English Language Teaching

Rangel Antique Estice 1984

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

Subash Chandra Pathak

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ANMOL PUBLICATIONS PVT. LTD.

Regd. Office: 4360/4, Ansari Road, Daryaganj,

New Delhi-110002 (India)

Tel.: 23278000, 23261597, 23286875, 23255577

Fax: 91-11-23280289

Email: anmolpub@gmail.com

Visit us at: www.anmolpublications.com

Branch Office: No. 1015, Ist Main Road, BSK IIIrd Stage IIIrd Phase, IIIrd Block, Bengaluru-560 085 (India)

Tel.: 080-41723429 • Fax: 080-26723604

Email: anmolpublicationsbangalore@gmail.com

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Preface

Teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL) refers to teaching English to students whose first language is not English. TEFL usually occurs in the student's own country, either within the state school system, or privately, e.g., in an after-hours language school or with a tutor. TEFL teachers may be native or non-native speakers of English. This article describes English teaching by native Anglophones working outside their own country, a small subset of English taught worldwide. To learn about other aspects of English teaching, see English language learning and teaching, which explains methodology and context, and explains abbreviations (e.g., the difference between ESL and EFL, or TESOL as a subject and an organization). For example, English language education in Japan began as early as 1600 with the initial contacts between the Japanese and Europeans.

In common with most language teaching, EAP instruction teaches vocabulary, grammar and the four skills (reading, writing, speaking - including pronunciation - and listening), but usually tries to tie these to the specific study needs of students; for example, a writing lesson would focus on writing essays rather than, say, business letters. Similarly, the vocabulary chosen for study tends to be based on academic texts. In addition, EAP practitioners often find that, either directly or indirectly, they are teaching study skills and often having to tackle differences in educational culture, such as differing attitudes to plagiarism. This trend has become more prominent as the numbers of foreign students attending UK universities, and other institutions across the Anglosphere, has increased over

the last decade. There is some debate amongst EAP teachers as to the best way to help students with academic English. On the one hand, students might be taught particular conventions but not expected to understand why they need to adapt their writing; a pragmatic approach. On the other hand students might be encouraged to challenge writing conventions and only adopt them if they seem justified; a critical approach. Recently attempts have been made to try and reconcile these opposing views.

This publication titled, "English Language Teaching" provides readers with an introductory overview of English studies and English language teaching. Focus lies on classroom pedagogy and English primary schools. Efforts are made towards learning English through weathers, seasons and animals. The aspects related to teaching and learning English through activities, play and fantasy are discussed. Attempts have been made towards linking, teachers, pupils and curriculum for English language teaching. Special focus lies on inter-curricular strategies, medium of instruction, teacher and standardized assessment. Focus also lies on basic, plain and simplified international English. An overview of history of English language in Europe is given. Special focus is laid on input hypothesis, phonology and task-based language learning. An overview of English medium education, dogme language teaching and communicative language teaching is provided herein. The elements and dimensions of English language proficiency test and skills assessment are covered with focus on preliminary and secondary aspects. The book is reader friendly as it is supported with bibliography and index.

-Editor

Introduction to English Studies and English Language Teaching

INTRODUCTION

In general, English studies is an academic discipline that includes the study of literatures written in the English language, including literatures from the U.K., U.S., Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong, the Philippines, India, South Africa, and the Middle East, among other areas. English linguistics, including English phonetics, phonology, syntax, morphology, semantics, pragmatics, corpus linguistics, and stylistics and English sociolinguistics (including discourse analysis of written and spoken texts in the English language, the history of the English language, English language learning and teaching, and the study of World Englishes). More broadly, English studies explores the production and analysis of texts produced in English. It is not uncommon for academic departments of "English" or "English Studies" to include scholars of the English language, literature (including literary criticism and literary theory), linguistics, law, journalism, composition studies, the philosophy of language, literacy, publishing/history of the book, communication studies, technical communication, folklore, cultural studies, creative writing, critical theory, disability studies, area studies, theatre, gender studies/ethnic studies, digital media/ electronic publishing, film studies/media studies, rhetoric

and philology/etymology, and various courses in the liberal arts and humanities, among others.

In most English-speaking countries, the literary and cultural dimensions of English studies are typically practiced in university departments of English, while the study of texts produced in non-English languages takes place in other departments, such as departments of foreign language or comparative literature. English linguistics is often studied in separate departments of linguistics. This disciplinary divide between a dominant linguistic or a literary orientation is one motivation for the division of the North American Modern Language Association into two subgroups. At universities in non-English-speaking countries, the same department often covers all aspects of English studies including linguistics: this is reflected, for example, in the structure and activities of the European Society for the Study of English. Literature and linguistics, along with List of academic disciplines, include the following:

- English Linguistics
- English Sociolinguistics
- Discourse Analysis in English
- English Stylistics
- World Englishes
- History of the English Language
- Composition Studies
- Rhetoric
- Technical Communication
- English Language Learning and Teaching
- English Literature
 - American Literature, including: (i) African American Literature; (ii) Jewish American Literature; (iii) Southern Literature
 - Australian Literature
 - British Literature
 - Canadian Literature

- Irish Literature
- New Zealand Literature
- Scottish Literature
- Welsh Literature

DESCRIBING THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE LEARNING AND TEACHING

ESL (English as a second language), ESOL (English for speakers of other languages), and EFL (English as a foreign language) all refer to the use or study of English by speakers with a different native language. The precise usage, including the different use of the terms ESL and ESOL in different countries, is described below. These terms are most commonly used in relation to teaching and learning English, but they may also be used in relation to demographic information. ELT (English language teaching) is a widely-used teacher-centred term, as in the English language teaching divisions of large publishing houses, ELT training, etc. The abbreviations TESL (teaching English as a second language), TESOL (teaching English for speakers of other languages) and TEFL (teaching English as a foreign language) are all also used.

Other terms used in this field include EAL (English as an additional language), ESD (English as a second dialect), EIL (English as an international language), ELF (English as a lingua franca), ESP (English for special purposes, or English for specific purposes), EAP (English for academic purposes). Some terms that refer to those who are learning English are ELL (English language learner), LEP (limited English proficiency) and CLD (culturally and linguistically diverse).

Understanding the Terminology and Types

The many acronyms used in the field of English teaching and learning may be confusing. English is a language with great reach and influence; it is taught all over the world under many different circumstances. In English-speaking countries, English language teaching has essentially evolved in two broad directions: instruction for people who intend to stay in the country and those who don't. These divisions have grown firmer as the instructors of these two "industries" have used different terminology, followed distinct training qualifications, formed separate professional associations, and so on. Crucially, these two arms have very different funding structures, public in the former and private in the latter, and to some extent this influences the way schools are established and classes are held. Matters are further complicated by the fact that the United States and the United Kingdom, both major engines of the language, describe these categories in different terms: as many eloquent users of the language have observed, "England and America are two countries divided by a common language." (Attributed to Winston Churchill, George Bernard Shaw, and Oscar Wilde.) The following technical definitions may therefore have their currency contested.

English Outside English-speaking Countries

EFL, English as a foreign language, indicates the use of English in a non-English-speaking region. Study can occur either in the student's home country, as part of the normal school curriculum or otherwise, or, for the more privileged minority, in an anglophone country that they visit as a sort of educational tourist, particularly immediately before or after graduating from university. TEFL is the teaching of English as a foreign language; note that this sort of instruction can take place in any country, Englishspeaking or not. Typically, EFL is learned either to pass exams as a necessary part of one's education, or for career progression while working for an organization or business with an international focus. EFL may be part of the state school curriculum in countries where English has no special status (what linguist Braj Kachru calls the "expanding circle countries"); it may also be supplemented by lessons paid for privately. Teachers of EFL generally assume that students are literate in their mother tongue. The Chinese EFL Journal and Iranian EFL Journal are examples of international journals dedicated to specifics of English language learning within countries where English is used as a foreign language.

English within English-Speaking Countries

The other broad grouping is the use of English within the Anglosphere. In what theorist Braj Kachru calls "the inner circle", i.e. countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States, this use of English is generally by refugees, immigrants and their children. It also includes the use of English in "outer circle" countries, often former British colonies, where English is an official language even if it is not spoken as a mother tongue by the majority of the population. In the US, Canada and Australia, this use of English is called *ESL* (English as a second language). This term has been criticized on the grounds that many learners already speak more than one language. A counterargument says that the word "a" in the phrase "a second language" means there is no presumption that English is the second acquired language. TESL is the teaching of English as a second language. In the UK, Ireland and New Zealand, the term ESL has been replaced by ESOL (English for speakers of other languages). In these countries TESOL (teaching English to speakers of other languages) is normally used to refer to teaching English only to this group. In the UK, the term *EAL* (English as an additional language), rather than ESOL, is usually used when talking about primary and secondary schools. Other acronyms were created to describe the person rather than the language to be learned.

The term LEP (Limited English proficiency) was created in 1975 by the Lau Remedies following a decision of the US Supreme Court. ELL (English Language Learner), used by United States governments and school systems, was created by Charlene Rivera of the Center for Equity and Excellent in Education in an effort to label learners

positively, rather than ascribing a deficiency to them. LOTE (Languages other than English) is a parallel term used in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Typically, this sort of English (called ESL in the United States, Canada, and Australia, ESOL in the United Kingdom, Ireland and New Zealand) is learned to function in the new host country, e.g. within the school system (if a child), to find and hold down a job (if an adult), to perform the necessities of daily life. The teaching of it does not presuppose literacy in the mother tongue. It is usually paid for by the host government to help newcomers settle into their adopted country, sometimes as part of an explicit citizenship programme. It is technically possible for ESL to be taught not in the host country, but in, for example, a refugee camp, as part of a pre-departure programme sponsored by the government soon to receive new potential citizens. In practice, however, this is extremely rare.

Particularly in Canada and Australia, the term *ESD* (English as a second dialect) is used alongside ESL, usually in reference to programmes for Canadian First Nations people or indigenous Australians, respectively. It refers to the use of standard English, which may need to be explicitly taught, by speakers of a creole or non-standard variety. It is often grouped with ESL as *ESL/ESD*.

Umbrella Terms

All these ways of teaching English can be bundled together into an umbrella term. Unfortunately, all the English teachers in the world cannot agree on just one. The term *TESOL* (teaching English to speakers of other languages) is used in American English to include both TEFL and TESL. British English uses *ELT* (English language teaching), because TESOL has a different, more specific meaning; see above.

Which Variety to Teach

It is worth noting that ESL and EFL programmes also differ in the variety of English which is taught; "English"

is a term that can refer to various dialects, including British English, American English, and many others. Obviously, those studying English in order to fit into their new country will learn the variety spoken there. However, for those who do not intend to change countries, the question arises of which sort of English to learn. If they are going abroad for a short time to study English, they need to choose which country. For those staying at home, the choice may be made for them in that private language schools or the state school system may only offer one model. Students studying EFL in Hong Kong, for example, are more likely to learn British English, whereas students in the Philippines are more likely to learn American English.

For this reason, many teachers now emphasize teaching English as an international language (EIL), also known as English as a -lingua franca (ELF). Linguists are charting the development of international English, a term with contradictory and confusing meanings, one of which refers to a decontextualised variant of the language, independent of the culture and associated references of any particular country, useful when, for example, a Saudi does business with someone from China or Albania.

Systems of Simplified English

For international communication several models of "simplified English" have been suggested, among them:

- Basic English, developed by Charles Kay Ogden (and later also I. A. Richards) in the 1930s; a recent revival has been initiated by Bill Templer
- Threshold Level English, developed by van Ek and Alexander
- Globish, developed by Jean-Paul Nerrière
- Basic Global English, developed by Joachim Grzega
- Nuclear English, proposed by Randolph Quirk and Gabriele Stein but never fully developed.

Language teaching practice often assumes that most

of the difficulties that learners face in the study of English are a consequence of the degree to which their native language differs from English (a contrastive analysis approach). A native speaker of Chinese, for example, may face many more difficulties than a native speaker of German, because German is closely related to English, whereas Chinese is not. This may be true for anyone of any mother tongue (also called first language, normally abbreviated L1) setting out to learn any other language (called a target language, second language or L2).

Language learners often produce errors of syntax and pronunciation thought to result from the influence of their L1, such as mapping its grammatical patterns inappropriately onto the L2, pronouncing certain sounds incorrectly or with difficulty, and confusing items of vocabulary known as false friends.

This is known as L1 transfer or "language interference". However, these transfer effects are typically stronger for beginners' language production, and SLA research has highlighted many errors which cannot be attributed to the L1, as they are attested in learners of many language backgrounds (for example, failure to apply 3rd person present singular -s to verbs, as in 'he make').

While English is no more complex than other languages, it has several features which may create difficulties for learners. Conversely, because such a large number of people are studying it, products have been developed to help them do so, such as the monolingual learner's dictionary, which is written with a restricted defining vocabulary.

Pronunciation

Consonant phonemes

English does not have more individual consonant sounds than most languages. However, the interdentals (the sounds written with *th*), which are common in English (*thin*, *thing*, etc.; and *the*,

this, that, etc.) are relatively rare in other languages, even others in the Germanic family (e.g., English thousand = German tausend), and these sounds are missing even in some English dialects. Some learners substitute a [t] or [d] sound, while others shift to [s] or [z], [f] or [v] and even [ts] or [dz]). Speakers of Japanese, Korean and Chinese varieties have difficulty distinguishing [r] and [l]. The distinction between [b] and [v] can cause difficulty for native speakers of Spanish, Japanese and Korean.

• Vowel phonemes

The precise number of distinct vowel sounds depends on the variety of English: for example, Received Pronunciation has twelve monophthongs (single or "pure" vowels), eight diphthongs (double vowels) and two triphthongs (triple vowels); whereas General American has thirteen monophthongs and three diphthongs. Many learners, such as speakers of Spanish, Japanese or Arabic, have fewer vowels, or only pure ones, in their mother tongue and so may have problems both with hearing and with pronouncing these distinctions.

• Syllable structure

In its syllable structure, English allows for a cluster of up to three consonants before the vowel and four after it (e.g., straw, desks, glimpsed). The syllable structure causes problems for speakers of many other languages. Japanese, for example, broadly alternates consonant and vowel sounds so learners from Japan often try to force vowels in between the consonants.

Learners from languages where all words end in vowels sometimes tend to make all English words end in vowels, thus *make* /mejk/ can come out. The learner's task is further complicated by the fact that native speakers may drop consonants in the more complex blends.

• Unstressed vowels - Native English speakers frequently replace almost any vowel in an unstressed syllable with an unstressed vowel, often schwa. For example, from has a distinctly pronounced short 'o' sound when it is stressed (e.g., Where are you from?), but when it is unstressed, the short 'o' reduces to a schwa (e.g., I'm from London.). In some cases, unstressed vowels may disappear altogether, in words such as chocolate (which has four syllables in Spanish, but only two as pronounced by Americans: "choc-lit".)

Stress in English more strongly determines vowel quality than it does in most other world languages (although there are notable exceptions such as Russian). For example, in some varieties the syllables *an*, *en*, *in*, *on* and *un* are pronounced as homophones, that is, exactly alike.

Native speakers can usually distinguish an able, enable, and unable because of their position in a sentence, but this is more difficult for inexperienced English speakers. Moreover, learners tend to overpronounce these unstressed vowels, giving their speech an unnatural rhythm.

• Stress timing - English tends to be a stress-timed language - this means that stressed syllables are roughly equidistant in time, no matter how many syllables come in between. Although some other languages, e.g., German and Russian, are also stress-timed, most of the world's other major languages are syllable-timed, with each syllable coming at an equal time after the previous one. Learners from these languages often have a staccato rhythm when speaking English that is disconcerting to a native speaker.

"Stress for emphasis" - students' own languages may not use stress for emphasis as English does.

"Stress for contrast" - stressing the right word or expression. This may not come easily to some nationalities.

"Emphatic apologies" - the normally unstressed auxiliary is stressed (I really am very sorry)

In English there are quite a number of words - about fifty - that have two different pronunciations, depending on whether they are stressed. They are "grammatical words": pronouns, prepositions, auxiliary verbs and conjunctions. Most students tend to overuse the strong form, which is pronounced with the written vowel.

Grammar

- Tenses English has a relatively large number of tenses with some quite subtle differences, such as the difference between the simple past "I ate" and the present perfect "I have eaten." Progressive and perfect progressive forms add complexity.
- Functions of auxiliaries Learners of English tend to find it difficult to manipulate the various ways in which English uses the first auxiliary verb of a tense. These include negation (eg He hasn't been drinking.), inversion with the subject to form a question (e.g. Has he been drinking?), short answers (e.g. Yes, he has.) and tag questions (has he?). A further complication is that the dummy auxiliary verb do |does |did is added to fulfil these functions in the simple present and simple past, but not for the verb to be.
- Modal verbs English also has a significant number of modal auxiliary verbs which each have a number of uses. For example, the opposite of "You must be here at 8" (obligation) is usually "You don't have to be here at 8" (lack of obligation, choice), while "must" in "You must not drink the water" (prohibition) has a different meaning from "must" in "You must not be a native speaker" (deduction). This complexity takes considerable work for most learners to master.

- Idiomatic usage English is reputed to have a relatively high degree of idiomatic usage. For example, the use of different main verb forms in such apparently parallel constructions as "try to learn", "help learn", and "avoid learning" pose difficulty for learners. Another example is the idiomatic distinction between "make" and "do": "make a mistake", not "do a mistake"; and "do a favour", not "make a favour".
- Articles English has an appreciable number of articles, including the definite article *the* and the indefinite article *a*, *an*. At times English nouns can or indeed must be used without an article; this is called the zero article. Some of the differences between definite, indefinite and zero article are fairly easy to learn, but others are not, particularly since a learner's native language may lack articles or use them in different ways than English does. Although the information conveyed by articles is rarely essential for communication, English uses them frequently (several times in the average sentence), so that they require some effort from the learner.

Vocabulary

- Phrasal verbs Phrasal verbs in English can cause difficulties for many learners because they have several meanings and different syntactic patterns. There are also a number of phrasal verb differences between American and British English.
- Word derivation Word derivation in English requires a lot of rote learning. For example, an adjective can be negated by using the prefix *un*-(e.g. *unable*), *in* (e.g. *inappropriate*), *dis* (e.g. *dishonest*), or *a* (e.g. *amoral*), or through the use of one of a myriad of related but rarer prefixes, all modified versions of the first four.

• Size of lexicon - The history of English has resulted in a very large vocabulary, essentially one stream from Old English and one from the Norman infusion of Latin-derived terms. (Schmitt & Marsden claim that English has one of the largest vocabularies of any known language.) This inevitably requires more work for a learner to master the language.

Differences between Spoken and Written English

As with most languages, written language tends to use a more formal register than spoken language. The acquisition of literacy takes significant effort in English.

• Spelling - Because of the many changes in pronunciation which have occurred since a written standard developed, and the retention of many historical idiosyncrasies in spelling, English spelling is difficult even for native speakers to master. This difficulty is shown in such activities as spelling bees that generally require the memorization of words. English speakers may also rely on computer tools such as spell checkers more than speakers of other languages, as the users of the utility may have forgotten, or never learned, the correct spelling of a word. The generalizations that exist are quite complex and there are many exceptions leading to a considerable amount of rote learning. The spelling system causes problems in both directions - a learner may know a word by sound but not be able to write it correctly (or indeed find it in a dictionary), or they may see a word written but not know how to pronounce it or mislearn the pronunciation.

Varieties of English

 There are thriving communities of English native speakers in countries all over the world, and this historical diaspora has led to some noticeable differences in pronunciation, vocabulary and

- grammar in different countries, as well as those variations which exist between different regions, and across the social strata, within the same country. Even within the British Isles, there are significant regional language differences, differences of (i) pronunciation/accent, (ii) vocabulary, and even (iii) grammar/dialect, when the local dialect differs from that of another region or from the grammar of 'received English'.
- The world holds over 7000 languages, and most exist within only a small geographic area; even most of the top 100 are limited to a small number of countries or even a single state. Some of the more well-known languages are to some degree managed by a specific organization that determines the most prestigious form of the language, e.g. French language and the Academie de la langue française or Spanish language and the Real Academia Española. Since many students of English study it to enable them to communicate internationally, the lack of a uniform international standard for the language poses some barriers to meeting that goal; see international English.
- Teaching English therefore involves not only helping the student to use the form of English most suitable for his purposes, but also exposure to other forms of English (e.g. regional forms/ cultural styles) so that the student will be able to discern 'meaning' even when the words/grammar/pronunciation may be quite different to the form of English with which he has become more familiar.

The Common European Framework

Between 1998 and 2000, the Council of Europe's language policy division developed its Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. The aim of this framework was to have a common system for foreign language testing and certification, to cover all European

languages and countries. The Common European Framework (CEF) divides language learners into three levels:

- A. Basic User
- B. Independent User
- C. Proficient User

Qualifications for Teachers

Non-native Speakers

Most people who teach English are in fact not native speakers of that language. They are state school teachers in countries around the world, and as such they hold the relevant teaching qualification of their country, usually with a specialism in teaching English. For example, teachers in Hong Kong hold the Language Proficiency Assessment for Teachers. Those who work in private language schools may, from commercial pressures, have the same qualifications as native speakers.

United States Qualifications

Most U.S. instructors at community colleges and universities qualify by taking an MA in TESOL. This degree also qualifies them to teach in most EFL contexts as well. In some areas of the country, nearly all elementary school teachers are involved in teaching ELLs (English Language Learners, that is, children who come to school speaking a home language other than English.) The qualifications for these classroom teachers vary from state to state but always include a state-issued teaching certificate for public instruction. Teachers in all states require state licensing, which requires substantial practical field experiences and language pedagogy course work. The MA in TESOL includes both graduate work in English as one of the classical liberal arts (literature, linguistics, media studies) with a theoretical pedagogical component at the tertiary level.

Admission to the MA in TESOL typically requires at least a bachelor's degree with a minor in English or linguistics. A degree in a foreign language can sometimes also be considered sufficient for admission. It is important to note that the issuance of a teaching certificate or license is not automatic following completion of degree requirements. All teachers must complete a battery of exams (typically the Praxis subject and method exams or similar, statesponsored exams) as well as supervised instruction as student teachers.

Certification requirements for ESL teachers vary greatly from state to state. Out-of-state teaching certificates are recognized by other states if the two states have a reciprocity agreement.

British Qualifications

Common, respected qualifications for teachers within the United Kingdom's sphere of influence include TESOL certificates and diplomas issued by University of Cambridge ESOL and Trinity College London ESOL. A certificate course is usually undertaken before starting to teach. This is sufficient for most EFL jobs and for some ESOL ones. CELTA (Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults) and CertTESOL (Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) are the most widely taken and accepted qualifications for new teacher trainees. Courses are offered in the UK and in many countries around the world. It is usually taught full-time over a one-month period or parttime over a period up to a year. Asian countries now require Certificates based on Asian English Learning (Korean Ministry of Justice -March 2008) whilst China is only acepting (at government school level) certificates authorised by the International Acreditation Authority. Taiwan and Hong Kong are also implementing the certificate coures certified by the independent authority. Teachers with two or more years of teaching experience who want to stay in the profession and advance their career prospects (including school management and teacher training) can take a diploma course. University of Cambridge ESOL offers the DELTA (Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults) and Trinity College London ESOL offers the LTCL DipTESOL (Trinity Licentiate Diploma in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages). These diplomas are considered to be equivalent and are both accredited at level 7 of the revised National Qualifications Framework.

Some teachers who stay in the profession go on to do an MA in a relevant discipline such as applied linguistics or ELT. Many UK master's degrees require considerable experience in the field before a candidate is accepted onto the course. The above qualifications are well-respected within the UK EFL sector, including private language schools and higher education language provision. However, in England and Wales, in order to meet the government's criteria for being a qualified teacher of ESOL in the Learning and Skills Sector (i.e. post-compulsory or further education), teachers need to have the Certificate in Further Education Teaching Stage 3 at level 5 (of the revised NQF) and the Certificate for ESOL Subject Specialists at level 4. Recognised qualifications which confer one or both of these include a Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) in ESOL, the CELTA module 2 and City & Guilds 9488. Teachers of children within the state sector in the United Kingdom are normally expected to hold a PGCE, and may choose to specialise in ELT.

Types of English

- BE Business English
- EAL English as an additional language

The use of this term is restricted to certain countries. See the discussion in Terminology and types.

- EAP English for academic purposes
- EFL English as a foreign language

English for use in a non-English-speaking region, by someone whose first language is not English. See the discussion in Terminology and types.

• EIL - English as an international language

- ELF English as a lingua franca
- ELL English language learner

The use of this term is restricted to certain countries. See the discussion in Terminology and types.

- ELT English language teaching
 The use of this term is restricted to certain countries.
 See the discussion in Terminology and types.
- ESL English as a second language English for use in an English-speaking region, by someone whose first language is not English. The use of this term is restricted to certain countries. See the discussion in Terminology and types.
- ESOL English for speakers of other languages This term is used differently in different countries. See the discussion in Terminology and types.
- ESP English for special purposes, or English for specific purposes (e.g. technical English, scientific English, English for medical professionals, English for waiters).
- TEFL Teaching English as a foreign language This link is to a page about a subset of TEFL, namely travel-teaching.

More generally, see the discussion in Terminology and types.

- TESL Teaching English as a second language The use of this term is restricted to certain countries. See the discussion in Terminology and types.
- TESOL Teaching English to speakers of other languages, or Teaching English as a second or other language
- TYLE Teaching Young Learners English
 - Note that YL Young Learners can mean under 18, or much younger.

EVOLUTION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Basically, English is a West Germanic language originating in England, and is the first language for most people in the Anglophone Caribbean, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the Republic of Ireland, the United Kingdom, and the United States (sometimes referred to as the Anglosphere). It is used extensively as a second language and as an official language throughout the world, especially in Commonwealth countries and in many international organizations. A native or fluent speaker of English is known as an Anglophone. Modern English is sometimes described as the first global lingua franca. English is the dominant international language in communications, science, business, aviation, entertainment, radio and diplomacy.

The influence of the British Empire is the primary reason for the initial spread of the language far beyond the British Isles. Since World War II, the growing economic and cultural influence of the United States has significantly accelerated the adoption of English. English is an Anglo-Frisian language. Germanic-speaking peoples from northwest Germany (Saxons and Angles) and Jutland (Jutes) invaded what is now known as Eastern England around the fifth century AD. It is a matter of debate whether the Old English language spread by displacement of the original population, or the native Celts gradually adopted the language and culture of a new ruling class, or a combination of both of these processes. Whatever their origin, these Germanic dialects eventually coalesced to a degree (there remained geographical variation) and formed what is today called Old English. Old English loosely resembles some coastal dialects in what are now northwest Germany and the Netherlands (i.e., Frisia). Throughout the history of written Old English, it retained a synthetic structure closer to that of Proto-Indo-European, largely adopting West Saxon scribal conventions, while spoken Old English became increasingly analytic in nature, losing the more complex noun case system, relying more heavily on prepositions and fixed word order to convey meaning.

This is evident in the Middle English period, when literature was to an increasing extent recorded with spoken dialectal variation intact, after written Old English lost its status as the literary language of the nobility. It has been postulated that English retains some traits from a Celtic substratum. Later, it was influenced by the related North Germanic language Old Norse, spoken by the Vikings who settled mainly in the north and the east coast down to London, the area known as the Danelaw. The Norman Conquest of England in 1066 greatly influenced the evolution of the language. For about 300 years after this, the Normans used Anglo-Norman, which was close to Old French, as the language of the court, law and administration.

By the latter part of the fourteenth century, when English had replaced French as the language of law and government, Anglo-Norman borrowings had contributed roughly 10,000 words to English, of which 75% remain in use. These include many words pertaining to the legal and administrative fields, but also include common words for food, such as mutton, beef, and pork. However, the animals associated with these foods (e.g. sheep, cow, and swine) retained their Saxon names, possibly because as a herd animal they were tended by Saxon serfs, while as food, they were more likely to be consumed at a Norman table. The Norman influence heavily influenced what is now referred to as Middle English. Later, during the English Renaissance, many words were borrowed directly from Latin (giving rise to a number of doublets) and Greek, leaving a parallel vocabulary that persists into modern times. By the seventeenth century there was a reaction in some circles against so-called *inkhorn terms*. During the fifteenth century, Middle English was transformed by the Great Vowel Shift, the spread of a prestigious South Easternbased dialect in the court, administration and academic life, and the standardising effect of printing. Early Modern English can be traced back to around the Elizabethan period.

Typology, Classification and Related Languages

Although English language belongs to the western subbranch of the Germanic branch of the Indo-European family of languages, the question as to which is the nearest living relative of English is a matter of discussion. Apart from such English-lexified creole languages such as Tok Pisin, Scots (spoken primarily in Scotland and parts of Northern Ireland) is not a Gaelic language, but is part of the Anglic family of languages, having developed from early northern Middle English. It is Scots' indefinite status as a language or a group of dialects of English which complicates definitely calling it the closest language to English. The closest relatives to English after Scots are the Frisian languages, which are spoken in the Northern Netherlands and Northwest Germany. Other less closely related living West Germanic languages include German, Low Saxon, Dutch, and Afrikaans. The North Germanic languages of Scandinavia are less closely related to English than the West Germanic languages. Many French words are also intelligible to an English speaker (though pronunciations are often quite different) because English absorbed a large vocabulary from Norman and French, via Anglo-Norman after the Norman Conquest and directly from French in subsequent centuries. As a result, a large portion of English vocabulary is derived from French, with some minor spelling differences (word endings, use of old French spellings, etc.), as well as occasional divergences in meaning, in socalled "faux amis", or false friends.

Spread of English Language

More then 375 million people speak English as their first language, as of 2006. English today is probably the third largest language by number of native speakers, after Mandarin Chinese and Spanish. However, when combining

native and non-native speakers it is probably the most commonly spoken language in the world, though possibly second to a combination of the Chinese Languages, depending on whether or not distinctions in the latter are classified as "languages" or "dialects." Estimates that include second language speakers vary greatly from 470 million to over a billion depending on how literacy or mastery is defined. There are some who claim that non-native speakers now outnumber native speakers by a ratio of 3 to 1. countries with the highest populations of native English speakers are, in descending order: United States (215) million), United Kingdom (58 million), Canada (17.7 million), Australia (15.5 million), Ireland (3.8 million), South Africa (3.7 million), and New Zealand (3.0-3.7 million). Countries such as Jamaica and Nigeria also have millions of native speakers of dialect continua ranging from an English-based creole to a more standard version of English. Of those nations where English is spoken as a second language, India has the most such speakers ('Indian English') and linguistics professor David Crystal claims that, combining native and non-native speakers, India now has more people who speak or understand English than any other country in the world. Following India is the People's Republic of China. English is the primary language in Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia (Australian English), the Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Belize, the British Indian Ocean Territory, the British Virgin Islands, Canada (Canadian English), the Cayman Islands, the Falkland Islands, Gibraltar, Grenada, Guam, Guernsey (Guernsey English), Guyana, Ireland (Hiberno-English), Isle of Man (Manx English), Jamaica (Jamaican English), Jersey, Montserrat, Nauru, New Zealand (New Zealand English), Pitcairn Islands, Saint Helena, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, the Turks and Caicos Islands, the United Kingdom, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and the United States (various forms of American English). In many other countries, where English is not the most spoken

language, it is an official language; these countries include Botswana, Cameroon, Dominica, Fiji, the Federated States of Micronesia, Ghana, Gambia, India, Kiribati, Lesotho, Liberia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malta, the Marshall Islands, Mauritius, Namibia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palau, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Rwanda, the Solomon Islands, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

It is also one of the 11 official languages that are given equal status in South Africa (South African English). English is also the official language in current dependent territories of Australia (Norfolk Island, Christmas Island and Cocos Island) and of the United States (Northern Mariana Islands, American Samoa and Puerto Rico), and in the former British colony of Hong Kong. English is an important language in several former colonies and protectorates of the United Kingdom but falls short of official status, such as in Malaysia, Brunei, United Arab Emirates and Bahrain. English is also not an official language in either the United States or the United Kingdom. Although the United States federal government has no official languages, English has been given official status by 30 of the 50 state governments.

Growth of English as a Global Language Covering New Areas

Because English is so widely spoken, it has often been referred to as a "global language", the *lingua franca* of the modern era. While English is not an official language in most countries, it is currently the language most often taught as a second language around the world. Some linguists believe that it is no longer the exclusive cultural sign of "native English speakers", but is rather a language that is absorbing aspects of cultures worldwide as it continues to grow. It is, by international treaty, the official language for aerial and maritime communications, as well as one of the official languages of the European Union, the United Nations, and most international athletic

organizations, including the International Olympic Committee. English is the language most often studied as a foreign language in the European Union (by 89% of schoolchildren), followed by French (32%), German (18%), and Spanish (8%). In the EU, a large fraction of the population reports being able to converse to some extent in English. Among non-English speaking countries, a large percentage of the population claimed to be able to converse in English in the Netherlands (87%), Sweden (85%), Denmark (83%), Luxembourg (66%), Finland (60%), Slovenia (56%), Austria (53%), Belgium (52%), and Germany (51%). Norway and Iceland also have a large majority of competent English-speakers. Books, magazines, and newspapers written in English are available in many countries around the world.

English is also the most commonly used language in the sciences. In 1997, the Science Citation Index reported that 95% of its articles were written in English, even though only half of them came from authors in Englishspeaking countries.

Notable Dialects and Regional Varieties of Enlish Language

The expansion of the British Empire and—since WWII—the primacy of the United States have spread English throughout the globe. Because of that global spread, English has developed a host of English dialects and English-based creole languages and pidgins. The major varieties of English include, in most cases, several subvarieties, such as Cockney slang within British English; Newfoundland English within Canadian English; and African American Vernacular English ("Ebonics") and Southern American English within American English. English is a pluricentric language, without a central language authority like France's Académie française; and, although no variety is clearly considered the only standard, there are a number of accents considered to be more prestigious, such as Received Pronunciation in Britain. Scots developed — largely independently — from the same

origins, but following the Acts of Union 1707 a process of language attrition began, whereby successive generations adopted more and more features from English causing dialectalization. Whether it is now a separate language or a dialect of English better described as Scottish English is in dispute.

The pronunciation, grammar and lexis of the traditional forms differ, sometimes substantially, from other varieties of English. Because of the wide use of English as a second language, English speakers have many different accents. which often signal the speaker's native dialect or language. For the more distinctive characteristics of regional accents, see Regional accents of English speakers, and for the more distinctive characteristics of regional dialects, see List of dialects of the English language. Just as English itself has borrowed words from many different languages over its history, English loanwords now appear in a great many languages around the world, indicative of the technological and cultural influence of its speakers. Several pidgins and creole languages have formed using an English base, such as Jamaican Creole, Nigerian Pidgin, and Tok Pisin. There are many words in English coined to describe forms of particular non-English languages that contain a very high proportion of English words. Franglais, for example, is used to describe French with a very high English word content; it is found on the Channel Islands. Another variant, spoken in the border bilingual regions of Québec in Canada, is called Frenglish.

Towards Understanding the Constructed Varieties of English Over Time

(i) Basic English is simplified for easy international use. It is used by manufacturers and other international businesses to write manuals and communicate. Some English schools in Asia teach it as a practical subset of English for use by beginners. Special English is a simplified version of English used by the Voice of America. It uses a

- vocabulary of only 1500 words. English reform is an attempt to improve collectively upon the English language.
- (ii) Seaspeak and the related Airspeak and Policespeak, all based on restricted vocabularies, were designed by Edward Johnson in the 1980s to aid international cooperation and communication in specific areas. There is also a tunnelspeak for use in the Channel Tunnel.
- (iii) Euro-English is a concept of standardising English for use as a second language in continental Europe.
- (iv) E-Prime excludes forms of the verb to be.
- (v) Manually Coded English a variety of systems have been developed to represent the English language with hand signals, designed primarily for use in deaf education. These should not be confused with true sign languages such as British Sign Language and American Sign Language used in Anglophone countries, which are independent and not based on English.
- (vi) Euro-English (also *EuroEnglish* or *Euro-English*) terms are English translations of European concepts that are not native to English-speaking countries. Because of the United Kingdom's (and even the Republic of Ireland's) involvement in the European Union, the usage focuses on non-British concepts.

This kind of Euro-English was parodied when English was "made" one of the constituent languages of Europanto.

Role Phonology in Inglish

It is the vowels that differ most from region to region.

Where symbols appear in pairs, the first corresponds to American English, General American accent; the second corresponds to British English, Received Pronunciation.

- American English lacks this sound; words with this sound are pronounced with /Q/ or /T/.
- Many dialects of North American English do not have this vowel.
- The North American variation of this sound is a rhotic vowel.
- Many speakers of North American English do not distinguish between these two unstressed vowels.
 For them, *roses* and *Rosa's* are pronounced the same, and the symbol usually used is schwa /Y/.
- This sound is often transcribed with /i/ or with /j/.
- The letter <*U*> can represent either /u/ or the iotated vowel /ju/. In BRP, if this iotated vowel /ju/ occurs after /t/, /d/, /s/ or /z/, it often triggers palatalization of the preceding consonant, as in *tune*, *during*, *sugar*, and *azure*. In American English, palatalization does not generally happen unless the /ju/ is followed by *r*, with the result turn to / tfZ/, /d'Z/, /fZ/ and /'Z/ respectively, as in *nature*, *verdure*, *sure*, and *treasure*.
- Vowel length plays a phonetic role in the majority of English dialects, and is said to be phonemic in a few dialects, such as Australian English and New Zealand English. In certain dialects of the modern English language, for instance General American, there is allophonic vowel length: vowel phonemes are realized as long vowel allophones before voiced consonant phonemes in the coda of a syllable. Before the Great Vowel Shift, vowel length was phonemically contrastive.
- This sound only occurs in non-rhotic accents. In some accents, the schwa offglide of /[Y/ may be dropped, monophthising and lengthening the sound.
- This sound only occurs in non-rhotic accents. In some accents.

Towards Analysing the Consonants

The English Consonantal System using symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), can be analyzed in the following ways:

- The velar nasal [K] is a non-phonemic allophone of /n/ in some northerly British accents, appearing only before /k/ and /g/. In all other dialects it is a separate phoneme, although it only occurs in syllable codas.
- This sound only occurs in non-rhotic accents. In some accents, the schwa offglide of /[Y/ may be dropped, monophthising and lengthening the sound.
- The alveolar flap [~] is an allophone of /t/ and /d/ in unstressed syllables in North American English and Australian English. This is the sound of tt or dd in the words latter and ladder, which are homophones for many speakers of North American English. In some accents such as Scottish English and Indian English it replaces /y/. This is the same sound represented by single r in most varieties of Spanish.
- In some dialects, such as Cockney, the interdentals /è/ and /ð/ are usually merged with /f/ and /v/, and in others, like African American Vernacular English, /ð/ is merged with dental /d/. In some Irish varieties, /è/ and /ð/ become the corresponding dental plosives, which then contrast with the usual alveolar plosives.
- The sounds /f/, //, and /y/ are labialised in some dialects. Labialization is never contrastive in initial position and therefore is sometimes not transcribed. Most speakers of General American realize <r>
 (always rhoticized) as the retroflex approximant /{/, whereas the same is realized in Scottish English, etc. as the alveolar trill.
- The voiceless velar fricative /x/ is used by Scottish or Welsh speakers of English for Scots/Gaelic words

such as *loch* /lRx/ or by some speakers for loanwords from German and Hebrew like *Bach* /bax/ or *Chanukah* /xanuka/. /x/ is also used in South African English. In some dialects such as Scouse (Liverpool) either [x] or the affricate [kx] may be used as an allophone of /k/ in words such as *docker*. Most native speakers have a great deal of trouble pronouncing it correctly when learning a foreign language. Most speakers use the sounds [k] and [h] instead.

 Voiceless w is found in Scottish and Irish English, as well as in some varieties of American, New Zealand, and English English. In most other dialects it is merged with /w/, in some dialects of Scots it is merged with /f/.

Role of Voicing and Aspiration in English

Voicing and aspiration of stop consonants in English depend on dialect and context, but a few general rules can be given:

- (i) Voiceless plosives and affricates (/ p/, / t/, / k/, and / tf/) are aspirated when they are word-initial or begin a stressed syllable compare pin and spin, crap and scrap [skyæp].
 - (a) In some dialects, aspiration extends to unstressed syllables as well.
 - (b) In other dialects, such as Indo-Pakistani English, all voiceless stops remain unaspirated.
- (ii) Word-initial voiced plosives may be devoiced in some dialects.
- (iii) Word-terminal voiceless plosives may be unreleased or accompanied by a glottal stop in some dialects (e.g. many varieties of American English).
- (iv) Word-terminal voiced plosives may be devoiced in some dialects (e.g. some varieties of American English) examples: sad, bag. In other dialects

they are fully voiced in final position, but only partially voiced in initial position.

Towards Understanding the Supra-segmental Features of English Language

Role of Tone Groups

English is an intonation language. This means that the pitch of the voice is used syntactically, for example, to convey surprise and irony, or to change a statement into a question. In English, intonation patterns are on groups of words, which are called tone groups, tone units, intonation groups or sense groups. Tone groups are said on a single breath and, as a consequence, are of limited length, more often being on average five words long or lasting roughly two seconds.

Analyzing Characteristics of Intonation in English

English is a strongly stressed language, in that certain syllables, both within words and within phrases, get a relative prominence/loudness during pronunciation while the others do not. The former kind of syllables are said to be accentuated/stressed and the latter are unaccentuated/unstressed. All good dictionaries of English mark the accentuated syllable(s) by either placing an apostrophelike sign either before (as in IPA, Oxford English Dictionary, or Merriam-Webster dictionaries) or after (as in many other dictionaries) the syllable where the stress accent falls.

Hence in a sentence, each tone group can be subdivided into syllables, which can either be stressed (strong) or unstressed (weak). The stressed syllable is called the nuclear syllable.

The nuclear syllable is spoken more loudly than the others and has a characteristic change of pitch. The changes of pitch most commonly encountered in English are the rising pitch and the falling pitch, although the fall-rising pitch and/or the rise-falling pitch are sometimes used. In this opposition between falling and rising pitch, which plays a larger role in English than in most other languages, falling pitch conveys certainty and rising pitch uncertainty. This can have a crucial impact on meaning, specifically in relation to polarity, the positive—negative opposition; thus, falling pitch means "polarity known", while rising pitch means "polarity unknown". This underlies the rising pitch of yes/no questions.

Towards Understanding English Grammar

English Grammar has minimal inflection compared with most other Indo-European languages. For example, Modern English, unlike Modern German or Dutch and the Romance languages, lacks grammatical gender and adjectival agreement. Case marking has almost disappeared from the language and mainly survives in pronouns.

The patterning of strong (e.g. <code>speak/spoke/spoken</code>) versus weak verbs inherited from its Germanic origins has declined in importance in modern English, and the remnants of inflection (such as plural marking) have become more regular. At the same time, the language has become more analytic, and has developed features such as modal verbs and word order as rich resources for conveying meaning. Auxiliary verbs mark constructions such as questions, negative polarity, the passive voice and progressive aspect.

Towards Understanding English Vocabulary

The English Vocabulary has changed considerably over the centuries. Like many languages deriving from Proto-Indo-European (PIE), many of the most common words in English can trace back their origin (through Germanic) to PIE. Such words include the basic pronouns I, originally ic, (cf. Latin ego, Greek ego, Sanskrit aham), me (cf. Latin me, Greek eme, Sanskrit mam), numbers (e.g. one, two, three, cf. Latin unus, duo, tres, Greek oios, duo, treis), common family relationships such as mother, father, brother,

sister etc (cf. Greek "meter", Latin "mater", Sanskrit "mat["; mother), names of many animals (cf. Sankrit mus, Greek mys, Latin mus; mouse), and many common verbs. Germanic words (generally words of Old English or to a lesser extent Norse origin) tend to be shorter than the Latinate words of English, and more common in ordinary speech. This includes nearly all the basic pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, modals etc. that form the basis of English syntax and grammar. The longer Latinate words are often regarded as more elegant or educated.

However, the excessive use of Latinate words is considered at times to be either pretentious or an attempt to obfuscate an issue. George Orwell's essay "Politics and the English Language" is critical of this, as well as other perceived abuses of the language. An English speaker is in many cases able to choose between Germanic and Latinate synonyms: come or arrive; sight or vision; freedom or liberty. In some cases there is a choice between a Germanic derived word (oversee), a Latin derived word (supervise), and a French word derived from the same Latin word (survey). The richness of the language arises from the variety of different meanings and nuances such synonyms harbour, enabling the speaker to express fine variations or shades of thought. Familiarity with the etymology of groups of synonyms can give English speakers greater control over their linguistic register. An exception to this and a peculiarity perhaps unique to English is that the nouns for meats are commonly different from, and unrelated to, those for the animals from which they are produced, the animal commonly having a Germanic name and the meat having a Frenchderived one.

Since the majority of words used in informal settings will normally be Germanic, such words are often the preferred choices when a speaker wishes to make a point in an argument in a very direct way. A majority of Latinate words (or at least a majority of content words) will normally be used in more formal speech and writing, such as a

courtroom or an encyclopedia article. However, there are other Latinate words that are used normally in everyday speech and do not sound formal; these are mainly words for concepts that no longer have Germanic words, and are generally assimilated better and in many cases do not appear Latinate. For instance, the words mountain, valley, river, aunt, uncle, move, use, push and stay are all Latinate. English easily accepts technical terms into common usage and often imports new words and phrases. Examples of this phenomenon include: cookie, Internet and URL (technical terms), as well as genre, über, lingua franca and amigo (imported words/phrases from French, German, modern Latin, and Spanish, respectively). In addition, slang often provides new meanings for old words and phrases. In fact, this fluidity is so pronounced that a distinction often needs to be made between formal forms of English and contemporary usage.

Describing the Number of Words in English

English has an extraordinarily rich vocabulary and capacity to absorb and create new words. As the *General Explanations* at the beginning of the *Oxford English Dictionary* states:

"The Vocabulary of a widely diffused and highly cultivated living language is not a fixed quantity circumscribed by definite limits... there is absolutely no defining line in any direction: the circle of the English language has a welldefined centre but no discernible circumference."

The vocabulary of English is undoubtedly vast, but assigning a specific number to its size is more a matter of definition than of calculation. Unlike other languages, such as French, German, Spanish and Italian there is no Academy to define officially accepted words and spellings. Neologisms are coined regularly in medicine, science and technology and other fields, and new slang is constantly developed. Some of these new words enter wide usage; others remain restricted to small circles. Foreign words used in immigrant communities often make their way into wider English usage.

Archaic, dialectal, and regional words might or might not be widely considered as "English". The *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition (*OED2*) includes over 600,000 definitions, following a rather inclusive policy:

"It embraces not only the standard language of literature and conversation, whether current at the moment, or obsolete, or archaic, but also the main technical vocabulary, and a large measure of dialectal usage and slang (Supplement to the OED, 1933)."

The editors of Webster's Third New International Dictionary, Unabridged (475,000 main headwords) in their preface, estimate the number to be much higher. It is estimated that about 25,000 words are added to the language each year.

Describing the Word Origins Process

One of the consequences of the French influence is that the vocabulary of English is, to a certain extent, divided between those words which are Germanic (mostly West Germanic, with a smaller influence from the North Germanic branch) and those which are "Latinate" (Latinderived, either directly from Norman French or other Romance languages). Numerous sets of statistics have been proposed to demonstrate the origins of English vocabulary. None, as yet, is considered definitive by most linguists. A computerised survey of about 80,000 words in the old Shorter Oxford Dictionary (3rd ed.) was published in Ordered Profusion by Thomas Finkenstaedt and Dieter Wolff (1973) that estimated the origin of English words as follows:

- (i) Langue d'oïl, including French and Old Norman: 28.3%
- (ii) Latin, including modern scientific and technical Latin: 28.24%
- (iii) Other Germanic languages (including words directly inherited from Old English): 25%
- (iv) Greek: 5.32%
- (v) No etymology given: 4.03%

- (vi) Derived from proper names: 3.28%
- (vii) All other languages contributed less than 1% (e.g. Arabic-English loanwords)

A survey by Joseph M. Williams in *Origins of the English Language* of 10,000 words taken from several thousand business letters gave this set of statistics:

- (i) French (langue d'oïl), 41%
- (ii) "Native" English, 33%
- (iii) Latin, 15%
- (iv) Danish, 2%
- (v) Dutch, 1%
- (vi) Other, 10%

However, 83% of the 1,000 most-common, and all of the 100 most-common English words are Germanic.

Dutch Origins

Words describing the navy, types of ships, and other objects or activities on the water are often from Dutch origin. *Yacht* (*jacht*) and *cruiser* (*kruiser*) are examples.

French Origins

There are many words of French origin in English, such as *competition*, *art*, *table*, *publicity*, *police*, *role*, *routine*, *machine*, *force*, and many others that have been and are being anglicised; they are now pronounced according to English rules of phonology, rather than French. A large portion of English vocabulary is of French or Oïl language origin, most derived from, or transmitted via, the Anglo-Norman spoken by the upper classes in England for several hundred years after the Norman Conquest.

