six major stores

Large general store (Lewis's)
Hardware (Pochins)
Departmental (Morgan Squires)
Departmental (J. Jacobs)
Departmental (Marshall & Snellgrove)
Grocery (Simpkins)

FIG 12   Areas of influence – a practical exercise
         Basic Geography Book 2 (Harraps)

Spread the word

The leader of a new country wishes to set up three states, each with its own capital. The country is poor, so there is no radio or television and few people can read. The capitals have to be chosen so that information and news can spread by word of mouth as quickly as possible.

There are five towns which could be capitals, but only three can be chosen. Which three do you think are the best?

It takes one day to travel from one hexagon to another. Starting at each of your three capitals it is possible to send messengers in six different directions.
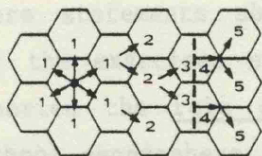
As you can see on the example here each day's journey is numbered.
Notice that it takes two days to cross the hexagons with mountains in them.

1 Draw arrows from your three centres to the centres of all the hexagons next to them. Choose a different colour for each of your three centres. This represents one day's travel, so number these arrows 1.

2 From the centre of these hexagons draw arrows to the centre of the next ones. This is another day's travel, so number these arrows 2.

3 How long would it take for news to spread over the whole country?

4 Draw on boundary lines to show where the new states will be.

5 Count up the number of hexagons in each state. Are they the same size?

KEY

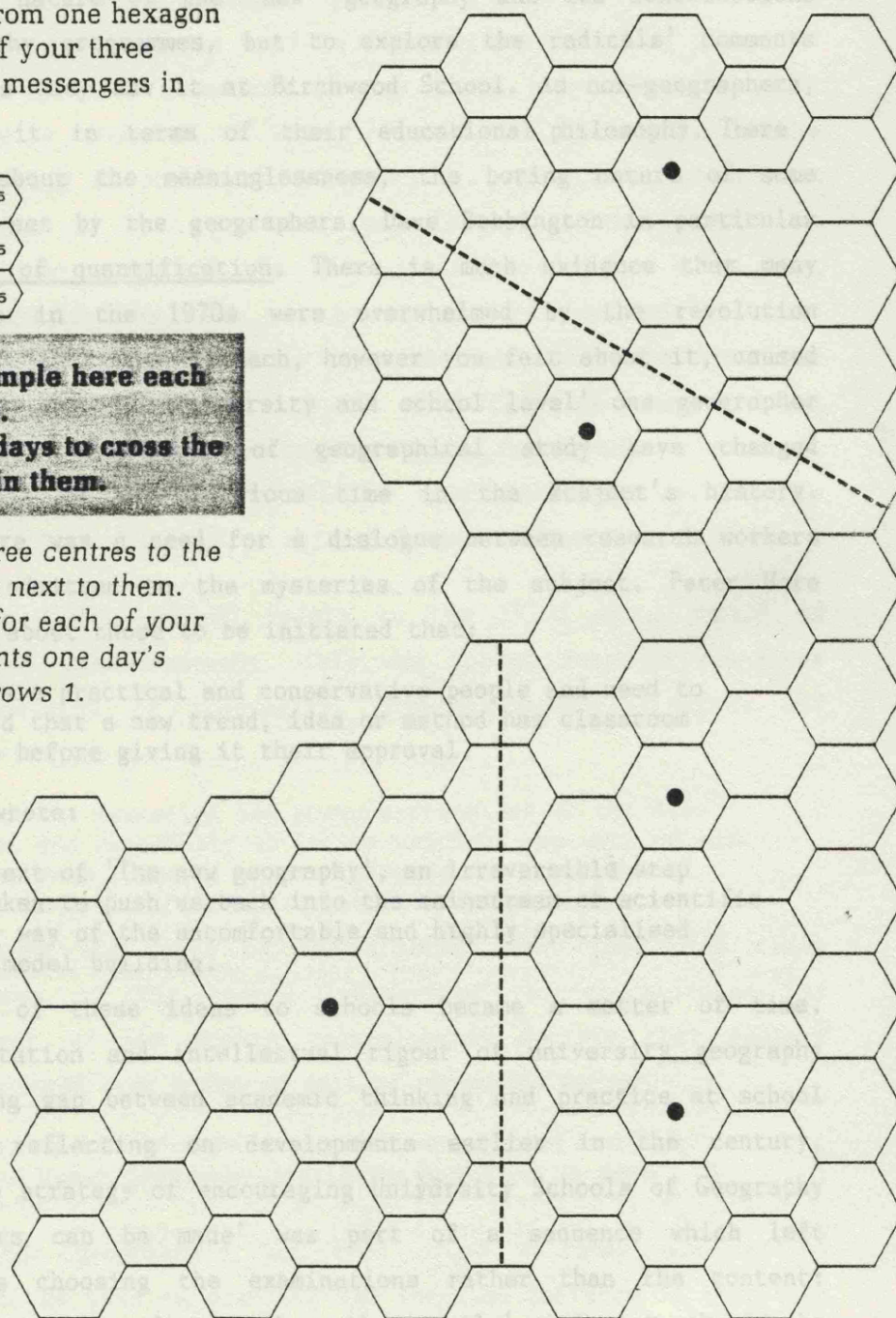Mountains
- - - - -

Possible capitals
●

FIG 13 Communication of Ideas – a practical exercise
Basic Geography Book 2 (Harraps)

the knowledge becomes incorporated into that view of the
world on which our actions are based, I would say it becomes
'action knowledge' .... pupils' assimilation of knowledge
to their own purposes.

By redesigning the exercise, Dave Bebbington tried to change
the Leicestershire Regions study from School knowledge to Action know-
ledge.

In this section, it is not the intention to enter a wide-ranging
debate about the nature of the 'new' geography and its contributions
to school geography programmes, but to explore the radicals' comments
about geography as they saw it at Birchwood School. As non-geographers,
they scrutinised it in terms of their educational philosophy. There
were statements about the meaninglessness, the boring nature of some
of the exercises set by the geographers. Dave Bebbington in particular
queried the <u>role of quantification</u>. There is much evidence that many
school geographers in the 1970s were overwhelmed by the revolution
of the early 70s. 'This new approach, however you felt about it, caused
a sort of schism - both at university and school level' one geographer
commented. Clearly, techniques of geographical study have changed
recently more than at any previous time in the subject's history.
As a result, there was a need for a dialogue between research workers
and those being admitted to the mysteries of the subject. Peter Hore
(1973, 132) noted about those to be initiated that:

teachers are a practical and conservative people and need to
be convinced that a new trend, idea or method has classroom
application before giving it their approval.

Slaymaker (1968) wrote:

In the context of 'The new geography', an irreversible step
has been taken to push us back into the mainstream of scientific
activity by way of the uncomfortable and highly specialised
process of model building.

The transference of these ideas to schools became a matter of time.
The growing reputation and intellectual rigour of university geography
created a widening gap between academic thinking and practice at school
level. Goodson, reflecting on developments earlier in the century,
suggests that the strategy of encouraging University Schools of Geography
where 'geographers can be made' was part of a sequence which left
schools' task as choosing the examinations rather than the content:
'there is not even the facade that the pupils' interest should be

the central criteria' (1983, 64). Holt comments that if schools are to see subjects as means to genuine enlightenment rather than ends in themselves, they must 'challenge the view that high-status, top-down knowledge is what really matters'. (T.E.S., 3.12.82)

Certainly, the top-down knowledge of quantification and the application of models and theories produced misfits in school texts and exercises. Roger Robinson (1981, 94) suggests that the 'new' geography would have been impossible without quantification. He identified a range of opinions, some positive such as 'quantification is an important dimension of description', countered by 'it makes information boring'; positively 'it helps students to make informed decisions and to take a more objective view of problems' countered by 'quantified information is often irrelevant to real problems, and focuses attention only on features that can be measured'. He adds significantly 'it seems that the quantifiers should take care not to mis-use or over-indulge their predilection and especially to beware of over-emphasising the 'economic man' model's philosophy that came with the first flush of quantification in human geography'. The meaningless exercises at a fairly unsophisticated level about which the Birchwood radicals complained were an example of the mis-use or over-indulgence to which Robinson referred.

Leslie King (1979, 155-7) refers to the 1970s as a period of disillusionment and disenchantment. This was rooted deep in reactions to persistent patterns of inequality, growing impersonalisation and alienation in society.

> Geography in the seventies has shown expressions of the dis-
> illusionment and especially so in the writings and work of some
> of those who were formerly quite active in the promotion of
> the spatial analysis theme and quantitative approaches.

He further examines the force of the argument that the chief cause of the development of the modern 'value-free' social sciences lay in the requirement of the modern technological society that mastery and control be achieved over human as well as non-human nature.

> The emphasis on the interrelations between theoretical and
> quantitative human geography continues as strong as ever
> today.

For example, urban geographers had been proud to show how central place theory could be used in planning the location patterns of hospitals and the reorganisation of administrative districts. The transference of this idea to a school exercise has already been demonstrated.

Derek Gregory, however, draws a distinction between quantitative methods and the 'triviality of the pre-existing models'. The former helped to produce an intellectually viable geography. Most of the classical models were directed towards the elucidation of spatial structures. Their translation into geography involved a restatement of its geometric traditions. But Gregory contends that the logic of space is too sharp a tool:

> slicing right through the specificities of social life, and cleaving away the pulsating rhythms of social reproduction and historical transformation, to expose an invariant, abstract geometry - a lifeless skeleton, shorn of its human flesh.
> (Gregory 1981, 134)

Many of the models such as Von Thunen's Land Use model, adapted for school exercises, are now recognised as reciprocally related to a historically-specific social context. The need to return to a humanistic tradition with its affirmation of human creativity, sensitivity and agency, is not in any doubt Gregory contends.

The rejection by the Birchwood radicals of the aridity and meaning-lessness of some of the geography was closely associated with the type of exercise in Basic Geography which at times unimaginatively incorporated models and theories into classroom work. The radicals made predictable links between Robert Ingham's commitment to GYSL and his formative role in contributing to the school-based work on which the Basic Geography was based during his earlier teaching exper-ience. The radicals with their open and creative approach to the classroom felt ill at ease with these imposed structures.

The rejection by the radicals of what they saw of the 'new' geography - whether correctly or incorrectly interpreted by them in the classroom context - was a rejection of a 'depersonalising and dehumanising process'. (Dave Bebbington). John Huckle (1980) reflects a similar awareness:

> The attack on positivism in the social sciences which was a feature of the 1970s suggested that the incorporation of the methods of the natural sciences into the realms of human affairs served to depersonalise and depoliticise knowledge. The ideal of objective, value-free knowledge was both unrealistic and undesirable, for it limited human consciousness and facilitated the spread of instrumental rationality by reducing human problems to technical puzzles.

He reflects upon the desire of geographers to make the new methodological

advances serve human ends and to develop alternative, post-positivistic forms of explanation.

Holt-Jansen (1980, 76) suggests that scientific and philosophical discussion in recent years has produced two chief categories of meta-theories: positivism and critical theory. 'Positivism is connected with the naturalistic-pragmatic trend in modern thought and critical theory with phenomenology and hermeneutics'. Positivism, he contends, has the central thesis that science can only concern itself with empirical questions (those about factual content) and not with normative questions (questions about values and intentions). In an empirical context, 'reality' is defined as the world which can be sensed. Science, therefore, is concerned with objects in the world rather than the subject for whom there are equally real worlds. Positivism proposes that since we cannot, for example, investigate such things as moral norms with our senses, we should keep away from normative questions. Another aspect of positivism is its emphasis on the unity of science; so disciplines including geography should be distinguished from each other by their objects of study not their method - the common method is the hypothetic-deductive method and the model discipline physics. Comte (1798-1857) who defined positivism as a scientific ideal, believed that alongside the natural sciences there should also be a science of social relationships to be developed on the <u>same principles</u>. As natural sciences discovered the laws of nature, so scientific investigation of communities would discover the laws of society. But because positivism claims to seek authority from the natural sciences, it may, Holt-Jensen concludes, lead positivists into thinking that there are technical solutions to all problems.

One suspects that the criticism of positivism was very much sharper in the radicals' view than in the geographers' at Birchwood School. It could be argued that every scientific paradigm is a form of cognition, an agreed approach to the analysis of the world.

> Teaching a discipline, therefore, consists in teaching its current
> forms of cognition. When one learns to see things geographically,
> it is not reality itself one learns but a perspective on reality.
>   (Holt-Jensen 1980, 80)

Immanuel Kant was worried about what he saw as 'nihilistic implications' of empiricism as neither empiricism nor positivism leave room for God; nothing is 'a priori' certain, but the content of the well is shaped by the form of the well (well of consciousness filled by an

empirical question). Further, as Hegel (1770-1831) argued, the categories we use for classication and thought are not fixed for all time, but are historically and socially conditioned. Hence, Gregory's conclusion that there is a need to put the human back into geography with its affirmation of human creativity, sensitivity and agency (1981, 135).

Gregory (1981, 142) like King (1979) sees elements of the technological society and its search for mastery and control as reflected in our teaching content and methods of the quantitative geography emerging in the 1960s but under increasing scrutiny in the 1970s. The mechanical exercises which worried the Birchwood radicals were part of a technical education. At their worst, were they

> ....little more than occupational therapy .... provided for a
> labour force prepared for a routinised, repetitive labour process
> .... the models rarely worked and they certainly couldn't offer
> much of an understanding of the space economy?

The radicals' critique of both the content and the methods of the 'new' geography which they projected onto the GYSL Project, although largely without direct experience as the geographers themselves handled the 4th and 5th year GYSL programme, forms part of a coherent pattern when their concept of valid knowledge in the learner's consciousness, and their rejection of the technical efficiency of the rational curriculum planning model is taken into account. As already stated, GYSL Project rational curriculum planning was not of the extreme behavioural type but nevertheless, the link between behaviourism and positivism is well made by Skinner (1974). 'Methodological behaviourism might be thought of as a psychological version of logical positivism'. This illuminates the basis of the deeper philosophical conflict at Birchwood School. The radicals' rejection of rational curriculum planning by objectives will be examined in the next section.

5.2   INNOVATION, SCHOOL CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY: THE CLASSROOM CONTEXT

Introduction

The central interest of this chapter is the way in which teachers handle the selection and transmission of knowledge during the introduction of innovatory curricular approaches such as those associated with the Geography for the Young School Leaver Project, Man: a Course of Study, and other school-based developments. By comparing teachers' curriculum statements and their observed pedagogies, a phenomenological analysis can be undertaken; the teacher's assumptions and definitions can be considered in terms of their social realisation. Esland's approach (1971) provides valuable insights into the analysis of the two schools. A view of learning and teaching as the organisation of knowledge is developed. The teacher's perspectives are seen in the various institutional localities in which they work.

The widely-held and dominant positivistic view of knowledge is regarded by Apple (1977) as a reification of an existing economic and social order. Of course, the individual teacher in his school has his own unique socially constructed reality which is also a response to a range of influences, social and ideological, shared in common with other colleagues.

New Concepts and New Teaching Styles? - the Dockside experience

The study of Dockside School concluded with key questions: eg

- Was there a greater enthusiasm for, and understanding of, the conceptual approach than the associated teaching styles?

- Had the new conceptual structure of the GYSL Project been adopted without the anticipated changes or major adjustments in teaching style?

The recurring emphasis in discussions and taped interviews by both Ken Newman and Charles Tenby was on the new content, its relatedness to the conceptual base of the subject and on the new materials and resources. Ken was very supportive of the new ideas structure while being critical of the danger of overweighting the new curriculum units with too many organising ideas. He was also critical of the growing influence, as he saw it, upon the Project of the way cognitive ideas were emphasised at the expense of an affective emphasis. He

He thus expressed views more recently elaborated by Hargreaves (1982) in which he identified the strong emphasis upon the cognitive-intellectual skills and abilities of traditional subjects and the under-rating of the affective, aesthetic and manual skills in comprehensive schools.

Because of the limitations that cognitively-based formal examinations impose on educational programmes, Ken felt that 'O' level involvement for the Project was a mistake. To him it was a hindrance to curriculum development. Perhaps he was also voicing the feeling of irrelevance that traditional exams had for some of his pupils. Ken was aware of the tension between the traditional CSE Mode I syllabus and the new GYSL Mode III CSE:

> I have consciously tried with Mode I to go out of my way to relate the British Isles to underlying ideas, yet I have been pushed back to teaching content.

Yet although he was aware of the difference between this syllabus and the new GYSL approach - he demonstrated his understanding by the extremely well-designed Further Curriculum Unit on Medical Geography - the classroom experience of the pupils in GYSL and non-GYSL groups did not display the radical change in pedagogy that the written programmes suggested. Mention has already been made of the need to see the innovation through the perspective of the implementers rather than viewing the innovation from an outsider's perspective because no innovation is a fixed, objective entity. In both the Mode I and the GYSL classes at Dockside, there was a strong emphasis on the 'worksheet' approach. While the worksheets were carefully thought out and presented, their effect was to isolate the learner and leave the teacher firmly in control. The teacher thus became less responsive to his pupils as individuals than he might be in face-to-face interaction with them since his choices and theirs were made in advance. Clearly, however, the pupils were more active, more involved than in a highly didactic/traditional oral mode of teaching. Ken could rightly claim that he had moved from the Transmission-Reception model with its characteristic emphases on programmes of subject matter to be covered, ie learning geography through accumulating facts and practising skills. He did not see himself in an expository role. He had moved closer to a Behaviour-shaping model (Hickman 1973, 10) in which the teacher acts as a provider of sequential structured learning experiences in pursuit of objectives, concepts and skills to be acquired; but the 'open' classroom with

high pupil-to-pupil interaction and the lowering of barriers between teacher and taught was untypical of the lessons observed.

It could be claimed that recent official documents such as the HMI 'Teaching Ideas in Geography' (DES 1978) have given a priority to changes in the cognitive area, ie new conceptual structures rather than major pedagogic changes. It must therefore be asked - was the pedagogic aspect of the Project 'assumed' in the light of its conceptual changes? New techniques in classroom activities were evident in the Geography Department at Dockside but one was stll left asking, why was not the learning experience of the pupils more different? Ken was very aware of constraints imposed by staff and pupil expectations. His perception of his own approach and the range of skills he brought to it were, of course, changing. He wanted more radical changes but found the institutional context indifferent or hostile to a more active, participatory style. His classroom strategies represented his present negotiated position. An observer might ask whether the Project in negotiating with the teachers had unintentionally played down the more radical elements of the classroom process emphasising rather the new conceptual aspects of geography, supported by extensive and varied resources? Parsons (1980) felt that the Project had deliberately adopted a 'low profile' in the presentation of the more controversial aspects of its philosophy in order to win early support.

The concepts of classification and frame (Bernstein 1975) help in reviewing the classroom context at Dockside. The classification, referring to the degree of boundary maintenance between content in the school curriculum could be regarded as strong. The framing was fairly strong; the frame referring to the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organisation, pacing and timing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship. 'Any organisation of educational knowledge which involves strong classification gives rise to what is called here a Collection Code'. On that basis, Dockside School in general, and the Geography Department, although less so, could be regarded as exemplifying the Collection Code classification. In the majority of subjects observed, the framing was strong, while geography, with its community-based field work, warranted a grouping less strong while still providing evidence of firm teacher control in the selection and methods of transmission of knowledge.

The comments of Sue Birkhill (1980) are particularly pertinent as one reviews the Dockside geography experience and to a certain extent the geographers' work at Birchwood School:

> Many people who visit project schools might be forgiven for
> thinking that the Schools Council Geography Projects are not
> about changes in classroom approaches but are about changes
> in the content of geography courses. The 'new' geography is at the
> core of many of the materials developed by the projects and
> the enthusiasm for these materials in schools is more closely
> associated with the exciting new concepts than the associated
> teaching styles .... when teachers discuss the differences between
> the 14-18 and GYSL courses, they are referring to the content
> of the published materials rather than the underlying geographical
> and educational philosophies. (1980, 55)

Alternative Views of Knowledge - the Birchwood experience

The classroom experience and inherent views of knowledge remain the immediate focus. The style of objectives planning and its unwritten messages about the role of the teacher and learner will be discussed later. As he considered the approach of the geographers at Birchwood School, portrayed by him as synonymous with the GYSL philosophy, Keith Yates commented 'the conceptual structure of their syllabus has become the new content'. Contrary to this view was his oft-repeated assertion 'education is process not content!' When the ideas structure of the Project was discussed, Harry Fielding asked 'Whose ideas are they?' Were they those of the curriculum developers, teachers or the pupils? He continued:

> Our comment is that it seems the curriculum team decides on the
> content or ideas that the children should know. The teacher leads
> the children to those ideas - they are not really discovering
> them. The children are programmed because the ideas are in the
> Teacher's Unit. Many of the ideas are so closed.

Keith Yates, also reviewing the Project, commented:

> School subjects at all levels are destroying knowledge, because
> the emphasis is on school knowledge. They often destroy the
> capacity to really know. Pupils should leave school able to
> think - in fact they often leave school with a suitcase of
> knowledge they are happy to ditch after their examinations.
> Teachers do not take easily to the process approach. They see
> themselves as teachers, authority figures rather than teachers.
> The objectives model can help to reinforce their stance.

In response to the GYSL Teachers' Guide (1975) - 'Our task is that of answering questions about the real world in which the pupil can be interested and involved'. Keith Yates commented:

> Our task is to <u>raise</u> questions, not necessarily to answer them.
> There should be a process of question-posing, pupil and teacher
> together, giving sanction and support to open-ended discussions
> where definite answers to many questions are not found.

Harry Fielding took a similar line:

> We feel that the GYSL Project was not only stimulating what
> they thought were the right questions, but also steering the
> children towards the right answers! The <u>Teacher's Guide</u> (1975)
> speaks of 'the ultimate aim should be the understanding of ideas'.
> <u>The key ideas - or at least the form in which they are presented</u>
> <u>suggest that this is not an area of debate or genuine search.</u>
> The key ideas suggest to us that these are the right quest-
> tions to ask - we will provide the right answers. In effect the
> <u>teacher continues to act in authority rather than be a resource</u>
> <u>for learning.</u>

They saw some of the key ideas as 'an example of a teacher's imported
knowledge being imposed on the pupils'.

The 'radical' Humanities teachers clearly accepted a different
paradigm and, as seen in the section describing classroom activities,
tried to implement a 'process' approach at a practical level (see,
for example, the account of the Viking Museum visit). Their view
of knowledge ran strongly counter to an objectivisitic view of knowledge
and because of this their whole concept of learning and teaching
took on a different emphasis.

