

'A CURRICULUM FOR ETHNIC DIVERSITY':
DOCUMENTING THE PROCESS OF CHANGE
IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL

by John V Edwards, MA (Oxon)

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ABSTRACT

This is a case study of a project in curriculum development which was undertaken in a Berkshire secondary school between 1986 and 1990. The aim of the study is to describe, analyse, and interpret the processes which were involved in the project: the reasons why it was undertaken, the strategies which it employed, and its impact upon the institution.

The idea of an initiative in curriculum development was the product of long term educational and political changes outside the school. The study sets the project in its educational context, by tracing the origins of a theory of multicultural/anti-racist education. It then analyses the socio-political context, to explain why there was a shift in government education policy in the early 1980s, in the direction of multiculturalism. In 1986 Parkview school was invited to participate in a DES funded course, designed to pilot approaches in implementing the new policy. The project resulted from Parkview's participation. The study explains the situation of the school at that time, and shows how it influenced the way in which the project developed.

Evaluation exercises carried out towards the end of the initiative suggested that the project led to significant development in the school's formal curriculum; that it contributed towards a change in the ethos of the school; and that it had other unanticipated but beneficial effects. The reasons for the success of the project are analysed, and compared with theories of change.

Since the project was undertaken there have been considerable changes in the political context of education. In particular, there has been a decisive shift towards a market-led view of education as primarily concerned with economic growth rather than social justice. The study asks how the changes which have resulted (such as the National Curriculum, and the diminished role of LEAs) have affected the cause of multicultural/anti-racist education; and concludes by considering how teachers might contribute towards curriculum development in the future.

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The study is primarily a record of the efforts of others - the people who helped to initiate the project, and those who worked hard over several years to make it succeed. Amongst these, the members of the TREE team (Pauline Lyseight-Jones, Shamira Dharamshi, and Marina Foster), and my colleagues in the school working party ('Multi-Ethnic Curriculum Group') deserve special mention. The individual who contributed most towards the project which the present study describes was Dorothy Coleman; it was a privilege to work with her. More recently, I have been grateful for the encouragement received from another colleague, Carol Gretton. Although Robin Richardson had left Berkshire by the time that the Parkview project began, his idealism remained, and influenced many of the initiatives which followed, including the present study ('warts and all'). His work stands as an inspiring example of what can be achieved by a committed, principled public servant.

While I have been writing this study my family has continued to grow. It would not have been remotely possible for me to have undertaken a commitment of this kind without the incredible support of my wife, Sally, and the understanding of my children. In truth, the thesis is the result of a joint effort.

Finally, this is a rare opportunity for me to acknowledge the influence of Fr Maurice Gordon, SDB, whose example of dedication to the cause of teaching children of all backgrounds was unforgettable.

REFERENCING CONVENTIONS

The study employs the Harvard system of references. The names of the institutions, pre and post merger, and of teachers within them (except for Dorothy Coleman and John Sears, who have both left the school) have been changed. The names of individuals outside the institution - for example, members of the advisory service - have not. Published references use surname only; personal contacts use both names. Pre-National Curriculum nomenclature is used to describe year groups. Year 1 under the old system is now known as year 7.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Chapter one begins by explaining the purpose of the study. Some of the general issues relating to curriculum research are introduced, and the nature of the study is defined in relation to these. The way in which the study was undertaken does not fit a standard model of social science investigation. This raises questions concerning methodology and the reliability of sources which are posed, without being answered. Similarly, my role, as both participant in the project, and observer of it, is commented upon in the context of reliability of data. Both of these issues are returned to later in greater detail. The terminology used in the field of multicultural education is subject to periodic change, and so towards the end of the chapter there is discussion of the meaning of key terms. The introduction concludes with a summary of the structure of the study as a whole.

- 1.1 The purpose of the study
- 1.2 Issues in curriculum research
- 1.3 Definition of study type
- 1.4 Sources for the investigation
- 1.5 My role in the project
- 1.6 The terminology of the debate
- 1.7 The structure of the study

1.1 The purpose of the study

In October, 1986, Parkview School began work on a project, entitled 'A curriculum for ethnic diversity'. Intended to continue until 1990, the aims of the project as stated in January 1987 were:

To ensure that all pupils are given an equality of educational opportunity by the school:

To promote understanding of the principles and practices of racial equality and justice; and, by so doing, help to eradicate racism inside the school and also in the community outside it:

To develop a curriculum which all pupils can feel that they 'own' and which reflects and values the ethnically diverse character of our society.

(Parkview School Project: Report, January 1987)

Within the context of the institution, this represented a major innovation. It was assumed from the beginning that there would be resistance amongst staff to the project, and that in order to achieve long-term change at an institutional level, it would be necessary to influence the attitudes of colleagues. Much of the work of the project was therefore concerned with changing teacher attitudes.

Over the three years which followed (1987-90) a range of initiatives was undertaken. These included the setting up of a working party; three staff inservice training conferences; meetings with subject departments; and the writing of a school policy on racial equality. In this study, I will describe, analyse, and evaluate the project. The questions which I will ask

are:

- why was the project undertaken ?
- what did the project entail ?
- what effect did it have upon the school ?
- how does the experience of this project relate to theories of curriculum, and of curriculum change ?

The expected audience of the study is educational decision makers, with an interest in curriculum development, particularly for ethnic diversity; and teachers, wishing to undertake similar projects in their own institutions. According to Richardson (1985), there is a need for such 'warts and all' accounts of real change, and of successful projects, 'however partial and tentative, however unfinished.' The present study is seen as a response to that need.

In some ways, the study appears to be out of date. The material for the investigation was collected almost a decade ago; and the education world has seen a lot of change since that time. However, the issues which were addressed - what should a curriculum consist of: how should it be delivered; and how should change be managed in the school setting - remain as relevant today as they were in 1986. In this thesis, the story is told of one school's attempt to develop the curriculum, at the so-called 'chalk face'. The account is set into context; and then it is related to theories of educational change. Thus it represents a dialogue, between theory and practice.

1.2 Issues in curriculum research

A curriculum or a programme of studies represents an attempt on the part of educational institutions to provide a learning person with a coherent sequence of impressions, exercise and cognitive subjects by virtue of which he can participate consciously, conscientiously, and productively in the cultural development of the nation and of mankind as a whole. (Ulich, in Skilbeck, 1971, p.31)

The problem with this idealistic definition of the meaning of curriculum is that it does not allow for those impressions or experiences which take place in schools, and which impinge upon the learning process, but which are not intended. According to Stenhouse (1975), the gap between intention and reality is 'the central problem' of curriculum study. For this reason, a definition of curriculum as what is intended to be taught is not sufficient to convey the complexity of the process. Instead of defining curriculum by intention, it might be more useful to define it by outcome; that is, what happens to children, as a result of what teachers do: all of the experiences of children for which the school should accept responsibility. This definition covers both the formal, and the informal, or 'hidden' curriculum. Stenhouse defined the hidden curriculum as

content which may contradict or reinforce curricular intentions, but which is not publicly acknowledged - either because it is taken for granted, or because it is kept underground and only half-acknowledged. (p.40)

Whitty's (1985) definition clarified the concept further:

The process of transmission of implicit norms, values and beliefs through the underlying structure of the curriculum and, more particularly, the social relations of

school and classroom. (p.46)

Even without the complication of hidden processes, the study of the formal curriculum raises many problems. This is because the elements involved - for example, teaching strategies, resources, assessment - are all interconnected, making the identification of single causal factors in the process of curriculum change impossible to relate directly to single effects:

We must always think of complex situations leading to other complex situations rather than isolated causes leading to isolated results.

(Walker (1973), in Bastiani and Tolley, n.d., p.8)

A further complication is that a curriculum does not operate in a closed system, but is influenced by many external factors - political, social, physical, cultural. If these are not taken into account, then research can only provide a partial explanation of phenomena. Moreover, the account will not be accessible beyond the community of researchers, and will have limited value for decision makers.

Underpinning all of these difficulties is the fact that the curriculum is delivered and mediated by teachers. Teachers, like other people, have widely differing values, which define their attitudes towards the curriculum:

Human judgements, values and beliefs cannot be ignored in curriculum research, and ways have to be devised in order to study them and the factors which influence them.

(Bastiani and Tolley, p.10)

Even if the complexity of the process was understood, and the context in which curriculum decisions are made was explained clearly, Stenhouse (1975) was unsure about the validity of

generalising from the study of particular situations:

The accumulated experience of curriculum research casts doubt on whether a higher degree of predictive generalisation can penetrate the specificity of teaching situations.

(p.136)

The project described in the present study was concerned with changing the curriculum.

Bastiani and Tolley (n.d.) summarised the main issues in relation to change as:

- the diffusion of ideas and attitudes across the whole curriculum;
- the adoption and impact of specific strategies for curriculum development;
- the implementation and institutionalisation of new ideas and practices;
- the evaluation and further development of these new ideas and practices.

Related to these are questions about the resources and support needed to implement change: the obstacles and problems likely to be met, including sources of resistance to change: differing perceptions of the meaning of change within the school: and organisational forms appropriate for curriculum development (p.18).

1.3 Definition of study type

As stated above, the aims of the study are to describe, explain, and evaluate. It focuses upon a particular instance of educational innovation - the Parkview school project - and places it in a social, political, historical and theoretical context. By describing the context of the innovation, the study seeks to explain (or at least allow the reader to explain) why it came about at that time and in that way. For reasons which will become apparent, the investigation does not fit an orthodox model of research. Nevertheless, the overall strategy adopted does

demonstrate a number of the features characterising a case study. Yin (1994) defined case study as an empirical enquiry, investigating a contemporary phenomenon in its context,

especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clear. (p.13)

According to Yin, a case study asks the questions **how**, and **why**. Unlike an experiment, it does not require direct and systematic control over behavioural events; unlike a history, it is concerned with contemporary happenings, and relies upon direct observation and interviewing of the key figures in the story. The aim of this research method is to collect evidence of the interaction between factors and events. It goes beyond statistical or quantitative data, and seeks to build up a detailed, and realistic picture of a situation, using anecdotes, observations, interviews, and documents. This is done in such a way that the reader can see how conclusions were reached (for example, by separating conclusions from evidence), and be in a position to develop alternative conclusions. Nisbet and Watt (n.d.) summarised the advantages of this approach, over the survey method of research:

- Results from it are more easily understood, having a three-dimensional reality;
- Case study can show a pattern of influences which is too infrequent to stand out using statistical analysis;
- The method is better suited to individual researchers than to teams;
- Because the selection of data is flexible, it can identify effects which were not anticipated, and which would not have been sought by survey method.

The principal disadvantage of case study is that it is often regarded as methodologically weak. One reason for this is a lack of rigour in the selection, interpretation or presentation of evidence, leading to biased conclusions and loss of 'internal validity'. While the researcher

can be more flexible in her collection of data, the selection is inevitably subjective. The reader should be in a position to check whether the data is internally consistent and supports the conclusions given; but he still cannot tell what information has not been collected, nor how the observer's perception of events has affected the conclusions reached. But as Yin points out (p.9), experimental and historical research can also be influenced by biased interpretations.

There remains the difficulty of generalisation ('external validity') referred to by Stenhouse; each context is unique. Since a case study is based upon a single, unique instance, it cannot be regarded as a reliable basis for generalization - any more than a single experiment could be. Yin argues that it is mistaken to see a case study as a sample, intended to contribute towards the enumeration of frequencies. Instead, the aim is to expand theory and generalize to theoretical propositions - 'analytical generalization' (p.36).

What is most appealing about case study methodology, in spite of its weaknesses, is that effects are considered in context. The context performs an integrating function, which explains the fact that 'the whole is more than the sum of its parts.' (Nisbet and Watt, n.d., p.9). The studies which result are easily understood by those outside the research community, and this has the important benefit that they can be used as steps to action. In this way, case study methodology could be said to contribute to the 'democratisation of decision making' (Cohen and Manion, 1985, p.146).

1.4 Sources for the investigation

The reliability of the evidence in a case study can be enhanced by drawing data from as many different sources as possible, and then converging them into a set of findings, through a process of 'triangulation'. The present study employs both quantitative and qualitative data, drawn from the following sources:

- 1. Project diary.** From the start of the project, and at the suggestion of a member of Berkshire's Team for Racial Equality in Education (Shamira Dharamshi), I kept a diary-type record of all meetings, initiatives, and decisions relating to the project, on behalf of the working party. Because this was a public document, the material in it was largely factual and uncontroversial. The diary provides the historical base for the investigation.
- 2. Field notes.** In addition, I kept a separate record of my own personal observations, and the comments of colleagues. Wherever possible, these comments were written down on the same day, and the exact form of words recorded.
- 3. Documentary sources.** Reference will be made to the minutes of meetings, such as those of the school working party on ethnic diversity. Records were also kept of meetings with individual departments. Several booklets were produced, collating materials resulting from the project.
- 4. Staff questionnaires.** The documentary sources will be complemented by the results of two attitude questionnaires issued to teaching staff, the first in year one of the project (1987), the second in year three (1990). These allow for statistical, quantitative evaluation of change in the school. Because they included comments, they also provide material for qualitative analysis.

5. Curriculum surveys. For the purposes of measuring change in the formal curriculum, two surveys were carried out in the final year of the project, through the departmental structure; the first of these was of limited value, and led to the second, improved attempt.

6. Conference evaluations. The attempt to assess the impact of inservice training will rely upon three separate evaluations carried out after each of the three conferences. The evaluations were constructed using a combination of interview and questionnaire.

7. Interviews with staff. In the final year of the project a series of interviews was used to elicit views on the project from members of the pastoral team - heads and deputy heads of year. The interviews were semi-structured.

I would like at this point to comment upon the reliability of these sources, for two reasons. Firstly, as this is a case study, the reader will have to rely entirely upon these sources for evidence throughout the investigation. If the sources have weaknesses, it would make sense to be aware of these before interpreting their conclusions. Secondly, there are specific weaknesses in the sources, arising from the way in which this particular investigation developed. When the project began there was no intention of collecting evidence for the purpose of academic study. The processes of evaluation and documentation were established from the start, but were seen as integral elements of our approach, designed to enhance our chances of making the project successful, and not as an academic exercise. Therefore, the overt purpose of collecting evidence was not that for which it is now being used, and the methods of collection were not consistently based upon established social scientific

principles. The implications of this distinction are discussed in greater detail below (section 6.2).

The diary, with its narrative approach towards events and initiatives, makes the description of the project's chronological development relatively straightforward, and is supported by other written records. The strength of these sources is that documents 'do not change with hindsight' (Nisbet and Watt, n.d., p.17). The weakness is that they are selective in what they record, and the process of selection itself represents a biased interpretation of events.

The staff questionnaires were less selective, especially as the mechanism which was established for their operation was successful in achieving high response rates. Their potential limitations lie in the construction of the question schedule. In the case of the two questionnaires used in this study (1987, 1990), the technique was flawed in details. But the material was strong in other ways, particularly the extent of individual comment which the exercises provoked. This was presumably due in part to the fact that the questionnaires were anonymous - the same feature which makes close analysis of attitude change on the part of individuals problematic.

Observations and anecdotes as recorded in field notes were obviously selective, and difficult to verify; and although they were recorded at the time of the events they describe, they were a conscious record, and had the function of evaluation in mind. In historical terms, they lack the worth of an 'unwitting' record. Their value depends on how systematic I was, and how

rigorous in my capacity for unbiased observation. Field study data are also difficult to organise or generalise from. The compensation, according to Stenhouse (1975), is that they are 'strong in reality'.

The reliability of the data collected through interviews is much greater, for the record of verbatim responses was checked for accuracy, by returning it to the interviewees, and then transcribed in its entirety. The interview responses can therefore be referred to for clarification or verification of the conclusions (see table 1 and appendix 7).

Because of the range of sources used, there is the potential for triangulation, or cross checking of the data. While the study makes use of both qualitative and quantitative data for evaluating changes in the school (in the formal curriculum: attitudes: and ethos), it does not measure the school or other contextual variables precisely enough to establish a clear causal relationship between the project and perceived changes. Its credibility will depend not upon objective measurements, but upon the range of evidence provided, and the consistency of the argument.

1.5 My role in the project

I referred above to selective reporting as a potential weakness of case study method. In this instance the weakness is compounded by the fact that I have played an active role in the development of the project which is the subject of the present study. I became Head of the

History department at Parkview in September 1986. From October onwards, I was involved in planning the project, and became, with the Deputy Head Dorothy Coleman, joint leader of the initiative. My role included such tasks as defining aims and objectives; formulating strategy; writing policy documents; planning inservice training events; and evaluation. I remained closely involved until I left the school in July 1991.

According to Yin (1994), the role of 'participant observer' carries with it certain advantages for the purpose of case study research. For example, the ability to perceive the reality of a situation from the point of view of someone 'inside' it, instead of (like an external researcher) 'outside'; or opportunities to manipulate minor events to provide a greater variety of situations in which to collect data (p.89). My own experience supports this view. As a relative newcomer to the school, I enjoyed the advantages of an external perspective (my previous two schools were both very different in character) and also the status, and acceptance, of a full member of staff. As a head of department, I was involved in decision making at the level of middle management, and well placed to witness discussion amongst leaders of opinion in the school. In addition to these advantages, I would add others deriving specifically from my role in directing the initiative. For example, it gave me unrestricted access to all documents (I wrote many of them). Through working closely with one of the deputies on the project, I also had some knowledge of the process of decision making amongst the school's senior managers.

On the other hand, as indicated by Yin (p.89), this very closeness to events means that my attempts to evaluate the project will, inevitably, have lacked objectivity. As a project leader, I shared a commitment to the cause of a multi-ethnic curriculum, seeing it as a matter of justice. Even if I was able to do so, I would still be unwilling to put this commitment to one side in the name of academic objectivity.

To do so should not be necessary. As this is a case study, my intention is to display my assumptions, and then present my findings, in such a way that the reader can check them against the data and come, perhaps, to different conclusions. Such an approach, essential in the present case, would be appropriate regardless of who had carried out the research. Even external, trained researchers have assumptions, or commitments, which they bring to an investigation. What is important is that the reader understands the position from the outset, and can bring her own judgement to bear on the material. This point and the difficulties inherent in the role of participant observer are discussed further in chapter six (6.3, 6.4).

1.6 The terminology of the debate

The terminology in the debate on racial equality is constantly subject to review, reflecting changing awareness of this issue within society as a whole. Terms such as 'race' and 'racism' are open to reinterpretation, and are laden with political overtones.

In this study, I will endeavour to employ the current usage of key terms, as collated from a number of authoritative sources by the Further Education Unit. The FEU glossary can be

referred to in appendix 1. However, there is one term which deserves definition here, as it is used frequently throughout the study, and in this context has a particular meaning:

***BLACK:**The term black is now generally used in discussions of race relations to describe the British non-white population, whether of Asian, African or Caribbean origin. By extension it is often used to refer to other groups who have suffered racial discrimination or cultural subjugation in the colonial past or the multiracial present. This usage has been generally adopted by such groups because it emphasises the commonality of their experience in relation to the European former colonial powers rather than the diversity of their cultural heritages.*

(Hiro 1973, Patterson 1983, quoted in FEU glossary of terms)

1.7 The structure of the study

As mentioned above, the present study is not based upon an orthodox model of research; indeed, it might be described as the reverse. A typical approach would be to develop a hypothesis, and then to test the hypothesis in practice. By contrast, this study began as an attempt to reform the curriculum by practising teachers in the school. It was influenced by outside agencies, and by models of theoretical change proposed by those agencies; but the aim was not to carry out an academic exercise. Only when the project had been established for some time was it suggested that the experience should be recorded in an academic format. It was at this stage that theories of curriculum change were investigated. It would

therefore be inaccurate to suggest that the project leaders were aware of theoretical concepts at the level of detail described below when the project was initiated.

The project was concerned with curriculum reform; so in the next chapter I review theories relating to the curriculum - *what a curriculum is*, and *what it is for*. Chapter three continues the theme, by investigating theories of *what* should be taught, and *when*. In this context, I look at the development of theories of multicultural education, and attempt to relate these to the broader theoretical tradition. From that base, I then consider (in chapter four) theoretical approaches to and models of curriculum reform. What are the issues ? What are the factors influencing the process of change ?

Having put the project into a theoretical context, I then (in chapter 5) describe the immediate context of the case study - the political debate; the LEA's role; and the situation of the school - to explain why it was considered desirable to change this particular school's curriculum at that time.

Chapter six prepares the ground for the account of the school project by reviewing issues in evaluation. How can initiatives involving attitude change, in the complex setting of a school, be measured effectively ? The following chapter narrows the focus of the study to detailed, close observation of the mechanics of the change process (the 'micro' context). This includes a description of the strategies which were used, with comment on their perceived importance.

In chapter eight, I attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of the innovation in achieving its aims. As stated earlier, the measurement of the success of the project is of less interest to me than documenting the process which it involved. But it would be unconvincing to argue that the project was worth studying and describing without also offering evidence that it was, to some extent, successful; in any case, evaluation was itself an important feature of the change process. Chapter nine then analyses the reasons why the project was successful in achieving certain of its objectives.

Finally, in the concluding chapter, I consider whether the experience of the project is still relevant today, and how teachers might contribute towards curriculum reform in the future.

CHAPTER TWO: THE PURPOSE OF A CURRICULUM

In chapter one, it was established that the aim of the school project was to develop a 'multicultural curriculum'. In this chapter, I will attempt to contextualise the study at a theoretical level by reviewing the principal strands in the development of a theory of curriculum, from which the notion of a multicultural curriculum has emerged. The first question to ask is: what precisely does the word 'curriculum' mean ? The answer is complex, as the meaning of the term has been subject to change and reinterpretation over time. The next question is: why should there be any need to change a curriculum ? In order to answer this it is necessary to consider the essential purpose, not just of a curriculum, but of education in general.

2.1 What is meant by 'a curriculum' ?

2.2 The aims of education: non-functional justifications

2.3 The aims of education: functional justifications

2.4 Conflict perspectives

2.5 Conclusion

2.1 What is meant by 'a curriculum' ?

In school as much as outside it, thought of a serious kind about what is on offer and why, is an absolute requirement of a rational and civilized society.

(Warnock 1977 p.9)

The word curriculum has a long history, but has only been used extensively since the end of the 19th century, as part of an attempt to study the processes involved in education in a more scientific way (Skilbeck 1984). Its original, or most basic meaning is that given in the Longman Modern English Dictionary (1976 edition):

a course of study, esp. at a school or college: a list of the courses offered at a school, college, or university.

In other words, a curriculum is what is required to be learnt. It can also, in the traditional usage, refer to the performance of the learner, therefore including assessment.

Since the 1930s, this basic definition has come under challenge. The meaning of the word has been adapted, and widened; and it has been used concurrently in different ways by different writers. It could now be said to carry not one but several different meanings, varying in complexity and scope. While the common sense definition given above is still current amongst those outside the field of education (and indeed many within it), curriculum theorists no longer consider it an adequate tool to describe or analyse the basic concept underlying the structure of modern schooling. Writing in 1969, Foshay and Beilin described the curriculum as being concerned not just with input but also outcomes:

the operational statement of the school's goals. (p.278, in Skilbeck 1984, p.20)

Hirst's 1974 definition referred to 'activities' rather than courses, and included the idea of outcomes:

A programme of activities designed so that pupils will attain by learning certain specifiable ends or objectives. (1974, p.2. See also Hirst and Peters, 1970, p.60)

For Stenhouse (1975) such a definition was not sufficient, as it did not distinguish between what schools intend, and what actually happens.

The central problem of curriculum study is the gap between our ideas and aspirations and our attempts to operationalise them.

Thus, if this problem were to be recognised, the term curriculum would include all the experiences of children for which the school was responsible. On this basis, study of the curriculum means study of schools; their processes and apparent impact. The definition which Stenhouse subsequently employed was:

the means by which the experience of attempting to put an educational proposal into practice is made publicly available. It involves content, method, justification, and an awareness of the difficulties of implementation.

Elsewhere in the same study, Stenhouse pointed out that some writers use the term to mean not just the intended effects of schools, but also the unintended effects; everything which impinges upon the learning process. This is a reference to what has become known as the 'hidden' curriculum:

content which may contradict or reinforce expressed curricular intentions, but which is not publicly acknowledged - either because it is taken for granted, or because it is kept underground and only half-acknowledged. (Stenhouse 1975 p.40)

Like Stenhouse, Skilbeck (1984) preferred to employ an expanded definition of curriculum, taking account of the distinction between what *should* and what *does* happen:

the learning experiences of students, in so far as they are expressed or anticipated in educational goals and objectives, plans and designs for learning and the implementation of those plans and designs in school environments. (p.21)

This echoes the earlier, all inclusive definition offered by Kearney and Cook (1960):

All the experiences a learner has under the guidance of the school.

(in Skilbeck, 1984, p.20)

Why has the meaning of the word curriculum expanded so considerably in a relatively short period of time ? One reason is the influence of what has become known as the Progressive Movement, which originated in the USA. Led by Dewey and Kilpatrick, the movement challenged the traditional conception of a subject-defined curriculum. While the movement had its origins in the late 19th century, its influence was felt most keenly in educational debate from the 1950s.

In addition to the ideological debate engendered by the Progressive Movement, other factors have contributed to the changes in attitude towards education symbolised by changes in the use of language. An example is the improvement in our understanding of the psychology of learning resulting from the work of (amongst others) Piaget and Bruner. The effect of this on our conception of curriculum can be seen in Bruner's assertion that curriculum is about

not only the nature of knowledge, but also the nature of the knower, and the knowledge-getting process. (1966, in Gammage, 1984, p.14)

Meanwhile, advances in science and technology have led to stresses on the social structure. These have in turn brought into question the role of education in facilitating the process of social adjustment. The work of sociologists has drawn attention to the social or cultural context of schooling. Consequently, there has been a growing awareness of the complexity of the educational enterprise, and a realisation of the many factors which influence it. The gradual widening of the meaning of curriculum reflects this process of deepening understanding. In the words of Skilbeck, it has become a 'dynamic concept':

It is unsatisfactory to treat it as a fixed 'thing' to be transmitted. (1984, p.46)

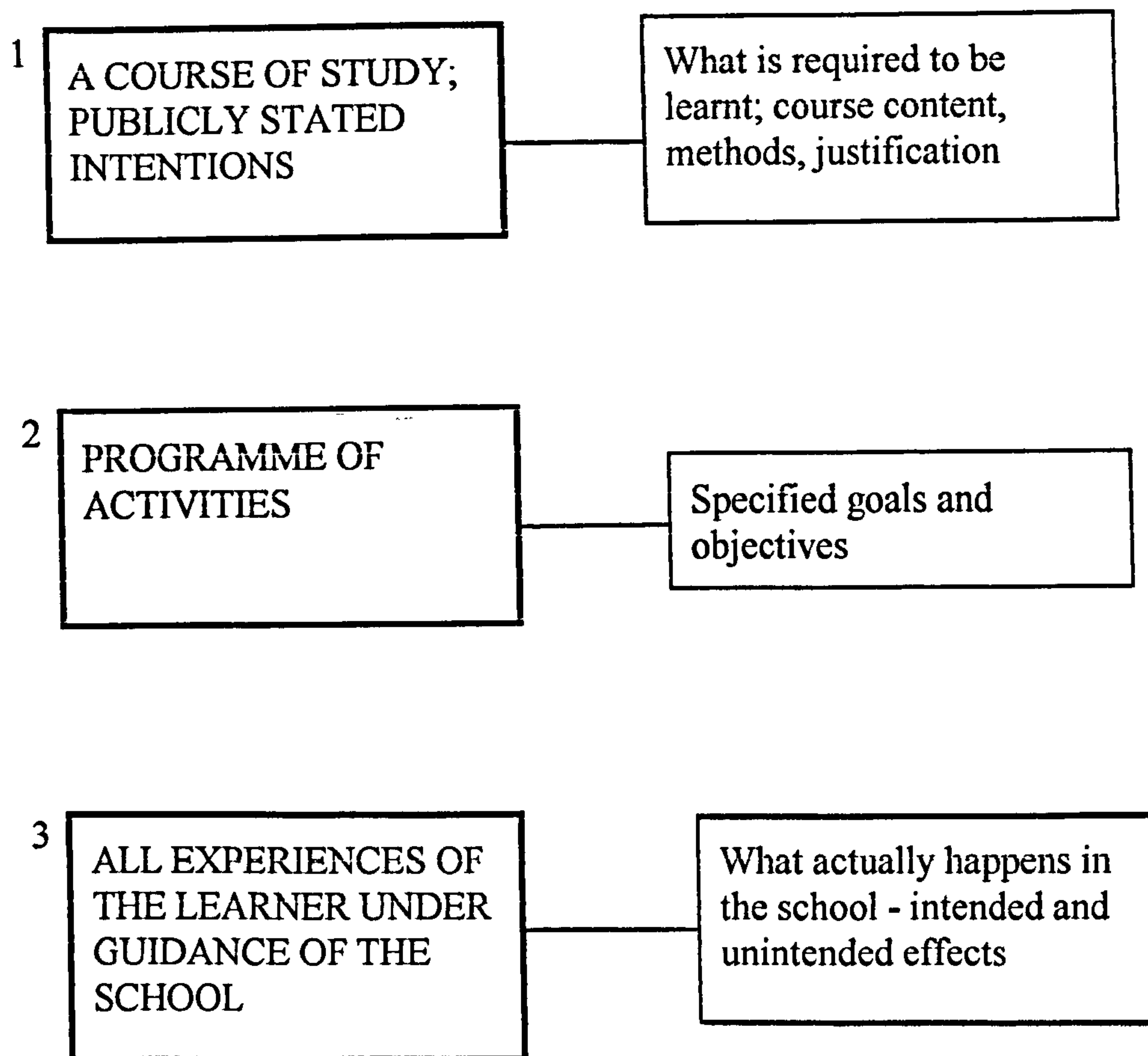
These definitions of curriculum are summarised in figure 2.1.

2.2. The aims of education: non-functional justifications

We must not leave out of sight the nature of education and the proper means of imparting it. For at present there is a practical dissension on this point; people do not agree on the subjects which the young should learn, whether they take virtue in the abstract or the best life as the end to be sought, and it is uncertain whether education should be properly directed rather to the cultivation of the intellect or the moral discipline. The question is complicated, too, if we look at the actual education of our own day; nobody knows whether the young should be trained at such studies as are merely useful as means of livelihood or in such as tend to the promotion of virtue or in the higher studies.

(Aristotle, The Politics, Book V Chapter 3, in Lester Smith, 1957, p.11)

Fig. 2.1 : DEFINITIONS OF CURRICULUM



What is the purpose of education ? Is it to prepare people to earn a living ? To achieve social, political or economic goals ? Or to promote virtue and personal growth ? Could it be argued that education does not need to be justified in terms of aims or achievements at all - that it is an end in itself ? As Aristotle's lament shows, these are questions which have vexed the minds even of great philosophers since education began as a formal undertaking. The review which follows is divided between those traditions which emphasise the benefits to the individual ('non-functional' justifications), and those which stress the benefits to others ('functional' justifications).

Education as self-realization: Plato and Idealism

The philosophy of Idealism was developed from the writings of Plato (427-347 BC) following the teachings of Socrates. For Plato, true knowledge was concerned with the eternal. Physical phenomena had no reality or existence of their own. Within each person was a Vision of Absolute Truth or Goodness; the purpose of education was to reveal the truths hidden within the student, by turning his inner eye towards the light, that it might see for itself (in Smith, 1964, p.25).

Plato believed that man becomes good by being exposed to good and to beauty in his surroundings. Education would have the effect of giving men an appetite for the good, which would lead to their improvement. Thus, education was an individual process, concerned with self-realization and the development of personality. The influence of Idealism can be seen in the writings of Milton, Locke, Goethe, More and many others.

Froebel (1782-1852) developed the theme of self-realization through the analogy of a garden into the concept of the Kindergarten. This was an environment in which the child could grow according to the laws of his own nature, carefully nurtured by the teacher/gardener, and learn to appreciate the absolute values of Truth, Beauty and Goodness.

Education as growth: Rousseau and Naturalism

The influence of Plato's thought was apparent also in the theories of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), as expounded in his book 'Emile'. Like Plato, Rousseau believed that the aim of education was the fullest development of the individual as a person, with the right amount of *amour propre* (self-esteem) rather than *amour de soi* (self love). He would be guided in this process by natural instinct, or inner light:

That man is truly free who desires what he is able to perform, and does what he desires. This is my fundamental maxim. Apply it to childhood, and all the aims of education spring from it. (Emile, p.48, J.M.Dent, Everyman.)

The job of the tutor was to allow the child to grow naturally, protected from the corruption of adult society, and to learn only through experience and observation. Self restraint would be acquired through the discipline of 'natural consequences', whereby the child would discover for itself which actions lead to pain and which to happiness. All learning must be done at a pace dictated by the child:

Nothing is useful and good for him which is unbefitting his age. (Emile, p.212)

Rousseau argued for an approach starting from an understanding of the child and its needs:

Begin thus by making a more careful study of your scholars, for it is clear that you

know nothing about them. (Emile, p.54)

The specific approaches elaborated in Emile may never have been put into practice in a systematic way. But the general influence of Rousseau's principles of growth, freedom, interest and activity upon later generations of educationists - including Dewey, Froebel, Montessori, A.S.Neill - was considerable. In his writings, he advocated not only 'child centred education, but also active learning ('Teach by doing whenever you can.' Emile, p.144), prompting this rather sour comment from Morrish (1967):

Nearly all the modern cliches, which seem to have reached us through Deweyism, pragmatism and modern progressivism, are to be found in Emile. (p.95)

Education as an end in itself: Dewey and Pragmatism

John Dewey (1859-1952) was, in philosophical terms, a Pragmatist. This meant that like William James (1839-1914) he believed that all values were relative, and all truths subjective:

True ideas are those which we can assimilate, validate, corroborate and verify. False ideas are those that we can not. (W.James, 1907, p.45, in Morrish, p.107)

From this principle Dewey developed his Instrumental Theory of Truth, by which truth lies in the consequences of an action. Knowledge, he believed, is never an end in itself, but is always a means. There is no difference between means and ends, since in relative terms, each means is equally an end. The process of education also had no end or purpose, beyond the process of growth itself:

Since in reality there is nothing to which growth is relative save more growth, there is

nothing to which education is subordinate save more education.

(Dewey, 1916, p.60, in Morrish, p.92)

Like Rousseau, Dewey believed that the process must start from an understanding of the child's needs and interests. Next, the social situation had to be considered. The interaction between the two was the child's experience. In terms of method, this implied active learning, in which the teacher's role was to organise the learning context. It did not imply total freedom or a laissez-faire attitude:

A sympathetic teacher is quite likely to know more clearly than the child himself what his own instincts are and mean. (Dewey, 1900, in Morrish, p.106)

Dewey opposed a subject based curriculum in which all human experience was summarised and handed on. Aristotle had indicated the truism that we learn by doing - for example, to build by building; to become just by acting justly. Dewey made this idea into a cornerstone of his theory. Children should be set problems and activities to encourage them to reach their own conclusions through their own process of experiment. This attitude, once established, would then continue beyond school:

The purpose of school education is to insure the continuation of education by organizing the powers that insure growth. The inclination to learn from life itself... is the finest product of schooling. (Dewey, 1916, p.60, in Smith, 1964, p.29)

The influence of Dewey's ideas on teaching method was obvious in later developments such as the Dalton Plan (Parkhurst, 1922), an approach characterised by freedom and cooperation; and the Play Way (Cook, 1917), which emphasised the value of play as a medium for active learning.

But the most lasting evidence of the influence of Dewey's thinking has been the Project Method. First used in Dewey's Laboratory School in Chicago, it was developed by W H Kilpatrick from 1918. Its influence upon pedagogy, particularly at primary level, has been enormous. In Britain, it could be seen in the writings of A S Neill, Bertrand Russell, and others. That it also influenced government policy was evident from the Hadow Report, and also Plowden (1967):

The school sets out deliberately to devise the right environment for children, to allow them to be themselves and to develop in the way and at the pace appropriate to them... It lays special stress on individual discovery, on first hand experience and on opportunities for creative work. It insists that knowledge does not fall into neatly separate compartments and that work and play are not opposite but complementary.

(in Skilbeck, 1984, p.39)

The Project Method remains one of the cornerstones of 'Progressive' education.

Education as the utilisation of knowledge: Whitehead

It is one of the principles of activity method that the purpose of the exercise is obvious: that it should be useful in helping the child to learn. Hence its value on a motivational level. Rousseau's educational scheme was based upon the concept of utility, in the idea of learning by doing. Dewey rejected the idea that education needed to be justified by applying the test of usefulness, since this implied that it was merely the means to a longer term goal; and, as explained above, he did not accept the distinction between means and ends. But like

Rousseau, he would also have expected each learning experience to be useful in itself, if it contributed towards the process of growth.

A.N.Whitehead (1932) followed Dewey in seeing education primarily as a process, rather than as a means to an end, describing it as

the acquisition of the art of the utilisation of knowledge. (p.6)

Whitehead laid great emphasis upon the importance of relating ideas to the child's experience, and allowing the child to learn for itself:

Let the main ideas which are introduced into a child's education be few and important, and let them be thrown into every combination possible. The child should make them his own, and should understand their application here and now in the circumstances of his actual life. (p.2)

Applying common sense to the question of whether education should be useful, Whitehead asked: if education is not useful, what is it ? Since it leads to understanding, and understanding is useful, then education too must be useful. He warned of the potentially harmful effects of 'inert ideas' - that is, ideas which are received into the mind without being utilised. History shows that there is a strong tendency towards inert ideas in all educational systems, and the central problem is how to keep knowledge alive. If one takes the view that disciplines should be studied for their own sake, subjects can become disconnected and lose their vitality. But the concept of utility in Whitehead's thinking was a broad one. Utilising an idea meant absorbing, or owning it:

Relating it to that stream, compounded of sense perceptions, feelings, hopes, desires,

and of mental activities adjusting thought to thought, which forms our life. (p.4)

The purpose of education was to help us to understand the present, and make sense of our lives. We should aim, through education, at producing men who possessed both culture and expert knowledge in some special direction. There were also, in Whitehead's analysis, aesthetic benefits in the educational process:

What education has to impart is an intimate sense for the power of ideas, for the beauty of ideas, and for the structure of ideas, together with a particular body of knowledge which has peculiar reference to the life of the being possessing it. (p.18)

Thus Whitehead, while influenced by Dewey, was willing to see education as a means to an end. But the end he had in mind was broadly conceived, concerned still with the development of the individual, and emphasising the concept of utility as an aspect of pedagogical method rather than social justification.

Education as the means to freedom: Warnock

Warnock (1977) dismissed the notion that education is devalued by the concept of utility - like Whitehead, on grounds of common sense. If education is a preparation for life, then life is better if people have useful things to do:

Education would be pointless if it did not lead to a better life for those who received it.
(p.127)

What, then, constitutes a 'better life' ? The answer to this question will define what should be taught in the curriculum. It will be based upon value judgements, related to how we want our children to lead their lives when they have left school. Therefore, the broad aims of

education should be a matter for public debate. Educational specialists - theorists and teachers - should be given the responsibility for putting educational ideas into practice, through the curriculum. But anybody capable of making a value judgement is entitled to have a say in deciding general educational aims.

In Warnock's view, the key concept underpinning the aims of education was the freedom of the individual. It was this idea which, through the twin values of work and expanding imagination, should determine curriculum content. Work, because it enables us to be independent of others:

To work is to control rather than be controlled. (p.169)

Imagination, because it is the precondition for freedom:

- the means by which we can envisage a future different from the present, and therefore a necessary condition of change. (p.169)

Warnock also saw the school as having socio-political functions, such as transmitting the values of society, and teaching children to behave properly. One of her constant themes was the rejection of the attempt to separate political and educational debate. If politics is concerned with a just, fair and civilised society, then it must be concerned also with education:

There is nothing wrong with mixing politics with education. In this sense of 'politics' it is our duty only to ensure that everyone realises the nature of the mix. (p.173)

In her emphasis upon the idea of freedom, Warnock echoed the thinking of the Jesuit, Maritain. Maritain (1943) acknowledged that education had a utilitarian aspect: helping

people to find work. But this practical aim must never be subordinated to the larger purpose, which he summarised thus:

The prime goal of education is the conquest of internal and spiritual freedom to be achieved by the individual person. (p.11)

Education for cognitive development: Hirst and Peters

In order to clarify the meaning of 'education', Hirst and Peters (1970) first considered its etymology. The Latin word *educare* means to train, and was usually used of physical development - for example, the rearing of children and animals. An alternative root, emphasised in the 18th century, was the word *educere*, meaning to lead out. This suggested the idea of growth, or allowing individual potential to develop, and it supported the aims of the Progressive movement from Rousseau onwards. Even so, it was not until the 19th century that 'education' was distinguished explicitly from 'training', and came to mean the all-round development of a person morally, intellectually, and spiritually. As this distinction became clearer and more widely accepted, it was reflected in changes of terminology; Teacher Training Colleges became Colleges of Education, and Physical Training was renamed Physical Education.

But understanding the etymology of a word does not necessarily clarify its meaning in common usage. In the case of the concept 'education', Hirst and Peters suggested two defining elements, or conditions, to explain its meaning. The first of these was desirability:

'Educating' people suggests a family of processes whose principle of unity is the

development of desirable qualities in them. (Hirst and Peters, 1970, p.19)

This condition, by itself, was insufficient to describe what is intended in education, since some would say that education is not desirable. Therefore, it was necessary to add a second condition, or qualification:

'Education' suggests not only that what develops in someone is valuable but also that it involves the development of knowledge and understanding. Whatever else an educated person is, he is one who has some understanding of something. (p.19)

Knowledge and understanding were to be valued for their own sake: for what they contributed to the quality of our lives: and for their contribution to the needs of society.

An earlier, more authoritarian view of the purpose of education (as represented in the Latin *educare*), was concerned with shaping the development of children in a predetermined pattern. The task was a simple one: to equip children with basic skills (the 'three Rs'), provide the necessary information, and mould their characters into the desired shape. The learner was expected to accept what he was taught passively and unquestioningly.

This approach was morally repugnant, because it denied the dignity of the learner. Hirst and Peters believed that the progressive movement had begun as a necessary reaction against this position, but over time, had become something more:

doctrines that were eminently defensible as a corrective became erected into a panacea.
(p.31))

They rejected the idea of 'growth' as an educational aim, for two reasons. Firstly, the

progressive curriculum is designed as a response to the needs of the child. But should it not also meet the needs and demands of society - for example, the need for specialized skills or knowledge to serve the community ? Secondly, the concept of the child's needs was inadequate as a tool for determining content. In theory, planning a curriculum around needs would ensure motivation and interest. But in practice, this approach failed to distinguish between 'needs' and 'wants'. What a child needs in educational terms is not always what a child wants. The child-centred view represented an abdication of responsibility - the moral responsibility of the teacher to decide what it is desirable for a child to learn:

No teacher can stand aside and let a child 'grow' into a Marquis de Sade, any more than he is indifferent whether children learn science, astrology or skittles. (p.31)

There was, in their view, no point in encouraging children to be autonomous and creative, if they were not also given knowledge and experience to be creative with. Thus, the purpose of education was to introduce the learner to areas of human knowledge and experience in a systematic way. The way in which these areas were to be selected will be described later.

So far, the purpose of education has been described primarily in terms of the benefits for the individual. These have included such goals as a better life, making sense of the world, and giving the learner a sense of her own value. But the individual is also a member of society. In each of these cases, there are potential benefits to society as well as the individual. For example, Warnock's concern with the idea of freedom is both a personal goal, and a social one; understanding and experience of individual freedom are essential in a democratic society.

Inevitably there will be areas of overlap between the various positions in the debate on an issue as complex as the purpose of education. In the following section, I attempt to separate out those arguments which have emphasised the functional justifications for education, while bearing in mind that these have often been used in conjunction with non-functional justifications. These vary from a broad conception of purpose, as in the idea of cultural inheritance, to a more narrowly focussed view of utility, such as encouraging economic growth.

2.3 The purpose of education: functional justifications

Education for citizenship: Mannheim

It was argued above that the main idea underlying Plato's view of education was that of self realization. But he also saw it as having an important social function. Seeing the Vision of Goodness would produce good citizens. Education could help the individual to discover where he belonged in society, by making him aware of his abilities, inclinations, and limitations. Thus equipped he could take his proper place in the Republic. (Republic, book 7: in Warnock 1977, and Smith 1964).

Aristotle developed this idea further. A city, he said, could only be virtuous when its citizens were virtuous. Education was the means whereby the citizen could be trained in virtue. It should be regulated by law, and used to mould citizens to the form of government under which they lived (in Smith, 1964, p.32).

Rousseau shared Plato's commitment to the development of the individual as the first aim of education. But he also saw the need for elements of social education in his scheme, in spite of his view of society as a corrupting influence. As a child Emile was to be protected from society as strenuously as possible, even to the extent of being denied books (except for Robinson Crusoe). Ultimately he needed to be prepared to live in it, as a man, husband, and citizen. For Emile would not spend his life in the desert:

He is a savage who has to live in the town. (Emile, p.167).