Understanding the Writing System in English

English has been written using the Latin alphabet since around the ninth century. (Before that, Old English had been written using the Anglo-Saxon Futhorc.) The spelling system, or orthography, is multilayered, with elements of French, Latin and Greek spelling on top of the native Germanic system; it has grown to vary significantly from the phonology of the language. The spelling of words often diverges considerably from how they are spoken. Though letters and sounds may not correspond in isolation, spelling rules that take into account syllable structure, phonetics, and accents are 75% or more reliable. Some phonics spelling advocates claim that English is more than 80% phonetic.

Generally, the English language, being the product of many other languages and having only been codified orthographically in the 16th century, has fewer consistent relationships between sounds and letters than many other languages. The consequence of this orthographic history is that reading can be challenging. It takes longer for students to become completely fluent readers of English than of many other languages, including French, Greek, and Spanish.

Understanding Written Accents in English

Unlike most other Germanic languages, English has almost no diacritics, except in foreign loanwords (like the acute accent in $caf\acute{e}$) and in the uncommon use of a diaeresis mark (often in formal writing) to indicate that two vowels are pronounced separately, rather than as one sound (e.g. $na\ddot{v}v$, $Zo\ddot{e}$). In most cases it is acceptable to leave out the marks, especially in digital communications where the QWERTY keyboard lacks any marked letters.

Describing the Formal Written English

A version of the language almost universally agreed upon by educated English speakers around the world is called formal written English. It takes virtually the same form no matter where in the English-speaking world it is written. In spoken English, by contrast, there are a vast number of differences between dialects, accents, and varieties of slang, colloquial and regional expressions. In spite of this, local variations in the formal written version of the

language are quite limited, being restricted largely to the spelling differences between British and American English.

Differentiating the Basic and Simplified Versions of English

To make English easier to read, there are some simplified versions of the language. One basic version is named *Basic English*, a constructed language with a small number of words created by Charles Kay Ogden and described in his book *Basic English: A General Introduction with Rules and Grammar* (1930). The language is based on a simplified version of English. Ogden said that it would take seven years to learn English, seven months for Esperanto, and seven weeks for Basic English, comparable with Ido.

Thus, Basic English is used by companies who need to make complex books for international use, and by language schools that need to give people some knowledge of English in a short time. Ogden did not put any words into Basic English that could be said with a few other words and he worked to make the words work for speakers of any other language. He put his set of words through a large number of tests and adjustments. He also made the grammar simpler, but tried to keep the grammar normal for English users. The concept gained its greatest publicity just after the Second World War as a tool for world peace. Although it was not built into a programme, similar simplifications were devised for various international uses. Another version, Simplified English, exists, which is a controlled language originally developed for aerospace industry maintenance manuals. It offers a carefully limited and standardised subset of English. Simplified English has a lexicon of approved words and those words can only be used in certain ways. For example, the word close can be used in the phrase "Close the door" but not "do not go close to the landing gear".

2

Focus on Classroom Pedagogy and English Primary Schools

Introduction

We offered evidence that the introduction of the National Curriculum was resulting in an increase in curriculum classification: there was an increase in the teaching of single subjects and a decrease in integrated work. We also noted teacher concerns about what they saw as the overcrowding of the curriculum with specified content, thus reducing their scope to exercise professional judgement in the selection of learning tasks, and we observed a shift in teachers' educational priorities and objectives.

We speculated that teachers might increase the extent to which they sought to control and structure pupil time and behaviour, in response to the curricular constraints and pressures they faced. This, of course, relates to another of the analytic dimensions we discussed, that of the strength of the 'frame' within classrooms. Following Bernstein (1975), a strong frame reduces 'the power of the pupil over how he [sic] receives knowledge' and increases 'the teacher's power in the pedagogical relationship (Bernstein, 1975, p. 89). On the other hand, weak framing increases the options open to both teacher and pupil in the 'selection, organization, pacing, and timing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship' (Bernstein, 1975, p. 89).

A strengthening of frame in classrooms would thus mean that there was more constraint and greater specification over the pedagogic roles of both teachers and children. There would be less scope for self-directed and flexible activity for both. However, it is also possible that the strength of curriculum classification and frame could vary independently of one another and that pedagogy could remain relatively unaffected by a tightening of curriculum content. This chapter explores this relationship empirically. As suggested, a wide range of issues is involved in a consideration of whether constraint is increased and choice reduced in the classroom. These include the selection of work and tasks, the organization of classroom activities in terms of the use of space and resources, and the grouping of pupils, as well as the contexts in which teaching takes place and its timing. Many of these issues are discussed in this chapter. In the first part of the chapter we explore teacher perspectives on pedagogy and on relationships with children, and we consider the extent to which these changed, drawing upon interviews carried out in 1990 and 1992 with our larger sample of 88 and upon interviews and discussions in 1990 and 1991 with our 18 classroom study teachers. The second part of the chapter, from section 3.5 onwards, is based mainly upon the systematic observation carried out in 18 classrooms in our nine study schools.

First, however, in order to establish a baseline prior to the introduction of the National Curriculum, we examine some of the research findings of the 1970s and 1980s.

How have Teachers Approached Classroom Teaching and Organization in the Past?

In terms of teachers' beliefs about children's learning, the progressive movement that led up to and culminated in the Plowden Report (CACE, 1967) had a profound and long-term influence in England. For instance, the teachers in King's (1978) study of infant schools took child-centred approaches as being axiomatic, some even regarding the move to the junior school as the end of 'real' education.

Key elements in these teacher's perspectives about the nature to children's learning were ideas about developmentalism, individualism, play as learning and childhood innocence. Closely related to learning through play were ideas about the importance of child interest, happiness and busyness. Similarly, Berlak and Berlak (1981) emphasized infant teachers' perspectives in terms of seeing childhood as unique and as a special case, in contrast to the alternative view of childhood as continuous and of children as mini-adults.

However, it is of the the case that there is a difference between the ideals to which people aspire and the actions that turn out to be possible. This has also been true for primary school teachers. Thus many of the research studies of the 1970s and 1980s documented a gap between commitments and ideologies and practical realities in classrooms (e.g. Bennett, 1976; Bassey, 1978; DES, 1978; Galton *et al.*, Alexander, 1984). A key play, while some that did still limited pupil use because of the potential difficulties of wet or sandy floors.

One of the most common teachers strategies was to allow choice to children only when they had finished their designated 'work.' 'Choosing' was thus used as an inducement to complete tasks, and the range of activities that could be selected was often delineated on a day-by-day basis. Often this might be limited to activities that were regarded as requiring little teacher support, thus enabling the teacher to target her attention towards children who had not completed their tasks. Of course, with this arrangement, slower children only rarely got a chance to choose.

It was apparent from teacher interviews conducted both through the classroom studies and in the two major interview rounds that teachers had found it progressively more difficult to reconcile their belief in the value of some child choice of activity with the demands of the National Curriculum. We reviewed some of the data that bear on this, where, among other things, we reported a 1990-2 increase from 20 to 55 per cent of teachers perceiving the curriculum to be overcrowded and no fewer than 85 per cent of teachers in 1992 saying that the National Curriculum had been the biggest influence on their recent pedagogic changes. Taken overall, there was a strong feeling from our findings that teachers felt they were being forced to prescribe more and more classroom activities and thereby restrict scope for pupil autonomy.

In terms of the tension between the perceived nature of six- and seven-year-old and required educational purposes. this was seen as resulting in requirements that were both 2 class explicitly stated that her freedom to allow child control was now more limited: 'There's no longer the freedom to go away and write a story about what you want. Even with the very young ones, free writing is now curtailed somewhat because we're doing "my family" and it's all geared to getting ready for the attainment targets.' This was perceived as a significant change: "It didn't used to be. Before, every child would write on subjects they chose and I would be their scribe helping to express their great needs.' Another Year 2 teacher said: 'In the last two years I've had to cover as much as possible, such as science. So I've chosen more and more of what we have to do. For instance, I aim to cover the attainment targets for science and this has rather dominated.'

Lest any reader has images of 'golden days' of the past, we should remember that, despite some popular impressions, research studies of the 1970 s and 1980s consistently found that actual teacher control of primary classrooms was tight and that child choice was relatively limited. However, it appears from our data that, since the subject content of the National Curriculum and the assessment procedures have been introduced, teachers have felt it necessary to take more control and direction of children's activities. They have done so largely despite their better judgement and with concern over the imposition of a degree of curriculum overload, resulting in pedagogic

constraint, which they feel to be inappropriate for such young children.

Our evidence suggests that not only had the choice of learning tasks become more restricted since the introduction of the National Curriculum, but levels of teacher intervention during tasks had also increased. This is discussed in more detail in sections 3.6 and 3.8. Of course, the latter could well have been beneficial, if more subject matter teaching and encouragement were being offered so that children became more 'interested.' However, as many teachers feared, it could also have been detrimental, if so much control was being taken away from children that their motivation and commitment to school and learning was compromised. The latter concern is an issue we consider directly.

How did Teachers Perceive Changes in Their Pedagogy Following the Introduction of the National Curriculum and Assessment Requirements?

In this section we draw on data from two rounds of interviews with teachers, conducted in the summers of 1990 and 1992. The data thus reflect teacher perceptions in the early stages of the implementation of the National Curriculum and at a point when its impact on classroom practice was becoming apparent. We asked about teachers; classroom practice and how this was being affected by the National Curriculum and Assessment.

In particular, teachers were asked, 'How would you describe your approach to teaching?" Their responses were coded in broad categories. One notable feature of these data is the fact that the vast majority of teachers, over 70 per cent, stated that they adopted 'mixed' teaching methods. Even in 1990, only one fifth subscribed exclusively to forms of 'child-centred' pedagogy, a fact that somewhat belies the sensationalism about progressivism that has sometimes filled the media in recent years.

However, by 1992 there was a significant fall in the number of teachers declaring themselves to endorse childcentered approaches and a corresponding increase in those whose responses were coded as 'traditional' or 'formal.' The pattern is clear, but it was made even more apparent when we coded teachers' comments made in respect of an open-ended opportunity to amplify their previous response. For instance, there was a fall in teachers mentioning forms of integrated day, from 29 to 8 per cent, and a rise in teachers mentioning whole-class teaching, from 4 to 29 per cent. Both these changes are highly significant statistically. The continuity in emphasis on group work and on the curriculum 'basics' is also notable, while there was no perceived decrease in the prominence of topic work. The latter finding somewhat contradicts the patterns found through our classroom observation, but this may reflect continuing attempts to provide integrated work despite the difficulty of actually doing it. Lest the origins of such changes be doubted, over 85 per cent of the teachers interviewed in 1992 attributed them to the introduction of the National Curriculum, while 55 per cent identified new assessment requirements. Only 12 per cent spoke of other changes in school and just 3 per cent mentioned personal sources of change. The 1990 figures were very similar. The teacher quoted above cited particularly the demands made by the National Curriculum in terms of classroom management: 'I'm finding that the demand of organising and managing the children has changed a tremendous amount. I'm trying to maximize on time.'

This perceived change in teaching approach and philosophy was also reflected in changes in classroom practice. Most teachers (87 per cent) felt that the advent of the National Curriculum had resulted in significant changes to their working day and for 38 per cent in 1990 and no less than 62 per cent in 1992 these changes were seen as major. The most important areas of change involved more time spent on assessment-related record keeping, with over 60 per cent mentioning this in both rounds of interviews, and more time spent on planning and preparation, with this being mentioned by cent on both occasions. Even in

1990 there was certainly evidence for the 'intensification of teachers (in the sense of chronic work overload)) (Lawn and Ozga, 1981; Apple, 1986), teachers either having to work longer hours or having to work in a more cot less relaxed way in order to discharge their responsibilities. There was general of being swamped by change. 'Too much has happened too quicklywas the teachers put it. While they were developing new ways of working, particularly of record keeping and assessment, more information would arrive that supersing reqirements, meaning that they had wasted their time. For example, with the documentation that accompanied the National Curriculum was sector as 'simply overwhelming.' Far too much to assimilate. I have just had to go for the time being,' as one teacher put it.

Many teachers expressed frustration and even anger over the amount of tution apparently demanded by the NCC and SEAC for record keeping and assessment were fears that this was beginning to 'take over from teaching,' that the heavy demanded in time and effort left too little time for planning, for responding to for display work, for all the things that were seen by many as 'real teaching. We thus have clear signs, from teacher accounts, of tighter classroom structures, tighter teacher control and heavier workloads in response to the National Curriculum and assessment. In the nest section we consider how the tightening of 'frame' and the increased pressure experienced by teachers were felt to be influencing teacher relationships with the children in their class.

How Did Teachers Perceive the Changes to have Affected Their Relationship with Children?

In 1990 only 31 per cent of the teachers felt that the National Curriculum had a negative effect on teachers' relationships with children. By 1992 this proportion had increased to 58 per cent, partly as a result of the impact of the introduction of national assessment, but in particular because of a perceived increase in pressure on teachers' time, leaving them both less relaxed and less able to spend

time responding to children. Most teachers had strong feelings about the importance of defending their relationship with the children, feelings that were closely tied to their own sense of identify as primary teachers (Nias, 1989).

Time and again they mentioned the National Curriculum as a definite pressure on the close relationships they had formerly enjoyed with children. Contributing to this was the loss of fun and responsiveness to children in the teaching and the feeling of a need to justify everything in terms of the attainment targets. In 1990 one teacher argued:

There isn't anything that you do now that you don't feel, 'Can you actually justify this, what educational guide are the children getting out of it, how can you tie it up with an attainment target or programme of study?" All that sort of thing. Or can you, like you used to be able to, just do it for the pure fun and enjoyment of it?

This feeling of pressure was almost universal among the teachers we interviewed. The Valley Year 1 teacher agreed:

I think on a bad day I'm definitely more 'crabby' because I do feel under pressure all the time. Hen the children do something, instead of looking at it and thinking only 'Has this child tried hard, is this good for this child?' I'm thinking, 'Does it fulfil certain criteria?' And if it doesn't, my anxiety shows through. I think because of the pressures at the moment I'll be more likely not to have been so nice and loving as might have been.

Closely related to this was a sense of loss of the close affective ties many teachers had developed with the children in their class. As one teacher put it:

I think there is a tendency to be so pressurized by the demands of the National Curriculum that there isn't so much time to spend discussing emotional and personal issues with the children. It's 'Right, let's get on. Tell me about it later.' And those issues are just as important as the more academic issues.... So many of the very

nice aspects of being with the children have been lost. And I think the children feel it. I feel they feel very tired and pressurized at the end of the half term.

The feeling of stress and a loss of relaxed, enjoyable time with the children seemed, if anything, to have intensified between 1990 and 1991. As another Year 2 teacher put it. The very aware of that close contact time, that personal connection that makes the children happy and at ease with you. You don't have time for that and you can't teach an unhappy child. As she put it, the making of a trusting relationship with young children aged between four and seven was all-important and it would be lost: They'll see this horrible women who makes me do this, this and this, through the day, and that's not right.' Another teacher agreed:

We are not so relaxed in the classroom now. Teachers are more worried. 'Are we doing enough? Are we giving children enough experiences? There is constant planning and record keeping. Some of the children in my class would be so much better off with a motherly teacher who had time to sit with them on her knee and do things with them but it's impossible now with all the pressures.

Such feelings were intensified where teachers felt there was a particularly strong conflict between the demands of the National Curriculum and the needs of the children. The Year I teacher at St Anne's, working in a socially disadvantaged area in the north of England, felt a conflict between

knowing the kind of work you should be doing and which the National Curriculum encompasses and the restrictions imposed by the kind of children they are. I feel that I'm not able perhaps to take things as far as I would like, it has to be a very simple level, sometimes I'd like to take it one step further and I'm not able to do that.

In 1990 there was evidence of a strong determination among teachers not to allow the changes to destroy their relationship with the children, and this protectiveness was still strongly in evidence in teachers' responses a year later. As the Year 2 teacher at Valley put it,

When I feel those frictions I lay off the National Curriculum. When I feel those I say, 'I don't care, we will do something completely different,' and I change my tack, and I go back to being myself the 'proper' teacher and I don't care. Angela [the head] backs me up on this. When I feel those tensions come back into the classroom I stand back. I make an assessment, make a sensible judgement, and think, 'Enough's enough'

In spite of the perceived pressures, the responses of these teachers expressed a determination to try to protect their relationship with the children and to mediate the demands of the reforms to acceptable professional ends. Nevertheless the figures suggest that, as the implementation of the reforms progressed, an increased proportion of teachers felt this relationship to be under threat.

In the sections that follow, we draw upon both teacher interviews and our observations of 18 year 1 and Year 2 classrooms to examine directly the changes in teacher's classroom practice.

What Were the Main Teaching Contexts in the Classrooms and How Have These Changed?

In monitoring changes in classroom practice, we were concerned particularly with the extent of whole-class, individual and group teaching. On this, we have two main sources of data. First, we have the findings of systematic observation by the PACE team in the 18 classroom studies during the autumns of 1990 and 1991. Our second data source comes from interviews with our wider sample of 88 classroom teachers, conducted in the summers of 1990 and 1992. It is apparent that a wide range of teaching contexts are used in infant classrooms, with approximately two-fifths of the time being spent in each of whole-class interaction and individual work, and the remaining fifth being used for group work. We should emphasize in this

context that our observational coding of 'whole-class interaction' included all teaching time spent together as a class: discussions and story time, for instance, as well as more didactic teaching sessions. Interesting our data record a slight fall in the proportion of whole-class interaction from 1990 to 1991, though we are unable to say whether this was caused by an absolute change in teaching approach or by teacher adaption to the age of the children. It will be recalled that our 1990 observations were based on Year 1 children but that these same children were in Year 2 for our 1991 observations. It is possible that whole-class sessions are used more for induction and socialization purposes with younger children. In any event, the decrease in whole-class interaction does seem surprising, given the pressures that were mounting externally at the time.

Data from our interviews with the wider sample of teachers also raised some interesting questions about changes in teaching contexts. In both 1990 and 1992 teachers were asked to say whether they felt they were doing 'more,' 'the same' or 'less' of whole-class, group or individual teaching. This table shows the absolutely clear perception by just over a fifth of teachers in 1990 and a quarter in 1992 that they were increasing the proportions of wholeclass interaction in their classrooms. While this increase was matched by a rise in groupwork in 1990, teachers believed that their use of groups had fallen back by 1992. Individual work was felt to have decreased in 1990 but had begun to stabilize by 1992. How, then, can we account for the apparent discrepancy between what we observed as a slight fall in whole-class interaction and the repeated teacher perception that there had been a rise?

We believe that the problem is essentially methodological and that the data can, in fact, be reconciled. The key question is 'What is seen to count as whole-class teaching?' We believe that the main teacher reference point on this, when answering our interview question, was likely to relate to explicit whole-class teaching sessions they had specifically planned in relation to the content of a National Curriculum subject. Indeed, our field note data confirm teacher perceptions that, in the light of the demands of the National Curriculum, the extent of explicit subject-based whole-class teaching was increasing. However, our systematic observation data record a much wider range of whole-class interaction, much of which, such as 'news time,' 'review time' and 'story time,' is traditional and commonplace in infant classrooms. We think it unlikely that teachers were thinking of these in response to our question on whole-class teaching.

Our overall interpretation, then, is that there has been a steady increase in explicit, teacher-planned, whole-class teaching sessions while the overall number of whole-class interaction sessions has decreased. We thus need to ask, 'How are whole-class sessions actually used?" as well as, 'What proportion of whole-class sessions are there? We believe that our data suggest that although there may have been slightly fewer whole-class interaction sessions in 1991 than in 1990, a greater proportion of them were being used for explicit teaching purposes. In terms of teaching the curriculum, teachers were, arguably, using the available time more effectively. However, few teachers actually saw it like that, and for most the increase in whole-class teaching was something that was forced on them by the subject specification of the National Curriculum. Indeed, it was often seen as potentially damaging to social, affective and some cognitive aspects of children's learning.

A rough comparison may be made between the PACE findings and Tizard *et al.*,'s (1988) study of children of the same age in London inner-city infant schools. In Tizard *et al.*'s study, Year 1 children spent 61 per cent of their time in individual work. This increased to 66 per cent of the time in Year 2. The proportion of group work in both years was relatively low. Interestingly, children had direct contact with the teacher for only 20 per cent of their time in the classroom compared with 43 per cent of the time in the

PACE study in 1990 and 41 per cent in 1991. It would appear that, since the introduction of the National Curriculum, the proportion of time children spend in group work has remained low and the proportion of time children work as individuals has decreased. However, compared with earlier research, whole-class interaction has increased and the overall proportion of teacher-led situations has grown significantly.

On What Criteria Were Classroom Groups Established?

Although, as we have seen, the proportion of time spent by children in group work has declined, the children we observed sat in groups for most of the time in which they worked as individuals. How teachers seat children in groups for different activities and how much choice children have over their seating arrangements can be one indicator of the strength of frame within classrooms. For example, if children were grouped by attainment for more activities now than in the past and were less likely to be allowed to sit in friendship groups, this would suggest a tightening of teacher control in the pedagogical relationship, and a reduction in the power of the pupil.

We asked teachers during the 1990 and 1992 interviews what criteria they used when they grouped children for different classroom activities. The method declared by the largest proportion of teachers, four-fifths, was attainment grouping (often inaccurately called 'ability grouping'). This was particularly used for specific curriculum activities, such as in maths, where differentiation by task was needed. However, its use often seemed to be generalised to apply to all work within subjects, such as maths and English, in which differentiation of tasks was seen as being particularly important. One teacher described this:

I'm having to switch more and more to ability groupings, which I don't like with such young children because I don't think it's appropriate.... Because of the pressure to cover all the activities that they need to, it's just impossible not to

formalize the work more, and I do a lot more of dividing the class into high-ability groups, middle range and lower-ability groups just to teach them a lot more formally.'

Mixed-attainment grouping and friendship grouping were also used by most teachers for at least some of the time and such groups seemed to be used where it was more possible to differentiate tasks by outcome.

The decrease in the percentage of teachers using age as a basis for grouping is interesting. Such grouping was most prevalent in small, rural schools with mixed-age classes and there was a slight decrease in the number of mixed-age classes in the 1992 sample. On the other hand, the finding could reflect greater teacher efforts, even in small schools with a wide attainment range in each class, to provide differentiation between learners in terms of attainment. The percentage of teachers using gender as a basis for grouping remained very low. Gender-based groups tended to be used for specific purposes and with awareness of equal opportunities issues. These findings articulated closely with research on grouping before the National Curriculum, which indicated that many teachers grouped predominantly by attainment. In Bennett and Kell's (1989) study, for example, a little over one-half of the teacher grouped children by attainment. A little over one-third of teachers used age or intake, and a similar proportion claimed to use flexible grouping. One in four said they used mixedability groups, and one in six used friendship groups. However, the reality was a little more complex than this, since many teachers used more than one criterion; for example, grouping by both age and attainment. This comparison suggests that while attainment grouping has long been a significant form of classroom organization, its use has increased since the introduction of the National Curriculum and assessment.

Were Different Groups of Children Being Taught in Different Ways?

Overall, the children we observed in the PACE study

were the focus of teacher attention (i.e. were observed to be intracting with the teacher) for 43 per cent of the time 1990 and 41 per cent of the time in 1991. This figure includes whole-class, group and individual teaching contexts and compares with a figure of 20 per cent of the primary observed by Tizard *et al.* in 1988. This difference suggests that after the introduction of the National Curriculum and assessment, teachers began to intervene far more in children's activities. However, this overall figure conceals significant variations in the way teachers allocated their time with children.

The PACE systematic observation data provide some interesting insights into the judgements being used by teachers in differentiating their pedagoic provision. For instance, focusing on data of pupil observations only, we were able to compute the proportions of time in which children of different attainment levels were contact with the teacher in each of the three main teaching contexts: whole-class, group or individual. Attainment, in this context, was based on teacher records, with particular reference to reading attainment.

As one would expect, pupil attainment made very little difference to the contact offered by teachers when pupils were observed in whole-class contexts. The teacher interacted with the children in such circumstances whatever their level of achievement. However, teacher involvement with groupwork was heavily directed towards supporting lower-attaining children. Higher-attaining children seemed to receive only half the teacher attention that was invested in supporting weaker children. Teachers again offered most individual attention to lower-attaining children but also spent time, on an individual basis, with higher attainers. Children attaining at average levels received slightly less individual attention from the teacher.

These patterns show the ways in which the teachers studied resolved the acute dilemmas they face regarding the deployment of their scarce teaching time. It appears that teachers routinely direct whole-class interaction largely at the majority of children with average levels of attainment. They then support lower attainers, in groups, who might otherwise have difficulty in making constructive progress. Finally, they provide differentiated support to particular high-and low-attaining individuals. Regarding social class, it is striking that pupils of manual and non-manual parental backgrounds received almost exactly equal amounts of teacher contact. However, children of manual backgrounds spent a little more time interacting with other pupils. Of course, these quantitative data say nothing about the nature of what they were doing in either case, but there is an immediately apparent balance in the distribution of teacher time. Social class made no difference.

Similar statements could be made regarding gender, where again there are very small differences in interaction times. Interestingly, the very slightly higher figure for total et al., (1980). While the overall differences are very small, for individual pupil interaction with their teacher, girls received 25 per cent more than boys (3.9 against 2.9 per cent of teacher-pupil interaction). Regarding the interaction patterns of children of differing attainment and socio-metric status, teachers, appeared to be making clear judgements about where to direct their time among pupils. There was significantly more teacher interaction with lower attaining children and with children of low socio-metric status. A probable consequence was that low attainment and low socio-metric status were associated with less pupil to pupil interaction.

This evidence highlights one result of the exercise of professional judgement in the deployment of time. Teachers had repeatedly told us of their commitment to meet individual pupil needs and here, it appears, we have a resulting pattern in terms of observed interaction. As one Year 1 teacher argued, 'The kind of children I have in my class can make the National Curriculum approach difficult. It requires diversifying away from the basics and they

actually need a lot of help with basic skills. I have to make that my top priority and make time to work with individuals.' Another teacher said:

Some children in my class need a lot of help. I'm very aware that working with the whole class myself-very often I have to give that over a part-time teacher when I really need and want to do it myself, so that I can fulfil the needs of individuals.... But in doing that you lose that joy and that two-way communication with the class which you also need to fulfil the work and activities as it were. So you lose the cohesive stance between class work, individual work and group work because you're having to fragment that all the time. As one example of this exercise of professional judgement, the Year 1 teacher at St Anne's adopted a strategy of making sure that she introduced difficult new work to lower-attaining groups of children on Mondays, when there were other adult helpers present in the class to work with other groups. This enabled her to spend longer with lower-attaining children and to concentrate completely on their needs. On one of the days we observed her, she was working with, and moving between, two maths groups doing work with dice, while one helper (a volunteer and grandmother) worked with children constructing and painting model plates of food as part of their topic work on 'our bodies, ourselves.' Another helper, a classroom assistant, worked with children making weather charts, and one group worked alone using worksheets.

Of course, plotted patterns of aggregated data can conceal a great deal of individual variation. As an example of this, is a scattergram showing the position of each of our 54 target children in Year 2 in terms of total interaction with other pupils and with their teacher. The spread is very considerable, from one child (top right) who managed exceptionally high levels of contact with both teacher and other pupils to others (bottom left) who had low levels of contact with both. The classroom experience of such children was inevitably very different indeed.

How Varied Were Differences in Teaching Contexts for Teachers and Pupils?

In this section, we consider differences in pedagogy in each of our nine study classrooms in 1991, taking as one indicator of difference the proportion of time in which different teaching contexts were used.

Section 3.6 showed that the predominant teaching contexts were whole-class interaction and individual work and that these were used about twice as much as forms of group work. Teachers were particularly aware of increases in explicitly planned, whole-class teaching. However, these overall aggregated figures conceal striking and significant variations in the experience of teachers and pupils in each of the our nine study schools. Similarly, the proportion of time spent on children working in groups varied from 4 per cent in Greenmantle School, situated in a southern market town, to 42 per cent in Audley in the industrial North.

In 1991, the greatest variation in whole-class interaction was still between Orchard and Lawnside, but the difference between them was not so great (16 and 50 per cent respectively). The variation between most of the other schools had also fallen to between 30 and 40 per cent. The variation in group work was about the same in 1991 as in 1990, but the variation in individual work was less. This suggests that one effect of the progressive implementation of the National Curriculum might have been to move schools towards slightly greater uniformity of teaching context, although it is possible that the shift from Year 1 to Year 2 classrooms also made a difference.

In terms of the dimensions of change, there were very clear indications that the strength of frame in classrooms was increasing. Teachers were experiencing more constraint and the options open to children to select, organize, pace and time their work were considerably reduced. The teachers, in response to the pressures of the National Curriculum and assessment, appeared to be adapting by tightening their classroom control and by providing more direction to children's activities. There was apparently more frequent contact between the teacher and the children than in Tizard et al.'s (1988) study before the Education Reform Act and teachers perceived themselves as using more group and whole class teaching, although our observations did not bear out the predominance of group teaching situations. More group work was becoming based on attainment levels in particular subjects as teachers sought to organise the provision of a differentiated curriculum. There was considerable variation between the schools we studied in terms of patterns of classroom organization and teaching context, but there was evidence that the variation was slightly reduced in 1991. Possibly this was indicative of the development towards greater uniformity between schools.

In terms of the debates over teaching methods in the primary school, our data suggest that, apart from the schools at either end of the spectrum, the 'balance' between different types of classroom organization suggested as desirable by Galton et al. (1980), Mortimore et al. (1988) and most recently Allexander et al. (1992) was already being practised by at least half the teachers in our sample. In schools that did not achieve this 'balance,' teachers were often adopting coping strategies to take account of particular circumstances, as in the case of Orchard School, where the teacher found it virtually impossible to teach a mixed age group of four-to seven-year-olds as a whole class.

ENGLISH PRIMARY SCHOOLS

This book is wide-ranging and complex, reflecting the phenomena and period of change we have studied in this first phase of the PACE project. In this chapter we therefore attempt to trace the major themes of the book and to highlight some of their implications. To do this we first, in section 5.2 review salient findings from each chapter in

relatively simple and descriptive terms. In section 5.3 were consider the broad impact of change in terms of our themes of values, understanding and power, and the analytical framework concerning 'dimensions of change' that was first introduced. Finally, in section 5.4, we address the implications of this study for the future of educational policies and primary school practices.

The Salient Findings and Arguments of the Book Echoes of the Past

The Education Reform Act was not a one-off piece of legislation and should be understood historically. We traced the history of the elementary school tradition and the developmental tradition, each with its own values and assumptions about knowledge and learning. Both also influenced recent changes and struggles between teachers and the Government. Similarly, we need to understand the origins of teacher professionalism and to note that a new form of professionalism had been emerging in the 1980s based on 'practical theorizing.' this contributed to, was threatened by the provided a source of mediation and resistance to recent educational changes.

The Educational Reform Act followed a long-running critique of primary education and among other influences reflected the implications of New Right thinking on the role of markets in improving educational standards.

School Change

The introduction of the National Curriculum was only one of many changes that affected schools and headteachers. There were direct effects on curriculum provision and assessment procedures, but there were also indirect effects on staffing, organization, teaching methods and management. As the immediate pressures and concerns on headteachers and classroom teachers grew and began to diverge, there was a growth of managerialism and a movement towards more directive change, although many

schools still tried to retain collegial participation. There has bene a growth of collegiality. A large number of schools adopted strategies to mediate and incorporate the National Curriculum and assessment into their previous practices, but there were also some shifts to compliance at the expense of previous practices. There was a strong association between directive management and the extent of change from previous practices.

Teacher' Perspectives on Their Professional Role

There were fears that the ERA would deskill teachers and that they would be reduced from being professionals exercising judgement to become classroom technicians. However, teachers, in both 1990 and 1992, held strong personal value commitments and felt morally accountable to their pupils and colleagues. Their sense of external accountability had increased considerably since Broadfoot and Osborn's 1985 research, so that, overall, they felt accountable in many, often conflicting, directions. Many teachers felt that their role had changed since the ERA through increased bureaucracy and central direction.

The job was felt to be more stressful and spontaneity in work with children decreased. Teacher's sense of fulfilment from their work reduced but they increasingly developed, and valued, collaborative relationships with other colleagues. Relationships with parents continued much as before, though there was concern about the effects of publication of assessment data. In 1990, half the teachers in our study were pessimistic about the future of primary education and felt that work and stress levels were unsustainable.

In 1992, most teachers felt that constraint would increase and professional autonomy be reduced. Many expected fulfilment to continue to decline. Older teachers were more depressed than younger ones. Teachers in innercity schools felt the National Curriculum to be particularly inappropriate for their pupils' needs. Overall, teachers' work intensified, but many teachers were unwilling to

give up their expressive commitment to pupils and their 'extended' view of their professional role. New, external models of accountability were accepted but teachers retained their previous, internalised sense of commitment. There were diverse strategic responses. These ranged from compliance, through incorporation, active mediation and resistance, to retreatism. During our study, most teachers seemed to favour incorporation, but the 1993 action against assessment was one of resistance.

Teachers and the Curriculum

Teachers initially accepted the National Curriculum in principle, but they were suspicious of the assessment proposals. In 1990 teachers prioritized children's happiness and then basic skills, but this priority was inverted in 1992. The basics continued to be given great emphasis, but music and art may have suffered and teachers felt their control of the classroom curriculum had tightened as overload became apparent. Having experienced the National Curriculum implementation, teachers began to feel that it was too much, too soon, that it was constraining and that it did not allow for responses to pupils' particular learning needs.

Classroom observation showed the dominance of the core curriculum, particularly of English and maths. Foundation subjects were squeezed in many schools, making the achievement of curriculum breadth difficult. From 1990 to 1991 there was a considerable move away from combining subjects in pupils' classroom tasks and towards tasks based on single subjects. Teacher's classroom planning became much more precise and more collegial, with awareness of progression, differentiation and coherence. Teachers used a teaching repertoire, particularly with the core subjects with which they were most familiar. There were significant changes in teachers' curriculum practices. But, although they worked very hard to implement the National Curriculum, teachers had serious reservations about it.

Pupils and the Curriculum

Previous studies have shown pupils' concern with 'what they have to do' rather than with curriculum subjects *per se*. The often also wish to avoid risk. We found that pupils perceived curriculum coverage fairly accurately, though they overstimated the amount of physical education. They preferred to engage in physical education, painting and home corner play but particularly disliked writing, maths and science.

Important pupil criteria for judging curriculum subjects were ease and success, interest, fun, activity and autonomy. These related to pupil fulfilment in terms of both pupil and teacher sources of power in classrooms.

Pupils found it difficult to understand or explain specific teacher intentions in setting classroom tasks, other than in generalized ways, though this developed a little when the children were in Year 2.

Teachers and Pedagogy

Previous research has shown that, despite commitments to child-centered ideas, most teachers have emphasized basic skills and drawn on a mixture of teaching methods. Teachers in our study felt that pupils should have some classroom autonomy within a clear organizational structure. However, they felt that because of the National Curriculum they were increasingly having to direct pupil activities. Most teachers reported that they used 'mixed' treating methods, but the proportion emphasizing more traditional methods, including whole-class teaching, increased from 1990 to 1992. This change, often unwelcome, was attributed to the pressure of National Curriculum requirements.

Observation showed that whole-class interaction of various sorts and individual teaching were each used about twice as much as forms of group work. Teachers were particularly aware of increases in explicitly planned, whole-class teaching. Classroom groups were formed on various criteria, with attainment grouping being used by 80 per

cent of teachers to provide differentiation. Teachers used specific teaching strategies to meet the needs of children of different attainments. High-and low-attaining individuals and low-attaining groups received specific attention.

Teacher contact with pupils seemed to be much higher overall than that found in previous research. Teachers directed more of their classroom time to work with how attaining children and children of low sociometric status. There were considerable differences from class to class, and within classes, in the proportions of time spent in whole-class interaction, group and individual work. Overall, teacher control tightened and teacher direction of pupil activities increased.

Pupils and Pedagogy

Most pupils liked classroom autonomy but were very aware of, and generally accepted, teacher power. There were some indications of older pupils acting more strategically and instrumentally in classrooms. However, pupils generally liked their teachers and pupil-teacher relationships did not worsen over the period of study. There was great variation in classroom task engagement and 'apparent classroom effectiveness,' and these were associated with the proportion of whole-class teaching and the pedagogic frame. However, there were also indications from pupil perspectives that classrooms deemed 'less effective' on these measures were more fun and more interesting, and enabled children to construct understanding, rather than have it imposed.

Teacher Assessment

Teachers' views of assessment reflected their existing professional ideologies. Thus teachers tended to favour formative, provisional and implicit assessment, rather than summative forms of explicit and categoric assessment. National Curriculum assessment procedures were regarded as unrealistic and time consuming. There were fears that they would adversely affect relationships. Initially, record

keeping was reported as having a great influence on changing practices, and as be in a heavy workload. Forms of assessment were varied, with listening, discussion and making prominent. Pupils valued teacher praise and feared 'doing thing wrong.' While some pupils understood teacher assessment criteria such as neatness and effort, many others did not. Children were very aware of differential attainments and of the use of teacher praise. Classroom values such as productivity, behaviour and individualism persist and were reflected as implicit assessment criteria.

Standardized Assessment

The 1991 SATs consumed a great deal of classroom time and school support was significant in terms of resources, pupil performance and teacher stress. However, the SATs constrained and distorted normal classroom practice. SATs were implemented in variable ways, producing different assessment contexts in which children were to demonstrate attainment. Variations related to teacher stimulus, explication and presentation. Pupil anxiety sometimes depressed performance. Assessment criteria were difficult to interpret and teachers interpreted 'levelness' in various ways. Overall, there were enormous variations, with interpretation relating to pre-existing teacher ideologies and practices. Teachers did not believe that SATs justified the time spent on them, and it is doubtful whether SAT data can be regarded as being either valid or reliable.

ANALYTICAL THEMES: VALUES, UNDERSTANDING AND POWER

As the introduction to this book sets out, the goal of the PACE study goes well beyond simply describing the changes that have taken place in primary schools following the Education Reform Act. Our aim is also to contribute more generally to collective understanding concerning the nature of education and how to provide for it most effectively. Thus, in each of the various aspects of our enquiry—as these are reported in the different chapters of this book and summarized above — we have sought not only to document but also to interpret the nature of these changes and to consider their significance for the future of English primary education. Three analytic themes emerged as central to our attempt at interpretation, we identified these themes as *values*, *understanding* and *power*. We now revisit them to structure the conclusions from our study.

Values

Values lie at the heart of all educational decisions. At their most general, these concern the broad commitments that inform educational and social aims and the moral foundations of educational provision. Such values are fundamental to decisions about curriculum, teaching approaches and the sorts of outcomes that are intended from educational processes. Messages about educational values are either given explicitly in statements of educational aims or implied by decisions about curriculum, assessment and pedagogy. The feelings and perspectives of teachers and children about their experiences in schools also reflect value positions. Teachers' conceptions about what it is to be a teacher and about the nature of the teaching profession are the cornerstones of their professional ideologies and are inevitably heavily value laden.

Children's responses to classroom situations may also be considered in value terms as they begin to absorb the beliefs and commitments of their families, culture and society. Value considerations may thus be used to describe the changing orientations of participants to educational situations and to explain their feelings and perspectives.

We sketched out the historical background to the debate about the nature of English primary schooling, and the way in which changing social, economic and political movements, trends and struggles have impacted on issues concerning the nature and content of that provision. We described the long-established traditions of elementary schooling in England and Wales, which are rooted in the mass state educational provision of the nineteenth century, and fed by concerns over social order and the perceived need for international competitiveness. This tradition emphasizes the inculcation of basic skills and a moral order through tight central control of curriculum and assessment arrangements, and hence of teachers and schools. By contrast, the equally long-standing 'developmental' tradition is rooted in the work of major educational philosophers, such as Rousseau and Dewey, and of influential practioners, such as Maria Montessori and Charlotte Mason. It emphasizes the importance of responding to the needs and interests of the individual child and of helping him or her to 'develop' to his or her full potential. As we saw, these differences in values have resonances with the analysis of 'education codes' that has been so powerfully advanced by Bernstein (1975, 1990).

Into this long-running debate came a new market ideology in education, which, as in other parts of state provision, brought with it an emphasis on competition and consumerism. Policies rooted in this philosophy have starkly polarised the values of most teachers against those of the Government. However, of all the sectors of the education profession, it is arguably primary teacher who have experienced these tensions the most sharply, for they had most thoroughly embraced the implication of the developmental tradition. In addition, the emergent professionalism that had been developing in the 1980s was strongly supportive of collaboration between schools, teachers and pupils as a form of learning and collective development. The contrast in value positions could hardly have been more stark.

Teachers initially supported the National Curriculum because of the entitlement to broad and structured experiences that it offered. In this sense, it embodied egalitarian values. Such values had been reflected in relatively undifferentiated curriculum provision in primary schools. However, the National Curriculum and assessment procedures emphasized the need for curriculum differentiation for different pupils. Governmental and parental concern for academic standards reinforced this, but teachers were nervous about its effects, particularly if it led towards forms of streaming or setting.

Understanding

Understanding is a concept that highlights the representation of what is to count as educationally valid knowledge. Linked to this are assumptions about the nature of teaching and of teachers' roles, and about various more specific features of practice, such as assessment. The issues that are at the heart of this book lie in the contrast between an understanding of education as the inculcation of established knowledge and its definition as a process of helping earners to construct their own insights and understanding.

Knowledge has traditionally been viewed as an established body of fact that, with associated skills and attitudes, can and should be taught. This view was articulated by the right-wing pressure groups that contributed to the Education Reform Act and was reflected in the subject specification and much of the content of the National Curriculum. An alternative, Piagetian perspective, placing emphasis on the ways in which learners construct knowledge from experience, was superseded in the emergent professionalism of the 1980s by a new approach. This approach, influenced by Vygotskian psychologists, informed several curriculum development projects. It drew attention to the importance of experience and instruction, and to the nature of the social context in which learning takes place and the support that needs to be available from more knowledgeable others. Both these theories of learning and of the curriculum were reflected in National Curriculum documents. Indeed, their uneasy coexistence was the basis for a good deal of the controversy that surrounded the generation of the different subject curricula.

The net effect of this was that, while teachers had been gradually evolving one view of knowledge and learning through the 1990s, much of the National Curriculum, and certainly its assessment procedures, required them to act in ways that derive from quite different assumptions. While the former emphasized the teacher's professional skills, judgement and understanding in promoting learning, the latter tended to devalue the professional pedagogic skills of the teacher by implying that the 'delivery' of the curriculum was largely unproblematic. This was well illustrated in the Government's 1993 proposal that non-graduate teachers should be accepted for work with young pupils.

Differing ways of understanding knowledge and learning also have implications for different perspectives on *curriculum organization* and teaching method. Over the period of the research reported here, considerable pressure was applied to schools to get them to consider introducing more subject specialist teaching, rather than using forms of integrated topic work. As this pressure had a strong effect, though it was regretted by many teachers. Similarly, we have seen how classroom pedagogy has been changing as new ways of understanding teaching and new educational priorities are put forward.

Understanding of the purpose and capacity of assessment also relates to views of knowledge and learning. Government attention in the early 1990s focused on standardised testing in the hope of providing attainment information for parents and for published school league tables. This strategy assumed that it was both possible and desirable to treat assessments as providing reliable categoric evidence. Teachers had a rather different view. Thus teachers saw the ways in which teacher assessment could feed, formatively, into teaching—learning processes, and many embraced this as part of their professional repertoire. Assessment information was treated as provisional evidence, reflecting the continuous learning process. The gap in understanding between teachers and government on this

specific issue is very considerable, but it stands as an indicator of a far wider range of differences in perception. This brings us to the issue of power.

Power

Issues of power pervade any consideration of the introduction of educational reform in the early 1990s. Like other major changes, the introduction of the National Curriculum not only involved the direct application of power, but also revealed power relationships that in other times had been hidden or so taken for granted that little attention had been paid to them (Lukes, 1974).

The most obvious power struggles involved in the introduction of the National Curriculum were those between central government imposing or requesting changes and the educational service (LEAs, schools, teachers) implementing mediating or resisting them. The changes introduced in the 1988 legislation were widely interpreted as a shift in the relations of power between central government, local providers of education and the teaching profession. However, as well as demonstrating power over the educational system at governmental and policy-making level, the changes associated with the legislation had implications for the operation of power within schools. Thus there were changes in the implementation of relationships between governors, heads, teachers and parents. Changes in school practices also affect classroom practices and, as we have seen, the relative power of teachers and pupils to influence classroom events has begun to change as teachers attempt to 'deliver' the National Curriculum.

However, while power is typically conceived as a means of *control* and a source of constraint, it may also be manifest in more positive ways. Changes may, in principle, also be *empowering:* for instance, if they allow people to work together in more effective pursuit of agreed goals. Unfortunately, there have been few signs of this over the

period of our study. Headteachers in particular faced enormous pressures at the internal-external interface of their schools. They became directly accountable to governors for implementing central policies, but they did not always agree with these or feel that it was possible to deliver them. Having formerly had considerable autonomy in their role, they now felt immensely constrained. In response to this, some headteachers used their power in more managerial ways.

We described how classroom teachers were often required to act in ways with which they fundamentally disagreed and which they considered to be educationally unsound. This was particularly true in relation to the perceived overloading of the curriculum, the pressure for change in pupil-teacher relationships and what was regarded as the inappropriateness of summative assessment procedures.

Teacher responses to this broad but consistent trend varied between compliance, mediation and resistance. Initially, many welcomed the National Curriculum and sought to incorporate it into existing practices. Some drew very constructively on the 'practical theorizing' that had underprinned the emergent professionalism of the 1980s. They attempted to maximize positive aspects of change, such as formative assessment, curriculum progression, the use of subject knowledge and whole-school planning. In so doing, they were, in a sense, recreating their source of professional power in 'expertise.' Other teachers simply tried to survive in the context of rapidly imposed and changing requirements. Workloads, stress levels and demoralization became very high and teachers began to consider forms of collective action to assert a countervailing power to that of the Government. The most telling example of this was provided in 1993, when resistance over assessment requirements led to reporting procedures being boycotted in many schools.

The pressure on headteachers, teachers and pupils was reflected in changes in class-room practices. As we described that particular, teachers used their power over pupils in that context to tighten classroom organization and to increase direction of pupil tasks.

There can be no doubt that, overall, the trends for headteachers, teachers and pupils in terms of power were all in the direction of increased constraint.

DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE REVISITED

In initially identifying these broad themes of power, values and understanding, provided an analytic framework that links the complex mass of specific changes springing from the 1988 Education Reform Act to the enduring issues and concerns surrounding primary school provision more generally. Our three themes were thus reflected in the 14 'dimensions of change' that were discussed.

These dimensions of change provide for analysis in a number of different ways. First, the dimensions can be used to summarise the characteristics of changes that have taken place. Second, they provide a means of distilling more general understandings about particular features of English primary education. Finally, the dimensions map on to existing theories and research in education, thus allowing us to articulate middle-range analyses in more generalizable frameworks. The dimensions cluster around three key aspects of educational provision and change: school-level organization and management; teacher professionalism; and teachers' classroom practice and pupil experience.

School Change

At the whole-school level, our understanding of the changes required under the Education Reform Act led us to anticipate that the analytic themes of values, understanding and power would find expression in the different ways in which schools responded to externally

imposed change and the nature of the resistance, if any, generated by such impositions. We anticipated that headteachers' different ways of managing change would be particularly important in this respect.

Essentially our data showed that, although most primary schools had participative or collegial approaches to management, there was a trend towards more directive, top-down management. This was particularly associated with changes away from established school practices in favour of greater adaptation and compliance with new requirements.

Teacher Professionalism

Regarding teacher professionalism, we focused on three dimensions: views of knowledge and learning as established or constructed; external constraint and autonomy; and commitment to restricted or extended forms of professionalism.

The main elements of the professional perspective of English primary teachers before 1988, in its emphasis on a child-centred, constructed curriculum largely under the control of the teacher. However, We reported how teachers feared the erosion of this power to exercise their professional judgement and how they felt that the increase in external constraint was reducing their time and energy to respond to children's individual interests and needs. In consequence of both the stress resulting from a declining sense of professional fulfilment and the absolute increase in workload, teachers were typically concerned about the present and pessimistic about the future. The data and analysis an increase in the development of subject teaching, in conceptions of knowledge as established and in the influence of external constraint. Teachers were however, very unwilling to give up many aspects of their roles, especially those related to commitment to pupils, which were associated with extended professionalism. This was, in itself, a major cause of their extensive workloads.

Our study showed that teachers' moral and personal commitments to the education of young children remained strong, despite the pressures on them. This underlines their very high order of expressive commitment to teaching. However, many teachers left the profession if they could, or said they would like to. Some others adopted more instrumental positions and began to minimize their personal and emotional commitment. Primary school teachers in England have tended to have an extended conception of their role.

As we have seen, we found them to be concerned about the children in their class in social, emotional and physical terms, as well as intellectually. They were concerned about parents, the school, its role in the community and the nature of national education policy. Many of the teachers in our study had derived a great deal of personal fulfilment from teaching over the years and their value commitment to an extended professional role was a moral one.

Commitment to an extended role still existed among teachers with a strong sense of professionalism, but demoralization was leading to some retrenchment. Some teachers feared that pupils' values, especially their level of commitment to school, might also become more instrumental because of the fragmentation and over load of the National Curriculum, the necessary changes in classroom routines and the categoric labelling of national assessment procedures.