> Objectivism has been firmly embedded in the norms and rituals
> of academic culture and its transmission. Through the procedures
> of psychological testing and school evaluation, the pupil and
> the curriculum have been reified. Bodies of knowledge are
> presented to the child to learn and reproduce according to
> specified objective criteria ... It is arguable that the
> <u>dereification of much that is taken for granted</u> in educational
> culture will sensitise to the open human possibilities of creating
> new knowledge structures and their modes of transmission.
>
> (Esland 1971, 75)

This alternative view challenges a static, analytic conception
of knowledge. The focus switches from a reproduction of knowledge
absorbed to the individual's ability to organise thought and action
and reshape his knowledge. The inter-relatedness of philosophy and
practice are suggested by Barnes (1975, 139):

> Books on curriculum planning often show the selection and
> ordering of subject matter as a separate stage from the planning
> of learning activities or teaching methods. (The objectives model
> tends to separate content from learning experience.) It is possible
> to show that the way in which teachers think about what constitutes
> knowledge is often linked to what they think learning and teaching
> are. <u>That is, a view of knowledge is likely to carry with it a view</u>
> <u>of classroom communication and the roles of teacher and pupil in</u>
> <u>formulating knowledge.</u>

The objectivist view is likely to extend from views of learning and teaching to assumptions about subjects. Here there were distinctive divisions within the Humanities Department. There were strong pressures to move away from the more open, integrated approach developed by the radical teachers towards re-establishing separate subject identities and departments.

The official Birchwood Humanities syllabus presented the former view of curriculum organisation:

> It is possible to select content for a curriculum unit without reference to precise student behaviour or to ends of any kind, other than that of representing fields of knowledge in the curriculum. Content is then selected to exemplify the most important procedures, key concepts, areas and situations.The Humanities curriculum is to be seen in terms of 'principles of procedure'. These principles are not pre-specified targets at which teaching is aimed but criteria of judgement which help teachers get the 'process' of learning right.

The principles of procedure listed in the syllabus emphasised active learning, inquiry into ideas, an application of intellectual processes, making informed choices. The principles of pedagogy - question-posing, research methodology, developing hypotheses - all emphasised the process of learning rather than the product of learning.

Lawrence Stenhouse (1975, 86), a formative influence in Dave Bebbington's thinking, proposes that key procedures, concepts and criteria in any subject are problematic (eg cause, form, experiment, tragedy). They should be the focus of speculation not mastery and these cannot adequately be translated into the performance levels of objectives. His central argument closely aligns with Keith Yates and Harry Fielding's position:

> The translation of the deep structures of knowledge into behavioural objectives is one of the principal causes of the distortion of knowledge in schools noted by Young (1971), Bernstein (1971) and Esland (1971). The filtering of knowledge through an analysis of objectives gives the school an authority and power over its students by setting arbitrary limits to speculation and by defining arbitrary solutions to unresolved problems of knowledge. This translates the teacher from the role of student of a complex field of knowledge to the role of the master's agreed version of the field.

Taking a contrary view, Tyler (1949) says the purpose of education is not to change the teachers but rather to achieve changes in the students. These changes need to be spelled out in advance. He refutes just defining content, as this, he says, would not tell the teacher

what to do. In a process curriculum programme such as MACOS, the teacher must be an expert or a learner - in most cases he cannot be an expert so he must be a learner (Stenhouse 1975). It implies learning by discovery or inquiry methods rather than learning by instruction. This role is demanding - the teacher must have the skills of finding out, some hold on, and a continual refinement of, the subject he is teaching, and learning, of its deep structures and their rationale:

> The power and possibility of the curriculum cannot be contained within objectives because it is founded on the idea that knowledge must be speculative and thus indeterminate as to student outcomes if it is to be worthwhile.   (Stenhouse 1975, 92)

The basis of much of the Humanities work in Years 1-3 at Birchwood School was the American social science curriculum for middle years pupils - Man, A Course of Study. This is designed on a specification of content at a high conceptual level and pedagogic principles. Major concepts such as 'life-cycle', 'structure and function', 'world view' and 'technology' are specified, so are the principles of procedure for inquiry/discovery learning such as developing in pupils the process of question-posing. Coming within a 'process' framework, the curriculum does not prespecify behavioural objectives since this also is based on a fundamental belief that knowledge is provisional, speculative and thus indeterminate. The Nuffield Junior Science Project, not present at Birchwood, took a similar stance. Principles of procedure, promoting careful observation, recording, classification, hypothesis-formation and experimentation, were its main concerns.

Where did the geographers at Birchwood stand in all this? Undoubtedly they were influenced by the overall strategies within the Department. Their classroom organisation, their willingness to adopt activity and discovery methods reflected their genuine concern to work out the pegagogic aims which were listed as the foundation of the Department's work. Yet in the Departmental discussions and in the adherence to specific 'ideas' objectives, they were seen by the radicals as still adherents to a 'content' approach. The techniques they used, however, placed them well to the radical 'left' of the majority of geographers who attended the GYSL Project 'O' level termly conferences. Practical work genuinely reflected a pupil-centred approach to course studies. Pupils did devise their own hypotheses and subsequent procedures to test these out. The more traditional geographers expressed no surprise when a colleague at a Regional 'O' level meeting commented 'I cannot

go on thinking out more hypotheses for the pupils' work'. The Birchwood geographers and Humanities team were greatly amused.

What was the key to the differences in the Birchwood Humanities Department? A definition of content and process is suggested by Parker and Rubin (1966, 2):

> Content is a rhetoric of conclusions to be transferred to the student - it may consist of a related body of facts, laws, theories or generalisations. Process in contrast refers to all the random or ordered operations which can be associated with knowledge and with human activities. There are processes through which knowledge is created, for utilising knowledge and for communicating it; processes are involved in arriving at decisions, in evaluating consequences and in accommodating new insights. The crux of the assumed contradictions lies in the difference between passive and active approaches to learning. Where primary emphasis is upon content the learner ordinarily functions in the passive mode. He conditions himself to submit to authority. He accepts the proffered gospel and he neither selects his conclusions nor assesses their validity. Where the stress is on process, the assimilation of knowledge is not derogated but greater importance is attached to the methods of its acquisition and to its subsequent utilisation. Knowledge becomes a vehicle rather than the destination.

The radicals' contention was that the geographers, as exemplified by the GYSL Project, placed a higher priority on securing the understanding of pre-determined ideas; the methodology was of secondary importance as a means to an end. The key focus in the process approach however is that the principles of procedure take precedence, the precise ends are unpredictable.

Conflict and compromise produced varying shades of opinion along a continuum. The impression portrayed in the Humanities Department was that the GYSL Project was seen as an extension of the geographers' existing teaching style without creating a radical re-think of learning and teaching.

The GYSL Project: knowledge and styles of learning - a self portrait

In view of the image of GYSL in the two schools, it is illuminating to explore how the Project defined its philosophy. The GYSL structures, pedagogy and resources were the result of individual team members bringing their own perspectives to their central task. According to Walker (1971), each projct member brings to such an enterprise a 'platform' - a system of beliefs and assumptions which guide his subsequent thinking

and planning. These principles are used in the _deliberation_ stage when decisions are made in the light of alternative choices. Eisner (1975) highlights the crucial part played by a project's platform in providing 'an almost unarticulated covenant that gave direction to the work'. His experience seems to reflect that of the Integrated Studies Project Team where curriculum development:

> ..does not proceed through a clear cycle from a statement of
> objectives to an evaluation of the learning strategies used. It
> is a process of bargaining, negotiation, and horse-trading.
>   (Shipman 1974, 43)

A detailed analysis, were it to be possible, of the formative days of the _GYSL_ Project would be illuminating. What was each Team member's view of the subject, of learning and of teaching as it emerged from talks, articles and internal documentation?

An examination was made of a script of an address about the Project given to the Geographical Association Annual Conference on 4 January 1972. Here are some extracts:

> We could have started by writing schemes and devising materials
> but instead we began by seriously considering the basis for
> objectives at the classroom level.

The first area (following Kerr's model) in objectives definitions was the PUPIL. There was an element of determinism in the view presented despite the mention of the pupil's needs and interests:

> I quote from Ruth Beard's book 'An Outline of Piaget's
> Developmental Psychology', p.114 - the capacity of a child
> to think in formal operations, more abstract, hypothetical
> ways does not develop until he has acquired a mental age of
> 13. Teaching methods for the majority of pupils in the first
> two years of Secondary school - and for the less able much
> later - should be suited to those who think in concrete terms.

Recent critics are less certain:

> Educational psychology is still dominated by Piagetian theory,
> which is often taken to imply that it is no use doing anything
> very intellectually demanding with children of primary age.
>   (White 1982, 158)

The second area was DISCIPLINES:

> The disciplines are the raw material by means of which we hope
> to achieve our stated objectives - attention has been given to
> <u>two</u> aspects:

> A   <u>Basic concepts</u> - knowledge can be viewed at a number of
>   different levels, (i) specific facts, (ii) at a higher
>   level, basic ideas and principles.

B   Methods of inquiry - it is important for the pupil to be
     aware of the methods used to arrive at a piece of information
     or an idea.

     So one leads the pupil to examine evidence in a scientific manner so
     that he may make certain inferences and arrive at certain conc-
     lusions through a process of what Dr Graves refers to in 'Geography
     in Secondary Education' as 'guided discovery'.

Dave Bebbington's comment at Birchwood is recalled: 'I do not know
the end result of a learning experience'.

     What is critical ultimately is for an individual to be able to
     think in a flexible way when confronted by an unfamiliar problem
     and here problem-solving rather than memorisation must be seen as
     the basic operation.

Another early Project discussion paper - On Educational Aims
and Objectives - quoted extensively from R S Peters's Ethics and Education
(1966). His views about knowledge are quickly apparent:

     An educated man is one who has achieved a state of mind which
     is characterised by a mastery and care for the worthwhile things
     that have been transmitted which are viewed in some kind of
     cognitive perspective. Further differentiation develops as the
     mastery of the basic skills opens the gates to a vast inheritance
     accumulated by those versed in some specific modes of thought and
     awareness such as science, history, maths, religious and aesthetic
     awareness. Each differentiated mode of thought and awareness is
     characterised by a content or 'body of knowledge' and by public
     procedures by means of which the content has been accumulated,
     criticised and revised. The process of initiation into such modes
     of thought and awareness is the process of education.

Other statements of Peters's were extensively referenced in the
Project's document. 'Education as Initiation' envisages mind first
as a social development then as an   academic phenomenon.

     The child learns to name objects, to locate his experiences in
     a spatio-temporal framework and to impose causal and means-to-end
     categories to make sense of events or actions...further diff-
     erentiation develops as the boy becomes initiated more deeply
     into the distinctive forms of knowledge such as science, history,
     mathematics, religious and aesthetic appreciation and into the
     practical types of knowledge involved in moral, prudential, and
     technical forms of thought and action. Such differentiations are
     alien to the mind of a child and primitive man. To have a mind
     is to have an awareness differentiated in accordance with the
     canons implicit in all these inherited traditions.

The Project was drawing support from a 'received' perspective on the
curriculum. (Eggleston 1977)

Peters's views have come under attack by those having other views
of education. M Minchin comments:

> Peters conceives mind as a thing which develops only in terms
> of the academic disciplines. He confuses the principle of
> differentiation in thought with the academic form of differ-
> entiation. His convictions concerning this must lead him
> into great difficulties when knowledge is reconstructed   ....
> Presumably when biochemistry emerged from biology it was not
> real learning. Such a crude reification of knowledge and
> education seems to me totally useless to the practising
> teacher.   (1977, 133)

Michael Armstrong (1977, 86) comments:

> My contention is that the process of education should imply
> a dynamic relationship between teacher, pupil and task out of
> which knowledge is reconstructed, for both teacher and pupil,
> in the light of a shared experience.

Research undertaken with the Project Team towards the end of Project development phase, 1975, explored Project Team views on a number of issues (Dalton 1977). While there was considerable consensus, there was some divergence on classroom activities and the implied nature of knowledge. The principle of the objectives model was an acceptable basis for planning. Objectives should be selected before illustrative content. The Team strongly favoured objectives as a much-needed corrective to vagueness in course planning.   Under the heading of 'Classroom Activities', the Team confirmed that teachers, working within an objectives framework, should place an emphasis on pupil skills and understanding, the teacher taking on the role of managing resources for learning rather than imparting information. The Team were united in wanting pupils to initiate and direct their own study. Two members gave the statement that pupil-directed activities should outweigh teacher-structured activities the lowest rating on the 4-point scale. One Team member commented:

> I wouldn't be prepared to say that pupil-directed activities are
> wrong and undesirable, but I don't think one can pin one's sail
> to that - we are about more important things than pupil curiosity.

The fourth member identified a personal position as middle-of-the-road - 'between a highly didactic approach and the Charity James IDE'. Among the Team, there was a clear move towards the concept of teacher as manager but within that context there were variations. Their views of the teacher suggested that at varying times he/she would adopt either a Transmission/Receptionist role, a Behaviour-shaping role, and on perhaps fewer occasions, an Interactionist Role (Joyce 1968). All the Team members viewed the teacher as being the overall strategist in the classroom; the dominating style of learning in the classroom

'managed heurism' typified by 'guided discovery' exercises.

The GYSL Project, with which the Birchwood geographers were closely associated by others in the Department was, of course, based on a subject area. The Project might therefore be seen as supporting a strong boundary and hence a strong classification (Bernstein 1975). In reality, the Project encouraged teachers to develop inter-disciplinary links, if not integrated approaches. Included in the Teacher's Guide were contributions from sociologists, mathematicians and historians. During the early years of the Project, there was little evidence that such links were being made. The Project was seen as essentially for geographers. The Birchwood Humanities syllabus implemented a contrasting approach.

> The Humanities Department at Birchwood could be said to be made up from the following departments:
>
>   History   Geography   Religious Education
>
> but having said that, the members of the Humanities team do not see the department as being made up of three separate and distinct subjects. We see Humanities as a course on 'Man'. We try to look at man's nature as a species and the forces that shaped and continue to shape his humanity.

Codes and frames: the two schools and GYSL

The Birchwood syllabus presented a weak classification. The recent emergence of the subjects with their initiating themes in the first three years, however, suggested that the classification was becoming stronger.

The concept 'frame' is used to determine the structure of the message system, referring to the specific pedagogic relationship of teacher and taught. Here the individual teachers varied considerably. The radical teachers gave the pupils a much greater degree of control over the organisation, pacing, and timing of knowledge and, to a certain extent, the selection of knowledge than did the geographers, although these were themselves more radical than the Dockside geographers. The Humanities Department at Birchwood was generally weak on the 'frame' scale. The radical teachers saw the Project with its highly specific framework of ideas, suggested methodology (often guided discovery) and its pre-determined evaluation procedures as being strong on the framing scale.

Bernstein's statement helps to sharpen the distinction and at the same time makes a fundamental link between the approach to knowledge, the pedagogy and the underlying structure of learning. The Humanities Department at Birchwood in its intention and in much of its operation was closer to the Integrated Code, whereas the GYSL Project as it was interpreted in Dockside School, and to a lesser extent at Birchwood, was more typical of the Collected Code, although the concept of framing gives a more accurate dimension in distinguishing approaches. Along a continuum of 'framing', the following could be identified:

FRAMING			
strong frame ⟵————————————⟶ weak frame			
Dockside geographers' interpretation of GYSL - the worksheet was dominant	GYSL Project typified by 'guided discovery' and more open approaches.	Birchwood geographers' - adopting GYSL approach but greater pupil control in some aspects eg pupil course studies.	Birchwood radicals - emphasis on pupil question posing, hypothesis-testing, developing own research methodology.
FIG 14			

Bernstein proposes that where the Integrated Code is taken as the paradigm, the particulars of individual subjects are likely to have reduced significance:

> This will focus on the deep structure of each subject.... I
> suggest this will lead to an emphasis upon and the exploration
> of general principles and the concepts through which these
> principles are obtained. In turn, this is likely to affect
> the orientation of the pedagogy which will be less concerned
> to emphasise the need to acquire status of knowledge but will
> be more concerned to emphasise how knowledge is created. (1975)

If there is a genuine emphasis upon ways of knowing rather than on states of knowledge, the pedagogy, and thus the underlying theory of learning, is involved. The underlying theory of the Collected Code is likely to be essentially didactic while the underlying theory of Integrated Codes is likely to be more group or self-regulated. Bound up with this is a different concept of having knowledge which in turn

leads to a different concept of how knowledge is to be acquired. Keith Yates was quick to point out that the radical approach in Humanities was risky because it changed the authority structures and relationships which most teachers hold. The relaxed frame weakened the boundary between what may or may not be taught so _more_ of the teacher and taught entered this pedagogic frame.

The worksheet regime at Dockside underlined two marked characteristics identified by Barnes (1976) - the capacity to isolate the learner and the maintenance of control in the teacher's hands. Creative interaction between teacher and pupil in some of the Dockside geography lessons was extremely limited. It was more typical of a programmed learning approach. Despite some opportunities for creative activity, the worksheet regime quickly moved into the strong frame category. In contrast, one of the first and most significant comments made to me at Birchwood after spending four months at Dockside, was 'We don't believe in worksheets here!'

Learning and teaching styles - psychometric or epistemological?

Esland (1971) formulates two generic types of psychological model for the development of pedagogy - a psychometric model and the epistemological model of Piaget and Bruner. These models help to clarify further the divide in the Humanities Department at Birchwood and, to a certain extent, between the GYSL Project as portrayed in the two schools and the radical position at Birchwood. Each model has its own assumptions about human consciousness and its own consciousness for the transmission of knowledge. The psychometric model is derived from the empiricist tradition and represents the pupil as an object.

> The other model (epistemological) is explicitly concerned with
> how the child actively constructs and arranges his knowledge of
> the world in his developing interpretational scheme. (1971, 88)

In an extreme form, the psychometric perspective views the child as a deficit system, a passive object to be progressively initiated into public thought forms which exist outside him. The underlying pedagogy is didactic and provides particular organising principles for the selection and transmission of knowledge. This epistemology reifies both the child and public knowledge. The teacher is likely to look for 'right answers' and doing things the 'right way'. This model, Esland proposes, has become powerfully institutionalised in the pedagogical perspective of teachers as their taken-for-granted assumptions about learning and

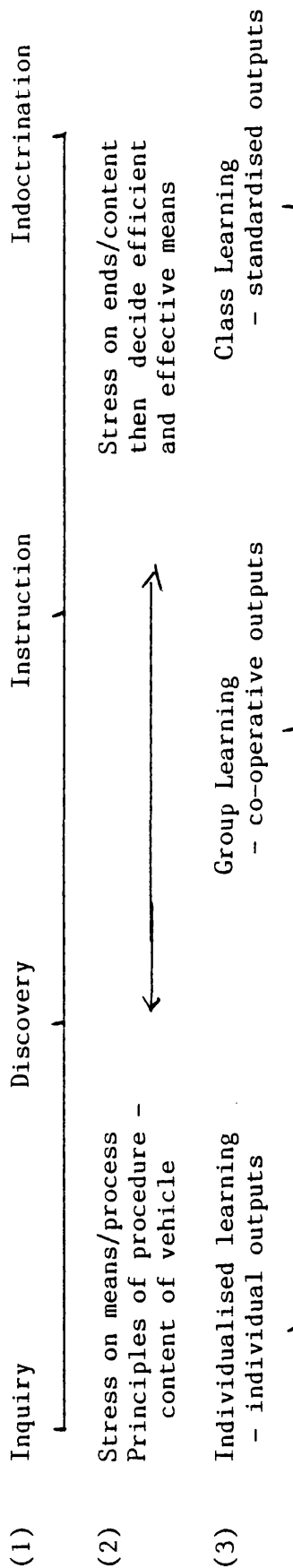the 'good' pupil. The problem pupils are so because of the premises on which the differentiation is made.

The alternative epistemological model proposed is one akin to the dialectic scheme of Mead and Schutz and is represented by the psychological theories of Piaget and Bruner. Bernstein has suggested that this methodology is likely to proceed from 'the deep structure to the surface structure'. This approach dereifies both the child and knowledge. The MACOS Project, a fundamental cornerstone of the Humanities Department at Birchwood, demonstrates a view of knowledge which is not reified but is much more a negotiable commodity between teacher and pupil. Clearly the implications for the differentiation of knowledge are considerable. The child's learning is self-regulative in that he actively controls his sequence of experience.

It would be over-simplistic to classify the continuum of the Dockside geographers into the psychometric mould and the radical teachers of Birchwood Humanities Department into the epistemological mould. At both schools, the geographers were consciously aware in theory and practice of the broad framework of Piaget and Bruner. In the continually changing perspectives of a teacher where the psychometric model is so pervasive, Piaget's work could of course be incorporated into it at an operational level. The developmental model lends itself to the assumption that the child becomes more rational as concrete images give way to abstract images. (Esland 1971)
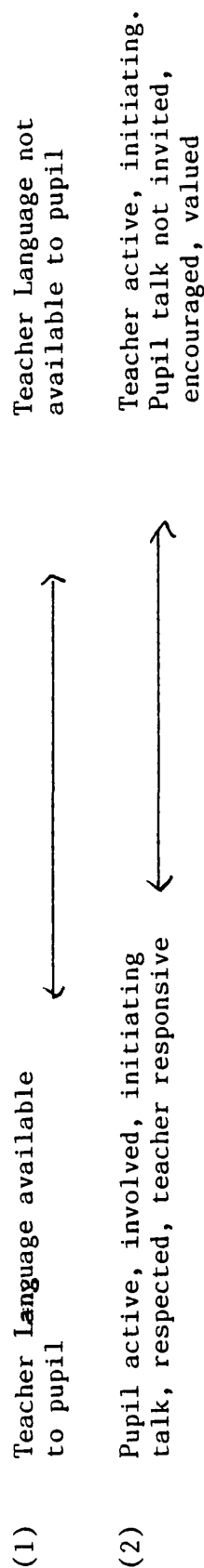
At the conclusion of the Dockside observation, questions were posed: Was there a greater understanding/enthusiasm for the new conceptual approach than for the associated teaching styles? Did the strongly guided approach adopted ensure the reproduction rather than the production of knowledge? Had the role of the teacher fundamentally changed in relation to the degree of control teacher and pupil possessed over the selection, organisation, pacing and timing of the knowledge transmitted? The GYSL Teachers' Guide (Schools Council 1975) discussed the styles of learning in these terms: 'The resources provide the basis for pupil-centred activities. By seeking answers to problems, individual thinking is encouraged and this replaces memorisation as a dominant classroom activity'. The Project encouraged an active learning approach conducted sometimes in class, sometimes individually, sometimes in group situations. The teacher was seen as a resource manager within an objectives framework.