Consequently Emile's educational programme should include elements such as environmental, social, and personal studies, and even sex education.

Milton's 'Tractate on Education' (1644) was published during the English Civil War, and lacked coherence from having been written in haste. The poet was also one of Cromwell's chief secretaries. Nevertheless, as one might expect of the author of Paradise Lost, it was well phrased. His definition of education reflected his understandable concern in a period of civil strife with the idea of public service, and echoed Plato's view that education should prepare a man to take his place in society:

I call, therefore, a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war. (Areopagitica and other prose works; in Lester Smith, 1957, p.9)

In Britain, the extension of the franchise in 1867 to some members of the urban working classes was followed in 1870 by the foundation of a state system of elementary education ('We must educate our masters' - Lowe, 1866). According to Lester Smith (1957), a concern

with the demands of citizenship was responsible for the acceptance of the 'comprehensive and costly' 1944 Education Act, and the growing belief in the need for education beyond the school leaving age:

We are realizing more and more that a Welfare State needs an educated democracy with a good sense of citizenship. Without that it can all too easily become drab, impersonal, lacking aims and ideals. (p.15)

The sociologist Karl Mannheim (1893-1947) was a refugee from Nazi Germany. His experience of fascism, and its success in mobilising social effort and institutional forces influenced his thinking about the purpose of education. For he had seen how it could be used as a means of social control, and believed that individuals must be taught to think undogmatically in order to rise above changing events. Democracy must learn to use the forces of group interaction in a positive way, to create a better society. Having been through different phases, each emphasising a particular focus - teacher-centred, subject-centred, and child-centred - education must now become focussed upon the needs of society; 'society-centred':

Education can only be understood when we know for which society and for what social position the pupils are being educated. Education does not mould man in the abstract but in and for a given society. (Mannheim, 1940, in Morrish, p.300)

In a world trying to recover from the disintegration and division of the Second World War, Mannheim saw the main need of his time as being for consensus. The instrument for achieving re-integration was to be 'social education':

Education can only arise out of a social situation... if the need for education arises out of people living together, one of its aims has to be to enable them to live together more successfully in the widest sense of these terms. (Mannheim, 1962, in Morrish, p.315)

Mannheim's colleague, Sir Fred Clarke, developed this view of the social function of education, arguing that there should be training for 'citizen consciousness'. We should train pupils to become responsible citizens, whose main duty was to produce honest and faithful work.

The American philosopher P.G.Smith (1964) believed that the social-political function of education was widely accepted as a principle in the development of mass education in the USA. If popular government was to succeed, it would require an informed and educated public. Such was the advice which had been offered by de Tocqueville, over a century earlier:

The first duty which is at this time imposed upon those who direct our affairs is to educate the democracy; to warm its faith, if that be possible; to purify its morals; to direct its energies, to substitute a knowledge of business for its inexperience, and an acquaintance with its true interests for its blind propensities.

(Democracy in America, 1835-39, in Lester Smith (1957) p.16)

As evidence of the influence of this idea, P.G.Smith described how, at the start of the century, compulsory attendance was upheld in the U.S. courts on the principle that the child should attend school, not for its own benefit, but to safeguard the welfare of the community and the safety of the state. Summarising the purpose of schooling, Smith acknowledged

cultural functions, but saw them as subordinate to the larger purpose of preparing the individual for the responsibilities of citizenship:

To develop skills of oral and written communication: and an understanding and appreciation of the physical and cultural environment requisite for citizenship in American democracy. (p.36)

Education as socialization: Durkheim

For the sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) the essence of education was the methodical socialization of the younger generation by the elder, with the aim of creating social homogeneity:

Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined.

(1956, p.71, in Morrish, p.264)

The child was born egoistic and asocial. The survival of society required a sufficient degree of agreement among its members on values and norms. It was the job of education to ensure social homogeneity by creating a new, moral and social being as rapidly as possible. Through the external discipline imposed by education the learner would become self-disciplined and autonomous, and the individual self and social self could be brought into a stable unity. Education, and particularly the teaching of history, could help to create a sense

of 'social solidarity' by providing children with a shared identity, or feeling of belonging. This would then give them a commitment to the social group rather than just to themselves.

Another function of schooling, according to Durkheim, was to teach people to cooperate with others who were not related to them, or within their circle of friends. This was an important task, not provided elsewhere in the child's experience, which initiated him for the first time into the duties and responsibilities of adult life. The school, with its many rules, was like society in miniature; teaching the child to respect such rules would help him to develop habits of self control and restraint which were essential to the successful functioning of society.

Teaching children to cooperate at school would reinforce social cohesion by giving them a sense of shared values. Durkheim also believed that it would help to create solidarity in the workplace. In his analysis, the complex nature of work in advanced industrialized societies meant that individuals must be willing to work together in order to produce a complex product or service. In similar vein, the social psychologist George Mead (1863-1931) believed that personal unity could only be achieved through the medium of social interaction. The task of the educator was to give children opportunities for learning a sense of social responsibility through action; while the function of education was to create a sense of community through the internalization of common attitudes. The influence of Mead's ideas was apparent in the Newsom Report (1963) in its proposals for work experience, specialist careers teachers, and links between schools and adult organizations.

In the late 1990s there has been a concern in Britain about a perceived loss of social cohesion, and the breakdown of consensus on values. This has been reflected in a public debate about the balance between the rights of the individual, and his responsibilities towards others. In this context, Durkheim's view of education as a means of transmitting the norms and values of society from one generation to the next to ensure social stability is pertinent. Durkheim's influence is evident in the writings of David Hargreaves, who has argued that schools (in particular, comprehensives) place too much emphasis on personal development, and not enough on the concepts of duty or loyalty. It is when children do not feel that they belong to an institution that they reject its values in favour of their own, through the development of anti-school sub-cultures. The way to address alienation (of the kind found by Hargreaves in his investigation of Lumley Secondary Modern) was, he suggested, to offer children freedom to pursue fields of study which were of interest to them: through study of the community: and through activities which encouraged cooperation and a sense of belonging, such as team sports, music, drama.

Haralambos and Holborn (1990) criticise Durkheim's position on two grounds:

- firstly, modern education does not succeed in transmitting shared values to enhance social cohesion;
- secondly, Durkheim assumed that the values of the school are also those of society as a whole, when in fact they may only be the values of those who are the most powerful.

As far as the first criticism is concerned, the fact that this is not achieved in practice does not mean that it should not be an aim of education. Similarly, the difficulties inherent in

defining whose values should be transmitted does not *necessarily* negate the idea of the school as a potential instrument of social cohesion. If the transmission of shared values were considered to be a valid function, and the school considered an appropriate mechanism, deciding which values to pass on could be treated as a separate issue.

Education as an instrument of social stratification: Davis and Moore

The American sociologist, Talcott Parsons, writing in the 1950s, shared Durkheim's view of the importance of agreement on values for the stability of society. He identified American schools as instilling two important values: achievement, and equality of opportunity. An additional function of schooling was to evaluate the abilities of children, making it possible to

allocate these human resources within the role structure of adult society.

In this respect, Parsons echoed the view of Davis and Moore (1945), who saw schooling as part of the process of stratifying society according to merit. In order to function effectively, society needed the most gifted people in positions of responsibility. The logical response was to offer attractive financial rewards, and to open posts to competition. Schooling was the mechanism whereby talented individuals could be identified, and given access to the most important occupations, through the awarding of qualifications.

According to Haralambos and Holborn (1990), there are several weaknesses with this functional justification of education. For example, they point out that the correlation between academic qualifications and occupational rewards (in terms of income) is not strong; and also

that there is evidence to suggest that social stratification, rather than encouraging the grading of individuals according to ability, actually inhibits it (p.233).

Education as a means of cultural transmission: Lawton

In the introduction to this thesis, I quoted Ulich's definition of curriculum as

an attempt on the part of educational institutions to provide a learning person with a coherent sequence of impressions, exercise and cognitive subjects by virtue of which he can participate consciously, conscientiously, and productively in the cultural development of the nation and of mankind as a whole. (Ulich, in Skilbeck 1971 p.31)

In other words, the principal function of education for Ulich was the transmission and development of the culture. Reynolds and Skilbeck (1976) employed Smith, Stanley and Shores' 1957 definition of culture:

the fabric of ideas, ideals, beliefs, skills, tools, aesthetic objects, methods of thinking, customs and institutions into which each member of a society is born. (p.4)

When we are born, Reynolds and Skilbeck argued, we are cultural barbarians. In primitive societies, the process of transmitting culture takes place informally. But in literate societies, it is carried out in schools, through the medium of a sequence of learning experiences. This sequence, or curriculum, is set up

for the purpose of disciplining children in group ways of thinking and acting. (p.4)

Thus, education was the means whereby culture was transmitted and developed, and cultural stability maintained. However, the process went beyond passing on current beliefs and values. It must allow for the development of a capacity to reinterpret culture, and the

intellectual skills to resolve cultural conflicts. By projecting desirable aims beyond the social circumstances of the present, education could also be seen as a means of social reform (Peters, 1972b, in Skilbeck, 1984).

According to Lawton (1983), the purpose of a curriculum was to enable students to encounter all areas of the culture in a systematic way. Clearly, it would not be possible for an individual student to learn about the entire culture. Selection would be made from all its subsystems: social, economic, rational, technological, moral, aesthetic, and those concerned with communications and beliefs (in Skilbeck, 1984, p.35). The task of selection should not be solely the responsibility of the school or the teacher. Using the metaphor of a map, Lawton preferred to describe the learning task as a joint venture, in which teachers and students constructed a 'map of the culture' together. In 1972 Lawton used this idea as the basis for a model designed to facilitate curriculum construction (figure 2.2). The main purpose of schooling was to transmit a selection from the culture from one generation to the next. Lawton saw the curriculum as the process whereby the selection was to be made, by teachers and students working together.

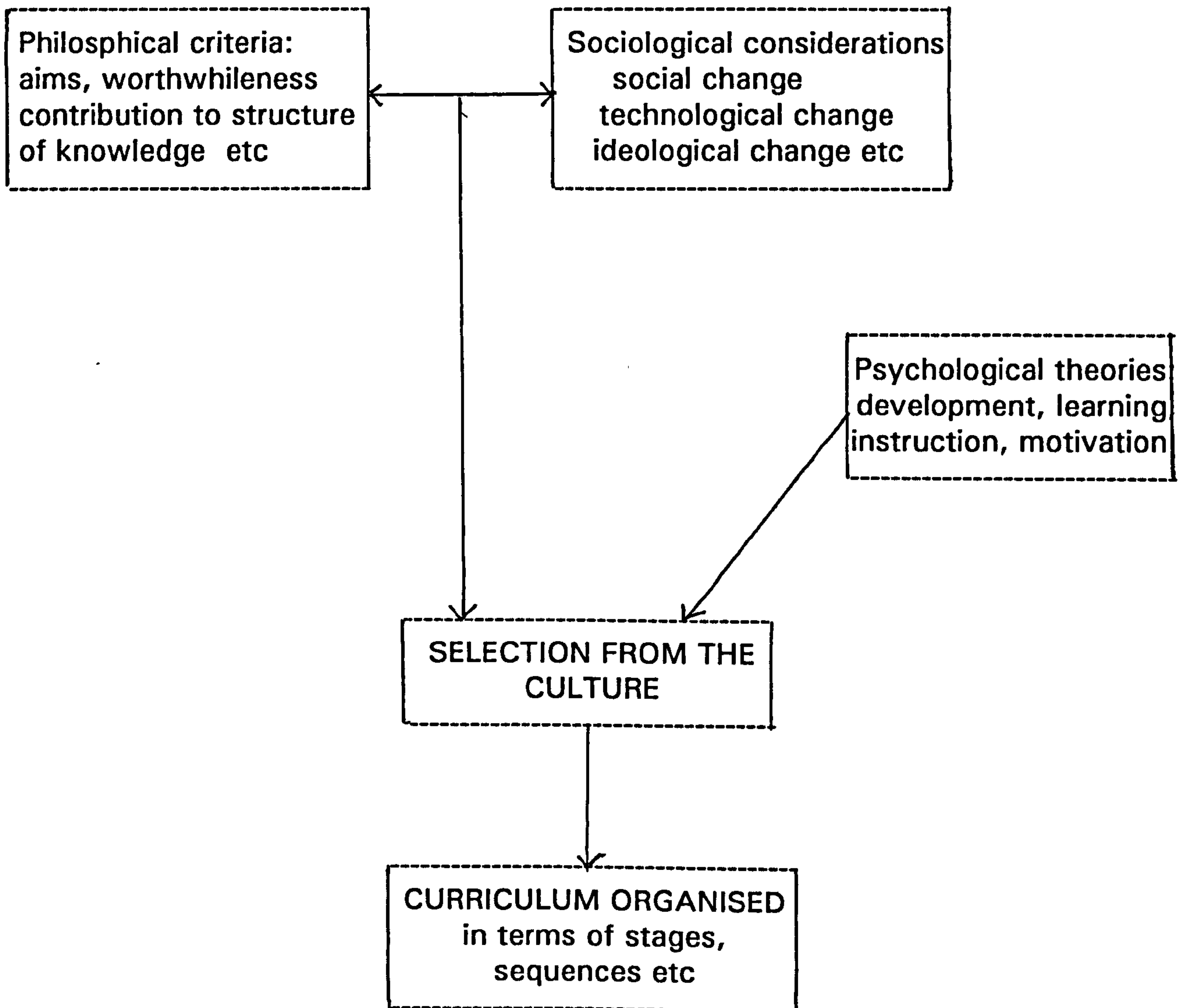
The argument for education as a means of transmitting cultural inheritance was summarised by the Schools Council thus:

The main issues are, not so much what ground to cover in the sense of what subjects to teach, but what information, ideas and experiences to grapple with, through what media, and by what means. The problem is to give every man some access to a

complex cultural inheritance, some hold on his personal life and on his relationships with the various communities to which he belongs, some extension of his understanding of, and sensitivity towards, other human beings.

(Schools Council 1965, Working Paper 2. London, HMSO. Quoted in Plaskow, 1984)

FIG. 2.2: LAWTON'S MODEL FOR CURRICULUM CONSTRUCTION (Lawton, 1972)



Education as social invention: Bruner

Bruner (1973) saw the relationship between man's intellectual development and his ability to develop and use tools or instruments ('evolutionary instrumentalism') as a key element in understanding the purpose of schooling. By tools, Bruner meant not just instruments, but also skills such as language. Most basic skills were still taught, as in the past, through the medium of the interaction of parent and child. But with increasing technological sophistication, the dissemination of more advanced tools or skills would require the formal setting of a school.

The importance of this process of skill transmission was emphasised by Bruner's comparison with the learning of language. If a language is not learnt at an early stage, the resulting deficit can prevent or hinder future linguistic development. Similarly, if opportunities are not provided to develop other skills, the effects can be crippling:

Unless certain basic skills are mastered, later, more elaborated ones become increasingly out of reach. (p.472)

Bruner elaborated a rule from his experience of technological change, which was that tools and technologies beget more advanced ones at ever increasing speed, thus making it likely that specific, narrow skills would become obsolete very quickly. In this situation, the role of the school in ensuring the transmission of basic skills from one generation to the next would become increasingly important. (p.474)

Education as a means of reforming society: the Social Democratic perspective

As described above, the Progressive Movement begun by Dewey in the USA during the early part of the century influenced the thinking of British writers such as Russell and Neill. Its influence on government policy was apparent in the Hadow and Plowden reports. Supporters of Progressive Education emphasised the themes of personal growth, fulfilment of individual potential, and independent thought. The benefits to society were considered secondary to the benefits for the individual child.

But just as Plato taught that seeing the Vision of Goodness would produce good citizens, those who adopted the Progressive position believed that teaching people to think for themselves was essential for the effective operation of a democracy. Moreover, education was perceived as a potential tool of social reform:

The answer to all our national problems comes down to a single word: education.

(Lyndon B. Johnson, 1964. Quoted in Haralambos and Holborn, p.235)

The assumptions were that education could reduce inequalities in society, increase social mobility, and undermine class distinctions. But these optimistic expectations were gradually undermined by evidence of the failure of children from working class backgrounds to succeed, in spite of the tripartite system established in the 1944 Education Act. The concern which this caused was a factor in, and a distinguishing feature of, the emergence in Britain in the 1950s of a sociology of education as a major field of study. A leading figure in the new field was A.H.Halsey. His research demonstrated that social background was a key factor determining the outcome of educational achievement. This implied the need for

intervention to ensure that schools were promoting equality of opportunity, and that all children were receiving equal access to schooling and opportunities to succeed.

The influence of what became known as the 'Social Democratic perspective' on British education policy after the war was considerable. It could be seen in the 60s and 70s in such policies as the designation of Education Priority Areas (EPAs), raising of the school leaving age, the expansion of higher education, and the introduction of comprehensive schools.

This view of the purpose of education was supported by all the political parties as well as a majority of the teaching profession. But by the 1970s, the Social Democratic consensus was under challenge, from two directions. The first was from the left, and was inspired by the continuing failure of the education system to tackle the underachievement of children from different social groups, against a background of increasing expectations. Alternative, more radical approaches were suggested, typified in the writings of Bernstein and Young, and became the basis for the 'new sociology of education'. The focus now shifted from issues of equal access to the nature of schooling itself. These developments are discussed in greater detail below (section 2.4).

At the same time, the consensus was being weakened by evidence of economic decline, and growing pupil alienation. In the 1980s it was replaced by the 'new vocationalism', which represented a return to the idea of education as an instrument of economic development.

Education as a means to economic growth: the new vocationalism

The notion that education might support economic development was far from new. One of the factors leading to the 1870 Education Act was, as mentioned above, the extension of the franchise to the working class. Another was the growing awareness of the need for a more educated workforce in an increasingly technological age. Developments such as greater social mobility, the division of labour, and the rise of an industrial middle class led to a need for mass literacy. Other countries, most notably Prussia and the USA, had shown the benefits of a national system of education in their rapid military and economic progress during the 1860s.

Similar pressures were, according to Waring (1979), responsible for the advent of science in the school curriculum. At first, the subject had been seen in the public schools as 'a leisure occupation for gentlemen'; later, as a suitable alternative for those pupils who were not able enough to cope with the rigours of classics or modern languages. But by the end of the 19th century, the industrial challenge from USA and Germany was a matter of public debate and concern, typified in books such as 'British Industries and Foreign Competition' (1894); 'Made in Germany' (1896); and the article 'The Crisis of British Industry', published in the Times (1901). Sir Henry Roscoe, writing to the Times in the same year, spelt out the reasons for concern when he argued that unless there were greater investment in education England might lose her position as the world's foremost economic and military power:

For upon education, that basis of industry and commerce, the greatness of our country depends. (Waring, p.27)

This was the context in which the 1902 Education Act was passed, leading to the development of secondary education, and also the 1904 regulations, which ensured the place of science in the grammar school curriculum.

Those who supported the Social Democratic consensus after the Second World War were not unaware of the argument that education could benefit the economy; the American economist Theodore W. Shultz had compared investment in the training of people with investing in machinery. But while post-war employment levels remained high, such arguments were considered relatively unimportant.

According to Dale (1989), the Social Democratic consensus began to break down under pressure from growing unemployment, declining confidence in the state education system, a loss of support for the general idea of the welfare state, and the failure of Social Democratic education policies to produce equality of opportunity. Schools were accused of contributing to economic difficulties through lack of relevance to the changing demands of industry, a decline in basic standards, and a lack of public accountability (Dale, p.106). In 1963 the Newsom Report argued for more vocational elements in the school curriculum, as a way of responding to the problem of pupil alienation. The themes of lack of relevance and accountability were developed in the Black papers (1969), and were evident in the 1972 Bullock Report (on reading and the use of English) and the creation of the Assessment of Performance Unit within the DES (1974).

It was not, however, until Britain was hit by recession in the mid 1970s (the OPEC oil crisis and double digit inflation), and the full extent of economic decline was revealed that the debate concerning the contribution of education to the economy really took off. The start of the 'Great Debate' is usually attributed to a speech made by the Labour Prime Minister, Callaghan, at Ruskin College, Oxford (1976), in which he referred to the curriculum as a 'secret garden', and argued that it should be opened up to public scrutiny.

The education reforms which followed under the Conservative government after 1979 represented a decisive shift in attitude - away from the notion of 'public interest' (concerned with improving society), and towards 'national interest' (the need to develop the nation's human resources for economic purposes) or 'private interest' (the stratification of society by means of academic achievement). They were dominated by the themes of standards, accountability, and economic responsiveness.

Dale's analysis places the Conservative reforms in three main phases. In the first, there was an emphasis upon accountability: opening up the 'secret garden'. The 1980 Education Act strengthened the position of governors and parents, introduced greater parental choice, and required schools to publish brochures of specified information. The Assisted Places Scheme provided public money for places in fee-paying schools.

In the next phase (1984-88), there was an intensification of central government control. When the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) was introduced in 1982, it

was funded by the Manpower Services Commission, not the DES. Its function, as its name suggests, was to enhance the technical elements of the curriculum, and construct a bridge from education to work. Using financial incentives, the initiative would encourage schools to focus upon the application, rather than the acquisition, of knowledge. The 'bid and contract' system of funding introduced with TVEI meant that resources could be directed towards targets chosen by politicians rather than educational professionals, and has since been extended to the financing of inservice training for teachers. Other reforms included Local Management of Schools (LMS), City Technology Colleges, and rate capping - all of which diminished the role of LEAs; the Licensed Teacher Scheme, abolition of the Burnham Committee, and the imposition of a contract of employment specifying teaching hours ('directed time') reflected a lack of trust towards the teaching profession.

The third phase of reform (1987-89) represented an even more radical restructuring of the post war settlement, in the application of market principles to the education service. It included Open Enrolment, with greater parental choice: the chance for schools to 'opt out' of local (i.e. LEA) control by becoming 'Grant Maintained' (GMS); and the National Curriculum, which would remove from schools and LEAs responsibility for deciding what should be taught. Taking direct control over the school curriculum would allow central government to decide how much weighting and resources to give to 'relevant' or 'useful' subjects, such as technology and science. It would also, in theory, lead to a raising of basic standards through a standardised national system of assessment at the ages of seven, eleven, fourteen, and sixteen.

2.4 Conflict perspectives

If British education policy was dominated after 1945 by the ideal of social democracy, with its deliberate aim of social change, why did the anticipated progress towards equality fail to materialise ? In the late 60s and early 70s, frustration led some writers to challenge the whole theoretical basis of the Social Democratic position. Concurrent with the development of the 'new vocationalism' and the decline of Social Democratic theory, there developed a critical tradition, left wing and radical in political orientation, in which schools were seen not as a means of *reducing* social inequality, but of *reproducing* it.

Education as an instrument of social control: the Marxist interpretation

The emphasis in the Social Democratic perspective had been upon access to schooling as a means of enhancing social equality. If children could be given greater access, then they would be able to fulfil their potential and improve their social position, leading eventually to a blurring of class distinctions. In the late 60s, some studies began to question whether the role of the school was entirely neutral in the process. Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970) looked closely at the school as a place of interaction between home and school cultures, and concluded that internal school processes and the way schools were organised (for example, policies of pupil grouping) influenced pupil attitudes and achievements.

Bernstein (1961) also looked at the school setting to explain underachievement, and in particular the role of language and the way it was used by teachers. Middle class family life encouraged the use of language which was explicit and universalistic: 'elaborated code'.

Working class people used language that was less explicit, and particular to its context ('restricted code'). Since formal education was conducted in elaborated code, and school was 'necessarily concerned with the transmission and development of universalistic codes of meaning', working class children, Bernstein argued, were being disadvantaged (Haralambos and Holborn, 1990, p.263; Eggleston, 1974, p.272).

The view that subcultural differences were, in part at least, responsible for differences in educational achievement between social classes led to the generation of projects in compensatory education, such as 'Operation Head Start' and 'Performance Contracting' in the USA. These programmes were criticised by some writers for shifting the focus of investigation away from the school, and directing it instead towards the child or her family; also, for distracting from the much bigger issue of inequality in society at large.

Bourdieu (1966) found that in France, the son of a manager was eighty times more likely to get to university than the son of an agricultural worker, and that the higher the level of the institution of learning, the more aristocratic was its intake. He concluded that the reason for this phenomenon was that the education system was biased towards the culture of the dominant social class, and devalued the skills and knowledge of the working class. This he termed the theory of 'cultural capital'. The principal role of education, he argued, was to reproduce the existing relationships of power and privilege:

The indications tend to be that (education) is in fact one of the most effective means of perpetuating the social pattern, as it both provides an apparent justification for social

inequalities and gives recognition to the cultural heritage, that is, to a social gift treated as a natural one. (Bourdieu, 1966, in Eggleston, 1974, p.32)

Young's 'Knowledge and Control' (1971) took this argument further, in focussing on the school curriculum as the means by which the ruling class maintained the status quo. His theory was that those in power used their authority to define what constitutes knowledge, when in reality all forms of knowledge were equally valid. Young's book signalled a recognition of the importance of the curriculum as an area for sociological investigation. Whitty (1985) defended Young's relativist position against the criticisms of, for example, Warnock (see below, section 3.1) by describing it as a device, the purpose of which was

to subvert taken-for-granted assumptions about institutionalized knowledge in the curriculum. (p.14)

The 'new sociology of education' which developed from the work of Bernstein and Young divided in the mid 1970s into two distinct areas of investigation. One of these was concerned with ethnographic study of classroom interactions between pupils and teachers, in which the focus was deliberately narrow (the 'micro' approach). The second involved study of the social and institutional context of the curriculum at a broad theoretical level (the 'macro' approach). The latter was heavily influenced by the work of Bowles and Gintis (1976), and was neo-Marxist in its orientation.

Willower (1965) had found that educational objectives were pushed down the school's list of priorities if external controls were given too much emphasis amongst the teacher group.

Stenhouse (1975) quoted both Willower and Bernstein (1971) to support his conception of the 'hidden curriculum'; that set of ideas which forms an important part of what is taught in the school, but which is not publicly acknowledged. An example of this secret agenda would be the issue of maintaining control:

The pressure upon the school to maintain its own order through a hierarchical relationship leads to the generation of an ideology whose function is social control... The effect is that the control problem in the school tends to shape knowledge in such a way that only those who enter the establishment can innovate. Acceptance rather than speculation is the product. (Stenhouse, p.49)

Bowles and Gintis (1976) also saw the hidden curriculum as a mechanism of social control. The main purpose of education in capitalist society, they argued, was to provide industry with a hard-working, docile, and obedient work force. Schools were organised in such a way as to encourage these qualities, by teaching pupils to accept hierarchy, rules, and the motivation of external rewards. The relationships within the school situation corresponded with the relationships between people in the workplace. The myth of education as a means towards social advancement made society appear fairer than it actually was. Schools might seem meritocratic; but in fact, the children of wealthy and powerful people had a better chance of succeeding than those who were lower on the social scale. The appearance of fairness served to inhibit the development of class consciousness, and therefore maintain social stability:

Education reproduces inequality by justifying privilege and attributing poverty to

personal failure. (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, in Haralambos and Holborn, p.245).

Whitty (1985) criticised this theory as crude, and based upon questionable data; also, because it was primarily concerned with the hidden curriculum, it minimised the importance of the formal curriculum. It also seemed to imply that there could be no change or improvement in the school system until the whole structure of capitalist society had been overthrown. Nevertheless, it was initially influential, and helped to establish the credibility of neo-Marxist analysis.

Further evidence to support the 'conflict perspective' was provided by Apple and Franklin (1979). Analysing the motive forces behind the origins of an education system in the eastern cities of the USA in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, they concluded that the aim was to maintain social stability through value consensus. This was not, though, an end in itself; the underlying purpose was maintenance of the existing social order, and the provision of workers for industry. The most pressing social concern of the time was the impact of mass immigration. There was a fear that the existing culture of the 'native' white population would be 'corrupted', or 'polluted', by that of the new arrivals:

Like the vast Atlantic, we must decompose and cleanse the impurities which rush into our midst, or like the inland lake, we shall receive their poison into our whole national system. (New York State assembly report, in Apple and Franklin, 1979, p.66)

The choice of metaphor in this example is telling. Immigrant culture was threatening - not to dilute, but to poison. Such xenophobic attitudes were particularly acute in the case of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, who (it was argued) lacked the capacity for

self-government, and therefore threatened the stability of American democracy. The problem was the more pressing because immigrant groups had a higher birthrate, and would soon outnumber the 'native' (i.e. white Anglo-saxon) population. In other ways also, this was a period of insecurity for the American middle class of farmers, merchants, and professionals, who saw their values threatened not just by immigrants, but also by urbanisation and the growth of large industrial corporations.

The answer was seen as lying in cultural homogeneity. Intellectual leaders such as the sociologist Edward Ross idealised the small town, as a source of social stability, through like-mindedness in beliefs and values. This kind of community, based on cultural consensus, should be the model for order in the cities and industrialised society also. This theme, of the need for cultural homogeneity ('assimilation'), was taken up and developed by other leaders of opinion, such as Peters, Thorndike, and Finney:

If a democratic people's conduct is to be dependable and harmonious, they must think and feel alike. (Finney, 1922, in Apple and Franklin, p.73)

The instrument for achieving cultural purification and therefore social stability would be the school:

To nationalize a multitudinous people calls for institutions to disseminate certain ideas and ideals. The Tsars relied on the blue-domed Orthodox church in every peasant village to Russify their heterogeneous subjects, while we Americans rely for unity on the 'little red school house'. (Ross, 1920, in Apple and Franklin, p.72)

Part of the function of cultural assimilation would be to enable individuals to adjust to their

places in an industrial society, as efficient workers. Industrialization required greater job specialization, and therefore a workforce with sufficient knowledge to complete a product which the workers themselves had not been involved in designing. But the aim of education was still not to teach the workers to think. Instead, the curriculum should distinguish between those who needed to be educated to define the beliefs and standards of society (the role of leadership), and those whose function was to follow their leaders ('followership').

Instead of trying to teach dullards to think for themselves, the intellectual leaders must think for them, and drill the results, memoriter, into their synapses.

(Finney, 1928, in Apple and Franklin, p.75)

Apple and Franklin concluded from this evidence that education was conceived in the USA primarily as a means of ensuring cultural and social control, and that this idea has influenced and continues to influence subsequent practice. The writers and thinkers who set the agenda in the debate on education were white, middle class, Protestant. Their definition of the issues reflected their particular concerns, and a particular view of reality, or 'social construction'. Quoting Gramsci - that the control of knowledge is an important element in enhancing the ideological dominance of certain classes - Apple and Franklin argued that schools have been used to maintain the existing structures of power relationships, by selecting and legitimating knowledge in the interests of the most powerful. Consequently, educational policies have served as mechanisms of social control, and have helped to reproduce and reinforce inequalities in society:

Schools are built to preserve the cultural capital of the most powerful classes.

(Apple and Franklin, 1979, p.61)

Because of the complexity of this issue, Franklin and Apple believed that the process of contributing to inequality was not always a conscious one, but operated at a level which many liberal educators were unaware of. The conflict perspective and other traditions of curriculum theory described in this chapter are summarised in figure 2.3.

Fig. 2.3: TRADITIONS IN CURRICULUM THEORY

Purpose of education	Proponents	Objectives	Curriculum type
<i>Self-realization; Idealism</i>	<i>Plato, Froebel</i>	<i>development of personality</i>	<i>liberal-progressive</i>
<i>Growth; Naturalism</i>	<i>Rousseau</i>	<i>'amour propre', natural growth</i>	<i>child-centred, active learning</i>
<i>An end in itself; Instrumentalism</i>	<i>Dewey</i>	<i>personal growth, cooperation</i>	<i>child-centred; pattern of learning activities</i>
<i>Utilisation of knowledge</i>	<i>Whitehead</i>	<i>relate ideas to child's experience; understand the present</i>	<i>liberal-progressive</i>
<i>Means to freedom; socio-political</i>	<i>Warnock</i>	<i>transmitting values of society; freedom of the individual</i>	<i>values-centred</i>
<i>Cognitive development</i>	<i>Hirst, Peters</i>	<i>systematic development of knowledge and understanding</i>	<i>subject-centred</i>
<i>Preparation for citizenship</i>	<i>Mannheim, Clarke, Smith</i>	<i>citizen consciousness, educated democracy, cooperation</i>	<i>society-centred</i>
<i>Socialization</i>	<i>Durkheim, Mead</i>	<i>social homogeneity, social responsibility, community attitudes</i>	<i>society-centred</i>
<i>Cultural transmission</i>	<i>Lawton</i>	<i>transmitting cultural inheritance, maintenance of cultural stability</i>	<i>culture-centred; process of selection from sub-cultures</i>
<i>Social invention</i>	<i>Bruner</i>	<i>transmission of basic skills</i>	<i>skill-centred</i>
<i>Economic growth</i>	<i>Callaghan, TVEI, Black Papers</i>	<i>need for skilled workforce</i>	<i>economy-centred, vocational</i>
<i>Social democracy</i>	<i>Halsey</i>	<i>access to schooling, equal opportunity</i>	<i>liberal-progressive, multicultural</i>
<i>Social transformation</i>	<i>Bourdieu, Young, Apple, Bowles+Gintis</i>	<i>critical citizens</i>	<i>critical, anti-racist, neo-Marxist</i>

2.5 Conclusion

When writers attempt to state the purpose of education, they are doing one of two things: they are eliciting what they believe to have been the unconscious purpose always, and thereby giving their own meaning to the history of the subject; or they are formulating what may not have been, or may have been only fitfully, the real purpose in the past, but should in their opinion be the purpose directing development in the future. (T.S.Eliot, Notes towards the Definition of Culture, 1948, p.96)

In this analysis, I have focussed upon the the concept of utility as a way of organising the principal traditions in theorising about the purpose of education. The extremes of the spectrum are, at one end, the idea that education is an end in itself, with no need for extrinsic justification at all; and at the other, a pejorative view of education as a tool used by powerful individuals with an investment in the capitalist system to maintain the status quo. Between these extremes are various positions emphasising personal growth, cognitive development, social well being, or economic prosperity.

While it has been generally agreed that education is a good thing, opinions on its precise purpose have changed through time, in response to changing social and economic conditions. It was hardly surprising, for example, that Milton or Mannheim should choose to emphasise the role of education in preparing people for citizenship, when they were faced with the huge task of rebuilding societies ravaged by war; or that schooling should be seen as a vehicle for social integration in the face of mass immigration in late 19th century America, by a

community which was insecure about its cultural identity. Similarly, any downturn in economic conditions - be it at the end of the nineteenth century, or in the mid 1970s - has led to a public debate on the role of education in supporting economic growth.

It may be understandable; but is such manipulation of the purpose of education in response to passing concerns justifiable ? Or should those involved in education reject attempts by politicians, businessmen, and other outsiders to harness this subtle and personal process to their own narrowly conceived ends ?

Bruner (1973) believed that each generation needed to think afresh about the aims of education, because of changes in knowledge and circumstances. The task of rethinking aims was not, though, in his view, the job of psychologists or educationists, any more than it was the job of a general to decide to start a war (p.468). Warnock (1977) argued that the fundamental purpose of education was to achieve a 'better life'. But since what might constitute a better life is a matter of opinion, this suggested the need for discussion. In a matter of this kind, involving value judgements, teachers and educationists were no better placed than anyone else to decide. Parents and employers, Warnock believed, were entitled to have a say (p.9). An analogy could be drawn with the position of medical practitioners who, due to technological advances, are being asked increasingly to make decisions which go beyond the realm of medical expertise into areas which require moral debate and judgements based upon clearly agreed values. In this, doctors have no particular training or expertise, and no more right to have a say than anyone else.

If, as some have argued, schooling is used to achieve ends which are exploitative or undemocratic - for example, the creation of a passive workforce, or restriction of democratic participation in order to concentrate political or economic power in the hands of a few - this should be rejected as an abuse of education. Such aims are contrary to the essential notion of education, as a *liberating* process, encouraging personal growth, and according respect to the individual. Evidence that education has been hijacked to purposes which actively deny respect is another reason to open the debate as widely as possible. Widening the debate beyond education professionals would also answer Young's (1971) criticism, that 'teachers determine what is to count as knowledge.'

What then, should the purpose of education be ? The traditions examined in this chapter have been presented discretely, and may in some cases appear mutually exclusive. In practice, education is usually (and, in my view, legitimately) expected to fulfil a number of aims at one time; and most of the goals elaborated are reconcilable. For me, the most important of these (that is, the aim which is the least reducible) is the attainment of individual happiness. Since man is a social animal, the happiness of the individual both contributes to, and is a function of, a happy society. The question then becomes: how can education contribute to achieving this aim ?

Individual

At the level of the individual, the aim would be the development of a person who has a sense of self-awareness ('who I am'), and self-respect. Such qualities are the foundation stones of

happiness. Education can also be used as a mechanism for learning self-restraint, or self-discipline through work: a prerequisite for freedom from animal instincts and the desire for immediate gratification. The means to achieving self-respect and self-discipline are the development of intellectual capacity, moral understanding, spirituality, and physical skills.

Local

Self-restraint or the subjugation of self-interest is also necessary for the individual to relate successfully to others in the immediate social group. Education can be seen as a vehicle for teaching children the skills of cooperation and working with others. Knowledge of who we are derives in part from an understanding of our relations with other people. Education gives us information about our situation - historical, political, scientific and geographical - which enables us to 'locate' ourselves culturally in the present, and thus make sense of what we see around us. The historian, Marwick (1970), justified the study of history by describing it as a 'social necessity'. A society, he argued, needs knowledge of its past as much as an individual needs knowledge of his: without it, we are disorientated, like a man who has lost his memory. This idea can be extended to include other aspects of our cultural inheritance.

The self-respect which results from knowing about ourselves is the first condition for respecting others. A person who does not like himself, or have a well founded sense of who he is and what makes him unique, will not find it easy to relate to others - especially if their differences make them appear threatening. Such a person is likely to be a source of conflict in the local community and beyond it.

National

At the level of wider society, the individual who had been imbued by the educational process with the capacities listed above - the ability to think clearly: knowledge of her physical and social milieu and an understanding of her role in it: an awareness of right and wrong: self-respect and respect for others: the ability to cooperate - would be better placed to contribute towards the common good than the person who lacked these attributes, and assessed the world instead on the basis of selfish instincts or simple prejudice. She would, for example, have a commitment to the creation of a society which was fair and based on the principle of equal treatment for all its members: social justice, and its concomitant, equality of opportunity.

The person who had been trained to detect bias or prejudice (as part of a general intellectual training) and had an understanding of the differences between political systems (for example, democracy and dictatorship) would be resistant to manipulation of her opinions by demagogues, and more willing to accept the limitations inherent in democratic processes. In the longer term, this would produce more active, informed, and tolerant citizens, who were concerned with achieving a better society; and a more stable political system. These goals would all contribute significantly to social stability, a prerequisite for a civilised, ordered existence.

If one of the goals of education is to create a society based on equal respect and social justice, it follows that the process of education itself should not reproduce injustice. Instead,

it should enable the individual to develop her abilities as fully as possible, and have equal access to opportunities to 'escape from the limitations of the social group' in which one is born' (Dewey, 1916, in Fullan, 1991, p.14).

Education and the economy

What role should schools play in contributing towards economic growth ? It would be an abuse of education to set out with the deliberate intention of restricting a child's educational opportunities, in order to fit him for a job which was dehumanising or degrading; this would be indoctrination, rather than education. While this has certainly happened in the past, it seems less likely to happen in the future, given changes in the occupational structure of economies in the developed countries. Because of the increasing use of technology in the workplace, there will be less need for unskilled workers, docile enough to be willing to repeat mindless, dehumanizing tasks without question; instead, a greater need for workers with an ability to use increasingly sophisticated machines. The relentless pace of technological change means that there will be a premium on the ability to respond to changing circumstances, and to question accepted ways of doing things.

The vast majority of us will work to earn a living for the best part of our adult lives; only the very fortunate, or the most unfortunate, will not do so. In western democratic societies, capitalism is generally accepted as the basis of economic and social organisation. What is debated is the extent to which governments should intervene to limit the excesses of the free market and to support those who are most vulnerable. The justifying principle of capitalism is that individuals should be permitted to create as much wealth for themselves as possible,

with the expectation that the wealth thus generated will lead to jobs and therefore prosperity for others. Preparing pupils to find a productive role in the system by teaching them the skills necessary for work (especially literacy and numeracy) would enable them to support themselves financially, and to achieve that sense of dignity and participation in the community which are denied to the long term unemployed. It would also benefit the nation as a whole, in making it possible to utilise people's talents and skills in the creation of wealth.

The idea that material prosperity is the key to personal happiness is a cynical myth. There is far more to a 'better life' than possessions, despite what those who promote the National Lottery would have us believe. But it would be equally specious to suggest that material wealth is irrelevant or unimportant. Without stable provision of the essentials of food and shelter, the higher goals of a 'better life' would appear an insensitive extravagance.

All depends on how narrowly the objective of 'supporting the economy' is conceived. If vocational preparation does not compromise educational principles (such as respect for the individual), or hinder the attainment of other, higher educational objectives (the capacity for independent thought), it appears a legitimate purpose of education.

The aim of this synthesis has been to suggest that many of the justifications of schooling described earlier in this chapter can be reconciled. Education can be, and usually is, expected to fulfil a number of different purposes at the same time, at the levels of the individual, her

social group, and wider society. I have also argued that in a democratic society, the precise definition of those purposes depends on value judgements; it is therefore a legitimate matter for public debate, and should not be restricted to those within the education profession.

The educational aims of Parkview School

How did teachers in the project school view their aims ? In 1987, the curriculum deputy head, John Sears, instituted a review of the school's goals, through a series of after-school voluntary discussion groups. The results of this exercise were drawn together, and published in the following year's handbook for staff. They began with a quotation from the Warnock report, under the heading 'overall aim':

First, to enlarge a child's knowledge, experience and imaginative understanding, and thus his awareness of moral values and capacity for enjoyment; and secondly, to enable him to enter the world after formal education is over as an active participant in society and a responsible contributor to it, capable of achieving as much independence as possible. (Parkview School Staff Handbook, 1987/88)

The aims which followed included reference to the county's policy on racial equality ('to provide an understanding of the principles and practices of racial equality and justice...'); equality of access; education for democracy; partnership with parents; a broad and balanced curriculum, to 'ensure contact with the major areas of knowledge and experience'; enabling pupils to realise their academic and other abilities, and to develop enquiring minds; enhancing pupils' self-respect; the development of skills needed for learning; development of social skills 'to live harmoniously with others'; and development of personal moral values,

including respect for others and tolerance of other cultures. A child-centred approach was also given as one of the school's aims, as was the preparation of students for employment.

In total, there were fourteen aims listed. Like the synthesis above, they reflected the influence of a number of different traditions in the theory of education, and attempted to reconcile them. Together, they represented a liberal position, influenced by the Social Democratic concern with equality of opportunity and the Progressive tradition begun by Dewey. The emphasis upon issues of racial equality reflected the priority given to this issue by the LEA, and more immediately, by the school (the project had been started the year before).

The summary which resulted was coherent (although it failed to distinguish between aims and method). But it would be mistaken to conclude from this evidence that there was general agreement amongst staff about the school's aims, and how they were to be achieved. Instead, the review exercise should be seen as part of a process to achieve consensus at a theoretical level about where the school was going, undertaken precisely because of a perceived lack of consensus.

As explained below (5.4), Parkview had been created as the result of a merger in 1985, and there were considerable differences between the traditions of the two institutions. The review was an attempt to draw a line under these differences, and create a new, distinct view of the school's purpose. However, the exercise was weakened by the fact that involvement was

voluntary, and did not therefore include all staff. Certain aspects of the statement of aims and philosophy were controversial (for example, the need for a child-centred approach to methodology) and would not have been accepted by all staff.

In chapter two different traditions explaining the purpose, or purposes, of education have been considered. Chapter three addresses the related question of what should be taught to fulfil those purposes. It also reviews the principal theories of methodology: how the curriculum might most effectively be delivered. Both of these questions are relevant to an understanding of the concept of a 'multicultural' curriculum. The origins of this concept are investigated, and then related to the experience of the project school.

CHAPTER THREE: WHAT SHOULD A CURRICULUM CONSIST OF ?

In the previous chapter, I considered a number of traditions providing different answers to the question, 'what is the purpose of education ?' Because there have been different views on the purpose of education, there have also been many proposals concerning precisely what should be taught in order to fulfil those purposes. Chapter three summarises the main traditions in the theory of curriculum construction. It also traces the influence of psychology on thinking about how - and when - the curriculum should be delivered. The theory of multicultural education, which underpinned the aims of the school project, is explained, and its origins explored in relation to mainstream curriculum traditions. Anti-racist education, which represents a more radical approach to the issue of racial equality, is also explored; and the debate concerning the merits of an anti-racist as opposed to multicultural curriculum is reviewed. The chapter concludes by relating the school project to these theoretical positions.