We found little evidence of this so far, although our judgement is that teacher fears are well founded and that the lack of evidence is in fact, in major part, a measure of their commitment and expertise in pre-empting such developments.

Is it our conclusion that schools are being forced to revert to the elementary school tradition, with its emphasis on established knowledge, external constraint and a restricted professional, role as the various facets of the developmental tradition come under attack? Our evidence suggests a more complex answer, for, while many teachers may be forced to adopt new practices, this, in itself, will not necessarily change their values. It seems to be the case that the exercise of coercive power has challenged some teachers to explore their professional repertoire in order to find ways in which they can mediate the new requirements or incorporate them into their existing practices. They have thus sought to ensure that these new practices support, rather than undermine, their longstanding professional commitments. What we may see, therefore, is the development of more targeted and sophisticated curriculum planning, assessment practices and pedagogy. This would be the outcome of a professional response to the more barren, technicist requirements of the Act.

Classroom Change and Pupil Experience

The argument concerning the essentially professional nature of teacher's responses to the Act's requirements is borne out by our findings concerning the impact of receipt educational changes on classroom practices and thus on pupils. A visual summary of the trend of changes in classroom practices that we found and reported.

The increasingly classified subject-based curriculum that we found, the tightening of pedagogic frame and the development of more overt and categoric forms of assessment. It represents the huge changes that have taken place in teacher's work in recent years. However, in contrast, our data from pupils revealed deep continuities in their experiences and perspectives. They remain concerned about having fun, doing interesting things, being active, making friends, achieving success and avoiding trouble — even at the young age of the children in our study. Pupil concerns about schools were much as they have always been.

There are at least two possible reasons for this. First, it is the case that pupils have always had to respond to

teacher control in classrooms. Thus, in itself, constraint is not new to pupils — in one sense, it is what being a 'pupil' is all about. Second, and much more significantly in the context of this study, pupils have arguably not experienced change on anything like the scale that teachers have, because of the supreme effects of teachers to protect children from what they have seen as the worst effects of the changes in education policy. Among the illustrations of this are teachers' concern for maintaining positive classroom relationships and teachers' determination to project the self-esteem of children during assessment procedures.

It is unfortunate, though again not new, that our data showed that such very young pupils seemed not to value highly their work associated with the core curriculum, but this is far from inevitable. The development of teachers' subject knowledge could well assist then in providing work that will engage pupils' interests more fully. To the extent that this happens, it will provide illustrative evidence of another main finding of our study, namely that the imposition of the Act's requirements has prompted some positive developments in teachers' professional skills. In this respect one might identify curriculum planning, clarity in aims and the development of a teaching repertoire and of assessment skills. Ironically, as developments continue through the 1990s, these skills may well be used by teachers to pursue their long-standing educational values. They may thus mobilize particular kinds of professional power to resist the coercive requirements of policy-makers. Some have done this already, by finding ways to use the procedures they are required to follow for very different ends from those originally intended by the Government. Thus procedures rooted in a very different set of educational values have been hijacked by the incorporation of a professional discourse that is still unambiguously rooted in constructivist, rather than established, views of knowledge and collegial, rather than competitive, practice.

It has been said that, while the major theme of the

1970s was 'equality of opportunity' the major concern of the 1980s was 'quality' — hence the emphasis on educational performance. However, although we have chosen not to report them in this over crowded book, there are already indications of processes of social differentiation occurring as a result of the National Curriculum and assessment procedures in the classrooms we studied. At this stage it is too early to be sure of the emerging patterns, but these will receive a full analysis as the longitudinal aspect of this study evolves.

Conclusion

The picture we are left with is certainly unfinished and is perhaps rather confused. It: reveals change and resistance, commitment and demoralization, decreasing autonomy but some developments in professional skills. It is possible to make any sense out of these apparently contradictory findings?

Certainly there is currently a broad consensus in English primary schools on the structural benefits of having a national curriculum. It is seen as providing for progression and continuity and, with careful design, it is seen as potential source of coherence. Organizational benefits for teacher training and supply, continuous professional development, curriculum development parental participation, teacher accountability and national monitoring of educational standards are accepted.

Unfortunately, though, the introduction of the National Curriculum into England was seriously compromised because of the ways in which professionally committed teachers were alienated. As our data have shown, the Education Reform Act brought enormous changes for teachers. However, rather than providing a legislative framework through which they could offer and fulfil their professional commitment, the reforms introduced constraint and regulation into almost every area of teachers' work. Yet it seems most unlikely that education standards can

rise without the wholehearted commitment of teachers, working to support pupils' learning.

Having said that, it is also clear that professional commitment has not yet been entirely dissipated. Ironically, collegiality has developed within many schools as a response to the reforms. Unprecedented levels of cooperation are often manifest in schools, between schools and between teacher associations, but these have often been than to work in partnership with government towards shared goals.

Our final conclusion must be one that records, with sadness, the many lost opportunities of this period change. The amount of legislative time, of financial resources, of public debate and of teacher energy devoted to the innovations was unprecedented. Yet so much was destructive or wasted because of the ideological clash between the Government and teachers. Nor are the struggles surrounding the implementation of the Education Reforms Act and its supplementary legislation yet over; this is certainly a time in which history is being made.

Towards Learning English through Weathers, Seasons and Animals

The weather is always with us, so we might as well put it to good use. It often dominates the mood of the class and one valuable side-effect of writing about it is that the exercise of writing can help to dispel this mood. If, for instance, it has been snowing as the children arrive at school, the chances of them concentrating on maths singlemindedly are remote, but if they can work out their fantasies about the snow in writing first, as they would in the infant school, they are much more amenable to what might seem to them alien disciplines. Any kind of weather can provide the theme for writing but obviously it is only sensible to capitalise on prevailing conditions.

WIND

Let us take, as an example of lesson, 'The Wind,' or 'A Windy Day.' The class may be taken outside for a while with the question in their minds 'What is the wind doing?.' Back in the classroom they discuss this with the teacher. The discussion may be confined to what can actually be observed in the playground or it may extend to what the children know does happen what it is windy, i.e. washing on the line, dustbin lids clattering, leaves blowing about, kites flying, a man's hat being blown off, smoke being blown about, tiles torn off the roof, ships tossed about at sea, in fact as many different things as they can think of.

The teacher might wish to emphasise certain aspects of the wind, such as its force, or the sound of it, according to whether she considers it desirable to give the work a particular direction. If this is the case the discussion might be extended by playing taped wind effects or some music such as Vaughan Williams' 'Sinfonia Antarctica.' If however the children have got into the habit of writing freely then it is as well to let them get on with it. If necessary they might precede their writing by a rough sketch, pictorial or verbal, of the effects the wind has, together with lists of appropriate words and images.

The wind comes in a fearful hurry, stirring and twisting and bellowing into the town. It scatters the paper in the gutter like snowflakes blowing about in the sky. It wriggles howling down our chimneys. It swishes through the trees which bend and groan as if they are very old with aches and pains in their old limbs. Everything shakes at the merciless wind, which always goes its own way. it goes down entries and gardens and round the backs of houses never ceasing to raise up the dust in people's eyes. And when the wind is tired of playing in the town it leaves to wind its fearless way in the country across the hills and wood and at least it hurtles across the sea. It makes me think of the wind blowing across the ice and snow in the Antarctic. Everywhere is deserted, there are no people to be seen and only a few seagulls. It is getting dark and it is beginning to snow again, the snow comes wirling down and it is beginning to blow into a blizzard. You have got to fight against the snow and the screening wind. The wind is howling and tearing at our clothes and we can feel it on our cheeks biting. There is nothing to see for miles across the wasted snow and ice but wizzing flakes hurling past like bullets. It is very lonely here and we have to stay for months yet until the relief ship comes from the Filkland Islands. Then we shall have fresh food and we shall be able to light our fires again instead of using it only for cooking.

Snow

Few things are more likely to disrupt school work than the appearance of snow. If it starts during a lesson you might just as well abandon the lesson and talk about the snow. Let us suppose that this did happen and that the classroom had large windows through which the children could see the playground, houses, trees, etc. They will already be looking through the window so that the concentration so necessary to good writing is ready to hand. The children might be asked how the snow flakes fall, what they look like, how they could be described to someone from a hot country who had never seen snow, how they feel to the touch, how they settle to the ground, what snow sounds like when you walk on it, what it does to your hands when you have been snowballing, what snowflakes look like under a microscope, what it would be like to be in a blizzard, what it would be like to be an Eskimo, and so on. Then the class might be asked to make suggestions for good words, the teacher offering one or two to get the ideas across, e.g. words describing movement—fluttering, whirling, twirling, flying, skipping; words describing sensations of touching, tasting, and so on — crisp, tingling, sharp, biter, sweet; words describing appearance — delicate, feathery, scintillating. Alternatively, the teacher might simply approach it as a verbalising exercise and ask the children to write down as many words as they can think of the describe the snow, after which they read their words out. One might begin with one of the least able children in order that others can add what may be the more unusual words. This avoids the situation in which the least able child is being asked to read his list mainly composed of words already mentioned by the quicker pupils. After this exercise they are encouraged to write a poem or descriptive piece. Here are two short examples:

All the lacy lines,
Pattering drifts of snow
Show me all the secret paths

Where the thrush and robins go
Where the ducks left the frozen pond
I see their footprints clearly
When I follow then I would know
For they would see the tracks of me.

Girl, aged 8 C

I am white
And I fall from a hedge
I cover the ground
And don't make a sound

Boy, aged 8 C

Incidentally, this last piece has the quality of some of the old riddles, which children enjoy imitating for their own sake:

White bird featherless
Flew from Paradise,
Pitched on the castle wall;
Along came Lord Landless
Took it up handless,
And rode away horseless to the King's white hall.

HEAT

Equally distracting is a particularly hot day which may furnish the subject 'Heat.' The teacher might ask such questions as: What effect does the heat have on us? What effect does it have on anything? Pools dry up, fish die, the earth cracks, things become dusty, grass may be scorched, plants wither, etc. The children might then be asked to suggest appropriately evocative words or similes.

Here are some examples of children's work:

Heat

The heat is lying on us heavily Every where is still with the heat, The cats lie in the shade as if they are dead
Even the birds do not seem to move.
You can hear people's voices but they seem to be
Chocked with heat.
Nothing can move in this blistering day
And even the air shimmers so hot
Like above a brozier in the winter.
The heat has stifled everything and we can only think
Of cool places in the world,
Or the water, cool, blue and refreshing.
By a lake you could dive in deep out of the hot air.
Nothing is so cold here now. The butter melts,
The milk goes sour, the bread is dried up.
Even the water is warm.
And it will et hotter.

Philip, aged 11 UC

I am lying in a garden on a very hot day. The sun is beating down on me like hot rain. Everything is too tried and weary to move. It is too hot to move out of the sun. The dog is sleepy. He crawls into the shade to stretch out. He does not jump and joggle today. Nobody can hardly breathe it is so hot. Your blouse sticks to you and you are so weary. All the trees and leaves are dead still without air to move them. We want a cool wind coming slowly.

Sandra, aged 9 C

There is great heat in the valley of the Nile.

The red hot sands flow against the temple walls
Where no man can put his hand down
And it is not be scorched with fierce heat.

The heat is everywhere
Dragging us down
Weary
And sad.

It is scorching the dry cracked earth
And nothing will grow except the cactus plant.

All people and animals are slow in the suffocating air.

Garth, aged 11 C

I think it is worth drawing attention in the last poem to the way in which the boy has used the word arrangement in the sixth, seventh and eighth lines to reinforce the sense. It is not necessary to make a great thing of this, only to point out that it is a good idea which somebody else might like to try sometime.

Fog

Fog is not easy to describe, yet on a foggy day children are very much aware of it, perhaps because it tends to turn them in on themselves (other things such as people, buildings, vehicles are obscured and therefore excluded by the fog), and also perhaps because it might get worse and there is then a chance of leaving school early; one need not of course draw their attention to that! Here are two pieces by children, the first of which I have found a useful introduction to writing on this theme:

A Foggy Day

The fog creeps and crawls along the road, swirling and puffing around the lampposts, and dancing in and out of hedges. All along the bushes there are cobwebs with little drops of silver all over like diamonds. The cars crawl along the road with dim lights staring into the thick, dark grey smoky fog. People hurry home all wrapped up with scarves to keep out the wet air and they cough and splutter as they go, anxious to get home by the warm fireside. You can see the lights in houses and street lamps shining tinily like stars as if they were struggling to get out. Nobody has a good word to say for the fog and everyone is miserable, waiting for it to go.

Mary, aged 10 C

The Fog

The fog is boiling up this morning. It sticks in the trees like cob webs Silvery flickering little pearl drops.

And everything is very quiet and still,

Sometimes a motor car is heard as it
drawls its way along the road.

Everything seems very quiet and lonely
but a few muffled shapes come loming up at you and then
They disappear in the choking fog.

The fog stops everything.

Jennifer, aged 10 UC

Rain and Storms

I suppose the fascination of watching raindrops running and converging on a window pane is something we all indulge in sometimes, and in the following poem the child has speculated on the power which seems to activate these raindrops:

the rain comes pattering on my window-pane
Where does it come from
Where does it go. Many people tell me
And many do not know.

I love to see the raindrops on my window pane
I love to see them racing from the topmost frame
Where is the engine where is the fuel
People say they have none
But still I am not sure.

The rain comes pattering down

Wendy, aged 9 C

This child was in a class where creative writing was a normal thing and children wrote freely on almost any subject, so that very little preparatory discussion was necessary. In the following piece from a boy in a different class the marks of the student's introduction are clearly evident. Here it was necessary to make suggestions, to encourage the children to make suggestions about what the rain does, what it is like to be out in it, and so on.

Rain rushes down gutters, gurgles down the drains, spits on the footpaths like sparklers crackling. It bites at your face, blinding your eyes. The wheels are wet on the cars and bikes and they screech and squirt water on the children's legs, but it's all right for me because I've got my wellingtons. Everything is dull and dreary except the rain running down rivers on the window panes. You can see the joining up together in big drops like river meeting until they all go together in one big woosh, right down to the bottom.

Peter, aged 9 C

Some teachers feel that by discussing ideas before the children write, their creative energies are being channelled and their natural or individual awareness is somehow being stultified. Certainly this is possible with an insensitive teacher who dominates the class in such a way that they feel obliged to write to satisfy rigorously applied conventions, but surely this would happen whatever techniques such a teacher was employing. Where the teacher approaches this work in a sensible and sympathetic way, the children will have every freedom to use any suggestions in any way they like, as did the boy who wrote the above passage which, for all that it has a framework, still possesses and individual quality. Furthermore, most classes in primary schools contain only a very small proportion of children gifted with the sort of creative imagination which is likely to be inhibited by the approach I have been discussing, and any reasonable teacher would give such children every opportunity to develop their talents in a variety of different ways. And in the case of the less able child there is greater opportunity for expression when he has something to express that he can make his own in his own individual way. There are times, of course, when a discussion preceding a lesson will help a child like this to recall his own experience.

So far I have been considering the sort of stimulus that might arise on a fairly dull day when the class might go into the playground for a few minutes or simply look out of the classroom windows. A day which is stormy clearly provides much more dramatic opportunity especially if there is thunder and lightning, since most children respond to the violence of a storm and indeed have very deep fears of it. Here are some pieces written during a storm:

Bang! Crash! Shattering noises!
Thundering and hurling across the sky
Goes the terrible thunder train
A wild blundering prehistoric beast,
Moaning, groaning, howling about
In the sky. Terrifying all the people.
All will flee for their lives.

John, aged 11 C

Everywhere is very dark as if there was an eclipse of the sun. In the school and houses there are small lights dimly shining but outside all it dark and threatening. People are hurrying away to their own homes in case the dreadful thunder should crash or if the lightning might charge out of the sky. The lightning is a great spear of light that comes shooting jaggedly out of the black sky. You can only see it for a second then it is gone to strike into the earth or a tree or a tall building. That is why they have lightning conductors on churches if the lightning should strike. Every time there is a flash it lights up the sky and you can see the rain coming down in great sheets and torrents. Flooding everywhere.

Leslie, aged 11 C

Further Suggestions

- 1. Write about a walk home or across some fields on a windy day.
- 2. If you have ever been in a boat on a rough sea write about what it was like, or write an imagined account.
- 3. Find out what you can about tornadoes, then give

- an account of one. First think of the effects it would have.
- 4. Describe a frosty day, perhaps by making a list of images.
- 5. Imagine you had to bale out of an aircraft over the desert
 - Write about your trek to the nearest town (a whole day's journey).
- 6. Imagine you have to visit a relative across the other side of town when a snow storm blows up.
- 7. Read *Everest Climbed* by Ian Serraillier and write about climbing a mountain or coming down a mountain in a blizzard.
- 8. Describe a walk home through fog, or a walk through the town on a foggy day. Or write a story called 'Lost in the Fog.'
- 9. Look out through your window on a rainy day.
- 10. Imagine you are in the mountains in a thunder-storm.
- 11. You go with a party of children up a mountain. You get separated from the others when it begins to snow. Write about your journey back.
- 12. You live in a crowded city in a heat wave. Describe the heat. You borrow a bike and cycle out to a pool in the country.

SEASONAL TOPICS

Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, Bonfire Night, Christmas, Hollowe'en—subjects which have been set for 'composition' for generations and which have stultified 100 children for every one they have genuinely stimulated; and yet they are all themes which may be used as vehicles for creative writing. There is nothing wrong with the ideas; what has to be considered is the way in which they are approached. The difficulty is that these are port-manteau subjects, especially the seasons, and they tend to be external

to the child. If creative writing is to be at all viable it must be personal; the child must be involved in it. This is, of course, a counsel of perfection and it is unrealistic to expect that all children can be so committed all of the time; there are sure to be days when whatever the teacher tried to do would fail to interest somebody. But it is worth aiming for. If a topic such as Spring is being approached as a composition or essay subject then it is better left as an adjunct to the science lesson where it can at least be considered as an exercise in recording observable factual phenomena. Since many students come to college with the essay-type composition firmly fixed in their minds as a sort of Platonic ideal, and since they naturally tend in the early stages of their training to pursue this idea in the classroom, this may be a good place to say something about it.

The essay has, of course, an impressive history. It has been the vehicle for the thoughts of many great men and there is no doubt that its influence has been helpful to schoolboys in forming their style. Whatever we may feel about the great models of the past, their influence has been obsessive in the grammar school, and through the grammar school this influence has permeated the whole system. Occasionally it has proved a heavy hand of restraint and solemnity on the writing of children in the primary school. What young children need is the opportunity and encouragement to express their awareness of the world at their own level, freely, so that communication becomes a delight, and an adventure in finding modes of expression which satisfy their own needs. Of course, any kind of writing can be interesting and lively, depending on the pupil's involvement in it. And any writing can be a tedious imposition if it does not arise out of a real desire to accept the challenge of expression. What we have to do is to invest the idea or the stimulus with its own incentive. I think one can often see ways of doing this by trying beforehand to write oneself.

Winter

As with most of this work preparatory discussion is essential, perhaps along the following lines: What do you do in winter? What games do you play? How are things different from at other times of the year? What is it like to be outside? Questions like this will inevitably lead to all sorts of ideas, e.g. it is cold, trees are bare, faces tingle in the wind, rain or snow, it gets dark early, it is cold when you get up in the morning, warm in bed, etc. In other words the teacher should try to get the children to think about winter as it affects them personally and in specific detail. The way the lesson goes after that depends upon the extent to which the teacher wishes to control it. She might think it wise to encourage them to write about winter as they see it, putting into their work all that they notice or feel, or she may wish them to concentrate on one aspect of it, e.g. going home from school on a winter afternoon. If the writing can follow a walk outside or even a brief visit to the playground then the first-hand stimulus can be used under some such title as 'Outside in Winter,' 'A Walk in Winter.' With a class who are used to plenty of free writing a variety of stimulus may be used to bring out a number of different ideas which the children may pursue according to their own interests.

Rather than take up space explaining the approach to writing about the other seasons, which would involve me in needless repetition, I intend to let the children's pieces speak for themselves. They will suggest the possibilities latent in these themes.

In the cold my fingers tingle.

My head freezes up like a big iceberg,

Then my toes go stiff inside my shoes.

The wind blows hard all day long,

The frost is pretty but so cold

for the person who does it is made of icicles.

Wendy, aged 8 C

Winter is the worst time,
When everything is dead.
The twigs snap and have no life
And everything is in the ground:
The tulips, daffodils, crocuses.
No flowers dare to come out yet into the freezing air.
Everyone is cold and wrapped in their overcoats,
Noses are red and people pull a face
When the wind blows sharp,
An icy wind that makes our faces red and sore.

Elizabeth, aged 9 C

By the Canal in November

It is all dreary of a Sunday afternoon when I take the washing to my aunties. There is a thick gay mist everywhere especially on the canal. It rolls in big gray curls on the black canal which is oiley black from the factory walls. There is usually no one about in this weather but sometimes you see a stray dog barking at something. It is eery walking along the canal bank when I get to the factory walls which are very high up. They have red iron bars struck on from a long time ago to stop the walls falling down. Everything about is dismal and mornful and I pull my scarf over my mouth to keep the moisty fog out. It is no fun to be by the canal in November when the fog is about.

David, aged 11 UC

SPRING

A May Day

It is May and all the lambs are being born, they frolic over the green grassy fields. The trees with buds on are now blossoming. The poppies are beginning to come out, red white ones dancing in the breeze. Sometimes it is cold, sometimes it is windy and sunny. I went to call for my friend Kay and we went off for a walk down 'The Lonely Lane' (as we call it). It is a breezy day and we have our slacks on and anoraks. Suddenly our hats are

caught by the wind. We rush after them laughing. Soon we reach them after a long ramble through bushes and heather. We then put them in our pockets and go to pick some heather. Key accidentally put her hand down on something sharp. She let out a cry and got up to see what it was. We laughed as it was a hedgehog curled up in a ball as they usually do when danger is near. Kay and I went back home discussing all that we did.

Ceridwen, aged 10 UC

Spring is gently opening
Spring is gently growing
All the buds and leaves
All the birds and bees.
Spring is turning the weather
It is growing the new year
Opening your eyes wide awake
Making your thoughts to shake.

Barbara, aged 8 UC

SUMMER

Staying on a farm what a lovely place to be Lying in the hay and with loads of things to see. Dressed in shirts and T shirts with a golden tan, Going round barefoot thats any childs plan.

No thought of schoolbooks, shoes or clothes But of swimming, beaches, and when we venture 'long the crowded roads.

Flowers, picnics, sun, blue sky,

Hoping the weather will keep dry.

Then the holidays are over no more trees or birds or games

Back to the city noise busle and trains. Still only a little while to go And we'll be playing in the snow

Dawn, aged 11 UC

It had been a very hot sticky day in school and I

thought it would never end. At long last the bell went and we go pouring out of school. I had been promised to go on a picnic. When I got home everything was ready. We had all the windows open in the car but I am still too hot. We stopped in the country somewhere miles from anywhere but it starts to rain and we have to go home suddenly. It started with a flash of lightning which cut the heavens apart then a deafening clap of thunder. It keeps up nearly all the way home. Then suddenly silence. It was uncanny but soon a breeze starts again and it seems more real.

Andrew, aged 11 UC

AUTUMN

Today is a misbraul day outside you can hear the leaves craskling when you wark on them and if you go for a walk you can see the Berrys bright and gay you mite hear the birds sing too in the Autumn the leaves chang coler and are red yellow then they fall down.

Diana, aged 7 UC

Senses of Autumn

Bright coloured leaves falling from windswept trees,
Heaps of rusty ones already fallen,
That's what I like to see in Autumn.
Cold, gusty winds,
The tingle of rain on my legs,
That's what I feel in Autumn.
The crispness of fresh apples
Just picked off the trees,
That's what I taste in Autumn.
The newly cut corn,
Yellow and white,
That's what I like to smell in Autumn.
Hymns at Harvest Festivals,
Gaily and brightly sung,
That's what I hear in Autumn.

Barbara, aged 10 UC

BONFIRE NIGHT

Other seasonal topics, apart from being based on sense material, can, of course, draw on the weather, e.g. the leadin to some writing about Bonfire Night might be a consideration of what sort of night it was: cold, crisp, stars shining brightly, or damp, foggy, misty, etc. Here is an example from an II-year old:

Bonfire Night

I remember how it all started when I went out with my father to gather a few more twigs before the light faded altogether. You could already smell some bonfires in the distance and sometimes a rocket flashed into the sky. The stars were already twinkling and flickering like little dots in a blue cloth and you could see every star very clearly. But down on the ground there was dampness, the grass was wet. You could smell the damp and the bonfires together. My sister came out and we decided to ignite the pile of wood and have some of our fireworks because she had to go to bed early. She is small and much younger than I am. We started it off with paraffin and slowly it began to burn up until there were great flames leaping up high into the sky. Everything began to sizzle and roar when patches of the wood where the paraffin was caught fire. I began to let off some silver fountains which are only 4d each but very good, then my father lit a big Roman Candle. This lasted a long time and sometimes went off bang and short out whizzers and blobs of fire which ignited the darkness. We let off the rockets one at a time and they soared up into the blackness. Some sent out blobs like the Roman Candles. They were like space craft in flight. Then there was a new smell when my mother brought out the hot potatoes with butter. I eat all mine, the skin as well.

The fire went down slowly until there were only red hot glowing ashes left. Another bonfire had come to an end.

CHRISTMAS

Christmas is naturally the seasonal subject with most appeal and most children will write about it without much stimulus, but for the benefit of the student I might make one or two suggestions. It is probably best to write about Christmas before rather than after the event, in order to draw on the children's anticipation. They expect Christmas presents and these will no doubt be uppermost in their minds. Teachers might begin here and then go on to talk about the meaning of Christmas if they wish, depending on how and whether they wish this to tie up with scripture lessons.

The class might begin by considering some such question as: What are we aware of at Christmas? — weather, Father Christmas, presents, church, food, wine, carol-singing, pantomimes, trees, shops lit up, etc. Then they might be put into the position where they have to think about it as it affects them personally, e.g.: If you were grown up and went to live in a foreign country, what would you remember about your own Christmas at home?

Write a letter to yourself when you are old telling yourself all you can think of about Christmas now. Or they might like to write a diary about a few days in the Christmas holiday, or a letter to a friend of the same age who lives in a hot country, or a few poems dealing with different aspects of Christmas. The class might put fair copies of their work inside the greetings cards they usually make. And here are some pieces by children:

This is my letter to myself to tell me all about Christmas. I expect you will not remember what a good time you did have at Christmas because you will be old to remember. Well, there are mince pies and Christmas pudding. Then there are lots of presents especially a train set and an Uncle gun and a bow and arrows.

You must not forget having a good time playing in the snow at war and commandoes in trenches with the hand-grenades and rolling a big snowball down the tip. And you must remember a snakes and ladders from my uncle Peter.

Clark, aged 8 C

It was a dark day outside because of the snow which was falling thickly. There was not a bird to be seen and blades of grass which I could see were dead and black, but inside all was cheerful. The Christmas logs on the bright fire were crackling away. In the dining room I could hear the clatter of dishes and the Oh's and Ah's of my mother and sisters. The lights of the Christmas tree shone out making the room like a kalidescope, all colours, red blue, yellow and green. I had an excited feeling about me when I looked at it for it was thick with presents to be opened after tea. I made my way into the dining room thinking how wonderful Christmas was. Then I had a thought how quickly it would all be over and gone in a flash. And I felt sorry as I thought I couldn't enjoy myself enough and I wished I could stretch out the time so that it lasted twice as long at Christmas.

Melanie, aged 11 UC

Further Suggestions

- 1. Shrove Tuesday. A half—day holiday in many places, especially in the Midlands, where gangs of boys go off to bits of open or common ground and fight, or play football. Perhaps this is a vestige of the apprentice fights and rowdyism of earlier days. Incidentally a good way to approach this is through the historical interest.
- 2. April Fool's Day. The following extract (from The Lore and Language of School Children) by a 14-year-old boy puts it neatly:

It is a day when you hoax friends of yours with jokes like sending them to the shop for some pigeons milk, or telling them to dig a hole because the dog has died; when they come back and ask where is the dead dog you

say 'April Fool' and laugh at them. There are some when you just say 'Your shoe lace is undone' or 'Your belt is hanging' or 'Go and fetch the plate off the table,' and of course their shoe lace is tied up all right, and their belt is not hanging, and there is no plate on the table, so you say 'Ever been had, April fool.'

- 3. *Easter*. A pleasant time for most children, with Easter eggs and the age-old customs associated with them, such as painting the shells of the eggs, rolling them, Easter Services, hot-cross buns, perhaps visits to the sea side, expeditions into the country.
- 4. Mischief Night (30 April). A regional activity where children play all sorts of pranks such as knocking at doors and running away, tying string to door-knockers across narrow streets so that when one householder opens his door it automatically causes the knocker on the opposite side of the street to be activated. Perhaps not a festival to encourage in parts of the country free from it, but writing on the theme in place where it does apply can be very revealing.
- 5. *Hallow'een*. See 'Witches, Ghosts and The Fantastic,' page 138 ff.
- 6. Describe a carnival and all the characters in it.
- 7. Write a story called 'The Champion Conker.' telling how the conker came to be champion.
- 8. Festivals around the world. Write about some celebration or holiday or festival you know about from a different part of the world.
- 9. Describe and research a festival which takes place in your area at a particular time of the year.
- 10. Make a calendar of events, festivals, traditions, games and activities, etc., that take place at particular times of the year.

ABOUT ANIMALS

Everyone knows that children are fascinated by animals and will write about them without much prompting. There is no difficulty in arousing the interest; the difficulty arises in prompting the verbal use of all the minute observation, all the sensory awareness children naturally have of animals. It is for this reason that I think it is a good idea to begin with creatures for which most children seem to have a revulsion, or at least a curiously ambivalent interest, e.g. insects, spiders, reptiles.

Animals Exciting Revulsion or Fascination

Naturally the best stimulus is that which is immediate; the living animal in the classroom or in its natural surroundings is better than a picture, but a picture is better than nothing. Grass snakes, newts, spiders are not difficult to come by but, failing this, pictures are usually available from libraries or, if the teacher has some artistic ability, a much enlarged picture of something like a common fly drawn in black ink is extremely effective. The next important step is the discussion which emerges from this initial stimulus. The children might consider how the creature moves, the texture of its covering (furry, rough, slimy, scaly), what is lives on, where it lives, how it lives, the sounds it makes, etc. Then the teacher can encourage suggestions for precise words with which to describe these attributes and the way the children feel about them. The point at which the writing begins is obviously a matter of the class reaction, if this is being done as a class lesson; if the children are in groups it is probably as well to let them begin as they wish, and this applies particularly to young children. Sometimes a poem or an extract from a poem by a child of their own age will help to sharpen their incentive to write, while at other times this might tend to be inhibiting if they feel that they have to produce something of the same kind when they have specific ideas of their own. It is clearly impossible to make rules about this; the student

must to a certain extent react as the situation demands. But here are some examples which may illustrate different approaches. The following piece was written after five minutes looking at a newt, with no other stimulus:

He is a sad dragon waiting his chance; He waits for the world to change again. His ancestors were the kings of the earth And he watches with his beady eye For something to fall out of the sky So that he can roam about free Like the dinosaurs from out of the sea.

Mark, aged 11 C

The following piece was written when the class had been shown a model of a large spider made from a ball of brown wool and pipe-cleaners, which was stuck to a large sheet of white paper on which was drawn a web. A real spider suspended from the ceiling would have been much better but you can't expect them to appear to order and at least the model had the advantage of size. There was no discussion here—the children were simply asked to write whatever they liked about it:

An awful great brown spider crawling slowly over his web. His body is brown and furry and it makes your skin tingle to think about it, the scrawling creeping spider waits for a prey, the lonely buzzing fly who doesn't know that the web is a black silky trap and that once he touches it he will never be able to escape to freedom again. He will never fly in the air when the furry brown monster grasps him with his bony claws and eats into his heart. But he will not know because the spider will inject him with a sleeping poison to sap away his strength so that he cannot struggle for his life. He will be eaten alive by brown twisted manacles [sic, for mandibles?] of the demon in the web.

Richard, aged 10 UC

Naturally, in the same class there were different degrees

of imaginative involvement and the above was probably the best. Here is an example of the less involved:

We had a model of a spider on a white paper. It was made out of brown wool I think and it had little yellow spots on it. It looks like a spider crawling on his web. This is painted on the card in black ink. The spider looks creepy.

Sandra, aged 9 C

This child's writing apparently normally lacked gusto, but then one does not expect that from every child. What is to be commended in her work is accuracy of description, and this in itself should be encouraged. Naturally one hopes that presenting her with a variety of incentives will arouse a more active interest in writing, but if this is not so the child should not be made to feel that her work is inferior: one must accept that there are differences in temperament, as there are different interests.

With another class the stimulus was Robet Horan's poem 'Little City' (*Faber Book of Modern American Verse*). After a good deal of discussion about the way in which spiders lie in wait for insects the children wrote their poems.

Little City

Spider, from his flaming sleep,
staggers out into the window frame:
swings out from the red den where he slept
to nest in the gnarled glass.
Fat hero, burnished cannibal
lets down a frail ladder and ties a knot,
sways down to a landing with furry grace.

By noon this corner is a bullet-coloured city and the exhausted architect sleeps in his pale wheel, waits without pity for a gold visitor or coppery captive, his aerial enemies

spinning headlong down the window to the trap.

The street of string shakes now and announces a surprised angel in the tunnel of thread.

Spider dances down his wiry heaven to taste the moth.

A little battle begins and the prison trembles.

The round spider hunches like a judge.

The wheel glistens.

But this transparent town that caves in at a breath is paved with perfect steel.

The victim hangs by his feet, and the spider circles invisible avenues, weaving a grave.

By evening the web is heavy with monsters, bright constellation of wasps and bees, breathless, surrendered.

Bronze skeletons dangle on the wires and a thin wing flutters.

The medieval city hangs in its stars.

Spider lumbers down the web and the city stretches with the weight of his walking By night we cannot see the flies' faces and the spider, rocking.

And the children's work:

The big black spider in his web
Is waiting for a nice juicy fly.
He prances about in his silver city
Hoping a wasp or bee will be his prey
Today his little danger holds in every corner.

Anthony, aged 10 UC

The spider makes his web so big
To catch his dinner.
The trap is waiting for a moth or fly
To come into the web's eye.
The fly sees the web's eye,
Bang, Too late.

The fly will die.

David, aged 9 UC

The spider
with its eight legs
climbs
up the web.
Further on
up the web
is a small grasshopper
which
has been caught
in a tangle
of sticky
cobweb.

David, aged 10 UC

The simplicity of expression here is, I think, quite powerful; it achieves the kind of directness much praised in the poetry of e.e. cummings and William Carlos Williams. It is poetry of this kind that some students and teachers find difficult to appreciate. They expect their poetry to be passionate or full of high sentence — what Hopkins called 'Parnassian'—and consequently, having their own taste settled long ago, perhaps by unfortunate encounters with poetry at school, they tend unconsciously to reject children's work which lacks some evidence of their *idea* of a poem. This is a pity since it blunts their sensitivity to what is good in children's work. In a way this book is a plea for greater understanding on the part of the teacher, for greater awareness of the positive values in children's writing. The teacher's reaction to the above poem by David ought to recognise two important values: clarity of conception and clarity of diction. A teacher thus disposed will see the interest in a good deal of children's writing.

PREDATORS

The predatory nature of animals seems to fascinate most children, possibly because there is something of this in themselves. At any rate to introduce the word 'predator' is usually enough to start a discussion. This quickly gets under way with cats stalking birds, spiders and flies, snakes, vultures, foxes, wolves, tigers, etc. Robert Horan's poem, quoted above, makes a good introduction and can be supplemented by Tennyson's famous poem 'The Eagle.' Here are some examples of children's work written following discussions about predators:

The chameleon is like a demon with a long tongue. He is a menacing creature with crooked claws like steel nails. He uses them to grip the branch so then he is fixed to it and he can stay without moving so that his prey doesn't notice him at all. He will not move a muscle while the unknowing insect comes into his reach, fluttering around him until his tongue flicks out a flame of hot deadly fire into the air and the innocent insect disappears never to be seen again. He does not move and nobody even knows he is there waiting for the next time, the silent demon who changes colour to suit himself.

Paul, aged 10 C

The Vulture

The vulture is a hideous creature.

He sits perched on a bit of broken branch in the desert,

Waiting for some animal

Or for a lost man.

His beak is like a great hook which tears flesh.

While he holds it with his crooked claws.

His hook is tearing flesh, and blood drops from his jaws.

He keeps still a moment listening for something near.

Is it another animal he wonders.

It is only the sound of his dirty work.

Michael, aged 10 C

A Kill

Down by the water hole where the antelope are drinking,

A lion is ready to pounce on his prey

His tail flickers

His head is high.

Then he runs, he pounces and just misses an antelope.

The zebra run and cry as a vulture is heard.

The chase is on.

Suddenly the lion seizes a zebra

Blood is coming from his throat as the lion

Tears him limb from limb.

And when the meal is finished the vultures eat the remains.

David, aged 10 UC

Pets and Familiar Animals

My dog Sam is a mongrel, a one-eyed terror is he. They call him a mischievous beggar because he will fight anybody. He fights other dogs who are too big for him, he fights cats and chases them up trees and people throw buckets over him but he does not care because he has a thick skin. He just goes off somewhere and finds a bone he has buried and lies about in a hedge. He has lots of fun because he likes adventure. He is supposed to be white with black markings on him but he's usually not very clean when he comes home, he plays too much to keep clean.

When I wash him he comes up lovely and his coat is white and wiry and tough. He lost his eye in a motor car accident once when he was run over. I thought he was dead and had to be put to sleep but it just knocked him about a bit and glazed his eye and the vet said he wouldn't be able to see out of it very well again. I was very unhappy at the time but he doesn't seem to care very much so I got over it.

The one-eyed wonder we call him now. He doesn't mind, he knows we're only joking and he has a lot of fun in

him. He can take a joke. He's a tough dog, and we have some good times.

Barbara, aged 10 C

Pets and familiar animals can provide an absorbing theme for writing which genuinely involves the child, as I think this piece shows. It is a good idea to give children some warning that you want them to write about their own animals, perhaps suggesting that they might like to make some notes about the behaviour of the animal in question. Town children are perhaps at a disadvantage in that their range of acquaintance with animals is limited, but cats, probably the commonest of pets, seem to offer unlimited scope, as the number of poems about them in any anthology appears to testify. Children know they can be fierce, vicious, gentle, docile, inscrutable, agile, lethargic, comic. A reading of Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats* will provide stimulus for a considerable assortment of cat-like activities.

Our cat sits by the fire
Quietly licking his paws.
He doesn't seem to care for anything,
He looks as if he wouldn't hurt a fly
But when the night time comes and everywhere gets dark
His eyes begin to gleam
And round he starts to prowl
Glaring with a scowl.
He knows his friends are waiting
Getting ready to go hunting in the dark.
Their claws are ready for some violent deed,
Perhaps they will go on a visit to the park.
They all begin to screech and howl
And then go quietly into the dark.
Next time we see him he will be lying asleep

As innocent as you please

And no one will ever know

What he did in the lonely night.

Angela, aged 11 C

Cat

Just one ball of soft fur, Curled up round and small, Purring when its happy Me-owing when it's sad Tail wagging when it's angry The so timid little cat!

Robert, aged 10 UC

And here are some representative examples of work written following a brief exploration into the environs of country school:

The Butterfly

The butterfly, flutterby,
A delicate and dancing creature
Goes zig-zagging in the air.
He has wings like daffodil petals,
All creamy-yellow and light,
A glorious flower in flight.

Cynthia, aged 9 C

When we went out I found an ants' nest in a small mound of earth. I disturbed a bit of it to see what would happen and then there was some activity! They began to rush out in a fluster all over the place, to left and right, in circles and straight lines. They all looked as if they were going somewhere special but when you watched them carefully you saw that they did not really go anywhere. It looked as if they were pretending to move about to draw away the scent. I know they don't really have scent but if they had been peewits they would move like that to attract your attention. If you stood looking at them for some time you got the idea of

a great battle or an army moving about, each one carrying out instructions. It is easy to see why they could conquer the world if they had the chance.

Gordon, aged 11 C

The Flies

I noticed the flies buzzing everywhere They were nearly getting in my hair. They made an awful sound As they were going round and round.

Mary, aged 9 C

FANTASTIC AND COMIC

Few things please children so much in literature as the comic and the fantastic and this interest can be readily given expression in writing about animals. Apart from the fun that children derive from such writing there is also opportunity to exercise the imagination in making up unusual images and in playing with words.

Before ending this section on animals I should like to make some comments on the emotional content of the children's work. What one begins to notice about it, and particularly the pieces dealing with animals, is the absence of sentimentality; feeling is there, but not the spurious feeling one finds in so many of the poems written by adults for children, such as may be found in large numbers in many of the older anthologies. When adults write 'little poems' about 'sweet woolly rabbits,' etc., not only do they side-step all direct awareness of the creatures in question, they grossly distort the emotional response of the child reader by indulging their own fancies about the child's feeling for animals. Junior children by and large are not sentimental, although, because they are vulnerable their natural feeling can be played upon by people who are sentimental. And of course if they are brought up on a diet of poems and stories designed to play upon their feelings to the exclusion of all else, it will not be surprising if what they write exhibits similar tendencies. It realise that the dividing line between genuine feeling and sentimentality is sometimes obscure and certainly there are many poems about which enlightened critics disagree as their tastes differ; also fashions change and one generation will accept literature which another generation will reject. Allowing for all of this I think it is still possible, working from the extremes of the emotional scale, to develop a standard of judgment about what can legitimately be used to evoke certain feelings in children and what is emotional bribery. I hope that the poems I have listed give some indication of the kind of writing about animals which is commendable because it evokes images undistorted by sentimentality.

4

Teaching and Learning English through Activities, Play and Fantasy

THROUGH ACTIVITIES

By 'Activities' I mean the physical activities children indulge in for the sheer thrill of pleasure they get out of them, such as running fast, sliding, roller-skating, swinging, tearing downhill on skateboards, etc. In the infant school the children write quite naturally about such things and I see no reason why they should not draw on these experiences in their written work when they get older. Some teachers in junior schools seem not to consider such experiences sufficiently serious for the grownup work of the junior department. I think perhaps we are inclined to make too much of the dichotomy between infant and junior schools. Certainly provision has to be made for the developing interests of the older children but they are not so different. They are still absorbed by the activities I have suggested and they still enjoy writing about them. I occasionally feel that the enjoyment justifies the lesson, but at any rate is is unquestionably a vital ingredient in any English period where the teacher hopes for lively, personal writing.

The objection sometimes raised by students is that such a topic might engender resentment since it is so exclusively personal, dealing as it does with the child's enjoyment of play. I have never actually encountered this resentment either during my own teaching or in the supervision of students on teaching practice, so the objection may be more academic than real. I can, however, imagine a situation in which a teacher who was insensitive or antipathetic to children could make the class feel uncomfortably aware that their privacy was being invaded by someone for whom they had little respect. But I can think of no worthwhile classroom activities such a teacher could institute without meeting some such resentment. It does happen, of course, that there is in the class one boy or girl who will resist work of any kind and the student should not take this to indicate that everyone feels the same way and that the lesson has been badly initiated (although this may have something to do with it). The student is at a disadvantage here in not knowing the class as well as the regular teacher. If there is a general feeling of antipathy, then either the teacher has cut across the mood of the class (and classes do have moods) or else the lesson has been introduced clumsily. This is where experience counts. The teacher who has had a lot of it knows instinctively how to introduce any topic so that the class is disposed to pursue it with her. There are any number of ways in which this might be done; the simplest is by asking the children about things they like doing in the playground, or out of school, then steering the discussion in the direction in which you want it to go, perhaps with the help of an appropriate extract from a book.

I have arranged examples of children's writing in order of theme. The pieces are from various classes and the different themes reflect the children's personal preferences. In no case was the whole class expected to write on exactly the same theme.

SLEDGING, SKIING AND SKATING

The Sledge

As we come down the hill Trying to avoid the trees, Faster and faster as the wind cuts into our faces. As we go on we can see white all round us

Like a long blanket covering the earth.

Now the snow is coming faster it touches the ground.

Michael, aged 9 UC

I should like to go skiing in the snow and in the mountains. The best place to go is Switzerland. There are lots of great big mountains there and you could go skiing for hours without stopping. First I should have to go up the mountain to the top in a special trolley on wires. You are so high up you can see right over the mountains and across all the snow and it takes hours and hours. All the time I am thinking if there should be a break-down and we got stuck on the wire or we fell down. I should dive down like into the water into the snow and be all right in the deep snow. But nothing happens and the trolley keeps going higher and higher until we get to the top at last. Then the fun starts and I fix on my long skis. I start to go down the hills faster and faster like a speed boat in the water. The wind rushes at you at miles an hour and you have to twist one way and then another so as not to go into the trees and rocks. It is thrilling going down the mountains as fast as this, like flying in the air. Then when you come to a big drop you let go high up and shoot out like an eagle. I keep my arms out to get the balance and then falling slowly slowly until I shoot on the ground at the bottom of the mountain at last.

Alan, aged 9 C

The Ice Rink

The ice rink was cold but I did not mind that. I kept on skating. It was the best ice-skating I'd ever done I somehow felt free to do what I pleased. I did some turns and then I did a most remarkable thing. I went round the ring skating on one leg. I kept my balance well. Everyone stared at me but I kept on skating and I took no notice of anyone. Soon the ring was cleared so I had it all to myself to stake on I thought it was lovely.

Enid, aged 10 C

Downhill

Paul Berna's book *100 Million Francs* has an excellent, which captures the thrill of moving downhill at speed, and this was used to introduce the lesson. Discussion followed in which other activities were mentioned and the children wrote on which-even particular activity took their fancy. For some it was the scooter, for others the bicycle, while for others it was moving fast down a hill:

I have a fourwheeler cart which I made with the help of my father. It is made of wood and is big enough for one person to sit in. There are two axles and two wheels on each axle. The front axle can move on a bolt that goes through it so that you can steer with nylon rope. The rope is fixed to the ends of the axle. Now we have painted it looks smashing. It has blue sides and a yellow bottom and it's got a name Flora written on the side like a boat. I don't know why we called it Flora, it was just a name we thought up. We run it down Daisy Bank about eight of us. We have got three carts between us but Reggie Bailey is making another one. Where we go on Daisy Bank there is a path worn down the side and you can only use the carts in the summer because the path gets muddy when it rains and the wheels stick. It is good for sledging though when it snows.

You have to pull the carts up the bank, two of you so you can have it in turns. When you start to go down you are so excited and it takes your breath away. It is like going on a bobsleigh in the olympic games. You start to go down faster and faster untilat one place it seems like about 60 miles an hour and it is a job to hold the wheels straight. Then it slows down a bit slower and slower on the level ground and you let it go until it stops itself to get the furthest record for distance. The furthest record is marked by a stone.

Roger, aged 10 C

Running down Wind Mill back, Arms spread out wild, The wind blowing my coat like a gale. The children are shouting wee as they run down.

Jumping over the stones

And pushing my hair away from my eyes as I go

And watching the mud and cinders

As I nearly reach the bottom.

David, aged 10 UC

SWIMMING AND DIVING

Obviously a good time to have a lesson on this is after a visit to the swimming baths when the experience is fresh. Some children won't, of course, be able to swim or dive but generally they all like playing about in water, although if some children wish to write about some other activity they are particularly good at then I think they should be encouraged to do so. A difficulty that often arises here is the sense of frustration arising out of vocabulary which is not equal to the experience, so that a brief discussion on words is frequently worthwhile. Here are some words suggested by children in one class:

slide	thrash	pressure	crashing	silvery
slice	flounder	force	plash	misty
glide	chop	power	dull	cloudy
drift	struggle	strength	boom	foggy
float	bustle	weight	trickle	
plunge	flail	velvet	swish	
	lollop			

The grouping of the words is deliberate. The children were asked to think of graceful movements, struggling movements, the feel of the water, the noise made by it and by them, the appearance of the water. Here are some pieces which followed the vocabulary exercise. It is perhaps worth mentioning that some children clung almost obsessively towards they had suggested, while others tended to avoid their own words and use those suggested by other children; I assume there are personality reasons for this. The important thing is to make it clear that they don't

have to use words that have been suggested if they don't want to.

Diving and Swimming

Sliding through the air in a swallow dive
The diver sliced his way into the cool green water.
It looks like a green jelly till he plunges into it,
Then he hears a dull booming sound in the water.
For a little time everything is misty and twirling
As he pushes back the green silvering liquid.
He cuts his way through the water like a knife and
Bobs up on the surface, flinging his hair out of his eyes.
His legs kick out violently into the green fluid,
His hands chop the water and turn it back and he
Reaches the side like a wet fish.

Malcolm, aged 11 C

We go to the baths every Tuesday and I look forward to it very much especially as I can nearly swim a width now. I used to walk down the steps but now I jump in from the side. It takes your breath away for a minute and makes you excitable. You splash and thrash up and down in the water and probably splash your friends and so your hair gets wet. You jump up and down to get used to the water. Mrs. D. doesn't mind this for a short time but then you get going and swim across the width. You have to force your way through the water with the arms and legs and kick with the feet and when you can do it properly you glide gently through the water without effort. Underneath the water it is all misty like a fog and the noises are all softened and quiet so that when you jump up the sounds are deafening. I like the baths very much and one day I should like to be able to dive from the high stand.