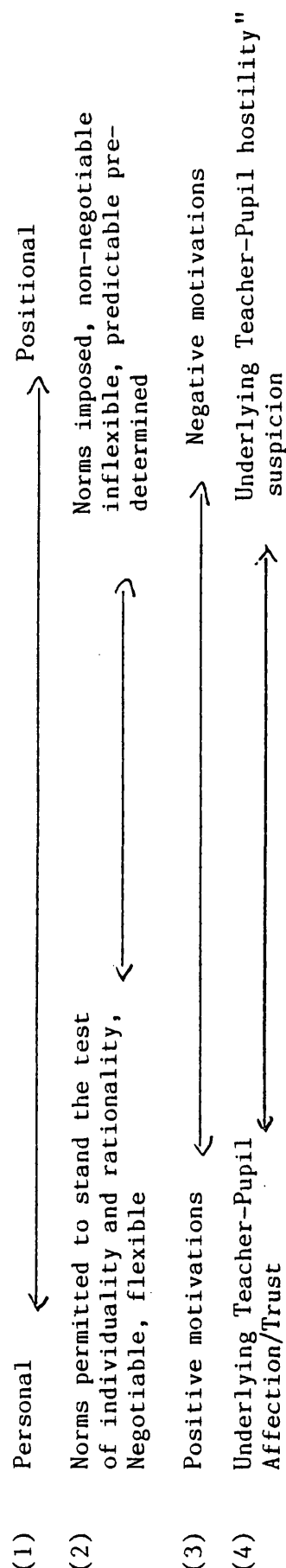**FIG 15   SUGGESTED OBSERVABLE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CLASSROOMS**

A   TASK CATEGORIES

Inquiry — Discovery — Instruction — Indoctrination

(1)

(2) Stress on means/process Principles of procedure – content of vehicle ←→ Stress on ends/content then decide efficient and effective means

(3) Individualised learning – individual outputs ←→ Group Learning – co-operative outputs ←→ Class Learning – standardised outputs

B   TALK CATEGORIES

(1) Teacher Language available to pupil ←→ Teacher Language not available to pupil

(2) Pupil active, involved, initiating talk, respected, teacher responsive ←→ Teacher active, initiating. Pupil talk not invited, encouraged, valued

C   TEACHER-PUPIL RELATIONSHIP/CONTROL

(1) Personal ←→ Positional

(2) Norms permitted to stand the test of individuality and rationality, Negotiable, flexible ←→ Norms imposed, non-negotiable inflexible, predictable pre-determined

(3) Positive motivations ←→ Negative motivations

(4) Underlying Teacher-Pupil Affection/Trust ←→ Underlying Teacher-Pupil hostility" suspicion

(D Bebbington, 1980)

The differences between the GYSL Project with the associated work of the geographers and the radicals in the Humanities Department at Birchwood, while operationally indicating a continuum of positions, at a fundamental level of ideology, showed discernible divisions. One leading member of the Humanities Department, Deputy Head Dave Bebbington, drew up a diagram (Fig 15) to illustrate his idea of relationships along a continuum under three headings:

> Task categories
>
> Talk categories
>
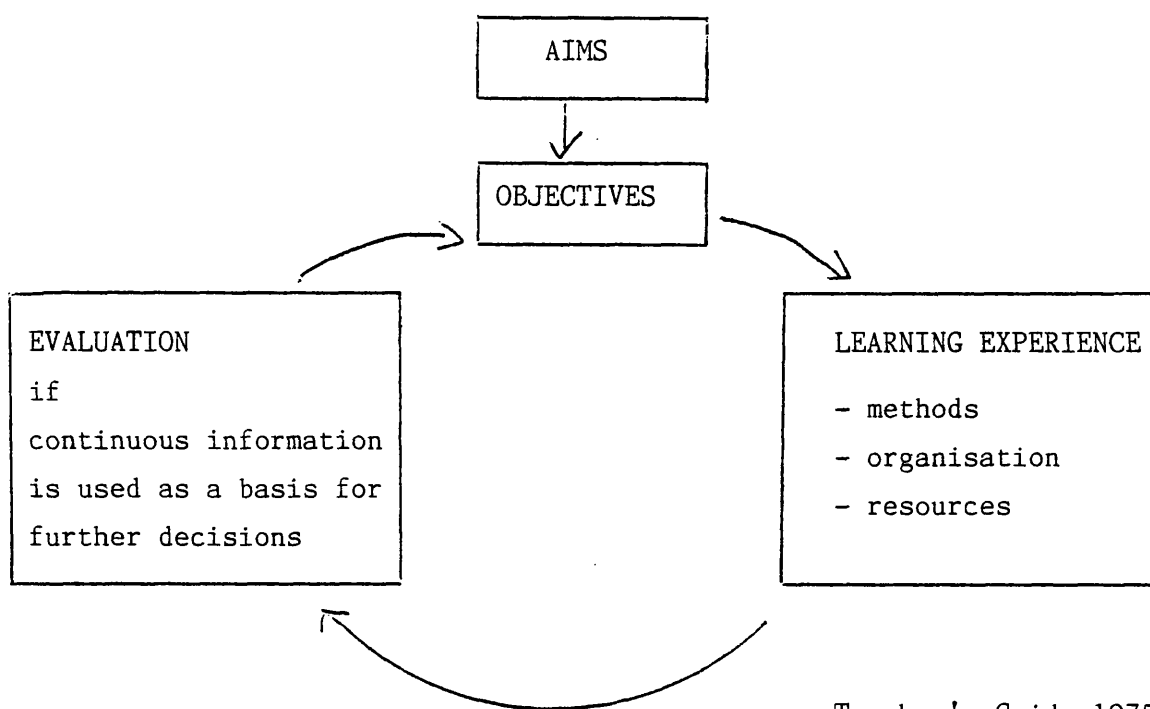> Teacher-Pupil Relationship/Control

If A2 is taken as one measure typifying the two ideologies, the radicals can be located to the left and the geographers further to their right along this axis.

Classroom practice and the objectives model

The objectives model, a variant of the Rational Curriculum Planning Model, was at the heart of the planning and evaluation style adopted by the GYSL Project. Reviewing the range of British curriculum development projects, emanating from the Schools Council, it is a style which has had a very formative influence during the last twenty years. The Teachers' Guide to the Project themes (1975) referred to the planning of curricula in these terms:

> The sequence of such planning of the theorist - identifing the
> aims and objectives, selecting content, methods and organisation
> and finally evaluating - may not represent the exact sequence
> the practitioner follows, but at some stage in the planning process,
> objectives need to be identified.

The main purpose of this section is not to undertake a full-scale analytical review of the objectives concept as such, but to pose a number of questions which link this planning strategy with the earlier discussion on knowledge and pedagogy. The Project Team were unanimous that objectives should be selected before illustrative content. The Team favoured objectives as a much needed corrective to vagueness in course planning. They saw the objectives model as in principal an acceptable basis for planning. The model of planning often demonstrated on courses was presented as an uncomplicated circuit:

```
                    ┌─────────────┐
                    │    AIMS      │
                    └─────────────┘
                           │
                           ↓
                    ┌─────────────┐
              ⟶    │  OBJECTIVES │    ⟶
                    └─────────────┘
 ┌────────────────────┐          ┌──────────────────────┐
 │ EVALUATION          │          │ LEARNING EXPERIENCE  │
 │ if                  │          │                      │
 │ continuous information         │  - methods           │
 │ is used as a basis for         │  - organisation      │
 │ further decisions   │          │  - resources         │
 └────────────────────┘          └──────────────────────┘
```

Teacher's Guide 1975

Describing their impressions of the Sheffield In-service Regional GYSL Conference, McDonald and Walker (1976, 62) noted the reference to the planning model:

> The lecture went on to detail an objectives cycle of curriculum development which proceeded from objectives to resources, to procedures, to assessment and finally back to objectives.

Their comments on this aspect as presented to the teachers were two-fold:

(1) The issue of objectives was discussed at some length with only minimal use of the theoretical language associated with the objectives model of curriculum design. The lecture avoided jargon and made only brief references to theorists and then only for clarification and support (Peters once on 'aims'; Bruner once on the notion of 'core concepts'; Taba twice on 'objectives').

(2) The model presented was a simplified one and presented as if it were uncontroversial and easy to use.

At a later conference, sponsored by the Institute of Education, at Cambridge, they found the presentation to be more reflective but also more controversial:

> The speaker went on to describe the classic curriculum planning model, the objectives model and how the team had used it to build their materials and were recommending it to adopting teachers. Acknowledging, at various points, the controversiality of the approach, through objectives, the speaker justified their use of it in a simplified form.   (1976, 67)

The Project's adaptation of the objectives model reflected the widespread influence of this framework. There was a resurgence of interest in the rational model in the United States in the 1950s, given impetus by the climate of public opinion. Tyler, whose work was quoted in the Sheffield lecture, exerted a formative influence on the Project. His book, Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction (1949), posed the key questions on which subsequently the cyclical model of the curriculum process was based (Wheeler 1967). As Reid (1975) identifies, Tyler's claims for his book were modest. For Tyler, it was not a manual for curriculum construction; it simply outlined 'one way of viewing an instructional program'. Tyler's views on objectives have been portrayed in ways which go far beyond his own, viz:

> I tend to view objectives as general modes of reactions to be
> developed rather than highly specific habits to be acquired.

He said nothing about the practical constraints on curriculum planning. Subsequently, the demand for evaluation and accountability gave an air of certainty to this model well beyond Tyler's intentions. The model was taken up and adapted by many Schools Council Curriculum Development Projects such as Science 5-13 and GYSL. Reid comments:

> As new curricula have been disseminated and discussed, the model
> has acquired such visibility and respectability that the few
> curriculum projects that have set their face against it have done
> so with a deliberation and a concern to propound theoretical
> justifications which have marked very clearly their consciousness
> of departing from an established orthodoxy. (Reid 1975, 244)

One such project was the Humanities Curriculum Project (HCP) which adopted a process model. Graves reviewing both models concludes that:

> ..the differences between them are ones of emphasis rather than
> substance and that the emphasis put on objectives may best suit
> one situation and the emphasis on procedures may best suit
> another. (1979, 38)

Earlier, in fact, he was critical of the process model which he interpreted as being without content, 'but the hard reality is that teachers do not, indeed cannot, become curriculum developers without content'. (1979, 38) Stenhouse would have concluded that the difference between the models was more fundamental.

The Birchwood radical teachers questioned the style of planning which could with such precision identify the key ideas underpinning the GYSL programme and which were the focus towards which the learning

experiences were directed. The educational outcomes of the objectives model were expressed in terms of learner achievement. The success of such a curriculum can be gauged from the extent to which the learner acquires <u>predetermined</u> abilities, skills and attitudes. The process model in contrast focusses on teacher activities, pedagogical actions and on the nature of the teacher's role. The nature of the learning experiences to which students are to be exposed is defined rather than the specific learning outcomes to be achieved from it.

An examination of typical objectives statements in the <u>GYSL Teacher's Guide</u> (1975) indicates that they were far from 'behavioural' in an extreme form. The threefold division of ideas, skills and values and attitudes focussed on the ideas as important concepts. 'By defining them, the teacher can operate with them at varying ability levels in this age group ....' (<u>Teacher's Guide</u>, 1975) The case study material was designed 'to help the pupils discover the ideas'. Other intellectual and social skills were indicated more in terms of activities such as map analysis rather than in precise behavioural terms. Similarly, values and attitudes were presented in such a form that issues could be raised in a very open style. The teacher was seen as a facilitator as pupils were helped to clarify their own views. A typical page (67) from <u>Cities and People</u> showing the three-fold range of objectives is included in Appendix A12.

So although the statements were not strictly behavioural, the framework of rational curriculum planning had implied effects on pedagogy. Huckle takes up this point and especially notes the key ideas basis (1980).

> The three geography projects ... embody elements of geographical and
> educational thought and ideology current in the past decade.
> Particularly important are elements of positivistic geography,
> progressive and open education, and rational curriculum planning.
> These three elements acting together justified an emphasis upon
> classroom approaches involving guided discovery to reveal key
> ideas.

Huckle thus sees the use of key ideas within a framework of rational curriculum planning as closely associated with a style of pedagogy. He also sees the operational curriculum as reflecting and supportive of societal structures:

> To the extent to which the projects lead teachers to impose
> certain meanings from positivist geography upon pupils, they
> support the status quo. Strongly guided enquiry ensures the
> reproduction rather than the production of knowledge. Key
> ideas, instead of ensuring relevance, can be seen to limit
> consciousness and imagination. Clearly the projects do not
> involve pupils solely in guided positivist enquiry; but such
> approaches are a major element of their pedagogy and must be
> re-examined.   (1980, 45)

Another perspective which links what happens in the classroom
to macro-structure of society is developed by Kaufman (1979). He suggests
that the language and science of behaviourism is also the language
and science of capitalism. Piaget's psychology of constructivism being
derived from a dialectical interdependence of the organism and the
environment, presupposes an image of mankind and the nature of knowledge
that is, Kaufman contends, mutually exclusive to the capitalist ideology.
To further pursue the political context is not relevant here but in
the search for the sources of the conflicting ideologies seen at work
at Birchwood School - the rational curriculum planning geographers
versus the radical humanities team - the argument may offer further
illumination. Skinner (1974) suggests that methodological behaviourism
might be thought of as 'psychological positivism'. Kaufman traces the
way human and social sciences came under the influence of the Newtonian
conception and methods. The Enlightenment thinkers aimed to build up
a complete social science on the model of physics. The psychology of
behaviourism, Kaufman proposes, represents a conception of man in an
ordered universe. On the other hand, Piaget's epistemology is anti-
positivistic in its basis; it rejects any form of subject-object dualism.
For Piaget 'knowledge .... neither arises from objects nor from the
subject but from interactions .... between the subject and those objects'.
Accommodation and assimilation occur simultaneously and are theoretically
dissociable. Piaget addresses himself to the fundamental question -
what is knowledge? He does not see the genesis of knowledge as residing
in either the subject or the object but is an interaction between the
two. Knowledge is not obtained from objects but from action: 'Unless
the subject has acted on objects and internalised his action, he has
not constructed knowledge' (Kaufman 1979).

The argument mounted by the Birchwood radical teachers, centred
around 'whose knowledge', a direct reference to the objective style
statements of ideas in the Teacher's Guide. For example, they were

unhappy about the so-called 'middle class' ideas in some of the Units. They found these ideas limiting. At times they felt that the Project, by focussing the learning experiences on a limited number of ideas, excluded ideas already possessed by the pupils. There was also a narrowing of teachers' expectation of spontaneous situations arising from the interaction between pupil and teacher. There was at least one observed occasion when a geographer wrote the key ideas on the board early in the lesson. Instead of being 'discovered' they were being directly transmitted!

The key question when comparing the two ideologies related to process. In the objectives model the process was seen as a means to an end with the teacher maintaining a high degree of overt authority whereas in the process approach, interactions between teacher, pupils and ideas assumed the central role, knowledge becoming the vehicle rather than the destination.

Four perspectives on curriculum

A perspective by which to analyse ideologies is suggested by Reid (1981). Four theoretical positions are proposed. Within the Birchwood Humanities Department it is possible to see centring tendencies as well as overlapping associations typified by individuals and group members. The classifications are of course ideal types. The following is a summary of the four perspectives.

Perspective 1 : Systematic, the system-orientated a priorists

One of the main objects is to find the most efficient and effective ways of planning, implementing and evaluating curricula. It is assumed that the solution of problems is dependent on rational procedures which are universally applicable. The systemic philosophy assumes that curricula questions can be treated in a value-free way, by technical means. It is assumed that educational purposes are not deeply controversial. Writers associated with this perspective: Beauchamp (1975), Pratt (1980), Wheeler (1967).

Perspective 2 : Radical, system-opposing a priorists
(Note use of radical in research classification differs sharply from this definition)

Theorists who trace connections between curricular forms and struc-

tural inequalities in society, and who seek to bring about curriculum change by working for its necessary pre-condition - a transformation of society itself. Writers associated with this perspective include Bowles and Gintis (1976), Willis (1977), Sharp and Green (1975).

Perspective 3 : Existentialist, system-indifferent explorers

Whereas the first two tend to approach the curriculum through macro-structures of society here the attention is on the mind of the individual who experiences the curriculum. Consciousness is always unique, always to be explored in its own terms. It is allied to the humanist introspective philosophy. Research undertaken within this perspective includes that by Huebner, Greene, Grumet, Macdonald and Pinar. (1975)

Perspective 4 : Deliberative, system-supportive explorers

The emphasis is on people making wise decisions about the curriculum, about teaching and learning. A humanistic frame of reference is applied - the idea that curriculum studies could be either a science or a body of universally-applied techniques, is rejected. Method starts not from principles but from problems. It is concerned with practical problems and the essence of the methodic enquiry is <u>to initiate and sustain a process</u> through which the nature of a problem is exposed and a solution converged upon.

Reid suggests that conceptual notions like 'the practical', 'enquiry', 'deliberation', have been undermined by the vast success and academic prestige of scientific theorising and research. Ideas such as those propounded by Schwab (1969) were once commonplaces of scholarship before the onrush of positivistic science. Writers associated with this perspective include Dewey, Westbury, Barnes and Stenhouse. The position is one diametrically opposed to that of the radical perspective (No 2). 'The views' comprise an emphasis on the individual as a morally responsible person, a belief in the possibility of improvement through working <u>with</u> present institutions and in the efficacy of consensual approaches to the identification and solution of problems.

Using these perspectives, identifying and categorising teaching staff could be a superficial exercise. Nevertheless, there are pointers and linkages which may be usefully explored. The interactions between teacher and pupils are critically influenced by what the teacher brings

to the classroom - 'his own <u>personal attributes</u> and his <u>view of education</u> <u>and the children</u> which is a product of his own experience as a pupil, student and staffroom colleague'. (Dale 1972)

I was not aware in my discussions with the Birchwood staff of any indication that curriculum change could only come by a transformation of society. The three other perspectives illuminate tensions between various staff positions:
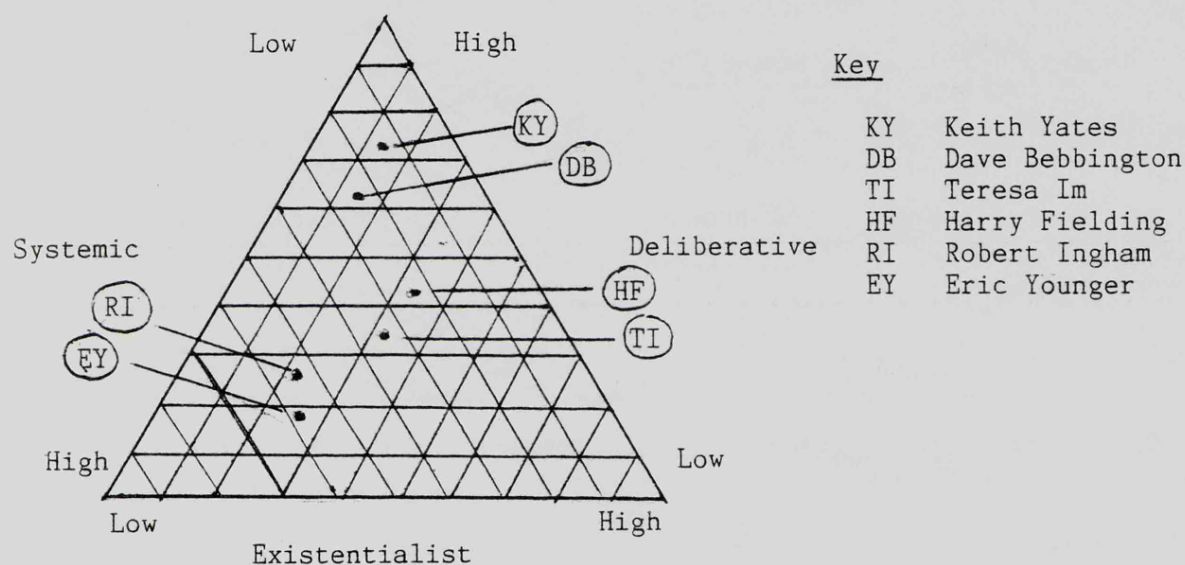

FIG 16   Perspectives on the curriculum - Birchwood Humanities Staff

Much of Keith Yates' approach seemed to concentrate on the relationship of the individual consciousness to the external world. He would have preferred no planned content at all but as in the progressive primary tradition, be seen to be a provider of rich resources and stimuli - a resource rather than a transmitter, developing skills and understanding through principles of procedure. He, Dave Bebbington and Harry Fielding were nearer the deliberative position:

    ...to rely on their ability, through deliberation to search, invent
    and decide .... trusting people to take charge of their destinies,
    to develop the skills they need to do that and to exercise them
    artfully and responsibly.   (Reid 1981, 178)

They argued strongly for the principles of procedures – the process
model, whereby there is content but basically it is regarded as a
resource. The key is the process; it is a view of education akin
to Stenhouse's approach whose affinity with the deliberative approach
was mentioned earlier. Dave Bebbington's comment 'When I start I
do not know where I am going to finish' was not a flippant phrase
signalling disorder but a genuine recognition that learning and inter-
acting generate questions and new understandings not finely programmed
beforehand.

The geographers came more into the area of defining clearly
beforehand the point to which the learning was intended to proceed.
The GYSL Project was a pervasive influence in their thinking as it
was with the Dockside geographers. In geography generally, the ident-
ification of ideas/concepts as a basis for planning came as a refreshing
release from the heavy factual and descriptive work of many earlier
regional studies. While the MACOS Project used high level concepts
but did not predict the nature of the outcome, in the GYSL Project,
the key ideas were seen as a basis for the choice of materials and
pupil activity. The intention was to make prior specification of
'objectives' although these were not strictly behavioural. Nevertheless,
the prespecification clarified the ultimate outcome; it was in the
teachers' hands. It suggested that although this was not an extreme
form of the systemic mode, the geographers and GYSL were considerably
nearer this perspective than the other groups (Fig 16). Of course
there were elements of other perspectives in the geographers thinking'.
The active methods of enquiry, the range of skills, discussion, simul-
ation and problem-solving, all moved the learning experience towards
a more interactive and open approach. As the graph indicates, all
the staff reflected elements of the three perspectives. The shades
of emphasis act as indicators of differing philosophic origins and
purposes. It is of interest to note that Reid (1981, 116) associates the
systemic view with objectivist, psychometric psychology.