3.1 What should be taught ?

3.2 How should the curriculum be delivered ?

3.3 The theory of multicultural education

3.4 The theory of anti-racist education.

3.5 Conclusion

3.1 What should be taught ?

Plato's 'Proper objects of knowledge'

In the Republic (book 7), Plato used the analogy of prisoners in a cave to explain what he believed should be taught in schools. Education should be concerned not with enlightenment through new knowledge, but with turning eyes in the right direction:

To educate a man you must turn his mind away from the things which are not proper objects of knowledge, towards those which are.

For Plato, this meant moving away from concrete or particular objects, towards general and abstract truths. The study of mathematics and number theory would be at the heart of Plato's curriculum; but he also held that such study would lead to an understanding of good and bad in non-mathematical areas of knowledge (in Warnock, 1977).

Hirst's 'Realms of meaning'

Waring (1979) traced the development of school science from the late 19th century. She argued that one of the main reasons why science was accepted into the curriculum was the perceived threat to British economic and industrial superiority posed by foreign competition. But she also identified other factors, contributing to a general change in the idea of a liberal curriculum. These included the advent of Faculty Psychology (based upon the idea that the mind was composed of a number of separate faculties - e.g. will, intellect, reasoning); and the influence of the German philosopher Kant, who argued that each discipline has its own mode of enquiry as a distinguishing feature. Supported by the work of the psychologist Herbart, the result was a movement away from the traditional classical and literary

curriculum, towards ideals of breadth and balance. Students should study not just science, but a range of subjects, thereby encouraging the development of the whole person (Waring 1979, p.18ff). This tradition in curriculum theory was at its strongest in the 1950s and 60s. Among its most influential advocates were P.H.Hirst and R.S.Peters.

Hirst and Peters (1970) accepted Bloom's three way division of educational objectives between cognitive, affective, and psycho-motor domains. But, they argued, Bloom's taxonomy showed no awareness of the relationships between different objectives. Without an understanding of these, specific objectives in curriculum planning could not be identified.

They also argued that logically, the most fundamental educational objectives must always be cognitive. To illustrate this idea, they offered two examples. Only if one understands other people - in other words, has knowledge and experience of them (*the cognitive domain*) - can one care about them (*the affective domain*). Similarly, one cannot be creative about the study of atomic physics without detailed knowledge of the subject to start with.

In turn, in order to make sense of experience, and to distinguish between fact and fiction, it was necessary first to acquire a shared understanding of a body of fundamental concepts. Without this, objective judgements would not be possible:

It is... only through the mastery of a body of public concepts, with their related objective tests, that objective experience and knowledge can be achieved. (p.62)

In seeking a structure for organising curriculum objectives, Hirst and Peters identified seven

distinct areas within the domain of knowledge and experience:

1. Formal logic and maths;
2. Physical sciences;
3. Moral judgement/ethics;
4. Aesthetic experience;
5. Religion;
6. Philosophy;
7. Human sciences.

These areas were distinct, because the knowledge of each area - or 'form' - could not be reduced to that of any other form. The differences between them were characterised by the different symbols or language used to describe them.

Hirst saw the purpose of education as being to introduce the learner to areas of human knowledge and experience in a systematic way. The content of the curriculum would be defined by the nature of knowledge itself, and should take account of legitimate social demands for the acquisition of particular skills or knowledge useful to the community. The principle of Hirst's curriculum construction would be to ensure that all pupils have some knowledge of all disciplines.

The study of life itself: Whitehead

Whitehead (1932) rejected the forms of knowledge approach, and a curriculum based on distinctions between subjects, arguing that the only subject for education should be life. As

described above, he was insistent that what was taught should be of obvious relevance to the learner: the opposite of 'inert'. There was no point in teaching a child how to do quadratic equations if she could not see the value of them:

You cannot put life into any schedule of general education unless you succeed in exhibiting its relation to some essential characteristic of all intelligent or emotional perception. (p.12)

The problems arise when you try to pin this idea down into a workable schedule for the classroom; how do you teach about life, without classifying experiences in some way which will make them manageable, and give shape to the learning experience ? Later in the same essay, Whitehead emphasised the importance of specialist study:

Mankind is naturally specialist... wherever in education you exclude specialism, you destroy life. (p.16)

Whitehead saw education beginning with theoretical knowledge, gained through study of a favourite field, and then applied in a practical way. Specialist study gives an appreciation of the structure of ideas. It trains the mind in the comprehension of abstract thought, and the analysis of facts; and, most importantly of all, it teaches how to apply - or utilise - general ideas in specific situations. Whitehead believed that the number of subjects taught should be few, but that these should be taught thoroughly. The curriculum should be decided by individual schools, fashioned in response to their particular circumstances.

This view of the need for early specialization has its attractions, and is surely based on experience. As Whitehead says, specialist study is easier, because the student is more

interested in it. But it appears to conflict with the earlier suggestion that the main subject of study should be life, and that there should be no distinctions between subjects. Moreover, in his view that one approach to education would not suit all - 'artisan children will want something more concrete' - Whitehead revealed the prejudices of his time, in identifying social class with academic interest or ability.

The influence of Dewey was clear in Whitehead's rejection of a subject-based curriculum. It was also apparent in the writings of Smith (1964), when he described specific subject matter as

One of the least permanent and least important things learned in school. (p.47)

While it might be helpful to break the educational process down into manageable steps - for example, learning to read, or learning multiplication tables - the danger of this approach, in Smith's view, was that the steps tended to become ends in their own right, and the overall goal was lost from sight. As a result learning could become fragmented and compartmentalised.

The values of society: Warnock

Like Whitehead, Warnock (1977) rejected Hirst's idea of forms of knowledge, as being essentially conservative - justifying the study of old fashioned subjects by their continued existence ('An elaborate defence of the status quo' - Adelstein, 1971).

She also dealt briskly with the sociological argument as represented in the writings of Michael Young (see above, section 2.4). According to this view, all knowledge is relative, and it is teachers who decide what should count as knowledge; they, and others in authority, use this power to maintain their status (Young, 1971). It may be true that teachers choose what is taught. But according to Warnock this is not the same as saying that all knowledge is relative, or that teachers decide what is true and what is false. What we pass on is a stable, received, established body of knowledge, periodically revised.

So, what did Warnock believe this established body of knowledge should consist of ? Her criteria were largely practical. Children should be taught

- how to acquire knowledge for themselves
- how to ask questions
- how to criticise
- how to research.

Besides these skills, the curriculum should include knowledge which is

- interesting
- useful, and
- 'fruitful of further knowledge'.

There should be an element of choice, in order to respond to different interests. Study should look beyond formal education, and be capable of improving one's future life. Where there was tension between the claims of different subjects for inclusion in the curriculum (and there always will be), Warnock's final test for including a particular element was to say:

One is better educated if one knows this than if one does not. (p.125)

How such a subjective criterion would facilitate choosing between competing subjects Warnock did not make clear; presumably, all the protagonists in the debate would make precisely this claim for their own subjects. It could be argued that the possession of any knowledge means that one is better educated than if one knows nothing at all. Nor did Warnock anticipate the objection that this position, like Hirst's, is liable to be used to justify the recycling of existing preconceptions concerning what is *important* or *useful* knowledge.

Warnock echoed Whitehead's plea for specialist study, when she stated that a common aim of all parts of the curriculum should be to encourage a single-minded devotion to the task; only in this way can we learn to do things properly. Subject distinctions were not significant. It did not matter whether children learn history or geography, or a combination of these; the test was whether what the children were learning would help them to think and feel and work more freely.

3.2 How should the curriculum be delivered ? The psychological tradition

Sigmund Freud

The influence of psychology on educational theory dates mainly from the work of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939). The main tenets of his work were:

- that nothing is accidental in the mental world;
- that there are forces in the personality which are unknown to the observer - the

Unconscious;

- that humans are motivated in their behaviour by the pleasure principle: we avoid that which is painful, and seek that which gives us pleasure;
- that relationships in infancy and childhood influence the whole of our lives;
- that mental disturbances are affected by sexual drive ('Libido');
- that our ways of thinking and behaving are controlled by three major elements in our personality: the 'ID' (crude instinctual needs), the 'EGO' (the real world), or the 'SUPER EGO' (the individual's moral code).

Applying Freudian principles to education, psychologists argued that successful learning could only take place when a child's energies and drives were properly and fully employed, and that therefore, we need to understand how the child's mind works for teaching to be effective.

For Morrish (1967), the most important contributions of psycho-analytical method to education were to emphasize

- i) the possibility of freedom from inner compulsion, through self discipline and self analysis; and
- ii) the need to develop the individual's personality as an integrated whole.

To summarise these ideas, he quoted Morris (1959):

It seems to me that, far from reducing man to an automaton, a passive victim of instinct, a puppet controlled by unconscious desires, or a creature of conditioned response, Freud's work enables us to put the concepts of an integrated personality and

an autonomous self at the centre of educational theory. (p.172)

Freud himself said little about the implications of his theories for educational practice. Nevertheless, the influence of his ideas, and the ideas of the schools which grew from his teaching, has been considerable. Its extent can be seen in the work of Anna Freud, Melanie Klein, Jean Piaget, and Susan Isaacs. His insights have led to a deeper understanding of the processes involved in learning. But the most important contribution in the field of child psychology since Freud has probably come from Piaget.

Jean Piaget

In his *The Language and Thought of the Child* (1924), Piaget identified three key phases in mental development from childhood to adulthood:

1. The AUTISTIC phase from 0-18 months;
2. The EGOCENTRIC phase from 18 months to about 7 or 8 years old;
3. The SOCIAL phase, from 8 to 16 years.

Piaget showed that during these phases, the child's cognitive processes were different from those of an adult, and moved from little or no thought, through gradual organization of experience, to increasingly abstract mental operations. Teachers should be aware of the phases, and the more detailed schemata of mental patterns within them (sensori-motor: pre-operational: growth into concrete operations: concrete operations: formal operations). This information could be utilised to judge the child's readiness - and ability - to learn new concepts, with direct implications for the timing of new curriculum elements, and also for teaching methods.

While the details of Piaget's schemes have been questioned (Vygotsky, Isaacs, and McDougall) other studies have confirmed Piaget's findings (Lunzer, 1961). The principles of Piaget's analysis have also been applied by others to specific areas of the curriculum, such as mathematics (Churchill, 1958), history (Lodwick, 1958, Coltham, 1960), and religious studies (Goldman, 1964). (Morrish, p.195)

Jerome Bruner

Piaget's pioneering work was taken further after 1960 by J.S.Bruner. Bruner was greatly influenced by the work of Bartlett on memory (*Remembering*, 1932) and also Piaget. With the latter, he saw three main phases (or emphases) in intellectual development, but chose to give them different names:

1. ENACTIVE
2. ICONIC
3. SYMBOLIC.

There were other, more fundamental differences between Piaget and Bruner. Piaget's approach was more mathematical and logical; that of Bruner, psychological. They differed over the importance of language in development: was it a symptom (Piaget) or a cause (Bruner) of increased competence ? Their main difference was concerned with the ability of culture to influence intellectual development. For Bruner, theories of development should go hand in hand with a theory of instruction, as a means of increasing intellectual growth:

The idea of readiness is a half-truth. One teaches readiness, or provides opportunities for its development - one does not just wait for it. (1973, p.473)

Modern psychology could be used to develop a theory of instruction on how best to arrange the learning environment:

Psychology more than any other discipline has the tools to explore the limits of man's perfectibility. (1973, p.477)

Like Whitehead, Bruner (1960) was concerned that knowledge should be seen to be useful to the learner. To this end, subject content should be determined

by the most fundamental understanding that can be achieved of the underlying principles that give structure to the subject.

It is more exciting intellectually to grasp general principles, and an understanding of principles is essential if the knowledge is to be applied beyond the learning situation. Moreover, it is easier to remember information when it is presented in context, with the connecting principles explained, than when it is presented as random, unrelated facts. These ideas gave rise to Bruner's concept of a 'spiral curriculum', in which the child would be introduced to ideas at an early age in a simplified form, returning to them later at a more complex level of understanding. Underpinning this plan was Bruner's contention that

any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development. (1973, p.398)

Alongside this concept, Bruner adopted the view that knowledge in any field has a derivational structure, thus aligning himself with the structuralist position elaborated by Hirst and Peters. He also advocated active participation by the learner in the learning process, with the student being encouraged to work things out for himself through discovery method, in dialogue with the teacher. The aim of the school should be to make the learner as

autonomous as possible, because

the most uniquely personal knowledge is what man learns for himself. (1973, p.402)

Citing as evidence the work of Robert White, Bruner argued that discovery method would also make the student less dependent on extrinsic motivation, as he would find reward in the process of discovery itself, since the desire to achieve competence is itself a key motivational factor in learning. Later (1977), Bruner described his advocacy of discovery method as 'unrealistic', since it requires so much skill on the part of the teacher.

To overlook this functional setting of learning - whatever its context - is to dry it to a mummy. (1960, preface to 1977 edition, p.xi)

B.F.Skinner

Skinner's ideas on human behaviour were derived from the work of the physiologist, Ivan Parlour (1849-1936), who had discovered conditioned responses in dogs. If animals could be taught through the association of experiences, perhaps the same principle could be applied to humans. In response Skinner developed the ideas of teaching machines and programmed texts. Machines would reduce the time spent by the teacher on repetitious drills; while the texts would break the stages of learning into minute stages. The motivation for the student would come from success, and this would be communicated by being told the right answer straight away ('Immediate Knowledge of Results').

According to Morrish, Skinner's theory of Programmed Learning has led to a more detailed study of subject matter, closer consideration of the type of student for whom material is

intended, and detailed analysis of the order of topics within subjects using Piagetian principles. (p.226) The influence of Skinner's ideas could be seen in the Tyler Rationale. In this, the curriculum was seen as a tool for solving the problem of what should be taught in school, and how: a design for learning. According to Skilbeck (1984), the Tyler Rationale was not just a way of designing the curriculum; it was what Tyler meant by curriculum. Questions of content and experience were less important for Tyler than getting the system right, and learning to operate it effectively. The Rationale was elaborated by Hilda Taba (1962) as a series of objectives:

step 1 - diagnosis of needs

step 2 - formulation of objectives

step 3 - selection of content

step 4 - organisation of content

step 5 - selection of learning experiences

step 6 - organisation of learning experiences

step 7 - determination of what to evaluate and how.

(in Skilbeck, 1984, p.42)

While the Tyler approach may seem crude, mechanistic, and behavioural, Skilbeck believed that it drew attention to the dynamic nature of the curriculum, by rejecting the idea of a fixed structure in favour of a process model. It was particularly influential in the USA.

The influence of psychology on curriculum theory

Morrish (1967) identified five ways in which the work begun by Freud has benefited our

understanding of educational processes:

1. The study of psychology enables the teacher to understand himself, and how his own mind works;
2. It can help the teacher to understand the child: her intelligence, special abilities, personality;
3. It has made it possible to identify 'laws and phases' in the maturation of the child's intellect, with implications for the timing and character of particular learning activities (such as syllabuses);
4. It has enhanced our understanding of the dynamics of social interactions - between individual children, or small groups, or at institutional level - and the way in which these affect the child's development;
5. It has contributed to the techniques of classroom management and observation. (p.139)

These perspectives have helped to transform educational method. But it is important to realise the limitations of the psychology of learning. Stenhouse (1975), for example, was concerned that classrooms are sometimes seen as the place to apply the lessons learnt by psychologists in their laboratories. In his view, this perspective was mistaken; we should see classrooms as places not just for testing, but also for changing theoretical hypotheses. The developmental norms of Piaget and Bruner were, he argued, an insufficient basis to build a curriculum, for two reasons: firstly, because it is the purpose of education to challenge and change such norms; and secondly, because pupils in any one class are at different stages of

development. He concluded that the value of developmental norms in teaching was probably diagnostic and individual. (p.24)

On a more general level, as Bantock indicated ('Fact and Value in Education, 1965), psychology is concerned with factual questions, such as *when* and *how* something should be taught. What it cannot say, because it is a matter of moral rather than intellectual judgement, is *what* should be taught. This must remain an issue for philosophical debate. Bruner agreed with Bantock; it is not the business of psychologists to advise on what should be taught, 'any more than a general deciding to fight a war.' (1973, p.468)

However, by placing greater emphasis on the environment of the child, and the effects of environment upon motivation, intelligence, and learning, the influence of psychology upon the curriculum has gone much further than curriculum methodology, and has extended into the purposes of education:

While the aims of education are traditionally largely intellectual, the analytic view offers us a philosophy of education which lays stress on the acquisition of the arts of living and on the development of mature personalities.

(Morris, 1959, in Morrish, p.172)

A 'relevant curriculum': Fantini and Weinstein

The influence of the psychological tradition on thinking about curriculum construction can be seen in the idea of the 'relevant curriculum'. Bruner believed that the key to memory was

organization, and that 'information organized in terms of a person's own interests and cognitive structures...has the best chance of being accessible in memory.' (1973, p.411)

Extending this idea to the education of disadvantaged children, he pointed to experiments suggesting that different cultural groups possessed the same skills. The differences in performance between these groups were due more to the situations in which they were expected to demonstrate their competence, rather than any inherent deficit. For Bruner, the answer was to use study materials which would be more familiar, or relevant, to the children concerned; to take account of the social context of learning:

We need to take seriously the dictum that man is a cultural animal. (Bruner, 1973, p.465)

Writing about the American experience at the end of the 1960s, Fantini and Weinstein (1968) felt that the traditional school curriculum was failing to motivate children effectively. Much of what was taught was as relevant and as interesting as a telephone directory. In particular, they believed that the abstract character of the curriculum distanced it from the experience of disadvantaged children, for whom it was totally irrelevant and meaningless. This was because although the disadvantaged child might have had rich experiences, they would not have prepared him for the abstract symbols used in school. The majority of teaching approaches would begin with the most abstract methods - i.e. the spoken word, and the printed word. While abstract symbols were essential, they should not be used as the starting point for learning. Instead, the curriculum should be related as closely as possible to the concrete symbols of the child's own, real experience:

To abstract means to represent something that is real, and the basis for abstraction must be based on the concrete reality of the individual to have any meaning for him.
(p.347)

Thus in the understanding of Fantini and Weinstein, a relevant curriculum was one which was relevant to the needs and experience of the learner, rather than relevant to the needs of society. In order to achieve this, they argued the need for devolved curriculum planning, so that it could be designed in response to local needs. They also suggested that it should include the following elements:

1. A clear sequence of skills, in limited (and therefore achievable) steps
2. The use of the present as a starting point for learning activities
3. Emphasising the use of concepts capable of generalization, rather than the teaching of random facts - as advocated in Bruner's 'spiral curriculum'
4. Social action to enhance the self concepts of pupils, and to take education beyond the classroom
5. The inclusion of elements in the curriculum which do not ignore or deny the experiences of pupils. (p.360)

Fantini and Weinstein offered this summary as a model for 'relevant' curriculum development:

LEARNERS: define class characteristics

CONCERNS: assess common concerns

DIAGNOSIS: identify learners' perspective

OUTCOMES: clarify desired learning outcomes. (p.368)

Defining learners' entering characteristics: Gammage

Gammage (1984) emphasised the psychological perspective in curriculum design, and the need to take account of the cultural and social context in which the school operates. Describing children as 'sensitive barometers of cultural change', Gammage believed that the curriculum must be constantly reviewed in the light of social development, in order to ensure that it was best 'fitted' or responsive to the experiences of its pupils. Much of what was learnt at school was of little practical use. If schools were to make more impact upon the achievements of pupils, the curriculum must be designed with an awareness of their experience, background, social/cultural context, and also the psychology of learning:

Some perceptions of the child's system of representation or frame of knowledge are fundamental to the task of the teacher if he or she intends to present information in a form likely to be used by the child's expanding mind. (p.15)

According to Gammage, the child must value, as well as understand, what he is doing in school. But he cautioned against the idea of designing a curriculum that was seen as 'relevant' to the interests of the child, because adolescents' concepts of what is relevant are often whimsical and transitory:

To seek relevance alone would be to court disaster, for the curriculum to be valued only according to criteria of immediacy, instrumentality, or popularity. (p.22)

The answer was to speak to the child in language which would engage him, by relating to his cultural values and social experience: his 'entering characteristics'. This would involve identifying the child's ability, self perception, and values on entry to school, and adapting the curriculum in response.

According to Skilbeck's (1984) analysis, it is possible to identify four main strands or models in curriculum design:

1. As a structure of forms and fields of knowledge. This model is elaborated most fully in the writings of Hirst and Peters, and to a lesser extent, in the work of Bruner.
2. As a chart or map of the culture: as in the ideas of Lawton.
3. As a pattern of learning activities. This is a reference to the progressive tradition, developed from the ideas of Dewey and Whitehead.
4. As a learning technology - represented by the Tyler Rationale. (p.30ff.)

Skilbeck's summary has been represented diagrammatically in figure 3.1.

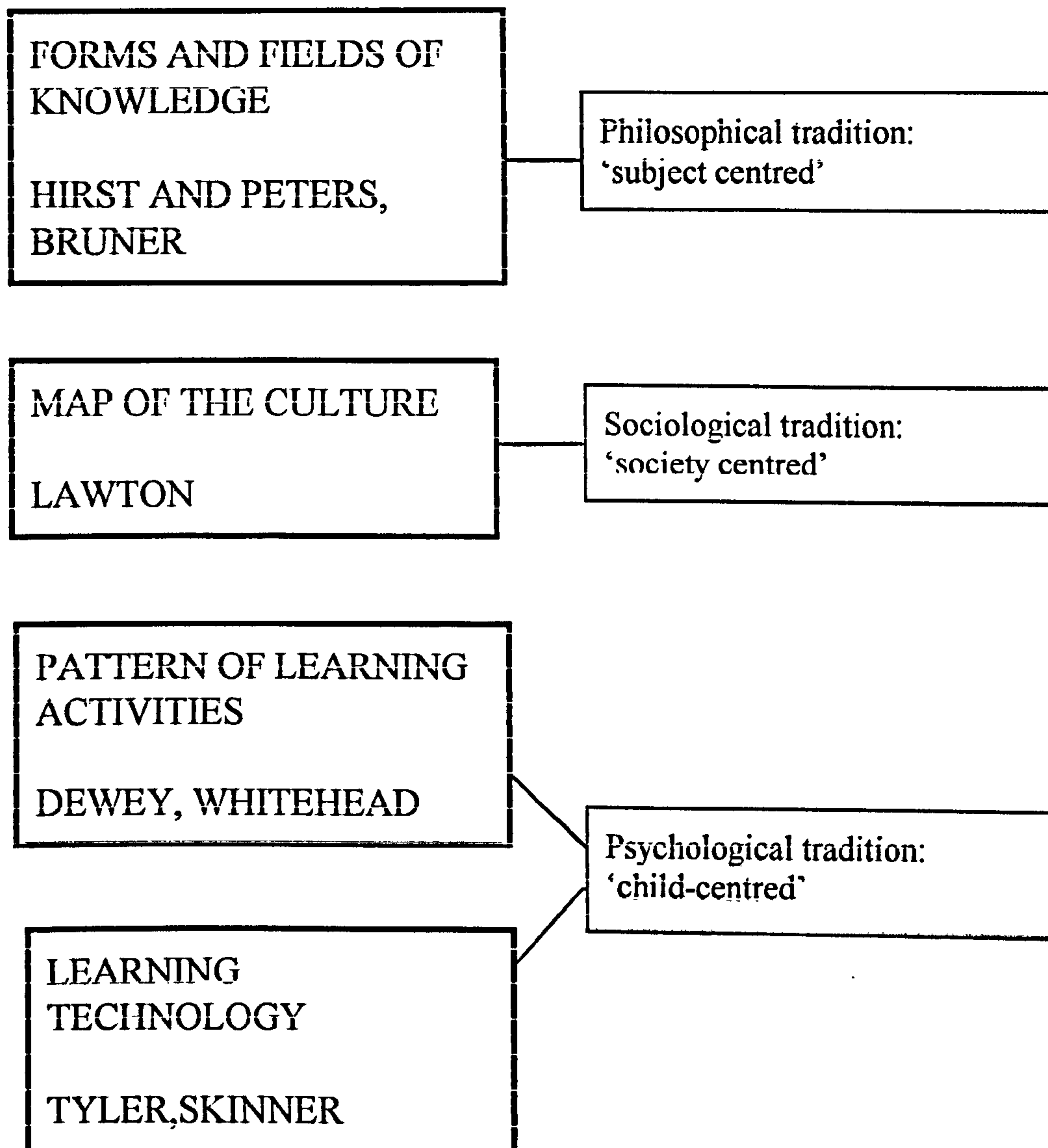
3.3 The theory of multicultural education

The project being evaluated was intended to prepare pupils to live and work in a multi-ethnic society through the development of a multicultural curriculum. In the section which follows, I will attempt to place the project in a theoretical context, by considering the meaning of the term *multicultural education*, and tracing its development from earlier related concepts.

What is meant by multicultural education ?

The principal concern of multicultural education is with the experience of black, i.e. non-white, people, in western society. It has developed from the fact that racial injustice and inequality continue to exist, in spite of efforts at a legal level to eradicate them. They are evident in racialism (racist insults and abuse: racially motivated crimes) and at a more subtle and intractable level, discrimination which leads to the exclusion of certain groups from

Fig. 3.1. MODELS IN CURRICULUM DESIGN (Skilbeck, 1984)



power and access to economic opportunity. As a consequence of racism, black communities are disadvantaged, socially and economically. The aim of multicultural education was to redress these injustices by according equal status to different cultures:

Multiculturalism has the idea, or ideal of the harmonious coexistence of differing cultural or ethnic groups in a pluralist society at its core. (Todd, 1994; in Cashmore, 1994, p.216)

In this theory, schools are considered firstly to be part of the mechanism for perpetuating racial inequality, and secondly to be potential agents for change towards greater social justice. The task for curriculum reformers is to develop curriculum practices and policies which will diminish, rather than increase, inequality. These include opportunities for cultural and language maintenance, the introduction of ethnic and religious festivals into schools, project work on ethnic communities, and links with ethnic minority parents. As Todd (1994) points out, the term has been used in a variety of ways: as an ideology, a discourse, and a cluster of policies and practices. Reaching an adequate definition is rendered more complex by the fact that it has been used differently in British and American contexts. The analysis which follows acknowledges this difficulty by considering the American and British traditions separately.

The origins of multicultural education: The American tradition

Banks (1988) traced the origins of multicultural education policy in the USA to the racial tensions caused by large scale immigration in the 19th century. The original settlers who had come from Europe in the 17th century were white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant. When a

new wave of settlers began to arrive from eastern Europe and the Mediterranean countries, they brought with them different cultural and religious (Catholic) traditions. They were suspected of being 'of inferior stock and less easily assimilable than immigrants from northwestern Europe.' (Banton, in Cashmore, 1994, p.37). Consequently, they were perceived as a threat to American civilisation.

The response was a movement, called 'Nativism', which sought to limit immigration, and stressed the importance of assimilating the newcomers to Anglo-Saxon culture: 'Americanization'. Reaching its peak during the First World War, the influence of the movement could be seen in the Immigration Acts of 1917 and 1924, which limited the number of immigrants entering the USA from all European countries apart from those in northern and western Europe. As Apple and Franklin (1979) have shown, leading intellectuals of the time such as Ross, Thorndike, Peters and Finney argued that the solution was to seek cultural homogeneity, or *assimilation* through the mechanism of the school (see above, section 2.4). Assimilation means 'becoming similar'. Giddens (1989) explained assimilation in the context of the sociology of race as 'the acceptance of a minority group by the majority population, in which the group takes over the values and norms of the dominant culture.' (in Todd, p.36. See also Banton, in Cashmore, 1994, p.37).

Minority opinion argued for a different, non-assimilationist solution, in which the various cultural groups pooled their characteristics to produce a new and distinct formulation of American culture: the 'Melting Pot' approach. In the 1920s, the black nationalist leader

Marcus Garvey called for a move away from policies of cultural assimilation, towards a new ideal of ethnic pluralism. The subsequent migration of black labourers from the southern states to northern cities led to increased racial tension and race riots. By 1939 there had emerged from this context a curriculum reform movement known as Intercultural or Intergroup Education, the aim of which was to reduce racial prejudice and promote interracial understanding.

Although the Intercultural movement influenced later developments, it failed to become widely established. The dominant attitude towards cultural minorities remained assimilationist until the late 1950s, when black people, aware of continuing discrimination in employment, housing and education despite their apparent 'assimilation' into white society, expressed their dissatisfaction through the Civil Rights movement. This led to what Banks terms 'ethnic revitalisation', by which other ethnic groups followed the example of the black community and began to rediscover their cultural origins.

These changes were reflected in developments in educational theory and practice, which Banks categorised into five phases. From the mid 1960s black Americans began to demand more community control over schools for black students and the rewriting of text books to reflect black history and culture, echoing Fantini and Weinstein's (1968) proposal for a 'relevant curriculum', which would take account of the needs, interests, self-concepts and experiences of the learner. Courses were developed which focussed specifically on the experience of black people in white racist society (*'mono-ethnic education'*). Soon, in the

second phase of development, other minority groups (such as Polish or Jewish Americans) began to make similar demands, for courses reflecting their particular cultures. This led to the development of '*multi-ethnic studies*', which compared the experiences of different ethnic groups.

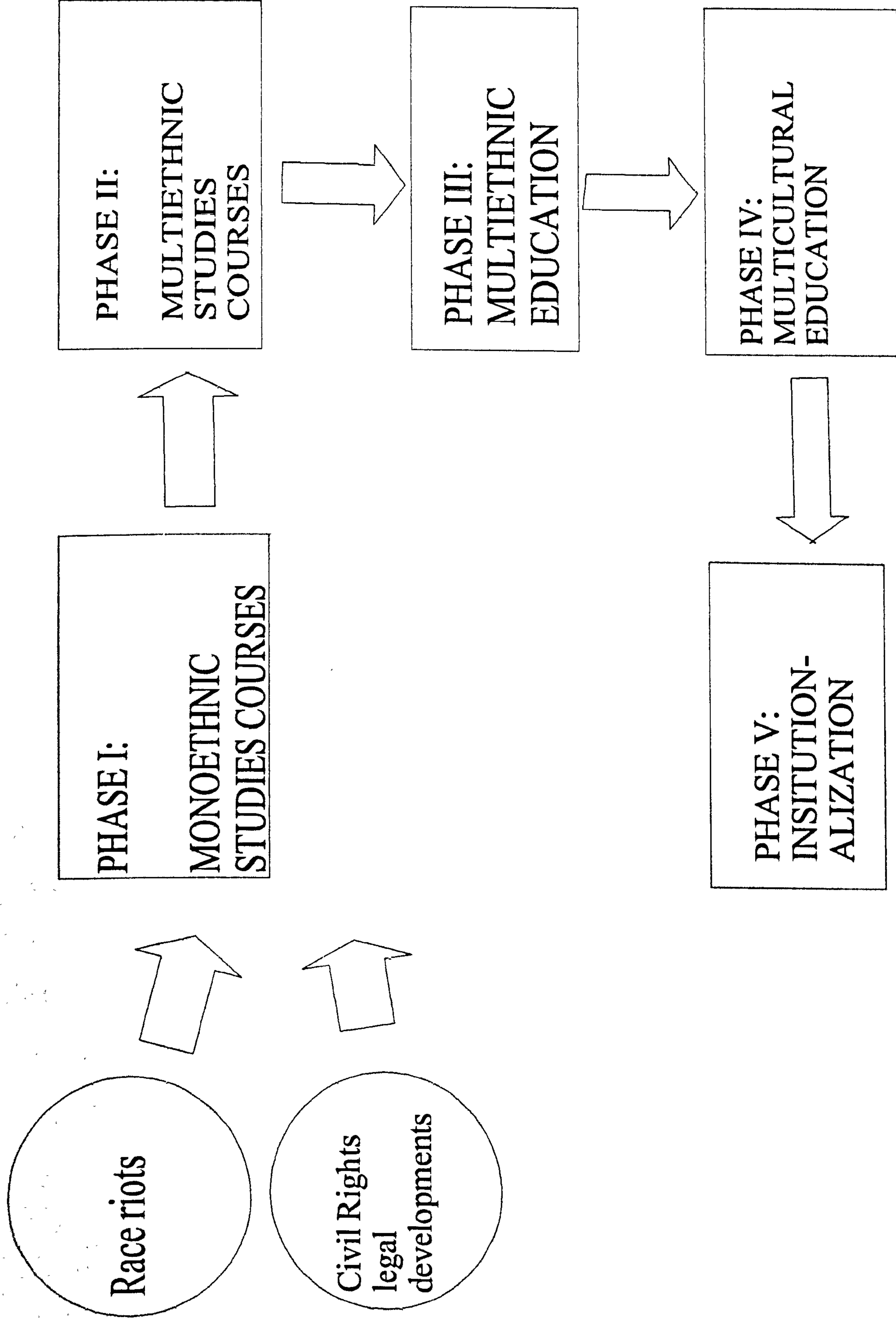
In the next phase there was a realization that racial justice would not be achieved merely by developing new courses. There were other factors influencing the achievement of black pupils, which needed to be addressed, such as the negative attitudes of teachers, or biased mechanisms of assessment. In '*multi-ethnic education*', the school with all its complex variables was seen as a single institution.

In Banks's analysis, the fourth phase - '*multicultural education*' - widened the conceptual perspective of change even further, beyond ethnic minorities, to include the experiences of other cultural groups: women, religious minorities, people with disabilities. In the final phase of the process, he anticipated the '*institutionalization*' of the key elements from the earlier phases, when multi-ethnic/multicultural approaches would permeate the curriculum and educational environment (p.33). The historical development of multi-ethnic/multicultural education in the USA, as described by Banks, is represented diagrammatically in figure 3.1.

Banks pointed out that this process of change was not straightforward; each phase continued to exist when a new phase emerged, but tended to assume some of the characteristics of the newer phase while continuing on a more limited scale (p.32).

Fig. 3.2

The historical development of multi-ethnic/multicultural education in the USA (Banks, 1988)



Sleeter and Grant (1987) rejected even this qualified linearity, identifying five different concurrent approaches to multicultural education in the USA:

1. 'Teaching the culturally different': giving black pupils the skills to compete with whites;
2. 'Human relations': that is, helping people from different backgrounds to get on together;
3. 'Single group studies' (what Banks had termed mono-ethnic courses);
4. 'Multicultural education': emphasizing cultural diversity and equality of opportunity;
5. 'Social reconstructionist': preparing people to take action against social inequality.

(Todd,p.41)

The fifth approach is known, in terms of the British discourse, as 'anti-racist' education. Its proponents distance themselves from multicultural education. The theoretical antecedents of this position, and the differences between it and multiculturalism, are elaborated below (3.4).

McCarthy (1990) acknowledged the influence of multiculturalism on federal government legislation in the USA, and subdivided it into what he discerned as three differing approaches:

1. Cultural understanding - advocating sensitivity and appreciation of cultural differences;
2. Cultural competence - by which he referred to the preservation of minority ethnic identity and language, and the building of bridges between ethnic minorities and mainstream culture;
3. Cultural emancipation - the view that a multicultural curriculum could boost school success and the life chances of black pupils (p.55).

The British tradition

According to Todd (1991), changes in British education policy have been brought about in response to

- the demands of parents of black pupils;
- research evidence which has demonstrated that black pupils are underachieving in British schools;
- research on the interactions between teachers and pupils in the setting of the school;
- evidence of continuing widespread discrimination against black people.

(Todd, 1991, p.vii)

The process of policy development through a number of phases, reflecting a gradual deepening of understanding, was similar to (and influenced by) the American experience as described by Banks. However, it was not identical. There were differences of emphasis, terminology, and also timing.

Cultural assimilation

Whereas in the USA the pressure for change came from race riots in the northern cities in the 1950s, and the Civil Rights movement of the 60s, in Britain the impetus was the phenomenon of large scale immigration from what had been British colonies, and were now part of the Commonwealth, after the end of the Second World War. The first response, as in the USA, was a policy of *assimilation*.

The underlying assumption was that Britain had a monolithic culture, shared by all its members. Other cultures were regarded as alien, and immigrants were expected to adapt or abandon their own culture in favour of the indigenous one. First generation immigrants were seen as lacking in basic skills, such as spoken and written English, and knowledge of British culture. The task was to overcome these deficiencies, and enable immigrants to be *assimilated* into the culture of the majority. This was the approach which dominated thinking before and during the 1960s. Mullard (1984) defined this phase as 'immigrant education' (Todd, p.40).

Multiracial education

During the late 60s and early 70s, the 'deficit model' was rejected by many as being founded upon assumptions which were either false (that British culture was monolithic) or racist (that the culture of immigrants was deficient). It gave way to *multiracial education*, which emphasised the history of cultural diversity in Britain, took account of social and economic as well as educational disadvantage, and aimed to assist the integration of black people without the abandonment of their culture. This approach, which has also been characterised as '*integrationist*' (Brandt, 1986), is distinguished from assimilation since it rejects the idea of the absorption of one culture by another, entailing instead the retention or even strengthening of differences of ethnic groups (Cashmore, 1994, p.149). As such, it could be described as pluralist.

'Pluralist' in this context has been defined as 'a pattern of social relations in which groups that are distinct from each other in a great many respects share aspects of a common culture and set of institutions' (Cashmore, 1994, p.246). In this ideal, different ethnic groups retain their separate identity through subcultures, yet live together without conflict. In the USA, integration is used synonymously with pluralism.

Multi-ethnic education

In the next phase of redefinition, educationists developed the pluralist position further, by placing greater emphasis upon an interest in the ethnic diversity of the British black communities: differences in religion and culture, and the way that different groups had adapted to British society. The approach was characterised as *multi-ethnic education*. Out of this position, in the late 70s, developed *multicultural education*.

Multicultural education

Like the two earlier approaches, this was an acceptance of, and response to the perception of Britain as a pluralistic, or multicultural, society. Craft (1984) made a distinction between education *in* a multicultural society, and education *for* a multicultural society. The aim of the former was to help children of all cultural groups to maximise their educational potential. The purpose of the latter was

to give all pupils knowledge and understanding appropriate for a school, locality or world where they will meet, live and work with fellow citizens from a variety of cultural backgrounds. (p.53)

Craft's definition of multicultural education was concerned primarily with issues of race; whereas, according to Banks, the term as used in the USA has a much broader application, and has been used to include the experiences of religious groups, women, and people with disabilities (see McCarthy, 1990).

The idea of a multicultural approach had implications for curriculum design. For ethnic minority pupils who were also first generation immigrants there was a need to support both their learning of English as a second language and their maintenance of home languages. But there were implications also for the needs of all pupils. The development of a multicultural society meant that schools must reappraise their curricula, in search of racist attitudes, and devise strategies for combating racism. They must also develop policies which supported the concept of ethnic diversity (Craft 1984, p.56).

Multicultural education, with its concerns about equality of opportunity, access for different social groups, and social harmony, stands in the tradition of Social Democracy (see above, section 2.3). It has drawn criticism from a number of different directions. Those favouring cultural assimilation have argued that it is socially divisive. Taking the argument that all cultures are of equal worth, others have questioned the implications of a genuinely relativist position, on the grounds that it is ultimately self-defeating (see, for example, DeFaveri, 1988, in Todd, 1991, p.49).

Multicultural education has also been criticised as racist. According to Troyna (1987) the focus of the debate surrounding race and education in the 1980s shifted away from interest in ethnic minority culture, and the obstacles to black achievement, and moved towards the racist foundations of white institutions. To critics like Troyna who adopted a neo-Marxist perspective, multicultural education was not just ineffective in addressing the issue of inequality; it was racist.

In place of multicultural education, these critics posited the concept of *anti-racist education*, which they saw as being founded upon significantly different premises. In its criticism of liberal educational approaches, and its emphasis upon the nature of power relationships, anti-racist education reflected the influence of the 'new sociology' of education of Bernstein and Young (see section 2.4), and was informed by a Marxist understanding of society.

3.4 The theory of anti-racist education

As its title implies, this was a direct attempt to challenge racism through education. The word 'racism' is currently used to mean different things. Banton and Miles (1994) identified three uses:

1. as a doctrine, dogma, ideology, or set of beliefs, in which 'race' determined culture. This usage was common until the late 1960s;
2. a set of beliefs, as in 1, but also practices and attitudes, leading to racial discrimination. This expanded definition was used from the 1960s;
3. the complex of beliefs about black inferiority, which were developed during the

18th/19th centuries, to justify the exploitative use of black labour in the New World to support the expansion of capitalism. (in Cashmore, 1994, p.276)

Some writers, building on the second definition given above, have distinguished racism from other forms of negative discrimination by describing it as 'prejudice plus power':

It is the existence of power structures to support racist beliefs which differentiates racism from the inter-racial and inter-ethnic rivalries common in many societies. (FEU glossary)

In section 2.4, I described how liberal approaches in the Social Democratic tradition had attempted to explain the phenomenon of working class alienation and underachievement in terms of cultural difference - the culture of the home, or of the school. Efforts to address the problem had emphasised values and behaviour, and had attempted to alter school variables. In spite of such efforts, and the many other educational initiatives which had been tried (such as Operation Head Start in the USA, or EPAs in Britain) the differences in educational attainment continued.

The sense of frustration resulting from the perceived failure of attempted reform was the context for the emergence of the 'new sociology' of education in Britain during the 1970s; a radical position, influenced by the ideas of Bourdieu, Bernstein and Young, in which the curriculum was seen as part of the mechanism for reproducing the existing power relationships in society. Bowles and Gintis (1976) developed the challenge to mainstream educational theory further, by applying a Marxist perspective, and concluding that the primary function of schooling in capitalist society was to provide industry with a docile

workforce. The neo-Marxist approach rejected explanations of the dynamics of education based on culture, or the part played by individuals, and emphasised instead the role of economic, social or political structures in society as a whole as mechanisms for perpetuating inequality.

A similar dissatisfaction was also emerging in the debate on race, for similar reasons. Mounting statistical evidence showed that black pupils, like children from working class backgrounds, were failing in spite of the efforts of legislators and numerous educational initiatives designed to address the problem. In some respects, the situation of black people in the USA had actually worsened since the first efforts at reform in the 60s (Jacob, 1988, in McCarthy, 1990). The ideas of the new sociology influenced theories about the reasons for this phenomenon. The persistence of racial inequality in education was now perceived by some writers to be a by-product of the oppression of the working classes by the capitalist system, and this perception led to the emergence of a new, more radical discourse about the relationship between race and education, which emphasised racist attitudes and practices throughout the social structure.

The structural economic explanation of Bowles and Gintis was subsequently developed into theories of Cultural Reproduction (Apple, 1979; Giroux, 1983), showing the influence of Bourdieu. But this position was criticised (Wexler, 1982) for giving insufficient stress to the role of human agency in the process of reproducing inequality. In the next phase of development, 'Critical Curriculum Theory' gave increased emphasis to the 'mediational'

role of the school, and also shed new light on the complex relationships between the state, education, and inequality (for example, Dale, 1982, in McCarthy, 1990, p.65).

Brandt (1986) argued that in Britain, racism was endemic, since it was part of the cultural assumptions of the majority. Racism ran through all national institutions (such as laws, processes, procedures), governed the allocation of resources, and was woven into the social structure; Britain was a 'racist state' (p.38).

Apple and Weiss (1983) took the debate in a significant new direction by suggesting that to understand schools and the operation of inequality, it was necessary to take account not just of social class, or of race, but of both of these - and also gender. None of these dynamics was reducible to the others, and each operated in three spheres of social life - economic, political, cultural.

McCarthy (1990) criticised many earlier theories of inequality as 'essentialist': that is, reliant upon a single cause explanation. Instead, he argued for an approach which combined understanding of structural issues (the neo-Marxist position) with understanding of what happens in schools (the liberal position). Adapting the 'Parallelism' analysis of Apple and Weiss, McCarthy proposed what he called a 'Nonsynchronous' approach. This would build on a structural understanding of the complex, often contradictory interactions between the dynamics of race, class and gender, and set them in the context of the micropolitics of the school.

What did these radical explanations of the causes of inequality in education mean for teachers and schools ? The aim of anti-racist education was to use the curriculum as a tool for exposing the social structures which governed access to power:

An anti-racist approach suggests that mainstream policy, practice and provision should be critically examined and evaluated in order to uncover the sources of racism in education and society, and that an anti-racist perspective and appropriate strategies should be developed in all educational institutions.

(Tierney, 1982, Mullard, 1984, in FEU glossary)

Those strategies would include a 'systematic overhaul' of teaching methods, materials, administration, and curriculum content - addressing the foundations of inequality within the school as an institution (Todd, 1991, p.52). The role of the teacher, according to McCarthy, was to be an activist: to help students analyse and struggle against inequalities in school and society (1990, p.110).

Multicultural versus anti-racist education

How different are the two approaches ? The debate concerning their relationship and relative merits has been vigorous, even bitter. Banks (1986) interpreted anti-racism as a form of multicultural education. Craft (1984) saw strategies for combating racism as an integral part of a multicultural curriculum. By contrast, advocates of anti-racism have described the multicultural position as actively racist, and designed to perpetuate inequality.