Janet, aged 10 C

Further Suggestions:

It is not suggested that each of these items should be the subject of a single lesson, although, of course, some of them might be. Rather it is an indication to the student of some of the activities which are particularly engaging to children and therefore might attract and absorb some of them as themes in writing: swinging on a rope, old tyre or swing; see-sawing; on the roundabout; on the slide; jumping across a ditch or rope, or off a wall; cartwheels, skipping, headstands, racing; walking on stilts; jumping on a pogostick or spring heels; rounders, football. fighting; roller-staking. These ideas might be used as themes for pieces of description, openings for stories, poems, diaries, tape-recorded accounts, 'documentaries,' etc. Or they might be starting points for some imaginary exploit, e.g. climbing Everest, swimming to an island, running to escape.

THROUGH PLAY

I often play with my dolls in the garden. I have fifteen altogether but they are not all in very good condition. Some are broken, some have lost their eyes or their hair and one unfortunately has lost one arm and one leg, but this does not make any difference because I love them all just as much. My best doll is called Janice and she has an embroidered dress in lemon colour and brown hair. I play tea parties with my dolls and I always let Janice do the serving because she is very good at it. She corrects the others if they misbehave. She knows what's what she does. When they have all had their tea they have to get ready for bed, then there is pandemonium and fuss. Janice tells them off and they all soon get ready. They have their nightdress put on and they go to bed.

Janice, aged 8 C

I think that in order to introduce a lesson successfully the teacher should have a clear idea of the particular kind of experience she wants the children to deal with so that she can arouse the particularity of their own interest. But naturally, that does not mean that they are put in an imaginative strait jacket when it comes to writing. On the contrary, if the lesson has been properly introduced the children should have a sense of the greater freedom, of exploring a region they know a great deal about already. Pupils might, for example, do some research into games in History, or games in different countries, perhaps contributing to a Book of Games; or they might make up new board games on the model of Snakes and Ladders; or they might take a game that interests them and write a poem, rhymes, or description based on it, e.g. building a raft, flying a kite, cycling, skateboarding, etc. A poem in which a common play situation is very clearly evoked together with the attendant feeling of a child in that situation in Vernon Scannell's Hide and Seek' (JV, IV; WS). This is good because it has a story interest, there is no language difficulty, and the central experience is one I should think every child is familiar with, and I have fund that it usually sparks off a good deal of discussion of similar situations. To help the student who is uncertain how to develop such a discussion or perhaps extend the lesson into a project on play I shall list below some perennial favourites. The divisions are somewhat arbitrary, of course, since there is a good deal of overlapping.

Imaginative Play

Dolls, Dolls' House, Puppets, Toy Cars, Guns, Bows and Arrows, Tea Parties, Schools, Castles, Tree-houses, Dressing-up, Model-making, Play-acting.

Games

Hide-and-Seek, Statues, TV Series, Mimes, Hopscotch, Skipping, Rounders, Ball Games, Tip-cat, Tops, Jacks (Fives), Marbles, Conkers, Street Games, Board Games.

Constructive Play

Making cotton-reel tank, rubber-band gun,model theatre, raft, Guy Fawkes, Lego, Meccano models, tree house.

Books

A Book of practical Ideas for the Primary School Redvers

Brandling Ward Lock

A World Book of Children's Games Arnold Arnold Macmillan How to Do Nothing with Nobody All Alone by Yourself Robert Paul Smith World's Work

Play in Childhood $Margaret\ Lownefeld\$ Gollancz Something to Do $Septima\$ Puffin

And here is some children's work:

The cold night with the boys and girls playing
With the moon shining bright
In the dark and cold night
With the stars all shining.
They are playing games
They could be climbing trees,
They could be doing some help for their mothers
They are sowing the dark night with golden stars,
Playing with their love.

Christopher, aged 10 UC

When I was small, I used to play dressing-up. I'd get mom's old clothes and hats.
I used to have her shoes that were miles too big Which always fell off my feet.
I would always trip in my mom's long dress All her dresses touched my toes.
And all her hats come down to my nose.
I could not see a thing at all
But I loved dressing up best of all.

Linda, aged 11 UC

When I was about 2-3 years younger we used to play War. I was mostly a prefessor working for the risestance. We had a German helmit at one time but it got lost. When I was a prof. I would heat up some chemicals and pretend that it was Liquid Nitrogliserine. When a German patrol came round I would through a cob of durt and it would blow up and kill everyone in the patrole. Barry my friend

had a set of earfones witch we would plug into the dust bin and send radio messages. My brother David would put stones in his durt and aim for the German helmet.

Alan, aged 11 UC

Poems and Extracts

In Just — e.e. cummings H
Come out to Play RR, Red
Song for a Ball Game Wilfred Thorley RR, Blue
Out of School Hal Summers H
Making Raft, of 'Bevis: the story of a boy Richard Jeffries
(Puffin)

The Playground girl, aged 12 EW
The Sandcastle John Walsh TW, III
Hide and Seek Vernon Scannell JV, IV; WS
Me in a Tree D.G., aged 10 JV, I
Boy Fishing E.J. Scovell MW; POCO
Canoe Song Geoffrey Summerfield MW
Saturdays Michael Rosen MW; WS
Making Pancakes Paddy Kinsale BW
The Fantastic Machine Barry Maybury BW
Lovejoy and Tip Rumer Godden WS

The Dress Joan Guest TH
Rainbow Stuff Joan Guest WSP
Fresh Phillipa Pearce BSH
Kite Flying Vivian Virtue BSH
Cricket in the Road Michael Anthony RSH

THROUGH FANTASY

There seem to me to be two good reasons for using this as a theme: the first is the simple pleasure the children get out of such things and the second is the opportunity it offers for the evocative use of language. An excellent opening to such a lesson is provided by a poem such as e.e. cummings' 'Hist Whist' or 'Three Witches' by Edith Sitwell. These

induced plenty of discussion with classes of 9-10 and 10-11-year-olds, discussion about words and about the sort of things they regarded as ghostly or fantastic.

Eerie Gathering

Up come the broomsticks landing silently on the dark shadowy ground. Up flutter ghosts transparent in the clammy air. The gastly ghosts glow as they howl and wail.

Gloom is all round, the twitching things start singing a horrible sound, phantoms flutter and fitter amongst spiders and toads. Wicked goblins, wizards and witches discuss the latest wicked spells.

No mortal would dare to go anywhere near the gloomy forests when the ghosts, witches and wizards, phantoms and other unbelievable creatures are gathering on Midsummer Night and if they were to have courage enough it would be very unlikely if they would ever be seen again.

Dawn, aged 11 UC

First a leg, then an arm, then a lean thick body and a head come through the door in the wall. The bats flutter away, angry at being disturbed. A rat scatters into a hole in the wall. The mansion comes to life with screams, chattering, croaking, and other such noises. Silence falls as the grandfather clock strikes twelve. After that from everywhere comes unimaginable beings. For the creatures of the mansion know it is the bewitching hour. The noises of the mansion echo over the lonely house to reach the ears of timid, simple people in a distant village who know not about the supernatural.

Michael, aged 11 UC

Apart from witches, ghosts and other spectres are a continual source of interest and writing about them sometimes seems to offer the vicarious indulgence that allows for the release of secret fears. Here are some examples:

In the night when it is very dark and if it is windy and raining a lot it makes you wake up and then it's a long time before you go to sleep again. You think of all sorts of things like there might be ghosts or spirits floating about outside trying to get in and then you wonder if you do believe in ghosts. Every time there is a creak in the house or in the stairs you think there might be some moving spirit climbing up the stairs. Then I put my head under th sheets and say my prayers very fast and I think If I do that I'll be all right.

Margaret, aged 9 C

In a cave with great stalagmights and great stalagtights as ghosts spell them. A great white claw rose about a rock, and the ghost appeared and slid down the rock, then a ghost bird with two heads and another ghost and a great claw spranged out of the bird and three more claws and fore knives for arms and a bird which was red and tan claws and tan knives. Stinky Nit said the Read ghost. Kink said the bird with two heads. Plive sit. And they all turned tiny. Hold your tong said the rock. It was a ghost as well. Suddenly there was a noise like a bear. Then the ghosts were so frightened that they all ran away.

Matthew, aged 6 UC

My grandad told me a story about when he was young and had to go to take the horses across the field and one night he went with his friend when it was very dark. They only had one horse to take and when they stopped they heard the sound of horses' hooves and then they saw a white horse rush past galloping, and the next minute it has disappeared, not just run away. They they heard it again all of a sudden not coming near but close to them and they ran home for their lives. My grandfather has told me this story a lot and sometimes in bed I can't stop thinking about it, these horses charging through into the dark and all white. They scare me the thought of them so that sometimes I think I can hear the sound of the hooves galloping through the night.

Cedric, aged 10 C

The way in which this theme is tackled will depend largely upon the age and understanding of the children. With many classes it is a good idea to play up the humorous side in the fashion of Wilde's 'The Canterville Ghost' (edited according to age), or 'Jimmy Takes Vanishing Lessons' in BSH; with others it might be better to emphasise the vocabulary interest. The suggestions below are intended to offer a variety of possibilities to children of different ages and abilities. There are opportunities for story writing here and I have tried to indicate this in the selection.

Towards Linking, Teachers, Pupils and Curriculum for English Language Teaching

TEACHERS AND THE CURRICULUM

Introduction

The introduction of the National Curriculum clearly emphasized the primacy of separate subjects and had associated with it a distinct subject-based structure within NCC, SEAC and LEAs. One of the aims of the PACE research was to monitor how this impacted on the forms of knowledge that had previously been adopted by primary schools. These, in general terms, could be characterised as endorsing a considerable degree of subject integration through the use of 'topics' and projects for non-core subjects. We were interested in how far teachers were changing their priorities and their practice in line with these new curricular structures. In this chapter, in terms of the dimensions that were introduced in section 3.5, we consider the extent to which there was a shift from integrated curricular provision, or low classification of subject knowledge, to more subject-based provision with high classification of curricular knowledge.

In addition, again focusing on a dimension that is highlighted, we consider here the issue of curriculum balance and the ways in which teachers attempted to resolve the tension between the requirement to cover nine subjects, and thus provide a broad curriculum content, and the need to give priority to the basics, even where this means emphasizing a narrower curriculum content.

Associated with the above two issues is the question of the extent to which there was a shift in schools towards perceptions of knowledge as 'established' in the National Curriculum and as representing bodies of thought into which pupils should be inducted, perhaps through didactic or 'whole-class' teaching methods. The contrasting element of this dimension, of course, is a view of knowledge as socially or individually constructed, probably through more fluid teaching-learning processes and with more teaching of the individuals or groups.

This chapter is presented in two main parts. Section 1.2 to 1.6 consider teacher perceptions of the introduction of the National Curriculum and of the ways in which it has impacted on their priorities for the children and on their classroom provision. This account draws mainly on data collected in two rounds of interviews with 88 teachers from our main national sample, conducted in 1990 and 1992. The second part of the chapter, sections 1.7 to 1.11, reports what the PACE team recorded happening in classrooms. It draws mainly on systematic observation data derived from classroom studies of nine Year 1 classroom observed in autumn 1990 and nine Year 2 classrooms, from the same schools, observed in autumn 1991. More details of the sample and methods used.

As we saw the teacher values, ideologies and views of professionalism vary considerably. This variation is echoed in the many views that were taken of the National Curriculum. However, even where it is possible through the PACE research to identify broad patterns in perspectives, it is necessary to be very specific about the time of data collection. Teacher views, concerns and priorities have, in other words, changed rapidly over the past few years. This is hardly surprising given the progressive nature of the

implementation of the National Curriculum, spread over many years, revised several times, and subject to heated debate at almost every point.

Our account of PACE findings concerning teacher perspective thus reflects successive phases of National Curriculum implementation. We have also tried to deal specifically with teacher views of the National Curriculum *in principle* and to make these data distinct from teachers view of National Curriculum *implementation*.

What Were Teachers' Initial Views of the National Curriculum?

The most striking feature revealed by our interview data on Key Stage 1 teachers' initial responses to the National Curriculum was their general acceptance of it. Teacher views of the work of the National Curriculum Subject Working Parties, which met during 1989 and 1990 to construct the National Curriculum Subject Working Parties, which met during 1989 and 1990 to construct the National Curriculum, were certainly often forthright, but the overall feeling, subject by subject, was remarkably positive. 'It's what we are doing already' or 'It's just good practice' were common responses. Primary teachers, in the initial phase of implementation, thus tended to treat the challenges of the National Curriculum as 'private troubles' (Mills, 1959). They accepted its legitimacy, the principle of entitlement that it enacted and the 'reasonableness' of its expectations. Most teachers took on the personal challenges that the National Curriculum brought.

Many teachers particularly welcomed the curricular clarification that the National Curriculum offered, despite the time pressure and hard work that was evidently going to be involved in implementation. Indeed, by the time of our first round of interviews in 1990, the need for curricular breadth and progression seemed to have been largely accepted in principle. Two national surveys, however,

confirmed that, even at this early phase, primary school teachers were becoming aware of weaknesses of their subject knowledge, particularly in science and technology (Wragg *et al.*, 1989; Moses and Croll, 1990).

The initial analysis of interview data thus reflected a generally constructive reception for the changes. In the case of the overwhelming majority of teachers interviewed, the introduction of the National Curriculum was supported in principle and it was evident that a very great deal of thought and work was going into its implementation. This was clearly indicated in teachers' responses to our enquiry of the relevance of the National Curriculum to the needs of the children in each teacher's class. In 1990, 16 per cent of teachers thought that the National Curriculum was 'very well matched to the needs of all children' and another 39 per cent saw it as 'well matched to the needs of many children.' A further 28 per cent felt that the National Curriculum related 'well to some needs but not others.' Only 14 per cent declared that it was 'not well matched' and just 3 per cent that it was 'irrelevant.' In only a small number of cases was active opposition to the National Curriculum apparent.

The issue that aroused massive opposition even in 1990 was assessment, with 83 per cent of teachers mentioning the requirements as being unrealistic and many others objecting in principle to formal assessment of seven-year-olds. There was also concern about the applicability and effect of the National Curriculum for children with special educational needs. Nevertheless, the overall picture in 1990 was of teachers in primary schools accepting the broad terms and principles of the National Curriculum and seeking to implement it.

Within this general support for the curriculum there was also dismay at the ways in which it was being implemented. First there was irritation and anger at some statements by Government ministers and officials, which seemed to be unnecessarily disparaging of teachers and

their work—feelings that were often aggravated by media treatment of such remarks. Furthermore, whatever the responses to the National Curriculum of different groups and individuals, there was universal awareness that it was being introduced with great speed. Schools reported receiving 'huge' qualities of documentation from national and LEA sources. It was felt that instructions were issued and often countermanded a few days later, and that teachers had to come to terms with a whole new vocabulary of programmes of study, attainment targets, levels and assessment tasks. 'Too much has been happening too quickly' was the way many teachers put it. They reported feeling 'swamped by change' 'simply overwhelmed' by the amount of documentation that accompanied it.

Nor was there much appreciation of the quality of what was on offer. In our 1990 interviews 61 per cent teachers said that national documentation was 'not very helpful' in planning their work and no less than 78 per cent said that there was simply 'too much' to assimilate. Perceptions of the support offered by LEAs varied considerably, with over half of those questioned finding it unhelpful or being unaware of what was on offer. Feelings about school-based training, though still very variable, were slightly more positive. Nevertheless, the overall impression of this initial phase of National Curriculum implementation is that most teachers simply felt bewildered by a combination of external criticism, unreasonable demands and confused guidance.

Many teachers, heads and LEA advisers thus found the situation difficult and stressfull. The time needed to solve the problems was simply not available, as was reported by HMI from a survey of 1000 classes of five to seven-year-olds: A pressing problem for almost all of the schools was the lack of time for teachers to plan and prepare work, and in the case of subject coordinations to assist their colleagues at the end of the day (DES, 1989, para 10). There was considerable evidence of an intensification of teacher

workload. In a study of teacher workload at Key Stage 1 carried out by Campbell *et al.*, over half the teachers in 1990 reported working more than 50 hours per week (Campbell *et al.*, 1991). In 1991, Year 2 teachers were working an average of 58.1 hours per week with those in the highest 20 per cent working nearly 72 hours per week (Campbell and Neill, 1992).

In a situation such as this, it would be surprising if teachers were not being compelled to reprioritize their educational aims, and in the next section we go on to consider this.

What Changes Occurred in Teachers' Educational Aims and Priorities?

Through the Education Reform Act a statutory obligation was imposed on teachers to meet academic objectives as prescribed in the attainment targets specified in the National Curriculum. For the first time, teachers in England had clear-cut, prescribed attainment targets in nine subject areas to cover for each child in each academic year, and a direct form of accountability through the SATs, by which the attainments of all children were to be measured at ages seven and eleven. One possible result of these changes was that teachers in England might adopt a view of their work that was more closely related to that of teachers in other countries, such as France, where there have long been clearly defined objectives and attainment targets to be met for children. This would mean a more restricted conception of teachers' role in terms of the adoption of a narrower set of objectives for the children, centred more on academic goals rather than goals of personal and social development, i.e. a shift from expressive to instrumental concerns.

In order to examine the extent to which a shift in teaching objectives and priorities might have taken place, we have drawn up three sets of related data. Two questions on teaching objectives and on the meaning of professional responsibility are drawn from a short questionnaire administered to 88 teachers and 48 headteachers in 1990 and 1992, and we have also analysed a question about teachers' priorities for the children in their class, drawn from the two rounds of interviews with 88 teachers in 1990 and 1992. Further, we have made comparisons with data gathered prior to the introduction of the Education Reform Act on teachers of five-to-eleven-year-olds by Ashton *et al.* (1975) and by Broadfoot *et al.* (1987).

It is notable that 42 per cent of our sample in 1990 and 51 per cent in 1992 felt that their objectives for the children had to change to some extent. Both academic and nonacademic priorities are listed in the order of importance in which they occurred in 1990. It is particularly striking that, by 1992, almost one-third of teachers mentioned no non-academic priorities (30 per cent in 1992 compared with 18 per cent in 1990). The importance of providing a broad, balanced curriculum, however, had increased as a priority from 16 to 44 per cent (p < 0.005) and achieving National Curriculum attainment targets had increased from 3 to 13 per cent (p < 0.005). At the same time, the development of children's listenting and communication skills had declined as a priority mentioned by teachers, from 20 to 6 per cent (p < 0.01). Certainly there is some evidence here of a redefinition of teachers' aims in accordance with the pressures of the National Curriculum and assessment. Some teachers were concerned to point out, however, that these were the areas to which they felt compelled to give priority, rather than goals they would ideally have prioritized.

In a separate short questionnaire, the PACE teachers were presented with 20 possible aims for primary education, taken mainly from Ashton *et al.*'s 1975 study, but also incorporating a few aims from the Bristaix study and an update of aims that might be seen as relating to the National Curriculum. The PACE teachers' mean scores, which are ranked in descending order of priority, are compared with

those of the teachers in Ashton *et al.*'s 1975 sample and in a few cases with Broadfoot and Osborn's 1985 sample (Broadfoot and Osborn, 1988).

These findings articulated with other sources of data. For example, in response to an open-ended question about their professional responsibility, 69 per cent of teachers in 1990 and 58 per cent in 1992 mentioned the importance of providing an 'all-round' education (i.e. a broad, balanced curriculum), compared with only 41 per cent in 1985 before the introduction of the National Curriculum. Of substantially less importance were aims that were related to an emphasis on the product of education and the National Curriculum, such as achieving neat and presentable work and achieving as many attainment targets as possible. Least important of all was what might be termed the 'societal' aim of fitting children for an occupational role in society. The incidence of complete rejection of aims follows the above rank order closely. On the whole, teachers who rejected aims were not so much at variance with the rest of the sample as holding the same kinds of opinions more strongly. It should be borne in mind that teachers who rejected aims may have done so because they felt them to be unrealistic rather than because they disagreed with them. This may be particularly true where only one or two of the sample rejected an aim.

Five aims were accepted by all teachers in the 1990 and 1992 sample, and these were all related either to social and personal development or to attitudes to learning. These were that all children should:

- develop their full potential;
- be happy and well balanced;
- have their interest in learning aroused;
- develop self-confidence;
- be kind and considerate.

It is clear that in 1990, in spite of external pressures, teachers as a whole did not prioritize goals relating to the National Curriculum or some notable societal or instrumental goals. In 1992, there appeared to be a slight movement towards raising the priority of National Curriculum goals. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that many teachers were resistant to pressures moving the infant school closer to an 'instrumental' rather than an 'expressive' order (Bernstein, 1975).

Comparing our findings with those of Ashton *et al.* and Broadfoot and Obsborn, it is clear that teachers' main priorities were very similar in 1990 and 1992 to those in 1975 and 1985. Ashton *et al.*'s highest priority aims were those relating to personal development and enjoyment of school, academic goals related to reading and basic skills and aims relating to social and moral development. However, a very significant difference is the higher number of aims in PACE that achieved a mean score of at least 4.00. Sixteen objectives in 1990 and thirteen in 1992, compared with eight in Ashton *et al.*'s study, came into this category. This suggests that, since the Education Reform Act, teachers see themselves as having to take on a larger range of objectives that are very important or essential.

How Did Teachers' Goals and Priorities Vary?

The most significant difference in goals and objectives in Ashton *et al.*'s study occurred between older, more established an more experienced teachers and younger, less experienced, less established ones. Broadly speaking,

The older, more experienced, more established teachers strongly preferred a socially oriented concept of education concerned with equipping the child, both personally and practically, to fit into society. They emphasised aims related to the personal/moral and spiritual/religious areas. The younger, less experienced, less established teachers.... were inclined to give more room to the individually oriented purpose than their older colleagues. They stressed emotional/personal development as an important aspect. The longer established teachers strongly favoured the basic skills group

of aims, while the less established and less experienced favoured the intellectual autonomy aims.

(Ashton et al., 1975, p. 87)

When a factor analysis of the PACE data was carried out we found a strong tendency for teachers' responses to be grouped together on a number of objectives that could loosely be described as goals directed towards society rather than towards the individual. When we examined the extent to which teachers' age and years of teaching experience influenced their objectives, we found some specific variations. In particular, older and more experienced teachers were more likely to adhere to the 'societal' goal of 'encouraging children to be obedient to parents, teachers and all reasonable authority.' In the case of 'fitting the child for an occupational role in society,' in 1990 it was the youngest and newest teachers and the oldest and most experienced who were likely to see this 'societal' goal as fairly important or of major importance; other teachers were less likely to emphasize it. These findings resonate with those of Ashton et al., who found older and more experienced teachers to be 'societal' in their ideology, while younger teachers were more individualistic.' Ashton et al.'s young teachers would not be in the middle of their careers. However, it seems that a new generation of entrants to the same profession are not following the same pattern. By 1992, however, the differences between older and younger PACE teachers were less clear-cut. It is possible that by this stage there had been a slight cross-over effect attributable to the retirement or early retirement of older teachers and the movement into older groups of younger, less experienced teachers.

An even more striking finding is the variation in preceived importance of 'achieving as many attainment targets as possible for each child.' In 1990, under 25 per cent of teachers as a whole perceived this as essential, while this had increased to 39 per cent in 1992. However, younger teachers and teachers with less than five years of

teaching experienced saw this as being of far greater importance than did their older or more experienced colleagues. Eighty per cent of those under 30 stressed the importance of achieving attainment targets, compared with only 50 per cent of those aged 31 to 45 and 54 per cent of those over 45. Similarly, 80 per cent of those with less than five years of teaching experience emphasized this goal compared with 55 per cent or less of more experienced groups of teachers. By 1992, these differences had once again become blurred, with older and more experienced teachers, if anything, more likely than others to emphasize this National Curriculum-related goal.

These findings suggest that in the initial phase of the reforms younger and newer teachers were more likely to have been socialized into instrumental concerns and to have internalized goals closely related to the National Curriculum. Perhaps those whose initial training or early socialization into the profession included specific preparation for the National Curriculum were closer to accepting a shift from expressive to instrumental concerns. However, the shift between 1990 and 1992 suggests that, with the movement out of the profession of some of the older and more experienced teachers, these differences largely disappear. This may indicate that over time, and with the departure of those who are perhaps most disenchanted, there will be greater acceptance by teachers as a whole of instrumental goals related to the National Curriculum.

To summarise, while there was no evidence that teachers as a whole had begun to perceive individualistic and expressive goals as in any way less important after the introduction of the National Curriculum, the findings presented here suggest that teachers have taken on an increasing range of goals they see as important or essential. Further, an increasing number of these are societal or instrumental. This pressure to attempt to meet a wider range of goals, both externally imposed and self-imposed, may be a major cause of stress and anxiety for teachers, as

suggests, contributing significantly to intensification of workload. Our findings also suggest that at an early stage of the reforms younger and newer teachers accepted societal or instrumental goals and goals related to the National Curriculum more readily than older or more established teachers. However, these differences tended to disappear over time, with older teachers also becoming more concerned with societal or instrumental goals. It is likely that, as more new teachers enter the profession and older teachers leave it, a shift in emphasis from expressive to instrumental values may become more apparent with regard to the infant teacher's role commitments.

What Change in Curriculum Contend did Teachers Perceive?

One of the first questions addressed by the PACE project was how far teachers shared fears, expressed when the National Curriculum was being initiated (Haviland, 1988), that the balance of the infant school curriculum was likely to shift towards the 'core' subjects laid down by th Act and away from some of the potentially expressive and creative areas, like art and music. Dramatic indications of changes perceived by teachers were revealed by questions we put to our sample of 88 classroom teachers. In both 1990 and 1992 they were asked whether each subject was being taught 'more,' 'the same' or 'less.' The continuation of previous priorities regarding 'the basics' is clear for English and mathematics, with little perceived change from 1990 to 1992.

In contrast, perceived increases were particularly notable for science, which shows a massive increase recorded by 84 per cent of teachers in 1990, with only a slight falling off in 1992. Technology, history and geography were all seen as having increased a good deal in 1990, but they were felt to have increased still more in 1992. In fact, many teachers explained that these areas had always been covered in topic work without being *called* technology, history and geography. A more conscious labelling of the

subject areas of topic work may have been taking lace, rather than a real increase. As we shall see, these perceptions of the extent of history, geography and technology work are hardly borne out by findings from PACE systematic observation, during which they were recorded very rarely. However, this could be a sampling problem. Certainly many curriculum plans showed that these subjects were expected to provide a focus at other points in the term.

Four subjects were preceived as having less time spent on them. In the case of English a fifth of our 1992 teachers perceived less teaching. This trend was also noted by NCC (1991) and offered as a partial explanation of the concern about standards of reading of seven-year-olds, which followed the standard assessments of summer 1991. The 'basics,' it was asserted, were being squeezed out by the other demands of the broad National Curriculum.

Two other salient subjects that teachers felt were receiving less attention were, as early critics of the Education Reform Act had suspected, music and art. Initially they were thought to be suffering in the move to embrace science, but the continued squeeze on these subjects suggests that by 1992 they were also losing out the growth of technology, history and geography.

Our interviews revealed the feelings of many teachers that there were other, more subtle ways in which the 'creative' side of the curriculum was affected. For instance, although the time spent on English had not changed, for most teachers the type of activity upon which children were engaged as part of English work *had* altered. Many teachers repeated that they were doing far less creative writing with their children. Similarly, art may well have been eroded even more than is apparent from the dramatic 1992 response, when 54 per cent of the teachers said they were doing less. A large number of teachers said they were doing less 'art for art's sake' with their children. Many said that writing, painting and drawing were now related to subject and topic areas that formed part of their National

Curriculum work rather than being open to children's free choice, inspiration or imagination. As one teacher put it, 'it's less fun now. Everything has to be specifically related to the topic.'

The other two subject areas where teachers perceived a decrease in coverage were physical and religious education, particularly by 1992. This is a little curious, since our 1990 and 1991 classroom observations do not show the same trend. However, our sample of data on these subjects is small and for this reason we tend to think that the teachers' perception is more reliable on this particular issue. Certainly concern about religious education emerged strongly in 1993, so much so that it was noted by the Secretary of State and resulted in advice to schools from the National Curriculum Council (NCC, 1993). Overall, it seems that the perceptions of Key Stage 1 teachers regarding changes in curriculum content showed clear signs of content overload. This may partially account for the overall cooling in teacher support for the National Curriculum that we recorded in 1992.

What Were Teachers' Later Views of the National Curriculum?

Data from our 1992 interviews show that a good many teachers remained positive about the principle of the National Curriculum. Needed, our evidence suggests that, in its broadest terms, it continued to be accepted as an important and worthwhile educational development. The key strengths identified by teachers continue to lie in the clarification of specific aims and in the provision of an overall structure that could facilitate progression. One teacher expressed herself as follows:

Since I came back to teaching in 1981, I've had to be adaptable, but I've been glad to have the National Curriculum to give me a target to work to and now I'm in that mode. I have the Attainment Targets in the back of my mind for all my planning, then I just get on with it and enjoy it and I know it's covered overall.

However, for many teachers serious misgivings had developed. For instance, by 1992 teachers' opinion of the relevance of the National Curriculum to the needs of heir pupils had fallen significantly. The percentage of teachers thinking it 'very well' or 'well' matched had dropped from the 1990 figure of 55 to just 24 per cent. The percentage thinking it 'not well matched' had risen from 14 to 29 per cent. Three per cent continued to think it 'irrelevant,' while those believing the National Curriculum to be of 'mixed relevance' had increased from 29 to 41 per cent.

As the curriculum requirements for history, geography and other subjects outside the 'core' were published during 1991 and 1992, the issues of curriculum overload, overprescription and inflexibility began to surface as important concerns. The scale, complexity and apparent impracticality of the National Curriculum were debated, marking increasing awareness of the changes as 'public issues' rather than as 'private troubles' for which individual teachers should accept responsibility (Mills, 1959). As challenges to the structure and content of the National Curriculum were made and debated in public (e.g. Campbell et al., 1991; Campbell and Neill, 1992), teachers were no longer willing simply to regard themselves as being personally deficient in, for instance, subject expertise. Such concerns were reflected by the 51 per cent of teachers who, in 1992, felt that the National Curriculum restricted their capacity to adapt their teaching to the children's needs. Only 17 per cent had felt this in 1990. As we saw, many more teachers also began to feel that their own roles were more constrained : a rise from 24 to 66 per cent between 1990 and 1992.

One teacher, whose careful planning is illustrated later in this chapter, was asked about these issues and recounted her frustration at being forced, as she felt it, to 'cover too much content.' She said:

I find I have to stick to my timetable much more rigidly than I ever did in the past; it's the only way I can fit everything in. Are you changing activities more often, then?

Very much so, and I don't think it's good for the children. There are often times when an activity is going really well and I know they' are enjoying it and I'd like to go on and develop it, but I have to urge them to finish off because there's something else I need them to start. I feel they're getting lots of short bites and that isn't the way I normally like to teach.

You sound as though you're worried about achieving breadth at the expense of depth.

Yes, I am. I feel we're being asked to pack so much into each week that I do think we're in danger of being shallow.

Other teachers made similar statements:

I feel far more constrained. We must follow the syllabus and the artistic, creative side is being squeezed out. It's less experimental and creative than it was once.

The curriculum is so full. Having to teach the whole curriculum I feel there is no choice of topic — we must just fit in with the whole school scheme. I had to teach the Stuart period and we had no resources available, so many schools were teaching the same topic. I find this sort of history very difficult, so abstract. Science is easier because we can create our own resources.

Considerable doubts and concerns thus remained among teachers in the later stages of the implementation of the National Curriculum. Of course, by 1993 both NCC (1993) and OFSTED (1993) had recognized the same points and were articulating a fear that curriculum coverage might be compromising the quality of children's learning. Most of the teachers from whom we gathered data had known this much earlier and were sad and frustrated that their professional judgements had been ignored for so long.

There were many other issues about which Key Stage 1 teachers were concerned in 1992. Was the primary school curriculum becoming more subject centred? Would the topic-centred approach survive? Would the perceived warmth

and closeness of teacher-pupil relationships, on which primary school teachers prided themselves, survive the changes? Evidence on such questions of offered in the chapters that follow, beginning with the results of our observations of classroom curriculum practice.

What was the Observed Content of the Classroom Curriculum?

We now move on to consider the findings of curriculum-based systematic classroom observation, rather than teacher interviews. In one sense, this is likely to be a more objective source of data in that it explores the extent to which teachers' beliefs about the effects of change are reflected in actual classroom practice. On the other hand, it is dependent on the strengths and weaknesses of our sample, observation schedule and observers. In fact, there were very few significant discrepancies between teacher perspectives and classroom observations, though we will highlight those that did occur. Overall, we feel that the data sources complement each other in providing a description of curriculum practice.

There are considerable problems in classifying school knowledge and activity so that the balance of the curriculum can be described, and we faced this issue very directly in collecting data on the curriculum content of teaching and learning activities. In our observations we used the subject classifications of the National Curriculum to code each ten-minute period of pupil and teacher observation by 'curriculum context.' we could show when single or several subjects were being drawn on by coding 'main' or 'part' contexts for the activities that had been observed. However, this was by no means easy and considerable researcher judgement was involved. Where there was uncertainly, the classroom teachers were consulted before coding was confirmed. We should note that the data are derived from observation of the time children were actually working in their classrooms. Thus, in terms of the school day as a whole, they exclude administration, dinner time, breaks, lining up and other non-work activities. The content of the curriculum is a curriculum is a crucially important question, given the explicit aim of the Education Reform Act 1988 that a broad and balanced curriculum should be provided for all pupils. This created a tension for teachers, argues, between meeting the requirement to extend the range of subjects offered to all pupils and the perceived need to give a high priority to the basics. As we have seen, while teachers supported the principle of a broad, balanced curriculum, they felt that the ways in which they were being required to implement it were, in practice, leading to an over-specified and inflexible curriculum. The most noticeable findings here are the dominance of work in English and the preponderance of work in the core National Curriculum subjects, in particular, English and maths. It is interesting that the systematic observation did appear to confirm a slight decrease in time spent on English in 1991.

This was the time when other foundation subjects of the National Curriculum were being introduced. It should be noted that these aggregated figures conceal considerable variations between the class-rooms studied in different schools during each period of data-gathering. For instance, in 1990 maths as a main curriculum context occupied just 9 per cent of the observation periods in one school but over 20 per cent in another. English occupied a range between 23 and almost 66 per cent.

In interview, many teachers had said that they were teaching more science. However, science was observed as the main curriculum content for less than 10 per cent of the time, while historical and geographical content was rarely visible. In several schools, however, wall displays provided evidence of historical and geographical content in recent work and teachers' curriculum plans almost universally made appropriate provisions. Such work may have been undertaken in blocks of time that our research design did not enable up to sample.

How justified were apprehensions that the National Curriculum would threaten children's experience of art and music? In 1990, art and music formed the main curriculum content for 6 and 3 per cent of the time respectively, certainly not large proportions, though art was very often combined with other subject work. However, our 1991 data show a halving for art, both as a main curriculum context and as a part curriculum context. This perhaps reflects a particular vulnerability of this subject within a curriculum that was becoming progressively more packed with the subject-content requirements of more highly prioritized subjects. Music seems to have borne up, perhaps through the protection afforded it by timetabled hall and resource allocations.

The very small proportion of time spent in religious education, particularly in 1990, is deceptive, since observations were not recorded during school assemblies. Those assemblies that were attended by members of the research team were often used as opportunities for general reflections on behaviour, kindness and cooperation, for promoting social values and for emphasizing the academic standards of the school community. The 'good work' of pupils was often highlighted. Sometimes there was more explicit religious education. Most assemblies were regularly complemented by singing of appropriate hymns and songs and by prayers. This was so in monocultural schools as well as in those with mixed ethnic populations. The exceptions, not unexpectedly, were the two Roman Catholic aided schools in our sample. In these schools religious instruction was very explicit and provided the focus of curriculum work for significant proportions of time. In 1991 the recorded time spent on religious education doubled, and this could reflect ministerial statements prior to data collection.

The variations between subjects that were found from 1990 to 1991 were probably only to be expected at a time of progressive implementation of the new National Curriculum structure and it would be unwise to make too much of them without further evidence. However, they do illustrate the compromises that have been made to 'fit in' the National Curriculum. In particular, they document the very small proportions of curriculum time that teachers felt able to allocate to some subjects. Indeed, curricular breadth and balance were proving hard to provide given the extent of specification of subject content. Having said that, we should not that there is nothing unusual in such patterns. Indeed, a recent international comparison of primary curricula in 70 countries (Meyer et al., 1992) shows that the officially planned distribution of time in many countries is similar to these observed findings for infant schools in England, perhaps, if anything, with a little more physical education and aesthetic education (art and music) and a little less language work.

The PACE results show considerable continuities with previous research and HMI findings in the UK (e.g. DES, 1978; Bennett et al., 1980; Galton et al., 1980; Tizard et al., 1988; Alexander et al., 1989; OFSTED, 1993). For instance, Tizard et al. (1988) observed top infant classrooms in 1985 and found a comparable emphasis on 'three R' activities. These accounted for 64 per cent of classroom working time, 17 per cent of which was spent in maths, 20 per cent in writing, 27 per cent in reading, discussion, stories and other language activities. Children were engaged in art and craft or construction activities of various kinds for 21 per cent of their classroom time and in free play for only 3 per cent.

Taken overall, there is no evidence that basic subjects were being neglected in the sample schools. The three Rs were dominant, and perhaps it should also be explicitly stated that this empirical research, as opposed to rhetoric, provides no justification for the view that children in English infant schools spend large proportions of their time in unfocused, undirected play.

Was the Curriculum Taught as Single Subjects or Through Combinations of Subjects?

This issue has provided a focus for considerable public debate in recent years and seems to have been taken as a key indicator within the crude rhetoric of 'progressivism' and 'traditionalism.' In a sociological sense, as we saw in section 3.5, the question concerns the degree of 'classification' of the curriculum: the degree to which knowledge is highly classified and is thus bounded by subjects, or is treated in integrated ways, with low levels of classification. The nature of subject classification is something that Bernstein (1971) saw as relating to different views of knowledge and thence to educational codes and social values. It is for this reason that we identified it, as a key dimension with regard to which change can be described as mapped.

Educationalists have more commonly linked the issue to different ways of learning and, while accepting the strengths and weaknesses of single subject and more integrated approaches, have argued for a particular balance of advantage at some ages.

In fact, almost all the research evidence of the 1970s and 1980s shows that the basic subjects of English and mathematics have been taught to young children as single subjects, while it is the 'other' subjects of history, geography and the arts that tend to have been integrated (Alexander, 1984). Examples of innovative integrated work are certainly available (Armstrong, 1981; Rowland, 1984) but topic work has also been consistently criticized. For instance, HMI's 1982 survey of first schools suggested that 'Too much of the work on topics selected by individual teachers or suggested by television programmes was not part of a coordinated school plan and tended to be fragmented and superficial' (DES), 1982, para 2.111).

After sustained criticism of 'topic work' from ministers and many in the media, the report of Alexander et al. (1992) presented the most direct challenge to teachers by asserting that 'A National Curriculum conceived in terms of distinct subjects makes it impossible to defend a non-differentiated curriculum' (p 17). They also suggested that 'Too many topics amount to little more than aimless and superficial copying from books and offer negligible opportunities of progression from one year to the next' (p 18). In 1991 the curriculum experienced by these six- and seven-year-old children was taught *far more* as single subjects than it had been in 1990. In fact, the overall percentage of recorded times in which subjects were taught as a 'part' of some other subject decreased by no less than 41 per cent. If this is the case in infant classes, then it suggests that junior classes are likely to move in a subject-based direction even more rapidly as the National Curriculum impacts on them.

Changes relating to each subject are also interesting. Data on English, mathematics, science, technology and religious education show the major trend towards single-subject learning tasks, with maths leading the way. Raw data for history and geography are hardly copious enough to be considered valid, but art is still shown to be among the subjects most likely to be combined. Intrestingly, the combinations of music with other subjects actually increased between 1990 and 1991, perhaps reflecting its incorporation into the National Curriculum. Physical education continued to be taught exclusively as a single subject.

So what might this mean? mean? One interpretation is that many teachers are receptive to the call for more single-subject teaching — an interpretation that could highlight the perspective of relatively traditionalist teachers. After all, in one sense the adoption of subjects simply builds on common practice, particularly for the 'basics' of the core subjects. However, there is also a possibility that the subject expertise of what we called 'active mediators' has now developed to a point where pupil motivation can be sustained within single-subject work and where other benefits of subject focusing are apparent. Such teachers

may no longer feel that subject-based teaching undermines essential characteristics of childhood and children's learning. The situation regarding history and geography remains a little unclear, particularly in the context of National Curriculum review (NCC, 1993), but the humanities may well remain relatively integrated at Key Stage 1. The position of art remains difficult. Our data support other findings in suggesting that art has been the major integrative subject, organised largely on an individualized basis in infant classes. Teaching art as a single subject is likely to pose serious resourcing and organizational problems and, in future, art may face a considerable decrease in curriculum time. In terms of the dimension of high-low curriculum classification to which we have drawn attention as a means of mapping change, the pattern is clear. The implementation of the National Curriculum in infant classrooms brought about a decisive move from the low classification of integrated work towards more highly classified single subject work.

How Did the Teachers Plan Their Classroom Curriculum?

Curriculum planning has been identified as a crucial factor in providing progression, coherence and differentiation in the learning experiences that are provided for children DES, 1985a). Over the period of the PACE research, considerable developments in curriculum planning were noted. This was graphically indicated by the massive increase between 1990 and 1992, from 8 to 14 per cent, in the proportion of teachers who identified at interview the pressure of changes in classroom planning. There is no doubt, then, that teachers believed that they have tackled the issue of planning their classroom curriculum with great seriousness.

Evidence from the PACE study of whole-school changes indicates that there was a steady move away from teachers working with their own, individual curriculum planning systems towards more coordinated, whole-school approaches.

In this, of course, the gradual publication of National Curriculum documents provided a strong framework. That having been said, it is hard to generalize about the strategies adopted by teachers, for, over the period of data-gathering, there was still a considerable amount of experimentation and development going on. This was combined with able amount of experimentation and development going on. This was combined with concern about the 'overload' of some of the National Curriculum and uncertainty about its detailed future.

Many teachers felt constrained by the overall effect of this increased planning in terms of its limiting their capacity to make individual decisions and to respond to immediate pupil interests. As one of them put it,

It's changed dramatically; there's no longer the great freedom to do what you would like too do with the children. This is controlled by the policy that the school has adopted in whole-school planning and in termly forecasts, where topics are determined two years in advance. I think we have to guard against not picking up on opportunities when they present themselves because you have to get through your topic or your theme for that term. Teachers must be allowed that spontaneity because often those are the moments the children will remember and learn from.

We will return to such concerns, but will meanwhile illustrate some of the curriculum planning methods that were adopted and, in so doing, will highlight some of the challenges and workloads the teachers faced.

In our 1990 round of classroom studies we noted that teachers recorded their plans of work in very varied ways: for a week, a month, a half-term or a whole term, and by means of lists, grids and webs. Nevertheless, some relatively common aims of the plans seemed to be:

 to start with familiar experiences and gradually to extend the curriculum in time, space and abstraction; • to draw as many curricular areas as possible into a meaningful topic.

Given these concerns, there was also evidence of teachers' efforts to relate National Curriculum subjects to children's interests. Of curse, within the nine classrooms in our detailed sample, there were wide variations in the amount written in the plans and in the degree of detail entered.

As an example, we can take one Year 1 teacher in a large suburban primary school who, when forecasting the work for the winter term of 1990, produced a type of topic web amplified by ten pages of detailed notes. This teacher taught at a Roman Catholic aided school and it was not surprising to find considerable emphasis on religious education. Colour and pattern has always been a popular topic for infant classrooms. It occurred in several other schools and clearly lends itself well to activities in science and in art and craft.

The timetable for this class was firmly demarcated into periods. Half of every morning, apart from one radio and one television programme, was devoted to 'basic subjects.' Three afternoons began with 'basics and creative work,' one with science, followed by PE — its only appearance on this timetable — and one with a radio music and movement programme, followed by 'phonics.' Each day began with 'prayers and RE' and ended with 'story, prayers, etc.'. The timetable gives a clear indication of the dominance of the three Rs in primary school work. Nevertheless, it displays a much greater emphasis on science than would have been expected in an infant school ten years previously, with a science-based television programme, a period of 'follow-up' and two other science periods. Between 1990 and 1991, as the subject documentation of the National Curriculum was published and awareness of the issues of progression and differentiation increased, classroom curriculum planning became noticeably more complex and

sophisticated in most of our classroom study schools. This is well illustrated by the four levels of planning undertaken in 1991 by Sally Jones, the teacher in a rural primary school whose approach to teaching was reviewed in section 3.7. She taught a mixed class of reception, Year 1 and Year 2 children.

This teacher prepared:

- a form of topic web, related to National Curriculum subjects;
- a week-by-week plan of work for each subject for each half term in relation to programmes of study, attainment targets and links with other foundation subjects;
- a standard weekly timetable showing hall periods, broadcasts etc., plus subject-based activities;
- a day-by-day plan for each week, which enabled differentiated planning of each session for each pupil, both as part of a group and in relation to their age and attainment.

The week-by-week plan, the enormous influence of the National Curriculum: subjects are named, programmes of study and attainment targets are listed and related to work plans. However, there is no attempt to force artificial links: the overall theme was 'our senses,' drawing in substantial historical content was thought to be difficult, although there are strong geographical elements. Presumably history would have featured in the previous or subsequent plans, with the aim of keeping a balance over longer periods.

Differentiation and practical implementation was planned at a further level of detail in the day-by-day forecasts. These were specified for small groups of children, of similar age or levels of attainment. The demands on this teacher's time in terms of curriculum planning and provision for groups, individuals and the whole class may be imagined. However, confirming the account, her timetable additionally

shows that on four days each week the period immediately after school ended was occupied by football practice with junior children or with meetings with staff on parents. In addition she routinely marked children's written work at home and prepared for the next day. At weekends she completed evaluations and other records.

Such examples resonate with the work of Campbell and Neill (1992), whose 1991 sample of 105 Key Stage 1 teachers from 61 LEAs worked on average for 52.4 hours per week. Only 18 hours of this time was spent in actual contact with children. Preparation and administration combined to take no less than 28 hours of work each week.

Classroom curriculum planning and preparation formed a significant part of this workload and, as we have seen, developed in association with more concerted whole school planning and with a gradually emerging and occasionally revised National Curriculum. Until the later phases of the PACE project, we will not have the evidence to evaluate the overall outcomes of these developments in terms of the coherence, progression and differentiation of pupil learning experiences. However, there is no doubt that enormous amounts of teacher efforts were directed at curriculum planning and, of course, this was one reason for the common expression of teacher frustration when changes in the National Curriculum framework were proposed or introduced, meaning that planning time had been wasted. On the other hand, teachers continued to face to the frustrations of what they saw as an overloaded and overspecified curriculum that reduced their professional autonomy. The dilemma may have had structural and political origins, but it was experienced acutely by teachers at the classroom level.

Did Teachers Use a Repertoire of Teaching Approaches for Different Subjects?

One of the most important recommendations of the 1992 discussion document on class-room organization and

management (Alexander *et al.*, 1992), which was supposed to generate a fundamental review of pedagogy in primary schools, was that teachers should develop a wider repertoire of teaching methods. It was suggested that teaching methods could then be matched to aims and this would produce an increase in 'fitness for purpose.'

With this issue in mind, we analysed our data on the teaching of different curriculum subjects in terms of the main teaching contexts that were used to teach them. Our coding of teaching contexts recorded whole-class interaction of all sorts, teaching of individuals and group work. Although such an analysis cannot provide perfect evidence of the use, or otherwise, of a repertoire of teaching approaches for different subjects, it does provide indicative data. The most striking finding is that in both years a much wider range of teaching methods was employed to teach the core subjects of English, mathematics and science than for other subjects. Of course, English and mathematics form the traditional 'basics' of the infant school curriculum and it is possible that our data reflect the existence of a more confident repertoire of teaching methods with regard to these subjects rather than others. There are some signs that there was an increase in the repertoire of methods used in the teaching of science in 1991. Other subjects that were taught in relatively diverse ways include art and technology, with technology being the main focus of cooperative group work. For some subjects, such as history, geography, physical education and religious education, the range of teaching contexts observed was very limited.

These data suggest that teachers already had the basic framework of the wider repertoire of teaching methods that might be developed, though they do not provide evidence on the detail of teaching approaches within each context or on the 'fitness for purpose' in terms of the teaching and learning objectives that were actually realised in each case. It seems, too, that this repertoire is stronger with regard to the more frequently taught subjects of the

curriculum. Perhaps this is so because for more regular work the preparation of materials and development of more diverse pedagogies is more necessary to maintain pupil motivation. We suspect that the question of teaching repertoire may be related to that of subject expertise. There have been several studies of this topic in recent years. For instance, Croll and Moses (1990) found that, of 50 primary heads whom they interviewed, 56 per cent identified the lack of subject expertise as an anticipated difficulty in implementing the National Curriculum. Bennett et al. (1992), in a 1991 sample of 433 teachers, found that 77 per cent felt confident of their teaching expertise in English and 62 per cent were confident regarding mathematics. The proportion of teachers who claimed to feel compressively. These were relatively high figures. The same study recorded a fall from 1989 to 1991 in the numbers of teachers who felt confident in teaching history and geography, while there was no change regarding technology.