With reference to Dave Bebbington's matrix (Fig 15) the distinction
at the extremes of the continuum is brought out clearly:

    Stress on means/process   Stress on ends/content
    Principles of procedure <————————> then decide efficient and
    Content the vehicle   effective means

The lefthand column represented the ideal of the radicals in the Humanities Department - the deliberative/existential association, while the righthand column has associations with the systemic perspective. If the approach of GYSL and the linked work of the geographers did not show a fundamental change in pedagogy, it becomes more explicable and perhaps more predictable. If the emphasis was on <u>ends</u> and <u>content</u>, these could be changed while the <u>means</u> take on a secondary or almost, at times, a peripheral role. The approach with an emphasis on means and process, with content as the vehicle, indicated a major shift in the teaching style and interpersonal relationships in the classroom. Keith Yates' perceptive comment in one of the earliest discussions at Birchwood School is recalled: 'The concepts are the new content'. What he may have meant, of course, was that GYSL as interpreted here has been incorporated into the existing teaching pattern without major detectable shifts of pedagogy.

The Project's link with the work of Taba (1962), Tyler (1949) and Kerr (1968) may be seen as a commitment to efficiency in teaching and learning. The teachers observed by Parsons (1981) seemed 'aim-orientated' but 'constantly stopped short of adopting the full curriculum developmental model'. The cyclical model was not used as a means of evaluation <u>and</u> feedback. Parsons's statements reinforce the earlier query as to whether in pedagogic terms the Project was fundamentally challenging existing pedagogic assumptions of the teachers: 'activity methods, discovery learning and problem solving despite teachers' avowed support were hardly in evidence at all'. Pupil involvement and participation in fieldwork and role play, yes, but not in other lesson activities.

Undoubtedly, the full circle of the rational curriculum planning model adopted by the Project including evaluation analysis was and continues to be an important element in the overall strategy. Higginbottom accurately stated the GYSL position:

> Evaluation is seen as a crucial element in the curriculum
> planning process. The main purpose of testing in schools is
> to <u>determine whether or not objectives have been achieved</u> and to
> use this information as the basis for subsequent lesson planning,
> not merely to rank pupils.   (1980, 12)

While what is being tested may vary in practice, it nevertheless reinforces the radicals' criticism that by implication the system proposed is a closed one. The impression gained by teachers is likely

to be that <u>the pedagogy is simply a means to enable the objectives to be fulfilled</u>. It is therefore further evidence why fundamental differences were so sharply evident in the Humanities Department. It places the GYSL Project in the <u>systemic</u> perspective. It also places the educational experience into a category of searching for the most <u>efficient</u> and effective ways of planning, implementing and evaluating curricula. It might be argued that the cyclical diagram, a vastly over-simplified and unrealistic model, does the project a disservice by going beyond indicating that the elements of aims/objectives, learning experiences and evaluation are in themselves defensible components. It suggests a <u>sequence</u> in which these components are to be related and implemented, eg content first, followed by learning experience.

Apple (1979) applies the systemic idea by linking the management of the classroom, the micro-system, with the macro-system of society:

> A significant part of the framework of systems management is concerned with and is based upon the precise formulation of behavioural goals. That is a student's behaviour is <u>pre-selected</u> before he or she engages in an educational activity and this behaviour is used as the end-product of the system so that feedback can be gained. Ultimately, this will feed upwards on a macro-system for the management of large systems.

Again, it must be emphasised that the GYSL Project was not elaborating a model of tight behavioural objectives, but the statement quoted from Higginbottom's justification for testing has some correspondence with Apple's critique. (1980) The present accountability movement including the activities of the Assessment of Performance Unit adds considerable leverage to the formulation of more precise objectives. This could be seen as encouraging a systemic perspective. Curriculum planning is thus defined as an ideological and political as well as an educational activity. Apple (1979, 112) specifically links Tyler's work with the systems approach:

> Like the Tyler Rationale in curriculum before it, systems manage-
> ment assumes that the effectiveness of a system can be evaluated
> by 'how closely the output of the system satisfies the purpose
> for which it exists' .... however, in the quest for orderliness, the
> <u>political process</u> by which often competing visions of purposes
> deal with each other and come to some sort of understanding, is
> ignored.

In the earlier critique of Tyler's work, it was suggested that it was accountability movement pressures that moved his approach closer to a 'systems-style' than had been his intention.

The important question is again raised - did the commitment of the project to a rational style of curriculum planning, associated with a <u>systemic</u> perspective, maintain the pedagogy within an orthodox paradigm by lessening the status of pupil-learning? Was there something about the cyclical linkage, that demonstrated the team's views of knowledge and the nature of learning? On a superficial judgement all the classrooms in the Humanities Department at Birchwood seemed to be doing the <u>same</u> sort of activities - discussions, group work, project work (at Dockside, the GYSL Project was largely interpreted through worksheets) regardless of whether a historian, a geographer, RE specialist was teaching. In the lower school, the programme in Humanities was integrated and all were working on a common course. All agreed in public on the principles of procedure. Yet real philosophical differences existed within the team. For those who identified with a cyclical model of curriculum planning, the transmission of knowledge was ultimately in the teacher's hands. If that was so, whatever the classroom methods, the evaluation based on objectives related to the learning of <u>knowledge previously planned or defined by the teacher</u> as objectives.

Ivor Goodson in 'Towards an Alternative Pedagogy' (1976, 128) makes a valuable distinction about the term transmission. At one level, every teacher's task is surely about the transmission of knowledge, but at the level of rhetoric:

> ...transmission has come to characterise a particular view of
> practice and an associated view of knowledge as a commodity.
> The distinction between tramsission as <u>an aspect</u> of pedagogy and
> transmission <u>as</u> pedagogy is in this sense crucial.

Transmission suggests handing on and if learning is previously planned and defined by the teacher as the basic objective, it can be defined as transmission. The transmission pedagogue - and this, I think, is the hidden message of the cyclical curriculum model - works <u>to defend this prior definition</u> against interactive redefinition.

Goodson continues:

> By this definition, a broad spectrum of teaching styles - 'chalk
> and talk', 'question and answer', 'discovery projects', 'discussion',
> 'individualised worksheets' - might be seen as following the trans-
> mission model. Hence in 'chalk and talk' the teacher will have
> decided beforehand what content, concepts or skills he wants to
> get across: in the 'question and answer' he will have decided what
> answers are the right ones that he is after: in 'discovery' he will
> know what he is aiming to help the child discover. In all cases, the
> style of the encounter and the outcome are previously prescribed.
> (1976, 128)

Goodson argues that what is decided at the preactive stage of curriculum planning is commonly contradicted and subverted at the interactive stage. There is therefore a misfit between a truly interactive approach which is what the radicals in the Humanities Department had committed themselves to, and the constant wish of the geographers to prescribe what the end result should be. A new pedagogy, as envisaged by Goodson, would move away from the teacher's exposition and definitions. Similarly, the 'school knowledge' of Barnes (1976) is what someone else offers but it remains someone else's knowledge not the child's, compared with 'action knowledge' which is incorporated into the participants' view of the world. Only, suggests Goodson, if the teacher gives the child access to 'action knowledge' can real learning take place. And one guideline he offers for this alternative pedagogy is that drawn from <u>Man: A Course of Study</u> by Bruner. The defining principles quoted are those appearing in the Birchwood Humanities syllabus.

The alternative pedagogy suggested has much in common with the radicals' approach in the Humanities Department. Goodson is careful to point out that it does <u>not</u> imply an absence of planning - or evaluation - but now the teacher is ensuring that the predictive does not become the prescriptive. Learning is derived from <u>process.</u> Eisner uses the term expressive objective:

> ... it identifies a situation in which children are to work, a
> problem with which they are to cope, a task in which they are
> to engage; but it does not specify what from that encounter
> situation, problem or task they are to learn. (Eisner 1969)

One of the points of continuing controversy at Birchwood was, given that procedural principles should be paramount, why should there not be, as the geographer Robert Ingham pointed out, a worthwhile content? Why choose 'cream buns' as Keith Yates suggesed, his argument being that it was the research and learning skills that mattered - the subject matter was incidental. Bruner (1964) proposes: 'Methods of inquiry are more durable than facts and even generalisations'. There were divisions among the radicals about the nature of the content in the first three years, 11-14. Possibly they wanted to demonstrate that 'subject matter begins with an attempt to solve problems and this unitary process of knowledge creation should be the focus of pedagogy' (Goodson 1976, 137). The fact that the orthodox mode of teaching is very different to this is borne out by a report 'The Sixth Form and

Libraries: Problems of Access', Ruddock and Hopkins, 1984). The Report refuted the idea that even 'A' level courses promote intellectual independence in students. In practice the rhetoric of independence is 'belied by didactic teaching and a pedantic view of knowledge'. The researchers found that almost all sixth formers took to organising their own work but few became independent-minded, learning to consult sources other than teachers and textbooks or recognising 'the problematic nature of knowledge'.

5.3   INNOVATION, CONFORMITY, CONFLICT AND CHANGE :
THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

Introduction

There are a number of theoretical strands in the field of curriculum implementation. For example, the social psychologist has an interest in group processes, the organisational analyst focusses on goals, technologies, social systems, values and beliefs (Reid 1975). Alternatively, in an anthropological approach, speculations are made about the cultural perspective and the extent to which cultural forces influence the acceptance or rejection of new curricula. In this thesis, the two case studies draw upon a number of these strands, particularly the anthropological, in which the interaction of new practices and existing institutional cultures becomes a focus of interest. The research evidence supports the observation made by the author of the Cambire School study that resistance to innovation is often treated 'primarily as a practical difficulty of organisations that requires a remedy and not as a social phenomenon requiring systematic inquiry and explanation' (Giaquinta 1973, 189). Reid (1975) distinguishes between the anthropological 'strand' of implementation theory in general and a particular concern with what he calls the 'strongly political characteristics' of the processes of planning and introducing new curricula. These processes, he suggests, have been 'unjustly neglected'.

Taylor (1981) suggests that any innovation must come to terms with the values, the explicit statement of principle which governs action in the school and the classroom, if its hopes of adoption and implementation are to be realised. Such hopes hinge on 'configural relationships', on the value congruence between the innovating and adopting units (Bohla 1967). 'Too little congruence means either quasi- adoption or rejection — though value congruence is an important factor in the adoption of an innovation, other factors matter more'.

This research has attempted to unravel some of the processes of curriculum change. In analysing these processes and the attendant constraints, the concept of the classroom as an 'arena' proved a helpful tool (Dale 1972). The idea was first developed by Anselm Strauss during a study of ways in which different ideologies come together in the particular situation of a hospital ward (Strauss 1964). Dale defined an 'arena' as: 'a sphere of co-operation, conflict and negotiation between individuals who are involved in a common enterprise and who

possess various relevant attitudes, experiences and ideologies'. Through-out this study the interaction between teachers and pupils and teachers and teachers has been a recurring theme. In this section, this is extended and systematically located in the institutional setting of the two schools as conformity, conflict and change occur. No curriculum innovation can be introduced into a school without regard to the attitudes, conceptions and regularities of all who are in the institution. Within the social context of the school, the individual teacher negotiates his teaching strategy. The arena of the classroom is at the centre of complex interacting groups and forces.
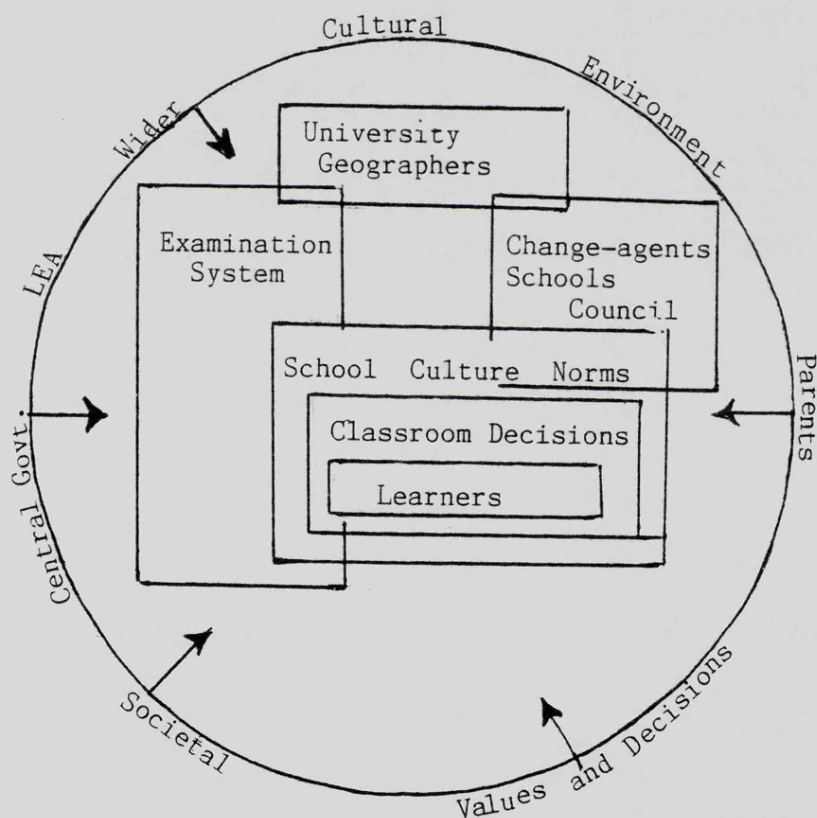
Schools Council
Geography 14-18
(Adapted)

FIG 17   Curriculum Decisions and the Wider
          Influences affecting Innovation in Geography

The model (Fig 17) is misleading if taken too literally. All parts interact with each other in a much more complex fashion but the model attracts attention to some of the elements considered in this chapter.

Innovation and reality definers (1) - the expectations
of teaching staff, Heads and pupils

With much of the Dockside teaching characterised by a transmission
style, the Head was keen to introduce a pupil-centred approach with
open interactive methods. The reaction of staff to his own teaching
methods has been described at an earlier point: 'The Head cannot maintain
discipline'. It was clear that concern for control within the school
caused such a reaction. Stenhouse (1975, 167) comments:

> Curricula changes in so far as they imply changes in the
> nature of educational knowledge threaten the teacher's control
> habits and thus threaten control.

The most important barrier to change he suggests is control.
Waller (1932, 173) detailed the kind of disruptive pattern that could
develop - 'teachers know well that certain behaviour once started
tends to go through the entire school'. The response shows itself
in staff sanctions against teachers who are seen as putting order
at risk through innovations which challenge their competence and the
institutional arrangements. Innovation also poses a threat to the
identity of the teacher.

> Stenhouse saw the implications for the whole institution:
>
> Order is partly achieved by institutional arrangements and
> institutional norms. Any far-reaching innovation
> which is likely to affect attainment or attitude is likely to
> need to be faced by the school as a whole and to be implem-
> ented by policy. This has often not been sufficiently
> recognised in secondary schools where departmental autonomy
> is a strong tradition'. (1975, 168)

At Dockside, the new Head was still in the early stages of estab-
lishing himself. No school policy of support for curriculum development
had been formulated although his views expressed to Ken Newman and
to myself in a recorded interview, made clear his ideals for change
in curriculum and classroom pedagogy. The staff curriculum committee
in which Ken had played a leading part under the former headship,
had not made much impact and had fallen into obsolescence. Ken recognised
that further development needed leadership from the top. There was a
need to 'manage' conflict within the school.

The pressures exerted by staff were potent in containing or restrict-
ing innovation in the school. Within the Geography Department at Dockside,

Ken himself, keen to extend his own skills and enthuse others, was supported by Charles, a teacher at the beginning of his career. Neil Quinlan, the senior master, was helpful socially and undertook the new Project programme, although he was not happy about the worksheet formula. He also readily admitted that the new approaches to geography teaching raised many doubts in his mind. The department generally, however, was noted as an innovation leader but in view of staff reaction to the Head's style of classroom management, it was clear that the pressures towards existing norms on either an individual teacher or a single department seeking to innovate were very great. Ken was aware that staff were suspicious of his innovatory approaches.

Joyce (1971) illustrates how student teachers, their low status in the staffroom continually re-emphasised by means either subtle or brutal, gained security and respect by adopting existing norms. Joyce conjectured that if real curriculum change (as against the mere show of innovation) was to take place, 'new institutions should be set up where student teachers could collaborate in shaping a different social order instead of receiving apprenticeship into the existing order'. His research focused on the way student teachers were inducted into a new role through an apprenticeship designed to move them into the organisational pattern of the existing educational system. The teaching style of the student teachers was markedly different at the end of a period of student teaching, eg they asked the pupils fewer questions and certainly fewer open questions. They planned co-operatively with the children about half as often at the conclusion as they did when their teaching began.

Staff expectations and norms - part of the hidden curriculum of the school - at Dockside were also reflected by the pupils. In discussion, Ken Newman gave more weight to this aspect than to staff expectation. He felt constrained by pupil expectations - they were often resistent to open classroom approaches. Ken felt that the whole school regime reacted strongly against this kind of change. There may also have been inner uncertainty about the skills he and other members of the Department possessed in the conduct of discussion, games and simulations. Order and control were probably never far from his mind although he himself was a very capable teacher. A change of style involved a change in the code of teacher-pupil relationships. The Schools Council Working Paper No 2 indicated:

> If the teacher emphasises in the classroom his common humanity
> with the pupils and his common uncertainty in the face of many
> problems, the pupils will not take kindly to being demoted to the
> status of children in other relationships within the same institution.
> (Schools Council 1965, 22)

In essence, teachers are in the business of negotiation. D Riesman (Meigham 1981, 54) offers a definition of curriculum as 'a rough and ready bargain between what some people are prepared to teach and others are prepared to learn'. The classroom experience is thus an expression of that negotiation. Michael Storm (1979, 5) contributes a perceptive commentary on the reality of classroom transactions. Most discussions about teaching he suggests are dominated by considerations of content (eg themes or regions) and methodology (eg texts or worksheets?) To many teachers, however, the selection of appropriate content and the devising of effective learning strategies are essentially second-order questions. The first order question is how am I to control this group? 'With such boring, futile, irrelevant material and a dreary didactic teaching style' - is it surprising the 'lads' identified in Paul Willis's book 'Learning to Labour' (1977) either reject the overt aims of schooling and the legitimacy of teachers to guide them or they are deeply ambiguous about what they think the school is trying to do? The introduction of stimulating new materials and lively new teaching methods such as role play or simulation, Storm suggests will not in themselves easily transform relationships. It would be interesting to note where particular groups at Dockside fit into Willis' schemata. Many certainly came from the inner city dockside areas. For pupils whose initial reaction is one of hostility or indifference, Storm suggests that the attributes looked for by the teacher are primarily acceptance of authority, recognition of the need for order, regular attendance and respect for buildings and books.

At Birchwood School, the general impression was of positive pupil attitudes. Movement around the school and the care of the buildings were evidence of a co-operative pupil attitude. The social catchment of the school was very different to Dockside, drawing as it did from a largely affluent commuter population. To a large extent, the aims and purposes of the school and the aims of a majority of the parents and pupils had more in common than their equivalent at Dockside. From the perspective of teaching strategy, Storm suggests that where the teaching class attributes are tolerance or industry (Group 2) or enthus-

iasm and involvement (Group 3) the teacher moves more easily from worksheet preparation to varied resource-based truly independent learning. These are practical and relevant considerations for the teacher introducing innovatory programmes into the institutional context.

Ken Newman's classroom negotiations at Dockside did 'even out' differences in approach in the interpretation of two very different syllabi. The GYSL groups were handled in a less open style than might have been predicted and like the Mode I were dominated by the worksheet approach. The Project conformed more to the school norms than the geographers realised. The extensive use of worksheets at Dockside, while seen as a staff support, helped to reinforce the control of pupil learning. The continuous 'diet' of worksheets led pupils to feel that the main aim in geography was complete as many worksheets as possible. The Hargreaves Report (1984) makes a plea for active learning and identifies excessive worksheet use as a cause of boredom:

> ...too little effort is made to engage pupils in active learning
> .... they are required to spend too much time listening or
> copying or completing worksheets. A negative effect of the trend
> towards individualised learning materials has been a preponderance
> of worksheet materials across the curriculum. (3.10.9)

In a recent article, Professor Helburn, a former director of the American Geography High School Project, describes his perception of British school geography. He defined 'control' more broadly, ie social control. He found English teachers caught up in the same process as American teachers:

> Teachers of all subjects are heavily concerned with the social-
> isation of their pupils. Even before our pupils feel the pressure
> of 'O' level examinations teachers are trying to get the children
> to behave in the classroom and to accept, learn and regurgitate
> dictated conclusions and conclusions from text-books. Students
> learn some geography information and they are socialised into
> authoritarian patterns of thought and into obedient patterns
> of behaviour. (1979, 330)

Birchwood School contrasted in many ways with Dockside School. The majority of staff were young and enthusiastic. They were specifically appointed for roles designated by the Headmaster. Whereas Dockside was set in the inner city, Birchwood School was in a commuter village in the Green Belt, serving a farming and affluent professional community. The Head was in a unique position to experiment and manage innovation. From the start, key people, appointed by the Head, played a key role – he wanted different personalities, different strengths. He referred

to his Deputy Heads, 'one is my curriculum conscience, another my discipline conscience'. He set up a situation whereby some areas of the school curriculum were very innovatory. However, he did not want the school to go overboard in that direction, becoming a sort of Countesthorpe. He appointed more traditional Heads of Maths and Science. He placed a traditional grammar school Head of English adjacent to the innovatory Head of Humanities. The management objective was to generate 'creative conflict'. The Humanities Department subsequently caused problems with parents.