For such critics, multicultural and anti-racist education started from different premises. The IRR (Institute of Race Relations), in its submission to the Rampton Committee (1980), rejected the whole approach being adopted by the committee, as being mistaken:

We feel...that an ethnic or cultural approach to the educational needs and attainments of racial minorities evades the fundamental reasons for their disabilities - which are the racist attitudes and racist practices in the larger society and in the education system itself. (IRR, 1982, in Todd, 1991, p.51)

Similarly, Brandt (1986) described multicultural education as a 'palliative' designed to gloss over the real issues of power and injustice. This, and all previous phases of educational policy based on pluralism, were racist attempts to maintain the racial status quo and power relations between black and white in Britain. Multiculturalism was the Trojan horse of institutional racism:

Within it resides an attempt to renew the structure and processes of racism in education. (Brandt, 1986, p.117)

For Brandt, what made anti-racism different was that its terms were defined by black people:

It is not a device of the oppressors but an indication of the resistance of the oppressed.
(p.16)

McCarthy (1990) criticised all forms of multicultural education as depending on a view of people as individuals, and their capacity to change their values and attitudes. They did not take account of the social and political context of schooling, or of other inequalities built into the structure of society; so they ended up putting an impossible burden of responsibility for

change onto individual teachers (p.55). Multicultural curricula and other such programmes were, in his view, liberal attempts

to turn radical demands into practical and ultimately hegemonic educational policy.
(p.98)

Troyna (1987) considered attempts to reconcile the two approaches (Banks, 1986; Bullivant, 1986) and rejected them, arguing that each was based upon a different conception of racism. Troyna quoted Mullard's (1984) distinction, by which multicultural education was 'microscopic' - focussed upon culture and the eradication of prejudice, aimed at converting the individual, and situated in the school. Anti-racist education was deemed to be 'periscopic' - focussing upon questions of power and justice in society, and concerned with collective political action. Troyna challenged the central tenets of multiculturalism as lacking support. What evidence was there, for example, that learning about other cultures reduced prejudice ? In his view, the way forward lay, not in teaching students to sympathise with other cultures, but to empathise with racial inequality by revealing the inequalities (of sex, or class) from which they themselves suffered. Pedagogy also was of central importance to Troyna's scheme, as he illustrated with this quotation from Allport, 1954:

If segregation of the sexes or races prevails if authoritarianism and hierarchy dominate the system, the child cannot help but learn that power and status are the dominant factors in human relationships. (in Troyna, 1987, p.317)

A democratic school system, however, would teach children to respect each other.

Thus, the main criticisms of multiculturalism were:

- As with the earlier approaches, the terms of the debate had been drawn up by white, middle class professionals, as a response to the 'problem' of black pupils in schools:
- The theory was primarily concerned with culture, and did not challenge existing power structures. The real issue was not culture, but racism:
- The ideological framework of multiculturalism does not allow for consideration of racism:
- A multicultural society, in which all cultures were regarded as equal, could not be achieved while racism continued to exist.

Leicester (1986) recognised the existence of a racist form of multiculturalism ('tokenism'), but also of an anti-racist form. She saw the dichotomy between the content of the curriculum (as in multiculturalism) and the structures of society (anti-racism) as a false one. In her analysis, the key question was whether the approach was based upon *absolutism* (the belief that there are moral principles and values which hold true for all cultures), or *relativism* (different cultures have different value systems, which are all equally valid). According to Leicester, only an approach based upon relativism could be truly multicultural and anti-racist.

Parekh (1986) argued that

so-called anti-racist education is likely to be either not education at all but anti-racist propaganda, or is in substance little different from multicultural education.

The school, by changing the curriculum and ethos, could make a difference. But it would be

a mistake to give the school responsibility for changing society; the social and political roots of racism lay beyond the school's control (in Todd, 1991, p.52).

In a formulation which he termed 'anti-racist multiculturalism', Grinter (1985) argued that the two approaches were essential to each other:

They are logically connected and each alone is inadequate. (p.7)

He saw each approach as being appropriate to different stages and contexts of the educational process, and suggested a combined strategy, with the following elements:

1. diversity of cultural references
2. questions about justice and equality
3. a methodology to provide skills for black pupils
4. consideration of issues of class and gender
5. an academically credible approach. (in Todd, p.53)

Grinter summarised his argument thus:

Effective anti-racist multicultural education is more a matter of approach, emphasis and choice of examples, analogies and implications in the teaching of traditional curriculum content, a question of sensitivity to issues and perspectives which might otherwise be omitted. The processes of learning are crucially important, and should lead students to consider as a matter of course, what biases and assumptions are reflected in the treatment of a topic, in terms of the questions which are asked, the range of perspectives brought to bear, the conclusions drawn and the questions that remain. (Grinter, 1985)

This approach, emphasising the need for heightened sensitivity in relation to traditional content rather than completely new topics, was similar to Dummett's (1986) position. Betraying the academic training of a historian, she argued that good multicultural/anti-racist education, in its encouragement of skills such as detecting bias, examining evidence, and questioning assumptions, is nothing more - or less - than good education.

Tomlinson (1987) rejected Troyna's analysis of the distinction between the two positions. In reality, she claimed, those who were concerned with multicultural education were also concerned with anti-racist goals. The identification of the debate with political ideologies such as the neo-Marxism of Mullard was, she argued, not good for education, or for the children. Todd (1991) agreed:

To the extent that the debate has become self-perpetuating, inward-looking and fundamentally resting upon a series of polarizations, it has been less useful. (p.54)

Similarly, Gillborn (1996) believed that approaches to the debate were too often based upon abstract theorising, and neglected the difficult situations faced by teachers attempting to implement change at school level. In addition, they ignored the complexities of racial identity. He criticised anti-racist theorists for portraying black people as 'one-dimensional victims', and substituting racist stereotypes of black people with a different fiction:

Namely, either that all black people are good or indeed that all black people are the same. (Hall, 1992, in Gillborn, p.167)

Gillborn pointed to recent ethnographic research which has tended to emphasise 'the fluid

and fractured nature of identity', and called for a more sensitive examination of race at school level. In particular, he was concerned with the neglect of the issue of white ethnicity.

As explained above, a standard definition of racism during the 1980s was 'prejudice plus power'. The implication was that only white people could be racist, since they were in the dominant position in society; attacks by black people on white people could not be racist, because of the 'asymmetrical power relations between them.' (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992). The problem with this analysis was that it did not allow for situations in which individual black people were in the more powerful position - for example, the playground. Also, it simplified interaction between teachers and pupils, in which teachers who were not prejudiced might act in ways which were nevertheless racist in their consequences. At a practical level, the difficulty which arose from this theoretical position was that it did not make sense to white students:

the assertion that whiteness ultimately defines them as powerful oppressors simply does not accord with the lived experience of many working-class white students.
(Gillborn, p.170)

The Macdonald report (1989) of the investigation into Burnage had said that an effective anti-racist policy might have helped to counter the atmosphere of violence in the school. But it also criticised the school's existing anti-racist policy as doctrinaire. It had labelled all whites as racist, and had divorced the issue of racism from 'the more complex reality of human relations'. The authoritarian approach adopted by senior staff had led to a polarisation of opinion, amongst staff and pupils, and had contributed to the tragedy. The report called

for a more sensitive approach to anti-racist practice in schools (Macdonald et al, 1989. In Todd, 1991, p.130).

Investigating practice in two schools which were highly regarded for their work in this field, Gillborn found a degree of flexibility in approach which had been missing in Burnage. Both schools had decided, for pragmatic rather than philosophical reasons, that all students were capable of racist actions, and that therefore the provisions of anti-racist policy should apply to all. Gillborn believed that this approach, developed in response to necessity in the real situation of the school, is justified by recent advances in theory (such as that of Donald and Rattansi, 1992). Writings about race all refer to white people, yet they fail to explain what this means in terms of ethnic identity; whites are accorded 'non-ethnic status'. Gillborn argued that this approach was dangerous; firstly, because it allows white people to appear superior by implying that white culture is homogeneous, stable, and above local differences; and secondly, because it means that working class white students, in search of an identity, will be tempted to adopt racist conceptions of whiteness.

The late 1980s and early 90s have seen the reemergence of neo-Nazi political groups in mainstream politics in the USA, France, and the UK. Thus for Gillborn, a key issue for those committed to eradicating racism through education is the need to address the concerns of white people:

Unless anti-racism begins to engage with these issues, the way is left clear for others to exploit them to racist ends. (p.175)

3.5 Conclusion

The theoretical origins of multicultural education policies lay in the Social Democratic tradition, which saw education as a means to improve society. Because of cultural and social obstacles, black children, like working class children, were not fulfilling their academic potential, and this implied the need for policies to ensure equality of opportunity and equal access.

However, just as in the USA policy change developed as a response to threats of social instability (race riots) and demands from black people for equality (the Civil Rights Movement), so too in Britain. The social context of change was large scale immigration of workers from the former colonies after 1945. The political impetus for implementation of multicultural policy which emerged at the start of the 1980s can be traced partly to awareness of underachievement and alienation of black pupils within the school system, but also to growing evidence of racial hostility towards minority groups, and fears for social stability arising from the disturbances in the inner cities in 1981 and 1985 (Dorn, 1984; Tomlinson, 1987). The socio-political context of the debate is described in chapter 5 (section 1).

Multicultural education argued for an acceptance of Britain as a pluralistic, or multicultural, society. Its key aims were to help children of all cultural groups to maximise their educational potential, and to prepare them for living harmoniously in a world in which cultural pluralism was the norm rather than the exception. This meant that schools must

reappraise their curricula, in search of racist attitudes, to ensure equality of educational opportunity, and devise strategies for combating racism.

During the 1970s, a new and more challenging tradition emerged in curriculum theory, which applied a neo-Marxist perspective to issues of inequality, and saw it as a function of the capitalist system of production. This led to the formulation of a theory of anti-racist education, which sought to explain racial inequality in terms of social and political structures; analysis based upon the culture of the school or the culture of black people was just another attempt by white society to distract attention from the real issue. Other forms of inequality - in particular, the oppression of women, and the uneven distribution of wealth and opportunities between social classes - were seen to be related to the oppression of black people.

The aim of anti-racist education was to use the curriculum as a tool for exposing the economic, political and social structures which governed access to power. It would involve critical reexamination of policy, practice and provision to uncover the sources of racism and other forms of inequality in education and society, and the generation of appropriate strategies to eradicate it. The aim would be to produce 'critical citizens'.

Those who advocated an anti-racist position were critical of multicultural approaches, on the grounds that they failed to address the real causes of inequality, and were therefore at best tokenistic, at worst oppressive. Supporters of multiculturalism rejected these criticisms,

arguing that both approaches share the same goals. Some writers have tried to reconcile the two positions, through a synthesis which has been variously described as 'multicultural/anti-racist education', and 'anti-racist/multicultural education'.

Recent research has emphasised the complexity of racial identity, and has argued the need to take account of the perspectives of white working class students when developing multicultural/anti-racist approaches at school level.

The Parkview school project

Where did the school project stand in relation to these theoretical positions ? As explained in chapter 2 (section 5) the general aims of the school reflected a broadly-based synthesis of liberal traditions, influenced by the ideas of social democracy and progressive education. They also included the development of social skills, respect for others, tolerance of other cultures, equality of opportunity, and providing an understanding of the principles and practices of racial equality and justice (staff handbook, 1988/89).

When the Parkview project was written in 1986, three key aims were articulated. They were concerned with

- 1. ensuring equality of educational opportunity for all pupils*
- 2. promoting racial equality, and eradicating racism*
- 3. developing a curriculum which reflected cultural diversity in society, which would*

give all pupils a sense of recognition or ownership.

(Parkview School Project: Report, June 1987)

Aims 1 and 3 would be typical of a multicultural approach. The curriculum was regarded as a vehicle not just for describing social change, but for contributing to it. The evidence of inequality of opportunity in society was irrefutable. Such injustice would lead to alienation, and social discord, unless steps were taken to redress it. The process of education could contribute towards social harmony by teaching people 'to live together more successfully' (Mannheim, 1962).

The third project aim was also based on the idea that the curriculum, in order to be effective, must take account of the needs and experiences of the learner. If the school were to acknowledge her cultural and personal identity in a positive way, and if she could then see that identity reflected in the curriculum, the learner would be better able to 'own' or participate in the academic process. We had accepted the argument that the culture portrayed by the school's curriculum - hidden, as well as formal - influences the perceptions of pupils of themselves, and of others. One of our aims was therefore to ensure that the portrayal was accurate and positive. To this end, we sought to change the curriculum, so that it prepared pupils for life in a multicultural society.

The second aim suggested a more radical position. The purpose was to place the project clearly in the context of the county's publicly stated 'policy on racial equality'. This would,

we believed, give it greater legitimacy. But we also accepted the view which underpinned the county policy, that there was racism throughout society - in schools and other institutions - which was so closely woven into the fabric of British history and culture that it was hidden from scrutiny, and part of the cultural make-up of white society. Our understanding of this, and other key issues in the discourse, was informed at a theoretical level by the DES course, 'Towards a curriculum for ethnic diversity' (for a full account of the course and its impact, see chapter 5, section 3). We had also been introduced to Grinter's (1985) synthesis; and our approach to the project over the following four years was a combination of elements from the multicultural and anti-racist positions.

So, like the position advocated by McCarthy (1990), our understanding of the causes of racial inequality was both structuralist and cultural. We were aware of the debate about the relative merits of the two approaches, but chose not to enter into it, for several reasons:

1. **The complexity of the debate.** While the emphasis of anti-racist education on the nature of power and social structures was clear enough, the implications of this for classroom practice were less obvious. We were willing to use the curriculum to ask questions about justice and equality, and to give our students skills to make their own minds up. But like Parekh (1986) we were unwilling to allow the curriculum to be used as propaganda to support a particular overtly political position. Such an approach would, in the longer term, have been self-defeating. Instead, we consistently argued that the curriculum we wanted to develop was academically credible, and nothing more than 'good education'.

2. **The political climate of the time.** The DES course, from which the school project

originated, began in October 1986. The previous month, a 13 year-old Bangladeshi boy had been murdered by a white boy who was a pupil of the same school, Burnage High. The Macdonald inquiry published extracts from its findings about the incident the following year. These were widely (and cynically) misrepresented in the popular press, as a condemnation of anti-racist education policies within the school (see Todd, 1991, p.129). When the full report was published in 1989 (funded personally by its authors), the unfairness of this interpretation was revealed; but this did not gain the same degree of coverage in the press. At the same time, the press were busy developing myths about anti-racism elsewhere, portraying it as fanatical.

Within the school, our aim was to achieve 'concrete' and substantial change. We perceived a potential danger of politicising and polarising the debate by using the term 'anti-racist' unadvisedly. For while in reality the attempt to eradicate racism can only be positive to all those who believe that racism is immoral, the term had become associated in the popular press with left wing radicalism and with Burnage. Perceptions such as these might have had a negative influence on the views of parents about our efforts. To have ignored this political context, as though it did not matter, would have been to ignore advice about 'taking account of the school's situation'.

3. The school context. As will be explained more fully below (5.4) the school at this time was a divided institution. There were conflicts between staff, arising from the merger, and differences between the traditions of the two institutions. Our attempts to introduce change into this situation were likely to meet opposition, and had to be managed with sensitivity if

they were to succeed. What we did not want to do was to make the situation worse, by polarising staff opinion (as had happened in Burnage). This would not have served anybody, least of all the pupils.

4. The anti-racist position. The challenging nature of the anti-racist position - that the whole of white society is inherently racist, including those who think of themselves as liberal reformers - is one which, by definition, is liable to be difficult for white people to grapple with, since it holds that racism operates through unconscious assumptions. This was an idea which needed to be addressed, if there was to be real attitude change in the institution. But to have advanced the idea to people who had no experience of the argument, and no knowledge of the evidence on which it was based, and expected them to accept it unproblematically would have been unrealistic, and lacking respect for them as individuals. The project leaders had been brought to an understanding of this view by means of a substantial period of inservice training; but this facility could not be offered to all staff (this issue is discussed further in chapter four). Similarly, we were concerned not to alienate white pupils or their parents, by an approach which appeared to ignore their interests, and which they could not understand.

For these reasons, instead of entering into the debate by pinning our ideological colours to a mast where they could be shot at, we identified the dangers of tokenism, and put our energies into managing change, hoping that our efforts would speak for themselves, and would make a difference. In other words, from the point of view of practitioners concerned with the practicalities of managing change, we found the polarisation of the debate between

anti-racist and multicultural education irrelevant, and even unhelpful.

The project and relativism.

As project leaders, Mrs Coleman and I rejected a culturally relativist view of multiculturalism such as that advocated by Leicester (1986). This was in part because we believed that it was intellectually untenable and contradictory (as argued by DeFaveri, in Todd, 1991, p.48). If taken to its logical conclusion, it would necessitate the acceptance as of equal worth - not just tolerance - of values which most reasonable people would regard as morally unacceptable or repugnant. The main reason why we rejected it was probably the (coincidental) fact that we were both Christians. While we did not dwell upon this fact, or publicise it, it did provide a shared outlook which may explain the unity of our response to the issue of racial equality.

In opposition to moral relativism, Christian theology holds that there are truths, defined as part of the act of creation, which are absolute and unchanging. This means that some actions are right, and some are wrong - not because some people say they are, or because they will hurt our own interests in the long term, but because they offend God's intentions for creation. An example is the truth that all people are created in the image of God and equally endowed with rational souls. Therefore, all should enjoy 'an equal dignity', and the rights which flow from it:

Every form of social or cultural discrimination in fundamental personal rights on the grounds of sex, race, colour, social conditions, language or religion, must be curbed or eradicated as incompatible with God's design. (Gaudium et Spes. In: Catechism of the

Catholic Church, 1994 edition, para 1934)

This has implications for the way in which people should treat one another, and their rights as citizens. Inequalities between individuals and groups of people are in open contradiction of the Gospel:

Their equal dignity as persons demands that we strive for fairer and more humane conditions. Excessive economic and social disparity between individuals and peoples of the one human race is a source of scandal and militates against social justice, equity, human dignity, as well as social and international peace. (Catechism, para 1939)

As a consequence, Christians have the responsibility of 'human solidarity', which 'presupposes the effort for a more just social order' (para 1940).

The goal of the Parkview school project was long term, institutional change towards a multicultural curriculum. It was informed by both multicultural and anti-racist theory and practice, and underpinned by Christian traditions of social justice. There was no attempt to define precisely where our efforts stood in relation to each of these approaches, primarily for reasons of strategy. The terminology used referred to cultural pluralism, ethnic diversity, and racial equality and justice. The project emphasised the goal of equality of opportunity, and presented curriculum change as a professional, rather than personal, issue. We avoided using the word multicultural, on the grounds that for some this would denote a tokenist approach; and also the term anti-racist, because we feared that this would polarize staff reactions to the project, making the process of change more difficult than it needed to be. This issue - the complexity of institutional change - is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: THEORIES OF CURRICULUM CHANGE

By reviewing theories of the purpose of education, and how the curriculum should be organised, I have attempted to portray the origins of a theory of multicultural education. This concept provided the intellectual basis for the conviction that there was a need to change Parkview School's curriculum, to reflect the changing ethnic character of British society. But the process of changing a curriculum is not straightforward, since it involves changing the beliefs of those who deliver it. Chapter four investigates the key issues relating to change. These include the nature of change as a social phenomenon; the role of the teacher, and theories of attitude change; and the complexity of institutional change. Finally, several strategies are considered which have been advanced as models for curriculum development.

4.1 Issues in curriculum change

4.2 Change at the level of the individual

4.3 Change at the level of the institution

4.4 Models of curriculum change

4.5 Conclusions

4.1 Issues in curriculum change

Why change the curriculum ?

As examples of the problems encountered in the first flush of enthusiasm for educational reform, Fullan (1991) cited Gross et al (1971) and Smith and Keith (1971). Both studies were concerned with the introduction of open learning in the primary school. Both assumed that change was a good thing, and focussed on the problems of implementation. But like the 'Whig interpretation of history', the notion that history is a simple account of mankind's continuous and inevitable progress towards a better world, and that all change is necessarily a good thing, is now discredited. The case for change needs to be proven.

So, if the benefits of change are not obvious, why should it be necessary to change schools or educational policy ? Levin (1976) offered three possible reasons:

- i natural disasters (earthquakes, floods, famines)
- ii external forces (imported technologies; imported values; immigration)
- iii internal contradictions, arising from new social patterns and needs.

(in Fullan, 1991, p.17)

Such pressures can only increase as society becomes technologically more complex and socially more pluralistic; therefore there will always be a need to change schools. Later (1993) Fullan emphasised the moral purpose of schooling: to make a difference in the lives of students, and to 'produce citizens who can live and work productively in increasingly dynamically complex societies.' (p.4) Therefore, teachers must be in the business of making

improvements and managing the forces of change all the time. Preparing students to cope with change should be part of the culture of the school.

Parkview School in 1986 had not suffered the effects of a natural disaster. But the merger which led to its creation had been traumatic - some would have said, disastrous. The community served by the school was changing, reflecting changes which had been taking place in British society for a number of years. A combination of factors (described in detail in chapter 5) had led to a decline in the school's reputation, with a consequent fall in pupil numbers. To the immediate pressure of saving the school were added pressures for change at both LEA and national level. The need for change was obvious; the issues were what to change and how to go about the task in a way which would benefit the school and the pupils.

The need to establish a context, and locate reform in the school

Skilbeck (1971) believed that no strategy for change could succeed unless it took detailed account of the constraints and opportunities of the situation in which it was to be introduced.

These included

- i) materials, equipment, money;
- ii) political factors, the environment;
- iii) skills, knowledge, and personalities of the teachers;
- iv) the aptitudes, abilities, interests and needs of the pupils.

There was evidence that these factors were linked to the success or failure of curriculum innovations (p.31).

Stenhouse (1975) agreed. Quoting from his own experience of a project on teaching about race relations, he emphasised the importance of each school assessing its 'contextual variables'. For example, the approach to this particular issue in a multi-racial school would be very different from that used in an all-white school. Describing the problems likely to be encountered by teachers in trying to reform the curriculum, he divided them between those operating outside the school (external constraints) and those influencing the process from within (internal constraints).

External constraints could include shortage of resources, due to lack of LEA funding, affecting staffing, buildings, teaching materials. Parental and social opinion influence the possibilities of change, and are particularly important on issues such as exam results, uniform, and sports programmes. Morale, if low, could be a problem. Since those schools which most need to be changed tend also to have low morale, these would need external support to bring about improvement.

Within the school itself, Stenhouse identified a range of constraints working against change. The first of these was the need to maintain control. Changes in the curriculum threaten the control habits of the teacher; pupils can also feel threatened if their expectations of the behaviour of the teacher are challenged by changes in teaching method. Order is achieved by institutional arrangements; extensive innovation will require a change of policy. This, in turn, can lead to conflict, which needs to be managed rather than ignored. So, for Stenhouse, the issue of control was crucial:

Any innovations at classroom level must face the problem of control. (p.167)

The process of change involves questioning present practice, and therefore implies a challenge to the school's moral authority: what is the school doing wrongly, that needs to be changed? The school justifies its use of power by reference to moralistic ideals, and requires a measure of certainty to be effective. Innovation, by comparison, needs an experimental, tentative approach.

Alongside the threat to the school's sense of certainty and identity, change can be a threat to the self-confidence of individual teachers, who find - at least in the initial stages of reform - that their skills and subject knowledge have been devalued (MacDonald, 1973). Change can threaten hierarchies of power and status, leading to political groupings and conflict amongst staff (for example, in situations where change involves the integration of subjects, and therefore a reduction in the number of departmental power bases).

Finally, if the introduction of innovations requires changes in the timetable, this can disrupt organisational arrangements. Stenhouse quoted Hoyle's (1972) dilemma to illustrate the complexity of the issues:

Curriculum innovation requires change in the internal organisation of the school.

Change in the internal organisation of the school is a major innovation. (p.172)

Stenhouse concluded that the school was the unit which should be targeted in development programmes. Supporting agencies should help schools to build traditions of self-critical

improvement. Agencies must not take people out of schools, but must go in and work with problems in context:

All in all there is considerable evidence that it is through the local authority and its advisory services that the opportunities open to schools and teachers are created, defined, and negotiated. (p.188)

This view rings true in the experience of Parkview school, where the project which is the subject of this study was undertaken as the direct result of local authority intervention. Berkshire LEA, in order to implement both the national recommendations of Swann (1985) and the county policy on racial equality, established structures for professional development which were designed expressly to develop the curriculum and lead to school improvement, by establishing expertise within schools themselves. This was to be achieved by taking targeted individuals out of the school setting: giving them the time and opportunity to consider issues at a theoretical level: linking theory with examples of good practice: then returning them to the school with an internally generated and mediated project with the promise of ongoing external support. The LEA context is elaborated in chapter 5, where I will also argue that this approach towards curriculum development was highly effective in the case of Parkview school and explains the origins of the project (sections 5.2, 5.3).

The phenomenology of change

Neglect of the phenomenology of change - that is, how people actually experience change as distinct from how it might have been intended - is at the heart of the spectacular lack of success of most social reforms. (Fullan, 1991, p.4)

Study of the theory of change is relatively young. Fullan (1991) identified four phases in the history of theory on the management of educational change in the USA (all dates are approximate):

i ADOPTION: 1960s.

Beginning as a result of the post Sputnik crisis, this was a period when innovations came thick and fast, and the mark or measure of success was the number of new ideas being taken on board.

ii IMPLEMENTATION FAILURE: 1970-77.

In this next phase innovation got a bad name. The studies of Goodlad, Sarason, Gross, and Smith and Keith exposed the fact that changes were being adopted without good reason, and without proper follow through. Consequently, discussion and research focussed on the failure of innovations.

iii IMPLEMENTATION SUCCESS: 1978-1982.

Having learnt the lessons of the previous period, this was a phase characterised by success stories, and the documentation of key factors associated with them, such as staff development, leadership, school improvement. But the changes introduced were still mostly small scale, and were not introduced in a coherent way.

iv INTENSIFICATION vs.RESTRUCTURING: 1983-90.

The report 'A Nation at Risk', published in the USA in 1983, criticised the piecemeal approach, and marked the beginning of a new phase, not just in America but elsewhere, in which the focus shifted to larger scale attempts at reform. The Education Reform Act (1988) in this country, with the introduction of a national curriculum for

the first time, was part of this change. Two themes emerged. One was concerned with what Fullan called 'intensification'. This involved increased definition of curriculum, closer specification of teaching methods, and monitoring and evaluation.

The other major theme was 'restructuring'. Principal elements in this approach were school-based management; greater involvement of teachers in decision making; the integration of multiple innovations; and new roles in teacher leadership. These two themes were at odds with each other, and Fullan described how, since 1986, they have been in conflict at a national level in America. But he also pointed to an important similarity: both are concerned with comprehensive and large scale reform.

The complexity of change

A central idea in Fullan's analysis was that all change can be threatening, even if it is accepted voluntarily. He quoted extensively from Marris (Loss and Change, 1975) to explain this phenomenon. Marris argued that all real change involves loss, anxiety and struggle. We all have a 'conservative impulse', in which we react to new experiences in the context of a familiar construction of reality. This allows us to attach personal meaning to the experiences, and gives the sense of security needed for us to master something new.

No one can resolve the crisis of reintegration on behalf of another. Every attempt to pre-empt conflict, argument, protest by rational planning, can only be abortive: however reasonable the proposed changes, the process of implementing them must still allow the impulse of rejection to play itself out. When those who have power to

manipulate changes act as if they have only to explain, and when their explanations are not at once accepted, shrug off opposition as ignorance or prejudice, they express a profound contempt for the meaning of lives other than their own.

For the reformers have already assimilated these changes to their purposes, and worked out a reformulation which makes sense to them, perhaps through months or years of analysis and debate. If they deny others the chance to do the same, they treat them as puppets dangling by the threads of their own conceptions. (p.166)

Like Fullan, I have chosen to quote from Marris at length, and can see why he regarded this passage as fundamental to his argument. For it provides a convincing explanation of negative attitudes towards change, and a clear principle for managing the introduction of change in practice. Expecting others to accept the need for change without argument or complaint is morally objectionable, because it lacks respect for the dignity of others.

There are echoes in this of Skilbeck's (1971) comment, that change which is concerned with modifying human experiences is a complex and emotionally charged process. Discussion of curriculum change should be in the context of the diversity of valid teaching procedures, and the moral implications of proposals for modifying human experience (p.28).

The 'subjective reality' of teaching

In 1982 Fullan identified lack of clear planning as one of the reasons why so many educational reforms had failed in the USA. But even more important was the failure on the part of those responsible for developing programmes to take account of the complexities

described by Marris. Too often, the prime movers behind reform (as in the curriculum reform movement of the 1960s) were university academics, whose ideas were not grounded in practice, and who failed to take account of the relationship between proposed changes and the school situation.

The way that teachers perceived their situation was revealed through a number of studies quoted by Fullan (Jackson, 1968: Smith and Geoffrey, 1968: Lortie, 1975: Huberman, 1980: Rosenholtz, 1989). The 'subjective reality' which emerged was one in which the daily routine was uncertain and unpredictable. According to Huberman (1983), teachers felt pressed on all sides - by almost constant and spontaneous interchanges; by the need to carry on a number of activities simultaneously; by the need to adapt to changing or unpredictable conditions; and by the desire to maintain personal involvement with students.

As a result of this 'classroom press', teachers developed a short term perspective, were isolated from other adults, were exhausted, and had little or no time for reflection. There was little enough time to do the existing job properly, without the additional and threatening burden of change. In this context, proposals for change seemed frivolous, or unconnected to reality (Lortie, 1975). If it succeeds, change can result in a sense of mastery and professional growth. But first, teachers have to be convinced that the risk is worth taking, since change involves personal costs, in energy and time, without any guarantee of return (House, 1974).

The cost, according to Marris, can also include an undermining of *occupational identity*. Change threatens to take people's accumulated skills away, thus invalidating their experience, and

upsetting the subtle rationalizations and compensations by which they reconciled the different aspects of their situation. (1975, p.16: in Fullan, p.36)

Similarly, there exists in institutions, such as schools, a resistance to change: a 'dynamic conservatism'. The institution provides individuals with a framework of values and ideas, which helps them to make sense of their lives. Change is perceived as threatening this framework. Fullan summarised his argument concerning the need to take account of teachers' perceptions of their situation thus:

The extent to which proposals for change are defined according to only one person's or one group's reality (e.g. the policy-maker's or administrator's) is the extent to which they will encounter problems in implementation. (p.36)

Hargreaves (1989) also saw the role of teachers in reforming the curriculum as pivotal, and argued the need to take account of their subjective perceptions of their situation. Whoever introduced the changes, teachers were responsible for defining and delivering the curriculum at classroom level. Without their support and cooperation, reform would not be possible. The problem was that teachers were (in Hargreaves' view) over-reliant upon their own personal experiences when considering proposals for change. They made little reference to formal educational theory or research, preferring instead anecdotal evidence. As a consequence, senior managers opposed to innovation could control and restrict the outcome of debate. The emphasis given to classroom experience was an 'obstacle' to curriculum

innovation, unlikely to be removed without strategies for changing the culture of teaching (p.53).

Why were teachers so dependant upon their own narrow experience ? Hargreaves did not think that teachers were ignorant or stupid, but blamed instead their working environment. Teachers spent most of their time in separate classrooms, isolated from one another. This caused them to emphasise their classroom experiences, and also made collegiality difficult. Their response to the pressures of the job was understandable. Like Fullan, Hargreaves believed that any attempt to introduce change into the situation of the school must take account of teachers' perceptions of their situation, and of the culture of teaching, to have any hope of success:

For those who wish to secure substantial and effective curriculum reform, a grasp of the relationship of teachers to the curriculum and to curriculum reform is therefore vital. (p.91)

The 'objective reality' of change

Fullan defined 'objective' educational change as having three components, or dimensions:

- i. use of new materials
- ii use of new teaching methods
- iii alteration of beliefs.

All three are dynamically inter-related. So, for example, the use of new materials can influence people's beliefs. Beliefs guide teaching strategies. Strategies define the

effectiveness of materials... and so on. Each of these dimensions is necessary to real or effective change, although individuals may implement only one or two of them. Without an alteration in beliefs, change must be superficial or temporary.

Once again Fullan was anxious to emphasise his conviction that the real crux of educational change comes in the relationship between new programmes/policies, and the subjective realities of individual people and organisations. All, no matter what their motives, will experience concerns about new practices, goals and beliefs. It is essential to provide clear statements of purpose from the start, and to develop mechanisms for addressing the problem of meaning;

because it is at the individual level that change does or does not occur. (1982, p.38)

4.2 Change at the level of the individual

The role of the head teacher

A key player in the process of change in any school is the head teacher. Stenhouse (1975) classified the following styles of decision making on the part of heads:

- TELL: in which the head makes the final decision himself.
- SELL: only one course of action is considered. The task is to sell it to staff, so that they accept and implement it.
- CONSULT: this involves maximum input from all concerned, but the head retains the right to make the final decision, and with it, responsibility.

- SHARE: others share the decision and also the accountability.

In Stenhouse's view, the first approach (tell) leads to superficial compliance, or more seriously, a determination to prove the decision wrong. With the 'sell' style, innovation declines after the initial enthusiasm has waned; 'Change is assimilated to existing assumptions.' With a process of consultation, accountability is clear, and decisions can be criticised more easily than if they are democratically fought for and won. A good leader could look after the rights of the minority and preserve their commitment; whereas, if they were out voted, the minority could become alienated. The 'share' style of management was rare amongst heads. Stenhouse believed that a democratic regime was 'almost certain' to become conservative over time, and to attempt to preserve what it had established (p.173ff).

So, the consultative style was the most favoured in Stenhouse's analysis, which served only to enhance the importance of the head teacher in the process of managing change, since she retained the power of decision. Because she is responsible to the LEA for changes in the school's curriculum, and because she is in a position to support her policies through the use of appointments, her role in implementing change is pivotal. She could use her position to implement change, or she could use it to maintain the status quo.

Weindling and Earley, in their 1986 review of 'how heads manage change', found comparatively few British studies of headship to draw conclusions from, and had to look to the USA for detailed research on the subject (summarised by Fullan, 1982). From what material was available, they concluded that the main role of the head in most studies was not

one of instigating change, but of maintaining stability. The authors quote Hall et al (1984) as identifying three types, or styles, of 'change-facilitator':

- 1 Initiators, who have long term goals and policies
- 2 Managers, who initiate actions in order to support changes from central office
- 3 Responders, who make decisions related to immediate circumstances, stressing the personal side of relationships with staff.

Weindling and Earley compared this analysis with Leithwood and Montgomery's (1985) 'profile of growth in principal effectiveness', in which it was possible for principals to start at one level, and move through increasing effectiveness to another:

Level 1 : the ADMINISTRATOR. He sees his job as being concerned mainly with administration; change is a hindrance.

Level 2 : the HUMANITARIAN. Has a strong belief in the importance of personal relationships and the idea of a 'happy school'.

Level 3 : the PROGRAMME MANAGER. His concern is to implement programmes from central office.

Level 4 : the SYSTEMIC PROBLEM SOLVER. At this, the highest level, the principal has high expectations of all pupils. He is receptive to changes which might help to achieve this goal, and employs a wide range of strategies.

As with most attempts at hierarchical organisation of skills, this profile is open to the criticism that it implies a sequential progression where there is none; for it is based upon value judgements concerning what is most important in institutional leadership. Why, for

example, place a concern for the implementation of centrally defined programmes over a belief in the importance of personal relationships ? Moreover, it suggests that the skills are discrete. Are any of the levels exclusive ? It is possible to imagine a systemic problem solver with a strong belief in the importance of personal relationships.

The Leithwood and Montgomery profile was contradicted by the findings of an NFER study of secondary headship in British schools between 1982-83. This followed the fortunes of sixteen newly appointed heads through their first years in post, and monitored the introduction of new ideas in the schools concerned. These included changes in communication, consultation, promoting the school's image, and the curriculum. Some of these were the product of external forces (e.g. profiling); a few came from teachers. Most were initiated by the heads, who subsequently delegated responsibility for the changes downwards, relying heavily on deputies for implementation.

When the new heads were questioned about the process of managing change, they listed inservice training, consultation, and the involvement of staff as key elements. But they also believed that the head must be prepared to cut discussion and make decisions. The personal commitment of the head to innovations was also considered important.

The NFER study asked the heads whether they had succeeded in introducing all the changes they wanted. 60% said no. The main reason given for this was the perceived difficulty of 'persuading members of staff to accept new ideas.' About half rated this constraint as a

'serious' or 'very serious' problem. When the staff in the heads' schools were asked about the process, the researchers found that what mattered most was not the number of changes, but the way the changes were introduced. The view (as expressed by the heads) that teachers were opposed to change was considered by them to be overstated.

Reactions to change in some of the schools in the study were positive; in others, negative.

Factors identified to explain the differences:

- i Teachers were happiest when the head did not come in and sweep everything away.
- ii It was important to recognise good things that had previously happened.
- iii Teachers wanted to be involved, by being asked to express their views on proposed changes.
- iv The provision of inset and resources helped the process of change.

The pace of change was important, but the NFER study found that it was difficult to please everyone - in some cases the heads were criticised for introducing change too quickly; in others, not quickly enough. Within the same schools the reactions of individuals to change varied from threat to challenge, influenced by factors such as age and status (Hall and Louks, 1978).

There were considerable differences between the findings of research in the USA and Britain. Why was this ? Weindling and Earley offered two possible explanations; firstly, cultural/organisational differences between schools in the two systems (for example, the fact that GB heads had greater autonomy than their American counterparts); and secondly the

focus of the NFER study on newly appointed heads, who might reasonably be expected to introduce more change at this stage of their careers than later on.

What was clear from the research was that projects were most successful when they were supported actively by the head teacher, or principal:

Forceful leadership is the factor that contributes most directly and surely to major effective changes in classroom practice that become firmly incorporated into everyday routines. (Crandall and Louks, 1983, on the DESSI project; Huling-Austin et al, 1985)

According to Hoyle (1972) the head teacher was central to innovation, because of

- his traditional authority in the school hierarchy;
- the opportunity afforded to him by his position to view the school as a whole;
- his contacts with external agents of change ('messengers of innovation'), for example, inspectors;
- the perception of his role by LEA officers and others as an innovator.

(in Stenhouse, 1975, p.174)

The role of the teacher

Willower (1965, in Stenhouse, 1975) identified two kinds of teacher prototypes: the custodial and the humanistic.

CUSTODIAL: this sort of teacher is pro-discipline, traditional, moralistic, autocratic, hierarchical, and sees learning as a passive process.

HUMANISTIC: views learning as an active, not passive, process. Emphasises

psychological/sociological elements, the search for self-discipline, and is self-determining.

Hoyle's (1972) prototypes used the concepts of extended and restricted professionalism. The characteristics of restricted professionalism were:

- a high level of classroom competence
- child or subject centredness
- a high degree of skill in handling children
- satisfaction from personal relationships with pupils
- evaluates performance in terms of own perceptions of change in pupil behaviour/achievement
- attends short, practical courses.

In the concept of extended professionalism, the teacher has these qualities, but also

- views work in the wider context of the school, community, society
- is involved with a wide range of professional activities
- is concerned to link theory and practice
- has a commitment to curriculum theory and some form of evaluation.

(in Stenhouse, p.144)

How professional are teachers in their responses to change ? In a study of teachers' attitudes towards gender issues, Kelly et al (1987) found that differences were explicable in terms of such factors as gender, age, and geographical area. For example, teachers from the large cities tended to be less traditional than those from small towns. But the most interesting

differences emerged in relation to subject specialisms. Craft (technology) teachers were found to be more traditional in their attitudes than any other group. They were followed by maths. and science teachers, while humanities teachers were the most innovatory. Kelly argued that administrative changes did not necessarily alter classroom practice. If teachers are unconvinced of the need for or value of a particular innovation, they can minimise its impact. Kelly quoted Pratt et al (1983), who found that although teachers were committed to equal opportunities in principle, they were not equally committed to implementation. As already explained, Hargreaves (1989) found that teachers' responses to change were limited by their dependence on their own experiences in the classroom, and that they were unwilling to use formal theory or the findings of educational research to inform their judgements.

The influence of teacher attitudes upon pupil self-concepts

From their research into racism in the mass media, Hartmann and Husband (1974) argued that the perceptions of British white people were structured by racism, and the legacy of colonialism.

In so far as coloured people are being socialised into the values and norms of Britain - and this in one form or another is the official policy towards immigrants - they are being offered a culture in which they are implicitly defined as inferior. (p.33)

Hartmann and Husband then listed some of the many studies documenting the damaging effects of racist attitudes upon the self perceptions of black people (Milner, 1971; Hauser, 1971; Wilcox, 1971). Gammage (1984), as described earlier, argued for the need to take account of the pupil's 'entering characteristics' in order for the curriculum to have meaning

for the child. Essential to understanding the child's perspective was an awareness of the process of 'self-attribution':

The pupil comes to school already fixed with opinions about himself from early socialization. (p.16)

Self-attribution was linked directly to self-esteem, which in turn influenced academic achievement. Green (1985) investigated this mechanism in the school context in a study of ethnocentric attitudes amongst teachers in junior and middle schools (published as an annex to the Swann Report, 1985). He began by establishing the correlation between a child's self-concept, and its perception of how others see it:

Identity is reached and sustained two dimensionally, it requires recognition of oneself by others as well as the simple recognition one accords oneself.

(Laing, 1965, in Green, 1985)

In the process of self-recognition, the school was 'second only to the home' in determining self acceptance or self rejection (Mistry, 1960). Green found that in classes taught by 'highly intolerant' teachers, pupils of European origin were given more opportunities to initiate ideas, express opinions, and ask questions than their black counterparts. With these teachers children of West Indian origin recorded their lowest levels of self-concept. He concluded that boys and girls of different ethnic origins, taught in the same classroom by the same teacher, were likely to receive different educational experiences, according to such factors as the teacher's gender, attitude towards education, and degree of ethnocentrism.

Gillborn (1988) carried out a similar study of the effects of ethnocentrism upon relationships between black pupils and white teachers. He found that compared with white and Asian pupils, children of West Indian background experienced more conflict and criticism in their relations with teachers. The three pupils who were the focus of the study were seen as intelligent but troublesome. The pupils' perception was that the school routinely devalued their colour and culture; in response, they developed a coherent sub-culture which celebrated their racial background and their physical prowess, and displayed itself in dress, speech, and even their style of walking. These displays led to further conflicts with staff, which in turn reinforced the clique's reputation as trouble makers. According to Gillborn, the group were not alienated from the school's values. They clashed with the school's authority because of the techniques for control employed by some teachers.

Some pupils responded to criticism by minimising contacts with staff in order to avoid conflict. The result of this situation was that the achievements of West Indian pupils were polarised, between those who did well (in spite of the obstacles mounted against them) and the majority, who underachieved. Gillborn's conclusion was that ability and hard work might not be enough to counteract the barriers of teachers' ethnocentrism.

Theories of attitude change

The studies of Green and Gillborn showed how ethnocentric attitudes, revealed through the behaviour of teachers towards ethnic minority groups, could diminish the self esteem of pupils and have a negative impact upon achievement in school. Similarly, research into

school effectiveness suggests that one of the most important factors in school improvement is the role of the teacher. This implies the need to consider how the attitudes of teachers - and particularly ethnocentric attitudes - might be changed, as a necessary stage in the process of curriculum change.

The first step towards changing the behaviour of teachers is to change the attitudes or beliefs upon which their behaviour is based. But the relationship between behaviour and attitudes is not straightforward. *The theory of cognitive dissonance* was developed by Festinger (1957), who believed that people are motivated to maintain a high degree of 'cognitive consonance'. By this, he meant consistency between what they believed in theory (their beliefs, attitudes, and opinions), and the way that they behaved in practice - or at least, the way they perceived their own behaviour (see Hewstone et al, 1988, p.446).

According to Stahlberg and Frey (1988), all theories of cognitive consistency assume that people wish to organise their cognitions in a way which is free from tension or internal contradiction. Where there is contradiction, people attempt to bring the cognitions involved into a tension-free relationship, by changing either their beliefs, opinions, or behaviour, or a combination of these (p.155):

Festinger's original theory was subsequently elaborated through other socio-psychological theories relating to attitude formation (Sherif and Hovland, 1961; Helson, 1964; Upshaw, 1969; Eiser and Stroebe, 1972). These argued that our attitudes influence our perception and

judgement of attitude relevant information. Festinger had maintained that as part of the attempt to ensure consistency, people exposed themselves to information which was in agreement ('consonant') with their attitudes, and avoided information which was contradictory ('dissonant'). Fazio and Williams (1986) found that it was not always possible to avoid information which might cause dissonance. Instead, to make the information more acceptable, it might be processed and evaluated in a way which was biased.