Such findings seem to suggest that publication of some subject requirements of the National Curriculum in 1990 and 1991 were a considerable challenge to many teachers, and we believe that a lack of subject confidence and expertise is likely to be reflected in a more limited teaching repertoire. Teaching methods, in other words, may broaden, and fitness for purpose will be achieved, only when the subject knowledge to be taught is well understood. Such issues will be considered further.

In this chapter we have seen how teachers supported the principle of the National Curriculum but, as it was progressively implemented, felt it to be both overload with subject content and over-prescriptive. In these circumstances one major objective of the Education Reform Act 1988, of achieving the implementation of a broad and balanced curriculum, does not seem to have been being achieved. There was an emphasis on the core curriculum of English, mathematics and science—an emphasis that, we would speculate, will be amplified in future by the publication of

standardized assessment results in these subjects.

Of course, the core subjects represent 'the basics,' which, since the industrial Revolution, have bene regarded as an essential foundation for education and work (Alexander, 1984), with science as a late addition. These priorities have bene consistently endorsed by many generations of teachers. The educational value of breadth was promoted by HMI (e.g. DES, 1978), was endorsed by the Educational Reform Act 1988 and has been reaffirmed by NCC (1993) in the context of a review of the extent and detail of National Curriculum subject requirements for primary schools. Our data on curriculum content confirm the need for this review and suggest that breadth can be developed only if the content demands of National Curriculum subjects are reduced.

We have also reported data that show a significant more towards stronger curriculum classification. We found an increasing proportion of subjects being taught alone, and a decrease in teaching and learning activities drawing on and integrating more than one subject. While the prominence of the basic curriculum represents continuity with the past, this change from weak towards stronger subject classification is a major shift along an important analytic dimension.

Other findings, such as the development of more rigorous curriculum planning, acceptance of the associated workloads and the existence and development of teaching repertoires, reflect the considerable commitment and expertise that existed among the teachers we studied. So did their willingness to take on an even wider range of educational objectives. Given their acceptance of the principles of the National Curriculum, most teachers were willing to work very hard to deliver it. However, in the later phases of our study, our evidence began to show that teachers were increasingly feeling that the National Curriculum was flawed, and that, combined with assessment requirements, it could threaten rather than help them to fulfil their basic

commitments to the learning and development of young children.

PUPILS AND THE CURRICULUM

This study sets out to answer the question, 'What did the children think of the curriculum?' We believe that this is an important question in at least two respects. First, there is the question of pupil learning, the ostensible purpose of the Education Reform Act. While the debates around the National Curriculum largely concerned themselves with structures, content and assessment issues, we retain a conviction that the motivation of children is also important. What, as HMI (DES, 1985a) put it, is the 'relevance' of the curriculum? Of course, it was precisely this issue that led members the Hadow Committee to publish their 1931 statement that 'the curriculum should be thought of in terms of activity and experience rather than as knowledge to be learned and facts to be stored' (Board of Education 1931, p. 93). Both HMI and Hadow had an essentially practical concern here. They wanted children to learn effectively and they were concerned that the curriculum should connect with the concerns and ways of thinking of young children. A second reason for the importance of pupil perceptions of the curriculum follows if one views the educational experiences of childhood as worthwhile in their own right, rather than simply as means to later goals in life. Primary education, for instance, may be seen as something much more than a preparation phase for secondary education or the 'realities' of work. It is a significant part of each child's life and, as parents have consistently recorded (Hughes et al., 1990 pupils' perceived quality of classroom experiences is therefore important. Blyth (1984) encompassed many aspects of these issues in his conception of curriculum as 'a planned intervention into the interaction of development and experience' (Blyth, 1984, p. 43). This sentence immediately draws attention to issues such as the physical, social, cognitive and affective development of young children and to the ways in which

they learn through interaction with their experienced environment—points that seem to have been discussed very rarely by those constructing the National Curriculum in England.

Further, curriculum is seen as contributing continuously to both the development and the experience of young children as they grow up. However, while development and experience will occur naturally in one form or another throughout life, curriculum is seen as the outcome of deliberate decisions by others about appropriate provision for learners. The curriculum, as Blyth (1984, p. 43) put it, 'is designed to make a positive impact on children.' This, of course, is exactly what the National Curriculum was intended to do: to provide a broad, balanced, system-wise education and to raise educational standards of achievement. The rationale of the National Curriculum, in other words, was that it would, ultimately, be reflected in greater clarity of thinking, more knowledge and gradually developing levels of skill among pupils. It was a 'planned intervention' on a national scale. But what would its impact actually be in the realities of classrooms across the country, far from Whitehall? And, further, how would it appear to the pupils, in whose name it was ostensibly, created? Would they feel motivated by it so that its introduction could contribute to the quality of their learning and of their learning experiences? Our interviews with children were designed to find out.

What Were the Major Findings of Previous Research?

Research on children's perspectives of the primary school curriculum is relatively scarce, and, where it is available, has usually focused on the process of curriculum delivery rather than on the subject content issues *per se*. There are good reasons for this tendency, because children tend to be concerned far more about the implications of a curriculum subject in terms of 'what we have to do' rather than in terms of the subject matter itself. Meaningful curriculum descriptors for young children are thus likely

to describe processes — writing, climbing, sitting, doing sums, reading — or qualities of experience — fun, exciting, interesting, boring, Makins (1969), for instance, suggested that what primary school children learn matters to them less than how they are taught.

Cullingford (1990) vividly conveys many aspects of children's feelings of vulnerability in learning, the involvement of self and the defensive strategies that are often adopted. These are interesting points, for classroom situations are anything but private. Indeed, pupil experience has been powerfully characterized as being of crowd (Jackson, 1968). It follows that the learning experiences associated with particular curricular subjects may well be evaluated by the balance of psychological and social exposure and challenge they bring, when compared with the interest and enjoyment they offer.

Good examples of this are provided in the work of Woods (1987, 1988), where the ways in which primary school teachers create classroom contexts that are conductive to learning are explored. Similarly, Pollard (1990) and Pollard with Filer (forthcoming) provide accounts of pupils' learning strategies and relationships to the social contexts of home, classroom and playground. In this ethnographic case study it was the ratio of risk to enjoyment that seemed to determine how children felt about curriculum activity. rather than the nature of the tasks themselves. Further, the significance of the issue is confirmed by Lewis (1993) in her analysis of the views of schooling held by children with moderate learning difficulties. She argues that, rather the curriculum content per se being important, such children need a curriculum that addresses social and emotional development, and issues such as friendship and coping with conflict.

More directly Tizard *et al.*, (1988) interviewed 133 seven-year-olds about, among other areas, their work at school. In this case, questions were confined to children's attitudes to reading alone, reading to a teacher, writing

and mathematics. The most popular subjects were maths, liked by 71 per cent overall, and reading to the teacher (65 per cent). Writing was appreciated by 56 per cent, while reading to oneself was positively viewed by only 51 per cent of children. Tizard *at al.* speculated that the relative unease over writing centred mainly on the tedium of routine writing tasks and spelling difficulties, while concern over reading to oneself was associated with the difficulty of achieving success with self-selected books.

Goodnow and Burns (1985) produce a rather different account with their interviews with 2000 Australian children. Junior school pupils were unambiguously keen on sport, games and playing at school, and also liked subjects such as art, craft and music. However, they had very mixed views on the standard core subjects of maths and English. Goodnow and Burns attributed this to a discrepancy between the expectations of children regarding their education and the realities of school life. For instance, children expect 'to learn everything,' but they are mainly taught basic skills; they expect 'to learn useful things,' but the relevance of the curriculum is only rarely apparent; they expect 'to like the work,' but it is sometimes 'too hard' and is often 'boring'; they expect the school day to provide variety, but it tends to be very predictable and repetitive.

Clearly there are also likely to be differences among pupils and at different ages. For instance, the responses of the eleven-year-olds interviewed by Pollard (1985, p. 89) showed that by this age children's evaluation of learning is closely associated with the social identities they have acquired, in this case within peer groups of 'goodies,' jokers' or 'gangs.' Goodies' conformist strategy overrode their feelings about curriculum subjects as they strove to maintain their image in their teacher's eyes. Jokers were likely to try to direct lessons they considered boring into 'more fertile activities,' while gangs would, on occasion, become more directly subversive. Unlike the other two groups, they rarely obtained intrinsic satisfaction from their learning

unless they saw direct links with future work—a more instrumental approach.

What Were Public Preceptions of Curriculum Content?

We were interested in the children's perceptions of curriculum-related activities in their classrooms, and in the ways in which this related to the findings of our systematic observation of curriculum subject coverage.

With this in mind, we showed the children a collage of pictures of 12 common infant school activities that had been extracted from a book by Ahlberg and Ahlberg (1988). We then asked, 'Which of these activities do you do in your classroom?' This question was asked first in 1990, when the children were in Year 1, and it was repeated in 1991, when they had become Year 2 pupils. From among the large number of activities that the children nominated on each occasion, we coded the first two. We thus have an indicator of curriculum activities as perceived by infant school pupils. The three aspects of English identified by the children as taking place in their classrooms (stories, reading and writing) total 30 per cent of the nominations made, compared with 36 per cent of our total observations in the two years. Maths provided 19 per cent of nominations and 15 per cent of observations, while for science the figures were 2 per cent of nominations but 8 per cent of observations. Such figures seem to show a broad mapping of pupil perception and systematic observation regarding the curriculum of 'the basics' at least, though perhaps a lack of pupil awareness regarding the nature of 'science' as a curricular subject. However, the most striking finding is undoubtedly the fact that no fewer than 24 per cent of pupil nominations concerned physical education, far higher than our combined figure of 3 per cent of observations.

Taken together with findings that are reported later in this chapter, we think it likely that the pattern of children's perceptions of curriculum activities is influenced by subjective feelings that are associated with the experience of these classroom activities. Physical education was seen by many children as a enjoyable source of activity and release from 'work,' as other studies have also found (Mortimore et al., 1988), and while regularly provided, may have been exaggerated in what the children reported. Maths, on the other hand, may have loomed relatively large as a major source of 'work' itself. Aspects of what might be taken as 'play' (sand, 'home corner' play, construction) were, quite accurately, not perceived to occur very often at all, despite the fact, as we shall see, that they were greatly valued by the children.

What Were Pupil Preferences for Curriculum Activities?

In both the 1990 Year 1 interviews and the 1991 Year 2 interviews the children in our longitudinal sample were asked to identify curriculum activities they 'liked best' and then those they 'liked least.' In both 1990 and 1991 they were asked to make selections from the set of 12 activities we had presented to them. Since those activities were not fully comprehensive regarding all infant school activities we cannot treat the data we collected as being totally representative. Nevertheless, they do provide powerful indications of children's preferences for different sorts of curricular activities. We will present the basic findings in this section, while the reasons offered by the children are analysed in section 2.5.

For the purpose of this analysis we coded the activity that was named by each child as 'most liked' or 'least liked. The most consistently favoured activity was physical education. This was liked by boys and girls in both Year 1 and Year 2 and was a first choice for no less than 28 per cent of children. Also clearly favoured were painting and 'home corner' play, though, as for sand, their favoured status was strongest when the children were younger. As the children moved from Year 1 to Year 2, appreciation of maths and singing developed significantly. Girls tended to

favour reading, 'home corner' play and painting, while boys prioritized construction activities and sand. Analysis of preferences by pupil attainment showed few differences, though there was a slight preference for lower-achieving pupils to like 'home corner play.

Data on the curriculum activities 'least liked' are presented in Table 1. Overall, the least liked curricular activity was writing, first named by 15 per cent of pupils, followed by maths, science and listening to stories — a finding that made the PACE team immediately wonder about stress on the core subjects of the National Curriculum. The dislike of hearing stories was almost exclusively mentioned by the children when they were in Year 2 and does not undermine the generally positive views of the children when younger. However, there were strong patterns by gender among the activities disliked. Girls disliked construction, science and stories must more than boys, while boys found writing, reading, maths and 'home corner' play more distasteful than girls. Again analysis of pupil attainment revealed no significant differences. In keeping with the spirit of the early 1990s we have produced a 'league table' of Year 1 and Year 2 pupil preferences. This is based on a rank order of the net score when the percentage 'best liked is set against the percentage 'least liked' for each subject in each year. Table 4 sets out the result of this analysis. There are many interesting features of these league tables of pupil preferences. First, we should note that physical education occupies the top of both tables, while writing and science are at the bottom of each. Other curriculum activities that record a change of only two places or fewer and painting, 'home corner' play and singing in the upper half, and reading alone, construction and reading lessons in the lower half. The big 'success story' is mathematics, which rose from twelfth position when the children were in Year 1 to second in Year 2. Conversely, sand and stories fell down the list of pupil preferences as the children aged a year.

TABLE 1
Curricular Activities 'Liked Least' by Children Year 1 and
Year 2 (Percentages)

	Year 1	Year 2	Girls	Boys	Overall
Stories	4	17	15	6	10
Reading alone	9	7	2	15	8
Reading lessons	7	2	6	4	5
Writing	15	15	6	24	15
Maths	15	7	9	13	11
Science	7	15	17	6	11
Construction	11	7	17	2	9
Sand	2	2	4	0	2
'Home corner' play	6	2	0	7	4
Painting	4	6	6	4	5
Singing	6	9	7	7	7
Physical education	0	2	2	0	1
Nothing liked	13	7	6	15	10
Missing	2	2	2	2	2

Source: PACE 1 child interviews. Sample: 54 1 and 54 Year 2 children. Date: autumn 1990 and autumn 1991. Source: PACE 1 child interviews. Sample: 54 1 and 54 Year 2 children. Date: autumn 1990 and autumn 1991.

It is, perhaps, just as well that recent government policy has not seen pupils themselves as the prime educational consumers in the new market-based model of education that the Education Acts of 1988 and 1993 have introduced. Had this been the case, the National Curriculum core subjects would have been significantly skewed off balance at Key Stage 1, with the possible exception of maths. Children, on this evidence, would have done a lot of physical education, painting and playing. However, this is too simple, for we have already seen that 60 per cent of the observed classroom curriculum was in fact devoted to the

core subjects in both years and there was, in fact, *very* little time spent on physical education, painting or play. The children, in other words, seemed to dislike things they were required to do regularly but would have liked to do more of the occasional activities, which in their experience provided respite from the more normal routines and curriculum diet of classroom life. More detailed reason for children's perspectives are explored below.

Why Did Pupils Prefer Particular Curricular Activities?

Two sources of interview data were collected by the PACE team regarding this issue. First, following the identification of 'most liked' and 'least liked' curricular activities, children were asked, 'Why do you like (the most liked) better than (the least liked)?' This sought pupil reasoning concerning activities chosen freely but relatively abstractly. A more contextually embedded approach was also used at the start of the pupil interviews in Year 1 and Year 2, when the children were referred to an activity in which they had participated and that the researcher had actually observed earlier. The children were asked whether they had 'liked' or 'disliked' doing the activity and to explain the reasons for their answer. The activities around which these latter questions were based were the same as those from which our systematic observation findings were derived, and they may be regarded as providing a representative reflection of the Key Stage 1 curriculum. In combination, we believe that pupil responses to these two questions provide a strong data source.

Answers to the two questions were analysed using an identical set of codes and in quantitative terms the results are shown in Table 2. These are provided as percentages of the coded responses for each question. Six major pupil criteria for evaluating curricular activities were identified: success/case, interest, fun, activity, autonomy and long-term education. A seventh major coding, like, was used when pupils affirmed but did not adequately explain their

preference for a curriculum activity. These data have not been used in the subsequent analysis.

TABLE 2

Pupil Criteria for Preferred Curricular Activities
(Percentages of Codings)

Criterion	Overall preferences			
Success/ease	27			
Interest	24			
Fun	18			
Activity	13			
Educational	5			
Other	7			

Source: PACE 1 child interviews. Sample: 54 1 and 54 Year 2 children. Date: autumn 1990 and autumn 1991.

'Interest' was an important criterion, used by 24 per cent of children in describing reasons for their curricular activity preferences. From the pupil comments, it could be associated with 'fun' but certainly had an obverse in 'boring.' As other researchers have found (e.g. Goodnow and Burns, 1985), boredom is a child concept that seems, to children, to need little explanation.

Egan's (1989) argument, that the understanding of young children should be linked, through curriculum, to their interest and facility in fantasy and imagination, takes on a direct significance with play of this sort. The children whom we interviewed confirmed his priority.

The 5 per cent of occasions when long-term educational reasons were cited by the children is a low figure but perhaps one that would be expected from children so young. Their perceptions were of relatively generalised sort. The issues of the sense of fulfilment and degree of success and effort that pupils put into their work were also very major criteria in establishing preferences for curricular activities. 'Success/ease' was the primary coding of 27 per cent of

pupil responses and there were four major sub-categories of this code.

First, some children were aware of the problem of understanding the tasks set and teacher expectations of them:

I don't know what to make and what not to make.

Yes, When Miss tells me to do it, I like it. I like it when I'm doing those numbers

No. because sometimes you don't know what to write.

In science it's a bit hard 'cos sometimes you don't know what you are doing it in.

Second, there was the issue of just how hard tasks or activities were to complete. There was a variety of views across curriculum subjects and activities but the calculation appeared to concern maximizing the product for a given effort. There was a hint of the need for children to meet teacher-set work quotes or targets here, but also the theme of intrinsic fulfilment from learning itself:

Because you don't have to do new work [Maths better than writing]. Because you can learn to count like 10 and 10 and I find writing more difficult and takes longer.

Maths is easier because if we get our writing really spidery we have to write it again. In maths we don't — we just rub out the answers and write them again. Reading is easy 'cos I could read when I was three. I like singing because of learning Christmas songs. Because, well, I like doing maths and they're easy. Writing is more difficult because I have to keep on going to get words from Miss.

I like sums because they are hard and I have to think. Other things don't take enough time and I get bored when I've done all my 'jobs' and I have to read and you get bored doing that every day.

Because I sometimes get it really quickly done. I got ten sums done in five minutes which are hard ones. Writing takes me a long time because the spellings trouble me and I can't rush it. Miss wants it done quick.

The words in my word-building book are hard-like "alphabet, photograph and physical. But I like reading stories' cos most words are easy— and maths has easy answers.

Maths is more difficult.

Because you can draw lots of pictures. Science is hard.

'Cos you paint pictures, writing is hard.

'Cos writing and reading is my favourite things as school. 'Cos at reading you don't have to do any sums, you just write the letters.

Following pupil concern about the process of learning was their awareness of the importance of success. On this, they were concerned with their personal performance in both absolute and relative terms. For instance, some appreciated their attainment in itself:

Yes, I like adding in my head. Getting the right answer: that's what I like.

I quite liked it. 'Cos I knew all the answers — one of them was so easy — it was two add two.

Yes, I like getting on hard books.

Some appreciated completion of work:

Yes, I like finishing things off.

Others drew attention to their achievements relative to others in their classes, and the status that this gave them:

Miss said mine was excellent. She gave me one of the hardest — Simon had the hardest. Because it looks like a tortoise.

Because I like — it isn't really a contest, but I like feeling if you want to win you can do a lot and if you don't win you can say, 'well, I don't mind.'

Yes, 'cos I'm good at writing.

For some, the problem was completion itself:

I don't like writing. I feel that I'm never going to get it done.

There was also the question of 'having fun':

They're fun things and science is good because you learn a lot of things from it. Singing's a bit fun but it's not fun when you're practising for the Christmas Play like now, because you have to keep singing boring songs.

Yes, because it's funny and I like writing and doing puppets.

Yes, like sticking and cutting-out. It's fun and painting too.

Yes,' good fun 'Cos you can paint and stick things and put wheels on and Sellotaping.

Yes, because it's fun holding the puppets up.

'Cos it's fun, all sorts of hats and clothes and trousers. It's really fun. I like them a lot. Singing is boring. She has to shout and we are too quiet and we don't know the songs. She thinks we should know them.

Beyond 'having fun,' however, was a point where a degree of classroom disorder actually became threatening, or problematic to children. This was rare in our data, but the following are examples:

No, because Amanda was getting on our nerves. She wasn't getting on with her writing. Some of it. Sally and David were messing about. They wouldn't We didn't do it all.

Autonomy was coded as the main criteria for 5 per cent of pupil answers, though it featured as a factor in many other responses. Children recorded statements such as:

Because you can play in the sand but you can't in science and writing.

It's fun and you can choose what to do.

Because you can choose what to dress up in and it's fun.

'Cos you don't have to do so much work and that stuff.

Because I can build something I like doing — I built a really good ark.

Regarding the pupil criterion well called 'activity' (13 per cent of cold responses), many pupils drew a contrast, which gets right to the point, between physical education and story time.

'Cos you have to sit down when it's story time and when it's PE you can run around.

'Cos you can have a lot of running about in PE and 'cos you can't in the book corner.

Sitting down for long periods of time, such as we had observed in the whole-class sessions on the carpet, was not favoured:

You have to sit down, I get hot, I like to stand up and get cool.

Because you have to sit on the carpet and listen or you get told off and you think "Oh dear, this is boring."

We sit on the floor and I get squashed.

In contrast, physical education seemed to provide variety, excitement and a sense of challenge and fulfilment for almost all children:

Because you can run about, go up ladders and swing on the bar and go up the plank. In singing you have to sit still on the floor.

Because we're allowed a crash mat out and you can do hand-stands and can jump on the box and there's a climbing frame and a rope to swing on. Science — we have to do lots of sitting down and writing and going round the classroom looking for things.

'Cos it's good. You practice and you can run.

'Cos you do all sorts of things.

'Cos you climb on things.

Sometimes in PE we have climbing frames, mats, etc. It's like playing, when you read you make mistakes and you don't like it.

Because you do exercises there [points of PE] but I can't get on much there [points to maths].

Our interpretation of these data relates to the context of power relationships between pupils and teachers in classrooms. As one of us has argued (Pollard, 1985), pupils seek to cope in primary school classrooms by juggling major interests-at-hand. Primary pupil interests can be identified as the maintenance of self-image, enjoyment, control of stress and the retention of dignity, and these are satisfied by the enabling interests of peer group membership and learning. All pupils, in other words, have to satisfy three main parties: themselves, their peers and significant adults. Different pupils adopt particular strategies for doing this, as we shall explore fully in future books from the PACE project.

In aggregated and analytical terms, however, we can relate pupil criteria for evaluating curricular activities to the zone of major influence of pupils and teacher respectively — to the power context. This model locates fun sense of humour, mischief and sociability of young children and to the physical energy and developmental stage that set them apart from adolescents and adults alike. Teachers cannot keep up with children as they climb, skip or run about in physical education or the playground, nor can they appreciate their jokes in the same ways the children do. The activities that relate to these criteria are therefore the children's own. They related to being a child and to child culture.

The criterion of success/ease, on the other hand, is located squarely within the teachers' zone of major influence. Curriculum activities in classrooms yield success or failure, ease or difficulty, depending on the nature of the tasks the teacher sees and the assessment procedures that are implemented. The teacher has the power of structuring and decision and the pupil is maximally exposed — hence the very high proportion of children mentioning this criterion. After all, as Blyth (1984) put it, 'the curriculum is an *intervention* in a child's development and experience.' Of course, it comes as no surprise to realise that the most popular Key Stage 1 pupil activities — physical education, painting and 'home corner' play — give relatively large scope for fun and activity, while less favoured curricular activities, such as writing, tend to be seen as difficult and as a potential source of failure.

In what we have called the 'intermediate zone' we have located pupil criteria that identify the 'interest' of the curriculum activity and the degree of autonomy provided. Interest is particularly important for, together with its obverse of 'boring,' it represents a pupil evaluation of the intrinsic and directly experienced worth of educational activity. As such it is also a pupil concern through which teachers can connect with pupil curiosity and imagination, and can thus support them in moving from the pupil zone of fun and activity towards the more staid goals of the adult curriculum. Nor, it should be said, are pupils unwilling travellers on this developmental and educational track, particularly if it is achieved in ways that leave them appropriate dignity and autonomy. This last criterion, although articulated relatively less often than the others, is important for the processual reason. The fact that it was not cited by more than 5 per cent of pupils could, of course, be taken as another indicator that classroom relationships were seen as good by both teachers and children.

Finally we have the criterion that identifies the long-term educational benefits of particular curricular activities. Explicated rarely, it is a good indicator of the extent to which most young pupils do or do not understand the reasons behind the educational experiences to which they are exposed.

How Did Pupils Perceive Teacher Intentions?

Research has consistently shown that it is helpful for learning success if pupils understand the specific aims and purposes that teachers have for tasks. However, it has also been shown that such detailed understanding is relatively rare in schools (Bennett *et al.*, 1984) and, unfortunately, our data largely confirm this.

As was described in section 2.3, following systematic observation of a task the 54 children in our classroom studies were asked, 'Why do you think your teacher wanted you to do (the task/activity)? The question was thus embedded in a real context and was part of the longer interviews that took place in 1990 and 1991, when the children were in Year 1 and Year 2 respectively. The data were coded using seven main codes. These were associated with pupil ideas as follows.

A quarter of pupil answers reflected a belief that teachers set tasks to help pupil learning, in some very general way. For instance:

'Cos we're learning to do our letters and write and read. She wants us to learn to read and write.

Because she wanted us to learn a new story and write it out. *Why?* Because she wants you to learn so when you're older you can write.

Because she thinks it's good for us. She used to put them on the board but she thinks we've got so good at that, we could do a sheet.

We're doing it each day. Trying to get better and dead neat and write stories.

I don't know — get good at writing.

I think it was our maths for today so we can be a bank manager if we like when we grow up. As we get older we get nearer to being very old and ready to work.

So we could learn them.

Many children thus trusted their teacher's overall

judgement in helping them learn. However, for almost a further quarter, tasks were seen more as things that were simply 'required.' Tasks were set because that was what happened in school and reasoning why did not appear to be an educational question. It was more an issue of what the routine or structure of classroom organization was or the moods or preferences the teacher herself came up with.

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} TABLE~3\\ Pupil Perceptions of Teacher Intentions \end{tabular}$

	Year 1		Year 2		Overall To		otal	Total	
	\overline{Girls}	Boys	\overline{Girls}	Boys	(%)	Boys	Girls	Year 1	Year 2
Learning	31	7	31	32	25	20	31	19	31
Required	15	36	27	18	24	27	21	26	22
Topic	15	7	19	14	14	11	17	11	17
Don't know	15	25	12	0	13	13	13	20	6
Product	15	7	4	7	8	7	10	11	5
Assessment	0	4	4	18	6	11	2	2	11
Enjoyment	4	4	4	0	3	2	4	4	2
No answer	4	11	0	11	6	11	2	7	5

Source: PACE 1 Child interviews. Sample :54 children in Year 1 and Year 2. Date: autumn 1990 and autumn 1991.

We analysed these data by gender and pupil year and some interesting patterns were revealed in Table 3. When the children were in Year 1 a greater maturity and social awareness in the girls seems to be apparent. While the girls appreciated the teacher's learning intentions, albeit in a relatively general way, the boys either had no idea of teacher intentions or simply received the activities as requirements. This gender difference was not apparent in Year 2. Indeed, the overall numbers of 'don't know' answers fell sharply as the children aged and understanding of links between curricular tasks and 'learning' or classroom 'topics' developed.

Looking at these data positively, there was a clear pattern of increasing awareness of educational purposes as the children got older. However, there were almost no answers in other than highly generalized ways. Children were not able to relate their specific work to personal learning targets (Muschamp, 1993).

Conclusions

Overall, our interviews with pupils showed that, while they enjoyed many curricular activities, they had strong preferences. Pupils liked activities that offered them interest, success, activity and fun. They disliked curriculum activities that produced boredom, difficulty sitting, listening and writing. In expressing their concerns in terms of activity and experience the children reflected the meaning of the curriculum to them, as primary school children had also done in previous studies. It is unfortunate that, in general terms and with the possible exception of mathematics, our findings show that the core subjects of the National Curriculum were less favoured than activities such as physical education, painting and play, which give children more scope for movement and autonomy. At face value, this would seem to suggest that pupil motivation regarding the most important subjects of the curriculum was a concern and that the curriculum as a 'planned intervention' was proving inadequate to harness the energy and interest of the children in support of the learning process. Perhaps this is partly true.

However, it would be unfair to make too much of this argument about the 'failure' of the core curriculum to motivate children because it has probably always been the case. Indeed, it could be argued that the more significant finding from our pupil interviews is that there is very little evidence that the National Curriculum has made any substantial difference at all to the curriculum as it is actually experienced by pupils. Findings from previous research are not strong enough to enable us to be categorical

on this, but the criteria that the children used are very consistent with previous research, and the understanding of the purposes of tasks (or lack of it) is also as expected. While we cannot say that the children have not been affected by the National Curriculum, we cannot show evidence of any dramatic effects. Pupil perceptions and experiences seem to be much the same as before its introduction. As a child once put it, 'School is school and learning is something that they do to you.'

As Blyth (1984) suggested, it seems to be development and experience that provide the prime source of criteria for children. The 'planned intervention' that is curriculum is judged in those terms and with, as Cullingford (1990) expressed it, both a strong defensiveness and a quest for 'fun.'

6

Special Focus on Inter-curricular Strategies, Medium of Instruction, Teacher and Standardized Assessment: An Overview

Discussion of the nucleus idea — The Sea, Me, Games, etc. — will bring to light more specific areas of interest which individuals or groups of pupils can concentrate on and research further. Stimulus material on the specific topics is fed in, and this might then lead to any variety of creative activities, including writing. Some of these activities will result in individual 'end products,' artifacts, things made, but others are on-going activities and not necessarily finished. I sometimes think that we are constrained by a need to have children's work polished or on display, when it may be that the process itself is what is important. At any rate, I have arranged the ideas to lead into processes which might be open-ended or might be 'finished.' The treatment of the idea in the flow charts is not intended to be exhaustive. The charts merely suggest patterns of work which have some chance of involving pupils in different and individually interesting activities, Essentially it is a matter of (1) seeing relevant connections with the main idea which can lead to a variety of pursuits—research, making things, designing, experimenting, devising publicity material perhaps, holding competitions; (2) being aware of supporting ideas, stimulus material, etc.; and (3) seeing

the possibilities in the various subject areas — Music and Sound, Drama, Science, Painting, etc. — but more importantly, relating all this to the natural interest and fantasising of the children.

I suppose any idea might be made to work in this way, but experience suggests that some ideas have more potential than others. Those I have included in the charts are some that students have found useful in the past, and which seem to appeal to children of this age. Other such subjects are:

Costume Discoveries

Journeys Heroes and Heroines

Adventures Fantastic
Ships Sound
The Universe Time

The Future Motor Cars Food Our Town

Flight The Environment

Space Folklore
Sound The Past
Buildings Legends
Work Dreams
Exploration Sports
Trees Machines

Countries Fabulous Island

InventionsToysStoriesColoursMovementHumourSongsHorsesMythsWild West

New Worlds Magical Creatures

Memories Mysteries.

Ghots People As with anthologies, of course, teachers eventually make their own collection of ideas and develop their own strategies for putting them into operation.

Finally, I would like to say that it is very important not to forget the potential in all this for fun. This is why I have offered a flow chart of Crazy Ideas. But, of course, there is reason even in this, in that the creative process itself needs and thrives on the irrelevant, the bizarre, the impossible as well as on the rational, the ordered and the sequential. Anyway, there should be some fun.

General Book List

A Word about anthologies. I have made reference to a wide selection of anthologies in the hope that some at least of the poems, stories and extracts I have recommended will be available to the teacher. A number of these pieces will naturally appear in more than one anthology and in most cases I have indicated where this is so. Books go out of print but copies are still to be found in many schools, so as well as giving more up-to-date references I have retained some of the earlier ones on the assumption that students and teachers will still have access to those books in College Libraries and School cupboards.

Anthologies, etc.

DP	(Hamish Hamilton)
BS	Bandstand, Barry Maybury (Offord)
BSH	Blue Story House David Jackson and Dennis

BSH Blue Story House, David Jackson and Dennis Pepper (Oxford)

BW Bandwaggon, Barry Maybury (Oxford)

CDS Come Down and Startle, Jeffrey Aldridge (Oxford)
DT Drums and Trumpets,, Leonard Clarke (Bodley Head)

FBNV Faber Book of Nursery Verse, Barbara Ireson (Faber)

THW

GSH	Gren Story House, David Jackson and Dennis Pepper (Oxford)
H	Happenings, Wollman and Grugeon (Harrap)
HJ	Harrap Junior Book of Modern Verse, Wollman and Grugeon
ILTP	I Like this Poem (Chosen by Children), Ed. Kaye Webb (Puffin)
JV	Junior Voices I-IV, Geoffrey Summerfield (Penguin)
MGR	Merry Go Round, James Reeves (Heinemann)
MW	My World (Poems from Living Language), Ed. Joan Griffiths (BBC)
OB	An Anthology of Verse for Children I-IV, James Britton (Oxford)
OBP	Oxford Book of Poetry, Edward Blishen
OBS	The Oxford Book of Stories For Juniors I-IV, James Britton
POCO	Poet's Corner, Barbara Ireson (Nelson)
P	Poems, Michael Harrison Christopher Stuart-Clark (Oxford)
PdM	Poems, Walter de la Mare (Puffin)
PL	Poetry and Life I-IV, Nora Grisenthwaite (Schofield and Sims)
PMV	Puffin Book of Magic Verse, Charles Causley
PQ	Puffin Quartet of Poets
RSH	Red Story House, David Jackson and Dennis Pepper (Oxford)
RR	Rhyme and Rhythm (Red, Blue, Green and Yellow), Gibson and Wilson (Macmillan)
SSV	Puffin Book of Salt Sea Verse, Charles Causley
TC	Touchstones I and II, M.G. and P. Benton (English Universities Press)
TH	Thoughtshapes, Barry Maybury (Oxford)

 $Thoughtweavers, \ Barry \ Maybury \ (Oxford)$

TW Tree in the Wood I-IV, O'Malley and Thompson (Chatto)

TWD This Way Delight, Herbert Read (Faber)

V Voices I-IV, Geoffrey Summerfield (Penguin)

WS Wordscapes, Barry Maybury (Oxford)

YI Young Impact I and II, Poole and Shepherd (Heinemann)

YSH Yellow Story House, David Jackson and Dennis Pepper (OXford)

Course Books

Passwords (Books I to IV plus Introductory Book), James Rose and Peter Young (Oliver and Boyd)

Poems for Writing (I and II), Sheila Lane and Marion Kemp (Blackie)

Expression (I to VI), Sybil Marshall (Hart Davis)

Ideas and Young Ideas, Edward Ramsbottom (Macmillan)

Penguin Primary Project, A range of books and records—this is no longer published, but still tobe found in college libraries.

Books for Teachers

So many useful books have come onto the market since this was first published, that it would take pages to list them all, but here are a few which students have found particularly helpful, together with one or two old stallwarts:

EW The Excitement of Writing, A.B. Clegg (Chato)

PC Poems by Children 1956-61, Michael Baldwin (Routeledge)

LCW Let the Children Write, Margaret Langdon (Longman)

YWYR Young Writers Young Readers, Boris Ford (Hutchinson)

Mirror Poems, William Worthy (Ginn)

Images Teachers' Book to Wordscapes, etc.), Barry Maybury (Oxford)

An Approach to Creative Writing in the Junior School, Sheila Lane and Marion Kemp

Teaching Children English, Cedric Cullingford (Ward Lock)

Seeing to the Heart, Marie Peel (Chatto)

Where's That Poem? Helen Morris (Blackwell)

Does it Have to Rhyme: Teaching Children to Write Poetry, Sandy Brownjohn (Hodder and Stoughton)

Children and Themes, Alan Lynsky (Oxford)

An Introduction to Words and Music, Lawrence and Montgomery (Longmans)

Creative Expression in the Primary School, Peter Dixon (Blackwell)

Children Solve Problems, Edward de Bono (Penguin)

A World Book of Children's Games, Arnold Arnold (Macmillan)

Ounce, Dice, Trice, Alastair Reid (Dent)

Puffin Joke Book, Bronnie Cunningham and Quentin Blake (Puffin)

And particularly:

Children as Writers (Award-Winning entries from the W.H. Smith Children's Literary Competition) Heinemann) — this is in future to be called Young Writers.

TEACHER ASSESSMENT

Introduction

This chapter and the next are particularly concerned with the scope and impact of the assessment initiatives that have been brought about by the 1988 Education Reform Act. Highly visible to all sectors of society — be they teachers or consumers — the requirements of the national assessment programme must be rated as one of the most

controversial of the Government initiatives. The high-profile debates about technique and manageability that characterized the introduction of standardized assessment captured, as far as education was concerned, an unprecedented degree of media attention. Rather less generally visible, but arguably just as important, were the significant numbers of new obligations that were placed on teachers in relation to making, recording and reporting assessments more generally.

In what follow we shall briefly review the evidence on how the teachers in our study saw assessment before the impact of National Curriculum assessment. We will then explore the nature and significance of the changes the have impacted on them in this respect.

As in the other chapters of this book that deal with the impact of various different aspects of the legislation, our attempt to explain the changes in teachers' assessment practice that this chapter documents will be informents by the key themes of power, values and understanding. More specifically, these themes translate into issue concerning what assessment is (understanding), how it may most profitably be used to promote learning (values) and who should decide on the purpose, nature and use of assessment (power).

As indicated in other chapter, we shall argue that the principal dimension of change in relation to assessment which brings together many of the tensions concerning understanding, values and power, is the shift from provisional to categoric assessment, from assessments that are essentially intuitive and idiosyncratic to assessments that are explicit and based on a common language of achievement.

How Did Teachers Approach Assessment Before the Education Reform Act?

Until the advent of the 1988 Education Reform Act relatively little research had been conducted on assessment

in primary schools and little had been written for teachers to support their professional practice. Why was there such an apparent lack of interest in primary school assessment?

Certainly, part of the explanation lies in the fact that with the demise of the 11 plus in most areas in the 1960s, most primary schools no longer had to grapple with formal assessment requirements. Not only did they no longer have to prepare children for formal tests, they were not required to provide formal written reports for parents. Indeed, one of the effects of post-Plowden, child-centred, ideologies was to provide a rationale for a very different approach to pupil assessment. Thus, to motivate children and as a basis for communicating with parents, assessment was seen as a much more intuitive, holistic and informed procedure. Previously, the teacher would have been likely to communicate with pupils through a statement of marks awarded for work in different subjects and would have used the same explicit form of communication to report to parents. However, with the advent of more child-centred ideologies such evaluative insights were increasing communicated to pupils and their parents in the form of descriptive comments referenced to the teacher's overall assessment of the child's intellectual capability, behaviour and application.

As Sharp and Green (1975) argued in their classic study, such holistic evaluative judgements were further related to the known personal circumstances of the child, especially ethnicity and home background, to provide the basic information for an individualized pedagogy. The PACE study has confirmed he findings of previous studies (e.g. Ashton et al., 1975; Broadfoot and Osborn, 1993), which showed that English Primary teachers' professional ideologies are centred typically on providing learning experiences that meet the emotional, as well as the intellectual, needs and interests of the individual child. This ability to interpret pupil behaviour in relation to existing assessments of a pupil's strengths and weaknesses,

needs and interests, and to make pedagogic decisions accordingly, has arguably become a central element of professional competence in the contemporary English Primary classroom.

This broad background to the current programme of change highlights a number of points that are helpful in interpreting the progress and significance of assessment developments in primary schools. First, we can note that primary teachers' existing views of and practices concerning assessment are explicitly ideological, reflecting the broader professional ideology held by the teacher. This of course, as embraces their approach to curriculum and pedagogy as well. Second, it is apparent that the teaching of primary age children is not *inevitably* associated with a particular ideological approach. This is made clear by the experience of countries in which both teaching and assessment are much more formal in content than has been the case in England. For instance, it is significant that the French Government's current concern to make teachers more responsive to the differing learning needs of children is manifest in a nationally imposed comprehensive programme of diagnostic assessment.

In this chapter we explore further some of the issues raised above. We report findings concerning how the teachers in our study saw the role of assessment, how they used it and what they perceived to be its effects on children. Many of these findings are drawn from conversations and observations with the teachers involved in our detailed classroom studies. Others are drawn from interviews with teachers in our larger sample of 48 schools.

How Did Teachers See Assessment at the Time of Our Study?

When asked what role they felt assessment ought to play in infant classrooms, teachers' responses were structured around three main dimensions: frequency, purpose and mode. In terms of *frequency*, all the teachers who took part in our detailed classroom studies stressed the need for assessment (and associated feedback) to be continuous and immediate — part of the on-going dialogue of teaching. Many of the teachers adopted a constructivist view of learning and talked of the continuous, intuitive, diagnostically orientated mental process they 'had always used.'

It's an integral part of the process of teaching.

I think that it should be diagnostic, I think it should be the teacher's way of carrying the child from A to B, noting whether you have to go from A to A1, A2, A3 before you get to B. Note whether you can skip over C because the child is good and go on to D and to record that somewhere, whether it be an internal school record informally with other colleagues that can help you and then later on to pass that informational on to the next teacher, to discuss with parents how they can help if you feel that something external might be influencing what's happening in school, but purely diagnostically because the children are assessed externally. They have their reading tests, their maths test and I think that's sufficient. In terms of purpose, the emphasis was on needing to assess in order to make pedagogic decisions. 'We've always been assessing. As teachers we need to assess in order to know where to go next.... now it's written down on paper you feel more constrained.' This clear emphasis on assessment to inform teaching decisions was associated with the antipathy felt by many teachers towards National Curriculum assessment. Their essentially informal, holistic approach was contrasted with what was perceived to be the reductionist requirements of 'ticking boxes' associated with National Curriculum assessment. The latter was seen as making assumptions about the 'established' nature of knowledge, with which may teachers could not agree.

The *mode* of assessment most often mentioned was a mental record. Perhaps the most extreme representation

of this approach was those teachers who were unable to describe their approach to assessment.

I think we just take that for granted — 1 don't know that I've ever questioned that aspect of it.

I'd have said [assessment shouldn't have] a very big role, mainly because you've got so many other things to cope with; assessment needs to be something that should come later.

Implicit in these responses concerning the three headings of frequency, purpose and mode is a continuum of practice. At one end are those teachers for whom assessment is almost entirely an explicited, almost unconscious, integral part of the process of decision-making on which their teaching is based. It is implicit in their work. At the other end of the continuum are those teachers who are increasingly explicitly making a conscious and active distinction between this constant intuitive evaluation and feed-back relationship and the quite separate activity of recording evidence for later use in reporting and accountability.

Interviews with Year 2 teachers in 1991 produced a very similar picture to those conducted in 1990, when our cohort of target pupils was in Year 1. However, the same strong stress on holistic, intuitive, informal monitoring was increasingly contrasted with the formal, explicit, externally imposed, detached assessment which for them was associated with the National Curriculum. One other noticeable difference of emphasis was the addition of an *affective* element in the identification of assessment purposes. Several teachers mentioned the role of assessment as a source of encouragement for pupils as well as of guidance for themselves. For instance:

Every time a child brings a piece of work up I do make sure that I read it, read it with them, or they read it to me and then if there's anything there that is to do with language, to do with spelling, to do with organization, I'll draw it out of them hen and there. I mean, spellings hit me immediately, I notice them, straight away and if I can use something that's a howling mistake with all of the children, for instance the spelling of 'ou' sounds we were doing this week. So many were putting the spelling of 'ow' or whatever, then I'll draw that out for the whole class. But I suppose in time — I'm not sure — I don't often accept the piece of work as it is, I'll always try and make some constructive comment about that piece of work. Either 'Yes, that's lovely handwriting, that's very neat, you've really worked hard on that' or 'Can you see what mistake you've made with this?' So there is an assessment going on with every piece of work.

In teacher's minds there would appear to be a clear distinction between assessment that is quite explicitly carried out to promote the learner's confidence and motivation, by providing reinforcement and enjoyment for the child, and assessment for diagnostic purposes. Such diagnosis of progress made may be further divided into general curriculum evaluation, for example collecting up a list of words that the class as a whole is spelling wrongly and setting them as the spellings to be learnt for the week, and individual curriculum evaluation, which might lead to teaching of the specific words that a particular child was finding difficult.

Another difference noticeable in the 1991 responses was the growing feeling of assessment pressure reported by teachers as the combined effects of the children growing older and the increasing implementation of national assessment made themselves felt. This was well described by one teacher, who used a 'trick box.' This was a box into which the children put their work when they had finished it and/or at the end of the session. The teacher then checked the work later.

I have a cursory glance at it, and if I've noted 'Oh dear that is wrong' then I will deal with that child. If it's right, then I give them a little praise and then it's on to the next task. If it is really good, I'll try and spend a minute (well it's not a minute, I would reckon it's about

fifteen seconds if you actually timed it) of praise, but then it goes in the tick box. At one time I would read through every essay with the child, every story and make the discussions. I'd try and do that with each child once a week, you know, read through their story with them—correct punctuation, discuss punctuation, etc. — and now the work goes in the box and I have to look at it at home. Each night I take the box home and I assess what I see. Now I would have done that anyway with children, but with them, and discuss it with them.... But I can't now because the tasks that I've set myself to do have taken time away from that. So the child hasn't got that reflective feedback on their work; I'm going to somehow try and do a reflective period where I gather all the files together and I actually look through them with them I'm going to try and fit that in, I don't know when, but I'd like to try, so that we can get, perhaps once a week if I did three files, and we look through them and we could reflect that way on, you know, the past half-term's work.

Like many other respondents, this teacher was being forced to move from her preferred professional approach in which assessment involved constant monitoring coupled with immediate feedback to the child, to a situation in which she felt she had 'lost that sitting back and looking time.' She felt that assessment was now more time-consuming but less valuable because its emphasis — on the greater externalization of information — was different.

It was thus possible to identify a number of contrasting features in the assessment practices operated in the primary schools we studied — features that articulated with the constructed and established dimensions of knowledge and learning.

Of course, in one sense assessment is an integral part of the second-by-second process of teacher decision-making in classroom. These decisions are informed by concerns such as the management of the classroom, discipline, keeping children's attention, intellectual extension and the need to encourage effort and motivation, and then filtered through each teachers' specific set of judgements about the current state of achievement for each child. There was some evidence that this detailed, intuitive assessment process, was which largely occurred in the past without the and of an explicit language of objectives, being facilitated by the provision of the detailed learning targets embodied in the National Curriculum because of the provision of a language for thinking about and communicating such decisions. As one teacher put it,

If they're doing specific activities as part of the National Curriculum work, if I've perhaps asked them, for example, to write a story about something to do some sequencing work in story form, then I'd obviously be trying to assess whether they're achieving writing simple words on their own or whether they are beginning to write in sentences, or sequencing their story in a logical way, so I'm making those sorts of assessments as we go along, so that I know the kind of work to give them next and the kind of help they're going to need to move on to the next stage.

This comment is much more structured in terms of specific curriculum targets than most teachers' comments about their assessment. In fact, assessment was typically described in a rather general way; for example, correcting mistakes, completing the work set following instruction or demonstrating certain work-related social skills. However, it is worth emphasizing that the issue of *what* is assessed came across as much less important than the 'how' and 'why' of assessment in teacher's responses.

How Did Teachers Respond to the New Classroom Assessment Requirements?

The PACE study of the impact of national assessment began in mid-1090, when the first SATs for Key Stage 1 were about to be piloted and teachers were just beginning to implement assessment in relation to National Curriculum attainment targets. Interview data generated at this stage showed that many of the teachers' reactions were based on both their experience of the National Curriculum to date and their anticipation of the changes to come. When they were asked, 'How do you feel the needs of your pupils relate to the requirements of the National Curriculum?' teachers' spontaneous comments in 1990 included 24 per cent who felt the teacher assessment procedures were useful and relevant, against 76 per cent who felt that it was the assessment procedures in particular that were unrealistic and time-consuming.

In view of the contrast between the assessment requirements of the National Curriculum and the preferred approach to assessment that characterised our teachers, it is not surprising that changes in assessment and record keeping combined to produce a large source of changes in classroom practices. In 1992 these changes were mentioned by 44 per cent of teachers — as against the content of the curriculum, which was mentioned by 58 per cent. Although the physical constraints of the environment, the size of the class and pupil characteristics were identified as the major constraints on teaching approaches, in 1990 in the early stages in national assessment implementation, 22, per cent of teachers identified assessment as a source of constraint on their teaching approach, and this rose to 25 per cent in 1992.