In a new school with a young progressive staff, the Head was able to 'manage' the situation in a way that was not possible for the new Head of Dockside at the time of his appointment:

> Clearly the willingness of a school to institutionalise curriculum
> development is very much dependent upon the manner in which the
> head teacher performs his leadership role; whether he is in fact
> a <u>leader</u> in the sense that he attempts to keep the school moving
> rather than simply ticking over. It is also dependent upon the
> administrative structure which he creates since communication
> and decision-making patterns of a school can clearly be motivating
> or otherwise. (Hoyle 1971)

At Birchwood, the Head sought to involve the staff in regular consultation. The concept was in the democratic tradition. The management aspects included whole staff and Heads of Department meetings to discuss curricular and organisational issues, a voluntary staff forum for sharing ideas. There was time release for Departments during the public examination period for on-site and off-site preparation and planning for in-service activities. The support for change through planning sessions allowed new ideas to be debated and, if agreed, incorporated into new materials. This was a practical recognition that in addition to opportunities in informal time, formal time provided opportunities for serious consideration of values and priorities and as evidenced in the Departmental in-service meetings at the residential Teachers' Centre group discussions influenced attitudes. The most fundamental form of innovation was seen in the transformation of the attitudes and values of the teachers. All other forms of innovation - in materials, methods, grouping, etc - were ultimately dependent for their success upon a shift in the values of the teachers. This, in a team teaching block-timetabling context, became even more critical if the team was to go forward together. If not, there was likely to be increasing breakdown in relationships and communication. At Birchwood there were the physical resources and time support for experimentation.

Staff management was a key element in the facilitating of change. The concept of 'organisational health' (Miles 1965) assumes a relationship between collegiality and innovativeness in the form of clear goals, open communication, shared authority, cohesiveness and adaptability. These characteristics are essential to a problem-solving school. Open communication and shared authority were very typical of Birchwood School. Opportunities to contribute to policy meetings were available to all staff. The chairing of some meetings and working parties was undertaken by non-senior staff. Morning staff meetings were chaired by the Deputy Head, the Head contributing on the same basis as assistant staff. During my term in the school, I did not see the Head chairing any of these meetings. In this 'climate', if there was a division of opinion it was evident for all to know about. These open structures contributed to morale and enabled a consistency of values within the institution to be attained. The Rutter research in 'Fifteen Thousand Hours' (Rutter 1979) suggested that the association between the combined measure of overall school process and each of the measures of outcome was much stronger than any of the associations with individual process variables:

> The implication is that the individual actions or measures may combine to create a particular ethos or set of values, attitudes and behaviours which will become characteristic of the school as a whole (1979, 179)

The research suggested that there was a strong probability the associations between school process and outcome reflect in part a causal process. Schools differed on measureable outcomes such as examination performance, behaviour and attendance. The management of schools, in which the Head played a key role, helped to create the climate or ethos.

If change is to take place, the role of interpersonal relationships is extremely important. Hoyle (1971) contends that change is likely to occur in an appropriate normative context and this context consists of people. Contextual changes, of course, while facilitating personal change, do not guarantee it:

> At the present time, we perhaps too readily make the assumption that to change the organisation of a school, or its curriculum, or its architecture, will force teachers to reconsider their values and possibly change them. There is some justification for this assumption, a change of context can stimulate to a shift

in values, but this is not enough ... People's attitudes are
changed by other people and this suggests the greater use of
group methods in affecting change. (1971)

The Humanities Department at Birchwood was planned by the Head to be
a 'pathfinder' in the school. Several innovatory programmes were drawn
upon when formulating their syllabi - MACOS, History 13-16, and Geography
for the Young School Leaver were typical of their 'frontier' approach.
The content and style of their 'process' approach brought them into
conflict with many colleagues in other Departments, some of whom felt
strongly enough about the approach to refuse to cover lessons in the
Humanities Department. The Head talked to me of the suspicions other
staff had of the Department. These staff found it difficult to defend
the Humanities approach to parents. Within this complex social setting,
the geographers had to negotiate their individual teaching strategy.
Not only were they in a Department which created tension in some areas
of the school, but they themselves, espousing the GYSL Project, were
in conflict within the Humanities Department. At Dockside School,
the GYSL Project was regarded by the management as a leading agent
of innovation and change. While this may have been the view of the
Project taken by some staff at Birchwood, in the Humanities Faculty,
the Project, in its perceived philosophy, came under considerable
criticism from the very able leaders in the Department, one of whom
was the Deputy Head. The geographers in their teaching of GYSL were
clearly influenced by the strategies for learning being developed
in the Department. The absorption of a more pupil-centred approach
ironically put them into conflict with the majority of GYSL teachers
at a GYSL Regional Conference.

Both the Dockside geographers and the Birchwood Humanities staff
found themselves, for differing reasons, in conflict with other staff
in their schools. A major difference between the two schools however,
was that at Birchwood, the very able Deputy Head (Curriculum) was
one of the leaders of innovation and was a working member of the Human-
ities team. He was a key figure in the sustaining of the controversial
approaches of the Department. Not only was he able to verbalise and
defend his personal philosophy at open forums, but as instanced in
an earlier section, was able, as chairman of the Heads of Department
meeting, to set the agenda on issues relating to styles of learning
and teaching. He, as one of the school's management team, was able

to clear the path organisationally in the allocation of resources. Block timetabling was of particular importance to the Humanities team. This supported such activities as out of school fieldwork investigations. Not least, the Deputy Head was a formative influence in establishing a climate in which innovations could survive. It has been suggested (Bolam and Pratt 1976, 39) that in a favourable climate for innovation, a number of things are openly recognised and discussed:

(1) That problems, many of them predictable, are bound to occur during the trial and implementation stages of an innovation.

(2) That mutual support by all colleagues can be crucial during such crises.

(3) That failure to succeed must be an acceptable outcome.

In all these aspects, at Birchwood School, the understanding and support of the Head's curriculum 'conscience', the Deputy Head, was crucial.

* * * * * * *

Innovation and reality definers (2) - parental expectations

The geographers' work institutionally was not only influenced by the social setting within the building - by teacher and pupil expectations, resource management, timetabling and the spatial pattern of the building. There were also influences infiltrating from beyond the school - parents, governors, LEA and Central Government. Reid (1980) refers to the innovative school as one which has 'the appropriate structures ... for permitting adjustments to outside pressures ....'

Both schools were very aware of their relationships with parents. There were regular opportunities for consultation. Dockside School was uncertain about pupil recruitment as the population moved from the inner city. There was competition from neighbouring schools. These issues were frequently aired in staffroom conversations and formal staff meetings. The Head, at a first year parents' evening, emphasised the school's academic viability. Recent examination results were shown on an overhead projector.

The classroom and school arena are set in a wider context:

There are severe limits to the innovations that teachers can
initiate in schools and if they transgress those limits they
can expect to be attacked by other groups in the community,
including their colleagues. Although authority relations within
the classroom and how schools organise knowledge may be factors
that have to be changed if educational innovation is to be
effective, these are not variables which can be manipulated
entirely at the discretion of the teachers themselves. Knowledge
and authority relationships are socially organised; a process in
which teachers are merely <u>one</u> of the parties. The key to change,
therefore, is to effect a reorganisation of those social forces
which determine the authority patterns and the structure of
knowledge.   (Salter and Tapper 1981, 21)

The pattern of relationships at Birchwood School illustrated
the way political processes influenced innovation in the classroom.
A critical feature in the change process - vulnerability to the social
environment - stood out in sharp relief. The parents, like the pupils
and colleagues, were reality definers and as such influenced the individ-
ual teacher in the adaptation or rejection of the innovations:

They are likely to reinforce the more conservative elements
of the teacher's pedagogy and sanction liberal or radical
elements. It is the realities of such negotiation which ensure
for the majority of teachers that the open classroom (for
example) remains a theoretical construct worthy of ridicule.
                    (Huckle 1980, 44)

The Birchwood headmaster echoed these ideas: 'Among some parents,
Humanities is an area of great concern because they do not see traditional
history taught, or geography does not appear on the timetable'. The
parents were concerned by both the content and the form of the Humanities
programme. A special parents' evening was planned but this was largely
abortive.

There was unease that pupils' chances of gaining a place at a
local grammar school at the age of thirteen would be impaired. Some
of the Birchwood staff felt that the Humanities approach had put the
school image at risk. This might have heightened anxiety about the school
remaining comprehensive. The governors eventually made a political decis-
ion to abandon the 11-18 comprehensive concept.

For various reasons, the Head changed the status of the Head
of Humanities. Heads of subjects - History, Geography and RE were
identified and when the first Head of Humanities left, the 'caretaker'
replacement did not receive the salary allowance expected. It seems

likely outside pressures played a formative role in this major adjustment, although as far as can be ascertained, the Head did not explicitly ask the Humanities Team to limit their innovatory approach to pedagogy and content.

<p align="center">* * * * * * *</p>

Innovation and reality definers (3) - the Examination system

In the upper years of both schools, the examination system played a dominant role. In the case of the GYSL classes, the assessment style was either negotiated by the teachers at CSE Mode III level or by the Central Project via an Alternative Mode I examination. The Mode I CSE at Dockside was being phased out. The Project-based examinations were, of course, subject to pressures by the Examination Boards to conform to certain frameworks of presentation and content. The Birchwood radicals' Social Science Mode 3 'O' level submission was rejected by the Board, but they managed to get a Mode 3 submission accepted by a CSE Board. The Examination Boards were one of the influential reality-definers for the teacher. Bernstein (1975) discusses the organisation of knowledge. With reference to evaluation, he sees it as a function of classification and frames. The key concept of the European Collection Code is discipline, which means learning to work within a _received_ frame.

> It means, in particular, _learning_ what questions to put at any
> particular time ... the _evaluative_ system places an emphasis
> upon attaining _states_ of knowledge rather than ways of knowing.
> A study of the examination questions and format, the symbolic
> structure of assessment, would be, from this point of view, a
> rewarding empirical study. (Bernstein 1975)

The approach to testing in the two schools seen within this framework gives further clues to the underlying philosophies. Curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation are also linked in Esland's typology where the curriculum consists of _intentional_ knowledge, pedagogy as the _rationality_ of the intention and evaluation as the _verification_ procedure of the intention. Bernstein also illustrates how class-based language codes reproduce a particular class system. Bourdieu and Paseron (1970) have argued that the importance of institutionalised knowledge and qualifications lies in social exclusion rather than in technical or humanistic advance. They argue that it is the exclusive 'cultural capital' of the dominant groups in society which ensures the success of their offspring. This is because 'educational advancement is controlled

through the 'fair' meritocratic testing of precisely those skills which cultural capital provides' (Willis 1977, 128). While the deficit concept applied more to the working class pupils at Dockside, nevertheless at Birchwood School, the radicals argued that the kind of knowledge and skills they were developing were in contrast to those expected by the traditional 'O' level Boards. They were not purveying the particular kind of 'cultural capital' the Boards wanted.

At Dockside and Birchwood Schools, the geographers working with 4th and 5th year pupils closely followed the GYSL Project 'line'. The Project attempted to move away from testing as dominantly a sifting device in which pupils were ranked in hierarchical order.

> Very seldom are they (tests) specifically designed and administered
> with a view to gaining information about the suitability of the
> objectives, resources or procedures – information which the
> teacher can then use to review his teaching. On-going evaluation
> may be undertaken during the development of the theme with the
> introduction of test items .... a secondary aim in setting these
> tests might be to provide information for part of a scheme of
> continuous assessment in an external examination programme.
> (Teachers' Guide 1975)

Project teachers were encouraged to use a range of testing procedures. Resource-based learning should lead to the development of skills other than basic recall. Test items were included in the Teacher's Guide. These exemplified how a whole range of intellectual abilities could be tested. In the classification of the marking scheme, the following categories were used, adapted broadly from elements of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (1956) – knowledge, comprehension, application and judgement. This approach was well received by the teachers who found that the traditional memory-testing recall questions could be replaced by comprehension and problem-solving questions. As well as formal tests, course work was investigated and the Alternative Mode I 'O' level and many Mode III CSE gave considerable emphasis to this type of work. In the 'O' level, for example, a scientific procedure based on hypothesis-testing was required. As mentioned previously, the original intention of the pupil formulating the hypotheses, as happened in the Geography Department at Birchwood, did not appear to be common practice among GYSL teachers generally who saw it as their role to present certain hypotheses for the pupils to test under fairly closely directed conditions.

The GYSL Teachers' Guides included a number of Test Items based

on the objectives identified in the Unit of the particular theme. The questions were marked according to a clearly-defined marking scheme. The type of assessment item proposed gave the teachers specific guidance on what might be tested. It moved a long way from the traditional CSE and 'O' level examination in which the pupils' ability to recall from memory and produce in largely the same form in which it had been taught, still played a dominant role. In the Ordinary level examination, based on the GYSL syllabus, no questions were set which were place-specific, ie a question on inner cities would not specifically name New York as the urban area. Instead a question would be posed which would test the students' understanding of key ideas about urban areas often through photographs, statistics, etc., and the student would then be able to elaborate through an urban case study of his own choosing.

At Dockside School, the Test Items were imaginatively and thoroughly thought out. The questions were well-structured, drawing upon the students' understanding and engaging skills of comprehension and application. As with classroom procedures, there was pupil involvement although largely teacher-controlled. In discussion with the Dockside geographers, and subsequently with the Birchwood geographers, no mention was made of the value the teachers felt the tests had as a reflection of the adequacy of their teaching. The tests were accepted as a more discriminating form of analysing pupils' response to the learning experience but no apparent emphasis was given to the extent to which the results fed back into a curriculum development cycle.
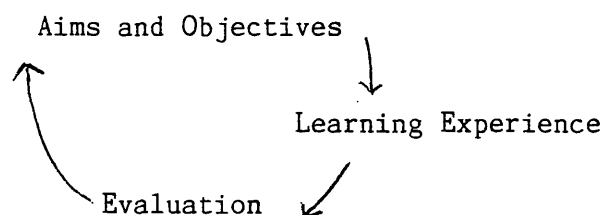
This reflected one of the contentions of Parsons (1980) who found in his research into GYSL teachers' perspectives that the form of self-assessment was intuitive; ie based on classroom interactive responses not scores. In Parson's Practitioners' Perspective, the assessment items were not seen primarily as a form of analysis of success or failure. The response, interest, involvement and compliance of pupils in the classroom was the real measure of success for the teachers.

At Birchwood School, there was no formal testing in Years 1 to 3, a situation which caused problems and misgivings on the part of non-Humanities staff who had to make their contributions to the assignment of pupils to the possible 13+ transfer to grammar school. In the 4th and 5th year the GYSL groups were tested along the lines of the Teachers' Guide Test Items. While I was a full-time member of the school, a Mock Examination in Geography was set to the Fourth Year. There were five questions all of which were to be attempted. The radical staff in the Humanities Department were very critical of the paper. For them, it represented no real break in the style of much traditional examining. In fact, the paper made considerable use of resources such as articles, maps and photographs. It therefore represented much of the resource-based guided-discovery approach of the Project, but to the critics, two questions out of the five substantiated their view that the geographers had not moved from the 'content' based approach to learning. There was much in these two questions which represented to them what Keith Yates termed the 'suit-case' approach to learning, with a heavy emphasis on factual recall and some associated comprehension, eg:

Question 1

Study diagram 1, which shows the distribution of the world's population in cities of more than one million inhabitants.

(a) What percentage of the world's 'Million Cities' was located in tropical latitudes - between the equator and approx 20° North - in the early 1920s?
What percentage of the world's population lived in Million Cities in the early 1920s and the early 1970s?

(b) Describe the main trends in the distribution of the Million Cities between the 1920s and the early 1970s.

(c) Many of the people who live in the Million cities in the tropical world are those who have migrated from the rural areas. Why is this rural de-population such a marked feature of countries in the tropical world?

(d) Describe the main problems associated with the migration of people to the cities in the tropics.

On the other hand, Question 3 was more of a problem-solving type

of question in which the candidate had to use his existing knowledge to solve a situation which in its presentation was new to him:

Question 3

Study the photograph that shows a part of a city just outside the Central Business District.

(a)   Draw a simple sketch to show: the road pattern, factory units, some old nineteenth century housing, office blocks, a new mixed-type housing estate and a site for possible future development.

(b)   Suggest problems that are likely to occur during the rush hour of a normal day as a result of the road pattern.

(c)   What developments might occur in the future on such a site as this, just outside the C.B.D.?

(d)   By looking at the photograph, what facilities have not been provided for and suggest remedies to this situation?

In Section 5.2 - Innovation, School Culture and Ideology: the Classroom Context - the psychometric and epistemological models as proposed by Esland (1971) were used as a means of conceptual classification. In the case of the former, the child was seen as a novitiate in a world of pre-existing, theoretical forms into which he was initiated and which he was expected to reconstitute. The teacher monitored or assessed his progress by means of 'objective' evaluation and he was differentiated from others by its 'objective' criteria. The epistemology was seen as a reification of public knowledge - and the knowledge content was an important form of false consciousness. The alternative epistemological model to which the radical teachers had a greater affinity, dereified both child and knowledge. Following Bruner:

the child's appraisal system and its generative power develop
dialectically with the teacher's structuring of knowledge.
(Esland 1971, 95)

The area of socially approved knowledge thereby becomes diverse and open-ended. This is reflected in the approach to evaluation.

Bernstein, however, saw greater difficulties for the teacher whose position was more typical of the integrated code than the collected code. He brought out the distinction: (1975)

In the case of collection codes, because the knowledge moves from
the surface to the deep structure, then this progression
creates ordered principles of evaluation in time. The form
of temporal cohesion of the knowledge regulated through the
integrated code has yet to be determined and made explicit ...
In the case of collection codes, evaluation at the secondary level
often consists of the fit between a narrow range of specific
competencies and states of knowledge and previously established
criteria (varying in explicitness) of what constitutes a right
or appropriate or convincing answer.

Bernstein pointed out, however, that this form of assessment
did not necessarily disregard distinctive and original features of
the pupil's performance:

In the case of the integrated code under discussion (weak
frames for teacher and taught) this form of assessment may
be inappropriate. The weak frames enable a greater range of
students' behaviour to be made public.

So assessment under this code might take more account of 'inner'
attributes of the student:

The 'right' attitude may be assessed in terms of the fit
between the pupils' attitudes and the current ideology ... The
evaluative criteria of integrated codes with weak frames may
be weak as these refer to specific cognitive attributes but
strong as these refer to dispositional attributes. (Bernstein 1975)

At Birchwood, the approach of the Schools Council History 13-
16 Project was well received by the radical staff who found the 'O'
level paper with its skills-orientation much to their liking. This
was in total contrast to the traditional history content-memory style.
When the comment was made by one of the staff 'Anyone could do that
paper', Dave Bebbington replied 'That makes it a creditable exercise!'

Ultimately, of course, secondary school assessment is greatly
influenced by external public examination pressures. Some of the Schools
Council Projects including GYSL, Geography 14-18, and History 13-16,
have however seen the examination system as a vehicle for reform rather
than as an impossible restraint. The style of the formal papers seek
to reflect the approaches to learning and knowledge embedded in the
classroom experiences advocated. Project teachers have access to much
more information about student performance and take an active part
in organising and assessing the substantial element of school-based
work. The examination is seen as serving the curriculum rather than
externally imposed syllabuses determining the curriculum.

The radical teachers at Birchwood, although successful in negotiating a Mode III CSE, were rejected by 'O' level Boards. Their 'content' was seen as inadequate. The Mode III Social Science CSE syllabus set out the principles of procedures and the pedagogic aims which 'flow from this perspective and are congruent to those adopted in our lower school project, MACOS'. Schools Council Working Paper 53, 68 was quoted:

> It is not an aim of the course to reduce activity and experience to a set of detailed and prespecified behavioural objectives, but rather to illuminate principles of procedure, criteria of judgement, which help teachers get the process of teaching right.

The designers of this Mode III would no doubt have echoed Piaget's constructivism, supporting a pedagogy that emphasised qualitative measures of cognitive competence rather than quantitative measures of cognitive performance. Piaget commented on examinations:

> The school examination becomes an end in itself because it dominates the teacher's concerns, instead of fostering his natural role as one who stimulates consciences and minds, and he directs all the work of the students toward the artificial result which is success on final tests, instead of calling attention to the student's real activities and personality.
>   (1973, 73)

The Mode III CSE attempted to give substance in its objectives to the process approach which underpinned their whole philosophy of schooling. The following model appeared in the syllabus:

A THEORETICAL MODEL FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSE

view of the social   view of society/
sciences   schooling
        ↓   ↓
key ideas/methods   principles of
from disciplines   procedure

        ↗   ↘ choice of themes: ←
                       notions of a common core curr-
                       iculum; perceptions of relevance/
                       usefulness; view of the adolescent
                       and what will engage him.

                     - ideas within the themes/values to be explored

                     - ways of working/using the locality as a laboratory

                     - organisation of learning/styles of relationships

                     - forms of evaluation

                     - selection of content/method for individual units.

Note that in GYSL, the main source of objectives were Pupil, Society and Discipline (Geography). The pedagogy (process) was developed as

an adjunct to the content - as a means to an end. In the radicals' approach, the view of schooling and principles of procedures were explicitly made a central plank. They were asked by the CSE Examination Board to state their objectives. These were eventually accepted after negotiation. The statements were essentially process objectives and therefore maintained the unity of approach from the lower school through to the 4th and 5th year.

Objectives assessed by the Course (quoted from CSE Submission)

(1) Pupils shall be able to find, extract, evaluate, organise and be objective about information; and to communicate it through an appropriate medium. (This objective is abbreviated hereafter as 'Information Skills').

(2) Pupils shall be able to use and understand social science techniques (such as interviews, sampling, questionnaire design etc) as a tool to data collection, be able to formulate and test hypotheses and generalisations, and be able to appraise critically first, second and third-hand research, drawing conclusions where appropriate. (This objective is abbreviated hereafter as 'Research/Analytical Skills').

(3) Pupils shall be able to pose and raise questions; to develop and defend a point of view, and to think beyond the known and the given to justify alternatives. (This objective is abbreviated hereafter as 'Extension Skills').

The shape of the syllabus reflected the essential philosophy of the Bruner MACOS Project. Key ideas at a high conceptual level and skills were identified. What of values and attitudes? The syllabus commented on this aspect:

> The absence of such a column here does not imply that we negate
> the affective domain but rather that attitudes and values fostered
> are recurrent throughout the themes. The focus of the key ideas
> and skills to be developed may vary, but these are set against
> a common backcloth of the development of empathy, tolerance,
> curiosity, openness, flexibility, compassion, tenacity and a
> willingness to share and participate with others.