What does the theory of cognitive dissonance imply about how to change people's attitudes ? In Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey's (1962) interpretation, cognitive change could result from exposure to new information, which challenged existing beliefs. But change did not always follow as expected:

Mere exposure to new information does not guarantee that the individual will pay attention to or accept the new information. Despite new information, his feelings, emotions, and wants may prevent cognitive change. (p.38)

The way an individual responded to change was governed by the characteristics of his pre-existing cognitive system (which might be highly complex, relatively simple, or consonant), and also a variety of factors relating to the personality of the subject. A key factor in the assimilation of new ideas was intellectual ability: a more intelligent person was better able to incorporate new information. Also important in explaining the ease or rapidity of cognitive change were the ability to manage ambiguous situations, open-mindedness (which, according to Rokeach (1960), was not always correlated to intelligence), and the possession of techniques to cope with obstacles. Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey summarised their

argument thus:

Cognition involves not just the intellect, but the whole person - his wants, goals, past experiences, and reactions to difficulties. All these factors operate simultaneously and in complex interactive ways, to produce our beliefs: to change them: or to protect our beliefs from change. (p.50)

Stroebe and Jonas (1988) identified three main strategies for changing attitudes:

- Exposure/direct experience
- Persuasion/appeal
- The use of incentives.

i Exposure/direct experience.

The first and most fundamental way to change attitudes was through exposure. Most of the information which we use to form our attitudes derives from direct experience; and experiments had shown that exposure to an object increased liking (Johnson, Thomson and Frincke, 1960). In an example of classical conditioning involving American students, Staats and Staats (1958) had found that it was possible to induce more positive attitudes towards different nationalities by the simple device of associating them with positive words. Berkowitz and Knurek (1969) used the same experiment to demonstrate that attitudes thus developed could influence behaviour. This was the thinking behind the device of 'modelling' so widely used in advertising, in which consumers were encouraged to buy a particular product by seeing the product in association with a well known person. Here, the experience was not direct, but vicarious or socially mediated. But Stroebe and Jonas believed that exposure only affected attitudes in the early stages, when the object was unfamiliar.

ii Persuasion/appeal.

The second strategy described by Stroebe and Jonas involved advocating a position and presenting arguments to support it. McGuire's (1969, 1985) 'information processing paradigm' offered a framework for understanding the cognitive stages between hearing an appeal, and changing behaviour:

- i attention
- ii comprehension
- iii yielding
- iv retention
- v behaviour.

McGuire's theory was that each step must be undertaken, in order to go on to the next one, and therefore to reach the end of the process. The length and complexity of the sequence might explain why it was so difficult to induce behaviour change through information campaigns. Success depended upon such factors as the motivation and ability of the individual to whom the appeal was made, and the quality of the argument (including whether it addressed probability and consequences).

iii The use of incentives.

Incentives designed to induce behaviour change could be both positive and negative. An example of a positive incentive would be financial gains; of a negative incentive, legal sanctions.

Powerful institutions often influence behaviour through incentives, social norms or legal sanctions rather than relying on the uncertain effects of persuasion. (Stroebe and

Jonas, p.184)

Quoting the experiments of Festinger and Carlsmith (1959), and Linder, Cooper and Jones (1967), Stroebe and Jonas concluded that people who were forced to change their behaviour through the use of incentives might subsequently also change their attitudes, in order to maintain cognitive consonance. But the degree of change depended on their freedom of choice, the size of the incentive, and the consequences of the behaviour. For example, when freedom of choice was limited, most attitude change resulted if the incentives were large. For those who felt able to refuse to change their behaviour most attitude change resulted when the incentive was small, and the negative consequences more significant.

Considering the relative effectiveness of the three strategies, Stroebe and Jonas came down clearly on the side of the use of incentives, legal and monetary, as the 'most effective by far' in achieving change (p.193). But the use of legislation was limited by considerations of power, democracy, and individual liberty. Also, laws could only be used to modify behaviour where behaviour could be monitored - for example, in the use of seat belts. It was more problematic in an area such as the relationship between people of different ethnic groups.

Moreover, the authors were concerned that the behaviour changes induced by legislation would be externally motivated; what would happen if the controls were removed ? Would people continue to wear seat belts ? By comparison, changes achieved through persuasion would remain under intrinsic control: not require any monitoring: and be fairly persistent.

Stroebe and Jonas concluded that incentives and persuasion should not be seen as competing strategies for changing behaviour, but as complementary, capable of being used together.

The theory of cognitive dissonance suggests that people strive to maintain consistency between what they believe, and the way that they behave. By influencing a person's attitude, it is possible to change his behaviour. Conversely, by modifying his behaviour, it is possible to induce change in his attitude. The most effective strategies for achieving change involve a combination of intellectual persuasion - designed to change beliefs and attitudes - and the use of positive and negative incentives, to modify patterns of behaviour.

4.3 Change at the level of the institution

Schools as a force resisting change

Earlier, I described Fullan's (1982) concept of 'dynamic conservatism' which, he claimed, exists in all institutions, including schools. This was a framework of theory and values, which enables individuals to make sense of their lives. Real change threatens this framework, leading to ambivalence and uncertainty. Delamont (1983), investigating sex roles, argued that schools were more conservative than either homes or wider society in their treatment of males and females. She found evidence for this conclusion in five areas of school activity:

- the rigid segregation of sexes;
- gender bias in advice on curriculum choices;

- the provision of outdated role models;
- failure to challenge pupils' sex role stereotypes;
- the enforcement by the school of differences in clothes, demeanour, and language.

The school, then, is conservative and old fashioned: it drags its feet in the wake of social change, fighting a rearguard action for disappearing values. It is a common perception amongst teachers that a widespread change in attitudes towards authority has made the task of classroom management more difficult. Moreover, as social problems increase in number and intensity, the ability of the school to influence the lives of young people is diminishing in inverse proportion.

How right are they in these perceptions ? Stoll (1992), reviewing research on school effectiveness and its relationship to school improvement, concluded that recent studies (Brookover et al, 1979; Edmonds, 1979; Goodlad, 1979; Rutter et al, 1979; Mortimore et al, 1988) had effectively overturned the earlier orthodoxy, that schools made little difference to the achievement of students:

To an appreciable extent, children's behaviour and attitudes are shaped and influenced by their experiences at school and, in particular, by the qualities of the school as a social institution. (Rutter, 1979)

Rutter showed that differences in school outcomes were related not to physical factors, such as size of school, or condition of buildings, but to their characteristics as social institutions. The researchers found it difficult to quantify the relative importance of the separate elements which they identified as going towards the social character, or *ethos* of the schools

they studied; but prominent amongst them was the interaction between teacher and taught in the classroom. Also important was the degree of responsibility or trust accorded to pupils. However, the combined effect of the 'school process variables' was much greater than their individual effect. In other words, the atmosphere of the school as a whole was the most important element of all. This atmosphere was most clearly defined and effective where staff felt involved with the school's values, and perceived a sense of direction in what they were doing. The benefit was then passed on to the pupils, who were more likely to accept school norms in these institutions, with all that this implies for achievement.

The crucial factors in school effectiveness were those within the control of the head teacher and teachers. Rutter emphasised the need for consistency of school values, and a clear sense of direction. This would be provided by senior staff making decisions, but taking into account the views of the majority. Staff needed to feel part of a group whose values they shared. The degree to which pupils accepted school norms was related to

- general conditions for, and staff attitudes towards, pupils
- shared activities between staff and pupils
- pupil positions of responsibility
- success and achievement.

These conclusions were supported by the evidence of Smith and Tomlinson (1989). In a longitudinal study begun in 1981, they found that as in Rutter, the level at which children performed at school seemed to depend more on the institution than on the child's ability. So, pupils with the same attainments at age 11 came out of different schools at 16 with very

different examination results. Analysed by ethnic background, the differences between ethnic groups were smaller than the differences between schools. They concluded that those schools which were effective for white pupils were also effective for black. The key question, then, in raising the achievement of ethnic minority pupils was how to improve the effectiveness of schools in general.

Stoll (1992), who had participated in the Mortimore study, identified twelve key characteristics of effective schools. The first of these was purposeful leadership of the staff by the head teacher. This meant active involvement in the school's work, without the exertion of total control. A second characteristic was the involvement of the deputy head teacher(s). Where heads shared and delegated responsibilities, benefits to pupils occurred. Conversely, where a deputy was frequently absent, pupils' progress was detrimentally affected. The third factor was the involvement of teachers. In successful schools, staff were consulted on issues affecting school policy, and were closely involved in curriculum planning.

Connected with this was the next characteristic, consistency among teachers. Where there was a shared system of values and beliefs, this led to collaboration and greater consistency in behaviour towards pupils, with a positive effect upon pupil progress. Stoll linked these findings with Fullan's (1985) identification of four essential factors in successful school improvement:

- i the feel of the leader for the improvement process;

- ii a shared value system;
- iii a high level of communication and interaction;
- iv collaboration in planning and implementation.

Stoll concluded that there was an intimate link between school improvement and teacher development, in which the first was dependant upon the second for success. (p.120)

Thus, schools can and do have an impact upon the achievement of pupils, through a range of complex and interrelated factors. The impact can be positive, or negative. Central to the whole mechanism is the role of the teacher. His or her attitudes have a direct effect upon the self concept of pupils. If that attitude is ethnocentric, then it is likely to have a strongly negative effect upon the self-perception - and therefore achievement - of black pupils.

The unanticipated effects of an intervention

A further complexity in the dynamics of institutional change is illustrated by the celebrated Hawthorne experiment. This was, in fact, not one, but a series of experiments, conducted in America in 1927 (at the Hawthorne works of the Western Electric Company in Cicero, Chicago) by Professor Elton Mayo of Harvard (for a detailed account, see Madge, 1953). The original purpose of the experiments was to discover the relationship between conditions of work and the incidence of fatigue. To this end, five volunteer female workers were chosen to work in a special room set aside for the tests, assembling parts for telephones (the 'Relay Assembly Test Room'). Working conditions were then systematically changed - for example, temperature, humidity, length and frequency of rest breaks, and hours of work and sleep.

The rate of output for each of the workers was measured in relation to the changes. Initial results suggested confirmation of the orthodox hypothesis, that increased rest breaks improved rate of output by reducing fatigue.

However, this thesis was shown to be inadequate when, towards the end of the experiment, a trial was made of the effects of reverting to less favourable working conditions which had been measured earlier. To the surprise of Mayo and his associates, output did not revert to the earlier level as expected. Instead, it was 20% higher than in the earlier period, and the general upward trend in output appeared to be unrelated to changes in rest breaks or working hours.

Five hypotheses were suggested and explored in order to explain this phenomenon. The investigators concluded that the most plausible hypothesis was that the increased output in the test room was an unintended result of the experiment itself. In other words, the intervention of the researchers, in creating an artificial situation, had introduced a social change in the nature of the group. Specifically, the five workers had come to operate as a cohesive team, as a consequence of the support and interest - the *participation* - of the observer. This had an effect upon morale, which showed itself in increased levels of output. The character of the experiment had itself changed:

In the place of a controlled experiment in which one variable at a time was adjusted, it was necessary to substitute the notion of a social situation which had to be described and understood as a system of interdependent elements. (Madge, p.286)

The 'Hawthorne Effect', which takes its name from this experiment, is a reference to the idea that sometimes, the intervention of outsiders into a situation can, in itself, become a factor in changing the situation, leading to beneficial effects which were neither intended nor anticipated.

4.4 Models of curriculum change

Stenhouse (1975) summarised the 'classical model' of curriculum development in these terms:

1. The curriculum represents a proposal expressed in terms of intended learning outcomes, or behavioural objectives.
2. The curriculum is treated as an experimental procedure. A pre-test and post-test design is used with test and control groups.
3. Specified objectives provide the basis for criterion-referenced tests. The emphasis is on measuring the effects of the programme or curriculum.

The problem with this model, according to Stenhouse, was that it assumed that measurable effects were due to the project or curriculum. Other factors or variables were not taken into account. There was a need, in his view, to monitor both the experiment and the context.

Per Dalin (1976) offered this conceptual framework, not for designing a curriculum, but for assessing a proposed innovation:

- i CENTRALITY. Does the innovation attempt to change the goals, norms,

patterns of behaviour central to the institution ?

- ii **COMPLEXITY.** Does it propose complicated and far-reaching changes ?
- iii **CONSONANCE.** How well does it fit with the goals of the institution ?
- iv **COMPETITION.** Does it interfere with rival innovations, or other aspects of the institution's activities ?
- v **VISIBILITY.** To what extent is it observable to and monitored by non-participants ?
- vi **FEASIBILITY.** Are the resources available, and is the innovation capable of implementation in practice ?
- vii **SUPPORT.** How much will be given by those in authority inside and outside the institution - in financial and material terms, but also encouragement and understanding ?
- viii **DIVISIBILITY.** Can it be introduced in parts ?
- ix **COMPATIBILITY.** Can it be combined with established practice ?
- x **ADAPTABILITY.** Can it be modified to suit individual circumstances ?

Per Dalin believed that an innovation stood a better chance of success where there was evidence on each of the ten counts (in Nisbet and Watt, n.d., p.19).

Change towards a multicultural curriculum: Richardson

Writing specifically about curriculum reform for a multicultural society, Richardson (1985) described in detail a process for schools wanting to respond to the recently published Swann Report. His intended audience were teachers and LEA consultants, rather than academics;

and the tone of his article was pre-eminently practical. Richardson's suggested starting point consisted of three questions: where are we now ? (the context) Where do we want to go ? (the objectives) How do we get there ? (the implementation)

Stage one was a review of the school's existing practice, to identify problems and difficulties. Richardson advised the use of an outsider for this, to spot things that an insider might miss. It was important, in this review, to note what progress had been made, to set a positive tone; important also to avoid complacency.

Stage two was to formulate aims and a general statement of policy. 'What do we want our school to be like in ten years' time ?' The third stage of Richardson's model was to agree on the meaning of key terms, either by negotiation, or by stipulation (terms such as racism, equality, prejudice). Next, he suggested considering a 'doom scenario' as a spur to action: 'what might happen if we do nothing about this issue ?'

Stage five was to draw up a policy statement on the school's position in relation to the Swann Report (1985). This might be time-consuming, but the process would be educative. If there was an LEA policy, it should be adopted to save time. The focus should be on specific objectives rather than overall policies. Then, a detailed programme should be written (stage six), distinguishing between process objectives, and teaching and learning objectives. At this point, it was useful to engage in research, by asking others what they have done (stage seven). What problems did they encounter?

Stage eight of his approach was concerned with politics. Multicultural education was considered a potentially divisive issue. Richardson indicated the need to reduce resistance amongst opponents by involving people from the start; providing full information in writing and in conversations; and ensuring public approval from authority figures - e.g. the head. In stage nine there should be an attempt to calculate the costs - economic, but also psychological (bearing in mind the things that would not be done as a result of spending time on this issue).

Stage ten: what resources would be needed ? These would include not just materials, but also human resources, such as new skills and knowledge, inservice training, with outside involvement. Finally, organisational considerations. Roles, responsibilities and accountability should be clearly defined. Who will benefit ? Interests and self interests needed to be considered. Richardson pointed out that in the field of multicultural education, there tends to be an over-emphasis on morality and altruism. The danger was that this allowed the issue to be marginalised, as a 'luxurious ideal'.

4.5 Conclusion

There is nothing so practical as good theory.

(Kurt Lewin in Fullan, 1991, p.7)

In this chapter I have reviewed some of the principal issues in the theory of curriculum change. It was seen that the teacher, and the school, contrary perhaps to popular perception,

can exert a powerful influence over the achievements of children. Both are susceptible to change. However, the evidence of research suggests that schools are, by their nature and structures, instinctively resistant to change. Innovation can be threatening, in a context which is already perceived by teachers as inherently unstable. Teachers' reliance upon their own classroom experience for mediating proposals for change is a further (related) obstacle. The existence in schools of such conservative forces means that it is difficult to introduce innovations which will improve the school's performance, or redress negative factors limiting the achievement of pupils.

The implication is that change needs to be carefully managed if it is to be successful. Proposals must take account of the school's situation, and be adapted in response to circumstances, and to *the perceptions of teachers of those circumstances*. At the whole school level, a key figure in the management of change is the head teacher. His or her leadership will be an important factor in deciding whether innovations are successful. But the most essential prerequisite for curriculum reform or school improvement is the changing of staff attitudes. Attitudes and behaviour are related; you cannot change a teacher's behaviour without first changing his attitude. This is potentially an emotionally charged process, and individuals should be given the space to come to terms with change in their own way.

Modifying teacher attitudes may be difficult, but it is achievable through a combination of exposure to new information, persuasion, and the use of positive and negative incentives,

delivered through a programme of staff development. Once a process of change has begun, it can develop its own momentum and lead to effects which were not expected.

The review concluded with a brief look at some models for changing the curriculum. How useful are such models ? Stenhouse (1975) warned about the difficulty of generalising from one experience to another:

The accumulated experience of curriculum research casts doubt on whether a higher degree of predictive generalisation can penetrate the specificity of teaching situations.
(p.136)

In other words, each classroom, each school, each situation of change, is unique.

If the idea of a precise, detailed model claiming a 'high degree' of prediction and transferability is questionable, it might nevertheless be possible to elicit general principles which could support the approach of practitioners in the task of changing the curriculum. The examples which follow are drawn from the literature reviewed in this chapter.

1. *The importance of locating change within the school.*

Each school context is unique. Innovations which are most likely to succeed are those which have taken account of the school's situation, and are directed by individuals inside the institution.

2. *The complexity of the process of change.*

Fullan highlighted the moral dimension, indicating the need to respect the opinions of others. He counselled decision makers against expecting people to complete a process

of psychological adaptation overnight which they themselves may have taken some time to come to terms with. Change is an emotionally charged activity, which can be very rewarding. But it can also be painful and disturbing.

3. *The need to take account of teachers' perceptions of change.*

Linked to this idea was the need to take seriously the perceptions - subjective or otherwise - of teachers concerning their position. Change can make people feel threatened, insecure, deskilled.

4. *The innate reluctance of schools to change.*

At the institutional level, there will be obstacles to change, most notably a 'dynamic conservatism', which will need to be overcome. Change can be seen as a challenge to the moral authority, values, and traditions of the institution.

5. *The central role of individuals.*

In the process of change, materials and resources are important. But far more important are the people. (*'The quality of schools depends on the quality of involvement of the individuals in them.'* Stenhouse 1975 p.184) Curriculum reform is not possible without reforming teachers. When considering proposals for change, teachers tend to rely upon their own classroom-based experience as the basis for making judgements, and do not consider formal theory or the findings of research. This is because of the structural nature of teaching, which makes collegiality or collaboration difficult. Teachers need to be 'lifted out' of the classroom, to develop a wider perspective towards change.

6. *The need for clear leadership.*

At management level, the role of the head teacher is of vital importance in setting the right pace and tone, and in providing clear leadership.

7. *The complexity of attitude change.*

At classroom level, no innovation can be implemented without the support of teachers, and this may necessitate changing attitudes. This can best be achieved through a combination of 'stick and carrot': exposure to new information, rational argument, and incentives, positive and negative.

8. *The importance of inservice training.*

For this purpose, staff development is essential. It is here that outside agencies, particularly the LEA, can help.

9. *The unanticipated effects of an intervention.*

Once an innovation has been introduced into an institution, if it is perceived as successful or rewarding, it may develop its own momentum. This can lead to achievements beyond the expectations of those who conceived it.

The experience of Parkview School

It will be suggested in the following two chapters that all of these general principles had relevance for the management of the project which is the subject of the present study. In 1986 Parkview was in a dynamic state, having been created by the merger of two separate schools the previous year. The merger had led to a build up of internal tensions, causing dissatisfaction and dissent amongst the teaching staff, and a decline in the standards of behaviour of many pupils. Added to these difficulties were logistical problems related to the

changed scale of the new institution. Outside the school there were pressures for change (often conflicting) from central government, professional associations, the LEA, community groups, and parents (see chapter 5, sections 1, 2 and 4).

There was an urgent need for the school to respond positively to these pressures. But proposals for change had to take account of the anxieties of staff about their recent past experiences of change (the merger had been handled badly), and also about the future; would they keep their jobs ? Would the school's reputation be restored ? Would the traditions of the schools before merger be lost or adapted ? The issue of changing the curriculum is necessarily difficult, since it is mediated and delivered by individuals. Changing towards a multicultural curriculum has the added complexity, that it involves rethinking attitudes and assumptions at a deeply personal level. The history of this particular school meant that the issue of racial equality was already on the agenda, but was associated with a challenge from outsiders to the professionalism of staff; the debate had become personalised and politicised.

The intervention which made it possible to manage change in this unpromising situation came from the LEA, with financial support from central government. Through the provision of opportunities for professional development and support, individuals from the school were trained to introduce and manage change. The preparation was detailed, systematic, and combined theory and practice (see section 5.3).

The project, which was generated as the vehicle for introducing change, had to take account of the difficulties arising from the school's particular set of circumstances. The first conclusion drawn was that there was no point in pretending that significant change could be achieved without first changing teacher attitudes. This became the primary aim of the project, and remained so throughout. The second (related) conclusion was the need to acknowledge the perceptions of staff about their situation, and not just plough on regardless of their fears. We had to 'take them with us'. It was understood that change would not be easy; we anticipated not just conservatism, but *dynamic* conservatism: that is, active opposition.

The need for leadership had been met in the choice of participants for the course, and was provided primarily by the deputy head, Mrs Coleman, who led the project throughout. Finally, just as inservice training had provided the initial impetus for introducing change into the school from outside, it was seen by the project leaders as an essential tool for subsequent developments within the institution. Inservice events became a platform for exposing staff to new ideas and information; and for providing opportunities to come to terms with them on a personal level. Between times, financial support was used as an additional incentive to change. Attention was also drawn, periodically, to the county's policy on racial equality, as a mandate, or negative incentive for change. The next chapter describes the context of the school project, 'Towards a curriculum for ethnic diversity', at local level, and also in terms of contemporary socio-political attitudes. It then analyses the micro context, Parkview school itself.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CONTEXT OF THE PROJECT

In chapter one, the investigation was defined as a 'case study'. While this approach to research has its limitations, it also has identifiable advantages. One of these is that the results are (or should be) accessible to a wide audience. This is because the effects being researched are presented in context, enabling the reader to build up a picture of the situation which is easily recognisable and comprehensible. The context performs 'an integrating function'. Chapters two and three described the educational context for the development of a theory of multicultural education; chapter four looked at theories relating to the management of change. This chapter is concerned with the political and social context. The project was undertaken as a direct result of an inservice training course, which was in turn the product of events and political developments at both national and local level. In order to put the project into historical perspective, I will begin with a brief account of the main pressures for change operating beyond the school in 1986. The course is of crucial importance to an understanding of how the process of change began, and it is therefore described in detail. Finally, I will attempt to build up a picture of the immediate context of the project, the school itself.

5.1 The socio-political context

5.2 The LEA context

5.3 The course context

5.4 The school context

5.5 Conclusion

5.1 The socio-political context

In a review of the political context of the development of multicultural policies in education, Tomlinson (1987) argued that all political parties since the war had acquiesced in the denigration of culturally different groups. Under the British Nationality Act (1948) people born in the colonies enjoyed the same rights and status as British citizens throughout the Commonwealth. After the war, there was active recruitment of workers from the Commonwealth to support the reconstruction programme by providing cheap labour for organisations such as the National Health Service and London Transport. In 1958 there were riots against this policy, in Notting Hill and Nottingham. Subsequently, laws were passed in 1962, 1968, and 1971 to control immigration from the Commonwealth, by withdrawing the rights previously held - a process completed by the 1981 Nationality Act. These laws were concerned with restricting the immigration of black people, and did not affect the movement of white Commonwealth or EC citizens. In 1986, there were about 2.4 million black people in the United Kingdom, representing 4.5% of the population. Of these, more than 40% were born in the U.K., and 47% in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan (Gordon, 1988; Todd, 1991).

Growing evidence of racial discrimination against these groups led to the Race Relations Act (1965). But this first law was limited in its scope, applying only to discrimination in public places (cafes, cinemas, public transport). Discrimination against black people in the key areas of housing and employment was not addressed until 1968.

When it was found that these laws were not effective, they were strengthened by the 1976 Race Relations Act. This made it unlawful to discriminate directly against a person on grounds of race, colour, nationality, or ethnic origins. It also outlawed indirect discrimination - for example, requiring unskilled workers to pass an English language exam even if linguistic ability was irrelevant to the job. The 1976 act applies to employment, housing, education, and provision of goods and services. It also set up the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), a government funded agency, whose brief is to investigate allegations of racial discrimination by organisations, and to promote good race relations through education and publicity.

In spite of these efforts, racial discrimination has continued. Evidence can be found in:

- employment (in 1986 black people were twice as likely to be out of work as white people);
- housing ('black families are more likely to live in accommodation which is older, more crowded, and situated in areas which are thought of as being less desirable' - Gordon, 1988, p.10);
- racially motivated assaults (estimated at 70,000 per year in England and Wales - Home Office study, 1981: PSI report, 1984);
- the portrayal of black people in the mass media (as threatening to overrun the country through illegal immigration, and as more likely to be involved in crime);
- the treatment of black people by the police. (Gordon, 1988)

In the early 1980s, the anger and frustration of the black community were vented in a series of disturbances in major cities: Bristol, 1980; Brixton, 1981; Brixton and Tottenham, 1985. On each occasion, the spark for the disturbances was an incident in which police actions were regarded as racist and provocative. However, the media reporting and popular response to the riots were largely negative. Instead of looking beyond the disturbances to the underlying causes, sections of the media portrayed the riots as evidence that black people were responsible for many of the ills of society, particularly lawlessness in the inner cities.

The educational background: from assimilationist to multicultural

Tomlinson (1987) concluded that the political climate since the 1950s had not been conducive to the development of educational policies to ensure equal opportunities or racial tolerance. The cause of racial equality was seen by the major political parties as a vote loser. The settlement of immigrant communities in the inner cities in the 1960s, alongside the development of neighbourhood comprehensives, had led to the creation of schools with a majority of their intake coming from black communities. This, in turn, heightened fears amongst some white parents, that their children would be disadvantaged.

The government response was to encourage 'dispersal', that is, the limitation of numbers of black pupils in schools to no more than 30% (Home Office, 1964; DES circular 7/65; quoted in Norley, 1987). To further what was essentially a policy of assimilation, section 11 of the Local Government Act (1966) made provision for extra teaching staff for the

teaching of English in areas with 2% or more Commonwealth immigrants. This provision was not taken up by all authorities, and was not backed up by government pressure or monitoring (Norley, 1983).

There was a fear however that giving special treatment to minority groups, for example, through the Urban Aid programme (1968), would cause resentment by the white majority (Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1973: quoted in Norley, 1983). This consideration helped to explain the advent of what Troyna termed 'racially inexplicit' policy (Troyna, 1987): a low profile approach, in which the principles of universalism and individualism were emphasised, and the conflict involved in confronting racism was avoided, from fear of a white 'backlash' reaction.

As described above, the early 1980s saw a growing awareness of the need for a smaller, more highly trained and adaptable workforce. Jobs requiring unskilled or semi skilled workers were disappearing. Schools were criticised for failing to make the curriculum more 'relevant' to the needs of a modern society. The 1980 Education Act, and the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI, 1982), funded by the Manpower Services Commission, were aspects of the government's attempt to make the curriculum more responsive to economic and technological change: more 'relevant' (see chapter two).

In addition to the pressure for reform caused by economic changes, the inner city riots gave pause for thought on the role of education in maintaining social stability. The Scarman

Report (1981) on the Brixton riots claimed that school failure and unemployment were contributory factors. This conclusion supported wider evidence of the underachievement and alienation of black pupils in the education system. It was accompanied by pressures for a more 'racially explicit' policy in education, in response to

- increased racial hostility to pupils from minority groups
- an international debate about assimilation versus pluralism in countries with Third World minorities
- a world-wide resurgence of Islamic Fundamentalism. (Tomlinson, 1987)

The Rampton committee, set up in 1979, published its interim report in 1981. According to the report, one of the key factors in the under-achievement of black pupils was low teacher expectations, arising from stereotyped views, or even racist attitudes on the part of teachers:

A well intentioned and apparently sympathetic person may, as a result of his education, experiences or environment, have negative, patronising or stereotyped views about ethnic minority groups which may subconsciously affect his attitude and behaviour towards members of these groups. (Rampton interim report, 1981)

There followed a period of 'racialisation' of policies (Troyna 1987). Government pronouncements now made reference to the need to combat racial prejudice (Green Paper, 'Education in Schools' 1977; DES, 'A Framework for the School Curriculum', 1980). The 1981 DES document, the School Curriculum, advised LEAs that education should 'instil tolerance of other races, religions, and ways of life.' In 1984, the DES published an account of discussions on race relations in schools between HMI and five LEAs, which

encouraged schools to develop policies to combat racial harassment and to enhance equality of opportunity. Then, in a development which represented a 'sudden ideological shift' (Dorn, 1984), there was a proliferation of policies at LEA level. The Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) had produced the first of these ('Multi-Ethnic education') in 1977. By 1984, 20 LEAs had published statements or position papers on this issue.

Dorn (1984), analysing the reasons for this phenomenon, believed that it could not be explained simply as the result of government pressure. In his view, DES policy remained substantially unchanged, in spite of the rhetoric. Instead, he attached responsibility to the riots of 1981, Rampton, and Scarman; some of the policies (Bradford, Sheffield) were a 'pragmatic response' to the threat of social disorder (1986). But he also identified the commitment of particular individuals, such as CEOs, politicians, and advisers, as being a key factor (in London, Newsome; in Berkshire, Richardson and Edwards).

The Rampton committee continued after 1981 under the chairmanship of Lord Swann, and published an account of its findings in 1985. Their final report ('Education for all') crystallised and focussed a number of earlier developments, and marked the formal beginning of a new phase in the debate about multicultural/anti-racist education. Taking evidence of racism and under-achievement as its starting points, it advanced the view that we should recognise the multi-racial nature of British society, and adopt a pluralistic approach towards education:

What is looked for is not the assimilation of the minority communities within an

unchanged way of life, but the 'assimilation' of all groups within a redefined concept of what it means to live in British society today... the mould should be recast in a form which retains the fundamental principles of the original but within a broader pluralist conspectus - diversity within unity.

In order to be effective, this would have to be implemented in all schools, not just those with black pupils. To this end, the report made a number of recommendations concerning the training of teachers - both initially, and in service - and the employment of more teachers from ethnic minority groups.

The Eggleston Report (1985) followed soon after. It was based upon a three and a half year investigation into the vocational and educational experiences of black 15-18 year olds. It provided strong evidence of racist attitudes amongst teachers, and investigated their impact upon educational opportunities. According to the Runnymede Trust summary of the report:

The project was able to go considerably beyond both the evidence and conclusions of the Swann Report and has finally made it possible to talk clearly and constructively about the problems of teacher racism in Britain. (1986)

In spite of these developments, Tomlinson, writing in 1987, could still see no consensus on the education of black pupils. But she believed that there were positive signs of a change in climate. The Swann report had helped to shift the focus away from a preoccupation with the needs and problems of black pupils to the education of all. Teacher training institutions were giving higher priority to the issue of multicultural education; the DES had set up curriculum projects in areas with few people from ethnic minority backgrounds, in order to

implement the recommendations of Swann; and special posts had been created in a number of authorities (Brent, Manchester, Haringey, Berkshire) for the same purpose.

On the down side, the Commission for Racial Equality's 1988 report, 'Learning in Terror' once again underlined how little progress had been made. It found extensive evidence of racial harassment of black pupils throughout their schooling, and criticised many LEAs for a lack of urgency in addressing the problem.

Opposition to multicultural/anti-racist policies

The racially motivated murder of an Asian pupil at Burnage High School, Manchester in 1986 was significant, not just as evidence of the growth of racial attacks described by the CRE. Burnage, and the subsequent MacDonald report (the findings of which were not made public until 1989), became the battleground in a national debate on the whole philosophy of multicultural and anti-racist education. In an example of what Klein called 'a looking-glass magic act', those who were ideologically opposed to such approaches interpreted the incident as evidence that anti-racism was exacerbating racial conflict. In fact, the report said that an effective anti-racist policy would have countered violence in the school. What it criticised was doctrinaire, or 'moral' anti-racism, which labelled all white people as racist; and they urged caution in implementing policies (Macdonald et al, 1989. In Todd, 1991, p.130).

The voice of opposition to multicultural education had been represented since 1982 by Honeyford. After his forced retirement as head of a predominantly Asian primary school in Bradford, he had gone public on his opposition to multiculturalism and support for a policy of cultural assimilation (TES, 1982; Salisbury review, 1983). His cause focussed support for the assimilationist position from Flew (1984), the Conservative Monday Club (1985), and Palmer (1986). There were also attacks in the media at this time on 'loony left' boroughs. In 1986, for example, the Mail on Sunday claimed that Haringey council had banned the use of black bin liners because they were racially offensive; this story was not true. Most notable was the assault on Brent LEA, which was accused of misusing government (section 11) funding, and of employing 'race spies' in the classroom. Neither of these charges was found to be justified by a report of the inspectorate (HMI), but this was not acknowledged in the popular press (Gordon, 1988; Tomlinson, 1987; Troyna, 1987). The Education Reform Act (1988) was the final stage in this process. With its imposition of a 'National' Curriculum, it seemed to some commentators to have been designed to put an end to opportunities for multicultural/antiracist initiatives (Ball and Troyna, 1989); Dorn (1990) was equally pessimistic, arguing that the new legislation would increase discrimination against black pupils, through such mechanisms as open enrolment, standardised methods of assessment, and exemptions from the National Curriculum (in Todd, 1991, p.134).

5.2 The LEA context: Berkshire

In a report to the racial equality working party on 'ethnic minorities in Berkshire' (n.d.),

information extracted from the 1981 census showed that at the time of the census 79,000 people, or 12% of Berkshire's total population, were living in households whose head was born outside the U.K. Of these,

15,000 were of Irish descent:

41,000 from the New Commonwealth or Pakistan (NCP):

23,000 from other countries - mainly European.

Because the census did not categorise people according to their ethnic background, but relied upon the place of birth of the head of the household, these figures did not include members of ethnic groups whose parents had been born in this country - a fact most likely to affect the statistics of African-Caribbeans.

NCP households accounted for 6% of the total population, and were concentrated in the urban areas of Slough, Reading, Windsor and Maidenhead. The greatest concentration was to be found in Slough, where 21% of the population were of NCP origin, followed by Reading (8%) and Maidenhead (6%). Within Slough itself, in five census enumeration districts the NCP population was higher than 85%. The majority of these were of Indian or Pakistani descent. In Reading, African-Caribbeans formed the largest group.

The report looked at housing and social conditions, and found lower standards of accommodation, and greater overcrowding in areas with higher concentrations of ethnic minority groups. The rates of unemployment in these areas were also significantly higher than for the rest of the town (70% higher in Reading and Maidenhead: 40% higher in

Slough). Thus the picture which emerged in what might have been regarded in the past as a white shire county was one of a small but highly concentrated, and socially deprived, black community.

The Berkshire Policy on Racial Equality

The background to the development of this policy has been described in detail by Norley (1983), who was, at the time, a practising teacher in the authority. He identified the process of change as having begun in 1978. Prior to 1973, the urban areas of Slough and Reading had their own education authorities. As a result of changes in county boundaries, they came under the jurisdiction of Berkshire LEA. They brought with them a tradition of selective secondary education which was allowed to continue. In 1978 a dispute arose over the allocation of secondary school places within the borough of Reading (the 'zoning scheme'), which was perceived to discriminate against the interests of black children. This led to a campaign which involved the CRE, and the raising of public awareness. The campaign had two results. Firstly, the authority backed down on its plans, promising new proposals and consultation; and secondly, the Council became aware of the need to appoint an adviser on multicultural education.

This was the first, and major factor in the process of change. The other 'catalysts' in the genesis of the policy were, according to Norley's analysis,

i the appointment of Peter Edwards as director of education in the authority, with a personal and professional commitment to the issue, and a willingness to 'lead from

the front';

- ii the appointment of Joe Williams - 'socialist in politics, Caribbean in origin, and powerful in personality' - as a county councillor in 1981;
- iii a concentration in Reading of innovative and committed teachers;
- iv the appointment of Robin Richardson as Adviser for Multicultural Education.

(Norley, 1983)

These changes led to the setting up of an 'Advisory Committee for Multi-cultural Education' (7.10.81), whose brief was to draw up a statement of policy. The group was advised by a black sociologist, Dr Chris Mullard. Partly due to Mullard's persuasion, and partly due to the fear of urban unrest as described in the recently published Scarman Report (1981), the group took a more radical direction than had been anticipated. There followed an intense, if incomplete, period of consultation with representatives of the black communities, leading to the publication of a draft policy statement at the end of 1982. In January, 1983, the amended policy, entitled 'Education For Racial Equality', was formally adopted by the Education Committee (see appendix).

The policy was divided into three sections. The first, 'General Policy', set out the principles, and explained their theoretical basis. The second, 'Implications', was concerned with the implications for schools. The third section, 'Support', described specific programmes and measures to implement the policy. The statement began:

Berkshire County Council requires and supports all its educational institutions and services to create, maintain and promote racial equality and justice. The Council is

opposed to racism in all its forms.

In its emphasis upon the issues of racism and racial equality, and its concern to address racist structures, the policy stood firmly in the tradition of anti-racist education. The projects described under the heading 'support' included grants to voluntary organisations; community education workers; a community language and curriculum support service; advisory teachers on materials and language studies; secondments for curriculum development. Project I was concerned with monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the policy. It suggested that this responsibility should be shared between a working party, and the 'TREE' team at Bulmershe College, Reading.

The TREE team

This acronym stood for 'Team for Racial Equality in Education'. According to a proposal written by the college to mount a DES funded course ('The Curriculum for Ethnic Diversity'), the team had been established

as part of a joint response by Berkshire Education Authority and Bulmershe College of Higher Education, to the need for a clear, positive and explicit policy on education towards racial equality in a culturally diverse society. (para. 1.3.2)

Based at Bulmershe College from January, 1984, the team was part of the county's strategy to implement its policy on Racial Equality, and consisted of three people: Marina Foster, Pauline Lyseight-Jones, and Shamira Dharamshi. The posts were funded under section 11 of the Local Government Act (1966), by grant from the Home Office. The tasks of the team included 'monitoring, research and evaluation; in-service education of teachers and other

LEA staff; community and youth work.' (para.1.3.2) It was the TREE team which was given the responsibility for planning and implementing a 25 day course for teachers on curriculum change in October 1986.

As will be shown in the following section, the course was funded by the DES, as well as being structured along guidelines drawn up for the DES by John Singh. It was one of the pilot projects referred to by Tomlinson, and grew out of the recommendations of the Swann report concerning the need to extend multicultural education into 'all white' areas. The reason why Berkshire was involved in this wider initiative was its recent and pioneering work in creating what was widely regarded as a model policy in this field.

5.3 The course context

In 1986, Parkview school was invited to participate in a 25 day, DES (Department of Education and Science: now DfEE) regional course based at Bulmershe College of Higher Education. In a discussion paper for the DES on the use of the Inservice Teacher Training Grants Scheme to fund programmes towards ethnic diversity (n.d.), Singh described the purpose of such courses in these terms:

The courses mounted under this scheme are intended to enable teachers and schools to develop curricular content and approaches to teaching which recognise the needs of pupils and prepare them to living in an ethnically diverse society.

The paper suggested that there should be a core content to all of the courses, which would include such elements as the history of contemporary immigration, issues of race-relations

and discrimination, and school, LEA and national policies on these issues. Other elements in the courses would vary according to the particular context, but would include issues to be addressed by teachers, such as monitoring and assessment of pupils' needs, curriculum content drawing on pupils' backgrounds, approaches to inter-ethnic tensions. Who were the courses intended for ?

The courses are aimed at teachers who can take leadership or consultant roles, therefore there will be a need in the courses to consider in-service approaches that teachers can apply in their own institutions. In the main, course participants are expected to be heads of departments, curriculum consultants or deputy heads/heads with curriculum responsibilities in primary and secondary schools.

The courses developed under this scheme were to be between 20 and 25 days in length. Singh concluded by recommending that the time be divided into three blocks;

a minimum of 10 days of course tuition at the beginning of each course, 10 days (maximum) applying course work in schools and 5 days tuition and consideration of results at the end of the course. Individual courses may wish to vary the detail but this general pattern is likely to produce definable results.

Singh's paper provided the basis for the proposal which was subsequently generated for the course at Bulmershe College, a teacher training institution (from Easter 1990, part of Reading University). The college had received an invitation from the DES on 16th January, 1986 to make a proposal in the field of teaching and the curriculum in a multi-ethnic society. This would be done in collaboration with three LEAs - Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hampshire - with which the college had an established relationship

in the area of inservice teacher training, having been a venue for LEA and DES inservice courses since 1977.

Another reason to choose Bulmershe college was that it was the base of the Team for Racial Equality in Education (T.R.E.E.). The college's proposal suggested using the TREE team as core tutors for the course with responsibility for

co-ordinating, planning, tutoring, pastoral support during the course and follow-up support thereafter. (para. 2.1.1)

In addition to managing the programme, they would have the job of evaluating it. They were to be supported by three teachers - one from each of the participating LEAs. Their brief would be to contribute to the course programme, and (more importantly) co-ordinate and support developments in their LEA schools afterwards.

The purpose of the course

Following Singh's emphasis on the need to train course members to initiate change in their own institutions, the proposal described the purpose of the course in these terms:

The programme is designed to provide opportunities for course members to reinforce their awareness and understanding of important issues and concerns relating to ethnic diversity and education and to develop their skills in negotiating curriculum change for this area in their schools. (para. 3.3)

The course would target the lower school curriculum - 11-14 age group - and would include the requirement that participating schools should carry out a specific project to implement

change in this area towards the end of the programme. To prepare the course members for this task, there would be

- inputs/lectures on fundamental issues/concerns by specialist practitioners
- sharing of experience from course tutors/other members
- visits to specialist support services or to schools (in order to see examples of good practice)
- the development of local in-school support groups.

Criteria for selection of course members

It had been agreed by the three LEAS that the course should be aimed at schools from 'low to moderate contact areas' (para 4.1); i.e. schools with a small proportion of black pupils. In line with Singh's recommendations, the course members would be drawn from middle or senior management levels. They would be expected to be committed to multicultural teaching, and 'preferably have some practical experience in this field.' (para 4.2) It was hoped that the total course membership would include some representation from all areas of the secondary curriculum.

Where the proposal differed from Singh's guidelines was in the suggestion that each school should be asked to provide two course members. As the total number of participants would be limited to 15, this would reduce the geographical impact of the course in the LEAs concerned. The decision was an expensive one, in the sense that the audience for this costly course would be strictly limited. It would also be difficult to implement at a practical level;

for schools were to be asked to release not just one manager, but two. The proposal was made

to ensure support for curriculum management and classroom innovation in the school during the course.(4.3)

In other words, the two members from each school would be expected to work closely together, providing mutual moral support and sharing the burden of responsibility for project development. This was justified by the conviction of the course organisers that if the course schools could be prepared properly, initiatives begun as a result of the programme would become self-supporting and self-perpetuating. Then, once the momentum for change was firmly established, these schools could become 'centres of excellence', providing resources - advice, support, information - for projects in schools around them. This idea was using Singh's recommendation that courses should train members in how to train others in their own institutions, and taking it one step further. In this way, a short term investment - i.e. an expensive course - would produce a longer term result. LEAs were to be responsible for approaching schools and negotiating the choice of individuals.

Course structure

The course took place between October, 1986, and May 1987. It was structured as follows:

- an initial non-residential 5 day block, providing the context of the debate at a broadly theoretical level (October);
- 5 separate days, of 1 per week, to examine the implications for particular areas of the curriculum, and the management of change (November-December);

- 10 separate days, to develop project proposals, and to visit schools and other institutions to seek examples of good practice (January-February);
- a 3 day block, to draw together experiences from the visits, and develop strategies for project implementation (March);
- a 2 day block, to evaluate both the school projects and the course as a whole (June).

In addition to the three members of the TREE team, there were three LEA tutors - Dennis Wright (Berkshire), Ann Mellor (Buckinghamshire), and Joan Elkins (Hampshire).

The impact of the course

At each stage of the course, Pauline Lyseight-Jones attempted to evaluate progress by means of questionnaires, the results of which were then published and returned to members. These documents show that the course was very well received in most of its aspects by most of its participants. There were criticisms - of individual speakers, of the balance between input and discussion, and of the timing of various stages. But on the whole, the course was perceived to have been highly successful ("The Curriculum and Ethnic Diversity": preliminary evaluation. Lyseight-Jones, March 1987).

On a personal level, I found the course personally and professionally challenging. By the end of the first week, I had come reluctantly, and emotionally, to the view that my previous opinions on the issue of racial equality were largely a matter of prejudice. A sense of personal shame for my own lack of awareness was accompanied and deepened by (what was for me) a dramatic revelation of the injustice experienced by black people in white society.