Of the changes teachers had experienced, more record keeping had far and away the most significant impact, with 60 per cent of teachers remarking on the way it had changed their work. Meanwhile an increase in assessment (33 per cent) and changes in curriculum content (34 per cent) were perceived as broadly equal sources of change. However, by 1992, these feelings had changed to emphasize changes in teaching methods (45 per cent) and curriculum content (40 per cent) rather than assessment (18 per cent). The emphasis appeared to change with the implementation phases of the legislation and with the ebb and flow of public debate. More generally, although nearly 47 per cent of teachers were broadly positive about the changes they

were making in their own classrooms in relation to the National Curriculum, 30 per cent disliked those associated with assessment. In an attempt to identify the precise nature of these changes, we asked teachers in our larger sample to describe the approaches to assessment that they typically use and any changes in this respect of which they were conscious. Marking of written work, by contrast, was frequently practised, particularly by 1992, with the emphasis on doing it with the child, often with some tick, 'smiley face' or message to provide personal reinforcement and encouragement. This collaborative approach was also in evidence in the use by 32 per cent of teachers in 1990 and 44 per cent in 1992 of some form of pupil self-assessment, which typically involved the children with the teacher or with each other discussing their work and assessing its quality. In a few cases the use of self-assessment was more formalized. One school, for example, had a school policy of children self-assessing their topic work and undertaking an annual self-assessment. Listening to children was, not surprisingly, frequently practised, through the impact of the National Curriculum on this seems to have been variable. Some teachers in 1990 felt they had less time for this very important area than before, others that the obligation to formalize the assessment of children's listening and speaking had transformed listening and speaking from being simply an assessment vehicle into an assessment focus. In some cases this was felt to be good because it justified and systematized something that had always been done; in other cases teachers found such assessment very difficult and resented it.

Discussion and review were widely practised, both with individuals and with the class as a whole. One example involved children being invited to talk about their work to the class at the end of a topic. Another was for the children to plan daily activities with the teacher, set targets and review whether these had been achieved at the end of the day. Some respondents mentioned explicitly that standards had improved as a result of this approach.

In 1990 many teachers planned to implement more changes in the future, with 22 per cent mentioning in this respect such assessment procedures as developing the skills of listening to children more conscientiously. Changes in methods of recording achievement were anticipated by 17 per cent of teachers. Reference was also made to assessing more curriculum areas separately from each other than hitherto, to assessing personal and social dimensions and to cross-curricular assessment.

Some respondents felt that their teaching had changed in response to assessment requirements. Becoming clearer about teaching objectives was mentioned, as was the need to pose problems for children at different levels of achievement. There was some evidence of the impact of new assessment practices on relationships, with teachers giving more attention to talking with children and their parents. This was partly to help gather more information but was also associated with teachers using the assessment process to clarify learning goals with children, to provide reinforcement and encouragement and to set individual learning targets. A very formalized example of this was in relation to one LEA's primary language record, which required teachers to interview every child and their parents regularly so that a contract between teacher and parents could be drawn up and used as the basis for on-going comment by both. However, some teachers were unhappy with this kind of formalization, feeling that, as one teacher put it,

Teachers get the feel of children and just know things. It's not always necessary to assess formally.... it should be on-going without tests.... just general... Teachers should be assessing and have always continually assessed to know what to do next and when to move into new work. It's the breaking down of subjects that makes a huge workload.

The tension between what can be seen both as encouragement to greater structure, discipline and

accountability in assessment under the legislation and as its manifestation as undesirable, time-consuming, bureaucratic paper-pushing was quite marked. It was a tension that characterised many other aspects of the Education Reform Act's provision, since it reflected the changing balance of power between teachers and the Government. By far the most commonly perceived pressure, predictably, was that of time. For one respondent, assessment that used to take place at the end of a term or year had been replaced by regular assessments of different things for different groups throughout the year. Another found she had to set aside one week at the end of each half-term for assessment. Others mentioned the need to cut corners; for example, their attempts to formalize observation of particular tasks.

There was thus some evidence at the beginning of the project in 1990 of teachers beginning to use assessment creatively to support learning according to the diagnostic and formative purposes of the Government's Task Group on Assessment and Testing (TGAT) Report (Des. 1988). Teachers were stimulated to experiment with creative new approaches to assessment as it moved increasingly centre stage in professional development and as in-service training programmes were mounted by local education authorities. Such approaches were often characterised by collaborative approaches to assessment involving pupils and parents, and by the use of a wide range of techniques for gathering and storing evidence of attainment. At the same time, such developments did not appear to reflect widespread enthusiasm for change, set as they were against a background of essentially reluctant acquescence and generally low morale.

How Did Teachers Respond to Record Keeping Requirements?

Many of the changes in record keeping practice echoed those identified in relation to assessment techniques. The virtually ananimous view among teachers that record keeping had increased was variously explained by the need to develop and try out different methods and forms, the need for careful curriculum planning and evaluation to ensure full coverage of the appropriate attainment targets, and the extension of records to cover subjects, such as science, not hitherto the subject of records.

In 1990 the picture that emerged was a teachers spending a considerable amount of time devising and completing their own records or completing records imposed on them from outside, such as from their LEA. Much of this work was carried out in teachers' own time and against a background of anxiety or even panic about how to do it, guilt about not doing it well enough, cynicism about its potential value for pupils' learning and resentment about being made to feel inadequate. The words of one respondent ably summarized this feeling: 'All these changes make you feel that unless you're good at documentation in the National Curriculum, you can't be a very good teacher.'

Equally striking was the enormous variety of records being used. Subject records were mainly centred on science, maths and English, with more than one record being used for some subjects, such as an 'at a glance' record and a more detailed 'broken down' record in maths or an oracy, reading and general record in English. A number of respondents mentioned their use, or anticipated use, of 'profiles' and records of achievement, particularly in terms of keeping children's work for later review and discussion with them and their parents.

The theme of time recurred consistently in the responses:

I could be doing it all the time.

It stops you spending time teaching.

You have to spend your own time dealing with it.

We're making a big effort to keep it up.

I feel guilty.... I should do more but I've no more time.

The concern was undoubtedly exacerbated by a general lack of *confidence* among teachers that they were doing

what would be required centrally in terms of recording or what would be demanded of them by parents, and by the lack of value they perceived the records to have.

But staff are still not recording in enough detail to meet the requirements. We have a reading record book and individual records to take home, brief evaluation of individuals in the weekly planning book and each child has a pupil profile book.

Well, if children learn the National Curriculum in terms of following improved attainment targets and the levels... If I'd been doing it I'd know exactly what they'd been doing but they don't. And no amount of writing it down like that will actually tell me.

We always have assessed — now we're filling in tick sheets.

While the conduct of such assessment may have become easier with the passage of time and growing familiarity, this seems to have done nothing to reduce teacher's resentment and frustration at the amount of time they were having to spend on procedures for which they did not see a value. The key to understanding these feelings does not entirely appear to be concern about parental pressure or even worry about the direct effects of assessment on pupils. Although more that half the teachers interviewed in 1992 thought that the National Curriculum was exerting a negative influence on teacher-pupil relations — a figure almost double that of two years earlier — very few teachers (9 per cent) identified assessment directly as a factor in this respect. Equally, almost as many teachers identified an increased emphasis on partnership with parents as reported an increase in the requirement for assessment information.

Rather, the major source of teachers' resentment is hinted at by the response to a question that required teachers to identify their own strengths as a teacher. Whereas 61 per cent mentioned curriculum-related skills in this respect in 1992, only 2 per cent mentioned assessment. While many curriculum-related skills may in practice include many of the intuitive and individualized assessment decisions referred to above, it is clear that very few teachers regarded the overt and deliberate assessment that was required by the introduction of the National Curriculum as something that was part of their own professional competence.

Equally revealing in this respect were teacher's 1990 replies to an open-ended question ('What does professional responsibility mean for you as a teacher or head teacher?') that had been included in an initial postal questionnaire to all teachers in the sample. Although responsibility in relation to assessment and evaluation was mentioned spontaneously by a relatively small proportion of the sample (16 per cent) as compared to, for example, relationships with colleagues (47 per cent) and teaching approach (39 per cent), this represents a significant increase on the answers to a similar question, which was asked as part of the Bristaix project in 1985. In that study only 7 per cent of English primary school teachers included assessment as an explicit element in their conception of their professional responsibility.

So far, this chapter has addressed questions concerning teachers' responses to the new assessment and recording obligations that the Education Reform Act imposed. In summary, the picture that emerged over the three years of the project showed much greater emphasis on formal assessment and record keeping; some considerable resentment at the time demands and the perceived unnecessary formalization of much assessment work; fears about the potential impact of intrusive assessment and recording procedures on teaching-learning processes; and concerns about relationships with parents and the pupils themselves. At the same time there was some evidence of the beginning of a more positive phase of development in the use of assessment, as teachers' growing confidence and

knowledge allowed them to mediate external requirements towards more professionally acceptable ends.

What Did Pupils Understand About Assessment?

To explore only from the teacher's point of view the significance of the momentous changes that have been taking place in infant classrooms would be to miss the opportunity to explore the even more important question of the impact of such developments on pupils. How infant teachers' preferred intuitive approach to assessment affected pupils' learning, and the significance of increasingly explicit assessment and reporting procedures in his respect, are questions that are of central importance in any attempt to research the significance of the 1988 Education Reform Act.

Unfortunately, however, whereas a considerable body of research exists concerning the apparent impact of different pedagogic and curriculum strategies in primary classrooms, there is a lack of equivalent base-line research in relation to assessment. We simply do not know how different assessment practices impact on children's learning in primary classrooms. Moreover, we lack a conceptual framework that would help to identify the key variables with which to address this issue. Thus, before we turn to an examination of the possible effects of National Curriculum assessment it is appropriate to examine in a little more detail what our data had to say about pupils' awareness of, and reaction to, assessment.

Given that, as we have seen classroom assessment in primary schools has rarely been explicit, it was not possible to enquire directly of such young pupils in a meaningful way. Rather we asked a series of more indirect questions of the 54 pupils whom we observed as part of our detailed classroom studies in 1990 and again in 1991. These questions were designed to address the more tangible sources of pleasure or anxiety of which a pupil might be aware in relation to assessment interactions such as 'Do you like it

when your teacher asks to look at your book?" In both 1990 and 1992, over half the children gave positive answers to the question. Among the main reasons children gave for feeling 'good' were so that they could go on to something else, because they got a reward — a smiley face or a sticker — or because they felt pride and satisfaction. As some of them put it,

I feel good because I can get it over with and go on to something else.

It's good because I've done good work and she's pleased with me and I get a sticker like this.

I feel OK — proud of myself.

Because I can find out if I've done it right.

Yes, 'cos she might mark all of them right. When she ticks them, I feel like doing three more pages.

The main negative reasons given were not waiting to do the task again or fears of being told off or not being praised:

Because I'll never be super.

I doesn't want the teacher to look at it.

In case I have to do it again.

I worry in case it's wrong.

The mixed responses expressed sentiments such as 'I like the teacher to look at my work if it's good but not if it's bad.' Significantly, these pupils appeared unable to predict what the outcome was likely to be on any given occasion. Thus their responses combined both pleasure at having the teacher's attention and anxiety because the work might be wrong. Most children clearly liked, and actively sought, teacher praise. Indeed, they seemed to depend on it to regulate their own pace of learning and appeared to have little capacity to judge this for themselves. There thus appeared to be a tension for many pupils between wanting attention in order to receive praise and to get the necessary curriculum guidance, and wanting to avoid possible censure for not following instructions or having to repeat tasks:

Sometimes, because sometimes I rush a bit and sometimes I take my time. I like it when I've done it really neat and tidy and keep within the lines.

Quite happy because sometimes she sends us to other teachers and they give us smiley faces and stars.

Sometimes I do and sometimes I don't Because it's not very good sometimes, but sometimes it's quite good.... When it's good, I feel quite nice and when it's not good I feel sad. I don't want to get shouted at.

Yes, when I done it wrong, I feel upset and when I done it right, I feel happy.

There was no apparent difference between the schools studied in this respect or between boys and girls.

When asked, 'Does it matter if you don't do things the way your teacher wants them,?' the children responded in two different ways. Some cited educational reasons why it mattered, such as 'Otherwise you won't learn anything.' Others cited extrinsic reasons, such as the need to avoid getting told off! However, in both years, 70 per cent of children recognized the need to follow the teacher's requirements and instructions. The majority cited educational reasons for this: Yes, it matters — she tells instructions. If you don't follow you don't learn.' A significant number referred to potential teacher disapproval: 'Yes, otherwise you get told off.' The reaction of this group to the question thus depended somewhat on whether they thought the teacher would be cross — perhaps because they had been messing about — or would understand and be tolerant of mistakes:

Yes. If you do it wrong, you have to start all over again and it wastes time and we get told off.

No, she rubs it out and she says, 'I know you listened quite well, but you got it wrong.' Once the whole class got it wrong.

From the previous discussion of teachers' attitudes to assessment, we may deduce that the ways in which teachers react to individual pupils in these circumstances would have been governed by their assessment of what was likely to be most constructive and appropriate in leading to better work from each individual pupil.

A few children responded to the question in a way that reflected very clear views of themselves as learners, and their relationship with the teacher as one in which they accepted their teacher's power unconditionally. For example:

I haven't tried it [not doing things the way the teacher wants them] so don't know what it's like.

I always do it right.

In summary, it appeared that children perceived the assessment interaction of the classroom in terms of three issues:

- task management knowing what to do and/or not being fund out if the task was incorrectly done;
- affect pleasure at receiving praise and pain at being told off;
- intellectual being told what educational tasks to engage in next.

This analysis of children's understanding of assessment purposes is in line with the analysis of Mavrommatis (1993) concerning assessment in Greek primary classrooms, in which he identifies *teachers*' use of assessment as spanning three main dimensions: the psychological (affect), the intellectual (cognitive guidance) and the managerial (behaviour). Interestingly, children's understanding of these various facets of assessment were also reflected in their interpretation of why some children do better than others. The children were asked: 'Why do some children do better at school work than others?

How Did the Classroom Assessment Requirements of the Education Reform Act Impact on Pupils?

Our data suggest that the advent of National Curriculum assessment, with its emphasis on explicit learning targets and overt assessment criteria, is transforming the assessment culture and its associated language. Although the children themselves are too young for it to be possible vet to make any such comparison from their point of view, some testimony to this is provided by interviews with teachers in our classroom study schools. Asked if they thought the National Curriculum and its assessment were raising children's awareness of differences in achievement, most teachers thought that children, even at the infant school, had always been aware of differences in their levels of achievement. However, teachers felt that young children were unconcerned about such differences because they were not aware of their meaning and significance in the way that older children would be. Although there was some feeling among teachers that SATs, in particular, would make even infants more aware in this respect, teachers largely felt they could protect children from such pressure through praise for efforts made and by recognizing alternative achievements. The majority of the teachers questioned did not feel that National Curriculum assessment had yet significantly changed the classroom climate. However, most teachers felt that the constraints of reporting children's achievement in the controlled format of the new requirements would prevent them from showing a genuinely individual and hence diagnostic picture of a child's different achievements. Only one teacher described the benefits of having a clear structure on which to base curriculum coverage, diagnosis and progression.

Asked about their strategies for minimizing such effects, teachers mentioned the use of praise for alternative achievements, planning the curriculum to embrace children's particular perceived talents, adjusting tasks to facilitate pupil success and explaining differences in attainment by giving non-threatening reasons, such as age. The use of these strategies was reflected in the pupils' explanations discussed earlier. One teacher mentioned grouping by 'ability' so that the differences were not obvious — at least with the groups. However, it is significant that teachers did not always find it easy to articulate their strategies in this

respect. For some, their responses to individual pupils appeared to be part of more intuitive behaviour in which assessment activity was implicit.

Although it is too early in our longitudinal study to characterize the impact of new assessment procedures on pupils, the above data do enable us to be a little clearer about the key dimensions of assessment activity in primary classrooms. Assessment activity may usefully be regarded as a form of language that allows for the communication of evaluative messages between teacher and pupil. It thus contributes to a given classroom's culture, in which particular symbolic forms are imbued with evaluative meaning for those interacting within it. We may hypothesize that pupil's capacity first to *understand* the way in which such cultures operate and subsequently to learn to *operate* successfully within it is likely to influence their future success as pupils (Filer, 1994).

Conclusion

In this chapter we have suggested that, in the infant classroom prior to the 1988 Education Reform Act, the particular value system informing teachers' evaluations of pupils and their work was likely to have been unclear both to the teacher herself and to her pupils. For many teachers this value system was typically bound up with their more general professional ideology about the task of teaching and about how children learn.

As far as assessment is concerned, we have seen that this ideology was structured in terms of teachers' understanding of the *mode*, *purpose* and *frequency* of assessment. For teachers who could be described as having constructivist views of knowledge and learning, such understanding has been characterized as an approach to assessment that was intuitive and continuous with the central purpose of providing instructional feeding, which the Education Reform Act has brought, involved teachers developing their assessment repertoire considerably. As

well as the diagnostic and formative assessment activity in which they had always engaged, teachers were now required to undertake summative and evaluative assessment, which emphasized the explicit categorization of pupils' achievement.

The dislike of many teachers for this requirement was not simply because it meant an increase in their workload or required skills that they did not feel they had. Rather their resistance was rooted in an objection to the use of the coercive power of the law to impose on teachers the obligation to operationalise a different set to understandings concerning the role of assessment in primary schooling. This conflict of understanding in turn reflected a fundamental challenge to the values typically held by primary school teachers concerning how children can best be helped to learn, and the particular role of assessment in this respect.

We have suggested in this chapter that before the advent of national assessment requirements, assessment was typically not a separate domain of activity but part of a broad web of professional strategies. We have described how these strategies are constantly being manipulated by teachers in the light of their on-going judgements about appropriate interventions to meet the intellectual, emotional or behavioural needs either of individual pupils or of the class as a whole. As teachers have begun to respond, in various ways, to the challenge of formalizing the assessment process. it is becoming clear that a more refined model of the relationship between educational ideology and teachers' assessment practice is needed.

Of particular interest here is the model of Mac-Callum et al. (1993), which identifies three distinct types of teacher approach to assessment within the National Curriculum. MacCallum et al. contrast 'critical intuitives' whose child-centred approach leads them to concentrate on the 'whole child' in their assessment; the 'evidence gatherers' for whom assessment is largely a periodic, summative activity to provide an evidential record of judgements made; and the

'systematic planners,' more or less overt in their approach to assessment, who deconstruct the issue of achievement I tom any interpretive context.

The spectrum of increasingly deliberate and explicit data gathering and interpretation on the part of teachers as identified by MacCallum et al., accords with the finding reported in this chapter concerning the salience of timing. purpose and mode as defining variables in assessment practice. Perhaps more difficult ot represent are the differences in understanding concerning how children learn and the nature of knowledge. Such conceptions incorporte a complex mixture of more or less clearly thought-through view concerning how pedagogy, classroom organization, curriculum materials and, not least, assessment should be arranged to facilitate learning. At one extreme is what we introduced as the 'elementary ideological tradition in primary education, with its conception of education as the initiation of children into a corpus of established knowledge. This ideology is readily associated with both didactic pedagogy and the carrot and stick approach to assessment, with its emphasis on competition and sanctions. At the other extreme is the developmental ideological tradition, with its conception of education as the provision of a curriculum ladder individual to each child. Teacher intervention is designed to support learners in constructing pogressively higher levels of knowledge and understanding.

Most teachers' ideology is likely to be a mixture of these different elements, and their practice will be informed by a mixture of pragmatism and habit as well as educational philosophy. By the same token, assessment practice is likely to reflect a similar mixture of influences. The value of such models is thus not to provide for the 'mapping' of individual practice but rather to reinforce the importance of the relationship between teachers' views and practice of assessment and their more general professional understanding. It is only with such an appreciation that the true significance of the conflict between the Government

and teachers, to which the imposition of national assessment has led, can fully be understood. In terms of each of our analytic themes of power, values and understanding, the challenge of national assessment could hardly be more fundamental. In this chapter and the next, we describe the ways in which teachers are adjusting to these requirements and incorporating them into both their practices. In reporting these changes the most significant question in terms of the overall purpose of the PACE study must be the extent to which teachers were finding it possible to integrate national assessment requirements within their professional practice. Did this reflect a change in their educational values and understandings? Or did it reflect a change in the values and understandings implicit in national assessment itself, as these were originally conceived, in the process of its realization in the classroom? On the answer to this question will rest not only the outcomes we may predict from the imposition of national assessment per se. Given that the assessment requirements of the Education Reform Act arguably represent the most explicit expression of the ideology on which it is based and the most powerful mechanism for imposing this ideology on schools and teachers, the fate of the whole reform initiative is likely to depend on the way in which national assessment comes to be realised in practice. It is at the apex of the power struggle between the Government and the teaching profession.

At present there is little to suggest that there has been any significant change in the values informing the classroom assessment culture since the Education Reform Act. We must anticipate, however, that the pressures of the educational market, in which assessment information is the currency, may well bring about changes such as an increased emphasis on achievements that can be formally demonstrated and recorded and an associated increase in the emphasis given to competition.

With this in mind we turn to the final element in our

research, which has been, and remains, one of the most controversial of all the provisions of the 1988 Education Reform Act.

STANDARDIZED ASSESSMENT

As the preceding chapters of the book have shown, the changing balance of power between the various stakeholders in education is associated with very different understandings among these groups concerning the definition of educational quality and the most effective ways of achieving it. We have described how the changes we have studied are rooted in a very different set of social and educational values from those which have formed the basis for professional practice in English primary schools in recent decades. Thus our analysis of both how teachers felt about the changes they were experiencing and the scale and character of the changes that were actually being realized in classroom practice is permeated by our three central analytic themes of power, values and understanding. Within these broad themes the various dimensions of change, which were identified, typically centre on long-standing debates concerning educational priorities, and philosophies and the manifestation of these in different approaches to pedagogy, curriculum and school organization.

However, one of the power struggles in education of the early 1990s was particularly active. Whereas most other aspects of primary school provision had been subject to sustained and detailed scrutiny on the part of researchers, teachers and trainers, so that a very considerable range of literature existed to inform the debate about priorities and practice, the imposition of national assessment as part of the 1988 Act's requirements was much more than a change within existing practice. In requiring teachers to implement externally derived tests, and in imposing on them externally determined requirements for recording and reporting children's progress and achievement, standardised national assessment represented what was

arguably the most novel, the most coercive and the most difficult part of the 1988 Act's provisions to implement.

Whereas, as 'assessment' for primary teachers and their pupils had typically meant the informal, continuous and often intuitive process of monitoring pupils' performance and making interpretations on which to base subsequent teaching activity, national assessment procedures required them to formalize this process into one based on the explicit collection and labelling of evidence, on explicit acts of assessment and on categoric reporting of children's achievements in terms of a national scale. It is in relation to this dimension of change — from implicit and provisional assessment to explicit and categoric assessment — that the central arguments of our study are most clearly demonstrated. We found that teachers sought various ways to 'protect' their pupils where the provisions of the Act were in conflict with their professional judgement. Indeed, we found that in trying to fulfil the new obligations being placed upon them, teachers coped with an almost overwhelming burden of work, and that many of the assumptions inherent in the Act's provisions were misconceived or impractical because they were not grounded in existing practice and classroom constraints. Perhaps most important of all, we found that the ideology of dedication to children, of the commitment to doing their best for every child socially and emotionally as well as academically, which was the defining characteristic of the teachers in our study, provided the foundation for a professionalism that was not easily commanded or changed. Thus the formal assessment and reporting requirements of the Education Reform Act, which culminated in the publication of league tables of relative school performance, represented the biggest single challenge to the understanding, values and the professional power of English primary school teachers. Their boycott of the reporting of the 1993 Key Stage 1 SATs was a rare example of collective and sustained teacher resistance to the Act's provisions. As such it was the clearest possible demonstration that

the formal standardized assessment required by the Government provided a focus for the issues that were at stake for primary schools in this reform.

In what follows we first explore the reasons behind this conflict and document the ways in which teachers responded to standardised assessment requirements during the 1991 and 1992 testing rounds. Second, by means of observational data and the results of pupil interviews, we examine the impact and significance of such requirements.

These findings are based on visit to nine schools for two days during the administration of SATs in 1991 and again in 1992, together with questionnaire findings from our larger sample of 48 schools gathered at the end of the relevant summer term in each of the two years. Further data concerning the impact of the SATs were provided by means of interviews with the teachers observed and a sample of the children in each of their classrooms. Readers should note that, for this part of our study, the pupil groups studied in 1991 and 1992 were both Year 2 pupils. In what follows it will be apparent that, although there were some significant changes between 1991 and 1992, at the more fundamental level the issues remained essentially the same.

How Manageable did Teachers Find the SATs? The 1990 Pilot

The first experience of SATs was the pilot conducted by three different development consortia in summer 1990. In this study a 2 per cent sample of children was used, drawn from a sample of schools across the country. It soon became apparent that the developers had grossly overestimated the amount of testing they could reasonably expect teachers to carry out. While the teachers were rushed off their feet and worked extraordinary hours, children who were not carrying out assessment tasks tended to be given occupational work. A vivid impression of the effects was provided by Torrance (1991) in an article drawn from

letters sent to him by teachers who had been involved in the pilot. The anger and concern embodied in these statements reflected what were proven to be enduring concerns among teachers in subsequent years about the effects of the testing on children, and the fact that teachers felt required to act in ways they regarded as unprofessional, damaging and in conflict with their personal commitments and beliefs.

National Testing at Key Stage 1

The 1990 pilot SATs were followed by full-scale testing of all children in 1991. A great deals has been written about both teachers' experience with these SATs (DES, 1991b, 1992; Shorrocks et al., 1992) and the results of children in relation to the tasks (SEAC, 1991b, c; DES, 1991c). As a result of these findings some aspects of the SAT tasks and conditions were altered for the 1992 Key Stage 1 testing programme.

The 1991 Handbook of Guidance for SATs issued by SEAC suggested that 'the SAT is designed to be used by a single teacher with the resources normally available in schools' (SEAC, 1991a, p. 12) Most SATs were indeed based on activities frequently seen in infant classrooms and the resources needed were usually easily available. The great exception was time. Although SATs had been widely piloted, most teachers found that the tasks took far longer than the estimates in the *Handbook*. To give individual children and small groups the close attention needed for careful assessment, much extra support and help were needed, and unaided teachers usually found it very difficult to manage both the SAT group and the rest of the class. Virtually all the teachers we questioned reported that in 1991 the SATs caused major disruption to normal classroom practice, preventing the pursuit of normal Year 2 activities. At least half the 1991 sample felt that SATs were unmanageable.

In 1991 the average time required for SATs was

estimated at between 82 and 90 hours for planning, collecting resources, doing the assessments, marking and recording the results. Carrying out the assessments took on average 52 hours, rather than the 30 envisaged by SEAC (NUT, 1991). In some cases teachers reported that the SATs took up five weeks of three-quarters of the timetable (NPC-SW, 1991) rather than the three weeks of half a timetable envisaged by SEAC. In addition, work for the rest of the had to be prepared and planned as usual in consultation with support staff, and many class teachers felt it necessary to go through children's work in their absence. The extra workload was coupled with the additional exhaustion reported by teachers, resulting from working intensively with small groups, constantly probing, questioning and spurring the children to their greatest efforts, as well as recording. Overall it proved to be extremely exhausting for teachers.

Significance of School Support

The degree of manageability and overall teacher stress experienced by individual teachers in both the years in question is in part of at least a reflection of the degree of support received from the rest of the school by the teacher undertaking SATs.

In both 1991 and 1992 all Year 2 teachers in the PACE survey were involved in carrying out the SATs themselves, with just under half in both years being helped by the headteacher or another colleague undertaking some of the assessment. Most of the Year 2 classrooms, when studied had SATs taking place in them (88 per cent in 1991; 83 per cent in 1992), though most schools were also bale to use a separate place, such as a library or staffroom. Only 19 per cent of teachers in 1991 and 16 per cent of teachers in 1992 had no other help in the classroom while the SATs were taking place. The vast majority of classroom had the support of a supply teacher, a classroom assistant, a student, a parent or a colleague helping with the other children in the class, so that in most cases the class was able to carry

on with at least some of the normal programme of work. However, in 19911 in particular, nearly half the classes, according to their teachers, also did relatively mundane holding activities specially assigned for the SAT period.

These support arrangements were often in themselves a source of anxiety. Year 2 teachers were uncomfortably aware of the effect their needs were having on the rest of the school. In one rural school a teaching headteacher gave up all of her own non-contact time to release the Year 2 teacher. Elsewhere, all the other teachers gave up their ancillary help. They willingly cooperated but the knock-on effect was marked, and some headteachers wondered how they would possibly manage if no major changes were made when Key Stage 2 assessment began. Where, more rarely support teaching was expensively brought in, this raised questions in the minds of teachers about the use of scarce resources, and the tendency for teachers, to see the SATs as a waste of time exacerbated their frustration.

It became apparent that the availability or otherwise of classroom support during the SAT tests had a marked effect on children's ability to perform well in the tasks. The salience of this issue varied with the nature of the task. For example, children engaged in making a game (Maths 1, Part B, 1991) were able to spend some time without close supervision while drawing and colouring their games. However, exploring floating and sinking (Science 1, Part B), which became a notorious example of unmanageability in the 1991 SATs, made heavy and virtually constant demands on the teacher's time and attention. This was quite possible when the SAT was carried out in a separate room or when the rest of the class was otherwise supervised, but it was extremely difficult for teachers who had to supervise the SAT and the rest of the class at the same time.

There is a strong likelihood of children's performance being affected by such very considerable variations in circumstance. Indeed, although the conduct of SATs in the classroom surrounded by other children doing normal tasks had the benefit of normalcy, our field notes showed a clear relationship between pupil attentiveness and the location where the SATs took place. The possibility of interference from other children appeared to reduce SAT children's concentration and hence performance.

Teachers' sense of stress was, in many cases, exacerbated by their wareness of not being able to provide appropriately for all the children in the class while working with those involved in the SAT. Teachers' worries in this respect were evident whether they had vertically or horizontally grouped classes. Those with a single year group in their class were weighed down by the sheer number of children who had to be assessed but those with a mixed-age class constantly worried about whether the non-SAT children were being neglected, in spite of their best efforts to avoid this.

Constraints on Nominal Classroom Practice

Although it had been claimed that the SAT activities could be woven into a teacher's planned curriculum, providing learning experiences in themselves, this contradicted the requirements that teachers must avoid giving children direct help and 'asking question that lead the child to the correct response.' Teachers found this an unnatural way of working and felt that the children could not understand the change in their practice. As one teacher remarked, 'I really find it so frustrating being unable to help them when they don't understand.' At another school the teacher had to rebuke two children, Mark and Tracy, who had begun to discuss their work: 'Mark, Tracy, if I have to tell you not to talk again, I may get angry.' This strange departure from normal classroom practice produced in the children a puzzled and slightly hurt reaction.

Teachers disliked having to change the practices which the children expected. Thus another teachers was heard to say: 'No, go away Paul. I don't want you to see this.' Later she commented: 'He looked at me as if I'd gone mad.' Torrance (1991) reported that in consequence teachers often felt deskilled because pre-specified tasks and the observation of pre-specified outcomes were fundamentally against the commitment to responsiveness to pupil needs that has underpinned work in infant classrooms. In many cases the reading SATs were particularly noticeable in this respect. Even if the SAT was presented as a 'normal' reading task, the odd circumstances, namely reading a special book to a teacher in a special room, alone, the teacher refusing to help when a child got stuck, no discussion between teacher and child, made it likely that the children would sense that this was an extraordinary situation, even if they did not know that it was a test. Nevertheless, as we shall see, such was the combination of teacher effort and the limited awareness of these young children that many children were unaware of the extent of testing.

How Standardised Were the SATs Themselves?

Issues concerning the manageability of SATs were closely related to the reliability and validity of the information they generated, since variability in the organization in which SATs took place meant that children were given different contexts in which the show their level of achievement. These factors alone would be sufficient to challenge the assumption contained in the official 1991 SAT Handbook of Guidance that 'because all other teachers of Year 2 children will be using the same SAT the results will be more standardized than your own continuous assessment's (SEAC, 1991a, p. 4).

In addition to these variations, our data identified a range of sources of variability within the operation of the tasks themselves, many of which were the result of differences in classroom circumstances or of teachers' strategies to minimise pupils' anxiety or awareness of failure. These are also likely to have affected children's ability to demonstrate their achievement. We consider the following below:

- variations in the testing situation;
- providing support and making judgements;
- reducing children's awareness of assessment;
- the effect of pupil anxiety;
- lack of clarity in assessment criteria;
- · deciding which level to award;
- the influence of other pupils.

Variations in the Testing Situation

One obvious source of potential variation concerns the person who conducts the tests, since children are likely to be more at ease with someone they know. The stage of SAT administration was also significant, in that teachers were variously tense, confident and relaxed, or bored, depending on how many times they had administered the SAT. However, perhaps the most significant issue in this respect was whether or not the teacher made the reality of testing explicit to the children and what consequences this decision may have had. In some cases the SAT was presented as a game, in others as a learning activity, and in a few as a test. In many classrooms, if an observer had not known what was going on he or she would not have realised that some children were involved in an assessment activity.

In one classroom in 1992 the teacher was so concerned about the impact of the Maths 3 SAT in particular, involving the pressure of both timing and categoric, right or wrong answers, that she was prepared to undertake testing the children on a one-=to-one basis in a class of 30 even though this caused major administrative problems. It is an illustration of the strength of the teacher's commitment to protect the children from anxiety and from a feeling of failure that she was prepared to engage in such a lengthy period of testing, in which there was relatively little teaching for the rest of the class.

It was particularly noticeable in the more explicit testing materials of 1992 that the categoric nature of some of the SATs, notably the maths test, produced a greater tension and anxiety in the children and a greater awareness of failure, which some teachers took great pains to counteract by a variety of subterfuges. On almost all occasions when such SATs were observed, activities were presented as 'fun' or as part of normal classroom life, which both observation and later interviews with children suggested were accepted as such.

Teacher's strategies for avoiding stress in children included making no overt reference to, or demonstration of, assessment in their presence. Children were not usually dismissed from a group if they were clearly finding the task too difficult but were allowed to continue with teacher assistance, which meant that they would not be considered to have reached the level on which they worked.

Sometimes they were told that they had worked extremely well but that they looked tried and 'could leave this work for now.' One teacher even wondered whether her children's relaxed attitude to the SATs was conducive to their producing the best work of which they were capable, or whether some awareness of being tested might have lent an edge to their performance. The rather unorthodox implementation of the Maths 3 SATs in one school in 1992 bears out this argument to some extent. The teacher said: 'We're going to start off nice and easy so Ben won't get his worried face, and Amy won't get her frown' (funny expressions on the teacher's face). 'To help you, you'll have these sheets.' He read out: '4 + 2 Ugh! (pulled a face, encouraging the children to 'have a go') 2 + 3 Ugh!'

After conducting the SAT, the teacher concluded with: 'I think I made that too easy. I'm going to have to give out lots of house points. If you like that puzzle, shall we try that again on Monday with some harder sums?' Children: 'Yes, yes.'

While this teacher successfully presented the Maths 3 SAT as a game or competition, which the children appeared

to enjoy, the other Year 2 teacher in the same school took a different approach. She carried out the same SAT in a straightforward way, more like a 'mental arithmetic' test. She commented that the children tightened up a lot, sat back in their seats, drawing in their breath, and appeared rather stressed. 'It was so unlike the way we normally work,' she commented. This lack of standardization in the presentation of SATs, even within one school, was not unusual.

Providing Support and Making Judgements

Such presentational differences were more than matched by differences in the amount of help given and time allowed to pupils. Some children received much more help than others in the same classroom; some teachers gave more help and were more generous in their interpretation of the criteria than others. For example, despite the strict instructions surrounding the Maths 3 1992 test, in which the context for testing and the criteria of performance were unambiguously defined, we observed many variations in the way in which teachers actually introduced and judged the SATs. Some were very flexible in the timing allowed for doing the sums; others allowed children more than one attempt at the task, or provided aids in the form of flash cards. Some allowed children to count on their fingers or to shout out answers, even though this was explicitly against the official guidelines.

Similarly in 1991, in one classroom where the floating and sinking SAT was being undertaken, different weights were recorded and accepted for the same object from different children. It was not clear whether the wrong answers were caused by weighing errors, counting errors, distractions from other children or unreliable equipment, and since the teacher was working with the whole class, she had little opportunity to observe this. She accepted the answers as satisfactory even though they varied considerably.

The teacher in this example was not trying to cheat;

she simply wanted the test to reflect validly what she felt the children could do. Feeling that it did not, she was prepared to manipulate the situation. The field notes record then reads: 'The teacher had spent the afternoon checking children who had "not understood what to do in the morning." She judged that six children had been able to pass Level 2 in fact — because they had succeeded when the example 'was explained.'

Our field notes record several examples of teachers giving differential degrees of help to different children and groups or interpreting performance in ways not explicitly permitted by the regulations because they felt that the child in question was truly worthy of a particular level. As one teacher explained, 'I just rubbed it [the answer] all out because there's no way he isn't a Level 2.'

Teachers' judgement as to how much help is acceptable and appropriate in the context of the SAT regulations is an interesting illustration of the overlay of professional behaviour in what is supposed to be a standardised testing situation. It would seem to be a fundamental issue, in any such attempt to provide more authentic testing, whether sources of variability in the testing context, such as those described above, can ever be removed (Abbott, 1994).

The Effect of Pupil Anxiety

In other cases, however, it was not possible for teachers either to allay children's anxiety or to reduce the awareness of a testing situation. In some cases, this was because the children were already anxious, and aware of what was involved, before the testing situation. In one example, a girl finished her work after very prolonged deliberation and gave her assessment sheet to the teacher. Some time afterwards the teacher casually asked her the three subtraction sums she had wrong. The child answered correctly. The teacher discussed this: should she consider that the children can meet the attainment target or not?

Anxiety was particularly marked in some Maths SATs involving mental arithmetic, where children were under pressure to get the right answer in a given time, and in the reading SAT, despite teachers' best efforts to allay their fears.

Lack of Clarity in Assessment Criteria

Such causes of real differences in pupil performance were more than matched by inadequacies in the specification of assessment criteria to record achievements at given levels. Specifically, each level seemed to include an extraordinarily broad range of attainment. For example, in a classroom studied in 1991, one group needed an hour to complete Science 1, Part B (the SAT was estimated to require only about an hour even if children also completed Part C. Level 3). A first group were seen by their teacher as the 'most able.' She stayed with them for about ten minutes, carefully explaining the first part of the activity, and then moved about the classroom, returning to give help and reminders at each new phase, using the hand lens, weighing, etc. The children worked with concentration and care, needing only brief interventions until they were individually questioned. However, none of them achieved two of the Level 3 criteria, so they did not move on to Part C and all were assessed at Level 2. A second group in the same class needed much more help and more detailed instructions. When the teacher moved away, they all waited for her to return before making the next step and they constantly asked and told one another what to do. After 40 minutes, most of this group had completed only one line on the recording chart. They continued for well over another hour in the afternoon and by the time their teacher had decided to sit with them and to guide them through each new step.

The official *Handbook of Guidance* stressed that 'there is no time limit for an activity; some children some groups will take longer.' Thus the teacher felt that she had no

alternative but to assess the second group also an Level 2, although she felt very uneasy about it. In this case the Level 2 assessment range, between those just achieving Level 2 and those just missing Level 3, potentially a two-year gap in real achievement, seemed to encompass children of such widely different achievement as to be almost meaningless.

Deciding Which Level to Award

As we have seen, the lack of clarity in assessment criteria produced some highly questionable results, and this was compounded by the difficulty then posed for teachers in judging the standard of work that was appropriate for each level. While levels were intended by TGAT to be criterion-referenced, the reality of their interpretation was sometimes more pragmatic or normative.

It is pertinent to stress here that teachers' constructive interpretation of the testing rules did not appear to be caused by a desire to raise their results in a high stakes context — to produce a better position for their school in league tables, for instance. On the contrary, several teachers expressed their concern at giving children what might be flattering scores, which would cause a problem for their colleagues in subsequent years. The precise interpretation of level appeared to be a difficult problem. For instance, in 1991, in the SAT that involved making a game, one child who was considered to be 'able' was not able to answer all the questions posed to him by a teacher on his very complicated game, and so was not given a Level 3. A second child, who was regarded as a lower achiever, had produced a much simpler game and, probably because of this, was able to answer all the questions on it. The result was that he was given a Level 3, whereas a teacher assessment would probably have produced the opposite result for the two children.

Many teachers reported that children could be assessed as being at the same SAT level, even when the teacher felt they were really at very different levels of development. 'Well, he's managed all of these so I must record him as Level 3 but he's not really a Level 3 child.' Most teachers appeared have a view of their pupils' achievement that was not affected by the evidence provided by SATs. This tension between awarding levels based on the sometimes arbitrary application of criteria, as against the teacher's judgement of the pupil's level based on lengthy observation, was also the basis for many difficulties in the moderation process and thus in achieving consistent standard-setting between schools (James and Connor, 1993). For instance in 1991 our observations included the case of one girl whose knowledge and understanding of maths were felt by her teacher to be very good, but whose natural mode of work was slow and careful. Maths 3, Part B, required children to add and subtract to ten without any obvious counting or computation. Her teacher was sure that the girl was not counting; she answered correctly but hesitantly. The moderator on this occasion insisted that answers should be given before a count of three and that this particular girl was too slow in responding to reach Level 2. What was being assessed here? Mathematical ability, reaction time, speaking style or confidence?

Many teachers perceived moderation as a pressure and, while some looked to the moderator for advice and guidance to clarify how the SAT was supposed to be being conducted, in some cases there was conflict between the application of judgements by the moderator and the teacher's own professional knowledge of the child, which led her to want to make more interpretative judgements. Nevertheless, the majority of the teachers observed said that they had been surprised to find that some children achieved higher levels than they had anticipated. In 1991, 60 per cent of teachers said they had learned some new things from the conduct of SATs although this dropped to 35 per cent in 1992.

Intuitive judgements about levels were also to lead to

decisions about which children should attempt Level 3 SATs. Not surprisingly, these decisions were usually a product of professional judgement combined with a desire to protect the children from the possibility of failure. For example, one teacher chose to enter for Level 3 all children who had achieved Level 2 and those who, in her judgement, ought to have achieved it. Other teachers allowed the whole class to try Level 3 in order to avoid any sense of differential achievement among the children.

In none of the classrooms observed was there evidence of deliberate strategies being used to raise scores for reporting and 'league table' purposes. Teachers' worries over SAT results, and their anxiety that children should do well, appeared to be bound up much more with their own sense of professional competence being at stake than with fear of the effect of poor results on themselves or the school.

The Influence of Other Pupils

So far we have discussed a range of factors that reduced the reliability of SAT results, including the choice of SAT, its timing, the skills involved, the teacher's approach to it and general classroom conditions. To this list we must add the effect of other pupils on those being assessed. In addition to the obvious problems of interruptions from other children, there was evidence of slower and less confident children becoming anxious as other children in the group finished more quickly or were more obviously successful than themselves.

This issue was particularly marked in one classroom, where, usually, two Year 2 classes were being assessed in parallel. SAT children from both classes were tested in one classroom by their respective teachers, while the rest of both classes were taken in another classroom by a supply teacher. One teacher in the assessment classroom was using mixed attainment groups and the other was using groups broadly grouped by attainment. This provided an

interesting situation in which to observe the effect of differential attainment on pupils undergoing SATs. In the group mixed broadly according to perceived attainment, the children seemed very happy with the SAT experience and were quite unconcerned by the Maths 3 task observed. By contrast, several children in the mixed attainment group, doing the same Maths 3 task, showed acute signs of anxiety.

Some teachers reported problems with children copying, especially where they had been trained to work collaboratively: 'There have been several instances when I've noticed that children have *changed* their answers or have written down what they've seen somebody else write down because they know it's important, they're so desperate to get the right answer.'

Inevitably there was a significant degree of what might be termed 'passive practising,' or the children's ability to watch and learn from their colleagues' earlier attempts at particular tasks. In one classroom, for example, the teacher interspersed non-SAT children among her Maths 3 group in order to stop the latter copying from each other, so giving a not inconsiderable advantage to these children who were able to observe the task in advance.

A example, cited in the 1991 NUT survey, concerns a boy who was asked in one test whether he thought a pineapple would sink or float. The child answered that it would float. When the teacher asked why he thought this he explained: 'Because it's been floating all the week.' 'This last point highlights the inevitably social nature of the testing situation, especially with children who are too young and inexperienced to appreciate the significance of instructions designed to minimise collaboration, such as 'do your own work.'

The contrast between the social relations required by at least some of the SATs and those normal in infant classrooms focuses attention on the impact of SATs on children. We had hypothesized at the onset of the project that this impact might take two main forms. First, pupils might feel stress at experiencing a strange and perhaps tense working situation, plus pressure from parents; second, they might become more aware of their relative achievement and abilities following this more categoric assessment. It was expected that this might have effects on their image of themselves as learners. The actual impact on pupils of SATs is discussed in the next section.

How Did Pupils Respond to SAT Testing?

In presenting here a picture of how children responded to SATs in 1991 and 1992 we have drawn on 203 interviews with children in our nine field work schools, on data from interviews with their teachers and on questionnaire responses from teachers in the larger sample of 48 schools.

As we saw earlier in this chapter, teachers were initially very concerned that SATs would be damaging to pupils — particularly at the time of the pilot in 1990. However the Pace data showed these concerns, while present, to be somewhat less dominant once the SATs had been experienced. Thus, while our 1991 teacher questionnaire on assessment showed figures of 31 per cent reporting that anxiety was felt by some children, the 1992 figure was 14 per cent. Over the to years together, two-thirds of teachers reported that children showed 'no special reaction' to the SATs, while an average of 58 per cent reported pupils to have 'enjoyed' doing them.

In our judgement such findings reflect the success of teachers in actively mediating the potentially adverse effects of the assessments, as reported in previous sections of this chapter. Teachers, as we have seen, went to quite extraordinary lengths to present SATs in ways that would mitigate pupil vulnerability or sense of failure. This was reflected in our interviews with pupils abut the SATs in which they had just participated. The figures for 1991 and 1992 were almost identical; 74 per cent of children spoke

positively about their SAT experience, 18 per cent had mixed views and only 8 per cent expressed negative feelings.

These pupil views reflect again the criteria we reviewed on pupils' perceptions of the curriculum. Pupils wanted classroom life to provide them with success, fun, interest, autonomy and activity. However, in the contest of a test of their knowledge or capabilities, as SATs were, the question of success was particularly prominent.

In further confirmation of this broad pattern, most teachers felt that the majority of children were either unaware of being tested (72 per cent in 1991; 71 per cent in 1992) or were too young to understand the significance of it. The exceptions reported to us included a number of children whose parents' concern had been communicated to their children, as in the following example of a boy named John. John's teacher commented on his evident anxiety. She explained that his mother helped in the reception/Year I class several times a week and joined the staff at break, etc. 'She's very well aware of what's going on and she's making him anxious. He's under a lot of pressure and it's not helping him. She's been promissing him treats and trips at half term and so on if he does well.' Our field notes of John being assessed on the reading SAT recorded that he came into a small, quiet room to read to the teacher. He began reading very fluently. The teacher then began recording his success. However, as soon as she started filling in the checklist John faltered, paused, but then continued. He read quite well but occasionally halted at words such as 'trouble' and 'embrassed.' As he went on, this happened more often. He seemed to lose confidence when the teacher didn't respond by helping him as he usually did. Soon he was reading far less fluently than he had been at the beginning. The abnormal situation, with the teacher not supporting him when he failed to read words, seemed to deepen his anxiety.

Here we have an illustration of the downward spiral of performance caused by a lack of expected and familiar feedback, coupled with awareness and anticipation of the testing situation. This actually affected the child's ability to perform and resulted both in child stress and in a lower assessment than might otherwise have been achieved.

It would be wrong to convey an impression of parental anxiety as a major source of pupil stress. Certainly, 61 per cent of all children interviewed reported that their parents would be 'interested in how they had got on,' but there were very few signs of this being more than the routine interest of parents in their children's activities and progress at school.

Thus, although a small proportion of children showed mild signs of stress, the majority of the teachers who responded to our questionnaire suggested that most children took the SAT tasks in their stride as just another classroom job. Many experienced considerable enjoyment in doing the SATs.

We wanted to explore the extent to which these sevenyear-old children were aware of the assessment process that was going on. To do this, having observed them engaging in a SAT, we asked them: 'Why do you think your teacher asked you to do that?' Overall, a fifth of the children simply declared that they did not know why the teacher had asked them to engage in the activity that had been used for assessment purposes — and we suspect that proportions of at least this level would be true for almost any classroom activity. Young children do not routinely expect to know the reasons for the classroom requirements to which they are subject. However, as the figures show, they were willing to offer sensible, but generalised, reasons in terms of 'learning,' future development, content coverage, transfer to the juniors or for the fun of a game. Among the statements made under these categories were the following: The proportions of these comments, as shown in Table 4, are particularly interesting. The 1991 assessments were the first full round of SATs and before they took place many teachers were particularly worried about their effects. Pupils were both more aware of assessment itself than in 1992 (29 against 18 per cent), and more uncertain of other explanations for the unusual classroom activities they were experiencing (26 per cent 'don't knows' against 18 per cent). By 1992 the SATs had been somewhat scaled down in their demands and teachers had become more united and explicit in the educational explanations they offered to pupils. This, we believe, was reflected in the high figure of 46 per cent of pupils in 1992 reporting that the purpose of the SAT activities was to assist their learning. As if confirming this dominant perception, almost 90 per cent of children, in both years, stated confidently that they had learned something from the SAT activities and 'might get on better next time.'

In summary, it could be argued that the assessment awareness of seven-year-olds decreased from 1991 to 1992. There was less uncertainty and less explicit assessment awareness; almost half the children attributed SAT activities directly to learning objectives. These data provide a picture of children who typically had only a very general awareness of assessment -- what it is, how it works and what its significance is. In this context, SATs were no exception.