Reviewing the evaluation procedures at Birchwood School, and seeking to sharpen one's understanding of the differences between the conflicting groups, at first sight there appears to be much in common. Both GYSL and the Social Science groups in the 4th and 5th year were drawn into the external examination procedures. Both made

course work an important element - GYSL at 'O' level 40%, Social Science CSE 50%. Both encouraged pupil studies in which problems and hypothesis testing were normal. Both these groups expected _individual_ hypotheses to be formulated - here the Humanities process approach was reflected by the geography students who operated in a much more autonomous fashion than most other 'O' level GYSL groups. But whereas the geographers were expected to state the hypothesis, test and present conclusions, the Social Science students were expected to do that in their Section 1, but additionally in Section 2 expected to _analyse_ the process itself, under five headings. Two examples are given:

(1)   What research methods did you use? How valid and successful were they? What were their limitations and weaknesses?

(2)   What awkward situations, decisions and problems did you face in conducting the research? How did you overcome them? What mistakes did you make? Why were they mistakes and what did you learn from them? What problems did you overcome rather well?

Both GYSL and Social Science assessments were based on syllabuses that identified key ideas and skills and sought to clarify attitudes and values. The key ideas however on which the examination was based in _GYSL_ often appear to have an air of finality about them and thus become more behaviourally orientated:

eg   The modern economy depends on the efficiency of flow of raw material, semi-processed goods and finished products.

There is a tendency for the size of work unit to increase in order to obtain some of the advantages of large-scale production - hence maximise profits.

It is that 'content' which is looked for in terms of pupil understanding. Yet the _Teachers' Guide_ makes very clear that eg in _People, Place and Work Unit,_ Part 2: 'Throughout this Part, the pupils are given an opportunity to express their own views on the issues involved'. Or in the Introduction:

By seeking answers to problems individual thinking is encouraged .... it should be possible to create learning experiences which will enable the pupil whatever his ability or level of motivation to test evidence, to interpret, to use his own judgement, to be aware of his own and other people's attitudes and to be imaginatively involved in creative situations. (Teachers' Guide, 1975)

Clearly in the learning experience many of the situations within the teacher's general framework were open, although by the <u>order</u> in which the syllabus and Teacher's Guide is presented, the final understanding is more likely to be pre-determined. The assessment, although including skills, is likely, as shown in the discussion on evaluation and the Collected Code, to be rating more anticipated and defined answers. The Social Science syllabus, however, begins by making the principles of procedure its foundation stone. The key ideas are in fact high level concepts such as change and continuity, autonomy and dependence and these serve as the focal points for a dialogue in which the question-posing and research methodology will be firmly placed in the student's hands rather than in a guided-discovery approach by the teacher.

The assessment of Social Science Mode III CSE devised by Keith Yates and Dave Bebbington clearly sought to exemplify the philosophy developed around <u>MACOS</u> in the lower school. It is therefore appropriate to quote from Stenhouse's chapter on the process model (1975, 92) his summary of <u>MACOS</u>. This succinctly indicates why the evaluation of their 4th and 5th year students was a skills-based rather than a content-based (in the traditional sense) approach:

> Man: A Course of Study is a curriculum designed on a specification
> of content – objects of study and some master concepts and the
> point of view of social science – and a specification of what
> the teacher is to do expressed in terms of principles of procedure.
> It is <u>not</u> designed on a pre-specification of behavioural objectives.
> <u>Of course there are changes in students as a result of the course</u>
> <u>but many of the most valued are not to be anticipated in detail</u>.
> The power and possibilities of the curriculum cannot be contained
> within objectives because it is founded on the idea that knowledge
> must be speculative and thus <u>indeterminate as to student outcomes</u>
> if it is to be worthwhile. MACOS sustains coherence within
> a process model partly at least because of its reliance on the
> structures of knowledge. It is often argued that education should
> be founded on the disciplines of knowledge because they provide
> a framework of criteria and principles of procedures and a means
> of justifying these.

<p align="center">* * * * * * * *</p>

Institutional space

> ....Teachers have often been forced into an authoritarian and
> custodial role to offset the inadequacies of design. Architects
> have a constructive part to play therefore in helping pupils and
> teachers to establish better relationships.   (Hardy 1977)

Delamont (1976, 30) comments: 'The spatial relationship between class-

rooms and their surrounding school can have far-reaching implications for teaching and learning'. To Hargreaves (1980,130) the shape of the building represents one aspect of the paracurriculum. The use of space is 'both a symbolic expression of and a mechanism for creating and maintaining the power relation that exists between teachers and pupils'.

The spatial environment of the geography and Humanities work in the two schools embodied ideas about teaching and learning and consequently played an important role in facilitating interpersonal relations between pupil and pupil and staff and pupils. This is an area of classroom interaction often taken for granted yet an individual's consciousness is shaped partly by the kinds of interpersonal relationships that occur. The values hinted at by the visual symbolism contained in the architecture are often unquestioned but messages relating to authority and control, relationships between pupils and staff are conveyed. The regular, formal, one class per teacher layout of Dockside was in sharp contrast to the carpeted informal resources area and flexibly partitioned classrooms of Birchwood School. If innovation is a product of social interaction, the importance of physical settings as symbolic frameworks in which social interaction proceeds needs to be further explored. Of course, the settings are not a final deter- minant - formal classrooms can be made less formal by rearranging tables and other furniture, similarly class teaching and formal instruc- tion may be carried out in open-plan areas.

At Dockside, communication between the rooms with one exception was nil. The rooms had tables rather than desks but these were large and heavy and impossible to re-arrange for group work except in the largest room. The result was that they remained in formal lines reinforcing an expected channel of communication. In most cases this was seen as dominantly teacher-centred. Such classrooms tended to signal social distance and teaching styles which were authoritarian. At Dockside the worksheet approach allowed for some group work but it was largely individualistic. The spatial arrangement of rooms and furniture was a severe constraint on more informal, participatory methods. Commun- ication between staff was similarly limited. Team teaching was not possible.

At Birchwood School, the building started out as almost totally open plan. The Humanities Department, for example, had no walls or

sliding partitions! Some dividing walls were built. Today flexible walls can be moved back and classes combined for team-teaching. The central carpeted area houses different kinds of seating among the resource retrieval units. There is an accessible lecture/video theatre. The whole atmosphere encouraged ease of communication for staff and pupils. Informal contacts were greatly facilitated. There was every support for enquiry and resource-based learning. Staff could work easily together and therefore learn from each other.

The open plan at Birchwood created maximum exposure of teachers to each other. The leadership of the radicals influenced everyone in some way.

The reorientation from the more traditional styles of some teachers has already been related. The move was in contrast to the generally-held traditional views of teaching in the school. The increased exposure, however, heightened the tension and division between those of differing ideology.

* * * * * * *

## Institutional Sub-cultures

It is appropriate to examine group perspectives and the group cultures derived from them as these together make up the culture of the school. Innovations are nested into the existing culture. The issue of whether certain subjects by their structures and traditions tend to portray certain images is discussed by Barnes (1976, 43). In his survey, Science teachers tended to hold Transmission views and Geography teachers came midway between Transmission and Interpretation views, while English teachers were associated more with an Interpretative view. Barnes comments:

> ...it was as if a teacher when he is trained to teach History or
> Science, or English, learns not only his subject matter but also
> a view of what constitutes teaching and learning in that subject.
>   (1976, 143)

The concept of various group perspectives on the nature of teaching and learning and the derived group cultures proved a useful tool when analysing the classroom approaches and philosophies of various members of staff at Birchwood School. Dale (1972, 16) proposes that in an organisation such as a school, the most important factors are those definitions which are held in common by various groups in the situation. Becker (1961, 34) contributes a useful definition:

We see group perspectives as arising when people see themselves
as being in the same boat and when they have an opportunity to
interact with reference to their problems. Under these conditions,
people share their concerns and their provisional answers to
questions about the meaning of events and how one should respond
to them. Individual and sub-group perspectives merge and
are shared. Group perspectives gain strength and force in the
individual's behaviour by virtue of being held in common
with others.

The Birchwood departments provided a basis for the analysis of
group and sub-group perspectives. The research revealed distinctions
in approaches to teaching and learning. The psychometric/epistomological
models (Esland 1971) and the Transmission/Interpretation models (Barnes
1976) provided a basis of identification.

FIG 18
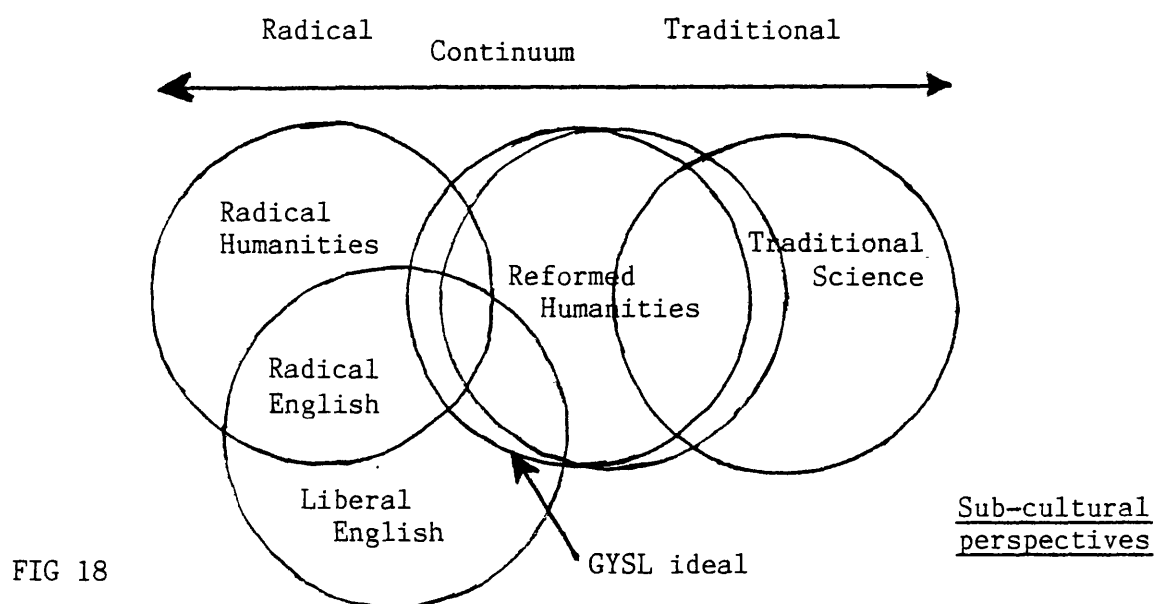
Radical and Traditional terminology as previously defined. An intermediate
category - liberal or reformed - is suggested. Examples:

Radical Humanities

> Keith Yates (Head of Humanities)
> Dave Bebbington (Deputy Head)

Radical English

> Head of English

Reformed English

> Other English staff

Reformed Humanities

> Robert Ingham (Head of Geography)
> Eric Younger (Geographer)

Traditional Science

> Head of Science and most of his colleagues

The sharpest departmental conflict in the school appeared to be between the Science Department and the radical members of the Humanities Department. Their views on the nature of learning, knowledge, content and evaluation all differed widely. The scientists, as evidenced by observed lessons with the Head of Department and other staff, by materials and statements, felt they had little in common with the radical Humanities staff. Similarly, the latter were very critical of the formal 'content' approach of the scientists. Incidents involving refusal to cover Humanities lessons have been referred to. Formal and informal relationships were poor between the Departments.

Within the Humanities Department, there was also a cleavage of ideology and personality. Both the historians and the geographers, whom I have identified as in a 'liberal' group, were made to feel traditional by the radicals although as both history and geography staff commented when they attended their professional out-of-school meetings, they were regarded with hostility and suspicion as being 'way out' in their progressive thinking! The English Department as represented by the Head of Department was increasingly in alignment with the radicals of the Humanities Department - this had been the strategy of the Head in his 'creative conflict' proposal, but he was unwilling to go too far in that direction because other members of his Department wished to retain a more traditional approach. Within the Humanities Department the division of opinions has been analysed but it is important to emphasise that it was a fluid situation and people's attitudes were changing.

* * * * * * *

Conflict and Change - the local school and central agencies

This research has shown that the teaching associated with the GYSL Project produced reaction and at times conflict in the two schools. In <u>Dockside School</u>, the geographers were challenged by various groups within the school, colleagues and pupils, to restrict more progressive aspects of pedagogy. There were differences too within the Department. The Head of Department, Ken Newman, by example and encouragement supported his younger colleagues as they developed new and more adventurous procedures, so that social and psychological pressures did not result in temporary failure overwhelming them. For one of the older members of the Department, unconvinced by GYSL, the Project was mediated through

worksheets. Compared with Birchwood School, however, the Department remained fairly insular from the rest of the school. The teaching pattern was based on separate subjects following their own programmes.

At Birchwood School, however, the geographers were much more exposed. There was only one GYSL unit in Year 3, but their educational philosophy was called into question throughout Years 1-3. The Head had organised the school around the concept of change and development. He wanted innovation in certain sectors of the school and appointed staff with that purpose in mind. The design of the building, with its open structure and resource areas, its management of staff, decision-making and official curriculum, all favoured development.. It was an environment which while not ensuring change, was favourable to it. The GYSL Project, through its training courses and its teacher and pupil materials, was obviously concerned with more than superficial change.

'Ultimately, <u>the most fundamental form of innovation is the transformation of the values of teachers</u>' (Hoyle 1972). The major divide in the Humanities Department at Birchwood School was not fundament-ally about subjects although, as it happened, all the geographers were in one sub-cultural group following the 'relatively' traditional orthodoxy while the radicals were social science and RE specialists. (The first Head of Humanities was a geographer <u>and</u> a radical). The major conflict was in their definition of knowledge and the nature of learning with its implied views of the role of pupil and teacher. Until there was a shift in the underlying ideological position of one or other groups, the variations of classroom techniques and grouping remained as a significant but not fundamental adaptation. It was fascin-ating to watch in a dynamic and, at times, explosive situation, the winning over of staff who occupied the middle ground in this debate. Some by personality and conviction tended to group with the geographers - others became adherents of the new radical philosophy espoused by Dave Bebbington and Keith Yates. As at the In-service Conference, pragmatic compromises had to be reached while both sides reserved their philosophical positions. During my stay at the school, Nesta Daniels was encouraged and highly motivated at having devised her first topic adopting the radicals' approach. It had taken two years of collaborative effort, experimentation and discussion, for her

to feel that she could undertake a fairly small-scale exercise with her own class.

Studies of change (Westbury 1973) suggest that an appreciation of forces tending to preserve the status quo helps to illuminate the difficulties as well as the possibilities of change. The three determinants that emerge from these studies as determinants of change or non-change are:

(i)   the values, beliefs and expectations of teachers;

(ii)   the way classrooms are organised; and

(iii)   the nature and availability of outside support.
                    (see also Reid 1975, 247)

Values and expectations are the central pivot and undoubtedly the latter two conditions are intimately bound up with the values and attitudes of the teachers. If teachers' values, ie their model of teaching and learning, remains unaffected, the organisation of the classrooms and the availability of support <u>will not</u> in themselves produce change. Young teachers coming into the profession may espouse alternative models of teaching behaviour but, as shown by Barnes's study of student teaching practice, the school via its many reality definers can pressurise the young teacher into other more orthodox moulds.

It was significant that the Birchwood Humanities radical teachers, Dave Bebbington and Keith Yates, had both established themselves as very able teachers before going on full-time In-service Courses for further training and qualifications. They returned to teaching and committed themselves to change, which in this new young school produced conflict and antipathy because their philosophy ran counter to the traditional orthodoxy - and this in a school which through its Head, declared itself in favour of change.

Change, while fundamentally involving values and attitudes, needed support to sustain it. For those teachers at Birchwood who wished to innovate, there were materials and equipment. In the Humanities Department, there were teachers who had the skills to act as change-agents in diagnosing a situation, the ability to apply principles of procedures, and develop materials to support their ideas. By their regular meetings, the Department maintained a continuing monitoring of the programme.

The local school needs to explore ways of helping teachers to make more informed curricular planning decisions which can lead to change. Change involves commitment both at a rational and emotional level. Schein (1969) describes ways in which a process consultant can facilitate problem-solving and decision-making by helping individuals to recognise and confront the underlying emotional issues which are sources of tension in working groups such as subject departments in a school. If attention is paid to such areas of concern as identity, control and influence, communication and group relations can be improved. Schein emphasises the need for groups to pay attention both to task functions and maintenance functions. If the group splits, psychologically as well as organisationally, due to or because of a loss of knowledge and skills, group solutions become impossible. Good management facilitates change yet because values and attitudes are involved, real change will not occur because of good management alone.

The GYSL Project attempted externally to provide structures to stimulate and foster continuing change. The Project produced initial teaching materials. It supported CSE groups at Mode II and Mode III levels and negotiated an Alternative Mode I Ordinary level, hoping thereby to institutionalise change.

GYSL also attempted to provide supportive structures through the formation of local curriculum development groups in each of the 104 LEAs - the proliferation of centres concept (Schon 1971). As well as producing new materials, the groups provided opportunities for interaction between teachers of varying philosophies and experience. No doubt much more than the Project realised here was the potential for real change.

A centrally-based Project - a temporary system - ultimately depends on the individual school becoming the focus of change. The importance of school-based professional development was underlined by the later devolved approach of the Schools Council where small-scale local projects were funded rather than the massive national projects such as HCP an GYSL. This represented a move from the R D and D approach to the Social Interaction and Problem-solving models (Havelock 1971). Ideally, supporting agencies would continue to service schools in solving problems they themselves identified. The professional self-development of teachers

was a central element of HCP. Similarly, the Ford Teaching Project (1972-75) tried to find ways of helping teachers to develop methods of self-monitoring.

There is evidence of increasing tension between school-based change and centrally directed change. A recent statement by the editor of TES (18.1.84) made this prediction: 'There will be a sharpening up of the curriculum and the introduction of much clearer guidelines laid down centrally as to what schools should teach'. Despite that trend, the importance of the individual teacher and the individual school remains a key issue.

> It is ultimately with teachers in classrooms that effective
> decisions about teaching and learning have to be made. It is
> because of, rather than in spite of the constraints upon them,
> that teachers need to develop their professionalism as decision
> makers about curricular matters. (Pudwell 1983, 23)

Throughout the research, an attempt has been made to see the GYSL project and the various definitions of innovation as elements in a wider complex, interacting system, of which the school is only one part. The open-systems theory illustrates how an institution such as a school, as well as its sub-systems, relates to a wider environment. The boundaries, whether between individuals, groups, or institutions, are permeable; they do not make the system 'closed'. This is well illustrated by the issue of epistemology around which much of this research has revolved. The individual teachers' interpretation of knowledge cannot be divorced from the prevailing conceptions of knowledge reflected both within the culture of the school and the prevailing ideologies within society.

PART 6

C O N C L U S I O N S

INTRODUCTION: THE RESEARCH - ITS PURPOSE AND CONTEXT

> Resistance to curriculum change continues to be treated
> primarily as a practical difficulty of organisations that
> requires a remedy and not as a social phenomenon requiring
> systematic enquiry and explanation.
>
> (Giaquinta 1973, 189)

The aim of this research has been to explore the social mechanisms and processes of change in two schools where innovations were introduced into the curriculum. The Schools Council GYSL Project provided the initial impetus for the research but in the event, it became only part of the investigation as its contribution to the curriculum was located in the context of other innovations.

The GYSL Project was a development typical of the period in the early 1970s when central research and development projects were seen as a major strategy in the process of curriculum renewal in schools. When an analysis of the take-up of Schools Council Projects in schools was made, it became clear that compared with many other Projects, there had been a rapid adoption of GYSL. In these terms, GYSL was a very successful Project. Yet the take-up statistics gave a very limited indication of what really happened to this and other similar innovations. Much more information about the processes of adoption and implementation within schools was needed. A number of questions were readily formulated:

- What was the 'received' curriculum of the pupils involved in the innovatory programmes?

- How far was the orthodox model of learning and teaching challenged?

- In what ways did the cultural norms of the institution influence innovatory learning activities in the classroom?

- Where was the Project located within the varying ideological stances of the school's inherited curriculum?

- What were the processes that inhibited or facilitated change?

- What was the role of the various reality definers?

In the GYSL dissemination Conference of 1974-75, and the subsequent years, much time was spent in communicating the Project 'messages' - new

conceptual structures, the need for relevance, rational curriculum planning by objectives, new classroom techniques and value orientation. Almost exclusively, this was done within the framework of a geography department. Few sessions hinted at the possible internal conflicts that might be engendered within the school as a whole or at the need to see this development within whole school policies.

While the GYSL Project was the focus of interest at Dockside School, in the second school, Birchwood, GYSL was one of a number of innovations in the Humanities Department. These curriculum innovations explicitly and implicitly embodied certain views of the nature of education. Differing views of learning and teaching were often sharpened by the introduction of these innovations into the school curriculum. Conflicts ensued which were not overcome simply by more effective communication.

> Most of all, perhaps, the myth must be exploded that differences
> in educational views between say teachers and administrators, or
> among teachers themselves, or between teachers, parents and
> children are only the result of poor communication and would be
> resolved if somehow we learned to understand each other better. It
> is possible they represent deeply differing views of the world and
> of human nature. (John Tomlinson, former Chairman of Schools Council
>   1978)

This research set out to explore the differing views of the 'educational world' which became more apparent when curriculum innovations were implemented. Because there is a tendency to treat educational innovations as products to be introduced into a school, it is rightly claimed that the value conflicts which surround the idea of educational change may be treated superficially. (Whiteside 1978). This research has examined some of the conflicts engendered by innovation. The research provided a unique opportunity to examine not only innovation set within the school culture, but as with other innovation participants it heightened the self awareness of the researcher as taken for granted assumptions were exposed to scrutiny.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

1. It was clear, observing the Project in the two schools, that although the overall plan and materials were the same, the learning experience, the 'received' curriculum of the pupils in the two schools, was markedly different. The pupils' classroom experiences also differed within the Departments as individual teachers brought their own

interpretations to bear on the Project. This confirmed Esland's proposition that innovations are often mistakenly represented as a structural entity without reference to the different meanings and significance which they have for the individuals who experience it (Whiteside 1978, 34). Innovations cannot be reified. They are constantly being defined, changed and redefined. The GYSL Project reflected individual teachers' definitions based on their understanding, philosophy and their negotiations within the school.