In retrospect, I regard the experience of the course as one of the most profound and important of my life. This reaction may have been the result of moral pressure or psychological conditioning from the course leaders. If so, it was a very subtle strategy. At the beginning of the week I was conscious of a degree of resistance on my part, which put me in a frame of mind to challenge the claims being made. But during the course itself I certainly did not feel that my emotions were being manipulated unfairly or cynically. Instead, the course members were presented in a systematic way with clear evidence of the existence of racist attitudes and discrimination at all levels and in all spheres of British society. The evidence was so strong as to be irrefutable, and the implications spoke for themselves. In other words, I believe that the impact was primarily an intellectual one, and all the more powerful as a consequence.

At the end of the first five day block, we were asked to contribute towards an evaluation. In this, I wrote about the impact of the course upon my own perceptions:

At the moment, I feel as though I have undergone a very powerful experience - akin to falling off a horse, and instead of being blinded, finding that I can see.

(Preliminary evaluation, p.8. Lyseight-Jones, November 1986)

The intensity of my reaction was, at the time, disconcerting. It may have been due to other (personal) factors as well as the course. If so, the other factors were operating subconsciously, and were released as a direct result of this particular experience. The rest of the course was not quite so dramatic in its impact. Nevertheless, it was still effective. In my response to the January 1987 evaluation, I wrote:

I feel clearly a sense of having been developed and find it satisfying as well as challenging. (preliminary evaluation part II - Jan. 1987)

There are several possible reasons why the course was effective.

1. Of particular importance was the **5 day block at the start**. This was used to lay a theoretical foundation, of understanding and commitment, which underpinned the rest of the programme. The outside speakers were of a consistently high standard, and included Sybil Woodroffe (HMI), Ann Dummett (Runnymede Trust), Chris Gaine (West Sussex Institute), Og Thomas (Oxford Polytechnic), Andy Dorn (CRE), John Twitchin (BBC), and Gillian Klein (then at ILEA) (See appendix for an account of this first block of the course).

2. The overall structure of the course was well thought out, in the way that it moved from theoretical discussion of racial equality, through theories on the management of change, to practical consideration of how to achieve it. We were convinced that change was necessary, but were not left to feel guilty and powerless to effect it.

In response to a question concerning course structure in the March evaluation, I commented:

As with earlier parts of the course, the basic structure is well developed and appropriate - an ever-widening focus taking us by stages from theory to practice.
(preliminary evaluation part III section A - March 1987)

3. The decision to take two members of staff from each school was, in my view, a good one. As suggested above, it meant that the burden of responsibility could be shared. Also, two people can often be more imaginative than one, in generating new ideas or strategies. When one begins to suffer fatigue from the pressure of other demands, the second can maintain the momentum and thereby sustain motivation.

4. That the two members were generally drawn from senior and middle management was also significant. Automatically, any initiatives which are proposed will have the status of emanating from the senior decision making level of the school, and they are more likely to have both staff and head teacher support. The middle manager is the one in a position to implement change at departmental - and therefore, classroom level; and to be aware of debate in the staff room.

5. From the start it was made clear to us that we would be expected to undertake a project in our schools, and report on it by the end of the course in a formal presentation to our assembled colleagues. There were no sanctions attached to this element of accountability, concerning the success or scale of our efforts; indeed, we were advised not to attempt too much too quickly. But it provided sufficient stimulus to ensure the development of a healthy sense of competition between course schools. It made us want to have something to report, and therefore gave an edge to our efforts; and it started us on a process of documentation and evaluation which was to prove important later.

6. The structure for supporting the schools in their projects during the course was continued after it had officially ended. This took the form of visits from tutors, providing advice, contacts, information, and of course, encouragement. Parkview school took advantage of the help on offer, and benefited from much advice from the members of the TREE team, particularly Marina Foster and Shamira Dharamshi. In the case of the Berkshire schools, a structure was established for mutual support which, under the guidance of Marina Foster, coordinated and encouraged developments between the three schools, and, the following year, four more. Much of the value of this support lay, especially in the early stages, in giving us the confidence to feel that we were moving in the right direction.

The project was initiated beyond the school. The importance of the course to the work which followed, in giving us commitment, understanding of key issues, and the confidence to undertake a whole school project in curriculum development, cannot be overstated. Without the course at Bulmershe, in 1986/87, there would have been no project. If the course had not been so well constructed and effective, the project would not have had the same chance to succeed.

Given the seminal importance of this course, it is pertinent to ask why Parkview School was chosen to participate. Originally, as stated above, it had been intended that the course should be geared towards schools 'from low to moderate contact areas'. Parkview had a larger than average number of pupils from ethnic minority groups by Berkshire standards (17% in 1986), and therefore did not obviously fit the criteria. The choice of schools was

made at LEA level, not by the course organisers. However, Marina Foster (who, as a member of the TREE team, was a course tutor) believed that the decision to offer the school one of the three places for Berkshire schools was a political response to the school's situation (Foster, 1990). The nature of this situation will now be described and considered as an element in explaining the process of change which began with the DES course.

5.4 The school context: Parkview school

Parkview is a co-educational 11-18 comprehensive school on the outskirts of a large Berkshire town. It was formed as the result of a merger between two single-sex schools - Quarryhill for boys, and Woodgate for girls - in September 1985. These schools were both bilateral at their foundation (1956/7), meaning that there were grammar and secondary modern sections in both institutions. The grammar intakes represented a large proportion of the total. The schools were built on opposite ends of the same site. They became comprehensive in the 1970s, sharing a new sixth form block and sports hall. This meant the need for such collaboration as joint timetabling, and curricular planning. However, the schools remained, in many respects, separate. There were social contacts between teachers; but these were, according to the recollections of staff, surprisingly limited given the proximity of the two buildings. Pupils also did not mix as one might have expected. It was as though the two schools wished to emphasise their separateness.

This was apparent in the differences between the schools in ethos and curriculum. Dorothy Coleman, deputy head of Parkview, was acting head of Woodgate during the secondment of

the head teacher in the year before the merger (1984/85). Her husband was head of English at Quarryhill until 1985. Writing in March 1990, she described the differences:

The boys' school retained the two distinct sections until it was formally a comprehensive school in 1973 and then still retained a streamed tutorial and teaching system. The sporting tradition was strong and successful and the Old Boys' Association fostered the academic and sporting reputation. In many ways it was a traditional boys' school.

By comparison, the girls' school gave greater weight to the importance in the curriculum of personal and social relationships, art, drama and music. It had, for some time,

been less rigidly streamed and setted, with mixed ability tutor groups and a fair degree of mixed ability teaching. (Coleman, 1990)

The different philosophies were apparent in teaching styles and attitudes towards discipline. The ethos of the boys' school was more 'masculine'. As one teacher who came from the boys' school put it,

Quarryhill staff saw it as a weakness to be conciliatory.

(interviews with pastoral staff, February 1990. This schedule provides further evidence of differences in philosophy and approach. See section 8.2)

After becoming comprehensive both maintained good academic reputations, and were seen as alternatives by parents unable to get their children into the two single sex grammar schools in the town centre. The staffs of both schools were characterised by stability, and included teachers who had spent their entire careers in the same institution.

The merged school: internal constraints on change

The rolls of the two schools were projected to fall from the mid 1980s, in line with demographic trends both locally and nationally; merger was the political response to this. Neither school wanted it, and there was some resistance from parents. Nevertheless, it took effect from September 1985, and was implemented across all years in the school except for year 5. Here, the pupils continued to be taught separately, because of differences in public examination boards at GCE level.

The new school took its name from the large public park on its western side. Pupils were drawn from the suburban area in which the school was situated, to the centre of town. The total number on roll at merger was 1536, with a teaching complement of 101 (including ten part timers). The head teacher, Mrs P., was previously head of Woodgate; her counterpart in Quarryhill had moved to take up a headship at another school in the county two years before.

There were many potential strengths in the merged institution. These included an experienced staff, and dual facilities (e.g. two assembly halls: two gymnasias and a large sports hall: two computer rooms: numerous workshops and laboratories: extensive playing fields). The merger would also provide an opportunity for growth and development.

There were also potential difficulties. For example, there were a number of staff who, although their salaries had been protected, had lost status as a result of the amalgamation,

and this led to a measure of disaffection. When the head of the girls' school was appointed as head of the new school, it was feared by some that the ethos and traditions of the boys' school would be lost. There was a widely supported perception that staff from the girls' school were treated more favourably in the reallocation of posts than their counterparts from the boys' school, although this theory was difficult to demonstrate in practice.

If there was a coherent policy on appointments, it was to appoint to key posts from outside both schools. The purpose of this was obvious: to bring new blood in, and to create a body of people identified only with the new institution, unburdened by pre-merger loyalties. This policy was typified, and justified, by the appointment of a third deputy, at Easter 1986, from outside. John Sears subsequently played a key role in the development of the new school, bringing energy, imagination, and ability to the job at a moment when morale was at a low ebb. My own appointment (September 1986) was, I presume, part of the same policy.

Even this policy was likely to cause resentment amongst those staff who felt that they had been passed over simply because they were associated with one or other of the two schools. Perceptions of unfairness were reinforced by the experience of the senior deputy, Mr C. Having started his career at Quarryhill soon after it was opened (some thirty years before), he was closely identified with the ethos of the male institution. With the departure of the head of Quarryhill before the merger, he became acting head for two years, and was regarded as a strong candidate for the post in the new school. When the head of Parkview

was appointed from the girls' school, he lost status, becoming a deputy again. Because of the way that this situation had developed, and perhaps also because he took a conservative view of education in general, he became a powerful force resisting change in the new school.

The form which his opposition took was subtle. He rarely spoke against the head in public, and appeared as the model professional in occupying himself with administrative tasks in spite of his understandable disappointment. Behind the scenes, however, his negativity and cynicism made the task of senior management as difficult as possible. Each Friday he invited a group of selected colleagues to join him in his office for drinks. These gatherings were an opportunity for those who had axes to grind to sharpen their resentments; and because they were exclusive, were seen as socially divisive. The senior deputy thus provided a focus for disaffection, and an alternative powerbase for those opposed to change. He continued in these roles until his departure (to a secondment in the education office) in 1988.

Mr C was supported by a variety of colleagues, amongst whom the most prominent was the head of P.E.. Mr M too had lost status as a result of the merger (having been senior teacher in Quarryhill), and had little respect for the abilities of the new head compared to her senior deputy - a reflection of his attitude towards women in general. He was one of those staff who blamed the merger for a decline in standards, of discipline and achievement. His opinions were less sophisticated than those of Mr C, and he was also more prepared to

express them publicly. On a personal level, he had a capacity for charm and persuasion (in spite of his obvious insensitivity) which made him something of a leader of staff opinion.

The positive forces for change were spearheaded by the second deputy, Dorothy Coleman. She had been acting head of Woodgate during the year before the merger, in order to allow the new head to prepare for the big day. In terms of intellectual and managerial ability, she was the head teacher's superior; and she was the real source of authority in the day to day management of the school. There was a body of opinion amongst the staff which held that the head would not make any decisions without prior reference to Mrs Coleman, and that therefore she was, in reality if not in name, in charge of the school. As a consequence of the project, I worked closely with Mrs Coleman for five years. In my view, this judgement was accurate.

The head teacher, Mrs P, was faced with an unusually difficult task in managing this situation of change. As her extreme reliance upon Mrs Coleman implies, she found the task beyond her capabilities. Her approach to management was to seek advice from those whose opinions she valued; but it could not really be described as properly consultative, since she then presented the resulting decisions as entirely her own. While she had a strong personality, and clear convictions, she lacked imaginative insight or a sense of vision. Instead, her values were primarily pragmatic. Her aim was to ensure the survival of the school, and she was willing to take whatever steps were necessary to achieve this, even to the extent of actions which some would consider unprincipled. She was aware of the

opposition from staff within the school. Her reaction, as implied by her policy of appointing where possible from outside, was to sidestep or marginalise colleagues who opposed her. While she did not command universal respect amongst staff, she did inspire loyalty from those who were closest to her; and she was generous in praise and reward for those who were willing to work hard for the school.

In the case of the issue of racial equality, her attitude was ambivalent. She had had to deal with a deeply politicised situation before the merger, in which the school was accused of racism; and she evidently felt betrayed by her experience with a member of the county Section 11 team, who had gone public in criticising a draft version of the school's history syllabus (both these incidents are described below). However, she also perceived that there was a need to take action to relieve the mounting pressure on the school from parents and also from the authority. Because of the nature of her relationship with Mrs Coleman, she was willing to trust her to undertake and manage the project as she saw fit. But her support rarely went further than acquiescence. At no point during the project did I feel convinced that she understood or was committed to the cause which we were pursuing. In this sense, her role in the project was never a central one.

In figure 5.1, I have attempted to categorise the responses of these, and other teaching staff to the project in its early stages (1986/87). It should be made clear that the placing of individuals into any categories (even relatively broad ones as here), and the relation of these categories to motives, is unreliable. The analysis is subjective, based upon my personal

perceptions and recollections, and those of Mrs Coleman (which I noted at the time of the course as part of a directed exercise). The diagram shows that staff opinion was divided over a range of responses, probably reflecting a typical cross section of society. Leaders of staff opinion are identified with an asterisk.

There are conceptual problems with the diagram, due to the fact that the categories and sub-categories are not necessarily exclusive. Many staff have been omitted from the categorisation, because their attitudes were unknown. The analysis is probably most accurate at the extremes (enthusiastic, hostile), since it was easier to identify the principal supporters and principal opponents of the project, than those who kept their counsel. A further weakness is that the reactions of particular individuals changed over time; this is not shown.

Figure 5.2 uses the same categorisation, but presents it in a form which reflects the school's hierarchical structure. Departments are important social units in most secondary schools. In Parkview, perhaps because of the merger, and the size of the new school, the departmental structure was particularly strong. For these reasons a conscious decision was made early on to work through this structure in implementing the project; and this is reflected in the importance attached to the schedule of meetings with departments as an 'instrument of change' (see chapter 7, section 4).

FIG. 5.1 CATEGORIES OF STAFF RESPONSE TO THE PROJECT (HARGREAVES, 1967)

CATEGORY	SUB-CATEGORY	STAFF	
ENTHUSIASTIC (Initiative leaders)	ALTRUISTIC Professional	BENEFITS FOR SCHOOL DMC (DH), JE (HD)	
		BENEFITS FOR PUPILS CS/BM (HD)/PM (HD)/ GG/DC	
	NON-ALTRUISTIC Personal	BENEFITS FOR ME (CAREER OPP.) BM (HD)/NG (HY)/ OA	
POSITIVE (supporters)	NO RESERVATIONS	POLITICAL APPEAL MJ (HD)/DJ / RG	
		DEVELOPING COMMIT. SL (HD)/HG/ BJ/DC/ NE (HD)/AM (HD)/HP (HD)	
	RESERVATIONS	WORK ALREADY BEGUN CE (HD)/KG/VH (HD)	
		NOT MY INITIATIVE * TJ (HY)/JS (DH)/ PS (ST)	
		UNREALISTIC? POSSIBLE RISKS GF * TP (HY)/LR (HY) FP (HT)	
LUKEWARM (Uncommitted)	DECIDED	LACK OF TIME FM/WJ/KJ/TP	
		INTERESTS ELSE- WHERE *DL/PJ/BA/AS/HG JJ/PN	
	UNDECIDED	APATHY MK (HD)/AD/JP (HD) SH (ST)/HJ/PL IGNORANCE GC/LV/BD (HD)/PR	
NEGATIVE (generally opposed)	CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDE		BM (ST)/SP/KM
	POLITICAL - 'LEFT WING ISSUE'		HJ/TM
	PESSIMISTIC - 'we can't change world'		AA
	TIRED - initiative fatigue		SG
	DISILLUSIONED - lack of promotion		CA/GC/RS
HOSTILE (actively opposed)	CYNICAL - question motives of leaders		WM/SA
	STRONGLY CONSERVATIVE ATT. (change dangerous)		*WC/ER/RT (DH)
	PREJUDICED / RACIST ATTITUDE		PM (HD)*

KEY: (HT) = HEAD TEACHER (DH) = DEPUTY HD
 (HD) = HEAD OF DEPARTMENT (ST) = SENIOR TEACHER
 (HY) = HEAD OF YEAR * = DANION LEADER

FIG. 5.2

SCHOOL CONTEXT CHART : PARKVIEW,

(MILES + HUBERMAN, 1994)

1987

HEAD:

MRS P. +/RES/RISKS (W)

DEPUTIES:

MR C. (ADMIN)
- / HOS / CONS
(Q) + DISILL. LEFT, 88MRS C. (PASTORAL)
+ / ENT. / ALT /
SCH. BEN. (I) (M) (W) (X)MR S. (CURRIC)
+ / RES / 'NOT MY I'
(X) Aug. 1986 (P)

SENIOR TEACHERS:

MRS M. HY (6H)
- / CONS / INFLUENCE
OF MR C. (W)MR P. (T'ABLE)
+ TVEI
+ / RES / 'NOT MY I'
LEFT, 1987 (W)

HEADS OF YEAR:

1. SA
- / CYN /
(W)2. LR
+ / RES /
RISKS (Q)3. TP
+ / RES /
RISKS (W)4. TJ
+ / RES /
'NOT MY I' (Q)
(M) (X)5. NG
+ / ENT /
NON-ALT /
BEN-ME (Q)

DEPARTMENTS:

MATHS:
MK (HD): LUK / UN / AP. (P)
KM: - / CON (Q)
BJ: + / NO RES / DEVEL (W) (M)ENG:
CE (HD): + / RES / WORK
ALREADY. (W) (M)
CS: + / ENT / ALT / PUP. BEN
(I) (M) (W) (X)SCI:
HG (HD): - / POL (Q)
ER: - / HOS / STR. CON
(Q) HG: + / NO RES (W) (M)ART:
PM (HD): + / ENT / ALT (W) (I)
GG: + / ENT / ALT (W)
DC: + / ENT / ALT (W)
TP: ± / LUK / DEC / TIME (Q)CDT:
HP (HD): + / NO RES / DEVEL (P) (M)
WJ: ± / LUK / DEC / TIME (W)
RT: - / HOS / STR. CONS / (Q)
SL: + / NO RES / DEVEL (W)
HG: ± / LUK / DEC / ELSEW. (Q)
AA: - / PESS. (Q)GEOG.:
MJ (HD): + / NO RES / POL. (P) (X)
AC: - / DISILL. (Q)
LR: + / RES / RISKS (Q)
BA: ± / LUK / DEC / ELSEW. (W)HIST:
JE (HD): + / ENT / ALT /
SCH. BEN (P) (I) (M)
DL: ± / LUK / DEC / ELSEW (W)
AD: ± / LUK / UN / AP (Q)
PR: ± / LUK / UN / I9 (Q)COMMERCE:
AA (HD): + / NO RES. /
DEVEL. (W)
JJ: ± / LUK / DEC / ELSEW. (W)

KEY:

(HD) = HEAD OF DEPT.

+, ±, - = ATTITUDE TOWARDS PROJECT

ENT = ENTHUSIASTIC

LUK = LUKEWARM

HOS = HOSTILE

(see Categories of Staff Response)

SCHOOL PRE-MERGER

(Q) = QUARRYHILL (BOYS)

(W) = WOODGATE (GIRLS)

(P) = APPOINTED AT/AFTER MERGER

(I) = INNOVATION CHAMPION

(M) = MEMBER OF WORKING PARTY

(X) = INFLUENCED ADOPTION

FIG. 5.2 CONTINUED

DEPARTMENTS:

MOD. LANGS.:

WM (HD): -/CYN (W)
 LV: ±/LUK/UN/IG (W)
 DJ: +/NO RES/POL (W)
 GC: -/DISILL. (Q)

SOC. ED / FAM. CON.:

VH (HD): +/RES/WK. BEGUN (W) (X)
 KG: +/RES/WK. BEGUN (W) (M) (I) (X)
 PN: ±/LUK/DEC/ELSEW. (Q)

SPECIAL NDS.:

BM (HD): +/ENT/ALT/POP. BEN
 (W) (M) (I) (X)
 AG: ±/LUK/DEC/ELSEW. (Q)

P.E. (BOYS):

PM (HD): -/HOS/PRET. (Q)
 RS: -/DISILL. (Q)
 OA: +/ENT/NON-ALT/ME BEN. (Q)

P.E. (GIRLS):

NE: +/NO RES/DEVEL. (W)
 HJ: ±/LUK/UN/AP (W)
 PL: ±/LUK/UN/AP (W)

MUSIC:

BD (HD): ±/LUK/UN/IG (W)

MEDIA STUDS.:

R9 (HD): +/NO RES/POL. (Q) (M) (I)

The effects of the merger

Despite much planning, consultation, and the advice of an outside 'expert', the merger proved to be a traumatic experience. Even for those who kept their status, there were all the feelings of instability and insecurity which one associates with any loss of routine, practice, and tradition. The size of the new school was enough to cause problems. For although the roll was projected to fall (hence the merger in the first place) there were still large numbers at the top of the school (13 forms and 336 pupils in year 5). This created logistical and organisational problems, and a general atmosphere of disorder. The area covered by the new school was very large, and created difficulties of supervision. But in spite of its size, playgrounds were crowded, and corridors were sources of tension at breaks and lesson changeovers (more details of these tensions are given below).

The demographic changes which led to the merger affected the school in other ways. During this period, the grammar schools in the middle of town were gradually extending their catchment areas to maintain pupil numbers. This meant that both the schools before merger and the new school were increasingly 'creamed' in terms of ability. Changes in catchment areas and primary 'feeders' locally also shifted the balance of the intake, with larger numbers of black children and children from lower income groups coming into the school. At September, 1986 there were 250 pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds, out of a total roll of 1,502 (17%). A majority of these came from African-Caribbean families. The second largest group were from Asian sub-continent backgrounds.

External difficulties

To add to the problems of the new school, this was a period of instability in education generally. During 1985, preparations were being laid for the introduction of the GCSE exam, which would replace O level and the CSE. With its new approach (claiming to assess 'what pupils know and can do'), and the requirement for assessment by coursework in all subjects except for maths., the exam was calling upon the time and attention of teachers through an extensive programme of inservice training. But the model for this was the much criticised 'cascade approach', which was felt by many to be no more effective than the monitorial system introduced and abandoned in the 19th century. Moreover, the training took regular teachers away from their classes, and replaced them with supply teachers, at a time when stability was needed most.

More seriously, the year of the merger coincided with the height of the long standing dispute between teachers and the government concerning pay and conditions. Many teachers supported strike action, with the result that pupils were sent home for particular lessons. Because of the withdrawal of voluntary duties by staff at lunch time, supervision became increasingly difficult, until eventually the decision was made to close the school for lunch. In the afternoon some pupils returned: others did not.

As mentioned above, Parkview's third deputy, John Sears, was appointed from outside the school (and from out of area) during the first year of the merger. He has written about the effects of the action on the school, with the perspective of a newcomer to the situation:

Parents may have associated [children being sent home] with the merger and indeed it is probable that the merger made things worse. Staff cared less about the image of the new school than they had about the previous one and so attempts to make the new system work were not happy or mutually agreed. Other schools in the area also took action, but often in a more moderate way which gave the public the view of them as more caring. There is no doubt that the pupils felt uncared for. They resented the change and behaved badly as a result. Teachers did not know half the pupils and many took advantage of this. When their teachers walked out on them due to industrial action they took to walking out too. Many went home to lunch and did not come back, a position often backed by parents. Even the new first years were embittered; hardly a promising start. (Sears, 1990)

By the following year, when the course and therefore the project began, GCSE was about to start and the teacher action was over. But both pupil and staff disaffection continued. There was, in the words of John Sears, 'a partial breakdown of discipline within the school'. The roll began a steep decline which took the school from 1500 to 800 pupils within four years - a much steeper fall than can be accounted for by demographic factors alone. Clearly, the merger itself - helped by the effects of the teacher action - had damaged the school's reputation, to such an extent that parents were sending their children elsewhere.

Racial tensions

A further element in the equation was the growth of racial tensions in the school. In a series of interviews with pastoral staff, carried out as part of the process of evaluating the project

in February 1990, selected teachers were asked to describe these tensions before the project began in 1986/87 (for details, see section 8.2).

One teacher who was questioned could not recall *racial* tensions, but remembers that the school was 'not a happy place'. All the others were very aware of the tensions. The situation was described as 'very difficult', 'pretty tense', 'chaotic'. The school faced 'enormous problems' in its first year. Difficulties took the form of open challenges to teachers' authority: groups of black pupils gathering on corridors in a way which was felt to be 'threatening': and accusations of racism against staff. Certain areas of the school were difficult to supervise, and staff lost confidence in their ability to enforce discipline to such an extent that they would walk away from incidents of misbehaviour. There was general agreement that the focus of the difficulties was African-Caribbean pupils - 'aggressive, antagonistic, anti-authority'. The number of these pupils standing outside the Head Teacher's office, waiting to be disciplined, was out of proportion to their numbers in the school as a whole.

However, there was less agreement about the causes of these difficulties. At one extreme, there was a teacher who rejected responsibility for the problems entirely, arguing that the trouble was caused by 'problems from home being brought into school' by African-Caribbean pupils, who also played upon racial issues for their own reasons. At the other extreme, one stressed the racism of teachers as a key factor. Between these two positions,

most saw the difficulties as arising from a number of factors, with varying amounts of consideration given to the difficulties faced by the pupils.

Central to most of the explanations was the merger itself, which brought with it logistical and organisational problems, such as difficulties of supervision. The sheer size of the new institution was quoted by many as a major cause of stress, creating crowded playgrounds and corridors. Also, some staff had to teach pupils of the opposite sex for the first time in their careers; all staff had to learn the names of many new pupils (50% of any given group) at once. Pastoral staff found themselves having to deal with older pupils without the advantage of having 'grown up' with them, or without knowing how to handle them effectively. This alone meant that some incidents were mishandled, leading to avoidable confrontations and a heightening of tension. On top of all this came industrial action, reaching its height in 1985, which meant that pupils were sent off the premises at lunchtime, or sent home - because they were without teachers - at odd times of day.

But even if these factors contributed to the difficulties experienced by the new school, they do not explain why black pupils should have been affected more adversely than white pupils. One teacher pointed out that the most disaffected children - a group of African-Caribbean girls - had been transferred to the girls' school as the result of the closure of another school not long before the merger, and had consequently had 'a pretty rotten time'.

Staff who had been part of the girls' school made reference to an incident which took place before the merger, and which almost certainly contributed to the racial tensions in the situation. This had undermined the confidence of black parents in the school. They had then reacted by questioning and challenging the school's decisions: this in turn had undermined the teachers in their dealings with black pupils, making them feel 'tentative about speaking to African-Caribbean children'. Children were defensive, and this made teachers defensive also. From these accounts one has the sense of a vicious spiral of declining confidence and trust. There were also tensions created amongst the staff by the handling of the incident, and by the belief which subsequently developed that black pupils were treated more leniently than white.

By comparison, the boys' school was felt to be free from such conflict. Racism was not an issue in the staff room, and "there was not a 'them and us' situation with black boys". But when the schools merged, it became an issue immediately. There was clearly a perception on the part of the staff of the boys' school that 'the problem had come from the girls' school', and that the girls had a negative influence upon the boys: 'the boys took up the racist cause'. At this point the difference of philosophies between the schools described earlier came into play, no doubt contributing to the tensions and difficulties: 'Quarryhill staff saw it as a weakness to be conciliatory'.

The effect of this upon the teachers was pronounced. There was a loss of nerve, or confidence, in the dealings of pastoral staff with black pupils. They found their authority

challenged; and they were accused of racism. A teacher who had previously regarded himself as sensitive to this issue 'found it difficult to decide whether he was being racist or they were being naughty.' The result was a feeling of frustration, and of 'powerlessness'. One teacher said that he had felt 'overwhelmed'. Staff morale was said to have been very low.

Thus, there were racial tensions in the school before the project began. This was just one of many problems faced by the new school. But it became the focus of the other difficulties, and instead of being seen as a *symptom* of the problems - e.g. conflicting philosophies, the disruption of the merger, the logistical difficulties of the new site - it was regarded by some as a *cause* of them: 'People wanted to blame someone'. Black pupils were identified, causally, with the perceived decline of standards.

Parental perceptions of the new school

If prospective parents were put off by the school's declining reputation, the parents of pupils at the school - and in particular black parents - were also dissatisfied. The school had been the subject of criticism from the parents of African-Caribbean pupils, who felt that its curriculum did not reflect ethnic diversity, and that black pupils were being treated unfairly. Two incidents typified and reinforced this concern on the part of black parents.

The first took place in the girls' school (Woodgate) before the merger. A black girl accused one of her teachers of making a racist comment. The teacher denied the allegation. But the

lack of confidence was such that the teacher was not believed. The story reached the pages of the black community press, and the school was described as racist. The pupil involved was suspended, with the intention that she should move to another school. Her parents appealed against her suspension, and won the appeal. The school was forced by the LEA to accept the pupil back.

The second incident involved the same member of staff. During discussions concerning the writing of a new history syllabus for the merged school (in the year before the merger) a section 11 support teacher, who had asked to take part in the discussions, sent a copy of the draft syllabus without permission to a number of outside parties in the black community. His aim was to show that the new syllabus was Euro-centric and racist in its outlook. The result was that criticisms of the school were increased; the confidence of black parents declined further; and the section 11 teacher was accused of acting unprofessionally, and prevented from returning to the school. Relations with the African-Caribbean community reached low ebb.

After the question about racial tensions, staff were asked how parents viewed the newly merged school. Black parents had 'lost confidence in our ability to deal with things', and saw the school as 'racist'. According to one teacher, this could be seen in the decline in numbers of black pupils in the lower school: 'they voted with their feet'. Some felt that the school had been targeted, and the situation deliberately politicised by a particular group of black parents, who incited their children to challenge the school's authority.

White parents were 'not too happy' with the school either, but for different reasons - primarily the coincidence of the merger with industrial action. The fact that pupils were sent home was unconnected with the merger; but parents would not necessarily have seen it that way. In addition, some parents had felt that 'black pupils were not dealt with in the same way as white'. This resentment was believed by some staff to explain the spate of racist (National Front) daubings to which the school was subjected at the time. As a result of these difficulties, the reputation of the newly established school in the local community declined in comparison with the reputations of the two schools pre-merger. One teacher commented that pupils saw teachers as a threat; 'some still do'. There was a strong perception on the part of some African-Caribbean pupils that the school system was racist, and this would have been reinforced by incidents of racist comments from teachers.

The interviews underlined the importance of differences in ethos and philosophy in the make-up of the new school in 1986. There was, initially, a loss of direction. The ethos of the previous schools had been lost, but had not yet been replaced. There was a collective loss of confidence which affected even experienced staff in the new institution, deriving from the trauma of sudden and extensive change. The school was large, in terms of pupil numbers, staff size, and the geography of the site. The merger would have been an enormous logistical exercise at the best of times. On this occasion, the difficulties were magnified considerably by the coincidence of the teachers' action, the advent of GCSE, and accusations of racism levelled against the school by black parents' groups.

5.5 Conclusion

In 1986, the issue of curriculum reform for a multi-ethnic society was high on the political agenda. It had been put there, at least in part, by the Swann report, which validated the argument that multicultural education had to be delivered to all pupils if it was to lead to racial justice. Earlier, in Berkshire, a well-organised campaign by black groups had led to heightened political awareness in the debate on race and education. The thoughts of local politicians on the desirability and urgency of change were sharpened by a pragmatic fear of social breakdown in the wake of the inner city riots and the Scarman report. The result was a coherent education policy which was founded upon the principle of racial equality. This process had been facilitated by the support of effective and committed individuals. The policy in turn helped to fuel parental anxieties, and increase expectations of change.

Greater awareness of the failure of black children by the education system was reflected in criticisms of the newly created Parkview School, which became the subject of mounting pressure from the black community. It was also seen as a test case for the much-vaunted county policy (now in operation for three years), and the ability of the establishment to deliver on its promises. Within the school, staff were aware of the pressures from parents and pupils. They were also still struggling to come to terms with the effects of the merger. There had been a partial breakdown in discipline, and morale was very low.

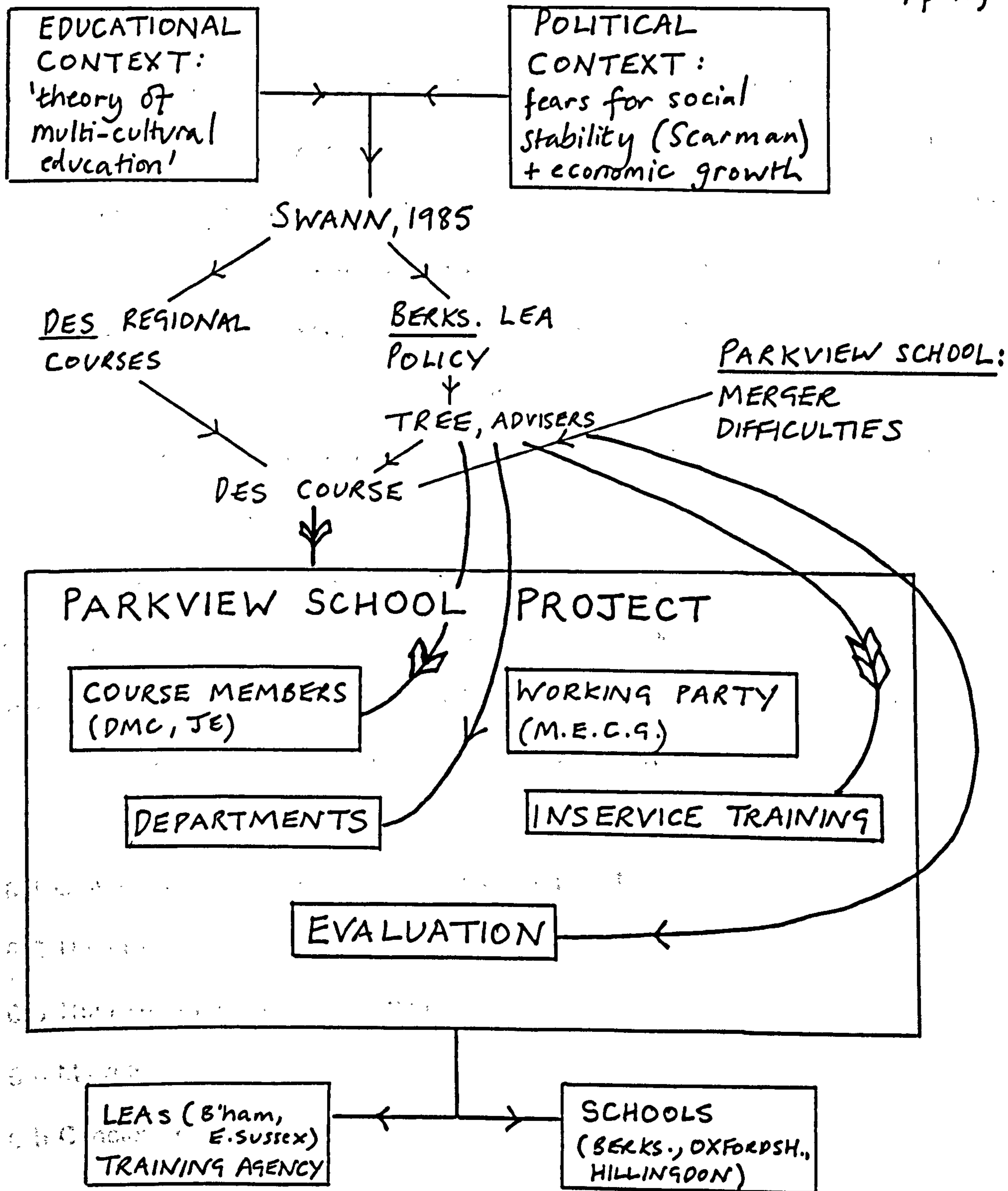
The DES course at Bulmershe College gave the school the opportunity to address one important aspect of its troubled situation. The course was well planned and well delivered.

It gave the participants a sound theoretical basis on which to proceed; examples of good practice; advice on the management of change; time to plan; and a structure for support (the context, as described in this chapter, is summarised diagrammatically in fig. 5.3.).

FIG. 5.3

CONTEXT CHART WITH ASSISTANCE FLOWS

(MILES + HUBERMAN, 1994, p.99)



KEY: DIRECTION OF ASSISTANCE

→ assistance received (advice, materials)

→ frequent assistance (advice, mats, physical support)

→ heavy, and financial assistance (funding)

CHAPTER SIX: ISSUES IN EVALUATION

In chapter one (section 1.4) I listed the main sources for this investigation, and warned that there were weaknesses in the methods used to record and evaluate the project. This chapter is intended to contextualise the detailed analysis of the project which follows by reviewing the main issues in the theory of evaluation. What methods are available to evaluate an initiative of this kind ? What are their strengths, and what are their limitations ? The discussion focuses particularly closely on the debate concerning the relative merits of qualitative and quantitative methods when employed for social science research. Finally, I consider the difficulties arising from the attempt to carry out research whilst at the same time participating in and contributing to the project under investigation. The experience of other researchers who have attempted this duality of roles is described, and compared with my own experience.

6.1 Quantitative and qualitative methods compared

6.2 The present study

6.3 The role of participant observer

6.4 My role

6.5 Conclusion

6.1 Quantitative and qualitative methods compared

People who write about methodology often forget that it is a matter of strategy, not of morals. (Homans, 1949)

Miles and Huberman (1994) quote Homans in the context of the debate among social scientists about different approaches to evaluation. The discussion has been particularly heated when comparing the merits of qualitative and quantitative methods. But both of these approaches have strengths and weaknesses.

Quantitative methods

Quantitative methods, as the term suggests, involve the collection of data which can be analysed statistically against standardised measures. In the natural sciences, they provide the methodological basis for all empirical research. The principal advantage of quantitative methods is that the information which results is objective. It is based upon observable phenomena, and can be verified by examination of the recorded facts, or by replication of the research under experimental conditions. Such methods can also be applied to the social sciences. Here, they might involve (for example) investigating one aspect of the way people behave, by observing large numbers of individuals, and trying to identify patterns in their responses to particular situations.

The weaknesses, or limitations, of quantitative approaches have been summarised by Bastiani and Tolley (n.d.):

1. The search for evidence to support the original hypothesis can lead the researcher to ignore important phenomena;
2. Quantitative methods do not always take account of human judgements and values;
3. The complexity of situations may be ignored in the search for cause and effect type explanations;
4. Quantitative studies often focus upon one narrow aspect of a phenomenon for investigation, resulting in conclusions which are not useful to decision makers;
5. The results of the research are often not accessible to people outside the research community, because of the technical language, and the complexity of techniques used.

Qualitative methods

In response to these limitations, alternative approaches to social science investigation have been developed which are concerned less with numerical analysis or measurement and more with simple observation and description. Emphasis is on the quality of the data, rather than the amount; consequently, they are referred to as 'qualitative methods'. Strauss and Corbin (1990) define qualitative research as

Any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification. (p.17)

The purpose of such research is to determine what things 'exist' rather than how many such things there are (Hedges, 1981, in Walker, 1985). In the process of updating their study of qualitative methods, Miles and Huberman (1994) perceived an 'explosion of interest' in this

field since the first edition of their book a decade before. Why ? What are the advantages of such approaches over quantitative methods ?

- 1 Miles and Huberman describe qualitative data as 'rich', and 'sexy'. The information collected using qualitative approaches is more easily accessible to those outside the research community than data collected quantitatively, since it is presented in prose rather than in banks of statistics.
- 2 Another feature making the information accessible is the fact that it is placed in context. This means that it can be readily recognised, and therefore seems more 'real' and convincing.
- 3 In the nature of qualitative data, they are generally collected over an extended period of time. This gives them greater depth than that achieved by a 'snapshot' approach to data collection (such as a survey), and makes it possible to investigate the reasons why things happen.
- 4 Qualitative methods are useful for developing and testing hypotheses, and as a way of supplementing quantitative data.
- 5 Strauss and Corbin (1990) point out that qualitative methods can give 'the intricate details of phenomena', which are not portrayed fully by quantitative methods, thus revealing the complexity of situations which involve human interaction (p.19). Part of that complexity is due to the fact that different people attach different meanings to their lives, and therefore can see the same phenomena in very different ways. Qualitative data are useful for 'locating' such differences, and making sense of them (Miles and Huberman, p.10).

By comparison, Walker (1985) argues, research derived from the positivistic (or scientific) tradition, because of its emphasis upon measurement and statistics, can be 'sterile and introspective'. He maintains that there are fundamental differences between the natural and social worlds, which make it impossible simply to transfer the techniques of scientific study to the study of people in society. Walker encapsulates this idea by borrowing a phrase from a well known advertising campaign:

Qualitative research reaches the parts that other techniques don't. (p.18)

After reading such praise, one might be tempted to think that the superiority of qualitative methods over quantitative was proven. In fact, qualitative methods also have significant limitations. These mirror, perhaps predictably, the strengths of quantitative methods. Miles and Huberman list them:

- the collection of qualitative data is labour intensive and time consuming;
- there can be problems of data overload, as processing qualitative data is more time consuming and difficult than processing quantitative information;
- the representativeness of evidence collected by sampling can be questioned;
- there are doubts about the generalizability of the findings, and therefore about their usefulness in other contexts.

But the main problem is establishing the credibility of the conclusions. This is because there are few guidelines in qualitative research to protect the investigator from bias, or self delusion. The picture which results may be more convincing, and accessible. But it is also more impressionistic, personal, interpretive - and subjective:

The most serious and central difficulty in the use of qualitative data is that the methods

of analysis are not well formulated... How can we be sure that an 'earthy', 'undeniable', 'serendipitous' finding is not, in fact, wrong ?

(Miles, 1979, p.591. In Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.2)

The development of improved methodology

This criticism, written in 1979, has to some extent been redressed by the development of guidelines, and more systematic techniques, designed to limit researcher bias. For example, in *Grounded Theory Method* (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), the initial collection of data is followed by a period of reflection. During this, categories are generated, which are identified by the use of codes. The allocation of codes speeds up the subsequent analysis, by starting the process of conceptual organisation and therefore of understanding. Then, there is further data collection, and further reflection. Early categories are simple, but as the story develops, they become more sophisticated and complex. The process of interweaving collection and theoretical reflection is intended to ensure that any theories which emerge from the data are fully 'grounded' in reality. The success of this approach depends, to some extent, on the possession of *'theoretical sensitivity'*:

The ability to recognise what is important in data and to give it meaning.

(Strauss and Corbin, p.46)

Such sensitivity is developed as a result of personal and professional experience, reading the technical literature, and actually doing the research. Bryman and Burgess (1994) emphasise the importance of *memo writing*, as a vehicle for the emergence of theory alongside data collection. They also believe that 'grounded theory method' is used less than is often

implied, and that what actually happens is less precise. For example, in the *Pattern Model*, there is no clear distinction between data collection (description) and data analysis (explanation):

The activity of describing the relation between one action and others in a context is equivalent to interpreting or explaining the meaning of that action. Describing its place and its relation to other parts is therefore to explain it. (Williams, 1976, in Bryman and Burgess, 1994, p.6)

Mason (1994) suggests asking three key questions about the information to develop an analysis based upon sound evidence:

1. What are the data about ? and what do they not tell me about ?
2. How well do the data tell me the information ? How far can claims be made on the basis of the data without pushing them too far ?
3. How can quantitative and qualitative data be most effectively integrated ? (p.99)

According to Bliss, Monk and Ogborn (1983), an answer to this last problem lies in the use of '*networks*': coded representations of the relationships between different categories of information shown in diagrammatic form. Judging by the examples offered, however, the use of networks might integrate different kinds of data, but at the cost of reduced accessibility.

By comparison, the discipline of displaying data in tabular form, using codes, is a simple means for establishing the credibility of conclusions based on qualitative methods without limiting accessibility. This makes it possible for the reader to consult sources, apply her own

judgement to the material, and arrive at different conclusions. Miles and Huberman (1994) encourage the use of data display, using matrices. They also recommend that the rules followed in data selection - which parts to leave in, and which to dispense with - should be stated explicitly, in a legend attached to the matrix. If data are missing, this too should be made completely clear (p.241).

Bastiani and Tolley (n.d.) advise the researcher to ask the following questions in order to ensure the credibility and consistency of the findings:

1. How subjective are my perceptions ?
2. How can I counteract my biases ? If I cannot, are my biases clear to the reader ?
3. Have the findings been cross checked across sources ?
4. Are the conclusions which I have drawn consistent with the evidence ?
5. Have I presented all the evidence available to me - even where it conflicts with my argument ?
6. Can the situation I have described be used to generalize about other situations ?