Summing Up

In sum, we can say that in 1992, as in 1991, there were enormous variations in the manageability, the conduct and the interpretation of SATs Variation was caused both by differences in the opportunities provided for children to perform at their best and by the interpretations of that performance by the teachers. A considerable part of this variation was also caused by the determination of teachers both to normalise assessment as much as possible and to minimise any possible adverse effect it might have on pupils. In this, as our data from pupils showed, teachers were generally very successful, though at considerable personal cost.

The original blueprint for national assessment, which was set out in the 1988 TGAT Report, identified four different purposes for national assessment: diagnostic assessment to identify individual pupil's strengths and weaknesses; formative assessment to give feedback and encouragement; summative assessment to report on a given pupil's attainment at a given stage of schooling; and evaluative assessment to provide aggregated information about the overall level of pupil achievement in any particular school, as a basis for comparing one school with another. It is immediately clear from our findings, and other research, that the SATs of 1991 and 1992 did not provide very well for any of these purposes. They were not frequent enough, or sufficiently integrated into the normal routines and curricular emphases of a given classroom, to provide guidance for pupils and teachers about appropriate individual learning targets. Nor were they reliable or detailed enough to provide summative and evaluative information that could be confidently trusted by teachers, parents and the public, even if this were desirable. Indeed, our data suggest that in the context of English primary education, in which child-centred commitments are still central, it is not likely to be possible to devise assessment tasks or tests that will not be subject to very considerable contextual effects. Teacher concern with potentially harmful effects on pupils of 'inappropriate' assessment is very strong. However, even if this were not so, there are many other problematic contextual factors (Filer, 1994).

For teachers, the central issue was the extent to which SATs could be *integrated* with teaching, or might be adapted to form part of teacher assessment. Opposition focused on aspects of assessment over which teachers had no control: the spurious categorizations by levels that SATs produced; the inappropriate use of assessment results to inform competition between parents and between schools; the inappropriate timing and organization of SATs with associated undesirable effects on the curriculum; the

unfairness of certain SATs for certain children; arbitrary procedures of aggregation and moderation; and the lack of genuine formative value as a consequence of all these impositions.

The strength of this distinction in teachers' minds between formative and summative assessment, one of the dimensions identified, was clearly underlined by the fact that, despite the often overwhelming problems of implementation they had experienced, it was only in 1993 that Key Stage 1 teacher's unhappiness finally transformed itself into concerted resistance. Even then, action was initiated by secondary school teachers of English protesting at inappropriate assessments at the end of Key Stage 3 (age 14). It was fuelled by a teacher union winning an historic court case over the unreasonable workloads caused by assessment procedures, and then by other teacher associations, including the headteachers, mounting a strong case against the proposed use of assessment data for league tables in a 'market' for educational provision. This ultimately proved to be the most unacceptble aspect of standardised assessment and reporting.

As suggested at the beginning of their chapter, the use of assessment data to categorise pupils and to report comparative achievement provided the clearest possible illustration of the different educational understandings and values that underly the tension between the Government and the profession in the early 1990s. Indeed, the strength of feeling manifest in the struggle over the use of the assessment provide telling evidence of the nature of the power struggle that was taking place in English education.

7

Focus on Basic, Plain and Simplified International English

BASIC ENGLISH

Basic English, also known as Simple English, is an English-based controlled language created (in essence as a simplified subset of English) by linguist and philosopher Charles Kay Ogden as an international auxiliary language, and as an aid for teaching English as a Second Language. It was presented in Ogden's book Basic English: A General Introduction with Rules and Grammar (1930). Capitalised, BASIC is sometimes taken as an acronym that stands for British American Scientific International Commercial. Ogden's Basic, and the concept of a simplified English, gained its greatest publicity just after the Allied victory in the Second World War as a means for world peace.

Although Basic English was not built into a programme, similar simplifications have been devised for various international uses. Ogden's associate I. A. Richards promoted its use in schools in China. More recently, it has influenced the creation of Voice of America's Special English for news broadcasting, and Simplified English, another English-based controlled language designed to write technical manuals. What survives today of Ogden's Basic English is the basic 850-word list used as the beginner's vocabulary of the English language taught worldwide, especially in Asia.

Design Principles

Ogden tried to simplify English while keeping it normal for native speakers, by specifying grammar restrictions and a controlled small vocabulary which makes an extensive use of paraphrasis. Most notably, Ogden allowed only 18 verbs, which he called "operators". His *General Introduction* says "There are no 'verbs' in Basic English", with the underlying assumption that, as noun use in English is very straightforward but verb use/conjugation is not, the elimination of verbs would be a welcome simplification.

Word Lists

Ogden's word lists include only word roots, which in practice are extended with the defined set of affixes and the full set of forms allowed for any available word (noun, pronoun, or the limited set of verbs). The 850 core words of Basic English are found in Wiktionary's Appendix:Basic English word list. This core is theoretically enough for everyday life. However, Ogden prescribed that any student should learn an additional 150 word list for everyday work in some particular field, by adding a word list of 100 words particularly useful in a general field (e.g., science, verse, business, etc.), along with a 50-word list from a more specialised subset of that general field, to make a basic 1000 word vocabulary for everyday work and life. Moreover, Ogden assumed that any student already should be familiar with (and thus may only review) a core subset of around 350 "international" words. Therefore, a first level student should graduate with a core vocabulary of around 1350 words. A realistic general core vocabulary could contain 1500 words (the core 850 words, plus 350 international words, and 300 words for the general fields of trade, economics, and science). A sample 1500 word vocabulary is included in the Simple English Wikipedia. Ogden provided lists to extend the general 1500 vocabulary to make a 2000 word list, enough for a "standard" English level. This 2000 word vocabulary represents "what any learner should know". At this level students could start to move on their own.

Rules

The word use of Basic English is similar to full English, but the rules are much simpler, and there are fewer exceptions. Not all meanings of each word are allowed. Ogden's rules of grammar for Basic English help people use the 850 words to talk about things and events in a normal way.

- 1. Make plurals with an "S" on the end of the word. If there are special ways to make a plural word, such as "ES" and "IES", use them.
- 2. There are two word endings to change each of the 150 adjectives: -"ER" and -"EST"
- 3. There are two word endings to change the verb word endings, -"ING" and -"ED".
- 4. Make qualifiers from adverbs by adding -"LY".
- 5. Talk about amounts with "MORE" and "MOST." Use and know -"ER" and -"EST."
- 6. Make opposite adjectives with "UN"-
- 7. Make questions with the opposite word order, and with "DO".
- 8. Operators and pronouns conjugate as in normal English.
- 9. Make combined words (compounds) from two nouns (for example "milkman") or a noun and a directive (sundown).
- 10. Measures, numbers, money, days, months, years, clock time, and international words are in English forms. E.g. Date/Time: 20 May 1972 at 21:00
- 11. Use the words of an industry or science. For example, in this grammar, some special words are for teaching languages, and not part of Basic English: plural, conjugate, noun, adjective, adverb, qualifier, operator, pronoun, and directive.

Criticism

Like all international auxiliary languages (or IALs),

Basic English may be criticised as unavoidably based on personal preferences, and thus, paradoxically, inherently divisive. Moreover, like all natural language based IALs, Basic is subject to criticism as unfairly biased towards the native speaker community. As a teaching aid for English as a Second Language, Basic English has been criticised for the choice of the core vocabulary and for its grammatical constraints.

Literary References

In the novel *The Shape of Things to Come*, published in 1933, H.G. Wells depicted Basic English as the lingua franca of a new elite which after a prolonged struggle succeeds in uniting the world and establishing a totalitarian world government. In the future world of Wells' vision, virtually all members of humanity know this language. From 1942 to 1944 George Orwell was a proponent of Basic English, but in 1945 he became critical of universal languages. Basic English later inspired his use of Newspeak in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. In his story "Gulf", science fiction writer Robert A. Heinlein used a constructed language, in which every Basic English word is replaced with a single phoneme, as an appropriate means of communication for a race of genius supermen.

PLAIN ENGLISH

Plain English (sometimes referred to more broadly as plain language) is a generic term for communication styles that emphasise clarity, brevity and the avoidance of technical language - particularly in relation to official government communication, including laws. The intention is to write in a manner that is easily understood by its target audience: appropriate to their reading skills and knowledge, clear and direct, free of cliché and unnecessary jargon.

United Kingdom

In 1946, writer George Orwell wrote an impassioned essay, "Politics and the English Language", criticizing what

he saw as the dangers of "ugly and inaccurate" contemporary written English - particularly in politics where *pacification* can be used to mean "...defenseless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets...". Two years later Sir Ernest Arthur Gowers, a distinguished civil servant, was asked by HM Treasury to provide a guide to officials on avoiding pompous and over-elaborate writing.

As he wrote:

"Writing is an instrument for conveying ideas from one mind to another; the writer's job is to make his reader apprehend his meaning readily and precisely".

Gowers' guide was published as slim paperback *Plain Words*, a guide to the use of English in 1948, followed by a sequel *The ABC of Plain Words*, in 1951, and in 1954 a hardback book combining the best of both, *The Complete Plain Words* - which has never been out of print since.

Gower himself argued that Legal English was a special case, saying that legal drafting:

"...is a science, not an art; it lies in the province of mathematics rather than of literature, and its practice needs long apprenticeship. It is prudently left to a specialised legal branch of the Service. The only concern of the ordinary official is to learn to understand it, to act as interpreter of it to ordinary people, and to be careful not to let his own style of writing be tainted by it..."

However, there is a trend toward plainer language in legal documents, and in fact the 1999 "Unfair Terms in Consumer Contracts" regulations mandate "plain and intelligible" language An inquiry into the 2005 London bombings recommended that emergency services should always use Plain English. It found that verbosity can lead to misunderstandings that could cost lives.

United States

In the US the plain language movement in government

communication started in the 1970s, with the Paperwork Reduction Act introduced in 1976, and in 1978 President Carter issued Executive Orders intended to make government regulations "cost-effective and easy-to-understand by those who were required to comply with them".

Many agencies now have long-standing policies mandating plain language, and in 2010 this was made a federal requirement with the Plain Writing Act In legal writing, the late Professor David Mellinkoff of the UCLA School of Law is widely credited with singlehandedly launching the Plain English movement in American law with the 1963 publication of *The Language of the Law*, and in 1979, Richard Wydick published *Plain English for Lawyers*. Plain English writing style is now a legal duty for companies registering securities under the Securities Act of 1933, due to rules the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) adopted in 1998.

SIMPLIFIED ENGLISH

Simplified English is the original name of a controlled language historically developed for aerospace industry maintenance manuals. It offers a carefully limited and standardized subset of English. It is now officially known under its trademarked name as *Simplified Technical English* (STE). Although STE is regulated for use in the aerospace and defense industries, other industries have used it as a basis for developing their own controlled English standards.

Benefits of STE

Proponents claim that Simplified Technical English can:

- Reduce ambiguity
- Improve the clarity of technical writing, especially procedural writing
- Improve comprehension for people whose first language is not English

- Make human translation easier, faster and more cost effective
- Facilitate computer-assisted translation and machine translation

Specification Structure

The Simplified Technical English specification consists of two Parts—Part 1: Writing Rules and Part 2: Dictionary. The Writing Rules specify restrictions on grammar and style usage. For example, they require writers to:

- Restrict the length of noun clusters to no more than 3 words
- Restrict sentence length to no more than 20 words (procedural sentences) or 25 words (descriptive sentences)
- Restrict paragraphs to no more than 6 sentences
- Avoid slang and jargon
- Make instructions as specific as possible
- Use articles such as "a/an" and "the" wherever possible
- Use simple verb tenses (past, present, and future)
- Use active voice
- Not use -ing participles or gerunds (unless part of a technical name)
- Write sequential steps as separate sentences
- Put conditions first in warnings and cautions

Dictionary

The dictionary includes entries of both approved and unapproved words. The approved words can only be used in their specified meaning. For example, the word "close" can only be used in one of two meanings:

- 1. To move together, or to move to a position that stops or prevents materials from going in or out.
- 2. To operate a circuit breaker to make an electrical circuit.

The verb can be used to express "close a door" or "close a circuit", but it cannot be used in other senses (for example "to close the meeting" or "to close a business"). The adjective "close" appears in the Dictionary as an unapproved word with the suggested approved alternative "near". So STE does not allow "do not go close to the landing gear", but it does allow "do not go near the landing gear". In addition to the basic STE vocabulary listed in the Dictionary, Section 1, Words, gives explicit guidelines for adding technical terms and verbs that writers need to describe maintenance procedures. For example, words such as "overhead panel", "grease", "propeller", "to ream", and "to drill" are not listed in the Dictionary, but they qualify as approved terms under the guidelines listed in Part 1, Section 1 (specifically, Writing Rules 1.5 and 1.10).

Aerospace and Defense Standard

Simplified English is sometimes used as a generic term for a controlled language. The aerospace and defense standard started as an industry-regulated writing standard for aerospace maintenance documentation, but has become mandatory for an increasing number of military land and sea vehicle programmes as well. Although it was not intended for use as a general writing standard, it has been successfully adopted by other industries and for a wide range of document types. The US government's Plain English lacks the strict vocabulary restrictions of the aerospace standard, but it represents an attempt at a more general writing standard.

The regulated aerospace standard used to be called *AECMA Simplified English*, because the European Association of Aerospace Manufacturers (AECMA) originally created the standard in the 1980s. The AECMA standard originally came from Fokker, which had based their standard on earlier controlled languages, especially *Caterpillar Fundamental English*. In 2005, AECMA was subsumed by the Aerospace and Defence Industries Association of Europe (ASD), which renamed its standard to *ASD Simplified Technical English* or *STE*. STE is defined by the specification

ASD-STE100, which is maintained by the Simplified Technical English Maintenance Group (STEMG). The specification contains a set of restrictions on the grammar and style of procedural and descriptive text. It also contains a dictionary of approx. 875 approved general words. Writers are given guidelines for adding technical names and technical verbs to their documentation. STE is mandated by several commercial and military specifications that control the style and content of maintenance documentation, most notably ASD S1000D.

INTERNATIONAL ENGLISH

International English is the concept of the English language as a global means of communication in numerous dialects, and also the movement towards an international standard for the language. It is also referred to as Global English, World English, Common English, Continental English or General English. Sometimes these terms refer simply to the array of varieties of English spoken throughout the world.

Sometimes "international English" and the related terms above refer to a desired standardization, i.e. Standard English; however, there is no consensus on the path to this goal.

Historical Context

The modern concept of International English does not exist in isolation, but is the product of centuries of development of the English language.

The English language evolved from a set of West Germanic dialects spoken by the Angles and Saxons, who arrived from the Continent in the 5th Century. Those dialects came to be known as *Englisc* (literally "Anglish"), the language today referred to as Anglo-Saxon or Old English (the language of the poem Beowulf). English is thus more closely related to West Frisian than to any other modern language, although less than a quarter of

the vocabulary of Modern English is shared with West Frisian or other West Germanic languages because of extensive borrowings from Norse, Norman, Latin, and other languages. It was during the Viking invasions of the Anglo-Saxon period that Old English was influenced by contact with Norse, a group of North Germanic dialects spoken by the Vikings, who came to control a large region in the North of England known as the Danelaw.

Vocabulary items entering English from Norse (including the pronouns she, they, and them) are thus attributable to the on-again-off-again Viking occupation of Northern England during the centuries prior to the Norman Conquest. Soon after the Norman Conquest of 1066, the Englisc language ceased being a literary language and was replaced by Anglo-Norman as the written language of England. During the Norman Period, English absorbed a significant component of French vocabulary (approximately one-third of the vocabulary of Modern English). With this new vocabulary, additional vocabulary borrowed from Latin (with Greek, another approximately one-third of Modern English vocabulary, though some borrowings from Latin and Greek date from later periods), a simplified grammar, and use of the orthographic conventions of French instead of Old English orthography, the language became Middle English (the language of Chaucer).

The "difficulty" of English as a written language thus began in the High Middle Ages, when French orthographic conventions were used to spell a language whose original, more suitable orthography had been forgotten after centuries of nonuse. During the late medieval period, King Henry V of England (lived 1387-1422) ordered the use of the English of his day in proceedings before him and before the government bureaucracies. That led to the development of Chancery English, a standardised form used in the government bureaucracy. (The use of so-called Law French in English courts continued through the Renaissance, however.)

The emergence of English as a language of Wales results from the incorporation of Wales into England and also dates from approximately this time period. Soon afterward, the development of printing by Caxton and others accelerated the development of a standardised form of English. Following a change in vowel pronunciation that marks the transition of English from the medieval to the Renaissance period, the language of the Chancery and Caxton became Early Modern English (the language of Shakespeare's day) and with relatively moderate changes eventually developed into the English language of today. Scots, as spoken in the lowlands and along the east coast of Scotland, developed independently from Modern English and is based on the Northern dialects of Anglo-Saxon, particularly Northumbrian, which also serve as the basis of Northern English dialects such as those of Yorkshire and Newcastle upon Tyne.

Northumbria was within the Danelaw and therefore experienced greater influence from Norse than did the Southern dialects. As the political influence of London grew, the Chancery version of the language developed into a written standard across Great Britain, further progressing in the modern period as Scotland became united with England as a result of the Acts of Union of 1707.

There have been two introductions of English to Ireland, a medieval introduction that led to the development of the now-extinct Yola dialect and a modern introduction in which Hibernian English largely replaced Irish as the most widely spoken language during the 19th century, following the Act of Union of 1800. Received Pronunciation (RP) is generally viewed as a 19th century development and is not reflected in North American English dialects, which are based on 18th Century English.

The establishment of the first permanent Englishspeaking colony in North America in 1607 was a major step towards the globalization of the language. British English was only partially standardised when the American colonies were established. Isolated from each other by the Atlantic Ocean, the dialects in England and the colonies began evolving independently. In the 19th century, the standardization of British English was more settled than it had been in the previous century, and this relatively well-established English was brought to Africa, Asia and Oceania. It developed both as the language of Englishspeaking settlers from Britain and Ireland, and as the administrative language imposed on speakers of other languages in the various parts of the British Empire. The first form can be seen in New Zealand English, and the latter in Indian English. In Europe English received a more central role particularly since 1919, when the Treaty of Versailles was composed not only in French, the common language of diplomacy at the time, but, under special request from American president Woodrow Wilson, also in English - a major milestone in the globalization of English. The English-speaking regions of Canada and the Caribbean are caught between historical connections with the UK and the Commonwealth, and geographical and economic connections with the U.S. In some things, and more formally, they tend to follow British standards, whereas in others, especially commercial, they follow the U.S. standard.

Methods of Promotion

Unlike proponents of constructed languages, International English proponents face on the one hand the belief that English already is a world language and, on the other, the belief that an international language would inherently need to be a constructed one (e.g. Esperanto). In such an environment, at least four basic approaches have been proposed or employed toward the further expansion or consolidation of International English, some in contrast with, and others in opposition to, methods used to advance constructed international auxiliary languages.

 Laissez-faire approach. This approach is taken either out of ignorance of the other approaches or out of a belief that English will more quickly (or with fewer

- objections) become a more fully international language without any specific global legislation.
- 2. Institutional sponsorship and grass-roots promotion of language programmes. Some governments have promoted the spread of the English language through sponsorship of English language programmes abroad, without any attempt to gain formal international endorsement, as have grass-roots individuals and organizations supporting English (whether through instruction, marketing, etc.).
- 3. National legislation. This approach encourages countries to enshrine English as having at least some kind of official status, in the belief that this would further its spread and could include more countries over time.
- 4. International legislation. This approach involves promotion of the future holding of a binding international convention (perhaps to be under the auspices of such international organizations as the United Nations or Inter-Parliamentary Union) to formally agree upon an official international auxiliary language which would then be taught in all schools around the world, beginning at the primary level. While this approach allows for the possibility of an alternative to English being chosen (due to its necessarily democratic approach), the approach also allows for the eventuality that English would be chosen by a sufficient majority of the proposed convention's delegates so as to put international opinion and law behind the language and thus to consolidate it as a full official world language.

English As a Global Language

Braj Kachru divides the use of English into three concentric circles.

The inner circle is the traditional base of English and

includes countries such as the United Kingdom and Ireland and the anglophone populations of the former British colonies of the United States, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Canada, and various islands of the Caribbean, Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean.

In the *outer circle* are those countries where English has official or historical importance ("special significance"). This includes most of the countries of the Commonwealth of Nations (the former British Empire), including populous countries such as India, Pakistan and Nigeria; and others, such as the Philippines, under the sphere of influence of English-speaking countries. Here English may serve as a useful lingua franca between ethnic and language groups. Higher education, the legislature and judiciary, national commerce, and so on, may all be carried out predominantly in English. The expanding circle refers to those countries where English has no official role, but is nonetheless important for certain functions, notably international business. This use of English as a lingua franca by now includes most of the rest of the world not categorised above. An interesting anecdote is the developing role of English as a lingua franca among speakers of the mutually intelligible Scandinavian languages (Danish, Norwegian and Swedish). Older generations of Scandinavians would use and understand each others' mother tongue without problems. However, today's younger generations lack the same understanding and some have begun using English as the language of choice.

Research on English as a lingua franca in the sense of "English in the Expanding Circle" is comparatively recent. Linguists who have been active in this field are Jennifer Jenkins, Barbara Seidlhofer, Christiane Meierkord and Joachim Grzega.

English As a Lingua Franca in Foreign Language Teaching

English as an additional language (EAL) is usually

based on the standards of either American English or British English. English as an international language (EIL) is EAL with emphasis on learning different major dialect forms; in particular, it aims to equip students with the linguistic tools to communicate internationally. Roger Nunn considers different types of competence in relation to the teaching of English as an International Language, arguing that linguistic competence has yet to be adequately addressed in recent considerations of EIL.

Several models of "simplified English" have been suggested for teaching English as a foreign language:

- Basic English, developed by Charles Kay Ogden (and later also I. A. Richards) in the 1930s, a recent revival has been initiated by Bill Templer
- Threshold Level English, developed by van Ek and Alexander
- · Globish, developed by Jean-Paul Nerrière
- Basic Global English, developed by Joachim Grzega

Furthermore, Randolph Quirk and Gabriele Stein thought about a Nuclear English, which, however, has never been fully developed.

Varying Concepts

Universality and Flexibility

International English sometimes refers to English as it is actually being used and developed in the world; as a language owned not just by native speakers, but by all those who come to use it.

Basically, it covers the English language at large, often (but not always or necessarily) implicitly seen as standard. It is certainly also commonly used in connection with the acquisition, use, and study of English as the world's lingua franca ('TEIL: Teaching English as an International Language'), and especially when the language is considered as a whole in contrast with *British English*, *American*

English, South African English, and the like. — McArthur (2002, p. 444–445)

It especially means English words and phrases generally understood throughout the English-speaking world as opposed to localisms. The importance of non-native English language skills can be recognised behind the long-standing joke that the international language of science and technology is broken English.

Neutrality

International English reaches towards cultural neutrality. This has a practical use:

"What could be better than a type of English that saves you from having to re-edit publications for individual regional markets! Teachers and learners of English as a second language also find it an attractive idea — both often concerned that their English should be neutral, without American or British or Canadian or Australian coloring. Any regional variety of English has a set of political, social and cultural connotations attached to it, even the so-called 'standard' forms." — Peters (2004, *International English*)

According to this viewpoint, International English is a concept of English that minimises the aspects defined by either the colonial imperialism of Victorian Britain or the so-called "cultural imperialism" of the 20th century United States. While British colonialism laid the foundation for English over much of the world, International English is a product of an emerging world culture, very much attributable to the influence of the United States as well, but conceptually based on a far greater degree of cross-talk and linguistic transculturation, which tends to mitigate both U.S. influence and British colonial influence.

The development of International English often centres on academic and scientific communities, where formal English usage is prevalent, and creative use of the language is at a minimum. This formal International English allows entry into Western culture as a whole and Western cultural values in general.

Opposition

The continued growth of the English language itself is seen by many as a kind of cultural imperialism, whether it is English in one form or English in two slightly different forms. Robert Phillipson argues against the possibility of such neutrality in his Linguistic Imperialism (1992). Learners who wish to use purportedly correct English are in fact faced with the dual standard of American English and British English, and other less known standard Englishes (including Australian, Scots and Canadian). Edward Trimnell, author of Why You Need a Foreign Language & How to Learn One (2005) argues that the international version of English is only adequate for communicating basic ideas. For complex discussions and business/technical situations, English is not an adequate communication tool for non-native speakers of the language. Trimnell also asserts that native English-speakers have become "dependent on the language skills of others" by placing their faith in international English.

Appropriation Theory

There are also some who reject both linguistic imperialism and David Crystal's theory of the neutrality of English. They argue that the phenomenon of the global spread of English is better understood in the framework of appropriation (e.g. Spichtinger 2000), that is, English used for local purposes around the world. Demonstrators in non-English speaking countries often use signs in English to convey their demands to TV-audiences around the globe, for instance. In English-language teaching Bobda shows how Cameroon has moved away from a mono-cultural, Anglo-centered way of teaching English and has gradually appropriated teaching material to a Cameroonian context. Non Western-topics treated are, for instance, the rule of Emirs, traditional medicine or polygamy (1997:225).

Kramsch and Sullivan (1996) describe how Western methodology and textbooks have been appropriated to suit local Vietnamese culture. The Pakistani textbook "Primary Stage English" includes lessons such as "Pakistan My Country", "Our Flag", or "Our Great Leader" (Malik 1993: 5,6,7) which might well sound jingoistic to Western ears. Within the native culture, however, establishing a connection between ELT, patriotism and Muslim faith is seen as one of the aims of ELT, as the chairman of the Punjab Textbook Board openly states: "The board...takes care, through these books to inoculate in the students a love of the Islamic values and awareness to guard the ideological frontiers of your [the students] home lands" (Punjab Text Book Board 1997).

Many Englishes

There are many difficult choices that have to be made if there is to be further standardization of English in the future. These include the choice over whether to adopt a current standard, or move towards a more neutral, but artificial one. A true International English might supplant both current American and British English as a variety of English for international communication, leaving these as local dialects, or would rise from a merger of General American and standard British English with admixture of other varieties of English and would generally replace all these varieties of English. We may, in due course, all need to be in control of two standard Englishes—the one which gives us our national and local identity, and the other which puts us in touch with the rest of the human race. In effect, we may all need to become bilingual in our own language. — David Crystal (1988: p. 265) This is the situation long faced by many users of English who possess a 'nonstandard' dialect of English as their birth tongue but have also learned to write (and perhaps also speak) a more standard dialect. Many academics often publish material in journals requiring different varieties of English and change style and spellings as necessary without great

difficulty. As far as spelling is concerned, the differences between American and British usage became noticeable due to the first influential lexicographers (dictionary writers) on each side of the Atlantic. Samuel Johnson's dictionary of 1755 greatly favoured Norman-influenced spellings such as centre and colour; on the other hand, Noah Webster's first guide to American spelling, published in 1783, preferred spellings like *center* and the Latinate *color*. The difference in strategy and philosophy of Johnson and Webster are largely responsible for the main division in English spelling that exists today. However, these differences are extremely minor. Spelling is but a small part of the differences between dialects of English, and may not even reflect dialect differences at all (except in phonetically spelled dialogue). International English refers to much more than an agreed spelling pattern.

Dual Standard

Two approaches to International English are the individualistic and inclusive approach and the new dialect approach. The individualistic approach gives control to individual authors to write and spell as they wish (within purported standard conventions) and to accept the validity of differences. The *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*, published in 1999, is a descriptive study of both American and British English in which each chapter follows individual spelling conventions according to the preference of the main editor of that chapter.

The new dialect approach appears in *The Cambridge Guide to English Usage* (Peters, 2004) which attempts to avoid any language bias and accordingly uses an idiosyncratic international spelling system of mixed American and British forms.

8

History of English Language in Europe

INTRODUCTION

The English language in Europe, as a native language, is mainly spoken in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. Outside of these countries, it has a special status in Jersey and Guernsey (two of the three Crown Dependencies), in Gibraltar (one of the British overseas territories), Malta and Cyprus (two former British colonies). In other parts of Europe, English is spoken mainly by those who have learned it as a second language, but also, to a lesser extent, natively by expatriates from the English speaking world. The English language is the official language of Gibraltar and one of the official languages of Wales, Republic of Ireland, Malta, Guernsey, Jersey, the Isle of Man and the European Union. 13% of EU citizens speak English as their native language. Another 38% of EU citizens state that they have sufficient skills in English to have a conversation.

History of English in England

English is descended from the language spoken by the Germanic tribes, the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, around 449 AD, Vortigern, King of the Britons, issued an invitation to the "Angle kin" (Angles, led by Hengest and Horsa) to help him against

the Picts. In return, the Angles were granted lands in the southeast. Further aid was sought, and in response "came men of Ald Seaxum of Anglum of Iotum" (Saxons, Angles, and Jutes). The Chronicle documents the subsequent influx of "settlers" who eventually established seven kingdoms: Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Wessex.

These Germanic invaders dominated the original Celtic-speaking inhabitants. The dialects spoken by these invaders formed what would be called Old English, which was also strongly influenced by yet another Germanic dialect, Old Norse, spoken by Viking invaders who settled mainly in the North-East. English, England, and East Anglia are derived from words referring to the Angles: *Englisc*, *Angelcynn*, and *Englaland*.

For the 300 years following the Norman Conquest in 1066, the Anglo-Norman language was the language of administration and few Kings of England spoke English. A large number of French words were assimilated into Old English, which also lost most of its inflections, the result being Middle English. Around the year 1500, the Great Vowel Shift transformed Middle English into Modern English.

The most famous surviving work from Old English is *Beowulf*, and from Middle English is Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*.

The rise of Modern English began around the time of William Shakespeare. Some scholars divide early Modern English and late Modern English at around 1800, in concert with British conquest of much of the rest of the world, as the influence of native languages affected English enormously.

Classification and Related Languages

English belongs to the western sub-branch of the Germanic branch of the Indo-European family of languages.

The closest undoubted living relatives of English are Scots and the Frisian languages. Frisian languages are spoken by approximately half a million people in the Dutch province of Friesland (Fryslân), in nearby areas of Germany, and on a few islands in the North Sea.

After Scots and Frisian, the next closest relative is modern Low German of the eastern Netherlands and northern Germany. Other less closely related living languages include Dutch, Afrikaans, German and the Scandinavian languages. Many French words are also intelligible to an English speaker, as English absorbed a tremendous amount of vocabulary from the Norman language after the Norman conquest and from French in further centuries; as a result, a substantial share of English vocabulary is very close to the French, with some slight spelling differences (word endings, use of old French spellings, etc.) and some occasional lapses in meaning.

The Spread of English in Britain, Ireland and the Isle of Man

Wales

In 1282 Edward I of England defeated Llywelyn the Last, Wales's last independent prince, in battle. Edward followed the practice used by his Norman predecessors in their subjugation of the English, and constructed a series of great stone castles in order to control Wales, thus preventing further military action against England by the Welsh. With 'English' political control at this time came Anglo-Norman customs and language; English did not displace Welsh as the majority language of the Welsh people until the anti Welsh language campaigns, which began towards the end of the 19th century (54% spoke Welsh in 1891; see Welsh language). The Welsh language has been enjoying support from the authorities for some decades, resulting in a revival, and is in a healthy position in many parts of Wales.

Ireland

The second oldest English dominion was Ireland. With the arrival of the Normans in Ireland in 1169, King Henry II of England gained Irish lands and the fealty of many native Gaelic nobles. By the 14th century, however, English rule was largely limited to the area around Dublin known as the Pale. English influence on the country waned during this period to the point that the English-dominated Parliament was driven to legislate that any Irish of English descent must speak English (requiring those that did not know English to learn it) through the Statutes of Kilkenny in 1367.

English rule expanded in the 16th century by the Tudor conquest of Ireland, leading the Gaelic order to collapse at the start of the of the 17th century. The Flight of the Earls in 1607 paved the way for the Plantation of Ulster and a deepening of the English language culture in Ireland. The Cromwellian Plantation and suppression of Catholicism, including both native Irish and the "Old English" (those of Anglo-Norman descent), further cemented English influence across the country.

As the centuries passed and the social conditions in Ireland deteriorated, culminating in the Great Irish Famine, many parents refused to speak Irish to their children as they knew that the children might have to emigrate and Irish would be of no use outside the home country, in Britain, the United States, Australia or Canada. In addition, the introduction of universal state education in the national schools from 1831 proved a powerful vector for the transmission of English as a home language, with the greatest retreat of the Irish language occurring in the period between 1850 and 1900.

By the 20th century, Ireland had a centuries-old history of diglossia. English was the prestige language while the Irish language was associated with poverty and disfranchisement. Accordingly, some Irish people who spoke both Irish and English refrained from speaking to their children in Irish, or, in extreme cases, feigned the inability to speak Irish themselves. Despite state support for the Irish language in the Irish Free State (later the Republic of Ireland) after independence, Irish continued to retreat, the economic marginality of many Irish speaking areas being a primary factor. For this reason Irish is spoken as a mother tongue by only a very small number of people on the island of Ireland. Irish has been a compulsory subject in schools in the Republic since the 1920s and proficiency in Irish was until the mid 1980s required for all government jobs.

It may be noted, however, that certain words (especially those germane to political and civic life) in Irish remain features of Irish life and are rarely, if ever, translated into English. These include the names of legislative bodies (such as Dáil Éireann and Seanad Éireann), government positions (such as Taoiseach and Tánaiste, of the elected representative(s) in the Dáil (Teachta Dála), and political parties (such as Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael). The Republic of Ireland's police force, the Garda Síochána, are referred to as "the Gardaí", or "the Guards" for short. Irish appears on government forms, euro-currency, and postage stamps, in traditional music and in media promoting folk culture. Irish placenames are still common for houses, streets, villages, and geographic features, especially the thousands of townlands. But with these important exceptions, and despite the presence of Irish loan words in Hiberno-English, Ireland is today largely an English-speaking country. Fluent or native Irish speakers are a minority in the majority of the country, with Irish remaining as a vernacular mainly in the relatively small Gaeltacht regions, and most Irish speakers also have fluent English.

At the time of partition, English had become the first language of the majority in Northern Ireland. It had Irishspeaking areas in the Sperrin Mountains as well as in the northern Glens of Antrim and Rathlin Island. There were also pockets of Irish speakers in the south of County Armagh. All these areas of Northern Ireland are now predominantly English-speaking now, however, although a Gaeltacht Quarter exists in Belfast. In recent decades, some Nationalists in Northern Ireland have used it as a means of promoting an Irish identity. However, the amount of interest from Unionists remains low, particularly since the 1960s. Irish is currently only spoken by about 165,000 people in Northern Ireland who have predominantly learned it as a second language. Otherwise, except for place names and folk music, English is effectively the sole language of Northern Ireland. The Good Friday Agreement specifically acknowledges the position both of Irish and of Ulster Scots in the Republic of Ireland and in Northern Ireland.

Scotland

Anglic speakers were actually established in Lothian by the 7th century, but remained confined there, and indeed contracted slightly to the advance of the Gaelic language. However, during the 12th and 13th centuries, Norman landowners and their retainers, were invited to settle by the king. It is probable that many of their retainers spoke a northern form of Middle English, although probably French was more common. Most of the evidence suggests that English spread into Scotland via the burgh, proto-urban institutions which were first established by King David I. Incoming burghers were mainly English (especially from Northumbria, and the Earldom of Huntingdon), Flemish and French. Although the military aristocracy employed French and Gaelic, these small urban communities appear to have been using English as something more than a lingua franca by the end of the 13th century. English appeared in Scotland for the first time in literary form in the mid-14th century, when its form unsurprisingly differed little from other northern English dialects. As a consequence of the outcome of the Wars of Independence though, the English of Lothian who lived under the King of Scots had to accept Scottish identity. The growth in prestige of English in the 14th century, and the complementary decline of French in Scotland, made English the prestige language of most of eastern Scotland.

Thus, from the end of the 14th century, and certainly by the end of the 15th century, Scotland began to show a split into two cultural areas – the mainly English or Lowland Scots lowlands, and the mainly-Gaelic speaking highlands (which then could be thought to include Galloway and Carrick; see Galwegian Gaelic). This caused divisions in the country where the Lowlands remained, historically, more influenced by the English to the south: the Lowlands lay more open to attack by invading armies from the south and absorbed English influence through their proximity to and their trading relations with their southern neighbours.

In 1603 the Scottish King James VI inherited the throne of England, and became James I of England. James moved to London and only returned once to Scotland. By the time of James VI's accession to the English throne the old Scottish Court and Parliament spoke Lowland Scots. Lowland Scots developed from the Anglian spoken in the Northumbrian kingdom of Bernicia, which in the 6th century conquered the Brythonic kingdom of Gododdin and renamed its capital of Dunedin to Edinburgh. Lowland Scots continues to heavily influence the spoken English of the Scottish people today. It is much more similar to dialects in the north of England, than to 'British' English, even today. The introduction of King James Version of the Bible into Scottish churches also was a blow to Lowland Scots, since it used Southern English forms.

In 1707 the Scottish and English Parliaments signed a Treaty of Union. Implementing the treaty involved dissolving both the English and the Scottish Parliaments, and transferring all their powers to a new Parliament in London which then became the British Parliament. A customs and currency union also took place. With this, Scotland's position was consolidated within the United Kingdom.

Today, almost all residents of Scotland speak English, although many speak various Lowland Scots dialects which differ markedly from Scottish Standard English. Approximately 2% of the population use Scottish Gaelic as their language of everyday use, primarily in the northern and western regions of the country. Virtually all Scottish Gaelic speakers also speak fluent English.

Isle of Man

The Isle of Man is a Crown Dependency. English and Manx Gaelic are the two official languages.

English in other British or Formerly British Territories

Channel Islands

The bailiwicks of Jersey and Guernsey are two Crown Dependencies. Besides English, some (very few) inhabitants of these islands speak regional languages, or those related to French (such as Jèrriais, Dgèrnésiais and Sercquiais).

All inhabitants of the populated Channel Islands (Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark) speak English.

Gibraltar

Gibraltar has been a British overseas territory since an Anglo-Dutch force led by Sir George Rooke seized "The Rock" in 1704 and Spain ceded the territory in perpetuity to Great Britain in the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht.

The small territory's Gibraltarian inhabitants have a rich cultural heritage as a result of the mix of the neighbouring Andalusian population with immigrants from Genoa, Malta, Portugal, Morocco and India.

The vernacular language of the territory is Llanito. It consists of an eclectic mix of Andalusian Spanish and British English as well as languages such as Maltese, Portuguese, Italian of the Genoese variety and Haketia. Even though Andalusian Spanish is the main constituent

of Llanito, it is also heavily influenced by British English, involving a certain amount of code-switching into English.

However, English remains the sole official language, used by Government. It is also the medium of instruction in schools and most Gibraltarians who go on to tertiary education do so in the UK. Although Gibraltar receives Spanish television and radio, British television is also widely available via satellite. Whereas a century ago, most Gibraltarians were monolingual Spanish speakers, the majority is now naturally bilingual in English and Spanish.

Cyprus

In 1914 the Ottoman Empire declared war against the United Kingdom and France as part of the complex series of alliances that led to World War I. The British then annexed Cyprus on 2 November 1914 as part of the British Empire, making the Cypriots British subjects. On 5 November 1914 the British and the French declared war on the Ottoman Empire. Most of Cyprus gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1960, with the UK, Greece and Turkey retaining limited rights to intervene in internal affairs. Parts of the island were excluded from the territory of the new independent republic and remain under UK control. These zones are what are known as the Sovereign Base Areas or SBAs.

The British colonial history of Cyprus has left Cypriots with a good level of English but it is no longer an official language in either the Greek south side of the island, formally known as the Republic of Cyprus or the Turkish north, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus though English remains official in the SBAs. Since the effective partition of the island in 1974, Greek and Turkish Cypriots have had little opportunity or inclination to learn the others language, and are more likely to talk to each other in English.

English is also commonly used on Cyprus to communicate with foreign visitors. If a foreign visitor does

not try to speak to the Cypriot in their native language (either Greek or Turkish, respective to whether one is visiting the Greek or Turkish side of the island), (s)he will likely try to use English. The large number of British tourists (and other, largely Northern European ones, who use English as a *lingua franca*) who visit Cyprus regularly has contributed largely to the continued use of English on Cyprus, especially in its thriving tourist industry.

After independence in the 1960s there was some attempt to encourage French which was still the most important western European language. This policy would have been in line with that in place in Greece at the time. Furthermore, the 1960s, affluent French speaking tourists (both from France and the Lebanon) in terms of percentage were more important than today. Over all though, the French policy was indicative of a desire to distance Cyprus from the former British colonial power, against which a bitter war of independence had recently been fought and won.

However, knowledge of English is helped by the large Cypriot migrant communities in the UK and Australia, leading to diffusion of culture and language back to their country of origin and negative sentiments towards the UK have waned or disappeared. There is now a large British expatriate population, in addition to the British military presence in the Sovereign Base Areas, as well as the UN buffer zone, whose peacekeepers usually also use English as a *lingua franca*. All of the above maintains an English-speaking presence on the island.

Malta

In 1814, Malta became part of the British Empire, under the terms of the Treaty of Vienna. Prior to the arrival of the British, the language of the educated Maltese elite had been Italian, and all legal statutes, taxation, education, and clerical discourses were conducted either in Italian or in Latin.

However, this was increasingly downgraded by the increased use of English. The British began scripting and codifying Maltese – hitherto an unscripted vernacular – as a language in or around 1868. From this point on, the Maltese language gradually gained currency as the main language on the islands, its grammars and conventions evolving in a mix between Italian, Arabic, and English.

Between the 1870s and 1930s, Malta had three official languages, Italian, Maltese, and English, but in 1934, English and Maltese were declared the sole official languages. The British associated Italian with the Benito Mussolini regime in Italy, which had made territorial claims on the islands, although the use of Italian by nationalists was more out of cultural affinities with Italy than any sympathy with Italian Fascism. With the outbreak of World War II, the Maltese lost their sense of fraternity with the Italian world, and there was a decline in Italian spoken in Malta.

English remains an official language in Malta, but since independence in 1964, the country's cultural and commercial links with Italy have strengthened, owing to proximity. Italian television is widely received in Malta and is highly popular.

Other Countries in Contemporary Europe

There are also pockets of native English speakers to be found throughout Europe, such as in southern Spain, France, the Algarve in Portugal, the Netherlands as well as numerous U.S. and British military bases in Germany. As well as some English speaking Caribbean, African, Asian and Oceanic communities who live throughout Europe. There are communities of native English speakers in all the main European cities, e.g., Amsterdam, Berlin, Brussels, Barcelona, Paris and Rome.

Sectors of tourism, publishing, finance, computers and related industries rely heavily on English due to Anglophone trade ties. Air traffic control and shipping movements are almost all conducted in English.

In areas of Europe where English is not the first language, there are many examples of the mandated primacy of English: for example, some companies, such as Renault, have designated English to be the language of communication for their senior management, and many universities offering education in English. The language is also a required subject in most European schools.

While shown grey on the map at the top of the page, as they are outside the European Union, Switzerland, Iceland and Norway also have high percentages of English speakers.

English as Lingua Franca

English is a lingua franca in parts of Western and Northern Europe. In the EU25, working knowledge of English as a foreign language is clearly leading at 38%, followed by German and French (at 14% each), Russian and Spanish (at 6% each), and Italian (3%). Working knowledge of English is particularly high in Scandinavia (Denmark 86%, Sweden 89%) and the Netherlands (87%). In Eastern and Southern Europe, working knowledge of English is lower, around 20-29%. On average, 38% of citizens of the European Union stated that they have sufficient knowledge of English to have a conversation.

9

Focus on Input Hypothesis, Phonology and Task-Based Language Learning

INPUT HYPOTHESIS

The Input Hypothesis is one of five hypotheses of second language acquisition proposed by Stephen Krashen. It is also often used as a catch-all term to refer to all of the hypotheses as one entity. The hypotheses are the acquisition-learning hypothesis, the input hypothesis, the monitor hypothesis, the affective filter, and the natural order hypothesis. They were very influential in language education, but have since fallen out of favor due to criticism from the second language acquisition research community.

Input Hypothesis

If i represents previously acquired linguistic competence and extra-linguistic knowledge, the hypothesis claims that we move from i to i+1 by understanding input that contains i+1. Extra-linguistic knowledge includes our knowledge of the world and of the situation, that is, the context. The +1 represents new knowledge or language structures that we should be ready to acquire. The comprehensible input hypothesis can be restated in terms of the natural order hypothesis. For example, if we acquire the rules of language in a linear order (1, 2, 3...), then i represents the last rule or language form learned, and i+1 is the next structure

that should be learned. It must be stressed however, that just any input is not sufficient, the input received must be comprehensible. According to Krashen, there are three corollaries to his theory.

Corollaries of the Input/Comprehension Hypothesis

- 1. Talking (output) is not practicing: Krashen stresses yet again that speaking in the target language does not result in language acquisition. Although speaking can indirectly assist in language acquisition, the ability to speak is not the cause of language learning or acquisition. Instead, comprehensible output is the result of language acquisition.
- 2. When enough comprehensible input is provided, i+1 is present: That is to say, that if language models and teachers provide enough comprehensible input, then the structures that acquirers are ready to learn will be present in that input. According to Krashen, this is a better method of developing grammatical accuracy than direct grammar teaching.
- 3. The teaching order is not based on the natural order: Instead, students will acquire the language in a natural order by receiving comprehensible input.

Applications in Second Language Teaching

Beginning Level

- Class time is filled with comprehensible oral input
- Teachers must modify their speech so that it is comprehensible
- Demands for speaking (output) are low; students are not forced to speak until ready
- Grammar instruction is only included for students high school age and older

Intermediate level'

• Sheltered subject-matter teaching that uses modified academic texts to provide comprehensible input.

- Sheltered subject matter teaching is not for beginners or native speakers of the target language.
- In sheltered instruction classes, the focus is on the meaning, and not the form.

Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis

In modern linguistics, there are many theories as to how humans are able to develop language ability. According to Stephen Krashen's acquisition-learning hypothesis, there are two independent ways in which we develop our linguistic skills: acquisition and learning. This theory is at the core of modern language acquisition theory, and is perhaps the most fundamental of Krashen's theories on Second Language Acquisition.

Acquisition

Acquisition of language is a subconscious process of which the individual is not aware. One is unaware of the process as it is happening and when the new knowledge is acquired, the acquirer generally does not realize that he or she possesses any new knowledge. According to Krashen, both adults and children can subconsciously acquire language, and either written or oral language can be acquired. This process is similar to the process that children undergo when learning their native language. Acquisition requires *meaningful* interaction in the target language, during which the acquirer is focused on meaning rather than form.

Learning

Learning a language, on the other hand, is a conscious process, much like what one experiences in school. New knowledge or language forms are represented consciously in the learner's mind, frequently in the form of language "rules" and "grammar" and the process often involves error correction.. Language learning involves formal instruction, and according to Krashen, is less effective than acquisition.

Monitor Hypothesis

The monitor hypothesis (often spelled Monitor hypothesis) is one of five hypotheses developed by the linguist Stephen Krashen to explain second language acquisition (SLA).

Background

The monitor hypothesis is to part of the Krashen's second language acquisition set of theories comprising:

- the acquisition-learning hypothesis;
- the monitor hypothesis;
- the natural order hypothesis;
- the input hypothesis;
- the affective filter hypothesis.

The acquisition-learning distinction is the most fundamental of these and the most widely known among linguists.

Monitor Hypothesis

The monitor hypothesis asserts that a learner's learned system acts as a monitor to what they are producing. In other words, while only the acquired system is able to produce spontaneous speech, the learned system is used to check what is being spoken. Before the learner produces an utterance, he or she internally scans it for errors, and uses the learned system to make corrections. Self-correction occurs when the learner uses the Monitor to correct a sentence after it is uttered. According to the hypothesis, such self-monitoring and self-correction are the only functions of conscious language learning.

The Monitor model then predicts faster initial progress by adults than children, as adults use this 'monitor' when producing L2 (target language) utterances before having acquired the ability for natural performance, and adult learners will input more into conversations earlier than children.

Three Conditions for use of the Monitor

According to Krashen, for the Monitor to be successfully used, three conditions must be met:

- 1. The acquirer/learner must know the rule: This is a very difficult condition to meet because it means that the speaker must have had explicit instruction on the language form that he or she is trying to produce.
- 2. The acquirer must be focused on correctness: He or she must be thinking about form, and it is difficult to focus on meaning and form at the same time.
- 3. The acquirer/learner must have time to use the monitor: Using the monitor requires the speaker to slow down and focus on form.

Difficulties using the Monitor

There are many difficulties with the use of the monitor, making the monitor rather weak as a language tool.

- 1. Knowing the rule: this is a difficult condition to meet, because even the best students do not learn every rule that is taught, cannot remember every rule they have learned, and can't always correctly apply the rules they do remember. Furthermore, every rule of a language is not always included in a text nor taught by the teacher
- 2. Having time to use the monitor: there is a price that is paid for the use of the monitor- the speaker is then focused on form rather than meaning, resulting in the production and exchange of less information, thus slowing the flow of conversation. Some speakers over-monitor to the point that the conversation is painfully slow and sometimes difficult to listen to.
- 3. The rules of language make up only a small portion of our language competence: Acquisition does not provide 100% language competence. There is often a small portion of grammar, punctuation, and spelling that even the most proficient native speakers may not acquire. While it is

important to learn these aspects of language, since writing is the only form that requires 100% competence, these aspects of language make up only a small portion of our language competence.