2. Innovators negotiate their teaching strategies within the culture of a particular school. The concept of the classroom as an arena proved useful as the research proceeded. It is defined as: '...a sphere of co-operation, conflict and negotiation between individuals who are involved in a common enterprise and who possess various relevant attitudes, experiences and ideologies'. (Dale 1972, 43). The teachers in both schools were members of social systems which exercised considerable influence over the individual. The innovations were the result of social interaction. What was finally implemented and became the pupils' received curriculum was a result of the geographers' negotiations with various reality definers. The process of negotiation tended to even out differences in syllabus content at classroom level. The norms, for example, in Dockside School pervaded and influenced the geographers' response to change. Innovations in both schools challenged the shared meanings held in the institutions. In Dockside, where the Geography Department was regarded as a pathfinder in curriculum matters, the geographers felt constrained by the expectations and assumptions of staff about the nature of classroom learning and relationships. Much of the teaching in the school was highly didactic. The work with GYSL groups in the school appeared to be considerably influenced by a universal 'Collected Code'. The pupils came to lessons with 'conditioned' expectations. The geographers found these attitudes difficult to overcome. The need for firm pupil control - a custodial priority - was never far from the minds of staff. The dominant use of the worksheet as a means of presenting the GYSL Project was consciously or unconsciously a helpful mechanism of control.

At Birchwood School, there was considerable antipathy to the radicals'

approach, both within the school generally but also within the Humanities Department. Sub-cultural groups, sometimes Departmentally centred, were identified based on criteria of teaching and learning styles. It was a dynamic situation in which personal loyalties as well as personal ideologies were subject to change. The particular 'chemistry' of personality interaction was an important key to understanding curriculum development at Birchwood School. Although there were conflicting ideologies, there was still the pragmatic need to keep the Department together. It has been suggested that the curriculum is at the meeting point of educational ideal and political reality.

Pupils' expectations also reflected the wider cultural environment. The cultural environment of most of the Dockside pupils differed from that of the Birchwood pupils. The extent of overlap between the pupils' cultural expectations and the culture transmitted by the schools varied, with greater congruence in the latter school. Here, for example, subjects following a more traditional approach were largely unquestioned, whereas the radical style of the Humanities Department was challenged. The parents here acted as a formative 'reality definer'. The Head was forced to take note of these reactions. He was aware that under the 1944 Education Act, the curriculum was subject to the oversight of school governors.

3. The classroom arena may be thought of as a spatial environment in which interaction takes place. The values hinted at by the visual symbolism contained in the architecture are often unquestioned, but in both schools, messages were relayed, eg relating to authority and control, relationships between pupils and staff. The regular, formal one class per teacher layout of Dockside was in sharp contrast to the carpeted informal resources area and flexibly partitioned classrooms of Birchwood School. Because innovation is a product of social interaction, the importance of physical settings as symbolic frameworks needs to be further explored. At Birchwood School, informal interaction between pupils and teachers, and teachers and teachers, provided a means of communication and demonstration. It supported a relaxed 'teacher as consultant' approach - it also allowed maximum exposure to the otherwise private world of the traditional classroom. In some rooms at Dockside, it was physically impossible to re-position

the heavy classroom furniture to create spaces for more flexible groupings; it thus helped to reinforce a more formal, didactic approach.

4.   While teaching is an eclectic activity, the research demonstrated a fundamental philosophical divide which proved to be the origin of differing aims and emphases in the classroom.

The curriculum innovations acted as a catalyst in helping to unravel the beliefs and attitudes of teaching staff along a continuum (see Fig 15). One strand of this was:

Stress on means/process/   Stress on ends, content
principles of procedure. ⟵—————————⟶ - then decide efficient
Content the vehicle.   and effective means

Another was transmission as an aspect of pedagogy or transmission as the pedagogy (Goodson 1976) or epistemological/psychometric models for the development of pedagogy (Esland 1971).

It was, however, the process v. content definitions which the radicals at Birchwood used most frequently to distinguish the differences between themselves and the geographers. 'You cannot ride two horses at once - the process and the content horse' (Keith Yates). The geographers disputed this and debated why there could not be a worthwhile content and process. 'It is not a difference of values but of interpretation' (Robert Ingham). It might be argued that in practice, teaching is an eclectic activity - teachers draw on both paradigms but in terms of the Parker and Rubin (1966) proposal, the divide at the level of ideology was clearly definable.

    Content in short is a rhetoric of conclusions to be transferred
    to the student (even by seemingly progressive methods) ... where
    the primary emphasis is on content (pre-formed conclusions) the
    learner functions in a (relatively) passive mode. Where the stress
    is upon process, the assimilation of knowledge is not derogated
    but greater importance is attached to methods of acquisition and
    its subsequent utilisation. (1966, 2)

It was apparent that new content and new techniques could still leave the pupil experience firmly in the 'content' mode of learning and teaching. The pedagogic aims taken from MACOS with its emphasis on initiating and developing in youngsters a process of question-posing and a capability in research methodology to answer questions they have

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raised, were based on other assumptions. 'The process model is central to my concept of education' (Keith Yates). The radicals saw the GYSL type of work as being incorporated into the existing teaching pattern without observed major changes of pedagogy. This internal debate clarified an issue central to educational purpose. It moved the debate beyond materials and strategies to underlying values. <u>The teachers'</u> <u>view of knowledge was shown to be pivotal to their interpretation of</u> <u>teaching and learning</u>. 'Knowledge is inextricably linked to methods of coming to know (Whitty 1974, 120).

The immediacy and centrality of this debate is illustrated by the importance the Hargreaves Report - 'Improving Secondary Schools' (1984) - attaches to the quality of the learning experience:

> Traditional academic activity over-emphasises content at the expense of process, and tends to focus upon eliciting the 'right' answer rather than generating questions and encouraging a range of possible responses which pupils themselves can evaluate and select from. Pupils need the scope to experiment, to fail as well as to succeed - the making of mistakes is an essential part of learning... learning should involve social interaction, pupils collaborating over tasks in pairs or small groups, the teacher acting as a resource or consultant rather than solely as a purveyor of information. (3.10.10)

5. <u>The research raised questions about the model of curriculum design</u> <u>adopted by GYSL. How effective a model for teacher development was</u> <u>it?</u>

Observations have been made by Birkhill (1980) and Goodson (1980) about changes in conceptual structures rather than teaching styles in many Projects. By its empirical rational approach and substantial production of materials (pupil resources and teachers' guides) the GYSL Project saw its materials as a vehicle of change and support. It also ran the risk that these materials would be used in ways which left unchallenged the current orthodoxy of many geography classrooms. The charge levelled by the radicals against the Birchwood geographers was that 'the new concepts have become the new content' leaving relatively untouched at a fundamental level, considerations of teacher/pupil role and the associated views of knowledge as for example, differentiated in the Collected and Integrated Codes debate.

The prepared worksheets produced at Dockside School were designed to span all the GYSL themes. They became for many pupils an impersonal

activity involving almost no interaction between pupil and pupil or pupil and teacher. The questions and problems originated entirely from the teacher. Although at Birchwood the GYSL teachers adopted a new relevant content and many new teaching techniques, the radicals regarded their underlying philosophy as 'reactionary'.

The planning strategy adopted by the GYSL Project was an adaptation of the Tyler Rational Curriculum by Objectives model - adapted in so far as the ideas were clearly defined but skills, attitudes and values were at a more general level. While this style of systematic planning directed towards pupil learning was innovatory to most teachers and provided a welcome reaction to the content overload of many geography syllabuses, the research raises the question whether in the form presented it challenged the teachers to fundamentally re-think the classroom experience. The pre-stated ideas generated by the Project or the teacher and the identified skills were the focus of implementation. While such could be grafted on to existing practice, they did not necessarily challenge the orthodox model, whereas the process model adopted by the radicals made problematic the nature of knowledge, teaching and learning, indeed of education itself. The dominant focus was on the quality of the learning experience procedures rather than a pre-defined objectives. Its potential for teacher change was therefore likely to be greater.

The cyclical link between predetermined objectives and evaluation suggested the closed nature of the model. In the process approach, 'When I start I do not know where I am going to finish'. Rational curriculum planning as part of a systematic approach, however loosely interpreted, maintained the Project within an orthodox paradigm of learning and teaching although the centre of gravity was moved towards a more open pupil-centred methodology. The key ideas and associated skills tended to draw the conclusions back to the teachers' control. In the objectives model, skills were seen as a means to an end. Method was separated from content. In the process model, the learning experience was central with the skills those of problem-solving and knowledge generation.

The rapid adoption of the GYSL Project indicated that teachers saw the Project meeting their curriculum needs in a form which they could appropriate. McDonald and Walker (1976, 75) inferred that the GYSL

like other innovatory projects felt 'compelled to disguise the very conditions which would enable their work to survive and take root'. To gain widespread acceptance, they speculated that teachers would need to perceive the project as among other things...

- respecting the teacher's autonomy with regard to classroom practice.

- offering reinforcement to the teacher's professional identity.

The teacher's autonomy being sacrosanct implied 'he knows how to teach' (1976, 50). But whereas Stenhouses' approach (1975) placed changing the skills of the teacher as central, GYSL included skills in a less dominant position, seeing them as a means to an end. The teacher's role was to 'design learning experiences which will lead to the achievement of the stated objectives'. The clarity of the stated objectives, the wide ranging pupil materials and the suggestions of practical work which many teachers felt they could attempt, all made the Project negotiable and facilitated moves to update geography and develop more 'open' classrooms. The Project appealed to teachers 'where they were' at a pragmatic level, then attempted through its ideas and materials to facilitate change. The problems that a process approach creates for teachers' identity were well-illustrated at Birchwood where Keith Yates and Nesta Daniels reckoned it took them one year and two years respectively to move from an orthodox model of teaching. The radicals agreeing that change is slow – and painful – saw it not as building on long-held assumptions but eventually dismantling and constructing a new base, developing a new teaching model.

6. Attitudes to the nature of subjects and their boundaries provided further evidence of a philosophical divide.

Both schools had ideas about weakening the boundaries between subjects. Dockside was contemplating a Humanities approach in the lower school. Birchwood adopted integration as part of their initial organisation. The evolution of that Department and the gradual re-establishment of subject-based units in Years 1-3 has been traced.

Geography came under scrutiny from the radicals. The new geography was welcomed by the geographers. Elements of it were incorporated into GYSL but it was rejected by the radicals largely on the grounds of its educational implications. They found the application of scientific models to the human situation 'arid and dehumanising'. The imposed pattern of rational curriculum planning model and the positivistic determinism of some of the geography could be seen as having common roots. The suggestion that positivism could be regarded as 'methodological behaviourism' was quoted in the earlier discussion.

Keith Yates, particularly, opposed the tendency to shape school syllabuses on academic assumptions drawn from higher education. Holt (TES 3.12.82) citing the Cockcroft recommendations, comments:

> If schools are to see subjects as means of genuine enlightenment rather than ends in themselves, they challenge the view that high status top down knowledge is what really matters.

7. <u>The implementation of innovation involves a learning process in which supportive interaction plays a vital role.</u>

Innovation and its associated change are demanding and can undermine a teacher's confidence. To Keith Yates, the initial experience of MACOS was 'frightening'. The supportive framework of his school, however, allowed for the risk of failure. It enabled the innovation to survive. At both schools, there was considerable pressure from staff and pupils towards conformity and the status quo. At Birchwood, the Head's strategy was to generate 'creative conflict' by consciously appointing innovation leaders alongside more traditional Heads of Department so that change by 'contagion' would occur, yet parents would not be alienated. His enthusiastic support for the Humanities innovators led to some retraction under parental disquiet. It was an evolutionary pattern identified by Daft and Becker (1970) where as the innovation gains ground 'bottom up', innovation may be resisted by members of the administrative management who initiated it. Staff in the Humanities Department at Birchwood were continually challenged to engage in a process of learning. They inevitably had to negotiate compromise too but the support and involvement of the Curriculum Deputy Head provided material and time resources as well as psychological support when difficulties were encountered.

In contrast, the Dockside geographers were individually more isolated and therefore less supported. There was no block timetabling or team teaching and the cellular structure of the building reinforced their isolation from colleagues. Ken Newman was committed to a process of relearning for himself and through the use of worksheets saw opportunities of assisting colleagues through the early problems of innovation. The new Head however recognised the need for whole school policies and the need to monitor planned change. He was more constrained by the curriculum patterns already in existence. For the Birchwood Head, the new school was less constraining.

If shifts in teachers' values were going to take place and new models of learning and teaching be adopted, the supportive 'healthy' environment of Birchwood typified by the space created for the consideration of fundamental issues within school policies would facilitate, although not finally determine this process.

* * * * * * * * * *

The expression of conflict and change were different in each school. Elements of power and status figured but the central pivot around which the research in the two schools ultimately revolved was ideological - the differing views of knowledge derived from differing views of schooling and education. The internal debate portrayed at Birchwood School is of fundamental importance and is significantly, rarely experimentally demonstrated and argued as a central issue. The radicals would view with concern an argument that in seeking consensus arguably conceals the nature of that debate:

> Running across the search for agreed objectives is a debate which
> has gone on for a long time and which now serves to darken
> rather than to bring enlightenment. It concerns the place of
> traditional school subjects in the curriculum. It is full of false
> antitheses - process versus content, learning how versus learning
> what, knowledge versus skills, personal versus academic skills and so
> on and so forth. I believe there is broad agreement with the
> view which I certainly hold, that in education we are often each
> member of these polarised pairs....
>
> (Sir Keith Joseph, 'Your job and mine'
> Address to the Society of Education Officers:
> 14 July 1984)

* * * * * * * * * *

In summary, the research indicated that while senior management within a school can encourage curricular initiatives and provide a supportive framework, micro-politics and above all the personal philosophy and values of teachers, are the major determinants of a school's response to change in the curriculum.

A P P E N D I C E S

DOCKSIDE CURRICULUM TRAILS

Week beginning 17 March   YEAR 4 (QM)   Week beginning 24 March   YEAR 2 (2QA)

	WEEK 1					WEEK 2				
	M	T	W	Th	F	M	T	W	Th	F
1	History 13-16		3 NC	History 13-16	History 13-16	Maths		Maths	Science	Maths
2	(3 QA)	(1 N2)		Gen Biol	Gen Biol	R.E.	(1 N2)	Geog	(4 D)	(4 D)
3	English	English	(5 D)	English		(5 D)	Maths	English		
4	Gen Biol	Geog (4 B)	Geog (4 B)	(5 B)		(4 D)	Science	(4 B)	(5 B)	Science
5	Maths	Maths		(4 B)		English	English		Drama	

( ) GEOGRAPHY DEPT

IMPLEMENTATION OF A SCHOOLS COUNCIL CURRICULUM PROJECT

OBSERVATION IN THE CLASSROOM

Observations will be recorded in two ways –

(i) Verbal Interaction in the classroom (an adaptation of the Verbal Interaction Category System – Amidon & Hunter, 1967)

(ii) Impressionistic relating to matters such as pupil activity, range of skills, resources, grading of work etc.

VERBAL INTERACTION CATEGORY SYSTEM

The system contains 5 major categories for analysing classroom verbal behaviour:

(1) Teacher initiated talk
(2) Teacher response
(3) Pupil response
(4) Pupil initiated talk
(5) Other

A category is tallied every time the behaviour changes and every three seconds in any behaviour that lasts longer than three seconds. The tallies are recorded in sequence.

Teacher-initiated talk

(1) Presents information or opinion
   (F-facts. E-explanation. J-judgements/queries)

(2) Gives directions

(3) ASKS narrow questions (predictable response)

(4) ASKS broad questions (thought provoking, expressions of opinion/feeling)

Teacher-response talk

(5) Accepts (a) ideas (b) behaviour (c) feeling

(6) Rejects (a) ideas (b) behaviour (c) feeling

Pupil response

(7) Responds to teacher (a) predictably (b) unpredictably

(8) Responds to another pupil.

Pupil-initiated talk

(9) Initiates talk to teacher

(10) Initiates talk to another pupil

(11) Silence

Other.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SCHOOLS COUNCIL GEOGRAPHY PROJECT
(AVERY HILL 14-16)

CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

Date _____   Time _____

Class _____   Room No _____ Layout:

INTERACTION ANALYSIS	GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

RESOURCES:

OBJECTIVES:

SKILLS:

TEACHER'S ROLE:

INTRODUCTION This unit is concerned with one aspect of leisure provision in the country-side – the National Parks of England and Wales. These were defined by Dower as:

'Extensive areas of beautiful and relatively wild country in which, for the nation's benefit, and by appropriate national decision and action:
a) the characteristic landscape beauty is strictly preserved;
b) access and facilities for public open air enjoyment are amply provided;
c) wild life and buildings and places of architectural and historic interest are suitably protected, while
d) established farming use is effectively maintained.'

(Dower Report, 1945).

Part 1 serves as an introduction and emphasises the significance of increasing access to the Parks from the urban areas. Part 2 is a case study of the Peak District National Park to illustrate the problems and conflicts which are involved in conserving large areas of the countryside for leisure activities.

Several ideas from Unit 2 occur again in this unit in a different areal context. Examples are: the periodicity of use of outdoor leisure facilities; the importance of time–distance as a measure of accessibility; the pressures on land which can result from leisure demands and the consequent need to plan.

PART 1 THE NATIONAL PARKS OF ENGLAND AND WALES

In this introduction to the unit emphasis is placed on familiarising the pupils with the location of the National Parks in relation to the urban areas of England and Wales. The motorway network is studied because of its importance in relation to increasing access to the Parks. Landscapes within the Parks are considered in order to illustrate their potential for differing leisure activities.

OBJECTIVES
Ideas

• There has been an increased use of countryside leisure resources as a result of greater affluence and mobility, and improved accessibility.
• Use of these resources varies according to accessibility.
• Time distance is a useful way to measure accessibility.
• Contrasting landscapes offer differing opportunities for leisure activities.

Skills

• Use of the atlas.
• The transformation of statistical data into simplified graphical form.
• The reading and analysis of an Ordnance Survey map.

Values and attitudes

• A consideration of the opportunities offered by National Parks for the pursuit of leisure activities.

RESOURCES PROVIDED

3.1 National Parks and where people live.
3.2 Tracing overlay – motorways of England and Wales.
3.3 More roads, more people.
3.4 Extract from the Ordnance Survey 1:63 360 Tourist Edition: Peak District.

Filmstrip
Frames 11–16: National Parks of England and Wales.
Frames 17–24: Peak District.

Overhead transparencies
3: National Parks and land over 200 metres.

Extract from
'Man, Land and
Leisure'

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CONIFEROUS FOREST

Green Books   Pages 32-33, 35
              Pages 128-131
              Page 25

(1)   From the world map, on pages 32-33, mark on the extent of the
      Coniferous Forest Belt.

(2)   Name 5 countries within the Coniferous Forest Belt (Use an Atlas)

(3)   The Russians have a special name for this region - p.35

(4)   Describe the climate of this region - p.35

(5)   Describe the vegetation of the region   "

(6)   How long is the growing season?   "

(7)   At what temperature do plants begin to grow - p.35

(8)   How do the trees cope with the frozen ground and loss of water - p.35

(9)   DRAW THE CLIMATE GRAPH FOR PATRICIA, ONTARIO, CANADA
      PAGE 25

Then answer:

(i)   How many months is the temperature below $6^{o}C$

(ii)   What is the highest temperature

(iii) When are the highest temperatures

(iv)   When are the lowest temperatures

(v)   Comment about the distribution of rainfall

(vi)   What is the range of temperature (difference between highest and lowest)

(vii) How does this range compare with the range for a town in Britain
       or Western Europe.

(10) DRAW A BAR GRAPH TO SHOW THE % PRODUCTION OF SOFT TIMBER - p.128

(11) COPY THE TABLE SHOWING THE DIFFICULTIES OF EXTRACTION - p.128

WORKERS ON THE MOVE

(1)   Why do some countries depend on immigrant workers? _____

_____

_____

(2)   Suggest two reasons to explain why people might move from their
      own country to another to work

      (a)   _____

            _____

            _____

      (b)   _____

            _____

            _____

(3)   Which two countries supplied France with the most migrant workers in

      (a)   1960? _____

      (b)   1970? _____

(4)   Which country supplied West Germany with the most migrant workers in

      (a)   1960? _____

      (b)   1970? _____

(5)   Draw a bar graph to show the percentage of foreign workers employed
      in European countries in 1972.

      (a)   Why do you think that Switzerland and Luxembourg needed so many
            foreign workers?

            _____

            _____

            _____

(6)   Newland is an industrialised country. It does not have sufficient people in the country of an employable age to fill all the vacant jobs. It therefore depends on workers from surrounding countries. 200,000 workers have come from Robertsmany, 100,000 have come from Toddbourgh, and 25,000 from Ridgemany. Using the same scale as on the Resource Sheet, drawn a flow map to show this.
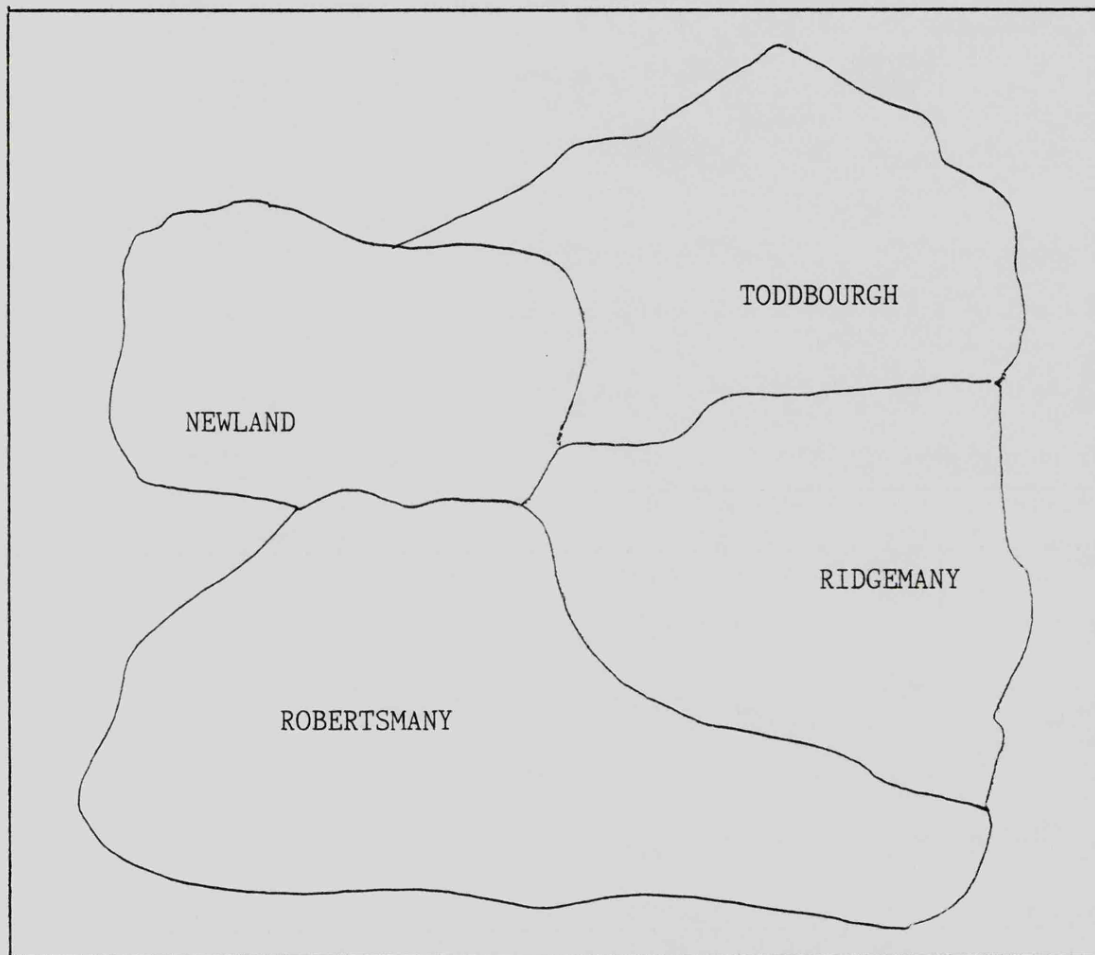
(7)   (a)   Describe the type of housing that the migrant workers in France have to live in.