(p.44)

Commenting on the additional problems which arise during the process of research, Stern (1979) points out that an observer/investigator can himself have an impact upon the issue he is researching, the extent of which will depend on his status. For example, where he holds higher status than the subject, this can increase the subject's desire to make an impression. According to Pyke's (1969) 'on stage effect', the mere presence of an observer may increase apparent conformity of views. Alternatively, some subjects may try to make themselves look

bad, seeking to sabotage the research; or use 'demand characteristics' in their interaction with the researcher to do or say what they think most likely to please. Effects such as these, which are the result of the process of research itself, are called the 'artifacts' of research, and are in themselves additional (extraneous) variables which need to be controlled for. Other well documented phenomena arising out of the intervention of researchers include the Hawthorne Effect (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939 - see chapter three); the Personal Relationship Effect (Jourard, 1971); and Researcher Expectancy (Rosenthal, 1966).

Bastiani and Tolley describe the range of evaluative styles in linear terms, with an emphasis upon quantitative analysis of data and the objective measurement of effects at one end of the spectrum (the 'social/behavioural' approach); and a more subjective, impressionistic style, emphasising qualitative assessment, at the other ('illuminative /anthropological' approach). But they see these not as polar opposites, so much as ends of a continuum, along which there are many intermediate styles, or combinations of method.

Such combinations of method are perceived by Cohen and Manion (1985) as having additional advantages. In researching something as rich, complex, and open to interpretation as human behaviour, methods cannot be neutral. Reliance on one method, they believe, could lead to a distorted image of reality. The researcher

needs to be confident that the data generated are not simply artifacts of one specific method of collection. (p.269)

Just as a surveyor will look at the same geographical feature from several directions in order

to view it properly, the social scientist should use several methods of data collection to get a reliable picture. The metaphor gives this approach its name: *triangulation*.

6.2 The present study

The present study utilises both quantitative and qualitative methods in an attempt to evaluate the success of the curriculum project which is the subject of investigation. Aspects of the methodology were weak, because of the way in which the research was undertaken. As has been explained in the introduction, the study was not the result of an academic hypothesis, neatly planned and formulated, then put into action. Instead, it grew out of work already in progress in a school, being carried out by practising teachers. Observation and recording were undertaken as part of a process of evaluation, not for academic purposes, but in order to improve the project's chances of success. So, attempts at evaluation were developed as the need arose, and without reference to technical literature for advice on procedure. Advice was sought from, and given by, members of the TREE team, who had experience of evaluation; and this undoubtedly influenced our approach. But there was little awareness of distinctions between quantitative and qualitative methodology, or the relative merits of both. Instead, the guiding principles were common sense, accuracy, and honesty.

If the ad hoc way in which the approach to evaluation developed meant that the methodology was sometimes weak, the absence of an initial hypothesis may have had the unanticipated benefit that the research was undertaken without the burden of preconceptions:

Prior adoption of a theoretical vantage point can mean that some things are missed,

because they don't fit in with anticipated theory. (Bastiani and Tolley, n.d., p.9)

The use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches means that there is a capacity for methodological triangulation, as described above.

6.3 The role of participant observer

Questions of bias and credibility, so important for qualitative approaches, are critical to the present study, since I shared responsibility both for directing (participating) and evaluating (observing) the project. The task of the participant observer is to study people in their natural environment, while sharing in their activities (Walker, 1985, p.6). The researcher employs a range of methods, in addition to simple observation (such as surveys, interviews, and documents), to understand the context in which he is operating. According to Walker, participant observation is appropriate where the objectives are descriptive, explanatory, and action orientated.

Bailey (1978) sees the participant observer approach as being advantageous in several respects. It is better than surveys for collecting data on non-verbal behaviour; the researcher is able to record the behaviour as it happens - in context; because the investigation takes place over an extended period of time, this allows for a more natural relationship between researcher and subjects; and the method reduces the danger of bias which is inherent in surveys depending on verbal responses (in Cohen and Manion, 1985, p.124).

Yin (1994) identifies these additional advantages in the role of participant observer:

- it enhances the ability to perceive the subjective reality of someone who is on the inside of the situation being studied, instead of external to it;
- it creates opportunities to manipulate minor events, and thus widen the range of situations for data collection. (p.88)

There is, though, a price to be paid for such close involvement in the research situation. For example, colleagues might be more inhibited in interview with someone they know than with a stranger; and while familiarity with the institution might help in some respects, it could also mean that the significance of important features was missed (Bastiani and Tolley).

But the main drawback is that it is difficult for the researcher to maintain a neutral perspective. He or she is likely to become a supporter of the group being studied, and there will be a tendency to pay too much attention to participation, compared with observation (Yin, p.89). The resulting research can be 'subjective, biased, impressionistic, idiosyncratic, and lacking in precise quantifiable measures.' (Cohen and Manion, p.125)

Hargreaves (1967), in an appendix to his study of relationships in a secondary modern school, discussed the role of participant observer in some depth. He had begun his investigation by adopting the role of a teacher, and had found that this approach facilitated entry into the social situation. This made possible closer scrutiny of the group's norms, values, conflicts and pressures than he could have achieved as an external researcher. He also felt that his impact as an investigator on the situation was reduced. But he subsequently

realised that this close identification with the teaching body had a detrimental effect upon his capacity to enter the social situation of the pupils. So, he reduced his teaching load, and tried to identify more closely with the pupils, by behaving in a way which would have compromised his principles as a teacher (e.g. not reporting misdemeanours). Hargreaves acknowledged the loss of objectivity which his close involvement had necessitated:

To participate and observe involves to some extent shedding the researcher role, since participation means accepting in some degree a normal role within the social situation. But to accept such a role, whilst facilitating the process of absorption into the community, entails limitations on material obtained and bias in its interpretation.
(p.204)

Kelly (1985), describing a project in action research, expressed concern that teacher-researchers might find neutrality difficult to achieve, as they

typically consider a strong value commitment to their projects important. (p.140)

The implication is that professional researchers do not have strong value commitments to their projects. This notion (which sounds implausible to an amateur) is rejected by Stenhouse (1975). Arguing for the increased involvement of practising teachers in classroom research, he takes the view that external researchers are too concerned to develop their own investigations, and miss the fact that such research is about bettering classroom experience. The researcher should give to, as well as take from the school; and the participant observer is in a position to do this. Stenhouse is not overly concerned with the issue of objectivity, which he sees as unattainable; instead, there is a need for the teacher-researcher to develop a 'self-critical perspective'.

The answer to the problem is not to pretend that objectivity is possible - it is not, for participant observers, or indeed for external researchers ('In qualitative research, the notion of some kind of impersonal, machine-like investigator is recognised as a chimera.' Jones, 1985, p.48). Instead, the issue of bias should be openly acknowledged, and the data presented in such a way as to enable the reader to make his own judgement about the material.

The failure to make explicit the limitations and difficulties of participant-observation would be a failure to assess, however unquantitatively, the margin of error incurred by this method of social investigation. (Hargreaves, p.205)

6.4 My role

Following Gold's (1958) further classification, my role in the school project was that of participant as observer, rather than observer as participant (see Burgess, 1985, p.180ff). I was not an observer, like Hargreaves, coming into the school from the outside world, but

an unusually observant participant who deliberates inside the scene of action.

(Hynes, 1982. In: Jungck, 1996, p.172)

The exact weighting of the two roles in my case was always clear: I was a teacher, who also undertook (in an enthusiastic but relatively unplanned way) a measure of research. I was appointed to the post of head of history at Parkview school, as an outsider, in May 1986, and started work there in the autumn term. On my arrival, I was asked to attend the DES course, starting in October, which was the origin of the project. Dorothy Coleman (deputy head) and I worked together on this initiative from then until its conclusion. My involvement included

all aspects of planning, except for negotiation with senior management, governors, and outside agencies, which were carried out by Mrs Coleman. I therefore had a strong vested interest in the success of our efforts to introduce change.

As stated above, there was no intention, in 1986, of researching the project for academic purposes; the idea was proposed by the DES course tutors when the project was half way through. This fact seems to me to be important, in explaining our approach to the task of investigation. We were concerned to be honest with ourselves, in evaluating progress, as a realistic awareness of our position would enable us to improve our strategies in the management of change. We were also concerned to be honest with others, as an exaggerated assessment of the achievements of the project might have alienated those whose support we hoped to maintain, by making us appear complacent, dishonest, or cynical. My own training in historical method may have been a factor acting in favour of objectivity in the process of evaluation. The instruments used for the specific purpose of evaluation (the questionnaires, interviews, and surveys) were constructed with the intention of discovering accurately and honestly just how much progress had been made, or not made: and the analyses which resulted were carried out in this spirit. Where they were not effective or accurate, this was from lack of technical expertise rather than lack of neutrality.

One exception to this can be found in my comments on the 1987 staff attitudes questionnaire, in which I admitted that the selection of comments from staff (for the version published amongst colleagues), while it included a range of opinions, had been made to ensure that the

overall balance of opinion expressed was favourable. Although this example was exceptional in the evaluation exercises, it was more common in other aspects of the documentation. Most documents relating to the project were written with the conscious intention of emphasising the positive, and underplaying the negative.

To explain this point, I shall use an example from the sources for the study. During the first two years of the project, Mrs Coleman and I met every department in the school at least once, with a view to generating initiatives. I kept detailed minutes of the meetings. The purpose of these was to record decisions made, but also to stimulate debate, and raise awareness in a general way; to this end, they were published. Knowing that they would be published, with the specific intention of increasing support for our work, affected the tone of these minutes. For while they could, and should, represent a variety of positions in the debate, we felt that they had to be optimistic in order to encourage a positive attitude towards the project. More importantly, they should not include comments or analysis which might leave individuals exposed to criticism, or emphasise (and possibly polarise) differences between staff. Consequently, they emphasised supportive responses, and they underplayed negative responses.

In this sense, the documentary record needs to be read in context, as it is consciously selective. But then, the same could be said of the whole approach of the project. For the aim of the project team was to change the curriculum, in a situation in which there was opposition to change from colleagues. We therefore consistently tried to be optimistic,

looking for examples of change, or support, to show that the project was working. When we found examples, we acknowledged and publicised them, in the hope that this would encourage further initiatives. In other words, the cultivation of a positive, constructive frame of mind towards the project was itself one of the strategies which we employed in the management of change.

Now, as I write this account, I am still aware of the influence of this positive frame of mind. I am anxious not to devalue the efforts of many colleagues, who gave time and energy consistently for three years in spite of the many other pressures upon them, to put the project into practice. But for the same reason, I have a strong desire to know whether all the effort was worthwhile; and this consideration will, I hope, have acted as a counterbalance to my bias in interpreting documents and events retrospectively. Because I arrived in 1986 from another school in a different part of the country, I had the feeling that I was, relatively speaking, an outsider. This enabled me to observe events in the school apart from the project at a distance - at least, at first. But as time passed, my involvement with and commitment to the school grew; with this, a sympathetic understanding, and indeed, loyalty. These are all liable to have influenced the investigation.

A further, related issue is the assessment of my own influence upon events. Discussing the personal and social skills needed by the researcher, Nisbet and Watt (n.d.) ask:

Could you analyse how you have been affected by a situation - or have affected it ?

(p.20)

It is tempting, for the purpose of this study, to hide behind the third person, and pretend that I was only a spectator in the events which are described. But such a claim, dubious even for the external, professional researcher, would be completely misleading here. Hence the use in the study, where appropriate, of the first person.

Considering my role from the point of view of colleagues, it is very likely that their perceptions of my motives in supporting the project influenced their responses to it, as portrayed in the evaluations. For example, there were some staff in the school - as in every school - who had been there for a long time, and found themselves unable to make career progress. It may have been (although I have no specific evidence for this, except for generalised references in the responses to the attitudes questionnaires) that I was seen as using the project to advance my own career chances: the 'stepping stone' mentality. Such an attitude may have limited the willingness of (some) staff to lend support to this effort.

6.5 Conclusion

Those who were directly involved with the instigation of the project definitely held (in Kelly's words) a 'strong value commitment' to the cause which it represented. Our aim was to change the curriculum, but it was far from being seen solely as an academic exercise. The issue of racial equality, which provided the theoretical underpinning for the project, is a cause which has ethical and political dimensions, and is certainly not 'value free'. The investigation and evaluation of the project came about as a secondary effect of the attempt to change the curriculum, and research aims were subordinate to practical concerns.

Consequently, there was a deliberate emphasis, in documents which were produced for a wider audience, on positive developments, as a strategy for encouraging further change.

Having admitted that such a bias did exist, I would also maintain that the project leaders did try to develop a 'self-critical awareness', for the purpose of evaluation, and that this can be seen in exercises constructed specifically for evaluation purposes. Indeed, it is possible that the desire to appear objective and uncontroversial in evaluating the effects of the project may, in fact, have acted as a constraint upon accuracy, in leading to an understatement of the project's effects (a view shared by Mrs Coleman - personal communication, 22/8/91). If this is the case, then it is further evidence of the 'margin of error' (Hargreaves) which must be allowed for in this method of investigation.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE PROJECT AND THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

Previous chapters have described the context of this educational initiative, with a gradually narrowing focus. Having first considered curriculum theories which gave rise to the idea of multicultural education, we reviewed theoretical models of change. Then, the social and political context was described; finally, the immediate context of change - the school and its situation. In this chapter, I will describe with an even closer perspective how the project itself was conceived and developed. What were the aims ? What strategies were employed to achieve these aims ? The intention of this chapter is to expose the mechanics of the change process to close scrutiny and therefore evaluation.

7.1 Why was the project undertaken ?

7.2 What was the main aim of the project ?

7.3 Planning phase: preparatory year, 1986-87

7.4 Instrument of change: meetings with departments

7.5 Instrument of change: team building

7.6 Instrument of change : the role of inservice training

7.7 External support agents

7.8 Conclusion

7.1 Why was the project undertaken ?

The political context of the debate, the developments within Berkshire, and the pressures for change on the school, have been described above (see chapter five). These explain the school's participation in the DES course. I have argued that the course itself was of paramount importance in explaining why a project was begun. In addition to external political pressures, there were also compelling educational reasons to attempt to reform the curriculum in 1986, which had been made apparent by the course.

An analysis of the school's public examination results carried out the previous year had suggested that many black pupils were underachieving compared with their white counterparts, mirroring both county and national statistics. According to Rampton (1981), and then Swann (1985), the reasons for this lay within the education system as well as outside it, in such mechanisms as low expectations from teachers with stereotyped or racist views of the abilities of black pupils. For professional reasons, and also from a sense of natural justice, we wished to ensure that all our pupils were being given the same opportunity to succeed, regardless of their colour or culture.

We also felt that there was a need to look at the curriculum, and our attitudes as teachers, to ensure that we were not perpetuating racist attitudes or myths amongst white pupils. For it is arguably amongst white pupils that the real barriers to equal opportunity can be found; these are the employers, workmates, colleagues of the future. Only when racism has been eradicated amongst white people will black people be able to participate fully in society. As

teachers, we could not eradicate racism completely, but we could do our best to limit its impact on future generations, whilst giving black pupils a learning environment free from abuse.

Moreover, we believed that we had a responsibility to prepare all our pupils for life in a multi-ethnic society. Racist attitudes, and stereotyped views may cause pain, and restrict access to opportunities for black people; they are also a distortion of the truth. We believed from the beginning, and continue to believe, that multicultural education is equivalent to good educational practice for all pupils.

According to Dorothy Coleman, Deputy Head of Parkview and project leader, one factor was the dynamic situation of the new school, which created an opportunity for curriculum change, and a need for an initiative to draw the staffs of the newly merged school together. When the county policy was formulated in 1983, she had set up a working party in Woodgate to formulate a school response and consider implementation. Reports written in July 1985 by several departments (home economics; R.E.; art; special needs; and family concern) showed that there were curriculum changes in these subjects, especially at the level of resources, as a result of the initiative; and that there was awareness of the issues amongst particular teachers. But these efforts lacked external support, and with the advent of the merger and industrial action, they had been suspended.

When therefore, in 1985 Leslie Stephen (then County Adviser for multicultural education) invited Mrs Coleman to take part in the DES regional course at Bulmershe planned for the following year, she responded positively, seeing this as a chance to continue the work begun in Woodgate. The instability inherent in the situation - the merger and industrial action, which might yet continue - cautioned against further change; could the school cope ? Substitute the word dynamic for unstable, and the same situation could be interpreted as providing an opportunity for innovation:

In these early days of a new school, syllabuses and resources were being evaluated and modified and thus the time was ripe for the issue of racial equality to be studied and built into our curricular planning. (Coleman, 1990)

It had been already been decided to undertake a curriculum review, and this was planned for the following year. Mrs Coleman foresaw a further potential advantage for the school:

A project for Parkview School could be a unifying force for the two staffs of the parent schools.

All of these factors were present in the school's decision to undertake a long term project in curriculum reform. Were they all of equal importance ? In my view, the origin of the project must be attributed to the DES course, which had made a willingness to undertake a curriculum initiative a precondition of participation. Therefore, the project can be seen as the result of the decision, by the county adviser, to invite the school to take part on the course. As already discussed, it is likely that the reason for this had more to do with political pressures outside the school than the school's existing track record. Any other justifications for the project came, in my opinion, 'post facto' - as it developed. But they may help to

explain how Mrs Coleman 'sold' the idea of a project within the school in the crucial early stages, and why it was accepted.

There were, then, political, educational, and managerial considerations in the decision to participate in the DES course, and therefore to undertake a curriculum development project in Parkview school in 1986.

7.2 What was the main aim of the project ?

Fullan (1982) identified three components, or dimensions, in the process of curriculum change:

1. the use of new/revised materials;
2. new teaching approaches;
3. the alteration of beliefs.

The published aim of the project was concerned with the first two of these: to develop a multi-ethnic curriculum in years 1-3 (in National Curriculum terminology, years 7-9), and if possible, throughout the school. In this way the school could try to ensure that it was offering equality of opportunity for all its pupils, and address some of the concerns of black parents.

Our unpublished intention was to focus upon the alteration of beliefs as the first and essential stage in the process of change. As I said above, we anticipated opposition to our project from certain quarters. Moreover, we were aware of the dangers of introducing new materials or

topics into the curriculum through teachers who neither understood nor had sympathy with them. Conversely, if we could influence attitudes positively, curriculum change would be more likely to take place, and to continue beyond the end of any initiative. Our assumption, based upon the evidence of Rampton and Swann, was that without a change in staff attitudes towards ethnic diversity we would not be able to achieve long term change at an institutional level. This remained the underlying principle of the project throughout.

In our objectives this was presented in terms of 'convincing staff of the need for change' (obj.ii), and 'raising awareness' (obj.ix). To have revealed to colleagues our intention to change their attitudes could have appeared patronising, or manipulative, or both. Instead, the public emphasis of our project was upon such issues as materials, curriculum and environment. These issues stand outside the realm of personal beliefs and values, and were seen as a way of approaching attitude change indirectly. Indeed, as Fullan points out, the provision of new materials, and changes in curriculum content can help the process of influencing attitudes. In our case, the changes made in the school's curriculum - content and materials - made it possible to measure the progress of the project in a way which was tangible and accessible, both to outsiders, and to colleagues. By comparison, the measurement of attitude change was always going to be more problematic.

The decision to focus upon changing staff attitudes affected the way we saw the project developing over time. We very quickly concluded that such a complex and long term aim could not even be approached as a short term goal (see the comments of Marris on the

phenomenology of change in chapter three). We decided that the project should be designed to last for three years - one being too short to achieve significant progress: five being too long in a period of intense educational change.

Aims and objectives

In November, 1986, Mrs Coleman and I (the members of the DES course for Parkview) discussed the idea of several limited initiatives to meet the course requirement. These included changing the history syllabus (the main reason why I was on the course, as head of history), and setting up a staff resources library. We also felt that a review of curriculum materials would be feasible, without being too threatening or demanding. On 5th December, we were given a presentation on the management of change which drew attention to 4 principles of change as described by Jane David. Amongst these was the following:

Effective schools are characterised by a school-wide focus. (David, 1982)

After much further discussion, and with David's dictum in mind, we decided that we would adopt a whole school approach, and would look at as many areas of activity as possible. In line with the stated focus of the course, our emphasis would be on changing the curriculum in lower school (with pupils aged 11-14). The aims of the project as stated in January 1987 were:

To ensure that all pupils are given an equality of educational opportunity by the school:

To promote understanding of the principles and practices of racial equality and justice;

and, by so doing, help to eradicate racism inside the school and also in the community outside it:

To develop a curriculum which all pupils can feel that they 'own' and which reflects and values the ethnically diverse character of our society.

(Parkview School Project: Report, June 1987)

These general aims were supported by a detailed set of objectives:

- i To identify and remove any practices, procedures and customs which discriminate against ethnic minority people, and to replace them with procedures which are fair to all - in accordance with the Berkshire Policy Statement:*
- ii To convince staff of the need for change, and to create a climate of consensus on the issues involved:*
- iii To take account of the particular character and situation of the school in our overall approach, e.g. the fact that the school was newly created in September 1985 by the merger of two schools:*
- iv To present the issue of change for ethnic diversity as an opportunity for improving the quality of our curriculum, rather than as a burden or a threat:*
- v To provide staff with the materials, ideas, and other supports (INSET?) to make change both possible and attractive:*
- vi To begin an evaluation of the formal curriculum, working within individual departments:*
- vii To start a process of evaluating materials used within the school, in the light of the course:*
- viii To look at the general environment of the school, and ensure that it adequately reflects the ethnic diversity of our pupils:*

ix To acknowledge that different departments and individuals are at different stages of development: the need to build on this. Also, to present the question of change in terms of process rather than PRODUCT. The raising of awareness is a long-term aim.

This document was written in December, 1986, at Bulmershe college, as one of the course activities. The discipline of identifying and articulating our aims was essential, in clarifying our thinking about what we wished to achieve. We wanted the project to be based upon clear idealistic and educational principles. The document went on to outline our plans for implementing the objectives, listing possible strategies (such as the use of inservice training).

But while sitting in the library of the college, we had begun to anticipate the reactions of our colleagues at school, as tutors and speakers had advised us to do. Our perception was that there would be resistance to any initiative concerning multicultural education, especially one so far reaching; moreover, we felt that it was important to present the idea in a way which would gain support, rather than increasing opposition. Consequently, we chose our words with great care.

For example, the language we used was intended deliberately to echo the wording of the county policy (aim 2, and objective 1), and also to emphasise the professional rather than the moral or personal reasons for change (aims 1 and 3; obj.iv). Reference to the county policy was intended to add legitimacy to the proposals. We did not wish to make people feel threatened or alienated, even before we had begun; so, we referred to the need for consensus

(obj. ii), made it clear that we would take the school's situation into account in our plans (obj.3), and acknowledged the work which had already been done in particular departments (obj.ix).

An understanding of the chronological development of the project can be gained from the project timeline, which places all key initiatives, meetings, inservice training events, and key decisions in the order in which they occurred (see appendix). For this account I will extract what I consider to have been the main developments of the three years, and will describe them out of chronological sequence, in order to highlight particular instruments employed in the management of change. The exception to this approach will be the account of the year before the formal project began (1986-87).

7.3 Planning phase: preparatory year, 1986-87

The first block of the DES course ended in October, 1986. We were made aware then that we would be required to undertake a curriculum initiative and report on its progress by the end of the course in June. As stated above, we anticipated staff resistance to change on this issue. This led us to the conclusion that much of our effort would need to be geared towards changing attitudes if real, long-term curriculum development were to take place. But it would not be possible to achieve such change in a short time. Moreover, we were very aware of the instability of the school's situation, one year on from a traumatic merger, just starting GCSE, and in the shadow of a damaging industrial dispute which had weakened traditions of extra-curricular activity and co-operation.

For these reasons, we were wary of attempting too much at once, and decided to start the project slowly and carefully. A basic element of this strategy was to give our colleagues as much warning of impending change as possible. In this way, we felt it more likely to be accepted. Shortly after we had identified our aims and objectives, we decided on a timescale of three years, starting in September of the following academic year.

From an early stage of our planning it was our intention to withhold the principal initiatives of our project until the academic year 1987/88, and to use the period of the course for preparing the ground and planning middle term strategies.

(Project Report, June 1987, part I)

The first, essential step in preparing the ground was to consult the head teacher, senior staff, and governors, about our plans. We then targeted the heads of subjects, on the grounds that they were in the best position to start the process of change. Our aim was to gain their support for - or at least acquiescence in - the project. In February, 1987, we asked for and were given two heads of departments meetings solely for this purpose.

On February 2nd, we made a formal presentation to about 25 colleagues. A copy of the project description (aims and objectives), along with an account of the first 5 day block of the DES course, had been circulated in advance of the meeting. We handed out additional materials, including a glossary of terms (Further Education Unit), an article by David Hicks ('Some tasks for teachers in a multi-cultural society'), evidence of racism amongst pupils (collected by Ian Massey of Frogmore school, Hampshire), and a challenging article by Salman Rushdie ('The new empire within Britain'). Because there were so many papers, we

provided them in folders, labelled with each person's name. Two ideas were emphasised in the presentation:

- Firstly, that this is a professional rather than political issue. To this end, much of our argument was concerned with the images given by materials. The head of geography illustrated the point by showing us materials currently being used in many schools, which gave negative or even offensive images of black people.
- Secondly, we stressed that racism can operate without white people being aware of it - that it can be wholly unintentional, and yet still be racist in effect. To illustrate this we looked at case studies of institutional racism, and highlighted this extract from Rampton:

A well-intentioned and apparently sympathetic person may, as a result of his education, experiences, or environment, have negative, patronising or stereotyped views about ethnic minority groups which may subconsciously affect his attitude and behaviour towards members of these groups. (Rampton Report, 1981)

Then, we asked five colleagues, whom we had approached beforehand, to describe work they had already done on this issue. This was a strategy intended to show that the idea of multi-ethnic teaching was not just a fad of the two people who had been spending so much time out of school recently, but was supported by others. Our closing comments emphasised that we would be realistic in our timescale, planning most initiatives for the following year; and that we saw the project as a long term process, rather than a short term goal.

There was no time for discussion at this meeting, and this was probably to our advantage.

We asked for written comments or advice about the proposed project, and promised that

these would be addressed in our next meeting. The result was that although colleagues expressed their concerns, they did so in a way which was probably more positive than if they had expressed them during a tense meeting at the end of the school day. Moreover, they gave us a clearer picture of the range of levels of awareness amongst our colleagues, and of the sort of objections we were likely to meet in future.

Before the next meeting on 17th March, we collated the written responses, under three headings: concerns, suggestions, and future plans. Our purpose was to demonstrate that we would take account of people's fears in as open a way as possible, and would not try to ignore them. We also wanted to show that a majority of those responding - not necessarily the most vocal, or influential - were in favour of our proposal. By listing the suggestions which had been made, regardless of whether we considered them good suggestions, we hoped to make the discussion positive during the meeting, and start the process of drawing allies to the cause. To this end, we weighted the discussion in favour of suggestions, listing 8 concerns, and 14 suggestions.

The comments were summarised briefly under headings on OHP acetates. Colleagues had been asked before the meeting if they would elaborate the point they had made. We tried to include as wide a range of people and subject areas as possible in the process, to extend the feeling of involvement. In the case of concerns, we did not try to answer all of them ourselves, but asked colleagues whom we knew to be supportive (again, approached in advance) to answer the point for us.

Wherever possible, we agreed to amend the project, either to answer concerns, or to implement suggestions. For example, a recurrent theme was what Chris Gaine has called 'the doctrine of the unripe time':

1987/88 is a bad time - first year of GCSE exams with all its inherent extra work required of staff. We must be careful that we do not try to do too much too soon on a number of issues. Far better to delay this.

(Responses of the heads of departments to the project - March 1987)

During the meeting, we acknowledged this concern, and said that we would put many of our plans back. As can be seen from this description, these first two meetings were highly structured and carefully planned. I have described them in detail, as they were of considerable importance in establishing the credibility of the project. The evidence available to us afterwards suggested that on the whole we achieved this aim. The written responses were largely positive (to such an extent that we reproduced them, and circulated them through senior and middle management to stimulate debate), and included the following comments:

'Useful and thought provoking'

'Well presented and informative'

'The meeting was most valuable and the materials comprehensive and stimulating'

'The meeting really achieved its objectives as I saw them'

On 18th March, we spoke to the head teacher about our future plans. She said that we had already achieved something, as 'we had started the process of discussion, and managed to do so without creating much opposition.' She expressed surprise about this, saying that before

the course she would have predicted a different response. In field notes for that day, I recorded her comments, and also my own observations:

The overriding tone in the discussion is a positive one, and exchanges in the staff room (at least, in my presence) have been interested and enthusiastic.

(Field notes, 18th March 1987)

Three days after the second meeting, I asked a colleague what she had thought of it. She told me that it was 'the best heads of departments meeting she had been to', because it was the first one, in her experience, at which there had been genuine discussion. Also, when people are asked to write things usually, they get handed in and are never read or heard about again. This time the responses to the previous meeting had obviously been read and taken notice of.

(Field notes, 20th March 1987)

Voluntary discussion groups

So far, we had only put the issue to heads of department. To widen our approach, we planned two after-school voluntary meetings, 'at which members of staff will be given the chance to express their views, and make a contribution to the work which is going to be undertaken, at the planning stage.' (Note sent to all staff, Feb.1987) For these meetings, we used a similar presentation to the one we had used with heads of departments, followed by an open discussion. Both were well attended, attracting 15 and 17 staff respectively. But both were not equally successful in gaining a positive response to our plans.

The first meeting did not go well, and provoked several classic responses, such as 'Education can't change the world', 'I treat them all the same', 'Just another bandwagon'. In terms of dynamics, we felt that the meeting had gone strongly against us, and been dominated by negative voices. In an evaluation which I wrote the same day, I concluded that

There is a great deal of work to be done, in raising the consciousness of ordinary members of staff (assuming they were typical) before substantial change can be effected in the curriculum - at classroom level. (Discussion group evaluation, 18/2/87)

For the next meeting, we changed our approach. The materials were used more effectively, and the discussion was structured more closely. The response of this second group was quite different from the first, being far more positive. In my notes written the following day, I explained the difference partly by the simple fact that the people who attended this second meeting were different, but also by our improved preparation for the meeting.

Lower school history syllabus

A key part of my role in being sent on the course was to reform the history syllabus, which had been criticised as ethnocentric before my arrival (Sep. 1986). I was aware of this background, and wished to respond to the criticism. But I did not want to change the syllabus in a superficial way - by the addition of token 'multi-cultural' topics; nor did I want to come in, as an outsider, and impose a new syllabus upon the department unilaterally, without any shared understanding of or commitment to it.

It soon transpired that members of the department already felt strongly the need to change the syllabus, although it had only been adopted in 1985. This was not because of its ethnocentricity, but because it was massively overloaded in content. However, this concern provided a starting point for change and the discussion of a multicultural syllabus.

We started the process of change as a department in November 1986, by going back to first principles, and discussing what we wanted to achieve through the teaching of this subject. The accident of a burst boiler in lower school due to particularly cold weather (Jan.1987) enabled us to go through this stage more thoroughly than we could have hoped, for pupils in years 1 to 3 were sent home until the boiler was repaired. We read various documents, and spent many hours discussing our aims. By February, we had produced a new set of aims and objectives for the department. These were not perfect; but they were better than before, and had built into them a clearer commitment to multi-ethnic principles. More importantly, they were the end result of a real process of discussion and debate which had been an enjoyable experience, and which would inform our thinking from now on.

By March we had discussed and agreed a new syllabus for lower school, which we felt would support our aims and objectives. It is an indication of the sensitivity of this subject in the debate surrounding the school at the time that the humanities adviser, Laurie Taylor, became involved with the detailed planning of the syllabus (wishing, no doubt, to help us avoid further criticism), and that the new scheme had to be presented to governors before the ink had dried (April 1987). Once the syllabus had been vetted, we began the process of

resourcing the modules in detail, through a series of weekly meetings. We were greatly helped in this by a member of the TREE team, Shamira Dharamshi, whose academic training was in history, and who was able to advise on materials. We decided to implement all three years of the new syllabus simultaneously, and this was done from the following September (1987).

Open meetings

Having decided to start our project formally from the next academic year, we were concerned not to allow the benefits of our positive start to be lost. So we planned a series of open meetings for the summer term, which would raise awareness, and keep the issue alive in the school until the project began. The first two were led by Shamira Dharamshi and Viv Edwards, and were on the subject of language awareness. The third was led by colleagues in school - both of whom would later play a large part in the project - on stereotyping. The final session, led by Pauline Lyseight-Jones (TREE), addressed ethnic diversity and pastoral care. The format of these sessions was a presentation followed by workshop activities; as before, they took place after school. All four meetings were characterised by high attendance, with between 20 and 30 people at each one. They did much to raise awareness and sustain the momentum for change in these early stages.

Project account

For our presentation to the other DES course members in the evaluation phase in June, we were asked to produce documentation relating to our projects which would facilitate the

sharing of ideas and successful strategies. Our response was to put our materials together into a booklet. It included a timeline, details of work done in art and history, and our proposals for inservice the following year. We also commissioned a group of teachers to comment upon our efforts thus far. From these, we were able to draw some tentative conclusions about what we felt we had achieved between January and June. The booklet was then given to the course members, our tutors, the head teacher, advisers, and the Director of Education. Because of its evaluative element, we did not make it widely available to staff. There were several benefits accruing from this compilation:

- 1) It gave us an incentive and a format to monitor our efforts. A similar approach was used at the end of each subsequent year of the project.
- 2) As a consequence of this first attempt at evaluation, we felt able to claim and provide evidence for developments in the school, some of which otherwise would have remained pure conjecture, or possibly not been identified at all.
- 3) To have in front of us evidence that we had made progress was a motivating factor, and increased our confidence. It suggested that change was going to be possible, in spite of the constraints.
- 4) The booklet, which was detailed and properly presented, showed interested parties outside the school that we were going to take this issue seriously, and approach it in a methodical way. As it also included evidence of resistance in the school and insensitivity, it showed that we would attempt to be honest in our claims about the project's achievements.

On 26th June, the senior LEA adviser wrote to the head, thanking her for the report:

It obviously represents a considerable amount of time and effort on the part of your staff but is also very realistic about the depth, complexity and range of work to be done. However, it is heartening that the very big issues raised are taken so seriously by so many people, and I look forward to observing progress in the future.

It is possible that the booklet may have influenced perceptions about the project and the school in the advisory service, with implications for funding and support.

In the project booklet, we could point to a number of tangible signs of progress by the end of the first year. These included the creation of a staff resources library; re-stocking of the special needs library; completion of a languages survey; a new history syllabus; multi-ethnic workshops in art; voluntary discussion meetings; standard letters in several Asian languages. An major inservice training proposal for a two day conference had been submitted to the county and accepted in principle. Our most important claims were less tangible, but supported by the evidence of comments from colleagues. They were that

- *the issue of ethnic diversity is firmly on the school's agenda*
- *the school is ready to accept change*
- *there is a level of awareness which did not exist in the school when the project began.*

(Project Report, June 1987: introduction)

7.4 Instrument of change: meetings with departments

During the first two years of the project, two members of the working party met every

department or subject area in the school, in a formal meeting. The aim was to generate curriculum initiatives in the teaching of subjects which would help in the development of a multi-ethnic curriculum. We also hoped to use the opportunity provided to discuss the issues as they related to particular subjects, and thus raise general awareness.

In the year 1987/88, there were meetings with nine departments, roughly one per month of the school year. When drawing up the schedule, we started with departments which we had reason to think would be amenable to change. These were met before the two day inservice conference (February, 1988), which we hoped would raise levels of awareness. After the conference, we scheduled subjects which we thought would be less open, or else would find change problematic. The following year, we completed the schedule, with a total of eleven meetings.

Records

A detailed record was made of these meetings, with much more than just a summary of the answers to the questions or of the decisions made. As the aim was partly to contribute towards the long-term goal of raising awareness, I tried in minutes to include the main points of discussion, both for and against, thus showing that we were prepared to listen to objections, and take them seriously. Wherever possible, I attributed the comments made to individuals, in order to foster positive feelings about the project in a general way. People like to see their contributions acknowledged, and their ideas valued.

However, it would not be honest to describe the minutes as a straightforward, verbatim account of what was said. For in writing them, our aim was to encourage positive debate, and gain support for the project. This did not mean that objections were censored, but that when recorded they were presented in a positive way. In other words, the tone of the meeting was always recorded as positive, even if it had not felt positive. Remarks which showed such a serious lack of awareness that they could be considered offensive (there were only a few of these) were not recorded.

The minutes were circulated to all who had attended the meeting, and also the head teacher, as soon as possible. A copy was placed on the MCEG noticeboard in the staff room. At the end of each of the two years, they were collated into a booklet, published under the title 'Parkview school project: work in progress'. At the front of this was a summary of all the initiatives undertaken (or promised) from all the meetings. A copy was given to senior management, heads of department, and outsiders with an interest in our project. Like the booklet which we produced at the end of the preparatory year ('Parkview school project' June, 1987), it served to demonstrate that work was continuing, and also, to the careful reader, the complexity of attitudes towards this issue. At the end of the first year of such meetings, we asked the departments we had met to render an account of their progress since (June, 1988). The aim of this was to find out whether the promises of initiatives had been kept, and to remind heads of department of our interest.

Results

It would be difficult to generalise about the results of these meetings. They were time consuming, and added to a busy calendar. But no-one openly challenged the need for them. The venues were chosen by the head of department, and were therefore in the usual place for meetings of the department. This, together with the fact that the members of the working party were usually outnumbered by members of the department, gave them a different feel from open meetings after school, or inservice training days. Some were very positive. In the minutes of the meeting with the geography department, for example, I wrote:

It was felt to have been a very fruitful and worthwhile session, as the discussion had touched upon several crucial questions relating to multi-cultural education (such as development). The comments made showed both an awareness of the issues, and a healthy measure of self-doubt. (October 2nd, 1987)

This is an example of a department where we asked for one initiative, and were given four, three of which were subsequently put into practice. By comparison, the meeting with the English department (Oct.15th 1987) was not as productive as we might have expected. Here, the problem was that members of this department felt that they already brought considerations of this kind to bear in their work, and had done so for some time. Consequently, there was resistance to and some resentment of the suggestion that a new initiative should be undertaken. This position changed over time, as members of the department became more involved with the project.

The history department had already begun the process of change the previous year (see above), and so the meeting was a way of confirming and acknowledging progress. With a number of departments (including art, textiles, family concern, home economics, media studies) their commitment was made clear, and discussion focussed on how best to proceed, and what support the school could provide. In the cases of maths., science, and P.E., we expected the meetings to be more difficult, and they proved to be so. We did not expect, and did not get, wholehearted support for the project from these areas. Instead, the meetings were seen as an opportunity for open discussion, with the idea of subject initiatives as a possible added bonus rather than an expected outcome.

Mathematics

The maths. department felt, to summarise their position, that their subject is essentially value-free, and therefore stands apart from questions of bias. To teach about the history of mathematics, with its roots in the east, would not be feasible in an already crowded syllabus. Underlying these arguments was a failure to be convinced about the validity of the whole idea of a multicultural curriculum, which had become apparent during the conference in February (1988). The head of department did undertake an initiative as a result of the meeting. It was limited in extent, but showed that despite reservations, the department acknowledged our concerns. The initiative did not result in long-term change (see evaluation of work in departments).

Science

The science department meeting was tense in atmosphere, and did not produce positive results. The hidden agenda was a general resistance to change, symbolised by the head of department, Mr G, who had been senior teacher in the boys' school, and had lost status as a consequence of the merger. As with maths., the main argument was one of relevance to the subject. To paraphrase, science is culturally neutral, since it is primarily concerned with the physical world, rather than people. A revision of the first year syllabus to include multicultural elements was promised, but change did not take place until the appointment of a new head of department from outside the school the following year, when the existing head was restored to senior teacher status.

Physical Education (PE)

When considering work in the PE department, a distinction should be made between the male and female sections of the department. The person with overall responsibility - i.e. head of PE - was a male, and in theory he represented the views and policy of the whole department. In practice, the women operated independently. Girls were taught separately from boys, and learnt different sports. The reactions of the two parts to the project were different. The women's section of the department accepted the issue, and undertook initiatives such as using multi-ethnic music in dance lessons, and bringing a black dance troupe into school to perform to pupils.

But the meeting in question was dominated by the men, and in particular, by the head of department, Mr M, whose style of leadership was autocratic. He, like the head of science, was a senior teacher in the boys' school before the merger, and lost status (but not salary) after the changeover. In addition, he had seen a decline in the participation of pupils (and staff) in inter-school competition, thus weakening his other source of status in the school. As explained above (section 5.4), he was identified closely with the ethos of the boys' school, sustained as a dissenting force by the senior deputy head.

Consequently, discussion reflected the head of department's concerns, about the position of PE in the curriculum, as much as the issue of racial equality. The underlying grievance surfaced only towards the end; it was that black pupils are more badly behaved than white, as they refused to accept being disciplined, and were allowed by the school to 'get away with it'. This view was expressed in an intemperate and even offensive way. Some positive suggestions were made by other members of the department who were, at this time, growing in awareness of the issue. But no specific initiative resulted from the meeting, and could not, without the support of the head of department.

Craft Design Technology (CDT)

As with science, maths., and PE, we did not expect a positive response from the CDT department, due to our knowledge of the people involved. For although the head of department was prepared to introduce change (as a member of the project working party), our perception was that this would not be supported by his colleagues. One member of the

department in particular had voiced strong concern about the project in its early stages, and had been moved to write to a national newspaper to express his objections. In practice the meeting was more positive than we had expected, and also showed a greater degree of awareness. The discussion was more about the practical difficulties of implementing an initiative in the subject than about the justification for one. For these reasons, we felt that progress had been made, even though no specific initiative resulted.

The value of meetings with departments

A few departments in the school, which were strongly in favour of the project, would have undertaken changes whether we had met them together or not. Others would have failed to change the curriculum with or without the meetings. For most departments, though, the meeting gave them an occasion to think clearly about the issue of racial equality, in relation to their subject, and an incentive to start the process of change. Most of these would have felt generally well-disposed towards the issue before the meeting began. But in a time of educational change, and with other issues to be addressed, initiatives would probably not have been undertaken without such a structure.

Whether any of these discussions changed the attitudes of particular individuals would be difficult to say, but seems unlikely. The principal advantage, in my view, was that the meetings increased the opportunities for discussion; and with people on their 'home ground', there was probably a more frank expression of views than would have been possible under different circumstances. Unlike the open meetings after school, they reached all members of

staff, not just those who were already converted to the cause. From the point of view of the project, they provided an opportunity to listen to colleagues' fears, show that we understood them, and if possible, allay them. In the long term, I believe that this sort of process - although difficult to quantify - was very important in enabling the school to accept the necessity for change.

One question which should be asked about the departmental approach is whether it leads inevitably to a simplification of the analysis, whereby one department is characterised as being 'positive', and another as 'negative'. Clearly, in a department consisting of seven people, like the maths. department, there will not be a single attitude towards an issue as complex and personal as this one. Yet I have described the meeting in terms of a departmental reaction. This may be due to mental laziness on my part; or a failure to understand the subtle differences between individual positions.

Another possible explanation would have reference to group dynamics, to explain our perception that some of our meetings were positive, while others were definitely not. To return to the example of the maths. department, this would take into account the fact that the maths. teachers were based in a particular teaching area, and shared a faculty room close by. The result was that they tended not to use the staff room at break times and other occasions. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that this sort of arrangement would create a group identity, or indeed a group attitude, which would then define (or at least influence) the group's response. The members of the maths. department had probably discussed the

questions we would ask in the meeting before the meeting took place, enabling them to adopt a particular stance in relation to the issue of ethnic diversity.

Finally, this could be evidence to support the conclusions of Kelly et al (1987 - see above) that the attitudes of teachers towards change were related to age, gender, graduate status, and teaching subject. Her finding, that the most traditional teachers were in craft, followed by maths. and science, mirrored closely our own experience. Seen in this way, the idea that seven individuals should respond negatively does not seem implausible - or prejudiced.

7.5 Instrument of change: team building

An essential stage in the management of change was the creation of a team of committed individuals, who were willing to support the work of the project, and influence staff opinion towards it. During the preparatory year, Mrs Coleman and I directed the project together, without much help from colleagues. In May, 1987, we proposed the setting up of a working party for the following year. We saw the purpose of such a group as being

1 To involve other members of staff in the project, and use their skills in furthering its long term aims

2 To build on existing interest and knowledge of issues within the school

3 To ensure that changes within the school curriculum reach all major departments

4 To ensure that a momentum towards change is built up within the school, and does not depend upon the enthusiasm or efforts of individuals.

(Working Party proposal, May 16th 1987)

The paper also listed some possible objectives for such a group, such as preparation for inset, production of a school handbook, and the collation of resources. Longer term goals were to include the writing of a school policy, and planning strategies for change.

We decided that the group should meet fortnightly, 'in order to develop momentum and a sense of the urgency of change'. This was an unusual arrangement at the time; other groups met monthly. A working party on profiling (records of achievement) had been established in January, 1987. Also, a curriculum review was in progress. We were anxious not to clash with these initiatives, either in terms of timing, or personnel.