Due to these difficulties, Krashen recommends using the monitor at times when it does not interfere with communication, such as while writing.

Criticism

The model has been criticized by some linguists and isn't considered a valid hypothesis for some. It has however, inspired much research, and many linguists praise its value.

The theory underlies Krashen and Terrell's comprehension-based language learning methodology known as the natural approach (1983). The Focal Skills approach, first developed in 1988, is also based on the theory.

Most popular competitors are the Skill-building Hypothesis and the Comprehensive output hypothesis. The input hypothesis is relate to Instructional scaffolding.

Affective Filter Hypothesis

The affective filter is an impediment to learning or acquisition caused by negative emotional ("affective") responses to one's environment. It is a hypothesis of second language acquisition theory, and a field of interest in educational psychology.

Major Components of the Hypothesis

According to the affective filter hypothesis, certain emotions, such as anxiety, self-doubt, and mere boredom interfere with the process of acquiring a second language. They function as a filter between the speaker and the listener that reduces the amount of language input the listener is able to understand. These negative emotions prevent efficient processing of the language input. The hypothesis further states that the blockage can be reduced

by sparking interest, providing low anxiety environments and bolstering the learner's self-esteem.

According to Krashen (1982), there are two prime issues that prevent the lowering of the affective filter. The first is not allowing for a silent period (expecting the student to speak before they have received an adequate amount of comprehensible input according to their individual needs). The second is correcting their errors too early-on in the process.

History

Since Stephen Krashen first proposed this hypothesis in the 1970s, a considerable amount of research has been done to test its claims. While the weight of that research is still not definitive, the hypothesis has gained increasing support.

Krashen was not the first to suggest this hypothesis. Dulay and Burt were in 1977, and Krashen made it famous in 1982. This is stated by Krashen himself on page 31 of his book on second language acquisition (1982).

PHONOLOGY

Phonology "word, speech, subject of discussion") is, broadly speaking, the subdiscipline of linguistics concerned with "the sounds of language". That is, the systematic use of sound to encode meaning in any spoken human language, or the field of linguistics studying this use. In more narrow terms, "phonology proper is concerned with the function, behaviour and organization of sounds as linguistic items". Just as a language has syntax and vocabulary, it also has a phonology in the sense of a sound system. When describing the formal area of study, the term typically describes linguistic analysis either beneath the word (e.g., syllable, onset and rhyme, phoneme, articulatory gestures, articulatory feature, mora, etc.) or to units at all levels of language that are thought to structure sound for conveying linguistic meaning.

It is viewed as the subfield of linguistics that deals with the sound systems of languages. Whereas phonetics is about the physical production, acoustic transmission and perception of the sounds of speech, phonology describes the way sounds function within a given language or across languages to encode meaning. The term "phonology" was used in the linguistics of a greater part of the 20th century as a cover term uniting phonemics and phonetics. Current phonology can interface with disciplines such as psycholinguistics and speech perception, resulting in specific areas like articulatory or laboratory phonology.

Overview

An important part of traditional forms of phonology has been studying which sounds can be grouped into distinctive units within a language; these units are known as phonemes. For example, in English, the [p] sound in pot is aspirated (pronounced [p°]), while the word- and syllablefinal [p] in soup is not aspirated (indeed, it might be realized as a glottal stop). However, English speakers intuitively treat both sounds as variations (allophones) of the same phonological category, that is, of the phoneme /p/ . Traditionally, it would be argued that if a word-initial aspirated [p] were interchanged with the word-final unaspirated [p] in soup, they would still be perceived by native speakers of English as "the same" /p/. (However, speech perception findings now put this theory in doubt.) Although some sort of "sameness" of these two sounds holds in English, it is not universal and may be absent in other languages. For example, in Thai, Hindi, and Quechua, aspiration and non-aspiration differentiates phonemes: that is, there are word pairs that differ only in this feature (there are minimal pairs differing only in aspiration). In addition to the minimal units that can serve the purpose of differentiating meaning (the phonemes), phonology studies how sounds alternate, i.e. replace one another in different forms of the same morpheme (allomorphs), as well as, e.g., syllable structure, stress, accent, and intonation.

The principles of phonological theory have also been applied to the analysis of sign languages, even though the sub-lexical units are not instantiated as speech sounds. The principles of phonological analysis can be applied independently of modality because they are designed to serve as general analytical tools, not language-specific ones. On the other hand, it must be noted, it is difficult to analyze phonologically a language one does not speak, and most phonological analysis takes place with recourse to phonetic information.

Representing Phonemes

The writing systems of some languages are based on the phonemic principle of having one letter (or combination of letters) per phoneme and vice-versa. Ideally, speakers can correctly write whatever they can say, and can correctly read anything that is written. However in English, different spellings can be used for the same phoneme (e.g., rude and food have the same vowel sounds), and the same letter (or combination of letters) can represent different phonemes (e.g., the "th" consonant sounds of *thin* and *this* are different). In order to avoid this confusion based on orthography, phonologists represent phonemes by writing them between two slashes: "//". On the other hand, reference to variations of phonemes or attempts at representing actual speech sounds are usually enclosed by square brackets: "[]". While the letters between slashes may be based on spelling conventions, the letters between square brackets are usually the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) or some other phonetic transcription system. Additionally, angled brackets "è' è' can be used to isolate the graphemes of an alphabetic writing system.

Phoneme Inventories

Doing a Phoneme Inventory

Part of the phonological study of a language involves looking at data (phonetic transcriptions of the speech of native speakers) and trying to deduce what the underlying phonemes are and what the sound inventory of the language is. Even though a language may make distinctions between a small number of phonemes, speakers actually produce many more phonetic sounds. Thus, a phoneme in a particular language can be instantiated in many ways.

Traditionally, looking for minimal pairs forms part of the research in studying the phoneme inventory of a language. A minimal pair is a pair of words from the same language, that differ by only a single categorical sound, and that are recognized by speakers as being two different words. When there is a minimal pair, the two sounds are said to be examples of realizations of distinct phonemes. However, since it is often impossible to detect or agree to the existence of all the possible phonemes of a language with this method, other approaches are used as well.

Phonemic Distinctions or Allophones

If two similar sounds do not belong to separate phonemes, they are called allophones of the same underlying phoneme. For instance, voiceless stops (/p/, /t/, /k/) can be aspirated. In English, voiceless stops at the beginning of a stressed syllable (but not after /s/) are aspirated, whereas after /s/ they are not aspirated. This can be seen by putting the fingers right in front of the lips and noticing the difference in breathiness in saying pin versus spin. There is no English word pin that starts with an unaspirated p, therefore in English, aspirated [p°] (the [°] means aspirated) and unaspirated [p] are allophones of the same phoneme /p/. This is an example of a complementary distribution.

The /t/ sounds in the words tub, stub, but, butter, and button are all pronounced differently in American English, yet are all intuited to be of "the same sound", therefore they constitute another example of allophones of the same phoneme in English. However, an intuition such as this could be interpreted as a function of post-lexical recognition of the sounds. That is, all are seen as examples of English /t/ once the word itself has been recognized.

The findings and insights of speech perception and articulation research complicates this idea of interchangeable allophones being perceived as the same phoneme, no matter how attractive it might be for linguists who wish to rely on the intuitions of native speakers. First, interchanged allophones of the same phoneme can result in unrecognizable words. Second, actual speech, even at a word level, is highly co-articulated, so it is problematic to think that one can splice words into simple segments without affecting speech perception. In other words, interchanging allophones is a nice idea for intuitive linguistics, but it turns out that this idea cannot transcend what co-articulation actually does to spoken sounds. Yet human speech perception is so robust and versatile (happening under various conditions) because, in part, it can deal with such co-articulation.

There are different methods for determining why allophones should fall categorically under a specified phoneme. Counter-intuitively, the principle of phonetic similarity is not always used. This tends to make the phoneme seem abstracted away from the phonetic realities of speech. It should be remembered that, just because allophones can be grouped under phonemes for the purpose of linguistic analysis, this does not necessarily mean that this is an actual process in the way the human brain processes a language. On the other hand, it could be pointed out that some sort of analytic notion of a language beneath the word level is usual if the language is written alphabetically. So one could also speak of a phonology of reading and writing.

Change of a Phoneme Inventory over Time

The particular sounds which are phonemic in a language can change over time. At one time, [f] and [v] were allophones in English, but these later changed into separate phonemes. This is one of the main factors of historical change of languages as described in historical linguistics.

Other Topics in Phonology

Phonology also includes topics such as phonotactics (the phonological constraints on what sounds can appear in what positions in a given language) and phonological alternation (how the pronunciation of a sound changes through the application of phonological rules, sometimes in a given order which can be feeding or bleeding,) as well as prosody, the study of suprasegmentals and topics such as stress and intonation.

Development of the Field

In ancient India, the Sanskrit grammarian PâGini (4th century BC) in his text of Sanskrit phonology, the *Shiva Sutras*, discusses something like the concepts of the phoneme, the morpheme and the root. The *Shiva Sutras* describe a phonemic notational system in the fourteen initial lines of the $Acm\hat{a}dhy\hat{a}y\hat{i}$. The notational system introduces different clusters of phonemes that serve special roles in the morphology of Sanskrit, and are referred to throughout the text. Panini's grammar of Sanskrit had a significant influence on Ferdinand de Saussure, the father of modern structuralism, who was a professor of Sanskrit.

The Polish scholar Jan Baudouin de Courtenay, (together with his former student Miko³aj Kruszewski) coined the word *phoneme* in 1876, and his work, though often unacknowledged, is considered to be the starting point of modern phonology. He worked not only on the theory of the phoneme but also on phonetic alternations (i.e., what is now called allophony and morphophonology). His influence on Ferdinand de Saussure was also significant.

Prince Nikolai Trubetzkoy's posthumously published work, the *Principles of Phonology* (1939), is considered the foundation of the Prague School of phonology. Directly influenced by Baudouin de Courtenay, Trubetzkoy is considered the founder of morphophonology, though morphophonology was first recognized by Baudouin de Courtenay. Trubetzkoy split phonology into phonemics and

archiphonemics; the former has had more influence than the latter. Another important figure in the Prague School was Roman Jakobson, who was one of the most prominent linguists of the 20th century.

In 1968 Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle published The Sound Pattern of English (SPE), the basis for Generative Phonology. In this view, phonological representations are sequences of segments made up of distinctive features. These features were an expansion of earlier work by Roman Jakobson, Gunnar Fant, and Morris Halle. The features describe aspects of articulation and perception, are from a universally fixed set, and have the binary values + or ". There are at least two levels of representation: underlying representation and surface phonetic representation. Ordered phonological rules govern how underlying representation is transformed into the actual pronunciation (the so called surface form). An important consequence of the influence SPE had on phonological theory was the downplaying of the syllable and the emphasis on segments. Furthermore, the Generativists folded morphophonology into phonology. which both solved and created problems.

Natural Phonology was a theory based on the publications of its proponent David Stampe in 1969 and (more explicitly) in 1979. In this view, phonology is based on a set of universal phonological processes which interact with one another; which ones are active and which are suppressed are language-specific. Rather than acting on segments, phonological processes act on distinctive features within prosodic groups. Prosodic groups can be as small as a part of a syllable or as large as an entire utterance. Phonological processes are unordered with respect to each other and apply simultaneously (though the output of one process may be the input to another). The second-most prominent Natural Phonologist is Stampe's wife, Patricia Donegan; there are many Natural Phonologists in Europe, though also a few others in the U.S., such as Geoffrey Nathan. The principles of Natural Phonology were extended to morphology by Wolfgang U. Dressler, who founded Natural Morphology.

In 1976 John Goldsmith introduced autosegmental phonology. Phonological phenomena are no longer seen as operating on *one* linear sequence of segments, called phonemes or feature combinations, but rather as involving *some parallel sequences* of features which reside on multiple tiers. Autosegmental phonology later evolved into Feature Geometry, which became the standard theory of representation for the theories of the organization of phonology as different as Lexical Phonology and Optimality Theory.

Government Phonology, which originated in the early 1980s as an attempt to unify theoretical notions of syntactic and phonological structures, is based on the notion that all languages necessarily follow a small set of principles and vary according to their selection of certain binary parameters. That is, all languages' phonological structures are essentially the same, but there is restricted variation that accounts for differences in surface realizations. Principles are held to be inviolable, though parameters may sometimes come into conflict. Prominent figures include Jonathan Kaye, Jean Lowenstamm, Jean-Roger Vergnaud, Monik Charette, John Harris, and many others.

In a course at the LSA summer institute in 1991, Alan Prince and Paul Smolensky developed Optimality Theory—an overall architecture for phonology according to which languages choose a pronunciation of a word that best satisfies a list of constraints which is ordered by importance: a lower-ranked constraint can be violated when the violation is necessary in order to obey a higher-ranked constraint. The approach was soon extended to morphology by John McCarthy and Alan Prince, and has become the dominant trend in phonology. Though this usually goes unacknowledged, Optimality Theory was strongly influenced by Natural Phonology; both view phonology in terms of

constraints on speakers and their production, though these constraints are formalized in very different ways.

Broadly speaking government phonology (or its descendant, strict-CV phonology) has a greater following in the United Kingdom, whereas optimality theory is predominant in North America.

TASK-BASED LANGUAGE LEARNING

Task-based language learning (TBLL), also known as task-based language teaching (TBLT) or task-based instruction (TBI) focuses on the use of authentic language and on asking students to do meaningful tasks using the target language. Such tasks can include visiting a doctor, conducting an interview, or calling customer service for help. Assessment is primarily based on task outcome (in other words the appropriate completion of tasks) rather than on accuracy of language forms. This makes TBLL especially popular for developing target language fluency and student confidence. TBLL was popularized by N. Prabhu while working in Bangalore, India. Prabhu noticed that his students could learn language just as easily with a non-linguistic problem as when they were concentrating on linguistic questions. According to Jane Willis, TBLL consists of the pre-task, the task cycle, and the language focus.

In Practice

The core of the lesson is, as the name suggests, the task. All parts of the language used are deemphasized during the activity itself, in order to get students to focus on the task. Although there may be several effective frameworks for creating a task-based learning lesson, here is a rather comprehensive one suggested by Jane Willis.

Pre-Task

In the pre-task, the teacher will present what will be expected of the students in the task phase. Additionally,

the teacher may prime the students with key vocabulary or grammatical constructs, although, in "pure" task-based learning lessons, these will be presented as suggestions and the students would be encouraged to use what they are comfortable with in order to complete the task. The instructor may also present a model of the task by either doing it themselves or by presenting picture, audio, or video demonstrating the task.

Task

During the task phase, the students perform the task, typically in small groups, although this is dependent on the type of activity. And unless the teacher plays a particular role in the task, then the teacher's role is typically limited to one of an observer or counselor—thus the reason for it being a more student-centered methodology.

Planning

Having completed the task, the students prepare either a written or oral report to present to the class. The instructor takes questions and otherwise simply monitors the students.

Report

The students then present this information to the rest of the class. Here the teacher may provide written or oral feedback, as appropriate, and the students observing may do the same.

Analysis

Here the focus returns to the teacher who reviews what happened in the task, in regards to language. It may include language forms that the students were using, problems that students had, and perhaps forms that need to be covered more or were not used enough.

Practice

The practice stage may be used to cover material mentioned by the teacher in the analysis stage. It is an opportunity for the teacher to emphasize key language.

Merits

Task-based learning is advantageous to the student because it is more student-centered, allows for more meaningful communication, and often provides for practical extra-linguistic skill building. Although the teacher may present language in the pre-task, the students are ultimately free to use what grammar constructs and vocabulary they want. This allows them to use all the language they know and are learning, rather than just the 'target language' of the lesson. Furthermore, as the tasks are likely to be familiar to the students (eg: visiting the doctor), students are more likely to be engaged, which may further motivate them in their language learning.

Demerits

There have been criticisms that task-based learning is not appropriate as the foundation of a class for beginning students. The major disadvantage for beginning students is that the focus of task-based language learning is on output, when beginning language learners often go through a silent period requiring massive amounts of comprehensible input. Others claim that students are only exposed to certain forms of language, and are being neglected of others, such as discussion or debate. Teachers may want to keep these in mind when designing a task-based learning lesson plan.

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10

English Medium Education, Dogme Language Teaching and Communicative Language Teaching: An Overview

ENGLISH MEDIUM EDUCATION

An English medium education system is one that uses English as the primary medium of instruction. A medium of instruction is the language that is used in teaching. The language used may or may not be the official language of the territory. Most schools and institutions of education in modern-day mainly English-speaking countries such as the UK, United States, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand use English as the medium of instruction.

Because a working knowledge of English is perceived as being required in many fields, professions, and occupations, many states throughout the world mandate the teaching of English, at least a basic level, in an effort to increase the competitiveness of their economies.

The language researcher David Graddol predicts that the global spread of English will lead to serious economic and political disadvantages in the future in the UK unless plans are put in place immediately to remedy the situation. Graddol concludes that monolingual English graduates face a bleak economic future as qualified multilingual young people from other countries are proving to have a competitive advantage over their British counterparts in global companies and organizations.

Historical Background

English medium education has long been associated with the expansion of English from its homeland in England and the lowlands of Scotland and its spread to the rest of Great Britain and Ireland. The influence of the British Empire is the primary reason for the language's initial spread far beyond the United Kingdom. Following World War II, the increased economic and cultural influence of the United States led to English permeating many other cultures, chiefly through development of telecommunications technology. Dr. Robert Phillipson defines English linguistic imperialism as "the dominance asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages." Phillipson's theory provides a powerful critique on the historical spread of English as an international language and how it continues to maintain its current dominance particularly in postcolonial contexts like India but also increasingly in "neo-colonial" contexts such as continental Europe. His theory draws mainly on Johan Galtung's imperialism theory, Antonio Gramsci's social theory and in particular his notion of cultural hegemony.

Examples from Across the World

Wales

The Laws in Wales Acts 1535–1542, passed by the Parliament of England, annexing Wales to the Kingdom of England are sometimes known as the "Acts of Union."

The 1535 Act states:

the people of the same dominion have and do daily use a speche nothing like ne consonant to the naturall mother tonge used within this Realme" and then declares the intention "utterly to extirpe alle and singular sinister usages and customs" belonging to Wales, is widely regarded as a watershead in the history of the Welsh language.

Section 20 of the 1535 Act makes English the only language of the law courts and that those who used Welsh would not be appointed to any public office in Wales:

The Union legislation thus laid the foundation for the creation a thoroughly Anglicised ruling class of landed gentry in Wales, which would have many consequences.

In July 1846, the British Government appointed three commissioners, to enquire into the state of education in Wales; the Commissioners were all monoglot English-speakers.

The Commissioners reported to the Government on 1 July 1847 in three large blue-bound volumes. This report quickly became known as Brad y Llyfrau Gleision (The Treachery of the Blue Books) as, apart from documenting the state of education in Wales, the Commissioners were also free with their comments disparaging the language, Non-conformity, and the morals of the Welsh people in general. An immediate effect of the report was for a belief to take root in the minds of ordinary people that the only way for Welsh people to get on in the world was through the medium of English, and an inferiority complex developed about the Welsh language whose effects have not yet been completely eradicated. The historian Professor Kenneth O. Morgan referred to the significance of the report and its consequences as "the Glencoe and the Amritsar of Welsh history."

Ireland

The poet Spenser wrote in (1596) a recommendation that "the Irish ... be educated in English, in grammar and in science ... for learning hath that wonderful power of itself that it can soften and temper the most stern and savage nature."

The setting up of 'Royal Schools' in Ireland, was proclaimed in 1608 by James I, with the intended purpose "that there shall be one Free School at least appointed in every County, for the education of youth in learning and religion."

These schools provided an English-medium education to the sons of landed settlers in Ireland, most of whom were of Scottish or English descent.

However, only five such schools were actually set up; The Royal School, Armagh in County Armagh, Portora Royal School in County Fermanagh, The Cavan Royal School in County Cavan, The Royal School Dungannon in Tyrone and The Royal and Prior School in County Donegal.

The *National Education System* (sic) was founded in 1831, by the British Government, under the direction of the Chief Secretary, E.G. Stanley. Some 2,500 national schools were established in Ulster in the period 1832-1870, built with the aid of the Commissioners of National Education and local trustees.

Prof. S. Ó Buachalla states:

During the first four decades of their existence, there is no mention of the Irish language in the programme of regulations of the Commissioners of National Education; furthermore no provision whatsoever was made in 1831 when the original scheme was drawn up for education of those children who spoke Irish only. According to the official opinion of later Commissioners, expressed in a formal reply to the Chief Secretary in 1884, "the anxiety of the promoters of the National Scheme was to encourage the cultivation of the English language.

The Irish patriot P.H. Pearse published a series of studies of the English-medium education system in Ireland. His article entitled The Murder Machine embodies an article which appeared in the Irish Review for February 1913.

Pearse wrote in his pamphlet the following—And English education in Ireland has seemed: to some like the bed of Procustes, the bed on which all men that passed that way must lie, be it never so big for them, be it never so small for them: the traveller for whom it was too large had his limbs stretched until he filled it; the traveller for whom it was too small had his limbs chopped off until he fitted into it—comfortably. It was a grim jest to play upon travellers. The English have done it to Irish children not by way of jest, but with a purpose. Our English-Irish systems took, and take, absolutely no cognisance of the differences between individuals, of the differences between localities, of the differences springing from a different ancestry, Gaelic or Anglo-Saxon.

Scotland

Attempts were made by legislation, in the later medieval and early modern period, to establish English at first among the aristocracy and increasingly amongst all ranks by education acts and parish schools. The Scots Parliament passed some ten such acts between 1494 and 1698.

In 1609 nine Gaelic chieftains were abducted and forced to sign the Statutes of Iona, which would seem to have been designed specifically to Anglicize leaders and institutions of Gaelic society, in order to bring it under control of central government.

Among the items listed in this agreement was the "planting of the gospell among these rude, barbarous, and uncivill people" by Protestant churches; the outlawing of bards who were traditionally on circuit between the houses of noblemen; the requirement that all men of wealth send their heirs to be educated in Lowland schools where they would be taught to "speik, reid, and wryte Inglische."

The then King James VI, followed this by an Act in 1616, which sought to establish schools in every parish in the Highlands so that "the youth be exercised and trayned

up in civilitie, godlines, knawledge, and learning, that the vulgar Inglische toung be universallie plantit, and the Irische language, whilk is one of the chief and principall causes of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Ilis and Heylandis, may be abolisheit and removeit."

In 1709 the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) was established in order to further funding sources for Highland church schools. All manner of incentives and punishments were used to stop children from speaking Gaelic. The SSPCK had 5 schools by 1711, 25 by 1715, 176 by 1758 and 189 by 1808, by then with 13,000 pupils attending. At first the SSPCK avoided using the Gaelic language with the result that pupils ended up learning by rote without understanding what they were reading. In 1741 the SSPCK introduced a Gaelic-English vocabulary, then in 1766 brought in a New Testament with facing pages of Gaelic and English texts for both languages to be read alongside one another, with more success. After a number of years of unsuccessful attempts at English-only teaching methods, it was realized that literacy in Gaelic was a much more effective means of teaching and a bridge towards fluency in English.

Since 1918 education acts have provided for teaching Gaelic in Gaelic-speaking areas, but development was very slow until Gaelic became an initial teaching medium in the Gaelic areas of Inverness-shire and Ross-shire from 1958. In 1975 the newly-created Western Isles education authority introduced bilingual primary education shortly followed by Highland Region in Skye. Gaelic-medium primary education commenced with two schools in 1985, growing to 42 units by 1993/94.

In secondary education, Gaelic has long been taught as a subject—often through the medium of English, even to native speakers. A move towards bilingual secondary education in the Western Isles was frustrated by a change of government in 1979. Gaelic-medium secondary education

has developed less satisfactorily. Gaelic-medium streams followed on from primary in Glasgow and Inverness—and there has been some experimentation in the Western Isles—but the sector is hampered by acute teacher shortage, and an inspectorate report of 1994 regards Gaelic-medium secondary education as divisive and inappropriate.

Third level provision through Gaelic is provided by Sabhal Mòr Ostaig (literally: "the great barn at Ostaig") a Gaelic medium college based in Sleat, on the Isle of Skye in north west Scotland. It is part of the UHI Millennium Institute, and also has a campus on Islay known as "Ionad Chaluim Chille Ìle."

In 2004, Prince Charles, Duke of Rothesay, (who is patron of the College) stated that:

The beauty of Gaelic music and song is inescapable. But without the living language, it risks becoming an empty shell. That is why an education system, up to the level represented by the college here in Skye, is so important – to ensure fluency and literacy which will continue to renew the health and creativity of the language.

The Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 is the first piece of legislation to give formal recognition to the Gaelic language in Scotland. It recognises Gaelic as an official language of Scotland, commanding "equal respect" with English.

Education Minister Peter Peacock, who has ministerial responsibility for Gaelic, said: "This is a momentous day for Gaelic as we open a new chapter in the language's history. We have come a long way since the dark days of 1616 when an Act of Parliament ruled that Gaelic should be 'abolishit and removit' from Scotland."

Cornwall

A revealing instance of attempted cultural assimilation is the Prayer Book rebellion of 1549, where the English state sought to suppress non-English language speaking with the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer, which was made available only in English. In replacing Latin with English, and under the guise of suppressing Catholicism, English was effectively imposed as the language of the Church, with the intent of it becoming the language of the people. At the time people in many areas of Cornwall did not speak or understand English.

The forced introduction of English to church services in Cornwall provided a major reason for the rebellion. The articles of the rebels states: "and we the cornyshe men (whereof certen of vs vnderstande no Englysh) vtterly refuse thys new English."

The British Raj

British records show that indigenous education was widespread in the 18th century, with a school for every temple, mosque or village in most regions of the country. The subjects taught included Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Theology, Law, Astronomy, Metaphysics, Ethics, Medical Science and Religion. The schools were attended by students representative of all classes of society. Gandhi is said to have described the traditional educational system as a beautiful tree that was destroyed by British rule.

The Charter Act of 1813 decreed that English would be taught in the Indian education system although not as a replacement for indigenous languages. Instead, it was anticipated that English would co-exist with Oriental studies as a means by which moral law could be reinforced.

The 1817 publication of James Mill's *History of British India* proved to be a defining text in the theories of how education policies should be formed (ed. Horace Hayman Wilson: London, Piper, Stephenson and Spence, 1858). Mill advocated the introduction of European knowledge to counter balance Indian traits judged to be irrational. Instilling ideals of reason would accordingly 'reform' Indians by the example of Western systems of thought and outlook. His ideas discredited Indian culture, language and literature

even as its assumptions of moral superiority authorised and justified the presence of the British in India.

The current system of education, was introduced and funded by the British in the 19th century, following recommendations by Thomas Babington Macaulay. Traditional structures were not recognized by the British government and have been on the decline since.

Thomas MacAulay's infamous 'Minute On Indian Education' (1835) encapsulates both the overt and covert agendas for such a policy.

The term 'Macaulay's Children' is used to refer to people born of Indian ancestry who adopt Western culture as a lifestyle. It is usually used in a derogatory fashion, and the connotation is one of disloyalty to one's country and one's heritage.

The passage to which the term refers is from his 'Minute on Indian Education' delivered in 1835. It reads:

It is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

In 1835 Lord William Bentninck revitalised the earlier Charter Act with his New Education Policy which determined that English should be the official language of the courts, diplomacy and administration. Prior to this Persian had been the accepted language of diplomacy. Bentninck's motive was ostensibly to "regenerate" society, but the ramifications were boundless. From this moment on only those with

Western style education and a knowledge of English were eligible for government employment or for a career in public life.

In 1854 Sir Charles Wood published his Education Dispatch which was aimed at widening the availability of Western oriented knowledge. Universities were established under the London examining model in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras.

Lord Ripon's Hunter Commission of 1882 somewhat belatedly advocated that there should be increased provision of education at primary level and for women. The theory was that there would be a subsequent rise in the calibre of applicants for third level entry.

The inevitable result was that an Indian-based education was viewed as being second rate in comparison to an English medium education.

India

The success of this 'Indian Education Policy' can perhaps be measured, by the content of the recent address of Dr Manmohan Singh the Prime Minister of India:

Of all the legacies of the Raj, none is more important than the English language and the modern school system. That is, of course, if you leave out cricket! Of course, people here may not recognise the language we speak, but let me assure you that it is English! In indigenising English, as so many people have done in so many nations across the world, we have made the language our own. Our choice of prepositions may not always be the Queen's English; we might occasionally split the infinitive; and we may drop an article here and add an extra one there. I am sure everyone will agree, Nevertheless, that English has been enriched by Indian creativity as well and we have given you back R.K. Narayan and Salman Rushdie. Today, English in India is seen as just another Indian language.

Pakistan

The Government of Pakistan has recently announced the introduction of English lessons on a phased basis to all schools across the country. This new policy states that "English language has been made compulsory from Class-1 onwards" and the "Introduction of English as medium of instruction for science, mathematics, computer science and other selected subjects like economics and geography in all schools in a graduated manner." Caretaker Minister for Education Mr. Shujaat Ali Beg declared January 25, 2008 that eighteen colleges of the city of Karachi would be made "Model English Medium Colleges,"

Bangladesh

In Bangladesh the system of education is divided into three different branches. Students are free to choose anyone of them provided that they have the means. These branches are: The English Medium, The Bengali Medium, and The Religious Branch. In the English Medium system, courses are all taught in English using English books with the exception for Bengali and Arabic. English medium schools are mainly private and thus reserved for the wealthy class. O and A level exams are arranged through the British Council in Dhaka.

The Union of Myanmar

In the Union of Myanmar, the education system is based on the British Colonial model, due to nearly a century of British and Christian presences. Nearly all schools are government-operated, but there has been a recent increase in privately funded English language schools.

China

The only university in China offer English medium education is University of Nottingham Ningbo, China.

The Philippines

The United States of America won the Philippine-

American War (1898–1901), and declared the Philippines a US colony. US imperial rule followed. Mac Síomóin quotes the Filipino scholar E. San Juan who made the following comment regarding the use made by the US administration of the English language to rule his country:

Its conquest of hegemony or consensual rule was literally accomplished through the deployment of English as the official medium of business, schooling and government. This pedagogical strategy was designed to cultivate an intelligencia, a middle stratum divorced from its roots in the plebian masses, who would service the ideological apparatus of Anglo-Saxon supremacy. Americanization was mediated through English, sanctioned as the language of prestige and aspiration.

DOGME LANGUAGE TEACHING

Dogme language teaching is considered to be both a methodology and a movement. Dogme is a communicative approach to language teaching and encourages teaching without published textbooks and instead focusing on conversational communication among the learners and the teacher. It has its roots in an article by the language education author, Scott Thornbury. The Dogme approach is also referred to as "Dogme ELT", which reflects its origins in the ELT (English language teaching) sector. Although Dogme language teaching gained its name from an analogy with the Dogme 95 film movement (initiated by Lars von Trier), the connection is not considered close.

Key Principles of Dogme

Dogme has ten key principles.

- 1. Interactivity: the most direct route to learning is to be found in the interactivity between teachers and students and amongst the students themselves.
- 2. Engagement: students are most engaged by content they have created themselves

- 3. Dialogic processes: learning is social and dialogic, where knowledge is co-constructed
- 4. Scaffolded conversations: learning takes place through conversations, where the learner and teacher co-construct the knowledge and skills
- 5. Emergence: language and grammar emerge from the learning process. This is seen as distinct from the 'acquisition' of language.
- 6. Affordances: the teacher's role is to optimize language learning affordances through directing attention to emergent language.
- 7. Voice: the learner's voice is given recognition along with the learner's beliefs and knowledge.
- 8. Empowerment: students and teachers are empowered by freeing the classroom of published materials and textbooks.
- 9. Relevance: materials (eg texts, audios and videos) should have relevance for the learners
- 10. Critical use: teachers and students should use published materials and textbooks in a critical way that recognizes their cultural and ideological biases.

Main Precepts of Dogme

There are three precepts that emerge from the ten key principles.

Conversation-Driven Teaching

Conversation is seen as central to language learning within the Dogme framework, because it is the "fundamental and universal form of language" and so is considered to be "language at work". Since real life conversation is more interactional than it is transactional, Dogme places more value on communication that promotes social interaction. Dogme also places more emphasis on a discourse-level (rather than sentence-level) approach to language, as it is considered to better prepare learners for real-life communication, where the entire conversation is more

relevant than the analysis of specific utterances. Dogme considers that the learning of a skill is co-constructed within the interaction between the learner and the teacher. In this sense, teaching is a conversation between the two parties. As such, Dogme is seen to reflect Tharp's view that "to most truly teach, one must converse; to truly converse is to teach".

Materials Light Approach

The Dogme approach considers that student produced material is preferable to published materials and textbooks, to the extent of inviting teachers to take a 'vow of chastity' and not use textbooks. Dogme teaching has therefore been criticized as not offering teachers the opportunity to use a complete range of materials and resources. However there is a debate to the extent that Dogme is actually antitextbook or anti-technology. Meddings and Thornbury focus the critique of textbooks on their tendency to focus on grammar more than on communicative competency and also on the cultural biases often found in textbooks, especially those aimed at global markets. Indeed, Dogme can be seen as a pedagogy that is able to address the lack of availability or affordability of materials in many parts of the world. Proponents of a Dogme approach argue that they are not so much anti-materials, as pro-learner, and thus align themselves with other forms of learner-centered instruction and critical pedagogy.

Emergent Language

Dogme considers language learning to be a process where language emerges rather than one where it is acquired. Dogme shares this belief with other approaches to language education, such as task-based learning. Language is considered to emerge in two ways. Firstly classroom activities lead to collaborative communication amongst the students. Secondly, learners produce language that they were not necessarily taught. As such, the teacher's role, in part, is to facilitate the emergence of language.

However, Dogme does not see the teacher's role as merely to create the right conditions for language to emerge. The teacher must also encourage learners to engage with this new language to ensure learning takes place. The teacher can do this in a variety of ways, including rewarding, repeating and reviewing it. As language emerges rather than is acquired, there is no need to follow a syllabus that is externally set. Indeed, the content of the syllabus is covered (or 'uncovered') throughout the learning process.

Pedagogical Foundations of Dogme

Dogme has its roots in Communicative language teaching (in fact Dogme sees itself as an attempt to restore the communicative aspect to communicative approaches). Dogme has been noted for its compatibility with reflective teaching and for its intention to "humanize the classroom through a radical pedagogy of dialogue". It also shares many qualities with task-based language learning and only differs with task-based learning in terms of methodology rather than philosophy. Research evidence for Dogme is limited but Thornbury argues that the similarities with task-based learning suggest that Dogme likely leads to similar results. An example is the findings that learners tend to interact, produce language and collaboratively coconstruct their learning when engaged in communicative tasks.

Dogme As a Critical Pedagogy

Although Thornbury notes that Dogme is not inherently seeking social change and therefore does not fulfill generally held criteria for a critical pedagogy, Dogme can be seen as critical in terms of its anti-establishment approach to language teaching.

Dogme, Technology and Web 2.0

Although Dogme teaching has been seen to be antitechnology, Thornbury maintains that he does not see Dogme as being opposed to technology as such, rather that the approach is critical of using technology that does not enable teaching that is both learner centered and is based upon authentic communication. Indeed, more recent attempts to map Dogme principles on to language learning with web 2.0 tools (under the term "Dogme 2.0") are considered evidence of Dogme being in transition and therefore of being compatible with new technology. However, although there is not a clear consensus among Dogme teachers on this issue, there is a dominant view that the physical classroom will be preferable to attempts to substitute physical presence with communication via digital technology.

Criticism of Dogme

Dogme has come under criticism from a wide range of teachers and educators for its perceived rejection of both published textbooks and modern technology in language lessons. Furthermore the initial call for a 'vow of chastity' is seen as unnecessarily purist and that a weaker adoption of Dogme principles would allow teachers the freedom to choose resources according to the needs of a particular lesson.

Maley also presents Dogme as an approach that "[increases] the constraints on teachers". Christensen notes that adoption of Dogme practices may face greater cultural challenges in countries outside of Europe, such as Japan. Questions have also been raised about the appropriateness of Dogme in low resource contexts and where students are preparing for examinations that have specific syllabi.

COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING

Communicative language teaching (CLT) is an approach to the teaching of second and foreign languages that emphasizes interaction as both the means and the ultimate goal of learning a language. It is also referred to as "communicative approach to the teaching of foreign languages" or simply the "communicative approach".

Relationship with other Methods and Approaches

Historically, CLT has been seen as a response to the audio-lingual method (ALM), and as an extension or development of the notional-functional syllabus. Task-based language learning, a more recent refinement of CLT, has gained considerably in popularity.

The Audio-Lingual Method

The audio-lingual method (ALM) arose as a direct result of the need for foreign language proficiency in listening and speaking skills during and after World War II. It is closely tied to behaviorism, and thus made drilling, repetition, and habit-formation central elements of instruction. Proponents of ALM felt that this emphasis on repetition needed a corollary emphasis on accuracy, claiming that continual repetition of errors would lead to the fixed acquisition of incorrect structures and non-standard pronunciation.

In the classroom, lessons were often organized by grammatical structure and presented through short dialogues. Often, students listened repeatedly to recordings of conversations (for example, in the language lab) and focused on accurately mimicking the pronunciation and grammatical structures in these dialogs.

Critics of ALM asserted that this over-emphasis on repetition and accuracy ultimately did not help students achieve communicative competence in the target language. Noam Chomsky argued "Language is not a habit structure. Ordinary linguistic behaviour characteristically involves innovation, formation of new sentences and patterns in accordance with rules of great abstractness and intricacy". They looked for new ways to present and organize language instruction, and advocated the notional functional syllabus, and eventually CLT as the most effective way to teach second and foreign languages. However, audio-lingual methodology is still prevalent in many text books and teaching materials. Moreover, advocates of audio-lingual

methods point to their success in improving aspects of language that are habit driven, most notably pronunciation.

The Notional-Functional Syllabus

A notional-functional syllabus is more a way of organizing a language learning curriculum than a method or an approach to teaching. In a notional-functional syllabus, instruction is organized not in terms of grammatical structure as had often been done with the ALM, but in terms of "notions" and "functions." In this model, a "notion" is a particular context in which people communicate, and a "function" is a specific purpose for a speaker in a given context. As an example, the "notion" or context shopping requires numerous language functions including asking about prices or features of a product and bargaining. Similarly, the notion party would require numerous functions like introductions and greetings and discussing interests and hobbies. Proponents of the notional-functional syllabus claimed that it addressed the deficiencies they found in the ALM by helping students develop their ability to effectively communicate in a variety of real-life contexts.

Learning by Teaching (LdL)

Learning by teaching is a widespread method in Germany (Jean-Pol Martin). The students take the teacher's role and teach their peers.

CLT is usually characterized as a broad *approach* to teaching, rather than as a teaching *method* with a clearly defined set of classroom practices. As such, it is most often defined as a list of general principles or features. One of the most recognized of these lists is David Nunan's (1991) five features of CLT:

- 1. An emphasis on learning to communicate through interaction in the target language.
- 2. The introduction of authentic texts into the learning situation.
- 3. The provision of opportunities for learners to focus,

- not only on language but also on the Learning Management process.
- 4. An enhancement of the learner's own personal experiences as important contributing elements to classroom learning.
- 5. An attempt to link classroom language learning with language activities outside the classroom.

These five features are claimed by practitioners of CLT to show that they are very interested in the needs and desires of their learners as well as the connection between the language as it is taught in their class and as it used outside the classroom. Under this broad umbrella definition, any teaching practice that helps students develop their communicative competence in an authentic context is deemed an acceptable and beneficial form of instruction. Thus, in the classroom CLT often takes the form of pair and group work requiring negotiation and cooperation between learners, fluency-based activities that encourage learners to develop their confidence, role-plays in which students practice and develop language functions, as well as judicious use of grammar and pronunciation focused activities.

In the mid 1990s the Dogma 95 manifesto influenced language teaching through the Dogme language teaching movement, who proposed that published materials can stifle the communicative approach. As such the aim of the Dogme approach to language teaching is to focus on real conversations about real subjects so that communication is the engine of learning. This communication may lead to explanation, but that this in turn will lead to further communication.

Classroom Activities Used in CLT

Example Activities Role Play Interviews Information Gap Games
Language Exchanges
Surveys
Pair Work
Learning by teaching

However, not all courses that utilize the Communicative Language approach will restrict their activities solely to these. Some courses will have the students take occasional grammar quizzes, or prepare at home using noncommunicative drills, for instance.

Critiques of CLT

One of the most famous attacks on communicative language teaching was offered by Michael Swan in the English Language Teaching Journal in 1985. Henry Widdowson responded in defense of CLT, also in the ELT Journal (1985 39(3):158-161). More recently other writers (e.g. Bax) have critiqued CLT for paying insufficient attention to the context in which teaching and learning take place, though CLT has also been defended against this charge (e.g. Harmer 2003).

Often, the communicative approach is deemed a success if the teacher understands the student. But, if the teacher is from the same region as the student, the teacher will understand errors resulting from an influence from their first language. Native speakers of the target language may still have difficulty understanding them. This observation may call for new thinking on and adaptation of the communicative approach. The adapted communicative approach should be a simulation where the teacher pretends to understand only what any regular speaker of the target language would and reacts accordingly (Hattum 2006).

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11

English Language Proficiency Test and Skills Assessment: Focus on Preliminary and Secondary Aspects

ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY TEST

The English Language Proficiency Test (ELPT) was the name of a SAT II last administered in January 2005. It was a one-hour multiple choice test given on English language proficiency by The College Board. A student whose native language was not English could have chosen to take this test instead of or in addition to Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) for college entrance depending upon requirements of the schools in which the student was planning to apply. Until 1994, the SAT II's were known as Achievement Tests. The ELPT assessed both the understanding of spoken and written standard American English and the ability to function in a classroom where English is spoken. The test was intended for students whose best language was not English; who attend U.S. high schools, or who had studied in an international school where courses were taught in English; had completed two to four years of English language instruction in an English as a Second Language programme or in English enrichment courses; and/or students who spoke a language other than English at home or work. It was scored on a scale of 901 to 999

Format

The test had 84 multiple-choice questions and was divided into three sections: two listening sections totaling 30 minutes and one 30-minute reading section.

Scoring

The following is the final release of score percentiles as seen on the 2007 SAT score reports. The mean score was 964.

Score	Percentile
999	99+
995	99
990	92
985	84
980	75
975	66
970	57
965	47
960	38
955	31
950	23
945	17
940	12
935	9
930	5
925	3
920	1
915	1-
910	1-
905	-
901	-

GENERAL ENGLISH PROFICIENCY TEST

The General English Proficiency Test is a test of English language proficiency that was commissioned by Taiwan's

Ministry of Education in 1999. The GEPT was developed by the Language Training and Testing Center in Taipei, Taiwan and was first administered in 2002.

Overview

There are four levels of the test currently being administered: elementary, intermediate, high-intermediate, and advanced. A fifth level, the superior level, was administered only once and then suspended, pending further need. With the exception of the advanced level of the test, which is only conducted in Taipei at the LTTC headquarters, the GEPT is administered at sites located around the island of Taiwan as well as on offshore islands including Penghu and Kinmen.

The GEPT Elementary level is presumed to be appropriate for students who have studied English through junior high school. The GEPT Intermediate level is seen as suitable for high school graduates or university freshmen. The GEPT High-intermediate level is thought to be suitable for university graduates majoring in English. The GEPT Advanced level test is considered adequately difficult that only someone with a graduate degree from a university in an English-speaking country would be able to pass it.

Reportedly, comparability studies that will relate the GEPT to the Common European Framework standards of language proficiency are underway.

Each level is administered in a two-stage process. First, all examinees at each level take a listening and reading comprehension test. Those examinees who pass this first stage are allowed to register for the second stage, the speaking and writing portions of the test.

Total Number of Examinees and Passing Rates

The *elementary level* test was first administered in 2002 and has been held twice each year since then. The total number of examinees to take the first stage of the elementary test through early 2005 was over 500,000. The

passing rate for the first stage of the test is currently approximately 40%. The passing rate for examinees taking the second stage is approximately 77%. The *intermediate level* of the test has also been held twice yearly since 2002. The number of examinees taking stage one of the test totals over 300,000, with a passing rate of approximately 34% for the first stage and 33% for the second stage.

The *high-intermediate level* of the test, also held twice yearly, has had a total of approximately 60,000 through 2004, and passing rates of 32% and 30% respectively for stages one and two. The *advanced level* of the test is held once yearly, and the total number of examinees who have taken it since 2002 is approximately 3,000. The passing rate for stage one is approximately 21% and 16% for stage two.

SECONDARY LEVEL ENGLISH PROFICIENCY TEST

The Secondary Level English Proficiency Test is a test created by ETS and administered by American middle and high schools to applicants whose first language is not English. The test is equivalent to the TOEFL, which is administered by American colleges and universities to international applicants. Unlike the TOEFL, however, the SLEP test is much less rigorous, having only two sections versus the TOEFL's four. Additionally, the total time for the SLEP test should not exceed ninety minutes—forty-five minutes per section—whereas the TOEFL requires several hours.

PRELIMINARY ENGLISH TEST

The Preliminary English Test (PET) is an international examination sanctioning a certain level of mastery of the English language. It is the second easiest diploma offered by University of Cambridge ESOL Examinations in England.

A preliminary exam consist of three main points: the focus, the ideas, and explanations.

Cambridge University Press published associated material.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE SKILLS ASSESSMENT

The English Language Skills Assessment (ELSA) is a group of tests designed to measure English language proficiency of subjects. The test is designed for non-native speakers, with different levels of testing available from beginners to advanced. The tests can be utilized to track progress among those studying English or to measure proficiency for employment or education where English language skills are required. The tests are intended for an international audience and are available in British English or American English. The tests are utilized by such educational organizations as the Australian Council for Educational Research to help predict student success and are compulsory at The University of the South Pacific. It is used by international businesses such as BSF, Unilever and DaimlerChrysler. Its usage is mandatory in Germany and Poland as part of the re-training programmes for unemployed.

FELSA

A variant of ELSA, the Foundational English Language Skills Assessment (FELSA), has been developed for all age groups with a special focus on speakers who correspond to level A1 or A2 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, who may have slight conversational English language familiarity but would not ordinarily be able to succeed in school, business or travel in English.

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Preface

Teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL) refers to teaching English to students whose first language is not English. TEFL usually occurs in the student's own country, either within the state school system, or privately, e.g., in an after-hours language school or with a tutor. TEFL teachers may be native or non-native speakers of English. This article describes English teaching by native Anglophones working outside their own country, a small subset of English taught worldwide. To learn about other aspects of English teaching, see English language learning and teaching, which explains methodology and context, and explains abbreviations (e.g., the difference between ESL and EFL, or TESOL as a subject and an organization). For example, English language education in Japan began as early as 1600 with the initial contacts between the Japanese and Europeans.

In common with most language teaching, EAP instruction teaches vocabulary, grammar and the four skills (reading, writing, speaking - including pronunciation - and listening), but usually tries to tie these to the specific study needs of students; for example, a writing lesson would focus on writing essays rather than, say, business letters. Similarly, the vocabulary chosen for study tends to be based on academic texts. In addition, EAP practitioners often find that, either directly or indirectly, they are teaching study skills and often having to tackle differences in educational culture, such as differing attitudes to plagiarism. This trend has become more prominent as the numbers of foreign students attending UK universities, and other institutions across the Anglosphere, has increased over

the last decade. There is some debate amongst EAP teachers as to the best way to help students with academic English. On the one hand, students might be taught particular conventions but not expected to understand why they need to adapt their writing; a pragmatic approach. On the other hand students might be encouraged to challenge writing conventions and only adopt them if they seem justified; a critical approach. Recently attempts have been made to try and reconcile these opposing views.

This publication titled, "English Language Teaching" provides readers with an introductory overview of English studies and English language teaching. Focus lies on classroom pedagogy and English primary schools. Efforts are made towards learning English through weathers, seasons and animals. The aspects related to teaching and learning English through activities, play and fantasy are discussed. Attempts have been made towards linking, teachers, pupils and curriculum for English language teaching. Special focus lies on inter-curricular strategies, medium of instruction, teacher and standardized assessment. Focus also lies on basic, plain and simplified international English. An overview of history of English language in Europe is given. Special focus is laid on input hypothesis, phonology and task-based language learning. An overview of English medium education, dogme language teaching and communicative language teaching is provided herein. The elements and dimensions of English language proficiency test and skills assessment are covered with focus on preliminary and secondary aspects. The book is reader friendly as it is supported with bibliography and index.

-Editor

This publication deals with English studies and English language teaching. Focus lies on classroom pedagogy and English primary schools. Efforts are made towards learning English through weathers, seasons and animals. The aspects related to teaching and learning English through activities, play and fantasy are discussed. Attempts have been made towards linking, teachers, pupils and curriculum for English language teaching. Special focus lies on inter-curricular strategies, medium of instruction, teacher and standardized assessment. Focus also lies on basic, plain and simplified international English. An overview of history of English language in Europe is given. Special focus is laid on input hypothesis, phonology and task-based language learning. An overview of English medium education, dogme language teaching and communicative language teaching is provided herein. The elements and dimensions of English language proficiency test and skills assessment are covered.

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