_____

_____

_____

       (b)   In which parts of British cities are many newly-arrived immigrants to be found?

_____

_____

(8)   (a)   What types of jobs do many immigrants first take?

_____

_____

(b)   What evidence is there to support the statement 'immigrant workers are playing an important part in the industrial growth of European countries'?

_____

_____

_____

_____

(9)   Should we regard migrant workers as full members of the community with equal rights to public services, or merely as people working in the country for a short period with no such rights. Give reasons for your answer.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(10) (a)   What does the newspaper headline suggest? _____

_____

_____

(b)   How would you deal with the problem? _____

_____

_____

(11) Why do some people want to take industry to the Third World?

_____

_____

_____

_____

GEOGRAPHY IN SCHOOL

The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out what you think about geography. This is NOT a test.

Please give your HONEST opinion.

In a multi-choice question, circle one answer unless asked for more.

---

(1)   Put in rank order 1 to 5 your reasons for opting for geography.

A   Your parents advised you to take geography

B   You found the work interesting in Years 1-3

C   You thought it might be useful when you leave school

D   You enjoyed being taught by a member of the Geography staff

E   There was nothing else you were able to take

(2)   Compared with Years 1-3, have you enjoyed 4th and 5th geography –

more   less   about the same

(3)   In what ways, if at all, has 4th and 5th year geography been different to that in Years 1-3?

....

....

....

(4)   Is there any way in which classroom work in geography is different to that in other subjects?

....

....

(5)   Geography lessons I have enjoyed most have included (list things you did)

....

....

(6)   Geography lessons I have disliked most have included (list things you did)

....

....

(7)   In the past 2 years, topics which I have enjoyed most have been

....

....

(8)   Topics I have enjoyed least have been

....

....

(9)   I have learned most in geography from

films   worksheets   teacher talking   text books   resource
                                                                        sheets

(19) In geography we work as

	all the time	mostly	sometimes	hardly ever	never
a class					
in small groups					
as individuals on different tasks					

Which would you prefer.... and why

....

....

(11) I would prefer to spend more time in geography finding out about

          the local area
          regions of Britain
          regions of the world
          topics like cities, work,world resources

(12) If you have done fieldwork in the 4th and 5th year, say why you
      think it was included

....

....

....

(13) The geography course has been related to important problems in the
      everyday world

      a great deal   to some extent   hardly at all   never

(14) I prefer working from one text book rather than from different materials
      like newspaper cuttings, photographs, resource sheets

          always   most of the time   sometimes   never

(15) I have been asked to give my own opinions and state my attitudes
to problems (like world hunger, pollution, traffic and housing)

    very often   sometimes   rarely   not at all

(16) I wish there were more discussions in geography lessons

    agree   not sure   disagree

(17) How often have these activities occurred?

	Very often	Sometimes	Rarely	Not at all
Fieldwork, surveys, visits				
Mapwork				
Copying notes or maps				
Drawing and colouring				
Using statistics to draw graphs etc				
Studying air photographs				
Answering worksheets				
Listening to tapes				
Discussions				
Watching films				
Geographical games and role play				
Making models				
Creative writing				

(18) If you were doing the 4th and 5th year geography course again, what
changes would you like to see in it?

    ....

    ....

    ....

    ....

Unit 16 City and county

Every day since November 1967 the people of Leicester and the surrounding area have been able to listen to their own radio station, BBC Radio Leicester, 'The voice of City and County'.

The map shows the area which can receive Radio Leicester's broadcasts. The people of the area round Leicester have close ties with the city.
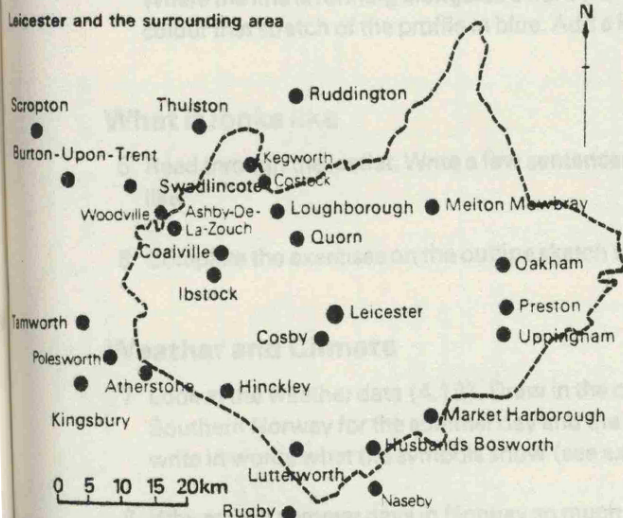
They travel to the city to work, to go shopping or for entertainment. Leicester provides all these things, not only for its own people but also for those living in the surrounding area. The city also provides a centre from which engineers and repair men go to the villages and towns nearby. The maps on this page show the areas covered by some of the services which Leicester provides.
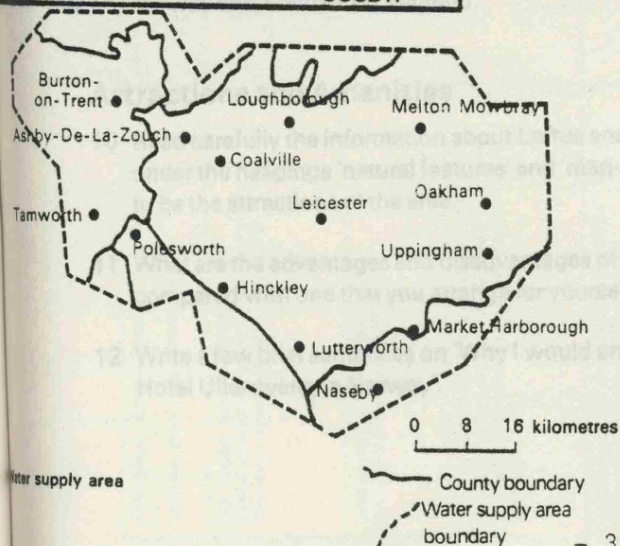
How large is the area surrounding Leicester which is linked to the city?

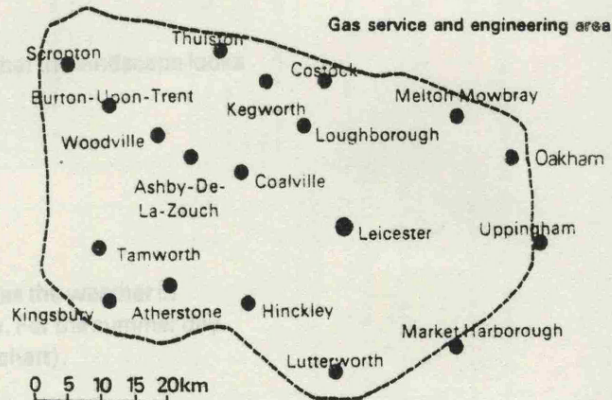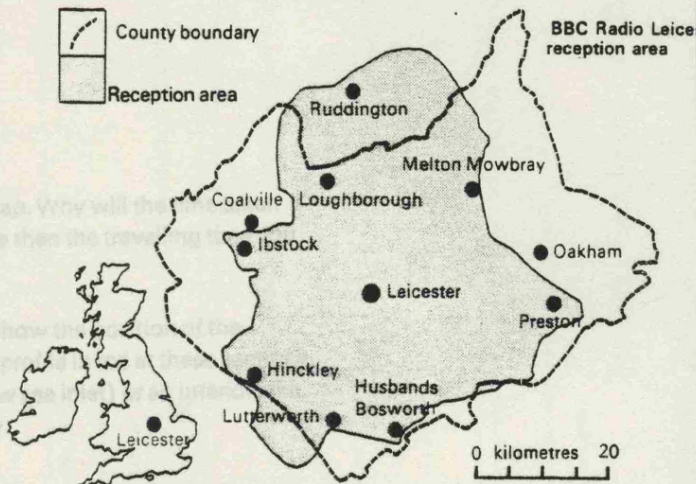We can answer this question by using the maps on this page.

County boundary

Reception area

BBC Radio Leicester reception area

Ruddington · Melton Mowbray · Coalville · Loughborough · Ibstock · Oakham · Leicester · Preston · Hinckley · Husbands Bosworth · Lutterworth

0 kilometres 20

Leicester and the surrounding area

Scropton · Thulston · Ruddington · Burton-Upon-Trent · Kegworth · Swadlincote · Costock · Woodville · Ashby-De-La-Zouch · Loughborough · Melton Mowbray · Quorn · Coalville · Oakham · Ibstock · Preston · Tamworth · Leicester · Uppingham · Cosby · Polesworth · Atherstone · Hinckley · Kingsbury · Market Harborough · Husbands Bosworth · Lutterworth · Naseby · Rugby

N

0 5 10 15 20km
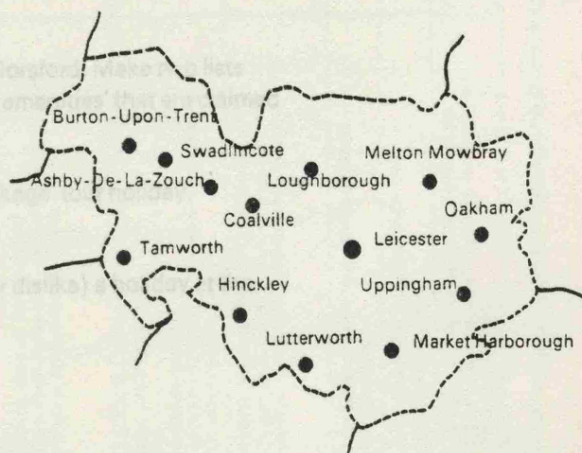
Towns visited by Hotpoint engineers from Leicester.	HINCKLEY IBSTOCK MARKET HARBOROUGH	OAKHAM UPPINGHAM QUORN COSBY.

Gas service and engineering area

Scropton · Thulston · Burton-Upon-Trent · Costock · Melton Mowbray · Kegworth · Woodville · Loughborough · Ashby-De-La-Zouch · Coalville · Oakham · Tamworth · Leicester · Uppingham · Kingsbury · Atherstone · Hinckley · Market Harborough · Lutterworth

0 5 10 15 20km

Towns where the Leicester Mercury newspaper, which is printed in Leicester, is sold.	HINCKLEY LOUGHBOROUGH COALVILLE	MELTON MOWBRAY RUGBY

Burton-on-Trent · Loughborough · Melton Mowbray · Ashby-De-La-Zouch · Coalville · Leicester · Oakham · Tamworth · Uppingham · Polesworth · Hinckley · Market Harborough · Lutterworth · Naseby

0 8 16 kilometres

Water supply area

County boundary
Water supply area boundary

Burton-Upon-Trent · Swadlincote · Melton Mowbray · Ashby-De-La-Zouch · Loughborough · Coalville · Oakham · Tamworth · Leicester · Hinckley · Uppingham · Lutterworth · Market Harborough

Area covered by Leicester telephone exchange

320

TOURISM IN NORWAY – LOFTUS

Where it is and getting there (route map)

1 Colour the routes shown in the following way. Include the key.
   rail —black
   air —green
   sea —blue
   road—red

2 What are the approximate distances
   London-Bergen (straight line)
   London-Bergen via Newcastle
   Bergen-Loftus (by road)

3 Calculate the total travelling time shown on the map. Why will the time taken
   from leaving London to arrival at the hotel be more than the travelling time you
   have just worked out?

4 Draw the profile of the route from Bergen-Oslo. Show the position of the
   tunnels marked on the map by drawing along the profile in red at these sections.
   Where the line is running alongside a fiord (narrow sea inlet) or an interior lake
   colour that stretch of the profile in blue. Add a key.

What it looks like

5 Read through the leaflet. Write a few sentences saying what the landscape looks
   like.

6 Complete the exercises on the outline sketch sheet.

Weather and Climate

7 Look at the weather data (4.18). Draw in the correct boxes the weather in
   Southern Norway for the summer day and the winter day. For the summer day
   write in words what the symbols show (see example on chart).

8 Why are the summer days in Norway so much longer than in England,
   Switzerland and Spain?

9 In words, compare the average temperatures for July and January of Southern
   Norway and South-East England.

Attractions and Amenities

10 Read carefully the information about Loftus and the Gorsford. Make two lists
   under the headings 'natural features' and 'man-made amenities' that are claimed
   to be the attractions of the area.

11 What are the advantages and disadvantages of a 'package' tour holiday,
   compared with one that you arrange for yourself?

12 Write a few brief sentences on 'Why I would enjoy (or dislike) a holiday at the
   Hotel Ullensvang in Norway'.

A STRUCTURAL FRAMEWORK FOR AN URBAN THEME
A check list applied to Cities and People.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF URBAN AREAS	UNIT 1	UNIT 2	UNIT 3	UNIT 4	UNIT 5	UNIT 6
URBAN SITE AND GROWTH				Part 2 Moving into cities Calcutta & Dallas. Part 4 Change within the city Southwark.	Washington D.C. Lincoln Game.	Future predictions.
THE LAND USE SYSTEM Models of urban land use. Land use and values. Planning – urban renewal new towns etc.		Parts 3 & 4 Patterns within cities Cardiff, G. London, Croydon, Leicester. Part 1 Case studies of 4 city areas.		Part 4 Urban transport systems London, Newcastle, Newbury, New Towns. Part 5 Moving out of cities Greater London.	Local study. Deeplish and Washington D.C.	
LOCATION OF RESIDENCES Patterns. Environmental Quality.		Part 1 Case Studies Part 2 Local residential area. Part 3 Patterns within cities Part 4 Part 5 The local town or city.	Part 3 Movement for goods and services. Norwich, Runcorn, Caerphilly. Part 4 Change within the city.		Deeplish Study.	
SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF URBAN AREAS Communities and neighbourhoods. Social processes of invasion, succession, concentration, segregation, migration.		Part 1 Case studies. Part 2 The local residential area.		Part 1 Moving into and out of the local area. Part 2 Moving into cities. Calcutta and Dallas. Part 3 Concentration within the City. British cities, Melbourne and Sydney. Part 4 Change within the city. New York, Chicago, Oldham, London. Part 5 Moving out of cities. G. London to Thetford.		
LOCATION OF COMMERCIAL USES Shopping CBD Hierarchy Trade Areas.			Part 3 Movement for goods and services.			
LOCATION OF MANUFACTURING			Part 2 The journey to work. Locations and job ratio.			
INTRA URBAN MOVEMENT Types of urban travel, time distance, journey to work, shopping. Urban transport systems.			Part 2 The journey to work. Local city and London. Part 3 Movement for goods and services. Part 4 Urban transport systems. Camden and other case studies.			
THE CITY SYSTEM						
URBANISATION Speed and Growth. Decline. Rank Size. Hierarchy. Types of Function.	Part 1 Urbanisation. Part 2 World Cities.			Part 2 Moving into cities. Dallas and Calcutta.	Washington D.C.	
SETTLEMENTS AND INTERACTION inc. Impact of Distance. Regions. Inter City Flow governed by size of City and degree of specialisation.			Part 2 The journey to work. Hinterlands. Part 3 Movement for goods and services. Part 5 Inter city networks.		Washington D.C.	
ECONOMIC BASE OF SETTLEMENTS Basic/non basic	DEVELOPED IN THEME – PEOPLE, PLACE AND WORK					
SETTLEMENTS AS CENTRES OF MANUFACTURING	DEVELOPED IN THEME – PEOPLE, PLACE AND WORK					
SETTLEMENTS AS SERVICE CENTRES Central Places. Hierarchy. Threshold. Range of goods. Behavioural patterns.	Part 4 Image of the city.		Part 3 Movement for goods and services	Part 2 Moving into cities. Dallas and Calcutta.		

Note that although the local area is specifically identified in some units and parts, in many others the objectives can be developed appropriately in the local context.

(ref. The North American City – Yeates & Garner)

Extract from Teachers' Guide Cities and People (Nelson)

16

UNIT 3

PEOPLE ON THE MOVE IN CITIES–
THE DAILY RHYTHM

SUMMARY OF KEY IDEAS

Movement to work, services, shopping and leisure varies from one individual to another. In some neighbourhoods the range of provision necessitates less movement than in others.	**Part 1 Individual movements within the community**
Urban daily movement has a distinctive pattern with periods of high intensity. The increasing separation between home and work results in extensive commuter hinterlands.	**Part 2 The journey to work**
Shopping centres are of differing size and offer varying ranges of goods and services. Within a given area the more numerous smaller centres will tend to be closer together and the less numerous larger centres further apart. This is because of the need for adequate trade areas to support each type of centre. Increased car ownership and changing shopping habits are affecting the character and location of shopping centres.	**Part 3 Movement for goods and services**
Increasing use of roads, while bringing many advantages to vehicle owners, often creates problems within cities. The efficient movement of people and vehicles is essential to the economic and social life and growth of cities.	**Part 4 Urban transport systems**
New forms of transport and route networks have made possible more rapid movement between cities and hence have increased inter-dependence. Distance exerts an influence on the extent of interaction between cities.	**Part 5 Inter-city networks**

RESOURCES PROVIDED FOR UNIT

RESOURCE SHEETS

3.1 The Journey to Work – and Back

3.2 Commuting

3.3 Where do people work?

3.4 Shopping – past and present

3.5 Shopping in Runcorn

3.6 Shopping out of town

3.7 Tokyo's Troubles

3.8 Planning for Newbury and Newcastle

3.9 Planning for New Towns and London

3.10 Britain's expanding inter-city network

3.11 Rail links with Europe

3.12 The day a village breathed again

3.13 Plympton Master Sheet

dents travel in future? Posters could also be designed which would show by diagram, plan or design how to 'Travel easily in . . .' (town). Finally on the basis of these enquiries take a further look at the local town using local material, plans, models, published information as far as possible, posing the same types of questions as those in the group studies.

PART 5 INTER-CITY NETWORKS

Movement within the city has been examined in Parts 1 to 4. There has also been evidence of the way in which movement expresses the complementary character of city and countryside-journeys for work and shopping. Part 5 examines the changing pattern of movement between settlements. Settlements do not exist in isolation. Their people and activities interact with those in other centres to produce a complex pattern of linkages and contacts. In separating one location from another distance influences the extent of this interaction. The friction of distance gives rise to an inverse relationship between interaction and distance, thus the greater the distance the less the interaction. This is one of the key concepts in understanding the interaction between settlements. At what distance is there a reduction in the flow of goods or people between cities or a change in the method of transportation, e.g. the dominance of air over rail travel? To what extent does the value of land and housing reflect the influence of distance and time from major centres? The time-distance aspect is important, and new motorways, railway stations or airports give impetus to the competition for sites accessible to them.

The impact that change makes on the personal lives of people is given attention. New communication linkages may create tensions within established communities – varying views of residents of a Devon village are included as a basis for discussion and role play.

OBJECTIVES

Ideas
- New forms of transport and route networks have made possible more rapid movement between cities and hence have increased interdependence.
- Distance exerts an influence on the extent of interaction between cities.
- There is a relationship between the size and function of cities and the flow generated between them.
- A developing network stimulates competition for sites accessible to it. This competition may produce conflicts of interest.

Skills
- Discussion and role play.
- Atlas and O.S. map interpretation.
- Transforming data into graphical form.

Values and attitudes
- A consideration of the conflict between the desire for speed and efficiency and the need for safety and conservation that new forms of transportation bring.
- A consideration of the differing viewpoints of people when new routeways are proposed.

RESOURCES PROVIDED
3.10 Britain's expanding inter-city network
3.11 Rail links with Europe
3.12 The day a village breathed again
3.13 Plympton Master Sheet
Overhead transparencies
7 The motorway system
8 The Inter-City network

Extract from Teachers' Guide Cities & People (Nelson)

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ABSTRACT

INNOVATIVE OPPORTUNITY AND SCHOOL CULTURE
A STUDY OF CURRICULUM INNOVATION IN TWO SCHOOLS

The aim of this research is to explore the social mechanisms and processes of curriculum change in two secondary schools, an urban secondary modern and a rural high school. The implementation of the Geography for the Young School Leaver Project provided the initial impetus for the research but as the schools' response to innovation was explored, other Projects and school-based initiatives became an integral part of the study. A first assumption was that the teaching in any curriculum area is partly determined by the system characteristics or cultural norms of the school. The thesis examines the negotiations between the innovators and the various reality definers. Value conflicts which surround the idea of educational change are often treated superficially. This research examines some of the conflicts engendered by innovation at a personal and ideological level.

The style of the research was in an anthropological and phenomenological mode. An open-ended illuminative stance allowed issues immediate to the life of the schools to be explored. The researcher adopted an observer role.

In one school, the GYSL Project was seen as a pathfinder for curriculum development. For some staff in the other school, the Project was perceived as reactionary, resulting in a process/content debate becoming the central issue.

The research indicated that while senior management within a school can encourage curricular initiatives and provide a supportive framework, micro-politics and above all the personal philosophy and values of teachers, are the major determinants of a school's response to change in the curriculum.

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