Membership

Mrs Coleman's experience of setting up a working party on this issue in the girls' school had led her to the view that if the group was to be an effective instrument, it must not be self-selecting, but must be chosen carefully - to represent key curriculum areas, and to ensure that it included colleagues with the ability, commitment, and status to manage change. Consequently membership of the group was initially by invitation. On group size, we felt that if it were too large, it would become unwieldy for the purposes of discussion and decision making. On the other hand, if it were too small, its impact upon a range of curriculum areas would be restricted, and its members would have more of a burden to carry between them. We arrived at a figure of 10, and this proved to be a workable group size.

The working party was chaired by the deputy head, Mrs Coleman. I drew up the agenda for meetings. The group (which met for the first time in July 1987) included the head of special needs; second in the English department; coordinator for CDT; head of fifth year (history); deputy head of fifth year (careers, social ed., family concern); and three main professional grade (MPG) teachers (maths., science, P.E.). John Sears (deputy head curriculum) came to meetings when he was able to, and the head teacher came to several also.

For the first year, membership of the group remained closed to volunteers. In September, 1988, it was decided by the working party to open membership to all staff, and several new people joined us on a regular basis. Other members of staff came to meetings when commitments allowed. By summer, 1989, the three MPG ('main professional grade') teachers had moved to other schools. This gave us an incentive to approach new members. The recently appointed third deputy (Mr R) joined us, along with the heads of English and media studies, and two MPG teachers (history and modern languages). But a core of individuals from the first year remained throughout the project and helped to maintain the ethos of the original group.

In order to avoid possible confusion with another working party in the school, and because the term 'working party' seemed rather worn, we called ourselves the 'Multi-Ethnic Curriculum Group' (MECG). This title was chosen because it included in it a reference to the curriculum, an emphasis we felt to be important; it avoided using the terms

'multicultural' and 'anti-racist', and therefore side-stepped the debate surrounding the merits of these approaches; and it was easy on the ear, especially in the short form.

The original venue for our meetings was the special needs department. This was chosen because it was near Mrs Coleman's office, and it was the base of one of the group members, with much experience and commitment in this field - Mrs Baker (head of special needs). But there may have been other, unconscious reasons for the choice. It was here that some Asian children were given help with language. Also - and this is more speculative - it was isolated from much of the rest of the school. My opinion is that the group needed this isolation to begin with, in order to establish its identity, and grow in self-confidence. We were able in our project report (June 1987) to claim that the school was ready to accept change; but we also knew of many members of staff, some of them influential, who were not ready. This was still a very sensitive issue.

There is little evidence to support this speculation, other than comments recorded in the minutes of our early meetings, which reflect our collective apprehension, and a desire to maintain a low profile. For example, during our first meeting (July 16th), I suggested that we should have a notice board in the staff room, which could be used to keep colleagues informed on the development of the project. Another group member 'expressed the fear that such an open forum might give rise to negative remarks.' (MECG minutes, July 16th 1987). If the analysis is correct, it makes our decision to change to a more central (and visible) meeting place in September 1988 appear significant.

First phase

The first phase of the group's work was concerned with developing a common identity, and a shared understanding of what we hoped to achieve. To this end, we produced a booklet of short articles, mostly relating to the management of change for ethnic diversity, to be read by group members: and we watched several videos together to raise awareness. Much of our discussion at this stage was about potential difficulties. How could we involve parents or members of the black community in our work ? How could we monitor and evaluate our progress as a group ? The recurrence of such questions at our early meetings suggests a lack of confidence.

In July, 1987, Mrs Coleman and I produced a list of objectives for the working party for three years. These were a mixture of short term, long term, easily achieved, and more difficult targets. The group discussed these in some detail, and amended them. This then became the basis upon which we proceeded. In practice, the plan was changed over time, with new objectives being added, and others being dropped. What mattered at this stage was that we should have a sense of direction.

An objective which was quickly identified and responded to by the group was the need to reflect ethnic diversity in the school environment. During discussion of this we also decided that the appearance of the school was poor in other respects as well, and in need of improvement. In November, 1987, we made several recommendations to the head teacher to remedy the situation. Areas of the school were subsequently improved and made available

for display; and a rota organised for departments to display work at the two entrances to the school.

One member of the group, Mrs G, was concerned from the beginning that all pupils, regardless of their dietary requirements, should be able to obtain a proper meal in the school canteen at lunch time. With another group member, she investigated what was available, drew up suggestions about what needed to be changed, and then negotiated improved provision with the canteen supervisor (July 1988).

Handbook of ethnic diversity

In March, 1988, a sub-group was created, to produce a handbook for staff on ethnic diversity. We had come across a similar idea during the DES course (at Cranford community school in Hounslow), and felt that it could be used to make staff more informed about the cultural backgrounds of pupils. Under the direction of Mrs Coleman, the group included members of MECG, but also others who were approached to make specific contributions.

This group then worked steadily for a number of months. The booklet included sections on South Asian and Caribbean languages; the advantages of bilingualism; Asian naming conventions; basic information about the major world religions; food rules in different cultures; and brief details about the geography of South Asia and the Caribbean. The booklet was word processed by the business studies department, with the help of 6th form RSA students.

In January, 1989, the handbook was given to all staff for reference purposes. It was in subsequent years issued to new members of staff, and was seen as a basic resource for information about the pupils. One of its side effects was the direct involvement in the project of several colleagues who were not members of the working party. The initiative increased their understanding of and sympathy with the project, and they subsequently became supporters.

Periodically, the working party produced a sheet of information for the whole staff, describing the group's activities or concerns, and also future plans. It was decided from early on that we should use coloured paper for our documentation, to make it 'stand out' from other materials circulated in the staff room, and the colour green became our trade mark. In May, 1988, we acquired a noticeboard in a prominent position in the staff room; in February, 1989, a logo symbolising our commitment to racial equality (drawn for us by the head of the art department).

Second phase : developing group identity

Earlier, I described our lack of confidence as a group in the opening stages of the project. By the end of the first year, this had changed. At our 17th meeting, on 12th July 1988, we discussed the past year:

Some felt that we have done a lot of talking, and raising of awareness; but that we cannot show much that is tangible for our efforts. The majority disagreed, indicating various initiatives which have taken place. The most significant comment made

referred to the development of the group itself. It was felt that we had grown considerably over the year, in terms of confidence and awareness.

(Project diary, 12th July, 1988)

Originally, we had agreed to meet fortnightly after school, in order to get the project started, and prepare inset. At the same meeting in July, we discussed how often we should meet during the coming year. There was 'no hesitation' in agreeing a fortnightly basis (project diary). Group coherence was apparent also in preparations for inset, which became a key function of the working party during each of the three years. This was a particularly heavy task in the first year, when our conference lasted for two days, and took place away from school. Typically, the group divided tasks such as responsibility for catering, transport arrangements, pre-conference reading, conference materials, so that the burden was spread wide. By the end of the project the group had developed considerable expertise in making such organisational arrangements.

The importance of the working party

All meetings of this, and other working parties, took place either after school or, occasionally, during lunch hour. Attendance was therefore purely voluntary. The MECG was characterised by consistently high levels of attendance. In the first year (1987/88) the average attendance was 91% (out of 17 meetings). In the second year (1988/89), when membership of the group was made open, and some staff came only to occasional meetings, the average fell, but remained good (76% for 18 meetings). In the third year (1989/90), the

membership stabilised, with fewer people coming, but on a more regular basis (81% for 16 meetings) (MECG minutes, 1987-90).

The MECG acted during the project as a stable base for the development of work on the curriculum. As well as achieving the objectives described above, such as organising inservice training, making recommendations about environment and catering, and planning special events, it provided a focal point for discussion and debate in the school, and a force to influence staffroom opinion. The perception of members of the working party was that it was successful, and functioned well as a group. One member felt that the MECG had worked as a morale and confidence booster:

There's a solid core of people who go to MECG meetings for a shot in the arm. We are prepared to take on members of staff, take on things, reject things, which we were unable to before.

(Interviews with pastoral staff, February, 1990)

At the end of our inset conference in April, 1990, John Sears, deputy head, summed up the day's discussions. During this, he commented that the MECG, 'more than any other group he had come across before' (he had taught previously in three schools), had been an 'unusually committed' group of people (field notes, April 23rd 1990). He made this observation as a relative outsider to the group, but with an awareness of its achievements.

The perception of other 'outsiders' within the school was not so positive. In March, one colleague commented during a meeting of MECG that we were regarded by outsiders as an

'exclusive' group:

We don't make it easy for others to join. People are invited on - not welcomed.

(Field notes, March 6th, 1990)

This view was shared by a member of the pastoral staff in lower school, who felt that the group was 'elitist':

The working party needed also to be made up of those who were antagonistic, racist with differing views... Those involved were all very positive about multi-racial issues and therefore did not represent a 'real' picture of the situation.

(Interviews with pastoral staff, February 1990)

While this view of the working party is critical, in a sense it supports the feeling of its members that the group was internally coherent - for it is possibly this coherence which made it seem exclusive, and difficult to break into, from the point of view of one outside it. In fact, many new members joined the group without invitation, over the last two years, which implies that the perception was based upon the first year, when the group was closed. If this had the negative effect of making some potential supporters feel excluded, it had the positive effect of creating a strong sense of group identity within the working party. This will have been one of the factors in developing the high level of commitment in the first year which continued throughout the project.

Another possible factor was the decision to meet fortnightly, as it enabled us to move through stages quickly, and to develop a feeling of progress, and growing awareness. Social gatherings were a feature of our way of working, which may have contributed towards group

identity. There may well have been an element of good fortune in the fact that the people asked to join the group originally were able, for reasons of personality, to work effectively together; such a factor, though crucially important, could not be planned for.

In this context, the criticism quoted above, that the working party was made up of teachers who were all positive about multi-racial issues, is worthy of comment. In the group assembled in July, 1987, there were eight people in addition to the DES course members. Of these, three were chosen because of their known commitment to racial equality. The others were chosen to represent particular curriculum areas which we wished to influence during the project. Amongst them, at least three had little or no special knowledge of or commitment to this issue. They subsequently developed a commitment as a result of our work together. The idea that this voluntary group - created in order to plan and execute change towards a multicultural curriculum - should have included colleagues who were either antagonistic or openly racist, seems unrealistic.

Finally, the particular issue which we were working towards - racial equality in education - itself may have been a factor in the process of gaining commitment in the working party. For it is idealistic, and was perceived to be directly relevant to the school at that time. This may explain why it attracted, and sustained, a high level of commitment.

7.6 Instrument of change: the role of inservice training

The use of inservice training ('inset') was a key element in our strategy for raising staff awareness during the project. When we set out our aims and objectives in January, 1987, we also gave some thought to how we would carry out our plans. Under the heading, 'Implementation', we wrote:

Objective ii) "To convince staff of the need for change..." A three pronged approach will be used - INSET - CONSULTATION - INITIATIVES.

Inset: we will ask for 2 days, 1987-88, to be allocated for the purpose of the course (subject to the head's agreement). (Project aims and objectives, Jan.1987)

This idea then grew into our first inservice conference on ethnic diversity, in year one of the project. In years two and three we had two more conferences. Between these, we organised meetings after school. In this section, I will describe firstly the three conferences, and then the voluntary meetings.

The first inservice training conference: February 1988

Our project was developing at a time when there were many other demands on the school's time. In March, 1987, we made a formal request to the head teacher, requesting inservice time to support the project. The request began with a theoretical justification;

- i All curriculum development needs to be given time if it is to be successful. Teachers need to be given the opportunity, within a structured situation, to consider questions*

such as the value of change, and means for enacting change: otherwise, change will be seen as a burden.

- ii Opportunities for reflection and planning of strategies are essential if staff are to feel involved with the intended changes, and therefore liable to commit themselves.*
- iii Meetings, such as the staff meeting of 17.12.86, and HODs meeting 2.2.87 have highlighted fair amount of interest amongst staff on the question of multicultural education. Our open discussion of 18.2.87 suggested that although there is interest, there is also a serious lack of awareness and sensitivity.*
- iv It is evident that initiatives have been going on in the schools pre-merger in such departments as home economics, English, family concern, art, special needs, where individuals have started the process of changing the curriculum. I would suggest that there is now a need to draw such initiatives together, and widen their influence to other areas. The work will be much more effective if it is reinforced elsewhere, and should in fact be built into the ethos of the whole school. 'Effective schools are characterised by a school-wide focus' (Jane David, 1982). (Inset proposal, March 2nd 1987)*

Having staked our claim to some time during the following academic year, we then developed the idea of a two day conference ('Proposals for inset 1987/88'). Our experience of the DES course informed our thinking about how we should introduce the project to our colleagues in school. During the first five day block, we had been exposed to the issue of ethnic diversity through a series of talks, which put it into a clear historical and political context, and justified our interest on sound educational principles. These talks were given by

excellent speakers, and supported by structured workshop activities. This process had a considerable impact upon the course members.

What we hoped to do was to come as close as possible to providing a similar experience for our colleagues. Obviously, we would not be able to go as far, in such depth, as had been achieved with a small group in five full days; but we would be able to provide a basic introduction, and in so doing, open and inform the debate. This, we hoped, would lay the foundations for subsequent development:

The importance of inset, for laying the foundations of change in the school at the level of attitudes, cannot be underestimated: the better our speakers and the more carefully it is planned, the more likely it is that our project will be successful.

(Inset proposal, April 30th 1987)

Our suggestion was to divide the two days into four sessions, addressed by four speakers. The first two would look at racism in a broad context, and introduce staff to terminology. The second would focus upon the curriculum. The final paragraph proposed that we consider holding the conference at a place away from school:

One of the most serious and worrying limitations in our project at the present time must be the failure of staff to develop a sense of perspective on the issue: they are too deeply immersed in the business of discipline. Psychologically, it might help to give them that distance needed to consider the issue sympathetically and professionally if we were to meet in a totally separate environment.

We took these suggestions to the county adviser for multicultural education, Leslie Stephen.

With his help, and the advice of Madhu Anjali (Assistant Education Officer) and Mike Kenyon (the school's liaison adviser), we submitted a detailed bid for funding under GRIST (Grant Related Inservice Training) for a two day conference at a training centre, with four keynote speakers, and a conference dinner at the end of the first day. The bid was successful, and we received a large proportion of the county's GRIST budget for that year.

This was to be our first attempt to address the sensitive issue of racial equality through inservice training. We could not predict whether it would help the project, or backfire on us, increasing division in a troubled school. The objectives which we drew up for the conference reflected our apprehension, and the desire to reassure colleagues:

OBJECTIVES:

- 1. To provide factual information for staff on all aspects of education for racial equality.*
- 2. To give colleagues time to discuss and debate the issues as fully as possible.*
- 3. To carry out this debate in a relaxed and open atmosphere, which is at all times professional and free from personal antagonism.*
- 4. To ensure that confidentiality is respected.*
- 5. To present the issue of education for racial equality as an opportunity for us to improve the curriculum of Parkview school, for ALL our pupils.*
- 6. To further our own professional expertise and awareness as educators.*

(Conference report)

As in the earliest meetings of the project, we referred to the county policy to legitimate what

we were doing, and emphasised the professional rather than personal or political dimension. We wanted to encourage open debate, in order to bring objections to the surface; to this end, we promised confidentiality. Objective 5 was a theme which we tried to assert from the start - that multicultural education is not about helping black pupils, but about good education for all. An unspoken hope was that the conference would help to bring the staff of the new school closer together professionally, by creating a socially integrating experience. The conference dinner would be important in this.

In order to prepare staff for the conference, we produced a booklet of 'pre-conference reading', which included short articles on racism in the army and in school, extracts from Rampton and 'Better Schools', and figures showing underachievement by black pupils in Berkshire. A schedule was published the week before, with detailed information about the conference centre, and a complete list of workshop groupings. The other important elements of preparation were an attitude questionnaire (December 1987), and a meeting for conference facilitators, to go through materials and explain the workshop tasks (February 16th). The questionnaire was intended to stimulate discussion, and to identify more closely the issues which we wanted speakers to address (see section 8.1).

The conference was opened by the Director of Education at the time, Peter Edwards. This was significant, as it symbolised the county's support for the conference. Also, Mr Edwards had been instrumental in the development of the county policy on racial equality, adopted in 1983. He had recently made known his intention to retire, and this was perceived by some as

being connected with political manoeuvrings at County Council level to undermine the policy. On 19th February, the second day of the conference, this issue made the front page of several national newspapers. There was a very widespread response in support of the policy, followed by a political climb down.

The first keynote lecture was delivered by Professor John Eggleston (Warwick University), who gave an 'overview' of the debate on racial equality. The second speaker was Dr Avtar Brah (London University), on the educational aspect. The following day we were addressed by Mohammed Naguib (Birmingham advisory service) on the hidden curriculum; and in the afternoon, by Gillian Klein (ILEA), who spoke on resources and materials. The conference was closed by Madhu Anjali, Assistant Education Officer with responsibility for multicultural education.

All workshop groups were cross-curricular, except for the final one, which was based on departments. In theory, the groups were organised strictly alphabetically: in reality, they were carefully planned to ensure that a range of opinions was represented in each. The workshops were led by 'facilitators' - two per group - drawn from the working party, and county advisory agencies, particularly the TREE team, and LINCS (the Language and Inter Cultural Support service). Activities included defining terms; dealing with racist incidents; designing a racist school; writing a plan of action. At the end of each day there was a plenary session, in which John Sears (deputy head) summarised the day's proceedings. In the evening of Thursday, 18th, there was a conference dinner for any member of staff who

wished to stay. Before the dinner there were voluntary workshops, with a variety of activities in support of the conference.

The impact of the first conference

Some time before the conference we commissioned Pauline Lyseight-Jones to carry out an evaluation exercise. Although she was an outsider (from her position as a member of the TREE team, she had recently moved to the inspectorate of a London borough), she also knew the school and was familiar with the project - in her own words, 'a critical friend'. Her method involved the use of the attitude questionnaire issued to all staff in December; and interviews with six teachers, before and then after the conference. The evaluation which resulted was published as an appendix to the conference report.

In her summary, Lyseight-Jones concluded that there were weaknesses in the conference, in terms of the allocation of time for discussion, preparation of facilitators, and aspects of the talks given by keynote speakers. But in general, the conference was felt to have been a success:

The organisation of the conference served as an able framework for delivery of team-building as well as relevant subject content.

According to the evaluation, the conference had succeeded in its aim of influencing the attitudes of staff:

All informants felt themselves to be part of the initiative and some felt that this was now a general staff view. Expectations of the conference had been many and ranged

from a related awareness of issues to personal growth to informed choosing of resources to team building. To a large extent expectations were satisfied; in two cases, the sceptical found the conference more than fulfilling expectations. (Lyseight-Jones, August 1988)

In a note written shortly after to myself and Mrs Coleman, the head of art expressed her view that the conference was the best thing that had happened since she had come to the school, and picked up on the choice of venue:

Thank you both for the conference - it gave us a marvellous environment in which to think and I thoroughly enjoyed the experience. Can we have one every term please ?

(Field notes, March 1988)

These findings were confirmed by the results of the second attitudes questionnaire (1990). Asked to express their opinions on the strong points of the project as a whole, the two day conference emerged as the most highly rated achievement of all (see section 8.1). One reason for this was the quality of the speakers who addressed the conference. Another was the decision to use a conference centre away from school. This enabled staff, as anticipated, to move away from personal concerns and to look at the issues more professionally, or impersonally. But also the simple fact of being in attractive surroundings, and of being treated well, must have impacted upon people's perceptions. The conference meal on the evening of the first day was seen as a way of relaxing tension. It was also, incredibly, one of the first times that the staff from the merged schools had been given an opportunity to meet socially.

The second inservice training conference: February 1989

The perceived success of the first conference gave us the confidence to request further training time for the following year. But we would have to make do with one day, rather than two, and there would be much less funding available to us. At the start of our discussions, we considered the idea of widening our focus, from race alone, to include the issue of gender; and the provisional theme for the day was 'Equal opportunity'. However, we took advice on this, and were counselled against an approach linking the two issues so closely. By November, we had decided in the working party (MECG) to give some time to departments for subject development; and the rest to discussing a school policy for racial equality.

Originally, in our three year plan (October, 1987), we had identified the writing of a whole school policy on equality of opportunity as a target for the third, rather than second, year. This was because we had made a conscious decision that a policy, if it were to be owned by staff, needed to grow out of existing practice and awareness, rather than be imposed by senior management over their heads. But by November, 1988, it was our perception that there was a growing demand for a policy coming from staff. We decided to try to write a draft policy statement during the inset day itself, which would involve contributions from all staff present in some form or other. This could then be revised afterwards.

The pre-conference reading consisted of three articles: Gus John, on the importance of a school policy; an article on the pain caused by racist name calling; and an essay by an Asian

pupil describing her experiences at Parkview school. On 7th of February we held an open meeting, at which we showed 'The Eye of the storm' to a group of about 30 people. This was followed immediately by a meeting for conference facilitators, to explain tasks and go through materials. As in the previous year, colleagues were given an outline schedule, information about subsistence, workshop groupings, and a description of the aims of the conference in advance.

Our base for the lectures was the upper school library, with workshops in the classrooms below. Displays were mounted during the conference, to increase discussion, and we invited a bookseller to put on an exhibition of materials relating to multicultural education.

There was now a new Chief Education Officer (Stanley Goodchild), who had been appointed following the retirement of Peter Edwards as Director of Education. He agreed to open the conference, as his predecessor had done a year before, thus sustaining the high profile of the project in the eyes of staff. This was Mr Goodchild's first such engagement in the county after his appointment. Our keynote speaker was Carlton Duncan. As a head teacher in Birmingham, he was known for his writings on the pastoral curriculum. The fact that he was a practising and successful teacher was significant, as we felt this would give his views greater credibility amongst those staff who remained ambivalent, or saw the issue as a bandwagon for careerists. Also, he had taken his own colleagues through the process of developing a policy, and could give practical advice. His brief was to describe the value of a school policy for racial equality; he did this, and also reasserted some of the more basic

issues at the same time.

Once again, we employed the structure of using two facilitators for each discussion group of ten. The difference now was that these came largely from within the school - either members of the working party, or other supporters (only two facilitators out of 22 were from the support services). For the morning session, groups were cross-curricular; in the afternoon, departmental. In the first workshop, each group was given an individual brief, to write one section of a policy statement. To help, they were asked to consult policies written by other schools (such as Carlton Duncan's school).

For the second workshop, briefs were provided for departments, based upon the returns from the exercise in January. Heads of department were asked to provide a report of the progress made. While subject teachers were doing this, the senior management team were drawing together the results of the morning session into a draft policy statement. By the plenary session at the end of the day, John Sears was able to reproduce a complete - if unpolished - version on OHP.

The impact of the second conference

We did not employ the services of an outsider for evaluation this time, but conducted the exercise within the school, on two fronts. The third deputy, Mr R (who had arrived at the school in January), interviewed seven members of staff. I issued a questionnaire to elicit the views of facilitators. We then put the results of the two evaluations together, and they were

published as an appendix to the conference report. Our conclusion:

The reaction of both the facilitators and the interviewed staff to the day was overall positive. Specifically, people felt that this was the right stage to write a draft policy. It was unanimously agreed that Carlton Duncan was an excellent choice of speaker for the conference and that his talk was relevant to our work. The day was felt to be generally well organised, but there were specific criticisms, in that there was not enough time to discuss basic policy issues in the first workshop and staff would have liked the opportunity to question Carlton Duncan after his speech. The time spent in departmental workshops was seen as valuable. (March 1989)

The draft statement which resulted from the day was then worked on in a series of meetings of the MECG, with the following considerations in mind:

- 1. The policy as a whole should cover all important aspects of school life.*
- 2. In its underlying principles, and where possible its implementation, it should seek to complement, or amplify, the existing general school policy and practice.*
- 3. The policy should be coherent, fluent, easy to understand, as short as possible, and mercifully free from jargon. (Edwards, March 1989)*

The draft policy had two dimensions: issue, and response. We now decided to add a third - action - to make the implementation of the policy clearer. The second draft was completed by April 18th, and was then accepted by senior management. What the policy now needed was to be written in coherent style. Mr J, head of 5th year (year 11) and member of the working party, and I undertook the task and produced the third draft in July. This was given to all staff, with a request for comments; alterations were made in the light of these, and by

the end of the academic year (July 1989) the policy was complete, and ready for inclusion in the staff handbook (see appendix).

The third inservice training conference: April 1990

In the three year plan which we had written at the start of the project, we had proposed the idea of a whole school self-inspection, in the final year of the project, 'to review the curriculum in school, in general terms, but with particular focus on the issue of ethnic diversity.' (Three year plan, July 1987)

This idea grew out of the principle, established by the DES course, that successful multicultural/anti-racist approaches should permeate the entire curriculum, rather than being treated as an adjunct to it. An exercise in self inspection could be beneficial to the school, five years on from the merger, and could assert the principle of permeation at the same time. It would also be a way of ending the project; like dentists, we were always working towards doing ourselves out of a job, by making a special project in ethnic diversity superfluous.

In July, 1989, I revived this idea. Mrs Coleman and I had attended a conference in London in May at which we had heard Professor Sally Tomlinson (Lancaster University) talking about her soon to be published study, 'The School Effect' (co-authored with David Smith). The distilled message of this study of multi-racial comprehensives was that schools which are effective generally are effective for all pupils including black, and that some schools are more effective than others.

This supported our consistent argument, that what we wished to achieve was equality of opportunity, and a raising of standards for all pupils. It also fitted well with the idea that we should evaluate the school in a general way. From this grew a proposal, in July 1989, to invite Tomlinson to speak to us in April of the following year on factors in school effectiveness. She would be followed by a speaker with experience in the management of change for improving institutional effectiveness.

In October 1989, I fleshed out the idea into a detailed proposal, and with Mr R, the deputy in charge of inset, we approached speakers. Soon after, we abandoned the idea of a self-evaluation exercise, for it was becoming clear that towards the end of the year, we would almost certainly have to lose staff. Mrs Coleman felt that to ask staff to evaluate our effectiveness as an institution, and look to the future, with the threat of either redeployment or redundancy hanging over us would be insensitive, and uncertain of success. In November, 1989 we produced a revised plan for the conference, which played down evaluation, and addressed the issue of parental involvement:

OBJECTIVES:

- i) To evaluate the development of the project, 'A curriculum for ethnic diversity'*
- ii) To mark the formal end of the project, whilst ensuring that this issue remains a central element in the school development plan*
- iii) To consider ways of increasing parental involvement in - and therefore support for - the school's activities.*

(Inset proposal, November 1989)

We subsequently decided in the working party to advance the evaluation of the project to part of an inset day in March, allowing us to give more time to parental involvement at the April conference (see section 8.3). Once again, the conference would be in school. The benefits of using an alternative venue were clear. But by this time, our inset budget was devolved to school control, meaning that any additional money spent on this issue would mean less money to spend on training elsewhere.

As part of our planning for the conference in 1988, we had issued a questionnaire on teacher attitudes. At the suggestion of Dr Mary Fuller (then of Reading University), I issued the same questionnaire on 28th February 1990, with as few adjustments as possible (see section 8.1). The results of the questionnaire were published in booklet form and given to all staff before the conference. The evaluation of progress in departments brought the issue again into people's minds. The pre-conference reading included a TES review of 'The School Effect', by Smith and Tomlinson; an article on communicating with ethnic minority parents, by Jagat Nagra; and an extract from an article by Julie Flint, on 'the Rushdie affair' (this affair grew out of the publication of the book, *The Satanic Verses*. Deemed to be blasphemous by Muslims, the Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini pronounced a death sentence upon the author, which became a focus for intense public debate in this country concerning freedom of speech and cultural values). We continued our policy of giving staff as much information about the day in advance as possible.

Tomlinson was not available, so we asked her co-author, David Smith (Policy Studies Institute), to deliver the keynote lecture on school effectiveness. His brief was to explain his research findings, and to point the way forward towards making the school more effective. We also asked him to talk briefly about the importance of parental support for effective schooling. In the afternoon session, we were addressed by a community education officer, who was also a school governor, and the parent of a past pupil. Her role was to explain how parents - particularly black parents - see secondary schools such as ours.

As one of the main concerns of the conference was how to increase parental involvement in school activities, we decided to invite a group of parents to take part in the discussion. These included both white and black parents, and were approached individually. The white parents were easily chosen: they were elected members of the governing body. By comparison, it was more difficult to decide which black parents to approach. Eventually we drew up a list which was based largely upon personal contacts made through school. At a social gathering a month before the conference, we explained what we were hoping to achieve, and stressed that parents must not feel either inhibited in discussion, or pressurised to contribute. Nor should they feel that they were representing anyone but themselves.

The groupings were cross curricular for both sessions. In the morning, there was a presentation for parents, describing the project in outline. In the afternoon, they joined the other groups. The first workshop attempted to identify the strengths and weaknesses of our school, and thereby to make suggestions for improving our future effectiveness. The second

workshop drew up suggestions of practical steps which could be taken to increase parental involvement.

The impact of the third conference

The method used for evaluation was identical to that used the previous year. There were again two parts: interviews with a cross section of staff, and a questionnaire for facilitators. The results were put together, and included as an appendix to the conference report. The general view was that the day was well received, in spite of reservations about the delivery of our keynote speaker (Smith). Colleagues were pleased to involve parents, but were concerned that the involvement should not be cosmetic. As in the past, there was a regret that we did not have more time for debate, and it was possibly a mistake to have three lectures in one day.

When compared with previous conferences, the day was felt to have been less 'exciting'. If this was the case, it may be that the uncertainty concerning staffing, which was affecting staff morale at the time, also had an adverse effect upon staff perceptions of the conference, as Mrs Coleman had anticipated it would. One colleague interpreted it more positively, seeing the lack of 'excitement' as

evidence of how far we have come as a school: the issue of equality of opportunity is no longer a 'special case' but simply part of our work as professionals towards a better curriculum. (Conference evaluation, June 1990)

Voluntary meetings

By the end of the preparatory year, 1986/87, we felt that the school was ready for the project. A working party was established, and our plans for the Easthampstead Park conference were going forward. But there would be a time lapse before the next major step; so we organised a series of open meetings after school, in June, to sustain interest. A description of these meetings is given above (see section on the preparatory year).

The following summer, the working party decided, for similar reasons, to organise three more meetings along the same lines: one hour, after school on a Tuesday, with refreshments. But whereas previously we had asked outside speakers to address the meetings, this time the members of the working party undertook the task themselves, operating in pairs - a sign of growing confidence. The first meeting was on June 14th, 1988. Entitled 'Racism in the media', it took the form of a showing of the programme 'The Black and White Media Show' (BBC), followed by a structured discussion. The second (21st June) investigated multi-ethnic issues in personal and social education, using the programme 'Getting to grips with racism' (BBC) as the starting point. The third, on 28th June, was on the hidden curriculum - particularly food and environment.

As part of the preparations for the inset conference in February, 1989, we showed the video 'The Eye of the Storm - a class divided' (7.2.89). In November, 1989, we invited Elaine Sihera, a black journalist and the editor of 'Education Impact' magazine, to speak to us about developing links between home and school. This was to be one of the main themes of our

final conference in April, 1990, and was developed when we showed a video (made by LINCS, Reading) about the West Indian People's Saturday school in Slough. After the conference, in June, we took up an offer from the parent of an ex-pupil, Mr Salim Malik, to talk to us about the Islamic Community in Britain.

These meetings were not taken from the school's ration of inset time, so they were different from the inset days described above. We did not invoke the threat of directed time, and they were attended by varying numbers of staff. They served several purposes:

- i They sustained interest in the project, and kept it alive as an issue amongst staff, during periods when there would otherwise have been a lull in activity;
- ii They enabled colleagues who were interested in our work, but unable for various reasons to commit themselves to membership of the working party (meeting fortnightly), to show their support;
- iii It is possible that they raised the levels of knowledge, understanding, and sensitivity of those who came to them (evidence for this can be found in the records of the discussions which took place);
- iv They gave the working party opportunities to develop collective skills in organisation and inservice training.

Voluntary meetings could not have had the impact of the three conferences. But they contributed towards both the momentum and the coherence of the project, and cost very little.

7.7 External support agents

In the account of the DES course, I argued that the structure for support after the course had ended was one of the reasons for its effectiveness. In this section, I will describe the support which the school received, both from the course tutors, and the LEA, in more detail.

Even while the course was going on, the tutors had begun to focus upon developments in individual schools, and to act as consultants in the process of managing change 'on the ground'. There were schools from three LEAs on the course: Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hampshire. A formal structure was established, for each member of the TREE team to work with the schools from one particular authority. Berkshire's consultant was Marina Foster.

Nevertheless, we continued to receive help and support on an informal basis from the other team members, for a long time after. For example, Shamira Dharamshi helped the school's history department in the revision of the lower school syllabus; she acted as a facilitator at our inservice days; she led after school workshops (with Dr. Viv Edwards) on language awareness; she advised us on the construction of the attitude questionnaire; and she provided advice on strategies for managing change to the end of the project.

Because she moved to another authority soon after the course was ended (Oct.1987), Pauline Lyseight-Jones was not able to support us regularly. But she commented on the construction

of the questionnaire in 1987, and acted as evaluator for the Easthampstead conference. Also, she continued to follow and encourage our work at a distance.

Marina Foster's role was more specific. Having been adviser to the Berkshire schools for the duration of the course, she continued and developed this role afterwards, through the creation of the 'Berkshire Regional Group'. Meeting once per term, the group consisted of schools which had participated in the DES course. It was seen as a forum for discussion, dissemination of ideas, and sharing of concerns. In the first year (1987/88), much of our discussion was concerned with such issues as working parties, inset, bids for funding, and reviewing progress. Other activities included a visit for science teachers to the Oxford Department of Education (July '87); a visit to Hornsey Girls' school (March '88); a series of 'inter school curriculum workshops', in history (Nov.'87), science (Feb.'88), personal and social education (May '88), and English (Dec.'88). During the following year the group was extended to include four more schools which had taken part in the 1987/88 DES course, becoming 'The Seven Schools Project'. Following the advice of the county adviser for multicultural education, Leslie Stephen, two curriculum areas were targeted for close attention by the seven schools. They were English and PSE. In response to the concern about achievement, we discussed techniques for monitoring; and by February 1990 Marina Foster had produced draft guidelines on racial harassment.

Two difficulties hampered the progress of this group. Firstly, there was the simple logistical problem of bringing together representatives from the seven schools on a regular basis,

either for meetings or for workshops. Meetings were held between 4 - 6pm. A number of those involved were senior staff; one, a head teacher. All of these would have had meetings in their own institutions after school. The venue for meetings varied. But whatever the venue, it would always require some members of the group to travel considerable distances, as the schools were spread across the breadth of the county.

Secondly, the pupil intakes of the participating schools were very different, varying both socially and in numbers of black pupils. This meant that the initiatives proposed were not always seen as being relevant to the concerns of all the schools. Connected with this was the feeling that the group was being asked to respond to external, generalised political demands, rather than the needs of particular institutions as perceived by the institutions themselves.

Advisory service support

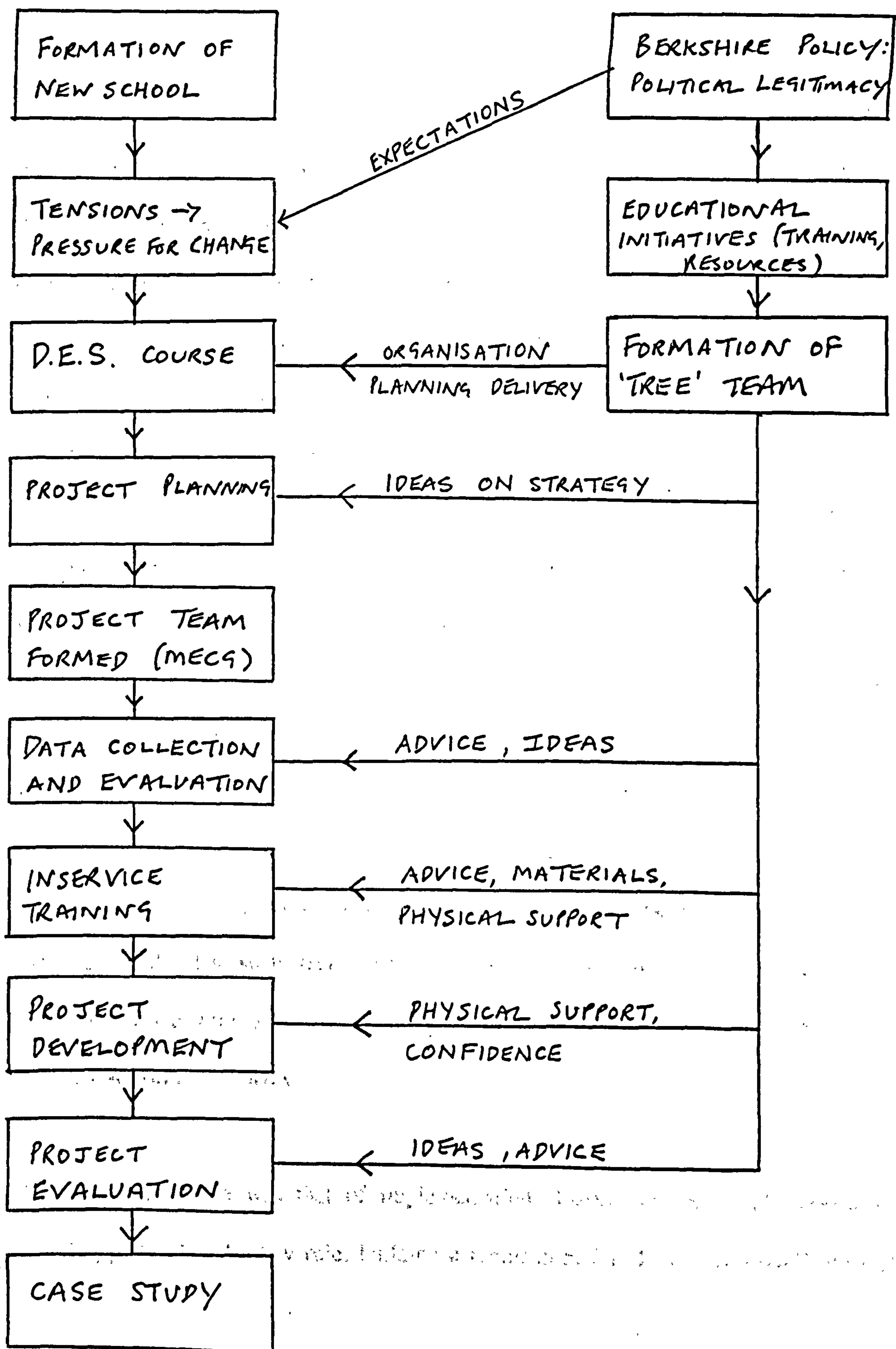
In addition to the regular advice and support of Marina Foster and Shamira Dharamshi, we received help from the Adviser for multicultural education, Leslie Stephen, and also the Assistant Education Officer with responsibility for multicultural education, Madhu Anjali. The first inservice conference was, by the usual modest standards of training for teachers, extravagantly expensive (£4000 in total, for two days' training, for 100 teachers). The finance for it came from these advisers. Madhu Anjali also booked the speakers for the conference on our behalf. After the conference, we received a sum of money (£2000) to spend on resources for departments, to maintain the impetus for change. There were further such injections of support - for example, for speakers at each of our subsequent conferences,

and for the World Festival, in June 1990 - from Leslie Stephen, through to the end of the project. He also supported our bid for section XI funding (April 1990), advising us on how to formulate it. Other supports through GRIST included supply cover (10 days, 1988/89) to release colleagues for work towards the project.

A further, important source of external support for the work of the project in school was the LINCIS centre. When the project began, this acronym stood for the Language and Intercultural Support service. It was later changed to mean Language, INservice, and Curriculum Support. LINCIS was a county support centre, with bases in Slough and Reading, for resources, language support teachers, and other initiatives relating to multicultural/anti racist education. Having been introduced to the centre during the DES course, we made use of it throughout the project, as a source of information, materials, and inservice support. The education library service also proved helpful as a source for classroom materials. It is important to be able to show colleagues who are reluctant to change examples of materials, already in existence (even if not widely used), which would make change feasible without an enormous outlay of effort.

The principal stages in the development of the project, and the continuing importance of the external support (particularly from the TREE team), are represented diagrammatically in figure 7.1 ('Key stages in the development of the project').

KEY STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROJECT (EBBUTT, 1985, p.159)



7.8 Conclusion

In figure 7.2, which is based upon Miles and Huberman's (1994) 'Growth gradient for an innovation', I have shown the project as developing over four principal phases. The first of these, the planning/consultation phase, took place before the project was started. After the outline idea for the project had been mapped out during the DES course, there was a period of several months before it began formally, at the start of the next academic year. This time was used to prepare the ground for change, and to adapt our approach to the school's circumstances. Allies were identified amongst the staff, and *meetings* were used to place the issue high on the school's agenda. This apparently slow start meant that the idea of a three year project had time to sink in and be accepted, rather than being rushed through against opposition. We saw the earliest stages as being crucial to the acceptance of the project, and so all aspects of our approach - meetings, documents, discussions - were carefully planned. Fullan's emphasis upon the need to take account of the 'subjective reality' of teachers' perceptions of change was not known to us. But we knew instinctively that many staff - even those in favour of the idea in principle - would respond negatively to the suggestion of yet more change, involving the prospect of yet more work. So a deliberate attempt was made to anticipate and allay such fears using a variety of strategies. Amongst these, the most important was a willingness to discuss objections openly, and to appear to take account of them by adjusting our plans.

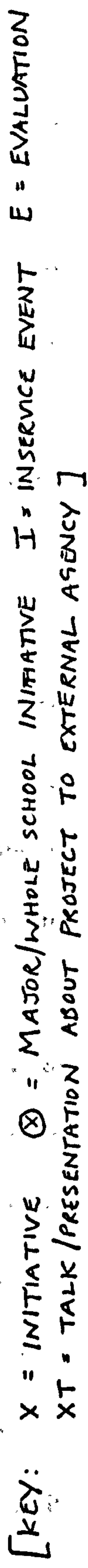
The following phase was that of implementation. During this stage of development, the working party played a key role, building a momentum for change with small but significant

initiatives, and helping to alter the balance of staffroom opinion. The decision to meet fortnightly (not long after the end of the damaging pay dispute, and in spite of the imposition of the insulting and misconceived 'directed time'), and the fact that this was maintained for the entire span of the project, both reflected and enhanced the commitment of individuals in the group. Some of those invited to join at the start were highly aware of the issues relating to equality of opportunity. But not all were. As a consequence of our meetings, their awareness was raised, and they carried this out from the group to their departments. The fact that the MECG functioned successfully on a social as well as professional level was an added bonus, which helped to sustain commitment, and gave members the sense of being in a team, with all the benefits which that sensation entails.

Also important to implementation of the project in the early stages was inservice training. The first (two day) conference appears to have been seminal in establishing the credibility of this issue on the school's agenda. It was also important at a broader social level, in bringing the staff together in a morale-boosting and professional environment.

Inservice training was again important in the consolidation phase (year two of the project). By now the principles of the project had been accepted by a majority of teachers, and were even influencing new staff appointments. This, and the fact that we were able to move on to the writing of a whole school policy ahead of schedule, are evidence that the project had made an extensive impact upon the school.

(MILES + HUBERMAN, 1994, p.97)



In the final phase, two developments characterised the initiative, and suggested that its impact were being felt beyond the institution. The first was an increasing concern with measuring the effects of the project through a process of evaluation; the second, which was closely related, was the writing of a case study by staff who had been involved with the project. What prompted this was the need to understand the change process in order to describe it to interested outsiders, who were contacting the school in search of advice on the management of change (for details, see section 8.4 and table 7).

The three staff conferences (and particularly the first, two day event) are identified in figure 7.2 as important staging posts in the 'growth' of the innovation. These could not have taken place, or if they had, they could not have been as effective, without generous financial support from the LEA. Money is not the only, or the most important, factor in curriculum change. Ideally, a multi-ethnic curriculum could be developed by the re-targeting of existing resources alone; and you cannot buy changes of attitude. But it helps. To pretend otherwise would be specious. In practice, financial support for the project was crucial, acting as a powerful reward for progress made, and an incentive towards further development. As far as inservice training was concerned, the availability of funding made it possible for us to attract the services of nationally-known speakers, and to organise a staff conference in a purpose-run training centre, with direct implications for the status and impact of our efforts, not to mention the general well-being of the school. The same principle operated at both departmental and whole school level. To those teachers who claimed that change was not possible without extra cash, we had an answer, and were able to provide resources.

Finally, the availability to us of individuals with considerable expertise in this field, for consultation and advice, was invaluable, especially in the first, faltering stages of the project. It meant that we made fewer mistakes, and gave us the confidence to go forward steadily. Just as a skilful teacher motivates her pupils through interest and encouragement, with only the occasional and well judged word of criticism, the continued support of outsiders - 'critical friends' - boosted our morale and increased our determination to make the project succeed. In this respect, the advice and moral support of the members of the TREE team was of central importance throughout.

